

THE RIPON FORUM

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The View From Here

THE GOLDWATER MOVEMENT RESURFACES: A Ripon Editorial Report

This month marks the anniversary of Barry Goldwater's Convention and his nomination to head the Republican ticket of 1964. In the year that has passed, the Goldwater "conservative" crusade has suffered a devastating electoral setback, as well as the loss of its own party chairman, Dean Burch. When Ohio's Ray Bliss was elected to the Republican Party chairmanship in January, veteran political correspondents who were on hand in Chicago spoke of "the end of the Goldwater era" in Republican politics. Today, this forecast seems to have been premature. For the Goldwater Right is very much alive and dominating the political news. The moderate Republicans, who have learned little from recent party history, are as confused and leaderless today as they were before San Francisco.

LAUNCHING THE FREE SOCIETY The Goldwater movement has returned, only this time with Barry Goldwater publicly and willingly at its head. At a June 17th Washington press conference, Goldwater announced a new grass roots political education movement, the Free Society Association, to give "focus" to the splintering conservative forces. Denison Kitchel, the Goldwater 1964 campaign manager and executive director of the FSA, predicted that the movement would soon have 500,000 members paying in between \$2 and \$2.5 million in dues. Goldwater's former Research Director, Charles Lichtenstein, will head FSA research efforts including the publication of "the New Federalist Papers". Other Goldwater staffers active in launching the Society are Karl Hess, Vic Gold, Tony Smith, Paul Wagner, and Lynn Mote from the American Enterprise Institute.

The Goldwaterites, unable to read the election results and the public opinion polls, are out to vindicate conservatism to the American people. "The Society's aim will be to clean up all the fuzziness about the word 'conservative'." We wonder who needs political education the most? . . . The FSA was hardly off the ground before Kitchel noted the "strong possibility" it would draw members from extremist organizations and welcomed the prospect.

Chairman Bliss, in one of his rare public statements, said the FSA "might be harmful to the strengthening of the GOP," but later toned down his criticism to "won't be helpful to the party." Goldwater promptly issued a rejoinder that Bliss was "just mistaken." Feathers were also ruffled among fellow conservative splinter organizations such as the American Conservative

Union, headed by former Congressman Donald Bruce of Indiana. Many political observers feel that Goldwater has made a serious blunder that will only hurt the "conservative" position. We disagree.

The new organization, with Goldwater's name, has real prospects of building a powerful membership and resource base. As Senate Republican Leader Dirksen shrewdly observed, in politics "there is no substitute for money." Goldwater wants a "consensus organization" for conservatives and with the resources he commands, he can get it. Already there are reports that the FSA will tap some of the estimated \$600,000 still being withheld from the Party by the Citizens Committee for Goldwater-Miller and the National Television Committee for Goldwater-Miller.

SENATOR FROM ARIZONA A political movement needs a leader, a point sorely obvious to Republican moderates trying to regroup since November. Goldwater coupled the launching of his movement with the announcement two days earlier that he would seek the Arizona Senate seat currently held by Democratic Senator Carl Hayden "regardless of who runs." Consistent as ever, Goldwater reversed his recent statement on Meet the Press that he would not oppose the incumbent Hayden.

The "conservative" movement has been searching for a new leader. Ronald Reagan has not yet earned his spurs. Goldwater's "return" to politics may provide the necessary interregnum. In any event the Right now has a spokesman while silence prevails in the moderate camp. Perhaps significantly, Goldwater's Gallup rating was up from 11% (4th place) in March to 19% (2nd place) in May, among Republicans. He was the first choice in May of Independents from among several Republican candidates.

BENDING RAY BLISS *The Goldwater conservatives have never respected Ray Bliss. Bliss, the non-ideological, organizational perfectionist was "acceptable" as a compromise Chairman, but the truce was uneasy from the start. We have consistently held that the real dangers Bliss and the Republican Party faced would come from the Right and not from the weakened moderates. Yet instead of building support among moderates and vigorously courting the millions of Republicans who bolted the party in November, Bliss has gingerly sought to accommodate the Goldwater conservatives in a united Republican front.*

Chairman Bliss has been reluctant to weed out the Goldwaterite underground in his own National Committee staff. He recently appointed to the key post of director of public relations Fred Morrison, of the conservatively oriented radio program, Three Star Extra. Morrison's former boss at Three Star Extra, Ray Henle, is a director of the Goldwater Free Society Association. Significantly, Republican moderates were not even consulted about the appointment. We were also surprised to learn that Dean Burch has been paid \$8,200 in "severance pay" by the Bliss regime.

