

# THE RIPON FORUM

NEWSLETTER OF  
THE RIPON SOCIETY

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## The View From Here

### ONE NEGATIVE VOICE

A chorus of favorable comment—marred by one discordant note—greeted the recent Ripon Society - Republican Governors' Association joint study of a federal tax-sharing proposal. The 18-page report, released in July, strongly supported the so-called "Heller plan" to distribute a share of federal income tax revenues to the states on a "no-strings" basis. Editorial writers and political leaders of all ideologies greeted the paper enthusiastically. The one negative voice came from the President of the United States.

*In an interview reported in the August 2, 1965 Newsweek magazine, President Johnson remarked: "Now this proposal to refund money from the federal Government to the states is an example of one they screwed up. What do they call it—the Heller plan? Now there was no recommendation to me on paper that we adopt this. And I had every responsible group oppose it. George Meany told me he'd never go for it." The statement was the latest in a series of Presidential twists and turns which have confused men of both parties who seek an effective way of strengthening state and local government. We believe that the statement reflects at least three important errors in President Johnson's thinking.*

### THREE PRESIDENTIAL ERRORS

First: When the President suggests that proponents have "screwed up" in associating his name with the proposal he is just plain mistaken. Only six days before the 1964 election, a White House statement declared that "The national government, as a constructive partner in a creative Federal state, should help restore fiscal balance and strengthen state and local governments by making available for their use some part of our growing Federal tax revenues over and above existing aids. . . ." Many informed observers predicted that it would be a part of the President's legislative package in 1965. They said so in public and that was a mistake. For the President used the "leak" as an occasion for angrily shelving the proposal. It was to this widely reported turnabout that the Ripon-Governors report referred when it asked President Johnson to "rise above his pique." Later, in March of 1965, Johnson did tell a delegation of Governors that the idea was still under review.

*Why the sudden reversal of Presidential gears? In the Newsweek interview Johnson gave the answer: "George Meany told me he'd never go for it." The statement was the President's second error. Organized labor, with concentrated lobbying power on the national level, has always led the attack on the Heller proposal. But it is disturbing*

*to realize that Mr. Meany can play such a large role in a Presidential decision. On this matter it is particularly important the President look beyond the interests of "Big Labor." He would do well to heed the sharp warning of the pro-Johnson, liberal oriented Washington Post which commented editorially on August 4: "The opposition of the AFL-CIO, insofar as it has been articulated, is based on the untenable assumption that state governments are hopelessly inefficient, reactionary and corrupt. Given this unreasonable attitude, it is fair to ask whether everything ought first to be cleared with George Meany." The Post condemned the "blind opposition emanating from certain quarters in the labor movement" and urged that such opposition NOT "preclude White House consideration of a vitally important fiscal proposal." We agree.*

Thirdly, the president is inaccurate when he says that "every responsible group" opposes the Heller Plan. The National Governors passed a strong resolution at their Annual Conference in Minneapolis July 25-29, "endorsing and favoring study" of the revenue-sharing proposal. They specifically requested the President "to create or reactivate at the earliest possible time a task force on this subject, including representation of state and local governments." Several state legislatures are on record in support of the plan—the Democratic state senate in Illinois recently joined the list. The President's own task force, headed by Dr. Joseph Pechman of the Brookings Institution, recommended the idea to him. It was organized in the Executive Office of the President several years ago and has been endorsed by several of the Nation's leading newspapers and many of our top economists. Both Democratic and Republican platforms gave it favorable notice last summer. There is, in short, a considerable body of opinion which opposes Mr. Meany's views and the President can't change this fact by saying, "I had every responsible group oppose it."

President Johnson is wrong when he ignores his own earlier support of the plan, he is wrong when he gives veto power to organized labor, and he is wrong when he ignores the wide support which this exciting new idea has generated.

### NEW GOP IDEA

An important Republican initiative in Congress deserves a lot more notice than it has received to date. On September 9th Senator Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.) and a group of 46 Republican Congressmen led by Rep. Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri unveiled a new bill entitled "The Human Investment Act."

The bill, patterned after the investment tax credit provisions of the Revenue Act of 1962, would give employers a 7% tax credit toward certain employee training expenses, such as the wages of apprentices, co-op

students, and on-the-job trainees, and the costs of tuition payment and group instruction plans. It has been rumored for several months that this approach has been gaining favor within Administration circles, especially the Department of Labor.

