

RIPON FORUM

INAUGURATION
This new Ripon FORUM newsletter, supplementing the FORUM, will be mailed to our subscribers on the 15th of the month. The editors welcome comments and suggestions.

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25 CENTS

After Swann

Reagan's Price

Nixon's New Busing Line

WASHINGTON — The Nixon administration continues to take a low-profile approach to implementation of the Supreme Court's April 20 ruling on busing and school desegregation. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, the Court held that school districts with a history of discrimination must take all available steps to eliminate segregated schools, including "bizarre" zoning and pairing where necessary, and that busing of students is a legitimate tool for desegregation.

BUSING IS LEGAL

The first test of the Administration's intentions came in Austin, Texas, where a Federal judge had ordered the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to submit a plan to the court. HEW's Office of Education drew up a plan that paired schools in the black and Mexican-American ghettos with others in all-white areas, and required a sizeable increase in busing. Unlike the plans drawn in the pre-*Swann* era, the Austin plan, since it locked inner-city and outlying schools into the desegregation effort, promised stability and an end to the destructive cycle of resegregation.

Reportedly, the Austin plan had to survive a confrontation between HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson and Attorney General John Mitchell on its way to court. Outsiders can only deduce from the results — the plan emerged virtually intact — that Richardson was tougher in the clinches than his predecessor, Robert Finch.

Ironically, Judge Jack B. Roberts rejected the HEW plan for Austin, and ordered the Government and the school board to seek agreement on a less radical approach. But on the other side of the ledger, Judge L. Clure Morton upheld a similar HEW plan for Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee.

On other fronts, the Administration has been moving more slowly. In late June, the Office for Civil

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Compromising on CRLA

WASHINGTON — The latest joke going round the Office of Economic Opportunity asks "what can you buy for \$2.5 million?" The answer, of course, is "the California Republican delegation."

Once again, the White House, seeking to protect its flanks from conservative defections, either at the national convention or in the final election, has caved in to pressure from California Governor Ronald Reagan at a cost which is no laughing matter for the American public.



YR's Fail To Disband

PHOENIX — Last April's FORUM reported the view among "many Republicans of all philosophical stripes" that the Young Republican National Federation (YRNF) and the College Republican National Committee (CRNC) "are not just useless to the GOP, but rather are damaging their own party."

But as usual, the two Young Republican organizations have failed either to change or to disband. Holding its 17th Biennial Convention at the end of last month in Phoenix, the Federation enacted its sixth biennial right wing platform and resolutions and chose between two officer slates dominated by right wingers. Though the winners all professed support for the President's renomination, the policy declarations implicitly oppose much of his program, including national welfare reform, the "full employment budget," and China policy.

The college YR convention, meanwhile, also in Phoenix but nominally separate, reelected Chairman Joe Abate of New Jersey, flaunting red white and blue flag buttons from

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On June 30 OEO Director Frank Carlucci announced his decision, after six months of inquiry, to override Reagan's veto of \$2.6 million in federal funds for the California Rural Legal Assistance program (CRLA). For months Reagan has been fuming over a series of successful class action suits instigated by CRLA in state and federal courts which blocked cuts in services to the poor.

REAGAN'S PET PROJECT

Instead of being miffed by the OEO decision, however, Reagan praised it, perhaps because it contained an additional grant of \$2.5 million for "Judicaid", his own state OEO plan for an experimental legal service program, which Carlucci indicated could ultimately absorb CRLA. "Judicaid" would turn poverty clients over to practicing lawyers who would in turn bill the government directly — assuming of course they would be willing to take poverty cases.

The program will go into effect in January, just at the time when CRLA will come up for another review under the agreement announced by Carlucci. If Reagan wants to make trouble again for CRLA, Carlucci certainly left the door wide open.

TOTALLY IRRESPONSIBLE

The inquiry commission's final report concluded that "CRLA has been discharging its duty to provide legal assistance to the poor . . . in a highly competent, efficient and exemplary manner." Reagan's charges against the CRLA, the jurists reported, "were totally irresponsible and without foundation."