The FSA dealt a severe blow to the Bliss strategy. But the most dramatic indication of which way Bliss would yield came with the Kovac-Kelly encounter — referred to in Washington these days as the "Eye-Street caper" (the Republican National Committee is located at 1625 Eye Street).

William Cody Kelly, top National Committee aide to the chairman, provided the Goldwaterites with a golden opportunity to bring Ray Bliss into line. "We'll bend him like a ruler," one top conservative strategist boasted privately. Kelly, suspecting that Frank Kovac, executive director of the Republican National Finance Committee and the top former Goldwater aide at the RNC, was leaking valuable fund raising information to the Goldwater FSA, searched, with three aides, Kovac's office, forcing a desk and wheeling off a locked safe. Kovac, upon learning of the incident, demanded that Bliss take action. Bliss then fired Kelly (Kelly later wired members of the National Committee that he had resigned and that Bliss had "professed satisfaction" with his search).

Kovac and his staff then held an unprecedented and carefully staged press conference blasting Kelly's "gestapo" techniques. Kovac told the press that he was sure Mr. Bliss wasn't involved. "He's too busy doing his job." The point had been made, all too clearly.

AND THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY

Months after November, the Republican Party in the South is still harvesting the fruits of the Goldwater "Southern strategy". In both the special Congressional race in South Carolina, won by Dixiecrat-turned-Republican Albert Watson, and in the two mayoralty wins in Mississippi, on-the-scene observers noted the carryover of Goldwater enthusiasm. And this continued Republican effort in the South was getting heavy financial support from some surprising national sources.

When Bill Miller ran the Republican National Committee, the Southern strategy got much of its impetus and funding through RNC's "Operation Dixie." The new investment in the South today is coming from the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee and Citizens for Goldwater-Miller.

The Watson election was revealing. Watson ran a subdued segregationist campaign, losing almost every Negro vote. (One heavily Negro Columbia ward went 1,358 to 26 against him.) The Republican Campaign Committee poured at least \$20,000 into the Watson race, which it regarded as a "test operation," not to mention professional staff, public opinion polls, and other assistance not reported. The Congressional Committee has been raising big money around the country for its Congressional Boosters Club. At a recent press conference, the Congressional leadership announced a \$2 million target for 1966 built on \$1,000-a-year donations.

The Boosters' money has been raised on two understandings. It was to be put in escrow for the 1966 election and was to be used only in 100 marginal districts that now have Democratic incumbents. A few of the Booster's contributors will be surprised to learn that substantial sums went to the Watson campaign. Even more galling is the news that \$2,500 of Boosters money went to the Legal Defense Fund of Rep. Prentiss Walker who is being challenged by the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi. And the long term Republican incumbent, H. R. Gross, sole Iowa House Republican to survive the Johnson landslide, is getting Boosters money to boot.

As for the Watson "investment," Campaign Chairman Bob Wilson saw it as "another solid step in the steady march of Republicanism in the South." He predicted Republicans would double the total of 17 Southern seats now held in 1966.

More Republican money was channeled into the Watson campaign through Citizens for Goldwater-Miller which donated \$5,000. Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr., Treasurer of the organization, announced that the \$309,000 kitty remaining from November would be used to elect Republicans in 1966. Another \$5,000 went to the campaign of Thomas Van Sickle in his successful bid for Young Republican chairman (see story on Miami below). The moral of this all is too clear. Plenty of resources are at the disposal of Barry Goldwater's friends already. When added to those of the Free Society Association, the combined effect spells serious trouble for those Republican moderates who want to redirect the Republican Party toward the center of American politics.