"Republicans in Congress have led in creating the philosophical framework for the national manpower training and retraining effort," Cong. Curtis said. "We have realized that manpower development is a major means of spurring economic growth and creating needed human capital." He went on to point out how the data from the Republican "Operation Employment" of 1961-1962, summarized in his book *87 Million Jobs*, laid the basis for the present Manpower Development and Training Act. That Act itself was drafted in large measure by Rep. Charles Goodell (R-N. Y.).

**GOOD STAFF** In February, 1965, Senator Prouty, the ranking Republican on the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, introduced the first version of the Human Investment Act. In May, a number of staff members who comprise an informal Capitol Hill Republican luncheon group (see FORUM, May, 1965) decided to pool their talents in improving and redrafting the Prouty bill. Contributions in ideas and time came from Senator Prouty's office, the House offices of Thomas B. Curtis, J. W. Stanton (Ohio), William B. Widnall (N. J.), and Jackson Betts (Ohio), and the minority staff of Ways and Means Committee. Liaison was established with interested Republican and private groups and academicians around the country. Useful suggestions from several large employers, the Building Trades Council of the AFL-CIO, and the California Apprenticeship Council were incorporated in the final version.

The revised Human Investment Act represents a serious effort by Republicans to devise a meaningful way to harness the resources of the private sector of the economy in upgrading the skills of the labor force to meet the new skill demands of advancing technology.

*Sponsors of the Human Investment Act come from all regions of the country and from all shades of Republican opinion. They include "Bo" Callaway of Georgia and "Brad" Morse of Massachusetts; John Anderson of Illinois and "Jimmy" Utt of California. "In only three days, we were able to line up over forty House Republican sponsors," one staff member relates. "If we had two weeks, we might have been able to get a hundred. Out of 70 or so approached, only four specifically refused to sponsor the bill, and even those indicated they would probably support it on a vote."*

**LYNDON TAKE NOTE** Capitol Hill Republicans consider their coordinated introductions and presentations a deft Republican move to cement the Republican "label" on the approach. The Administration, asked in February for an opinion on the original Prouty bill by Senator Harry Byrd, Finance Committee chairman, had not responded as of mid-September. Some Republican aides feel that the Administration's silence on the early Human Investment bill indicates that it did not wish to endorse a Republican sponsored measure, but was reluctant to report adversely on a measure which the President might be planning to propose in the future. Now, if President Johnson decides to include the tax credit approach as a part of his program, he must pay his compliments to the Republicans in Congress whose idea it is.

**SPEAKING OUT** Republicans have begun to recognize the threat of the Radical Right and to deal with it decisively within the Republican Party. Pennsylvania's

Governor William Scranton in a speech to the American Bar Association meeting in Miami Beach August 12th posed the basic issue well.

Noting that "two strains of Republicanism—the progressive and the responsible conservative—actually and legitimately exist within the Republican Party," the Governor asked if this meant that there is room for everybody in the Republican Party. His reply—No. "There is a radical fringe which should never find a spiritual home in either of America's two great political parties and the Republican Party ought to stop the hopeless task of trying to accommodate them. Every effort to hold the Republican tent open wide enough to let in the radicals, the racists and their brethren, has only led to the withdrawal from that tent of thousands and thousands of dismayed American voters."

In Washington state, the youngest Governor in the nation, Republican Dan Evans, has squarely faced the issue of Radical Right penetration of the G. O. P. In a courageous speech to the Republican State Central Committee on September 10th, Governor Evans first outlined the positive dimensions of a "Republican Experiment" in governing Washington state and then spoke on the question of extremism.

**EVANS SETS GUIDELINES** Evans cautioned that the Republican Party should not embrace new groups indiscriminately. We must instead try to establish some guidelines for the use of our Party. The Governor suggested several tests. Is the group "of, by and for the Republican Party?" Does it operate within "the traditional spirit of Republican procedures and within the accepted pattern of American politics?" (Does the group operate publicly above board or secretly and underground? Is it motivated by faith and hope or by fear? Does it use the tools of truth or of lies? Does it teach truth in our established political institutions or does it teach distrust? Within its own organization, does it follow democratic procedures or militant authoritarianism? Do its people understand the art of political compromise or do they deal only in unrelenting absolutisms?) And, what can the group do specifically to help the Republican Party or what is it doing to weaken the Party and thus the two-party system and the nation?

