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The View From Here

THE YOUNG AMERICANS: A MESSAGE FOR THE GRAND OLD PARTY

By William E. Wessels, *Forum Editorial Board*

The United States is entering a new political era. By 1968, at least half of the American people will be under 25. By the mid 70's, a third of the population will be in school and education will cost more than defense. Americans voting for the first time in the next election will have no personal knowledge of the Korean War, World War II, or the long agony of the Thirties. To them, the debate over social and economic issues which has dominated American politics ever since Franklin Roosevelt first made canes rattle in clubrooms more than thirty years ago, will seem about as stimulating as Calvin Coolidge dozing over national affairs after a New England boiled dinner. The new voters will have to choose between the last of the New Dealers, presiding skillfully — if somewhat unhappily — over this increasingly noisy revolution, and someone brave enough to say he *can do more* to improve the quality of American life. Both candidates will have to preach political morality at home and abroad to appeal to a very powerful new voting bloc, the educated young — impatient for change and ready to act to get it.

In 1960, John Kennedy's youth, flair and intelligence made enough people feel like risking a little security to discover their potential. Mr. Nixon could justly claim more "experience" but his colorless campaign and inescapable association with a political status quo cast him in the unhappy role of a middle-aged suitor trying to compete with Lochinvar. Most young people voting for the first time just wouldn't accept the promise of life as usual.

BEYOND MATERIAL WEALTH

By 1964, with the missile crisis, the Test Ban Treaty, the March on Washington, and Dallas behind them, Americans seemed primarily concerned with our moral stature at home and abroad. Senator Goldwater talked about "crime in the streets" and restoring a proper moral climate but we were still pragmatic enough to prefer working for an improved if not a great society to returning to a golden age that never was in search of the "whole man." But in his otherwise disastrous acceptance speech, he captured something of the mood of the United States. Still recovering from November 22, 1963 and richer than ever before, Americans *were* looking "beyond material wealth to the inner meaning of their lives."

A poll taken shortly before the election showed an almost total preoccupation with how others viewed us and our obvious failure to guarantee justice and equal opportunities for all Americans. When asked what they considered our most important problem, 51 per cent replied international affairs and 38 percent the racial question. Only 4 per cent said unemployment and 3 per cent the cost of living.

In October, 1964, Max Ways interpreted the President's poverty program as an "appeal to a spiritual discontent among many of the non-poor who regard continued poverty as an aesthetic blot upon an affluent society." It was no longer a confrontation of Republican haves and Democratic have nots. To the dwindling, unhappy few in the clubrooms Nelson Rockefeller was just as much a "traitor to his class" as Franklin Roosevelt at his egalitarian worst but most people had money and time enough to be concerned about the failures of our society.

OUT OF AFFLUENCE, AWARENESS

Out of this troubled affluence has come a new, politically "aware" generation. Often maligned for their activist fringe, they are skeptical, pragmatic and better-educated than their parents. Encouraged by the Civil Rights movement and the too brief Kennedy experience, they combine a deep sense of the lingering injustice in American life with a willingness to act and, if necessary, go to jail for their beliefs. After the "silent generation" of the 50's, they come as something of a shock to their troubled elders.

When the new voters leave school and move into the rapidly expanding suburbs, their views will shift to the center. They won't, however, fit neatly into Nelson Rockefeller's mainstream or Lyndon Johnson's consensus. They will still care about foreign affairs, Civil Rights, and the elimination of poverty but any candidate they vote for will have to be relatively young — preferably with some of the Kennedy flair — well educated, and full of good ideas about education and how to make our cities livable.

It is difficult to say how much President Kennedy meant to young people. The first "young" President since Theodore Roosevelt, he was certainly the first to make them feel like a part of the country. A

recent *Newsweek* poll of teenagers found that 58 per cent considered him a "great" President. Although Abraham Lincoln ran a respectable second, George Washington, and Lyndon Johnson ran very far behind. In spite of the "cult of personality" that has been created about him, they see a troubled pragmatist like themselves who took chances for what he believed in and, by creating the Peace Corps, gave them a chance to make something other than a military contribution to society.

The same *Newsweek* poll indicates that we are moving further and further away from the relative complacency of the Eisenhower era. Fifty-eight per cent of those interviewed considered "avoiding war" our most important problem and, sixteen per cent, the elimination of racial discrimination. Most striking of all was the survey of that most personal of all liberal dilemmas, the Negro next door. "Nearly half" of the parents interviewed in an earlier poll said they would object to Negroes living next door but only "just over a quarter" of their children had similar objections.