MIASMA OVER MIAMI

The national Goldwater forces under the banner of "the syndicate" maintained control of the Young Republican National Federation at its June convention in Miami. They elected Thomas Van Sickle, a young Kansas State Senator and former assistant director of the national draft-Goldwater movement in 1963, to the YR Chairmanship. Moderate Republicans had pinned their hopes on David Flaherty of North Carolina, who fought as far as possible an "organizational" campaign avoiding controversial issues.

The strategy couldn't work. First, Flaherty forces struck a deal with the ultra-conservative California delegation, equally eager to crack syndicate control. The price — Flaherty endorsement of the Right-wing Liberty amendment. More than a few moderates were embarrassed when the California delegation later proposed that the United Nations be abolished and its New York headquarters be turned into a memorial to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy!

Second, Flaherty had to face Van Sickle on at least some of the issues and to his credit he spoke out firmly on civil rights claiming the new voting rights bill "does not go far enough" in guaranteeing the right to vote. Van Sickle, true to Goldwater form, denounced both the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 bill as "unconstitutional." The convention would not go that far but it did give Barry Goldwater, once more enlisted in the political wars, a hero's welcome.

And the vote? The syndicate took everything — some without even a contest. Once again the moderates were too late with too little. Governor John Chafee argued with the Rhode Island YR delegation all night

— to no avail. The Massachusetts delegation, including two Ripon members, cast their votes for Myles Standish when the syndicate was unopposed. And the vaunted Eastern Liberal Establishment? Flaherty reportedly had their backing, but he couldn't raise \$10,000 to fight the well financed Goldwater machine.

LAIRD IN THE HOUSE

On more than one occasion Barry Goldwater has stated publicly his view that Congressman Mel Laird of Wisconsin is the most capable Republican in the Congress. Laird, whose foreign policy views are, if anything, harder-line than Goldwater's, drafted the 1964 Goldwater platform. For some strange reason, he has persisted in defending the platform as the most enlightened statement of Republicanism within memory. His "State of the Union" speech earlier this year was an extraordinary exposition of his position.

Last month, the House Republican Task Force on Platform Implementation reported, with Laird standing by, that legislation had been introduced in the 89th Congress to carry out all but 5 of 50 platform pledges which called for legislative action. Congressman Ogden Reid of New York, a member of the Task Force, made an unannounced appearance at the press conference to voice his disagreement and that of Congressman F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts with the Task Force's position on civil rights and foreign policy. Laird reacted, according to one account, with fists clenched and voice trembling with anger. Laird complained that Republicans should attack Democrats, not fellow Republicans. Laird also announced that Republicans would draft a new statement of principles for the 1966 campaign, presumably under his chairmanship.

Meanwhile, Laird continues to consolidate his position as Chairman of the House Republican Conference. The Republicans for Progress struck a sensitive Capitol Hill nerve in their June Newsletter when they reported, "There is more than a slight suspicion that Mr. Laird is the unofficial leader of House Republicans today." Laird's recent statements on U.S. policy in Viet Nam tend to prove the point. Laird has been advocating a no-negotiation, total victory approach to the war. He has stressed intensification of the air-war and has questioned the need to commit so many U.S. ground forces.

Most political-military experts reject his thesis, but Laird apparently sees political mileage in it. So do House Minority Leader Gerry Ford and Senate Republican Policy Committee Chairman Bourke Hickenlooper who have joined them.

We doubt the political wisdom of Laird's course. Laird and many Republicans mistake wide public support of current Johnson policies for an endorsement of the Goldwater "total-victory" position of the last campaign. We are now in the critical stage in the execution of a complicated and subtle, diplomatic-military maneuver. By playing politics with Viet Nam, Congressmen Laird and Ford disserve their party and country.

AND IN THE WOODWORK

It now appears that the radical right as well as Barry Goldwater have been buried prematurely. At their May meeting in Chicago, the Congress of Conservatives failed to launch their anticipated new third political party, or so it appeared at

the time. Since then Ripon field contacts around the country have reported vigorous extremist political organization and activity.

One Republican member of Congress who has been a prime target of Right-wing agitation told us that the ultra-conservatives were setting up a national network with two components in each state — a political education arm and a political action organization. The Congress of Conservatives has named a 39-member "advance committee" to set up "co-ordinating organizations" at the state level.

