

## The Political Scene

### SOME UNEXPECTED BATTLEFRONTS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

*When the Johnson Administration's \$2.3 million poverty program passed Congress in 1964, Republicans charged — and Democrats scarcely bothered to deny — that it would provide a vast fund of political patronage and power for those who would administer it. Whatever else the poverty program has accomplished or failed to accomplish, this one prediction has been amply fulfilled.*

#### A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

What is remarkable, however, is not that some money is wasted and more is converted into the sinews of Democratic Party political strength. This was expected. What is really and surprisingly taking place is nothing less than a political revolution, intended by some of those who supported the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and totally unanticipated by others. The war on poverty has become a war within the Democratic Party for control of the inflowing funds; the adversaries are the urban Democratic machines and the newly formed civil rights and minority-representing groups.

At the heart of this ferment is the Community Action feature of the program, which pours federal funds into cities for locally developed and administered projects. This is where the greatest political pork-barrel is, and the most dynamite. For if the big city politicians expected to reap the benefits of this program, they reckoned without its most unique feature, a policy of "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served" — the poor themselves.

Through such participation, it is intended that the program be raised above the level of welfare hand-outs, so that it gives a sense of direction and purpose to those who are to be helped. *The important — and perhaps less candid — objective of Director Sargent Shriver and some OEO planners, along with many Congressional Republicans, is to put administrative power into the hands of the underprivileged so that they can declare independence from the bosses and fight the lethargy and indifference of City Hall.*

It has been the failure of most programs to live up to this objective which has brought the most telling criticisms of the poverty war to date. To their credit, Republicans in Congress have been leading the attack.

The underprivileged have not been reluctant either to take up the challenge. Many have been schooled for action in the civil rights struggle and are caught up in a domestic "revolution of rising expectations."

*They are tired of self-serving politicians and ready to seek new solutions. The 1965 elections proved they are willing to abandon old party loyalties. And they have leaders who are eager for the political power that participation offers them.*

#### THE MACHINES HANG ON

But they have no easy time becoming involved. City Hall is holding on with every device and delay, keeping representatives of Negro and other disadvantaged groups in the minority or entirely excluding them from the boards established to control the anti-poverty projects. In many cities, the funds and jobs are still being manipulated by the political machines, while those for whom the program is intended struggle for representation and feud among themselves for leadership.

So far, these have been the real battles in the War on Poverty:

*New York.* While in office, Democratic Mayor Wagner fought to retain control of the patronage resources created by the flood of anti-poverty funds. Opposing him was Sargent Shriver, who sought to impose participation. New York City patronage, of course, is no small factor in the balance of state Democratic Party power. In the thick of the struggle has been Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who threatened to block funds until Wagner instituted reforms, and called the whole program a "giant fiesta of political patronage". Powell himself, of course, dominates the HARYOU project.

*Philadelphia.* Democratic Mayor Tate is embroiled in controversy with Negro organizations protesting his use of the Community Action Program for patronage and exclusion of their representatives from its policy-making board.

*Chicago.* The Daley Machine is engaged in what is described as "a fantastic power struggle", though it still has retained absolute control over distribution of the \$21 million received so far. The Mayor himself is Chairman of Chicago's Committee on Urban Opportunity.

*Los Angeles.* Only after the Watts riots did Democratic Mayor Sam Yorty grudgingly consent to place seven representatives of disadvantaged areas on the city's 35-member Poverty Board.

*Newark.* Mayor Addonizio has to contend with a militant United Community Corporation, which has taken over control of the local poverty program and vows to "alter the power structure of the city".

## MAYORS ENRAGED

All this is not what the mayors envisioned as "local control", and they are enraged. While Republicans — and some Democrats — call for more independent control, the bosses demand that Washington reverse its goals and channel the funds in a nice orderly fashion through City Hall and the welfare agencies it controls. The result is a great tension within the Democratic Party, with some members of the national administration apparently committed to a policy that is directly contrary to the interests, and perhaps the survival, of the urban Democratic machine.