A DEVELOPING SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

A thirteen-year old Iowa farm boy thinks "it's a shame to let the poor go so low. But now that they're there, what do we do about it? It isn't always the person's fault." A New York prep-school boy tutors on Saturday because he "sort of felt" he "should." A fourteen-year old Houston girl works as a nurse's aide and is trying to learn sign language to help deaf students. Already acting out of a vaguely-defined but unmistakable social conscience, they are part of the most enlightened and responsible generation in our history.

We have a long and healthy tradition of dissent. One can always cite Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, John Peter Zenger and, of course, Henry Thoreau. Abraham Lincoln spent only one term in Congress because he opposed the Mexican War. We have had young activists before. Eighteen-year old Alexander Hamilton and some of his fellow King's College (Columbia) students forced their Tory president to leave the country. He also led the mob which pulled down King George's statue and melted it into bullets. Before the Civil War, Oberlin College students ran an underground railroad. Two of them died in southern jails.

ROOTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

If the activists of the 60's have traceable roots, they are in the Civil Rights movement. Since Martin Luther King's successful boycott of the segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, and the first "sit-in" at a Greensboro, North Carolina, lunch counter, thousands of students have joined organizations which usually have only two things in common: a refusal to accept their parents excuses for the world as it is, and an almost evangelistic sense of their mission to reform society. Since 1960, student organizations — especially of the self-styled "new left" have multiplied so rapidly that many people would no doubt prefer to dismiss them as so much alphabet soup. It is easy to be put off by such well-publicized folly as blood drives for the Viet Cong, Joan Baez's school for non-violence, and the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee's attempts to stop troop trains. Such engaging personalities as Barry McGuire and Mr. Robert Zimmerman-Dylan of Duluth do little to win the sympathies of anyone untrustworthy enough to be over thirty.

STRENGTH OF CONVICTION

But genuine accomplishment and strength of conviction cannot be ignored. Burning a draft card in the face of severe penalties requires more than a little courage. Whatever its shortcomings, Y.A.F. provided many of the hard-eyed young conservatives who cleared (some would say "bulldozed") the path for Senator Goldwater's nomination. Since it was founded in 1961 by a Yale freshman, the Northern Student Movement has supplied books and tutors for Negro schoolchildren and sent many of its members to live and work in Northern ghettos. The struggle of the Civil Rights movement now bears a measure of federal sanctity but students continue to work in voter education and registration, risking the anger of the nightriders who do not agree with Senator Dirksen that the time has come. Perhaps one of the most important voices of progress in the South could be the *Southern Courier*, an Alabama newspaper founded in the summer of 1965 by members of the Harvard Crimson and staffed by white and Negro reporters who battle Negro suspicion and white hostility for \$20 a week.

"EDUCATION STATE" WILL BE THE ISSUE

It is already clear that education will replace the welfare state as our most important domestic political issue. Mountains of "baby-boom" statistics show that, within the next five to eight years, the number of college students will increase fifty per cent. The school age population will jump from 68 million in 1965, to 77 million in 1970 and 103 million in 1985. Just about half of our high-school seniors go to college now and that figure may soon reach 70 per cent. Teachers are already our biggest single occupational group but the number of teachers per student will continue to decline. Programmed instruction and team-teaching will have to fill the gap but a machine, however efficient, cannot teach values or generate intellectual excitement. "Meaning" is still our greatest educational problem and a poor boy, white or Negro, in a big city high school has a hard time finding it.

INADEQUATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As a freshman he will probably have to go to an annex which is usually older and shabbier than the parent school. His English teacher may assign *The Lady of the Lake* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream* but he may never have seen a lake and all that a summer night evokes for him is the smell of hot tar and uncollected garbage and the wail of a police car. If he wants to play football he may have to practice in a hard-topped school yard or a parking lot. If he goes out for winter track, he will probably have to practice in school corridors and compete in drafty armories. He is used to fifteen-year old textbooks, teachers who have long since quit trying and give half their classes "study periods," and staggered twenty-minute lunches in which he may eat off emergency counters on the basement corridor wall because he can't find a seat in the cafeteria.

LACK OF MEANING AND LACK OF LEARNING

He sees a thousand 19th-century variations of *mens sana in corpore sana* on the walls and he can't help thinking that the headmaster who quotes this is a phony. If he wakes up in his senior year and decides he wants to go to college, he may have to spend a year in a special prep school to learn all they didn't teach him

in the previous four. Used to short cuts, he read *Classic Comics* for his book reports in high school and now he reads the *Cliff's Notes on Catcher in the Rye*. If he was a faithful memorizer and made it into college, his freshman composition teacher quickly informs him of his barbarous English and at mid-year the Dean may tell him he never learned to study.