*Governor Evans concluded, "The John Birch Society and its frightened satellites, as shown by their methods, their leadership and their rash policies, meet none of the tests and follow none of the traditions of the Republican Party... I do not intend to watch silently the destruction of our great Party—and with it the destruction of the American political system. The false prophets, the phony philosophers, the professional bigots, the destroyers, have no place in our party. Let them leave!"*

The Evans speech was no idle gesture. It signalled the beginning of a long and hard fight in a state where the radical conservatives have already captured control of several Republican county organizations. To win, the Governor must forge a coalition of progressives, moderates and responsible conservatives. He won his first test when the State Council Committee, after a one and a half hour debate, voted 43 to 15 a resolution asserting that "extremist groups such as the Birch Society hurt rather than help the Republicans."

In May Fran Cooper, Republican National Committeewoman from Washington, had attacked Governor Evans in a "private" speech. The Seattle *Argus* quoted part of her tirade. "Don't forget Evans is supported by the Ripon Society, and everyone knows they are dominated by Communists. We need to purge the Re-

publican Party of these liberals who pose as Republicans." Irresponsible and slanderous statements such as these only underline how difficult the battle will be to restore completely the state GOP to responsible control.

*We applaud the reasoned and firm approach that Dan Evans has taken. We too do not intend to watch silently the destruction of our great Republican Party.*

## WHEN WE LOSE CANDOR

The July Newsletter of the Society, with its feature *Ripon Editorial Report: The Goldwater Movement Resurfaces*, has, as we expected, produced some controversy within Republican circles. Unfortunately, too many people missed the point. Our "status report" on the Party underlined the continued weakness and failures of leadership among moderate Republicans. We were speaking primarily to moderates, *not* attacking Chairman Bliss as some of the press reported. In our discussion of "conservative" activity and organization we reported in contrast the progress and prospects of non-moderate Republican action. The Republican Party cannot be a healthy political party while its moderate - to - progressive majority remains disorganized and leaderless. The responsibility for this situation rests on responsible moderate Republicans, and on them *alone*.

There is a school of wishful thinking that feels the Republican Party can solve all its problems if Republicans simply focus their attention on Democrats. Would that it were so! But the Republican Party is engaged in a great internal debate—about its very direction in American politics. The campaigns of 1964 produced no clear decision *within* the Party. The party reforms since then have only deferred decision! These are the hard facts of Republican politics as we see them in 1965, and we shall continue to comment on them—on appropriate occasions. One of the surest signs of the demise of the Republican Party will be that day when there is no Republican voice of concern or dissent—when we have lost candor.

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## The Political Scene

### A THIRD FORCE

The Republican Governors' Association officially opened its Washington office on September 1st, giving new hope that the organization would fulfill the promise which its chairman, Gov. Robert Smylie (Idaho), expressed for it when it was founded. The RGA, Smylie said in July of 1963, could be "a third major force" in the party—along with the National Committee and the Congressional leadership.

The prospect of a major voice for the Governors has frightened some GOP conservatives, among them former Senator Barry Goldwater who used his syndicated column to express his view that the RGA was nothing more than another "splinter group" which should be suppressed. Party leadership, he argued, should come from Congress, and for this reason Congressional races are more important than gubernatorial ones. In a three page "Dear Barry" letter, Smylie met the charge head on

*"A Washington base of operations became necessary for a number of reasons," he wrote. "Not the least was the location of the National News Center. If we are to successfully fight the trend toward centralization in government, in news, and in our very lives, then we*

*have to fight it where centralism was born, in Washington, D. C. . . . Your column seems to imply that control of state legislatures and statehouses is unimportant, and that only the Congress and the Presidency are worthy of the attention of a national party. This position is clearly insupportable. Power in American politics begins at the grass-roots and grows upward to national power if the policies and candidates which the party presents are found worthy of national public trust. . . . Thus state and local governments must have a voice in the formulation of the party's national policies and its image. To deny these grass-roots agencies such a voice is to condemn the party's image nationally to a petulant and parochial opposition to whatever the majority administration purposes."*

Smylie emphasized the unanimous character of the Governors' decisions and the fact that the Association "was not created as a voice for 'moderates'. It is a voice for state and local government in the evocation of national policies."

