

THE RIPON FORUM

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The Political Scene: Election '65

FROM THE BALLOTS: MEANING

The comeback road for the Republican Party has been clearly charted by the election results of 1965. The lessons which were demonstrated for us in 1964 have been repeated this year in particularly dramatic terms. As they did a year ago, the American voters have again rejected Republican candidates who appeal to the past and have given their votes to those who look to the future. They have supported candidates of hope and rejected candidates of fear. They have said "no" to narrow and exclusionist politics and "yes" to broad and inclusive appeals. They have responded to Republicans who want to give their Party creativity, energy, and imagination. If the Party failed to get the message last fall it can hardly miss the point now. Republicans must forget the politics of yesterday and grasp the politics of tomorrow.

NEW YORK

REPUBLICAN TRIUMPH

In gaining 46% of the vote against two opponents, Republican John V. Lindsay outdistanced even the most optimistic polls as he was elected Mayor of New York City. He overcame a 7 to 2 Democratic registration edge. Sen. Goldwater had polled only 28% of the City vote in 1964. Lindsay attracted approximately 1/3 of the Jewish vote, 1/4 of the Puerto Rican vote, 1/3 of the Irish Catholic vote and an astounding 40% of the Negro vote. Democratic Boss Adam Clayton Powell could not deliver Harlem support for his candidate, Abraham Beame. In areas of Central Harlem where Democrats usually gain an 8 to 1 margin, Lindsay cut the losses to less than 2-1. In East Harlem which is 95% Puerto Rican, the Republican ran fairly even with his opponent. In Morningside Heights which is 80% Negro, Lindsay led Beame by 2000 votes. In the Negro ghetto in the Bedford Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn he ran about 40%.

APPEAL TO THE FUTURE

Most importantly, Lindsay proved to be the kind of Republican candidate that young people can get excited about. His victory was built upon a network of storefront headquarters, staffed in large part by enthusiastic young men and women. Columnist James Wechsler saw Lindsay's appeal to youth as outshining even that of Sen. Robert Kennedy:

As the State's Democratic Senator, Robert F. Kennedy's role in the campaign was consistent with political protocol. Yet even he engaged in excesses of simulated enthusiasm that diminished his own stature especially among dedicated young voters and enhanced the impact of Lindsay's extraordinary personal triumph.

TO THE RIGHT, DEFEAT

...All the rhetoric of the *National Review* and its associated conservative political organizations cannot obscure the dismal Conservative failure in New York City. Buckley drew more heavily from Beame than Lindsay. Pollster Samuel Lubell noted Buckley voters listed their second choice as 7-5 Beame over Lindsay. When one network announced Lindsay as the winner a Buckley worker at Conservative headquarters concluded in obvious anguish, "Oh, my God, Buckley has elected Lindsay." Yet it is unlikely that the Buckley candidacy had even this effect. To overcome Lindsay's margin of 136,000 votes, Beame would have to have won 70% of Buckley's 340,000 votes to Lindsay's 30%. Lindsay and Beame actually divided the two party vote 53.2% Lindsay — 46.8% Beame.

Despite polls showing Buckley up to 18% of the popular vote, the Conservative hero polled only 13.4% of the vote—no better than the vote won by right-wing Democrat Lawrence Gerosa in 1961 (13.3% against Democrat Wagner (51.2%) and Republican Lefkowitz (34.6%)). Gerosa was colorless and unpublicized; but for all his histrionics and television exposure Buckley could not improve on the earlier performance.

STATEWIDE STRENGTH

In the only *New York* statewide election, former moderate Republican Senator Kenneth Keating was elected to the State Court of Appeals by nearly two million votes. Most significantly, Keating carried New York City by 81,000 votes *on the Republican ticket alone*. His unsuccessful opponent had both the Democratic and Liberal endorsements. The *New York World Telegram* viewed Keating's victory — as it did Lindsay's — "significant vindication of their integrity in refusing to sing along with Barry last year."

And it is significant too that in this reapportionment year, Republicans were able to regain control of the *New York* State Senate which they had lost in 1964 — Governor Rockefeller scored a victory when proposition 1 — calling for a bond issue for the pure waters program — was passed.