In Missouri, two weeks after the Congress, five thousand right-wing leaders received invitations to assist in the formation of a third political party "to fight communism." St. Louis manufacturer Mark Andrews told the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* that there were probably 500,000 persons in Missouri who would "rally to this banner if we simply erect it." Andrews has a hard core of 300 volunteers at work across the state.

Third party organization in the states will proceed under guidelines set forth in a 16 point program approved by the Chicago Congress. Objectives include breaking diplomatic relations with Communist nations, repeal of the graduated income tax, restricted immigration, and opposition to political activities by churches.

Key figures at the Chicago Congress included Kent Courtney, New Orleans publisher; Robert Welch of the John Birch Society; former General Edwin A. Walker; Georgia segregationist leader Lester Maddox and a new face in national politics — a quiet Yale Ph.D. resident in Jackson, Mississippi — Medford Evans, who was appointed chairman of the Congress' committee to plan a third party. We are watching with interest to see if the paths of the Free Society Association and the Congress of Conservatives will cross.

DECLARATION OF WAR?

One unidentified moderate Republican leader, when told of Goldwater's intention to launch the Free Society Association, replied, "If they go ahead with this it will mean war." In the current political context we doubt it. The Republican moderates of today would hardly realize the fact if war had been declared. They have demobilized and left the fortunes and leadership of the national Republican Party to the organizational professionals. Having exchanged Ray Bliss for Barry Goldwater in January, they find that they have Ray Bliss and Barry Goldwater in July.

The real target and object of Goldwaterite contempt is not Chairman Bliss, but the "namby pamby" moderates. Compared with the field, Goldwater is regaining the respect of many conservative Republicans. At least he has "guts" and political fortbrihtness.

Republican moderates have lost ground since November. We must in all candor admit this. The remnants of moderate resistance have been all but abandoned by their generals. One of the few bright spots on the current scene is the effort of moderates to regroup and unite under the Council of Republican Organizations. (See item below.) Barry Goldwater has returned and with that fact both Ray Bliss and the Republican moderates must now contend.

The Political Scene

MASS. TAKES THE LEAD

A Republican administration has been the first in the country to file legislation to eliminate racial imbalance in the schools. Taking this forthright step in a highly dramatic subject were Massachusetts' Governor John A. Volpe and Lieutenant Governor Elliot L. Richardson. The bill, drafted by Richardson, requires local communities to present plans to the State Board of Education for the reduction of racial imbalance in their local schools. The ultimate sanction for failure to take acceptable action is the withholding of state education funds. This Republican initiative caught the Democrats off guard and found their leadership split on the issue. We must recall Lieutenant Governor Richardson's remarks to the Ripon Society last March 1, when he suggested that the problems surrounding de facto segregation in the North provided a real opportunity for Republican accomplishment in the civil rights field.

FORD IN ALABAMA

In the June issue of the FORUM we described the scurrilous charges that Republican Congressman William L. Dickinson of Alabama made about immorality during the Selma to Montgomery march. The Republican leadership in the House remained silent.

On June 18th Minority Leader Ford did speak out on Mr. Dickinson — at an "appreciation dinner" honoring the five Alabama Republican Congressmen, sponsored by the Montgomery County Republican Party. He told the 600 Alabama Republicans gathered for the occasion: "There are 141 Republican members in the House today. The Alabama five are among the most articulate and dedicated. Our party has cohesiveness and Alabama is an important part of this." Congressman Dickinson sat at the head table, no doubt proud to be an Alabama Republican.

WATCHING THE POLLS

While Republican Congressional leaders forecast impressive Republican gains in the House and Senate in 1966, we find little evidence to that effect in the polls we have been reading. A national Gallup poll four months after Barry Goldwater and the November elections showed U.S. voters outside of the South dividing their ballots for the House of Representatives 56% Democratic, 44% Republican (no change from November). In the South Republicans actually lost 7 percentage points since November: Democratic 71%, Republican 29%.

Another private poll indicates that the millions of Republicans who could not bring themselves to vote for their party's 1964 nominee will not automatically return to the GOP. The new term of "sidelashers" is used to identify about 12%-15% of November Goldwater voters who have since defected to the Democrats. Surprisingly, these citizens are moderate Republicans who reluctantly cast ballots for the GOP nominee but now like the policies of Johnson better than any prominent Republican.