Carlucci did not quote a single line of the commission's positive findings in announcing the CRLA decision. Instead he said that the

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People in Politics

● President Nixon has appointed a fine young political technician with conservative credentials and a high price to run his youth campaign in 1972.

The new appointee, **Kenneth Reitz**, 29, of the Allison, Treleaven and Reitz political consulting firm, will work directly under John Mitchell in an effort to reach the millions of young voters enfranchised under the new voting age law.

As a campaign manager Reitz is credited with bringing large numbers of young people into William Brock's 1970 Senatorial race and into William Mills' recent winning Congressional effort on the Eastern shore of Maryland. He has close connections with the conservative leadership of the Young Republicans but his willingness or ability to appeal beyond the conventional Republican categories is yet to be demonstrated.

To Reitz's credit are reports that he was unhappy with the bitter right-wing tenor of the Brock campaign.

● Senator **Jack Miller** of Iowa has proved just as hawkish as he always has been, despite his rather dovish proposal in April to set a 12-month deadline for withdrawal from Vietnam following release of American prisoners. Miller's office made it clear at the time that the Senator was "flexible" both on the exact timetable and the form of prisoner agreement. A congratulatory telegram followed from the Ripon office, which was quickly picked up by Clark Mollenhoff of the Des Moines Register. When Republican Senators Cook and Stevens adopted the main intent of the Miller proposal, however, the senior Senator from Iowa (who is up for re-election next year and will probably face a Democratic dove) went down the line with the Administration in opposing the measure.

● **John A. Nevius**, unsuccessful Republican candidate for D.C. delegate this spring, has been appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Development in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He will serve under Floyd H. Hyde in the newly created Community Development Division which was set up March 1 to combine seven HUD programs including Model Cities and urban renewal. Nevius' record of community involvement and his progressive campaign drew 30 percent of the two-party vote in a city where the GOP lists only 14.4 percent of the two-party registration.

● Politics of Pollution Department. Republican Governor **Russell W. Peterson** should be commended for leading the fight for passage of legislation to bar polluting heavy industry from Delaware's coast. Peterson braved concentrated lobbying from the Chamber of Commerce, industry and the U.S. Departments of Commerce and Treasury.

The law would preclude construction of certain notorious polluters such as refineries and steel and paper mills; other industries would have to apply to the state planner and a ten-man control board.

● In Pittsburgh, meanwhile, U.S. Attorney **Richard L. Thornburgh** initiated and won a landmark suit against a local chemical company — employing the rarely-used Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899. The act prohibits the discharge of any "refuse" (legally defined as any matter whatsoever) into a navigable body of water without a permit from the Army Corps of Engineers. Under the same law sixty-nine additional criminal counts are pending against three steel companies, U.S., Jones & Laughlin and Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

Thornburgh — a leading local moderate Republican — decided to prosecute despite resistance from the U.S. Justice Department.

The chemical company case was the first in the nation to be brought to jury trial and won under the 1899 act on the basis on information furnished by citizens. The polluted samples were provided by two local professors, who collected them while canoeing on the Monongahela. U.S. Attorneys should be encouraged to emulate Thornburgh's example.

● On the other side of the smokestack, the Maine state legislature reversed itself late last month and ordered a study of the feasibility of constructing an oil depot on the Maine coast. House Speaker **David**

Kennedy (a Republican) requested the study. "What else is there left to pollute in Eastport? There isn't much left," Kennedy was quoted as saying.

● Quoting Teilhard De Chardin, "To have an effect in one's home, one must first live in it," **Father John McLaughlin**, a liberal Jesuit priest, Senatorial peace candidate, and one-time classmate of Daniel Berrigan, moved into the White House early this month as a Presidential speechwriter.

McLaughlin, who had run as a Republican in Rhode Island against Senator John Pastore in 1970, said the President had "deeply comforted and impressed him" with his commitment to a free exchange of ideas within the Executive.

McLaughlin's appointment was strongly opposed by **Human Events** which charged that the father is in favor of permissiveness, abortions and the Ripon Society, and by Senator Pastore, who charged that the father's campaign had shown insufficient reverence for Pastore. The priest's appointment came through without a hitch, however, after a six-week security investigation by the FBI.