NEW JERSEY

STINGING DEFEAT

The New Jersey Republican Party received a disastrous setback at the close of an election campaign that had begun with some promise. In a landslide victory which insured his party the longest gubernatorial tenure in New Jersey in this century,

Governor Richard Hughes ran so strongly that Democrats won control of both Houses of the state legislature for the first time since 1914 . . . in each case by a two-thirds margin.

The normally Republican counties of Bergen and Cape May supported Hughes by disconcerting margins, and in voting for seats in the Assembly and the Senate Bergen County replaced all but one of the Republican representatives with Democrats. Republicans had controlled the Senate 14 to 6; under the temporary reappointment the number of seats was increased and the Democrats now control 19-9. A 32 to 28 GOP edge in the Assembly became a 41 to 19 Democratic edge.

The reasons for the sharp Republican decline are undoubtedly complex. There has been bitter and enduring factional split within Republican ranks in recent years; there was certainly some residue of President Johnson's massive victory in 1964; and a temporary reapportionment of the legislature gave more weight to urban than to rural areas in accordance with court demands for a more realistic distribution of representation. But overshadowing these factors, perhaps, was the disappointing gubernatorial campaign of Republican State Senator Wayne Dumont.

A RIGHT-WING TACTIC Dumont had much to recommend him as he sought the New Jersey governorship. But he allowed his ability, his record, and his programs to be blurred by an emotional campaign in which he sought the dismissal of a Rutgers University professor who had expressed sympathy for the Communist cause in Viet Nam . It was an issue which Dumont borrowed, along with key personnel, from the right wing Republican whom he had defeated in the primary. The issue had originally been developed by staff members associated with the militant conservative wing of the Young Republicans and the Young Americans for Freedom. If Dumont wanted to win the election he turned the wrong way.

The voters thought the issue inappropriate in a gubernatorial campaign; they valued the political independence of the state university and were willing to show their support of American foreign policy in ways which did not jeopardize that ideal.

When polls began to show how badly Dumont campaign has misread the state, moderate Republicans had the option of running independent campaigns to save New Jersey Republican legislative seats. Instead they followed the Dumont lead with scarcely a protest.

PHILADELPHIA

REPUBLICAN REFORM In the Philadelphia District Attorney's race, Arlen Specter, a 34 year old Jewish Assistant District Attorney with a reputation for vigorous and fair prosecutions, won by 36,000 votes, the first time in 12 years a municipal candidate has won on the GOP ticket. A year ago Barry Goldwater lost the City of Brotherly Love by 441,000 votes. Philadelphia has twice as many enrolled Democrats as Republicans, a fact which led Gov. William Scranton to credit the victory to "a miracle of hard work." Jubilant Scranton surmised, "the old adage that Republicans cannot win in the cities is now out the window."

The miracle began when Scranton and Senator Hugh Scott convinced Specter, an enrolled Democrat, he should carry the Republican banner as a reform candidate against the machine, represented by Democrat Crumlish. The old Democratic reform effort "is just about dead in Philadelphia" according to Dem. Senator Joseph Clark. Republicans are filling the void.

REBUKE FOR JOHNSON

The machine tried to campaign on the records of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Vice President Hubert Humphrey, not a bit embarrassed in his new role of defending entrenched old-time Democrat politicians, furthered the machine's goal by personally appearing for Crumlish. Governor Scranton and Senator Scott also staked their reputations on the Philadelphia race by encouraging him to run, lending effective staff members to aid the Spector campaign and speaking on his behalf, as did N. Y. Senator Jacob Javits.

In Chester, Pennsylvania, scene of racial turbulence last year, two liberal City Councilmen were elected by 2-1 margins. One of them was a Negro and both were Republicans.

VIRGINIA

AN OLD COALITION Results in Virginia were disappointing as Republicans failed to win the governorship and to make gains in the legislature despite a strong campaign. Linwood Holton was an able moderate GOP candidate, but could not win support of either labor leaders or civil rights groups, despite his opponent's segregationist background. Virginia liberals joined the conservative Byrd machine in an impregnable Democratic front which dominated the middle of the road. To make things more difficult John Birch Society member William Story ran a third party campaign against the Republican nominee which diluted Holton's strength.