*"Because the column is based on completely erroneous information it seems advisable for me to correct the record," Smylie wrote. "We firmly believe that we can play a role in national politics and be of assistance to Chairman Bliss in the great task of saving two party government in America. We solicit your cooperation in the battle to achieve this goal."*

"The Governor Gives a Civics Lesson" was the headline summary of Smylie's response to Goldwater in the Democratic Lewiston, Idaho *Morning Tribune*. Writer Bill Hall capsulized the whole episode most appropriately when he wrote: "The bulk of the Republican governors . . . have been a progressive force in regaining the initiative for state government. They know that the federal government fills vacuums more often than it encroaches on state territory. It is useless to quibble over which is more important—governors or congressmen. In politics, anyone is important who has demonstrated that he understands how best to reach the people by serving them, and the governors have, as those who would exclude them have not."

Dr. Carl D. McMurray, a political scientist from Florida State University, has been designated Assistant to the Chairman and will serve as the chief staff man for the governors. The RGA will maintain an office in the state capital of the Chairman as well as in Washington. Current addresses are: 728 Cafritz Building, 1625 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. (Tel. 202-628-6800) and P. O. Box 2813, Boise, Idaho (Tel 208-342-4686).

### REPUBLICAN STATE LEGISLATORS

A new sign of Republican strength is the recent organization of the Republican State Legislators Association comprised of Republican State Senators and Representatives from over thirty states. The RSLA was launched at the three-day annual meeting of the National Legislative Conference held in Portland, Oregon in mid-August. The Legislators endorsed the establishment of a Republican Legislative Campaign Committee "to focus attention on legislative races, exchange information and personnel, conduct workshops and cooperate with interested groups. We must mount a massive effort to continue to put forward state legislative candidates who have intelligence, vigor, competence and the integrity to decide important questions in the public interest." (Republicans lost some 500 state legislative seats in the 1964 election debacle). The RSLA

also called for state legislators to testify before Congressional committees, supported research into an improved traffic safety program, sought guarantees of honest state election machinery, and urged retention of the Governor's veto power in the administration of the war on poverty.

Oregon Speaker F. F. "Monte" Montgomery was elected acting chairman of the association. Montgomery, first Republican speaker in Oregon in ten years, served as the Rockefeller campaign manager in the state's Presidential primary last year. He is widely regarded as a vigorous leader of progressive, forward-looking Republicanism.

Organizational assistance in originating and establishing RSLA was given by the Oregon Council for Constructive Republicanism and by Republicans for Progress. Congressional Republicans have welcomed the potential of the new association. Inquiries should be directed to F. F. (Monte) Montgomery, Speaker, House of Representatives, Oregon Legislative Assembly, Salem, Oregon.

## BLISS BEGINS

"The false impression has spread across the land that our party has forsaken the great principles which called it into being, individual freedom and human dignity," said GOP National Chairman Ray Bliss last April. "By our attitudes and our actions in the years ahead, we must erase that false impression." Mr. Bliss has begun his assault on that goal. He recently met with a group of Negro Republican leaders to plan the revival of the National Committee's Minorities Division. An active Minorities Division is a must at a time when Negro registration is climbing at fantastic rates. We hope that the Chairman will build on the initiative already demonstrated by the National Negro Republican Assembly. The job ahead is enormous.

Bliss has also moved to improve GOP relations with the academic community. His new Administrative Assistant is Dr. Arthur Peterson, an Ohio political scientist. Dr. John Bibby, the Director of the RNC Arts and Sciences Division, arranged a luncheon for the Chairman at the recent meeting of the American Political Science Association. The constructive potential of Ripon-type groups was a chief topic of conversation among the political scientists present.

**OTHER NOTES** ● Senator Thomas Kuchel's withdrawal from the California Republican Gubernatorial primary comes as a disappointment to moderate Republicans far removed from California. The control of key state delegations such as California, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey by moderate Republican forces at the 1968 Republican National Convention will be far more difficult to achieve without moderate Republican Governors in charge. Yet some of the best candidates the party has, such as Senator Kuchel, prefer to remain in the Senate. The next issue of the FORUM will include an up-to-date commentary on the emerging California Republican primary picture.