The naming of Father McLaughlin represented a victory for Ray Price, his chief sponsor in the White House. McLaughlin's title is Deputy Special Assistant to the President.

● Those who feared that **Dr. John Knowles**, the volatile head of the Massachusetts General Hospital, would be lost to politics after the withdrawal of his nomination as HEW Assistant Secretary for Health underestimated his resourceful ambition to serve the people.

Although at the time of his appointment he purported to be a Republican — and was strongly defended by Senator **Edward Brooke** against opposition from Minority Leader **Everett Dirksen** and the **AMA** — the **Boston Globe** now reveals that Knowles had long been registered as an "independent." He turned Democrat in January 1970 in protest against the President's withdrawal of his nomination. Nixon, the doctor charged in a highly emotional statement, was a "captive of the far right" and was motivated by the "Southern strategy" in abandoning him and naming California liberal Democrat **Roger Egeberg** to the post. Later, however, Knowles let it be known he was available to run as a Republican against Senator Kennedy.

Now Knowles feels called to run for the Senate next year as a Democrat, this time against his old supporter, Senator Brooke. In this idealistic pursuit, Knowles is being encouraged by Democratic State Chairman **Robert Q. Crane**, who might encourage anyone at this point. Crane says the doctor can combine the liberal Democratic "switch" vote with the right-wing "spite" vote. Although we are for Senator Brooke against all comers we agree that Dr. Knowles might be a worthy recipient of such "spite" and "switch" support.

● Notes on the Southern Strategy. Last year, a TV crew filming the political drama "Vanished" was allowed to use the White House lawn for exteriors. This year, ABC was not allowed on the lawn to film **The Man** — a drama about America's first black President.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

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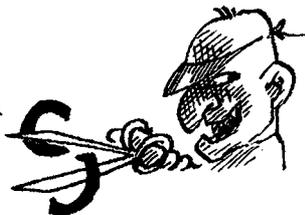
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EDITORIAL NOTE



NO MENTION OF FAP

On June 22, the House passed an omnibus welfare bill, including President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. Even the *New York Times* called the vote a "victory for President Nixon" — page one news. But one looks in vain for reference to the welfare reform measure in *Monday*, the official publication of the Republican National Committee. Neither the June 21, 28 or July 5 issues deigned to comment on what President Nixon called "the most important social legislation in 35 years."

Monday editor John D. Lofton, Jr. continues to be listed as an associate editor of *New Guard*, the magazine of the Young Americans for Freedom. YAF has already endorsed Reagan for 1972. No one on *Monday* represents moderate or progressive opinion within the GOP or touts Mr. Nixon's more progressive policies, yet *Monday* is increasingly quoted in the press as an official expression of Republican opinion. With Lyn Nofziger as the RNC Communications Director, one gets the impression that the National Committee's publicity arm is more dedicated to pushing right-wing ideology than promoting the President's domestic program.

IF LINDSAY DEFECTS

We have no way to appraise the increasingly insistent reports from Democratic sources that John Lindsay is contacting them in preparation for a defection to the Democrats toward the end of this month.

Lindsay's departure would deepen the Republican crisis. While the party grows weaker and increas-

ingly needs progressive Republicans to expand its base and win electoral victories, its nominations are increasingly difficult for progressives to acquire. We are approaching the point where the more likely a Republican candidate is to win, the less likely he is to be nominated. If the trend continues — and the loss of Lindsay would give it considerable impetus — the Republicans would risk entering the vicious circle of decline in which a minority party grows steadily more exclusive and more minor.

None the less we believe the Mayor will have made a profound mistake if he leaves the Republicans. Unlikely to be nominated for anything, even vice president by the Democrats, he may find himself increasingly tempted by the fourth party route, which in all probability would lead to a few moments of ego-gratification followed by a long period of political impotence. For contrary to modish speculation, the Republican party is too deeply entrenched to expire in most parts of the country; and the Democratic party though deeply flawed, will remain too liberal to be massively abandoned in the fashionable suburbs, where the fourth party speculators envisage major breakthroughs. Under such a challenge, the Republican party will just become worse — less able to govern competently; and the Democratic will become more dependent on organized labor. The most probable result is a deterioration of our politics whichever party wins.