Nevertheless the Republican candidates won 37% of the vote, to 48% for Democratic Godwin and 14% for Story. (The Nazi party headed by George Lincoln Rockwell polled an appalling 7000 votes.) Holton did well in some Democratic strongholds but, hampered by the conservative vendetta, could not buck a tradition which has now elected 21 consecutive Democratic Governors.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

REBUILDING NEGRO SUPPORT Republican success in Louisville. In Kentucky, Republicans made important gains at the local levels, primarily by consolidating their appeal to Negro voters. Republicans won races for County Judge and Mayor in Louisville — and pulled key county offices and aldermen with them. The GOP had ended 28 years of Democratic rule in Louisville in 1961; in 1962 Senator Thruston Morton had gained 45% of the Negro vote there. Nixon had carried 44% in 1960 and Eisenhower 55% in 1962. This Republican total fell to an astounding 4% of Negroes in 1964 — but the figure bounced back to 52% in Tuesday's election. Republicans also scored upset victories in Lexington, while in Jefferson County they added four state legislative seats.

CONNECTICUT

MORE MAYORS

The moderate state Republican Party in Connecticut scored victories which will be important in its continuing battle with disaffected right wing groups. Republicans scored upset victories in key mayoralty races, notably in Waterbury and New Britain. In these cities Democratic machines folded before serious Republican challenges to their long-standing control.

The View From Here

CAPTURING THE FUTURE

For a year, stunned by the repudiation of Goldwater conservatism, the Republican Party has drifted directionless. The Republican National Chairman has meticulously avoided questions of ideological direction, concentrating his energies instead on holding together the Republican minority. The Republican Congressional leadership, conservative by instinct and overwhelmed by the magnitude of the 1964 Democratic victory, has been unable to generate an excitement or purpose that would attract new Republicans. Then, at a moment when the Republican Party was in grave danger of losing its relevance to an ever more urban America, moderate and liberal Republicans have provided a stunning breakthrough in the citadel of decaying Democratic strength. At a time when the American electorate is undergoing a "silent revolution" at its base, when a new generation, demanding a new purpose and style in its politics, is rapidly coming to power, moderate and liberal Republicans have provided a leadership that cuts across the partisan divisions of distant decades — a leadership with a generational appeal that may well capture the future of American politics.

THE OLD FADES OUT

The election of 1965 has important implications for the Democratic party. In traditional centers of Democratic strength, the majority party was put in the position of defending the tired programs of the past. The national Democratic leadership was identified with the discredited and uninspired record of urban machine politics. President Johnson rationalized his endorsement with the comment that he always prefers a Democrat to a Republican. Vice President Humphrey moved perfunctorily from campaign to campaign, the dispenser of official Democratic blessings. Senator Robert Kennedy was personally involved in the unsuccessful Beame campaign. It is clear that party loyalty, national prestige, and familiar personalities are forces which can be overcome by the promise of bold and creative government. In 1965 it was the Republicans who embodied this promise in New York and Philadelphia. And as a result, as columnist and scholar Max Lerner has written, the 1965 election "marks the possible breakup of the coalition — Catholics, Jews, Negroes, trade unions — which has given the Democrats the edge in almost every big city since the New Deal." Republicans must continue to capitalize on this opportunity and this challenge.

THE ADVENT OF THE NEW

The personal triumph of John Lindsay has overshadowed remarkable Republican gains elsewhere. In some ways the Republican strategy in Philadelphia was even more daring in conception and brilliant in execution than New York. But the overriding conclusion

cannot be avoided. A new breed of Republicans has won in the cities. They have shattered the conventional wisdom of obsolescent partisanship. They have shown Republicans the expanding opportunity and possibility in the population heartland of America. Inevitable as these events and directions may seem to some they have just begun to be perceived by Republicans nationally.

But as men like John Lindsay and Arlen Specter lead the recovery of their cities, their example can do much to spur the recovery of the national Republican Party. In time, other dynamic young leaders will join their ranks — representatives of what the Republican Party of tomorrow must be. Responding to such leadership, Republicans everywhere can join in making the Grand Old Party the exciting party of the future.