**THE PRESIDENT IN THE MIDDLE** *President Johnson is in the middle of the crossfire. But there are indications that the machines — speaking through Mayor Daley's Conference of U.S. Mayors — has been influential. The Bureau of the Budget has seconded its recommendations — and there are reports that Poverty Director Shriver is being isolated as the Administration bows to pressure from big city political chiefs.*

*It remains to be seen whether the President really understands what is going on in the cities today, especially after the Democratic debacle in the New York mayoralty election. The poor are not going to be satisfied, this time, with less than they have been promised, and now that the genie has been let out of the bottle, it may be a long time before a "consensus" is restored in city Democratic politics.*

## VERMONT ELECTION

Vermont Republicans astounded the analysts by scoring sweeping successes in the special legislative election November 23. The election was held to choose legislators from districts recently reapportioned according to the one-man, one vote rule.

The 1965 Legislature, elected from the old malapportioned districts (the city of Burlington, for example, with 35,531 people, had the same number of representatives as the town of Stratton, population 25), showed Republican majorities of 17-13 in the Senate and 186-60 in the House. The new legislature will boast increased Republican majorities of 23-7 in the Senate and 115-35 in the new 150 member House. The Republican percentages rose from 75.6 to 76.7 in the House and from 56.6 to 76.6 in the Senate. Democratic Governor Philip Hoff termed the outcome a "horrendous defeat" for Vermont Democrats.

Republicans scored surprising victories in urban Chittenden County. In the City of Burlington, which returned 3-1 majorities for Hoff and President Johnson in 1964, Republicans captured 5 of 12 House seats. City GOP Chairman Allan Paul had said before the votes were counted that three Republican victories in the city could constitute a "major breakthrough for the GOP."

Many of the conservative "Old Guard" from the 1965 house will be absent from the new body. Where reapportionment threw Republican incumbents into one district, moderate and liberal candidates frequently were victorious, and many of the elderly conservatives chose not to run. Two of the State's most outspoken Republican conservatives were upset by Republican write-in candidates. The victims were former Rep. Clark Hutchinson, who had led the fight against reapportionment in the courts and in the legislature, and Darrell Luinetti, President of the Vermont Young Americans for Freedom.

# The View From Here

## THE REMAKING OF THE CITY

*John Lindsay's victory in New York City may mean a great deal for the national Republican Party but what it means for great American cities is far more important. Metropolitan areas cannot be governed from Washington. The federal government cannot save them; they must rescue themselves. As urban problems mushroom in the next two decades, the exciting challenges of American politics will come at the local and state level. Columnist and philosopher Walter Lippman has said of the New York election that it represents "a certain awakening to the momentousness of the problem of local government . . . The struggle to create a tolerably good society will now become primarily a regional and local struggle."*

The chief executive in over one-half of our states today governs a population larger than that of the entire country in 1776. As Mayor, John Lindsay presides over twice as many people as populated the United States when George Washington became President in 1789. There are as many people in California today as there were in the whole nation at the time of the California Gold Rush in 1848. In our complicated society, the burdens of leadership on the local and state level equal and surpass those borne by most of America's Presidents.

## URBAN REBIRTH

A mayorship or a governorship is properly viewed as an ideal training ground for the Presidency. But it would be unfortunate if such positions were seen only as way stations and stepping stones to national office. Excellence in leadership at the local and state level will eventually have more influence on the quality of American life than what happens in Washington. It has been properly said that Lindsay's victory may be the first chapter of "The Making of the President, 19??". But far more important is its place in another crucial story, "The Remaking of Urban America."

## A MISUSE OF FUNDS

The leaders of the still-functioning Citizens for Goldwater-Miller have finally decided on a method of disposing of a \$200,000 surplus left over from the 1964 campaign. According to reports it was decided at a December 12 meeting to use the money to help finance the campaigns of "conservative" Republicans seeking re-election. There was no mention of the need to win back marginal seats lost in 1964. Concerned Republicans may well ask why there is a surplus at all after a campaign in which so many local and state Republican candidates were desperately in need of funds — and an election in which the national ticket did so poorly at the polls that it dragged Republicans at all levels of government to disastrous defeat.

But however this surplus was accumulated, the refusal to donate it to the Republican National Committee proves what most Republicans have seen to varying degrees since the nomination of Senator Goldwater in 1964: the "conservative" movement is not a wing of the Republican Party but a parasite upon it. It is not con-

cerned with victory for the Party, but only with a narrow ideological vision.

**A CHALLENGE** We challenge the leaders of Citizens for Goldwater-Miller to perceive their responsibility to the Party that bore the brunt of their candidates' campaign, to acknowledge their trusteeship of moneys contributed by Republicans of all kinds to help the Party's Presidential candidate, and to use their accumulated funds for the benefit of the whole Republican Party and not just a narrow and unrepresentative segment.