In all likelihood, therefore, Lindsay's defection would mean that progressive Republicans who have looked to him for national leadership throughout his career — and who would follow him now if he remains a Republican — would find themselves in the sad and anomalous position of strongly opposing his future ambitions. But this a sign of the times. A key test of progressive Republicans today is whether they would rather fight than switch.

State by State

NEW HAMPSHIRE Supporters of Congressman Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey's primary campaign were encouraged recently by the enactment of a new New Hampshire law that permits persons registered "independent" to vote in the primary of their choice without forfeiting their "independent" status. Since many young people register "independent," the ruling is expected to aid the McCloskey effort to have them vote in the Republican primary.

NEW JERSEY The New Jersey Legislature has adjourned for this November's state-wide elections without acting on Congressional reapportionment. An important reason was reluctance to decide whether to create the state's first black congressional district.

A district which would consist of the predominantly black cities of Newark and East Orange along with black portions of adjacent Orange is being strongly advocated by Newark Assemblyman George Richardson. Richardson would be a likely Democratic candidate in such a district.

Newark has long been split between two suburban-dominated districts, both represented by amiable and diligent Democratic hacks. If the bulk of Essex County's black voters were corralled into a Newark-centered district, Congressman Peter Rodino of Newark would be rendered vulnerable to a primary challenge by a black Democrat, and Joseph Minish of West Orange would be left with the Republican-leaning suburban remains of his district and Rodino's.

The opportunity to imperil two Democratic incumbents while gaining points with the black community by allowing them their own congressman would have been irresistible for New Jersey's heavily Republican legislature except for one thing: the Italian vote. Italians comprise the largest ethnic bloc in the state

and are recognized by Garden State politicians as an important cohesive swing group.

Minish and Rodino are the state's most popular Italian politicians. With tensions between blacks and Italians aggravated by Newark's 1970 Addonizio-Gibson mayoral contest and its recent marathon teachers' strike, the Republicans have decided to let things be rather than risk Italian retribution in the 1971 election.

ARKANSAS A long and complicated hassle over the reapportionment of the Arkansas legislature has finally ended, with significant damage to the public image and black support of Democratic Governor Dale Bumpers. The final decision by the reapportionment board (made up of three Democrats led by Bumpers) was issued five months late after strong urging by the state GOP and a suit filed by Pulaski County Clerk, Jerome Climer, a Republican. The long-awaited result turned out to be a major setback for the state's black electorate.

Although Governor Bumpers, a moderate by Arkansas standards, had been making efforts to woo black voters away from the state GOP, he created 10 multi-member legislative districts that will divide much of the black vote and make it harder for blacks to win. There are no blacks in either house of the Arkansas General Assembly, unique among states with 500,000 or more black citizens.

Several blacks ran for the legislature in 1970 — all as Republicans. All were defeated, though several received a substantial number of votes. Bumpers recently appealed to the top black vote-getter of 1970 — Sam Sparks — to switch to the Democrats. Sparks refused.

Dr. Jerry D. Jewell, president of the Arkansas NAACP, attacked the Bumpers plan and predicted that most black candidates would be "wiped out" by it.

At last report, the Arkansas Republican organization was planning a law suit to challenge the fairness of the new plan.

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STATE-BY-STATE *from previous page*

OKLAHOMA Congressman Ed Edmondson of North eastern Oklahoma has announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination against incumbent Senator Fred R. Harris. A close race is expected if Harris doesn't choose to take his campaign elsewhere. Recently Harris has spoken of dropping out of the Senate race and running for President. There's a lot of support in the Oklahoma party for this notion, because it would avoid a bloodbath.