OTHER NOTES ● Oregon Secretary of State Tom McCall, a fast rising moderate Republican star, may be his state's next Governor. The tall, ex-television commentator refused to associate him-

self with the Goldwater ticket, won with 62 percent of the vote, and has since provided sparkling leadership.

Republican Gov. Mark Hatfield should be an easy victor for the U.S. Senate race if the incumbent, Democratic Senator Maurine Neuberger Solomon retires from politics.

● Republican women around the country have received a one sided invitation to oppose repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act — the provision for state "right-to-work" laws. Mrs. Dottie Elston, head of the National Federation of Republican Women, has circulated freedom to work petitions from the right-wing Freedom To Work Committee and has offered local women's clubs TV tapes prepared by the FTWC. Some Republicans have been asking how such a breach in Republican National Committee "neutrality" could occur under Chairman Bliss, who has experienced the political devastation of a "right-to-work" campaign in his home state of Ohio.

● House Republicans outscored House Democrats proportionally on the final passage of the voting rights bill (Republicans 112-24, Democrats 221-61). Florida Republican William Cramer was the only Southern Republican supporting the bill. The Ford-McCulloch Republican substitute, a sound Republican civil rights contribution, was sullied, however, when House Republican leaders refused to disassociate the Party from the public embrace of Southern Democrats intent on killing the voting bill.

● Slated to replace Lang Washburn as head of the well financed Congressional Boosters Club is Bill Warner, former Executive Director at the R.N.C. under Chairman William E. Miller. Warner was Miller's top aide and strategist in the months before Miller joined the Goldwater ticket. The expected appointment to this strategic post will give Republican moderates no comfort.

● In the recent Georgia elections, Fulton County (Atlanta) Republicans won four of twenty-four seats in the reapportioned state legislature. All four were moderates. The most significant Republican victory was registered by Rodney Cook, a progressive GOP alderman, who was elected to one of three at-large seats with strong support from the Negro community. Cook is already being eyed as a possible candidate for mayor of Atlanta.

Biggest surprise in the June Georgia election was the victory of a Negro Democrat over a white Republican in Muscogee County (Columbus). The county supported Goldwater heavily and sent Howard Callaway, the lone Georgia Republican, to the U.S. House. If the trend continues it could be the wrong way for Callaway.

● Virginia Republican gubernatorial candidate Linwood Holton, a progressive Republican by Virginia standards, has refused to appear before leaders of the Virginia Conservative Council on the grounds that this "would give encouragement to what could become a third political party in Virginia." Already the V.C.C. has begun moves toward placing a third party on the November ballot.

● A prominent Ohio Goldwaterite, William L. White, will run against Republican Governor James A. Rhodes in next year's Republican primary. White claims that Rhodes did not give Goldwater enough support in 1964.

In The Ripon Spotlight

THE ROCKY ROAD Memorable moments abound in politics.

A year ago this month at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller addressed himself to the problem of extremist political movements in American life and their danger for the Republican Party. His talk and the reception it received from the packed Goldwater galleries in the Cow Palace were dramatic moments few of us will forget. The appearance of this man, bloodied but unbowed, speaking from his heart, inspired admiration and respect even among his most determined foes.

A year later Nelson Rockefeller is still fighting on. Since the low ebb of the California primary, his political fortunes have rapidly risen. Democrats unexpectedly captured the New York legislature in the November debacle and were in a position to immobilize Rockefeller programs in the state. But, as so often in the past, the Governor again demonstrated that he is at his best when most severely pressed. With Democratic legislators deeply divided between pro-Kennedy and pro-Wagner factions, he seized the initiative and largely dominated the Albany scene during the lengthy legislative session. Republicans throughout the country cheered as they witnessed the strange political coup of Rockefeller guiding a GOP minority to a position where it, in effect, could organize the N.Y. Legislature.

In his January Message to the Legislature and his Budget Message in February, the Governor formulated a program reflecting his beliefs that the states must exercise their full responsibilities, and that the Republican Party can offer the most enlightened response to problems of urban areas. His legislative accomplishments have included a \$1 billion water pollution control program, a 2 percent state sales tax to help meet New York City's financial crisis, and new bond issues for middle and low income housing.