A NEW GENERATION'S DEMANDS The costs of providing even this kind of education will continue to rise. But clearly we cannot continue to provide this squalid preparation for a modern and increasingly technical society. The quality of life and the quality of education are linked too closely to permit one to founder in pursuit of the other. The parents of the near future will not condone the continuation of the brand of education they were exposed to, and the GOP must be prepared to meet this dissatisfaction with clear and practical remedies. Court-inspired reapportionment will bring new and powerful representation to the cities and their suburbs, handing to the groups most likely to be most concerned about education the means with which to accomplish their objectives.

AND THEIR COSTS State and local expenditures for education have risen from 3 billion in 1945 to 22 billion in 1964. They will double within the next seven years. Obviously federal money will be needed and yet neither party has really offered any workable long-range plan that will get enough money to the cities and states and minimize federal control. Walter Heller proposed that excess federal revenue be returned to the states to meet some of these costs. The Ripon Society and the Republican Governors endorsed this proposal last summer. Even Senator Goldwater approved of it but the President remains strangely silent on the matter.

Both parties must readjust to appeal to the best-educated, most affluent generation in our history. If the Republican Party wants to survive it cannot continue deploring the encroachment of big government while offering no solution to the growing problems of our cities. What Peter Ducker calls the new "Technical-managerial class" will live in giant urban belts stretching from Boston to Washington, Milwaukee to Detroit, and San Francisco to San Diego. They will require clean air and water, efficient public transportation and quality education for their children. The number of young volunteers in Mr. Lindsay's campaign should have convinced our custodial leadership of this by now. We cannot continue to fight reapportionment and allow rural minorities to strangle the cities and still expect to become a truly major party again. Only one out of four Americans will admit to being a Republican now. If we trot out the same tired horse in 1968 — no matter what colors he may wear for the race — Republicans may become as rare as the buffalo.

THE GOP AND THE FUTURE A seventeen-year old California girl talks about legalizing marijuana and homosexuality, works for a high school branch of the University of California's Vietnam Day Committee, and marches on induction centers whenever the opportunity presents itself. She did, however, spend a summer working with Negro children. If she can manage to leaven her hysteria with accomplishment, we can still be a "great society."

Once we were the children of God, set down in the wilderness, surrounded by what we thought were "devils", but determined to build a new society. We

levelled the wilderness and conquered the devils and now we bear half the world's burdens on our shoulders. If our party is to survive, it must be a source of strength, not opposition, to the young shoulders which will bear the burdens of the future.

SINCERELY, BARRY GOLDWATER

The January FORUM noted that the Ripon Society had sent a list of its membership to Barry Goldwater in answer to his suggestion that our membership list was unavailable to the public, *a la mode* John Birch. In return, we requested a membership list of the Free Society Association, of which Mr. Goldwater is Chairman.

Early in February we received a reply from Barry Goldwater, informing us that he had asked Denison Kitchel to send us a complete membership list for the Free Society Association. Subsequently, Mr. Kitchel wrote us with the information that the Free Society Association's membership was too large — 35,000 he said — to send lists out on request, but that we could certainly have a list if we were willing to pay \$300, to cover the costs of assembling it.

AN INVALUABLE LIST An expenditure of this magnitude is presently beyond our resources, but it has been suggested that we ask our membership — and FORUM subscribers — for their assessment of this offer. We are prepared, moreover, to set up a special account for contributions from members to assist us in purchasing this list. It would be invaluable to the Ripon Society in putting our ideas before a group who may well see the GOP's chance for future success only in terms of an attachment to ideas which — if they ever did have validity for the American system — certainly are no longer applicable to the experiences of a modern, urban electorate. We ask all readers, therefore, to let us know their views on this matter. Write to The Ripon Society, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

MR. GOLDWATER TAKES ISSUE In the January FORUM, also, there was an editorial entitled "Misuse of Funds", which attacked the decision of the Citizens for Goldwater-Miller Committee to use the surplus from the 1964 campaign to aid the re-election of incumbent conservative members of Congress. In his letter, Barry Goldwater alluded to this article: "This money was raised for Bill Miller and me and I can assure you that the people who sent this money would not have sent it had we enjoyed the liberal minority, so I believe that the Committee spoke out properly in saying they would give money to the candidates of their selection, which I strongly assume will be those who represent the great majority of the party, those who call themselves conservatives."

RIPON REPLIES In a reply letter, Ripon President Dr. John Saloma noted that: "Millions of Republicans, 'liberal', 'moderate', and 'conservative' worked for you, contributed to your campaign, and voted for you *because* you were the nominee of our party. You appear to believe that you owe most of your support to the 'conservatives' and not to the rank and file of the Republican Party. . . . I disagree with your interpretation, as do all the post-election polls and analyses of your 1964 support. I believe you owe the Republican party a good deal more than you have been willing to credit it."