ON THE FEAR RIGHT

Speaking in California recently Barry Goldwater admitted that it was probably a mistake not to have included a plank on extremism in the 1964 Republican Platform. Thus another voice was added to the chorus of Republican leaders finally waking to the fact that the John Birch Society is an element to be reckoned with in the GOP. Goldwater merely said he regretted that so much talent and energy was being diverted from regular party activities. This was not a strong condemnation of the group, but it marked a significant reversal of the Senator's earlier stand.

More direct statements than Goldwater's were issued in October by Thruston Morton, Everett Dirksen, and Gerald Ford, and these awakenings were themselves antedated by pleas from Governors Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, Mark Hatfield, Dan Evans, Congressman Stanley Tupper and a host of other moderates who have seen the Birch threat for a long time. Goldwater's recent statement might have saved many votes and some GOP candidates in 1964 but at that time the Arizona was avoiding the issue with his insistence that all the Birchers he knew were "just folks".

There is evidence to document recent Birch attempts to take over lower level Republican Party machinery in Southern California, New Jersey, Michigan, Maryland, and Texas. The Los Angeles Times reports significant Birch influence in the GOP in at least 6 of 11 southern states. The Society has been so bold as to offer a primary candidate against conservative Senator Karl Mundt in South Dakota and is known to have similar designs on the candidacy of Clifford Case in New Jersey. While no one expects the group to win, a short safari through the mud and muck of a Birch Society campaign can do great harm to a Republican candidate and his Party. *Moreover, what is worse than the Birch bite is the Birch embrace.* The image of the GOP has suffered enormously as the Society has associated itself with the Party many capable men who have no stomach for the ating its terminology. Birch Society infiltration of Republican councils has driven from active roles in the Party many capable men who have no stomach for the constant abuse in which the Birch Society specializes. As the Birchers have moved closer to the heart of the GOP the American voter has moved farther away. This kind of hard political reality seems now to have impressed Party leaders and brought forth the denunciations of the last month.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the Republican Party is not the sole objective of such extremist groups. To the idea of taking over the Republi-

can Party, Robert Welch, the Society's founder and unquestioned leader, responded: "We never commit petty larceny." Welch's humor reflects a bit of truth. The major premise of the Birch Society is that Communists infest every nook of American life. To combat this supposed danger the Birch Society advocates the same latitude of infiltration. It is from this posture that Robert Welch implores his forces to infiltrate local PTA's, put stickers on imported Polish hams, and become active in political groups. The Republican Party has been the recipient of this questionable beneficence because it has in the past been least vigilant about just what weeds sprout in its garden. Society spokesmen brag that over 100 delegates to the 1964 Republican National Convention were Birchers. But the GOP is nevertheless only one part of a broad Birch Society effort to disseminate its notions from every possible platform.

In these circumstances, the Republican Party's need is not merely to insulate *itself* from this danger. As a great national political organization it must do more. *It must move to inform the nation of a broad challenge of which its own problems are but a part. The Party must not only uncover and repudiate the Birchers within its ranks, but it must also take affirmative action through its informational apparatus to inform the public of the nature of the wider threat. It must supplement defense with offense.* No less than this will reverse the growth of a group whose strength is the fact that so few understand its ideology, its purpose and its method of operation. To see the Birch Society as a group of limited size whose ideas are shaped by an inability to grasp the complexities of the day is but to put the Society in perspective. After that it must be exposed to daylight, linked with its spiritual ancestors, and shown to be but another movement of fearful people with a fearsome exterior. Only this clarity of exposure can sever the cord which ties the Birch Society to contemporary American politics; in the consequent isolation it will wither and, hopefully, depart.

In the Ripon Spotlight

CREEPING REAGANISM

The California Republican Party is undergoing a moderate-conservative split which looks like the

1964 San Francisco National Convention in miniature.

Well financed TV star Ronald Reagan enjoys great popularity among conservatives and the wise counseling of the Spencer-Roberts public relations firm in his candidacy for Governor. Reagan, who seeks to moderate his image, will probably not announce his candidacy until late December, but his wife has already confided to Hollywood columnist Sheilah Graham that "Ronnie will be a contender."