## RESTATING THE OBVIOUS

A recent newsletter of the Free Society Association professed to see no clear guidelines for Republicans in John Lindsay's electoral victory in New York. Typically, FSA sought to condemn Lindsay's proposals as a step to the left, "closer to collectivist answers for all society's problems, further away from free-individual and free-market answers to these problems." We are again left wondering what is a free-individual or free-market solution to improving education and expediting traffic; to cleaning the air and clearing the slums; to improving parks and battling crime.

The conservatives fear that Lindsay's ideas will dilute the ideological purity of the Party. As Republicans for Progress noted in response to FSA, this misconceives the nature of the American two-party system: "Our unique party system requires . . . a sufficient tolerance within each major party to assure the free play of compromise from within . . ."

The New York election showed the GOP how to win the votes it desperately needs. We cannot afford to treat it as a phenomenon. Surveys are now revealing that independents have come to outnumber Republicans in the voting population. In a sense, then, we are already the third party in a two-party system. It is past time to begin looking for ways to reverse the trend. *The Democrats — though outnumbering Republicans 3 to 1 in New York — lost the election. It is disingenuous in the extreme to say that Republicans can learn nothing from this. On the contrary, only if we recognize clear guidelines when they are put before our eyes can we hope that future John Lindsays will be elected because they are Republicans, and not in spite of that fact.*

## ENCORE! ENCORE!

The recently televised Republican State of the Union message was a very good idea. But thirty minutes affords precious little time for the challenges, clarifications, and additions which the President's message might have drawn. And while Congressional leaders Everett Dirksen and Gerald Ford presented the image of a responsible and moderate *opposition*, they missed a splendid opportunity to portray Republicanism as an exciting and creative *alternative*.

House Republican leader Ford made a spirited attack on the administration and enforcement of poverty and civil rights legislation; in both areas Democratic performance has not nearly equaled public promise. Ford called for constructive programs in education and agriculture. His endorsement of the Human Investment Act (to encourage industrial retraining of workers) and unconditional federal tax-sharing with the states were welcomed by Ripon members, who have vigorously championed both proposals. A new "Hoover com-

mission" on government organization and a study of the growing international "food gap" were also suggested. All this — plus economy and decentralization pleas — in fourteen minutes. It should have been longer. These remarks were but a sample of the new ideas and incisive language with which the GOP should be responding to the pronouncements of the Johnson Administration. More constructive thought — and more exposure of this kind — must be forthcoming if the GOP is to regain the ground it has lost.

## Political Notes

### DEAR MR. GOLDWATER

In December, the Ripon Society received a letter from Senator Barry Goldwater which asked: "I am wondering if in good conscience you shouldn't include the Ripon Society as an extremist group as I understand it is impossible to obtain a list of your membership, and this appears to be one feature your organization has objected to relative to the John Birch Society?"

We have dispatched a list of our membership to Mr. Goldwater; with it we included a request for a list of the membership of the Free Society Association. Who knows, we could become pen-pals!

### SENATOR SCOTT SPEAKS OUT

In a sharp attack on "the lazy minded tendency" to put all extra-party organizations under the heading of "splinter-groups — either for general praise or for general condemnation," Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania has called for more rational distinctions between moderate "in' groups" which stress cooperation with the official party and conservative "out' groups" which compete with it.

#### A BRIDGE

Scott praised groups which exist as a *bridge* to the party — such as Republicans For Progress, the Republican Governors' Association, the Oregon Council for Constructive Republicanism, and the Ripon Society. "It seems to me," he said, "that as careful stewards of our diminished resources, Republican leaders should and must recognize that these volunteer 'in' groups, unlike the 'out' groups, are pursuing the future on behalf of their party." But

#### OR

#### A LEVER

with regard to groups like the American Conservative Union and the Free Society Association, Scott pointed out that in terms of budget, personnel, and goals such organizations "are offering their own dead-end alternatives to more active participation in the Party . . . These splinter groups are organizing people as a *lever* against today's Party; their goal is to take the Party over — and if it will not capitulate, to rob it of a significant part of its strength."

Scott delivered his speech in early December to the California Republican League Convention in Los Angeles.