Congressman Tupper Speaks Out

An Exclusive Ripon Interview

Editor's note: *When Congressman Stanley Tupper of Maine announced in March that he had accepted a post as American Ambassador to the Canadian World Exhibition, we were interested in his reasons for leaving the seat in Congress for which he had fought so hard. Much of what we suspected is borne out by the Congressman's responses — the difficulty a progressive Republican encounters in making headway against the conservative House leadership, the frustration a moderate feels when the views of rank and file Republicans are consistently unrepresented by entrenched Congressional conservatives*

We wish Congressman Tupper well, and hope to see him return in the future once again to assist his party.

Q. Congressman, would you tell us why you are leaving Congress at the end of the current session to become American Ambassador to the Canadian World Exhibition?

A. This new post offers me an opportunity to make a more direct and more significant contribution to my country than by remaining in the U.S. House of Representatives.

U.S.-Canadian relations have been one of my major interests for a number of years. Coming from a State where a very large percentage of the population is of Canadian ancestry, and where our important recreation business depends heavily upon Canadian visitors, my interest is a natural one.

For the sixth consecutive year I am a member of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group, and am ranking Republican on the U.S. Delegation from the House side.

Last year I initiated a study on U.S.-Canadian relations. Under the able staff direction of Dr. Douglas Bailey, a "white paper" was issued endorsed by 10 members of the House, and containing over two dozen specific recommendations. This report received much favorable attention both in Canada and the United States. Dr. Bailey and I are now engaged in writing a book on the subject of U.S.-Canadian relations.

I think there is a tremendous amount that can be done to encourage a greater sense of awareness concerning Canada in the United States and to correct certain misconceptions that Canadians have about us.

I am looking forward to this new challenge with a great deal of enthusiasm.

Q. But isn't the work of a U.S. Representative important as well?

A. Indeed it is; if I had thought otherwise, I would not have served three terms, engaging in five hard-fought primary and general election campaigns in a five-year period.

However, a person should constantly evaluate where he can be most productive at a given time in his career.

My political philosophy is considerably more progressive (or "liberal" within the popular usage of this term) than the GOP House leadership and a majority of Republican House Members. It is *not*, I hasten to add, in variance with the preponderance of Republican rank and file throughout the country. I would think my political philosophy substantially the same as a majority of Republican Governors and a number of Republican U.S. Senators. The U.S. House of Repre-

sentatives remains a bulwark for mid-western oriented conservative Republicanism. Despite the disastrous results of the 1964 experiment with rigid conservatism, there have been few signs of change as far as the House is concerned. The small band of Republicans in the House trying to restore the daring and imagination of Theodore Roosevelt to our Party, sadly, is not growing numerically.

Q. But you are a friend of House Majority Leader Gerald Ford?

A. Yes indeed, and I respect the fact that he sincerely believes in his own brand of Republicanism.

Q. Isn't there a need for Republicans like you to continue to make a stand for progressive measures on the Republican side in the House?

A. I can only speak for myself and I must reluctantly say that the struggle must *first* be waged on other battle grounds. There must be moderating influences on the GOP organization and leadership nation-wide.

The fact that the voices of the overwhelming rank and file of the GOP are not heard by the House Republican leadership any more than they were heard at the last Republican National Convention at San Francisco is the fault of moderate and liberal Republicans. They simply have not in enough instances taken the time to attend local Party caucuses so that they could have participated in the selection of local Party leaders. While moderates and liberals have been silent and inactive, ultra-conservatives representing a small minority have too often filled the vacuum.

This is the *first* thing that must change if more Republican progressives are to be elected to the House, and party strength of a permanent nature is to be built. Massachusetts Attorney General Edward W. Brooke, in his recent book "The Challenge of Change" put it rather succinctly, ". . . in the Republican Party there is a wide gap between the thinking of the leadership and the thinking of the membership."

If policies more to the liking of the Republican membership are to be forthcoming, change must take place at the lowest levels of party organization; when building a ship, the first step is to build a sturdy keel.

Q. Then would you say that the House can be a frustrating experience for a liberal Republican?

A. Well, at 45 I am too young to allow it to become so. I will say that this new opportunity for service to my country has greater appeal for me.

Q. What are your plans beyond 1968, Congressman Tupper?

A. I think the great problem with people in political life is that they do not take each day as it comes; they are always planning two, four and six years ahead. Perhaps this is desirable in some cases, but I have not looked beyond the assignment in Canada.