On the moderate side of the battle line is a host of potential standard bearers. The line up presently includes:

George Christopher, former Mayor of San Francisco and three time loser in bids for state office. Charming and able, the "Happy Greek" is very popular in San Francisco and Marin Counties, less powerful in the South. He retaliated recently when Reagan labeled him "soft on communism" by referring to Reagan's former affiliations with the extreme left. The exchange led State GOP Chairman Parkinson to issue a new "Parkinson's Law": "Thou shalt not speak ill of any fellow Republican." Christopher announced his candidacy November 1st.

Laughlin Waters, an announced candidate who is former U. S. Attorney, State Assemblyman and State GOP Chairman. Unknown in both his home area in the South and in the North, Waters may heed advice from many observers and run instead for State Attorney General.

Goodwin Knight, former Governor with much successful experience in Golden State campaigns. A handful of old faithfuls support him but it is not likely that he would return to political wars.

Robert Monagan, minority leader of the California Assembly, has strong backing from several up-state supporters. The six foot two inch, crew-cut, 45 year old insurance man has no enemies and much ability. But the knight in shining armor unfortunately comes from a small town in rural California and is not well known in the population centers. In the populous South he is virtually unknown, but plans to launch a state wide speaking tour that might culminate in an announcement of his candidacy.

Warren Dorn, a Supervisor of Los Angeles County, has made a respectable showing in recent polls but is unlikely to become a candidate. The name of John McCone, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission and the CIA, has been tossed about by some but nothing has developed.

A trial balloon for Senator George Murphy has similarly gone nowhere.

Robert Finch, Los Angeles Attorney and capable manager of the Nixon and Murphy campaigns. He has solid organizational and financial support from the old Nixon organization and effective staff assistance. He plans to apply these resources and his own talents to the contest for Lieutenant Governor and has no announced opposition to date.

MODERATE DISARRAY

Insiders estimate that three million dollars would be necessary to overcome Reagan's present

lead. The divided moderates are not optimistic about raising anything like that amount. Some who would be likely to support moderate efforts (such as former Rockefeller supporters Jack Warner and Mrs. Thurmond Clark) have gone over to Reagan. At the September state convention the moderate disarray contrasted sharply with the successful Reagan reception for over 5000 persons. Rumors that conservative Joseph Shell would also seek the nomination were not taken seriously.

Polls do not show Reagan running well against incumbent Governor Pat Brown, though he might make gains if he chooses further to exploit the anticipated white back-lash in the wake of the Watts riot. A similar strategy is expected from Brown's primary challenger, quixotic Mayor Samuel Yorty of Los Angeles. The reaction of Yorty's use of this tactic may well influence Reagan's posture on the matter in the general election.

The most depressing fact about California, however, is the moderates' inability to coalesce. At the moment, if they have not deserted the field they have certainly yielded the standard.

Political Notes

PROGRESS ON TAX SHARING

Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Congressman F. Bradford Morse (R-Mass.) have introduced legislation to carry out a program for sharing federal taxes with state and local government on an unrestricted

basis. The proposal, often referred to as the "Heller Plan," was the subject of a widely-read paper issued last summer by the Republican Governors' Association and the Ripon Society. The Javits-Morse proposal would place 1% of rapidly increasing federal tax revenues in a tax-sharing trust fund. This \$2.5 billion yearly "dividend" would be allocated to the states according to population, the needs of the states and the tax effort which the state itself makes to meet its own problems. Congressman William Brock (R-Tenn.) introduced similar legislation this past summer for education programs only.

SPEAKING OUT IN TEXAS

George Bush, unsuccessful Republican Senate candidate in Texas last year, has lashed out against right wing extremists and has asked for "a pattern of responsible Republican leadership in the future." The conservative oilman, son of former Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, said several months ago that he was wrong not to speak out sooner against groups such as the John Birch Society. "I didn't say anything because I was afraid of losing votes. I am now ashamed for not speaking out . . ." Bush also attacked "smutty, poorly written and vindictively written paperback books that can only backfire against the Republican Party." He asked that the GOP broaden its base, clean out narrow and irresponsible members, and improve its civil rights posture. "The purpose of politics is to put people in office," he said, "not to provide for philosophical debating societies."