● The *National Review*, which should be relatively informed on the subject, makes the following comment on the New York mayoralty race. "William Buckley's candidacy is becoming the focus of anti-Liberal activity. Last week Senator Goldwater, who obviously knew what he was doing, told a *Newsweek* reporter (who was clearly hostile to Goldwater and Buckley) that Buckley was a 'great Republican'. He said nothing about the official Republican candidate, John Lindsay." Buckley, who did *not*

challenge Lindsay for the Republican nomination, is a candidate in the November election on the Conservative Party ticket.

● Group Research, Inc., which monitors right wing activities and which recently received praise from Democratic National Chairman John Bailey, reports in its August Newsletter the establishment of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures. Former Republican Governor John Anderson will head the group. Group Research lists the Conference, together with such organizations as Let Freedom Ring, The Minutemen, the KKK, and the Liberty Lobby. "The new organization," it reports, "appears to be a coalition of right-wingers, liberals, and numerous in-betweens. Financing is to come from unnamed foundations."

It is indeed unfortunate that Group Research has resorted to guilt by association. Republicans remember Governor Anderson as an able, dedicated moderate, former Chairman of the National Governors' Conference, a courageous leader who was denied a seat on the 1964 Kansas delegation to the Republican National Convention because he was not "right" enough. The goal of improved state legislatures is one that we of the Ripon Society, Republicans generally, and all Americans interested in "good government" should support.

● One issue of vital concern to Republican Governors is the retention of effective veto power over local projects under Federal Poverty programs in the states. The House-passed poverty bill contained such a provision; the Senate deleted it. In conference, the House wording was rejected, but House Republicans won an upset victory when the Conference report was read to the House. On a 208-179 roll call vote, the House instructed its conferees to retain the governor's veto.

● Massachusetts Republican Attorney General Ed Brooke has confided privately to friends that he does not plan to run for re-election in 1966 to the new four-year term for his office. Brooke will have completed two two-year terms in the post. If Republican Senator Leverett Saltonstall and Republican Governor John A. Volpe both run for re-election, Brooke may retire to private law practice. Sen. Saltonstall has promised an announcement on his plans by January 1st. Privately, some well-informed Republicans suspect that the Senator will retire, although he has kept his plans to himself, and the public expects him to seek another six year term.

● GOP Congressman Robert Ellsworth of Kansas has received considerable attention for a recent major House speech in which he advocated a world economic conference to deal with international monetary problems. Treasury Secretary Fowler cited Ellsworth's remarks when he himself proposed such a conference several days later. The idea has been long advocated by Senator Jacob Javits of New York.

● Richard Nixon has gone on record that Republicans will regain forty House seats, two Senate seats, and two governorships in 1966. Nixon feels that the intra-party quarrel between conservatives and liberals has been largely patched up. A private Democratic poll forecasts a Democratic gain of 15 seats if the election were held today. Most Capitol Hill observers expect a result somewhere between these predictions.

● Robert Kennedy has sent his first newsletter to his New York constituents. The six-page "RFK Reports" features a photograph of Kennedy and President Johnson at a Great Society bill-signing session. The Kennedy Party line is to discount any open differences with the President. Kennedy's New York power base was strengthened when

Abraham Beame upset Wagner choice Paul Screvane in the New York mayoralty campaign.

## In The Ripon Spotlight

*This month the Ripon FORUM welcomes the following independent review of Mr. Theodore H. White's The Making of the President 1964, contributed by Mr. William G. Moore of Lyme, Connecticut. Mr. Moore is a former reporter for the Wall Street Journal and Associate Editor of Fortune Magazine. He is currently Business Consultant and Chairman, Inquiry Evaluations, Inc. and is a member of the Advisory Committee on Public Relations of the Connecticut Republican State Central Committee.*

In reviewing Theodore H. White's second journalistic history and analysis of a presidential election, one is tempted to cover not only the book itself but also some of the early reviews of it in major newspapers and magazines. For the book has made news of its own, appearing at a time when the nation's press is taking a closer look at the personality and style of President Johnson. Perhaps White's own views of the President, both admiring and critical, have emboldened other journalists to speak out. *Newsweek* featured Author White on its cover, and in a review of his latest work played up the strained relationship between him and the President. The implication seemed to be that everyone, including Barry Goldwater, admires Mr. White save the present chief of state. But it is inaccurate to suggest that President Johnson, with all his strong, contradictory and sometimes alarming traits (White calls him "self-obsessed"), dominates the book. He shares top billing with the Republican Party and its own contradictions, including a near-schizoid performance during the 1964 campaign. And always in the background are the heroic shadow of John F. Kennedy, whom White clearly admires above all others, and the grim spectre of racial unrest. American politics requires a broad canvas, and it is to White's credit that he is again able to revivify a major segment of the recent political past.