Q. It has been speculated that you will eventually seek the Governorship of Maine.

A. I wouldn't foreclose the possibility of seeking State-wide elective office in my State at some future time, but I am certainly not giving it any thought at this time. Perhaps I shall continue in some form of public service, or I may return to the private practice of law. Then again, who knows, perhaps I shall set out a few lobster traps off the Maine Coast, write and reflect.

THE RAT FINKS

The public hearings into the activities of the New Jersey "Rat Finks" are over. Those hearings that finally did take place occurred on Friday and Saturday, March 18 and 19, in Newark, New Jersey. There was another hearing scheduled for Saturday, March 26, but that one was cancelled.

The original controversy stems from alleged distribution and use of a "New Jersey Rat Fink Song Book" which consisted of seven mimeographed pages of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and anti-Catholic lyrics to be sung to the tunes of "Jingle Bells" and "Where Have All the Flowers Gone". A New Jersey Republican Committee was set up to "investigate" the allegations and to recommend "remedial" action to the state Young Republicans.

DILATORY TACTICS

The first two sessions were dominated by the procedural tactics of the Rat Fink lawyers — evidentiary challenges, long sequences of stalling questions, etc. When the issue of who had participated in the singing was finally put, each Rat Fink witness "absolutely and categorically" denied his own participation; however, many of the Rat Finks were able to point to others who had "positively" taken part in the singing of the offensive songs. As a whole the testimony is a compendium of procedural trivia and a spider-web of conflicting accusation, denial, and counter-accusation. The hearings unfortunately will not provide an intelligible record for later examination.

THE FOG ROLLS IN

One further session was scheduled for Saturday, March 26. But then Tom Van Sickle, Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, made the scene with his team of investigators from National Young Republican headquarters in Washington, D.C. What happened thereafter is clear to no one. For some reason, the New Jersey Young Republicans called off the Saturday session. Whether their motive was national intervention in a state YR controversy, or the pointlessness of continuing the procedural hassles of the prior week cannot even now be determined.

In any event, the inquiry was abandoned to reconvene at the call of the chairman, and one can only speculate whether further hearings will take place.

In the episode's latest installment the New Jersey Republican State Committee has ordered the Young Republicans to expel the 10 Rat Finks who were shown even by these scanty hearings to have been involved in the singing and song-writing. While expulsion from a political organization that wishes to be as inclusive as possible is a drastic move, not lightly to be condoned, there are circumstances such as the Rat Fink scandal in which every party must take a stand.

To the New Jersey Republicans who have watched, paralyzed, over recent years as the GOP has declined sharply as a factor in state politics, the Rat-Fink incident must be confirmatory of the sickness in the Party. Perhaps just this sort of rude shock will bring the picture back into focus and afford the New Jersey GOP the opportunity to rid itself over time of those who have no place within the Republican Party.

RICHARD NIXON, ESQUIRE

Richard Nixon was clearly on top of the world as he commented on the *Esquire* magazine survey of Republican leaders (see "The Best Republican for '68" by Steven V. Roberts, *Esquire*, March, 1966.) "I think it proves the validity of my approach. And others of course can acquire the same credibility in the party by taking that approach." The poll showed 42% of 162 Republican leaders who replied predicting that the former Vice-President would head the national ticket. Why? Summarized *Esquire*: "Unity above all, unity with Nixon was their answer to crisis in all parts of the country, in all offices, on all points of the spectrum." What else did the poll reveal? Two broad groups of Republican leaders — "the majority which said unity is the primary value, and the minority which said the party must be more progressive if it is to adapt to change and regain any hope of winning on a national level."

We feel that the latter of these approaches has the greater credibility to the young voters of America. And the Republican Party must take its point of reference from the future. Perhaps the most significant part of the *Esquire* survey was its concluding paragraph: "But the Republican nomination in 1968 will be most important for what it will reveal about the pace of modernization within the party in the months to come. This is the early line. On the final results might rest the question of the party's continued existence or its ultimate demise."

Ripon Spotlight

RIPON, WISCONSIN

Since 1949 the community of Ripon, Wisconsin — birthplace of the Republican Party — has dreamed of becoming a GOP shrine. The story of that dream was recently told in the *Madison Capital Times*, which attributed its collapse to the disapproval of President Eisenhower when it became clear that the promoters envisioned a national headquarters for the conservative movement, publishing a magazine called the *Conservative Review*. "It was an idea not unlike Goldwater's today," former project director Norris Nelson told the *Capital Times*. Over \$500,000 was pledged, but the project lost steam, changed its name to the Foundation for American Principles and Traditions, and finally collapsed. Nelson, a former publicity chief for the GOP National Committee now living in Phoenix, Arizona, departed Ripon in 1956 — leaving a bitter and disillusioned community behind him.