AND IN OREGON

"I said that a year ago," smiled Oregon's Governor Mark Hatfield referring to recent attacks by GOP leaders on the John Birch Society. The Party spurned his keynote plea to reject such extremists at the 1964 convention. Now Hatfield hopes that within another year his most recent recommendation will be accepted: "If I were national chairman, I would tell segregationists running under the Republican label they are not Republicans," he says. Hatfield is expected to seek the Senate seat now held by Mrs. Maurine Neuberger Solomon, who plans not to run for re-election in 1966. Democratic Congresswoman Edith Green is a likely Hatfield opponent.

OPPORTUNITY IN MINNESOTA

Squabbling within Minnesota's Democratic - Farmer - Labor Party promises big openings for the energetic state Republican Party in 1966. Demoralized by a recent controversy over the advisability of allowing incumbent Gov. Rolvaag to seek another term, the DFL faces a renewed Republican organization which recently substantiated its moderate credentials by obtaining a court order prohibiting the use of the party label by a right wing splinter group. Former Gov. Elmer Andersen (now chairman of the Council of Republican Organizations), Congressman Clark MacGregor and retired Gen. Lauris Norstad are among the possible G.O.P. candidates for the Governorship or the Senate seat now held by Walter Mondale.

LBJ PLUS 007 EQUALS \$\$\$

Who would deny the accuracy of that formula? Certainly not the beleaguered Democratic National Committee which hopes to cut away at a reported \$2 million campaign debt by

sponsoring a nationwide series of motion picture premieres late this year. Observers anticipate this popular double-bill: Spy hero James Bond in "Thunderball" — with a fifteen minute filmed introduction by President Johnson. Wow!

OTHER NOTES

● *What about "the belief that there exists a huge, silent vote which had not voted previously but which, under the right conditions, would emerge as a new balance of power in Presidential election?" It was "proved false" says the Republican National Committee in an impressive and detailed 75 page breakdown of the results of the 1964 election issues in October. The report also demonstrates that President Johnson would have won a landslide victory even if Senator Goldwater had held the GOP vote in line.*

● Former Republican Congressman Don C. Bruce has resigned as Chairman of the American Conservative Union. Bruce asserted that the heavy demands of the job were responsible for his withdrawal, but the Baltimore Sun reported that the real reason was a disagreement among the group's leaders stemming from Bruce's attendance at a Chicago conservative meeting where a White Citizen's Council was represented.

● Big business is becoming Democratic according to a Fortune magazine study of the prestigious Business Council. *Sixty-three contributors who gave \$20,000 to the Democrats and \$165,110 to the GOP in 1960 gave \$135,450 to the Democrats and only \$87,100 to Republicans in 1964.*

● When the Republican State Legislators Association was formed, the Democrats decided that they must have one too. Now that venture has scraped against the rocks of political in-fighting, with a splinter group called the National Association of Democratic Legislators breaking away from the main body and electing its own chairman. "Embarrassing and ridiculous" was the comment of one Democratic State Senator, but the new chairman of the rump group announced pointedly that he was "pleased to be elected unanimously."

● The rash of books by former aides to the late President Kennedy have had their expected impact: 74% of the people polled in a recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post* disagreed with the proposition that President Johnson is doing a better job than JFK.

● *In a show of generosity toward the Democratic Party exceeded only by his vendetta against John Lindsay in New York, William F. Buckley is reported to have contributed \$50 to the successful campaign of Democrat Donald J. Irwin against former moderate Republican Congressman Abner Sibal in Connecticut.* Buckley has often admitted his preference for liberal Democrats over Liberal Republicans.

● Robert Taft, Jr., narrowly defeated in his U.S. Senate race last year, despite running over a million votes ahead of the Republican national ticket in Ohio, will reportedly run for Congress in the Cincinnati District next year. This could lead to another Senate race in 1968 or 1970 — and possibly a presidential bid in 1972. Or so runs the long range strategy.

● A host of autumn surveys shows that President Johnson is maintaining an unusually high level of support. The most significant statistic — one which surprises and discourages many Republicans — is that his support is highest (70%) in the 21 to 29 age group.

Around the Country

IN THE GOLDEN STATE

The Republican condition in California may be improved considerably if two new groups can be effective. The California Republican League, formed after the disaster of November 1964, now has over 50 chapters in operation. It has denounced the John Birch Society, supported and endorsed vigorous enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and attacked "the utter lack of a constructive program in any field" under the Democratic administration of Governor Brown in California.