Though given full and sympathetic treatment, Barry Goldwater seems always a minor figure in this dramatic documentary. White considers him an innocent - "a frustrated intellectual come late in life to the wonder of books and ideas." According to White, Goldwater did nothing that made political sense, even in the light of his philosophy that to lose by a 5% margin would be a victory for the conservative cause. Contrary to the cries of his conservative backers, White insists that reporters covering the Goldwater campaign actually tried to protect the candidate from himself. But this was after the primaries when most of the damage had been done.

### THE POSITIVE FACE

White has many provocative thoughts for the Republican Party. For example, in a chapter devoted to the abortive Governor's Conference of June, 1964, White says: "There are many cleavages in the Republican Party. . . but of all the cleavages, the most important is that between the Republican governors, who know that government is necessary, and Congressional Republicans, who think that strong government is bad. If there is any connection between philosophy and strategy it should lead the Republicans to act from strength, to present their philosophy to the nation from the broadest base of local government and local triumphs it can find. Goldwater was the negative, or Congressional, face of the Party." In a similar vein, he quotes Gov. Smylie of Idaho on the emotional content of the so-called Western revolt in the

party: "This continent tilts, but Easterners don't recognize it. . . You don't recognize the condition of our explosive growth. . . And as we grow, these new governments will realize that we have to have conditions of growth; that they, too, need a government that governs. But now it's too early."

### RALLYING POINT FOR A GENERATION

Among the other Republican candidates for President, White gives generous treatment to both Rockefeller and Scranton. Rockefeller's divorce and remarriage are discussed with a delicacy and understanding that will do much to clear the air on this controversial subject. Scranton is defended as a victim of Eisenhower's bumbling—a gallant figure. "It is only in the long range," says White, "that the Scranton campaign made any sense at all. For Somehow, as he (Scranton) said, 'even if we lose we have to create a rallying point in our Party for people of our generation'."

Although White, in his efforts to be impartial and factual, may appear at times to oversimplify the paradoxes of the Republican Right, he does not attempt to wrap them up in a sociological and psychological package as he does with the Negro movement. Most of the raw material is here; yet one finishes the book with a feeling that White has omitted a great deal because he could not substantiate what he could not observe for himself or reconstruct from reliable sources. From a journalistic standpoint this is admirable, but from the standpoint of the politically involved reader it may be frustrating. The enigma of Eisenhower's indecision remains an enigma. White's suggestion that the former President was both naive and muddleheaded does not help us to understand the curious loyalties and pressures from both liberal and conservative ends of the Party which nullified Eisenhower's potential contribution to unity. Nor does he probe very deeply into the motivations and financial backing of the nationwide campaign, headed by Clifton White, which delivered the nomination to Goldwater. Occasionally White draws a conclusion that would appear to be based on insufficient evidence. For example, he implies that Clifton White was disappointed in not being named National Chairman of the Republican Party—that some of his followers, in fact, toyed with the idea of dumping Goldwater even after he had won the nomination. While this may have been true at the given moment, subsequent events would seem to indicate that White's activities as head of the Citizens' Committee had been in keeping with the long range conservative goals, and that had he been chief of the National Committee he would have lost both power and position in the wake of the humiliating election defeat.