Of interest to our readers should be the conclusion of the *Capital Times* story: "Ironically, and especially to Norris Nelson's disgust, a private Republican research group has formed an organization known as the Ripon Society — after the birthplace of the Republican Party. The Society, known as a liberal Republican group, is trying to become a power within the Republican National Committee . . . Maybe the Republican Party hasn't deserted Ripon after all."

GEORGE ROMNEY

Despite somewhat vague declarations in support of "morality" and "family ties", George Romney is

slowly acquiring support among Republican leaders who are casting anxiously about even now for a "winner" who will carry the GOP standard in 1968. It is far too early, of course, to forecast or measure strength, but renewed focus on the Romney candidacy was brought about last month by a comment attributed to Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin, generally considered a power among conservative Congressional Republicans. After joining with Romney in a call for a GOP platform-writing meeting well in advance of the nominating convention — a move designed to alleviate spill-overs of candidate rivalries into platform committee deliberations — Laird predicted that if the Michigan Governor were to win impressively in his race for reelection in Michigan this year, and to carry Republican Senatorial candidate William Griffin with him into office, Romney would be the Republican Presidential nominee in 1968.

ONCE OVER LIGHTLY

This surprising expression brings to mind the fact that many GOP leaders have already made, or will soon make, appearances in Michigan within a four-month period. Those who appear interested in the "new boy" include former President Eisenhower, Ray Bliss, Everett Dirksen, Lucius Clay, William Scranton, Mark Hatfield, Thruston Morton, George Murphy, and Robert Taft. So impressive a guest list, however, has not prevented Romney from travelling out of state, where he has also picked up public expressions of approval. In February alone Romney was well received in New Hampshire, Denver, Boston, and Topeka, Kansas, a diversity with some significance for students of recent Republican politics.

A BURDEN OF PROOF

Still, there are few indications that Romney is more than of passing interest to those who have ventured to his doorstep. The 1966 elections are crucial to Romney's candidacy because he has yet to prove that his personal popularity can rub off on the GOP generally. The *Esquire* poll, published in February and discussed separately in this issue of the *FORUM*, reveals that Republican leaders are reluctant to change mounts at mid-river. That Republicans want to be shown, however, is hardly discouraging. It was only in 1964 that the Goldwater candidacy had mesmerized too many Republicans into an indifference to the realities of politics. George Romney's candidacy will stand or fall on his ability to demonstrate his power at the polls; for a political party it can hardly be otherwise.

Political Scene

Last month forty-five different House Republicans joined in groups of varying size to issue two in-depth statements, one on the draft, the other on foreign aid; eighteen introduced a Civil Rights Law Enforcement Act of major significance. The spearhead for this initiative was once again the Wednesday Group of moderate Republicans, joined in the draft study by Congressmen John Anderson (Ill.), Tom Curtis (Mo.), Albert Quie (Minn.) and Don Rumsfeld (Ill.).

It is good to see initiative among Congressional Republicans, in spite of glaring non-leadership at the top. At long last, it appears, Republicans who want the GOP to have the opportunity someday to solve the nation's problems have set about themselves to convince the voters that Republicans have something worthwhile to say.

FOREIGN

AID

The statement on foreign aid is the product of a six-month study by minority members of the Foreign Affairs and Appropriations Committees. Their analysis is comprehensive and provocative. Pointing out that "if we make no effort to guide the revolution of rising expectations in a peaceful course toward political stability and economic prosperity, we will soon have to choose between 'wars of national liberation' everywhere or an illusory isolation in a world where the cause of freedom seems doomed to failure," the Congressmen assert that "[a]n economic infrastructure cannot provide meaningful human progress unless it springs from a vibrant human infrastructure."

POPULAR PARTICIPATION AND EFFICIENCY

Specifically, the Republicans recommend defined criteria to assure that aid recipients are encouraging broad popular participation in government and development, and are taking steps to minimize inefficiency. Emphasizing the short as well as the long term role education must play, the statement calls for: the establishment of a Latin American Civil Service Academy funded in part by the U.S.; a Latin American Institute for Democratic Development under the joint sponsorship of the Republican and Democratic Parties; technical and management training by U.S. business abroad; expanded links between U.S. labor unions and workers in the developing countries; and increased efforts by U.S. farm and agricultural workers' organizations to export agricultural modernization.

PRIVATE SECTOR ROLE

Urging a greater role for the private sector of the U.S. economy, the Congressmen recommend: the loan by business (at its own expense) of junior executive talent to AID on a rotating 1-year basis; Congressional consideration of the Watson Committee recommendations to increase U.S. investment in the developing countries; and greater use of U.S. private investment to fund and manage specific projects, thereby freeing AID to concentrate on the overall political administration of development.