### A NEW MAYOR

Springfield, Ohio, with 88,000 people, has become the largest city in the United States to have a Negro Mayor. Robert E. Henry was elected unanimously by the five city commissioners after having polled

more votes than any other candidate when three new commissioners were elected last November. Although elected on a non-partisan ticket, Mr. Henry is a Republican, a fact that should not be lost on those who claim that the GOP has no hope of support among Negroes.

## CRO ELECTS

Mr. Grant Reynolds of White Plains, New York was elected as the new Chairman of the Council of Republican Organizations at a recent meeting. Reynolds is National Director of the National Negro Republican Assembly and former Special Counsel for the Republican National Committee. Elected Co-chairman was Albert E. Abrahams, Executive Director of Republicans For Progress, and former staff assistant to Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey.

Dr. John S. Saloma III, President of the Ripon Society, will continue as Secretary of the Council. Re-electer Treasurer was Mrs. Rita Hauser, a New York attorney who has been active in local, state and national Republican activities.

Other officers include Thomas G. Weaver of the NNRA, Special Counsel; Jay C. Hammerness of the Ripon Society, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer; and Miss Shirley Kyle of NNRA, Recording Secretary.

## IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Congressman Thomas B. Curtis has been the leader among Republicans in criticizing recent economic moves by the Johnson Administration. Curtis was one of the few Congressmen to stay in Washington during the November-December recess. Together with five GOP colleagues on the Joint Economic Committee, he strongly supported William McChesney Martin's position when LBJ attacked the Federal Reserve Board for raising the rediscount rate — a measure to check mounting inflationary pressure. Together with Representative William Widnall of New Jersey he argued that the New York transit strike was the product of a union demand that was highly inflationary. If the President is to be consistent he should give as much attention to inflationary wage increases as he does to price hikes. In the steel settlement, Curtis questioned the use of "guidelines" developed by the Council of Economic Advisers "without legislative authorization and without subsequent legislative approval." While most of Congress was on vacation Tom Curtis and his Washington staff, assisted by research and public relations consultant Frederick H. Sontag, have mounted an effective Republican opposition to the swift and arbitrary power plays of the Johnson administration.

## GEORGIA ON OUR MINDS

When Julian Bond, critic of American Viet Nam policy, was denied his seat in the Georgia legislature in January, twelve legislators voted to admit him. They included three Fulton County Republicans, Kit Townsend, Mike Egan, and Rodney Cook, a credit to their Party — all of them. And from Georgia comes another bit of interesting news. The State Republican Committee has appointed a Negro, Dr. C. Clayton Powell of the Fulton County Executive Committee to be chairman of precinct work and development of new areas throughout the state.

The refusal of the Georgia Legislature to seat Bond also drew strong criticism from eight U.S. Senators and Congressmen — all Republicans. The group led by Senators Case of N.J., Scott of Pennsylvania and Javits of N.Y. argued that "the Georgia legislature has repudiated an honest and open election on the sole ground that the elected representative endorsed unpopular views . . . Unless otherwise determined by a court of law, which the Georgia legislature is not, he is entitled to express them."

## More Notes

● The John Birch Society, which has become increasingly racist in its activities lately, has now begun a nationwide campaign to set up front groups opposed to the civil rights movement. The groups are called TACT — Truth About Civic Turmoil. Writing of this program with his characteristic style and fantastic notions, Robert Welch hurried to assure his readers that the present lull in civil rights activities was only temporary. "You can be sure that the Communists behind the 'civil rights' fraud are not going to meekly drop, for long, so vitally important a part of their total strategy" of subversion."

● Massachusetts Lt. Governor Elliot Richardson has attacked the Democrats in the state legislature for using the sales tax issue as an excuse not to pass civil rights legislation needed in Massachusetts. Richardson pointed to three bills proposed by Republican Governor Volpe which died in the last session. Together they would have expanded the offices of the Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination and the Secretary for Intergroup Relations.

● The Republican State Legislators' Association, meeting in Chicago last month, formally endorsed the principle of unconditional Federal-State revenue sharing. In a statement of policy, the Association noted that many state revenue sources have been preempted by the Federal Government, and that it was "no longer possible for the states to increase the burden of the people through increased income, property and sales taxes." Bringing the proposed solution to this problem within the Republican tradition, the group declared: "We believe that the states through their traditional units of government are best equipped to recognize and respond to the appropriate needs of the people." At the December meeting the RSLA elected F. F. Montgomery, Speaker of the Oregon Lower House, permanent Chairman, and heard addresses by Congressmen Don Rumsfeld of Illinois and Thomas Curtis of Missouri.