### ADVICE TO REPUBLICANS

There is excitement in the book and when White writes of President Kennedy's assassination, his highly charged prose almost recaptures the taut emotions of the ensuing days and weeks. For Republicans, there is sobering advice, albeit from a liberal point of view. Pointing out that one in nine Americans of voting age and one in seven Americans under the age of fourteen is a Negro, White builds a strong argument that the conservative American is under heavy pressure either to face facts or continue to be swept by subconscious fears in a direction away from moderation towards extremism. "The Republicans suffer," says White, "first, from a general condition—a continuing failure to capture the imagination of the American people. They suffer, next from a specific political ailment—the lack of any agreed purpose for their Party." Summing up the present

political scene, White adds" . . . it is Johnson who most threatens the Republicans. Lyndon Johnson is, to be sure, no visionary spectator, no philosophical analyst; he is an activist politician, an enormous pressure vessel in which all ingredients of experience are distilled. Yet out of this experience, after thirty years of knowing the best and worst in American life, Lyndon Johnson has finally distilled a vision which embraces the entire nation." Quoting an associate of the President. White adds: "What he (Johnson) wants most is that his programs should go down in history not as Democratic Party programs, but as American programs." In both Parties, White seems to warn, there are mounting pressures that threaten our two-party system of government. No American can afford to overlook this threat. And if he does not believe it exists, let him read *The Making of the President - 1964*.

## News From Ripon Society

### BACK IN BOSTON

With the start of the fall semester, the Boston chapter is ready to move into high gear. A "smoker" for prospective members in the Greater Boston area is scheduled for October 20, with a panel discussion — "Politics - 1965" — by Ripon members who have spent the summer in New York, Washington, the South, and California.

The Boston chapter is happy to welcome Bill Kendall, Administrative Assistant to Congressman Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, to Cambridge. Bill won a Congressional Staff Fellowship and will be in residence at the Littauer School of Public Administration at Harvard.

Ripon President John S. Saloma has completed an academic leave with the Study of Congress Project in Washington and has returned to the M. I. T. Political Science faculty.

### WHITE HOUSE FELLOW

Ripon founding member Robert Patricelli will be serving in Washington this year as one of fifteen White House Fellows, the first such group to be selected. Over 3000 applied for the fellowship. Bob was a member of the Harvard Law Review, and part of the Republicans For Progress-Ripon Society task force that assisted Congressman John Lindsay and Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee in developing a detailed critique of the Johnson administration voting bill. Congratulations and our best wishes!

### RIPON IN CHICAGO

Ripon President John S. Saloma recently participated in the Second Biennial Republican Leadership Conference for the 13th Congressional District of Illinois (the North Shore Suburban district held by Congressman Donald Rumsfeld). The four-man panel for the conference also included Congressmen William E. Brock of Tennessee and Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri, and Mr. Raymond V. Humphreys, Director of Education and Training for the Republican National Committee. Among the participants in the first conference two years ago were Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan, now House Minority Leader, and Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin, now Chairman of the House Republican Conference. Congressman Brock and President Saloma were guests on the Chicago CBS-TV program "At Random" hosted by John Madigan. (The Reverend Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade also appeared on the TV panel, speaking as a "conservative" rather than as a Republican or Democrat.)

Plans are going ahead for a new Ripon chapter in the Chicago area. A group has been meeting informally since January, and has undertaken research into staff resources and requirement for state legislators. An organizational meeting is planned for early October. Interested Ripon subscribers and friends should contact Mr. Phillip Pafford, acting secretary, at 1433 Hinman, Evanston, Illinois 60201 (Tel. 312-864-1167).

### RESPONSE: REVENUE SHARING

Reaction to the Ripon Society-Republican Governor's Association paper has been most encouraging. Roscoe Drummond, in his nationally syndicated column, saw the revenue-sharing concept as one of the best issues that would unite Republicans against Democrats. The Political editor of the *Boston Globe*, Robert Healey, wrote: "It is refreshing to see the Republican Party looking at its policies and programs for new ideas." Then, after a 700-word discussion of the proposal, Healey concluded: "Politically, the Ripon Society has made an enormous contribution to the Republican Party." The New York *Herald Tribune* gave the idea strong editorial support. Trib Editorial Page Editor Raymond K. Price described the proposal as a Republican opportunity to establish a distinct image: "to present itself as the party that can make state and local government work, because it believes in state and local government."

The report was put into the *Congressional Record* by Republican Bill Brock of Tennessee, a leading Congressional enthusiast for the revenue-sharing concept. Brock is sponsoring legislation which would "try out" the Heller idea in the field of public elementary and secondary education, an arena where federal money is sorely needed but where the dangers of federal control often seem most frightening. His proposal deserves serious attention.

Copies of the paper, "Government for Tomorrow: A Proposal for the Unconditional Sharing of Federal Tax Revenues with State and Local Governments", may be obtained from the Ripon Society.

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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