Perhaps the most innovative proposal is that the U.S. states establish aid programs to individual countries in Latin America by enlisting the state's business, academic and professional communities' support of a state coordinated program.

A NEW APPROACH

The thrust of the analysis is that U.S. foreign aid must be used aggressively rather than as an exercise in goodwill. The concrete recommendations coalesce in a plea for recognition of an obvious fact Democratic administrations insist on ignoring; that there are some things the federal government cannot do better. It is shortsighted to think that AID officials are always more competent than practicing businessmen and lawyers to forge the tools of economic development. Conversely, the statement recognizes that political supervision and overall administration by AID is essential.

THE DRAFT

The statement calling for an immediate Congressional investigation of the draft and the methods used to persuade our allies to supply manpower to Vietnam and Southeast Asia received extensive coverage by national news media. It charges inequities in the ad hoc prescription of limits on age, mental and physical capacity, and inequities in the operation of ill-defined guidelines for student deferment. It charged

bureaucratic inefficiency in the processing of papers, and Defense Department inefficiency in the employment of drafted service personnel on jobs (such as golf course maintenance and officer club bartending) which should be held by civilians.

STUDY TABLED

Finally, the Congressmen point out that a year ago the President directed the Secretary of Defense to undertake a study of the Selective Service System and to provide precise recommendations on how the service manpower needs of the nation could best be met. The completed study, which General Hershey has never seen, sits unpublicized on Mr. McNamara's desk.

AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The introduction by Republican Congressmen of the Civil Rights Law Enforcement Act of 1966 is a notable event in the Party's history. The legislators recognize that courts are handicapped by inadequate, imprecise and antiquated criminal statutes. With studied deference to the federal system they also recognize that the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment is broad enough to accommodate legislation aimed at:

PERMISSABLE FEDERAL AIMS

providing an objective and equitable standard for jury selection; protecting civil rights workers from privately organized violence; and making governmental employers civilly liable in damages for acts of violence committed by public officials. Recent Supreme Court opinions in the *Guest* and *Price* cases would seem to support this judgment. The progress of the bill should be watched with care; we intend to do so.

BUSTING THE BRAINPOWER TRUST

Republicans have frequently attacked the growing centralization of power under the Johnson Administration, although usually in general terms. One specific approach to this problem has been proposed in legislation recently introduced by Congressman Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.) and William B. Widnall (R-N.J.). It deserves thoughtful consideration.

The Curtis Widnall bill would amend the Employment Act of 1946 (which set up the Executive Branch's Council of Economic Advisors) to provide for a "Minority Economic Council" funded by Congress but directly responsible to whichever party does not control the White House.

NEED FOR "INSTITUTION- ALIZED CHALLENGER"

Congressman Curtis first spelled out the rationale for the Minority Economic Council at an Economic Symposium in Washington in late February commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Employment Act. He stressed a point that "debate on economic issues is today not extensive enough or thorough enough." Administration economic policy lacks an "institutionalized challenger." Curtis noted the concentration of economic brainpower within the Executive. "Though the Council is itself small, it can draw on the almost limitless statistical and program resources of the other fourteen Executive Departments and countless other agencies. The Council of Economic Advisors, rooted in academic institutions, has kept open its lines in communication with academic and other economic thinkers. It and the Executive Departments which also retain consultants are lodestones for professional economists throughout the country. Thus, while the Executive has at its command vast internal resources, and a strong attrac-

tion for private advisors, the minority party in Congress by comparison has no such resources, nor innate attraction.

"This is a problem of the preponderance of Executive Branch knowledge, combined with power, over the minority, and essentially, this problem is an institutional one. No mechanism in our society can now focus dissent on economic issues."

REDUCED INCENTIVE FOR CRITICISM

The system, Curtis observed, "reduces the incentive to criticize by creating allegiances between private consultants and the government," a situation which favors the party in power.

The Curtis-Widnall solution would enable minority party representatives in Congress better to analyze and present minority alternatives to Administrative economic policy decisions. The three-man Minority Economic Council would have a full time professional staff which would establish a research organization extending to centers of learning and economic thought throughout the country. It would provide travel money for persons contributing their time and knowledge and a center in Washington in which to meet. It would be a means whereby business, labor, agriculture, and academic economists, and any other practicing economists, can influence public policy.

In view of the increased complexity and sophistication of economic analysis and policy a concept of a Minority Economic Council appears to be both a logical extension of the Employment Act and an intriguing suggestion for improved decision making in economic affairs.