● Still another voice has joined the impressive list endorsing the principles of the so-called Heller Plan for unconditionally sharing federal tax revenues with state and local governments. At its December meeting, the Republican Coordinating Committee endorsed the recommendations of its task force on Federal, State and Local Governments, headed by Robert Taft, Jr. The task force stressed the use of "block grants" to avoid the inefficiencies and inflexibility of "fractionalization." The report included detailed recommendations.

● Former Governor Elmer Andersen has formally and finally withdrawn his name from consideration for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in Minnesota next year. This leaves the field open for a number of current holders of state offices who have let their interest in the Governor's chair be known, and for U.S. Congressman Clark McGregor who is rumored

to be leaning toward making the race. All this must be very important to Hubert Humphrey who in a recent Gallup poll was found to be running even (43%-43%) with George Romney in a hypothetical Presidential race. Should Humphrey fail to elect the Governor in his own bailiwick, he may be called to the White House for a private chat. After all, LBJ likes a pardnuh who can pull his own weight.

● Familiar names lead a recent Gallup Poll of GOP Presidential favorites. Richard Nixon has increased his lead to 34% of rank and file Republicans — with Goldwater, Lodge and Romney about 20 percentage points behind. Among independent voters (who are now more numerous than Republicans) Nixon draws only 17% but still leads the pack. Among the newer names that of John Lindsay ranks as high as any (7% of independents, 4% of Republicans), which puts him in the same bracket with Scranton and Rockefeller.

● Fred Schwengel, a Republican Congressman from Iowa narrowly defeated in the disaster of 1964, has announced his candidacy for his former seat in the United State House of Representatives. Congressman Schwengel was first elected to Congress in 1954 and served 4 successive terms thereafter. We welcome heartily his decision to return to politics; Congressmen so receptive to new ideas, so flexible in approach to national problems, are all too difficult to find.

● Milwaukee area young Republicans have made another move to make the Republican party more attractive to urban voters and minority groups (whose Democratic solidarity has cost several recent Republican defeats in once "solid" Wisconsin). They have named segregationist ex-Democrat Senator Strom Thurmond as the person best representing "the new image of the Republican party" and placed his picture on the cover of their monthly bulletin.

● Kansas YRs took on two hot issues at their November 13 and 14 annual convention. Holding that the GOP "bears and seeks responsibility . . . [to] nourish freedom" they condemned the John Birch Society, the KKK, ADA and Communist Party. At the same time they condemned the political patronage scandals in the federal poverty program and called for Young Republican action in Kansas to enact public service projects to enable the underprivileged to be self-sufficient.

● Bobby Kennedy has been throwing a lot of popcorn to the peace pigeons lately, transparently hoping to win over disenchanted former supporters of Hubert Humphrey. His first proposal was the quick consummation of a treaty with the Soviet Union which would purportedly prevent further proliferation of nuclear arms. Kennedy has since gone on to comment in Los Angeles that sending blood to North Vietnam would be "in the oldest tradition of this country." HHH apparently is not the only Democratic politician scratching around for a new image.

● Sixty-eight U.S. corporations, most of them either prime defense contractors or utilities subject to federal regulation and entitled to federal subsidy, have "voluntarily" spent over one million dollars buying full page ads in a glossy book called "Toward an Age of Greatness." The book contains eleven long articles signed by cabinet members and other Administration officials, detailing and highlighting their own programs. The slick publication will be distributed to those for-

fortunate enough to attend those fund-raising movie premieres being sponsored by the Democratic National Committee. All this merely points up that American business is being forced to learn a new dance — the LBJ Twist — where the focus of the action is the arm.

● Dr. Steve Horn, Senator Tom Kuchel's top idea man, has left the Senator's staff for a post at the Brookings Institution in Washington. A severe loss for both the Senator and moderate Republicans on Capitol Hill. Kuchel's decision not to enter the California gubernatorial contest was a factor behind Horn's departure.

● Word that Bill Phillips, top Democratic staffman of the powerful liberal Democratic Study Group in the House of Representatives, has accepted a post at the Office of Economic Opportunity came as startling news to many Congressional observers. Watch for some slack in D.S.G. effectiveness this session.