Rockefeller has been gaining strength on other fronts. After the November defeat and before the new Democratic legislature was sworn in, the Governor called a rump session of the Republican legislature to draft reapportionment legislation. The move was unpopular and appeared to have failed when the Republican reapportionment bills were struck down by the courts. But the divided Democrats were unable to agree on a reapportionment bill of their own. New life was breathed into the GOP legislation by later court action, and this fall Republicans can hope to recapture the New York Legislature. (The issue is in the courts again as of this writing.)

The position of both the GOP and Rockefeller are further strengthened by Rep. John V. Lindsay's mayoralty bid in New York. Win or lose, and his prospects keep improving, Lindsay's candidacy will pull to victory Republican candidates for the state legislature in the New York City area and strengthen the party generally.

THIRD TERM? Recently there has been talk of a split between the Governor and the Javits-Lindsay forces in the party and speculation that, if Lindsay is successful in the Mayoral campaign, he or Javits might attempt to wrest the Governorship from Rockefeller.

Like any two-term governor Rockefeller has accumulated his share of political enemies, but he also has amassed one of the most solid records of accomplishment

any U.S. governor has ever had. Moreover, as governor he has carefully nurtured the New York Republican organization and should be able to count on its support whether his nomination was challenged in convention or primary.

Nelson Rockefeller has the inside track for the gubernatorial nomination if he desires it. His virtuoso performance this legislative session and the Republican resurgence in the state have given him a new stature in a land of Republican giants.

Around The Country

UNITY THAT MAKES SENSE

In the months since November-moderate Republican research groups and citizens organizations have been coordinating their activities through the Council of Republican Organizations. Former Governor Elmer Andersen of Minnesota, Chairman of the Republican Citizens Committee, is serving as Chairman of CRO. Mr. Grant Reynolds National Organization Director of the National Negro Republican Assembly is CRO Co-chairman.

At its June 19th meeting in Washington, CRO voted to strengthen its position as a clear voice of moderate Republicanism within the Party. Under new organizational procedures adopted, the Ripon Society will serve as the Secretariat to the Council. Membership is being expanded. The Compass Society of Syracuse, N.Y. and the Oregon Council for Constructive Republicanism are new members of the Council.

Council chairman Governor Andersen stated emphatically that the CRO was not another splinter group. Rather, it is giving coherence and strength to the moderate Republican point of view — the view of *the majority* of Republicans in the country. The Council approved for circulation a Civil Rights Platform for 1965, drafted with the assistance of a Ripon Civil Rights Task Force, and appointed a select committee to study further means for building the Council's role in the Republican Party. Inquiries should be directed to: CRO Secretariat, The Ripon Society, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

REPUBLICANS CARE

One founding member of CRO is practicing what it preaches. The Committee of '68, headed by New York lawyer Warren J. Sinsheimer, opened its first Service Center June 7th in Newark. The service center, the first of a projected national program, is designed to put into action the group's motto, "Republicans Care". Instrumental in the opening of the center were William L. Stubbs, prominent Newark Republican, who in 1964 was the first New Jersey Negro to receive the nomination of either major party for Congress and Thomas H. Kean, the vigorous son of former Republican Congressman Robert W. Kean.

The Committee of '68 plans to enlist Republican lawyers to give free legal aid to those who can't afford it, set up volunteer employment assistance to locate jobs, establish teams of Republican businessmen to give technical assistance to aid the Negro business community, and provide volunteer social workers to help find suitable housing and to assist in family problems.

Chairman Sinsheimer, who insists that progressive Republicans must actively enter the political arena if they are to give direction to the party, has received the Westchester Republican organization endorsement for a seat in the New York State legislature.

For information contact: Warren J. Sinsheimer, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, 10021.

BUILDING IN PHILADELPHIA Philadelphia as well as New York will be a test of new Republican strength in the cities this November. A group of young Philadelphia business and professional men, the Association of Republicans for Educated Action, is working hard for a Republican breakthrough. Founded in 1960, AREA has 120 members in their 20's and 30's. It is a center city group which aims to introduce young men in business and the professions to politics and to provide a source of intelligent support for Republican candidates.