The Ripon Society of Southern California has begun operations. Based in Los Angeles, the group is offering all Republicans receptive to new ideas the opportunity to use its research talents and legal expertise as it seeks to bring new vitality to the California GOP. Contact Edward J. McAniff, 433 South Spring St., Los Angeles, California.

AND ELSEWHERE

Over the last few months a group known as the National Council of Republican Workshops has been implementing a program to stir new activity and interest in the GOP at the local level. The president of the Council, Bennett A. Webster, Jr. of Des Moines, Iowa, has recently received an encouraging endorsement for his plan from National Chairman Ray Bliss, and with this send-off the workshop idea has come into its own as a recognized adjunct of Republican rebuilding efforts. The goal of the group is to attract as many people as possible to the Republican Party through sponsorship of interesting discussion meetings in local homes.

The Republican Governors' Association has announced the appointment of Miss Sally Saltonstall, niece of Massachusetts Senator Leverett Saltonstall, as research coordinator for their Washington office. Massachusetts Republicans remember the talent and energy that Miss Saltonstall put into the New Hampshire primary campaign of Henry Cabot Lodge and the Massachusetts Senate campaign of George Lodge in 1962. We congratulate the Governors and their new research coordinator on the appointment.

The Oregon Council for Constructive Republicanism continues to contribute to responsible GOP government by sponsoring a "Conference on Urban Development" for December 3 and 4. The meeting will be held at Lewis and Clark College and will bring together political leaders, educators, and interested citizens to prepare position papers on taxation, governmental organization, and expanding urban opportunities. The OCCR may be reached through John B. Talmadge, 7300 Southwest Brier Place, Portland, Oregon. For Progress on the left and the Free Society Association and the American Conservative Union on the right, as one of the more "important groups." "Despite all the talk," the article concludes, "these are the only groups that really count."

News From the Ripon Society

"VIGOROUS"
AND
"IMPORTANT" "So called 'splinter groups' aren't splinters at all," writes James M. Perry, of *The National Observer* in an in-depth study of Republican citizens organizations. "All of them are fighting within the

party for control of the party. Things being what they are, such a battle is both legitimate and important," he says.

Some groups are active, Perry goes on, and some are "paper tigers." What about the Ripon Society? It is "the most vigorous . . . of the moderate Republican groups." And Ripon is listed, along with Republicans

MORE LOCAL NEWS

Ripon Executive Board member and Harvard Law student Ted Curtis received attention this summer as a possible Congressional candidate in Maine's Second District. "While the immediate reaction is to poo-poo Curtis solely because of his age," wrote political columnist Donald C. Hansen in the Portland *Sunday Telegram*, "closer scrutiny reveals that he might fill the bill . . . Curtis would at least illustrate that the GOP can attract the young, the articulate and the energetic . . ." Ted doubts that he will run but hopes that he can be of assistance to a strong moderate candidate in opposing the incumbent Democrat.

Nat Emmons was recently appointed Research Director of the Ripon Society, Boston Chapter. Nat replaces John Price who has entered law practice in New York. Stuart Parsons has been appointed Program Chairman of the Ripon Society for the coming year.

In the September-October FORUM we reported that Robert Patricelli of Harvard Law School, a member of the Ripon Society, had been selected as a White House Fellow. To this good news we joyfully add that Richard deNeufville of M.I.T., also a Ripon member has received that high honor. It is pleasing to all Ripon members that two of our number should be among the fifteen outstanding young men who were selected from 3000 applicants to participate in this program.

Thomas E. Petri, Editor of Ripon's Election '64, is now law clerk for Judge James R. Doyle in the Federal Court for the Western District of Wisconsin. Tim is preparing a Ripon research paper dealing with the civil rights of the mentally ill.

On October 20th the Ripon Society hosted a meeting for prospective members. A Group of over seventy heard a Ripon panel discuss the political situations in New York, New Jersey, Virginia and on the West Coast.

Peter Wallison has been appointed publisher of the *Forum*. Any requests for subscriptions, or contributions and ideas should be addressed to him c/o 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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