● An alert Republican member of the House Subcommittee on Government Information, Congressman Don Rumsfeld of Illinois, has spotted a proposal under consideration at the Office of Economic Opportunity to grant \$150,000 to a Washington, D.C. community action group to launch a weekly newspaper. Rumsfeld scored the proposal as "a violation of the Constitutional guarantee of a free press" which would set a precedent for the government to subsidize the news media.

● Some of the earliest and loudest opposition to the LBJ State of the Union address has come from the President's own front bench. Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana, Assistant Majority Leader in the Senate, has blasted the Johnson administration on repeal of XIV-b, the retention of excise taxes, and the proposal for fair housing legislation. Senate Democrats have accordingly moved to trim Long's powers as Democratic whip by instituting a new 4 man team of "deputy whips."

● Republicans at the University of Michigan Law School are spearheading a University Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for early February. Republican Governor George Romney will be a keynote speaker. Michigan also pioneered in The National Student Leadership Conference movement before it ran afoul of some of the young fogey high command of the National Young Republican Federation. NSLC is continuing *without* Republican National Committee blessing or control and has an active program planned for college campuses around the nation.

● At a time when more American homes have television sets (93%) than telephones (78.5%), and some 58% of all Americans depend on television as their primary source of news, the United States House of Representatives still bars television and radio coverage of its proceedings. Republican Congressman Bob Ellsworth of Iowa is leading the fight to authorize telecasting and broadcasting of House floor and committee proceedings. Ellsworth and nine Republican colleagues — John B. Anderson (Ill.), Laurence J. Burton (Utah), James C. Cleveland (N.H.), Paul Findley (Ill.), Edward J. Gurney (Fla.), Robert McClory (Ill.), Robert C. McEwen (N.Y.), Donald Rumsfeld (Ill.), and Bob Wilson (Calif.) — have introduced legislation in the new session of Congress. The response of the broadcasting industry to the Republican proposal has been enthusiastic.

# News From The Boston Chapter

**COMMENT ON "NEGRO REVOLUTION"** The FORUM'S special report on "Republicans and the Negro Revolution - 1965," was released on the very day that Massachusetts Attorney General Edward W. Brooke announced for the Senate. We welcome Mr. Brooke's candidacy as a milestone in the GOP's course, but there is much more that the Republican Party must do before it has come fully to terms with the most important political event of this decade.

The Republican National Chairman, Mr. Ray C. Bliss, has announced a new Republican effort in the big cities. The meeting of Republican chairmen from 18 of the nation's biggest cities this month underlines his hope of reviving the "big city report" he authored some four years ago. But by 1980 — given current population trends — Negroes will comprise a *majority* of the populations of Baltimore, Washington, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis and a near majority in Philadelphia. The moral is clear: a Republican big city strategy *must* give priority attention to the Negro revolution. Our recommendations of last month carry even more weight in view of the National Chairman's renewed concern for the urban vote.

## REYNOLDS ADDRESSES RIPON

The Ripon report on the Negro revolution has received wide attention and favorable comment in the Negro press and among Negro Republicans according to Mr. Grant Reynolds, National Director of the National Negro Republican Assembly and newly elected Chairman of the Council of Republican Organizations.

Mr. Reynolds spoke to the Boston Chapter of the Society at a January 17th meeting. He stressed the Republican opportunity to regain the Negro vote, noting that about 75% of the 20 million Negroes in the United States live in the urban north. "This is the season of Negro discontent, a time of revolt against the political overlords of the Democratic urban machines", he observed. The Negro vote is "available" but Republicans must ask for it and work for it. He contrasted the Nixon campaign in 1960 and the Lindsay campaign in 1965 emphasizing the crucial importance of the Negro big city vote (far outweighing the entire South) in the electoral college. Mr. Reynolds stressed the need for Negro Republican participation in *any* planning to win the big cities.

● Tim Petri, editor of the special Ripon report entitled *Election '64* and former member of the Ripon Society Executive Committee has been appointed a member of a five man team of legal advisers to the government of the Somali Republic. He will leave for Africa in the Spring. Although we of course wish him well, Tim's departure will be difficult for Ripon. His contributions in terms of ideas and work have been enormous, and we have, so to speak, become accustomed to his pace.

● The Ripon Society is beginning a project of reviewing noteworthy new political books for the information of our members and subscribers. Your suggestions are solicited. In addition, the Forum is always pleased to print newsworthy items submitted by its

readers. If you have some news of general interest which you would like to have appear in the Forum, please submit it.

## 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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