Political Notes

● The Young Republicans of Washington State University until recently were more concerned with pushing *None Dare Call It Treason* than with the Republican Party and its future.

Things have changed dramatically — at their February meeting subscribing members of the Ripon Society were elected to the group's two top positions. New President Sam Reed, a graduate student in political science, was active in the 1964 gubernatorial campaign as Eastern Washington director of College Students as Eastern Washington director of College Students as Dan Evans. Vice President Bill Gunderson is a former Peace Corps volunteer. Congratulations to WSU's new YR leadership.

● Republicans in Milwaukee have recently formed the Greater Milwaukee Republican League. The purpose of the group is to elect GOP candidates by — and this is the "radical" part — adopting programs aimed at *getting votes*. Where Republicans have consistently conceded seats in the Assembly to the Democrats, the League plans a real challenge. They begin this year with tries for three seats from racially mixed wards.

● In August, 1964, American voters viewed the Democratic Party as the party most likely to keep the peace by a margin of 3-to-1. A Gallup Poll released in February, however, reveals a dramatic decline. The new returns: Democrats — 28%; Republicans — 25%; No difference between the Parties — 31%.

● Former Congressman and National Committeeman Perkins Bass is reported to be preparing to challenge conservative former Air Force General Harrison

Thyng in the race for the Republican Senatorial nomination in New Hampshire.

● To insure that none of the credit is rustled by the city folks, the Johnson Administration has required contractors working on public buildings being constructed with as little as 10% federal funds to erect a sign bearing the President's name. Printed instructions, accompanied by actual draftsmen's diagrams, have been sent out, and reports are that failure to comply brings a threat of withdrawal of federal aid.

● Speaking before a forum organized by Republican Advance at Yale, political public relations consultant Frederick H. Sontag asked: "Today, Vietnam, inflation and civil rights are the major worries of the American people. Where are the minority [party] task forces, ideas, constructive suggestions, and national and state party follow-through on them?"

● In his try for re-election, Republican Senator Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska, a Goldwater stalwart in 1964, is facing an extremely serious challenge from the popular Democratic Governor, Frank Morrison.

● Three identified members of the John Birch Society were elected to the posts of Executive Vice President, Treasurer, and National Committeeman at the recent California Young Republican Convention. The new President of the group, not a Bircher, nevertheless favors U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations and abolition of the income tax. So bad has the situation in the California Young Republicans become that National Young Republican Chairman Tom Van Sickle has threatened to withdraw the organization's charter.

NEWS FROM THE BOSTON CHAPTER

● Ted Curtis, Ripon Society Executive Board Member, has been appointed Campaign Co-ordinator for Governor Reed of Maine.

● Ripon Society President, Dr. John S. Saloma III, has accepted a post as Director of Research in the senatorial campaign of Edward W. Brooke in Massachusetts.

● Roger Craig and Tully Friedman, two former members of the Cambridge Ripon chapter while at Harvard Law School, will be working on the staff of Charles Percy's senatorial campaign organization in Illinois. Roger Craig will join the campaign this summer and will divide his time between the Percy campaign in Illinois and the Taft campaign in Ohio. Tully Friedman

is a former member of the Boston Ripon Chapter and a member of the Executive Board of the Ripon Society of Southern California.

● Yale also figures in another bit of Ripon Society expansion news. Republican Advance at Yale, a dynamic GOP organization at Yale University, is presently considering a merger with the Ripon Society. The Yale group, incidentally, in conjunction with Republicans For Progress, has published a detailed study of southern politics. The report is the most thoroughly researched and thoughtful paper on the south ever put forth by a Republican organization, and the press reaction to its call for a progressive Republican Party in the south has been excellent.

● The Ripon Society of Southern California, the first of the chapters in the national Ripon organization, has begun to make its ideas felt in California. Late in February the group published a 113-page study of the California Republican Party which received much attention in the press. The report analyzed the "balkanization" of the state GOP and recommended policies which would bring about the unity necessary for GOP victories. In addition, at the February meeting of the State Central Committee, a Ripon Society proposal favoring Federal tax revenue sharing with the state was passed by the Resolutions Committee, 22-8.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

From Robert L. Asher, *Washington Post*, commenting on the new moderate leadership in the District of Columbia's Young Republicans. "Putting the Republican Party in touch with the city may take time. But with elephants, who take forever to reproduce, a pregnant idea can be the start of something big."

SUPPORT RIPON

The Ripon Society depends for its financial support upon the generous contributions of Republicans across the country. Accordingly, we are most anxious to have the names and addresses of individuals who would be willing to contribute during Ripon's 1966 fundraising campaign. Please send names and suggestions to Christopher Bayley, Finance Chairman, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

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