This summer, important months in the campaign, AREA will be researching key issues for Arlen Specter, a highly attractive liberal running as the Republican candidate for District Attorney, and James Cavanaugh, a young attorney and member of AREA who is a candidate for Comptroller.

AREA's new officers are James W. Stratton, President (Cooke & Bieler, Inc., Philadelphia National Bank Building, Broad and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia (19107)), and Carter Buller, Vice President.

News From Ripon Society

A WIDER FORUM

This summer Ripon will begin a major subscription drive to build the circulation of the FORUM. Chris Bayley and Ted Curtis will coordinate the drive. Current subscribers of the FORUM are invited to write in names of friends who might be interested in receiving a complimentary copy. The July issue of the FORUM will be the first generally circulated to the press.

We have already had some favorable comment from this quarter. Former Women's Public Relations Director at the Republican National Committee, Vera Glaser, now with the North American Newspaper Alliance, writes, "The liveliest group of youthful GOP stalwarts outside the party seems to be the Ripon Society, composed of business, professional and academic people who style themselves 'Moderates'. The Society has scored a beat on other GOP groups by launching a monthly publication of opinion..."

REVENUE FOR THE STATES

Ripon, on July 13th, published jointly, with the Republican Governors' Association a paper entitled "Government for Tomorrow: A Proposal for the Unconditional Sharing of Federal Tax Revenues With State and Local Governments." Copies of this report, an examination of the "Heller proposal" to rebate federal taxes to the states, are being mailed to all Ripon subscribers.

OUR OWN BOOK

A special team of Ripon members including Tim Petri, Bob Beal, Ed DuBois, Bill Wessels, and Jack Saloma is completely rewriting "Election '64" for paperback publication this fall. The book, which is substantially new, will have added chapters on the Republican response to the Goldwater debacle, and the Republican Party in the "new era of politics."

We have had numerous kind words about "Election '64" itself, for which we thank you, our reading audience. One comment, in particular, we should like to pass along to all who worked on the report. Theodore H. White, completing his *The Making of the President 1964* writes that "Election '64" . . . was far and away the best study of the elections made by anyone; I leaned

heavily on it in my final chapter — and described it as the best such study in a footnote to my own analysis so that readers who want the whole story can refer to your report. It was absolutely first-class; I am in debt to all of you; and will you pass my thanks on to all concerned?"

We are all looking forward to reading Mr. White's account of the election. The August issue of the FORUM will include a review.

RIPON WEST

Plans have been going ahead rapidly for a Southern California regional chapter of the Ripon Society since Ripon President Dr. John S. Saloma visited Los Angeles in April. Original organizers were Mr. Robert Fagaly, Jr., of the University of Southern California, who has been active in California and national GOP affairs and Mr. James McCloud, a graduate student in International Relations at U.S.C.

The Executive Committee has now expanded to include: Professor Gerald Rigby of the U.S.C. Political Science Department; Mr. Robert McKensie, formerly of Sen. Kuchel's staff; Mr. Edward J. McAniff, a Los Angeles attorney; and Mr. Ralph Taylor, a management analyst. Also active in Ripon-Southern California are Mr. and Mrs. Robert Filep. Mr. Filep is on the faculty of U.S.C. and was a key Rockefeller aide, nationally and at the San Francisco Convention. Mrs. Filep was secretary to Governor Sherman Adams at the White House and now teaches at El Camino College. Rounding out the nucleus of the new group is Mr. James Farmer of the RAND Corporation.

ANOTHER WELLESLEY GRAD

The Ripon office has a new secretary, Miss Marianne Magocsi, Wellesley '65. Marianne, who is from York, Maine, has been active in Young Republican activity and has gained previous experience presiding over a Boston Republican City Committee office. Marianne replaces Mrs. Helen Linsky, Wellesley '62, who has recently left her duties as Administrative Secretary for the challenges of city planning. We wish Helen well and welcome Marianne.

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

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

- Subscribing member \$10 annual contribution.
- Contributing member \$25 or more annually.
- Sustaining member \$100 or more annually.
- Founding member \$1000 or more annually.

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

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