When elected to the Senate in 1964 (defeating Republican Bud Wilkinson and primary challenger J. Howard Edmondson, the Congressman's brother) Harris' political philosophy more or less coincided with Edmondson's. In the interval, however, Harris has moved to the left and Edmondson to the right of center.

Edmondson, whose brother was a controversial governor and United States senator, has strong political ties in Tulsa and N.E. Oklahoma. At the present time he has few political grudges against him.

Harris would not be in political trouble if he had taken better care of his constituents. Complaints against

Harris' constituent relationship are legion; for example, only recently did Harris reopen his office in the state's second largest city, Tulsa.

Edmondson already has the endorsement of Congressman John Jarman, the popular conservative from Oklahoma City and the likely support of Congressman Tom Steed.

Edmondson's entry shut the door on popular State Treasurer Leo Winters; it is not anticipated that any other major candidate will enter the primary next year.

A large number of Republicans are interested in the race: former Governor Dewey Bartlett, astronaut Tom Stafford, Ozark Commission Director and former Republican State Chairman Bud Stewart and Republican National Committeeman Bud Wilkinson to name a few. G. T. Blankenship, former Attorney General, has decided not to run. At present Bartlett would be favored if he chooses not to wait until the easier race, for Governor in 1974.

No change is expected in the congressional line up. The Republicans are likely to keep their two seats and the Democrats will hold the other four.

YR's *from page 1*

the movie "Joe." Moderates can take heart from the rejection of a proposal to eliminate the New England Region. Otherwise the college affair was dominated by partying.

Anyone who imagines the YRs are on the way out, however, will be discouraged to learn that an estimated \$200,000 was spent this year on the major event: the YRNF campaigns to decide which young conservatives get the offices in Washington.

The prevailing ideological mood is suggested by the fact that the chief so-called moderate winner was a Buckley associate who worked in 1970 for Senator Brock: Bob Scanlan of New York, chosen Vice Chairman.

In general, the convention can be seen as a Brock-Buckley-Reagan festival, conducted behind a facade of support for the President. The new National Chairman is Donald Sundquist, 35, a jewelry executive from Minnesota, whose lavish 35,000 mile national campaign, ostensibly non-ideological, was managed by Buckley's Administrative Assistant David R. Jones of YAF. Sundquist, a Brock associate, defeated Frank Fahrenkopf of Reno, Nevada, whose comparably expensive but less competent effort was run by John Kerwitz, executive director of Citizens for Reagan in 1968.

A more interesting winner is the handsome new YR Auditor Jay Morris of Maryland, who collected enough money in his own public fundraising affairs to finance a vigorous campaign, complete with buttons, bumper stickers and a sumptuous hospitality suite.

If Morris can succeed in hiding his brains and pragmatism for another two years, he is given a good chance to be elected to higher YR office; otherwise he might be elect-

ed to Congress. His chief interest, which he maintains is the commitment of the entire Sundquist slate, is to make the YRs more effective everywhere regardless of ideology.

The platform opposed abortion reform ("The proper cure for illegal abortion is . . . to arrest and prosecute those who are breaking the present law"), busing, civilian police review boards, minimum wage laws, welfare nationalization, sex education, and ping pong (with the Chinese).

The hope is the current YR officers don't back the platform, if they are serious about expanding the party. For like any one winged craft the YRs are in danger of flying in steadily smaller circles until they crash.

Schools *from page 1*

Rights asked some 45 districts to propose new desegregation steps in the light of *Swann*, but the HEW office has yet to deal with most of its toughest "voluntary" customers. And the Department of Justice has so far filed very few *Swann* motions, though it bears the responsibility (often shared with private plaintiffs) for most of the large urban systems where *Swann* would apply.

The Administration, as usual in the field of civil rights, finds itself in a predicament of its own making. On the strength of President Nixon's transparently self-serving "neighborhood school" treatise of March 1970, the Administration negotiated and imposed a lot of "terminal" plans last fall

that, while not calling for busing and not meeting constitutional standards, nonetheless taxed the patience of millions of white and black Southerners, both well-meaning and otherwise. It is easy to understand the Administration's reluctance to tell many of these people that the job will have to be done once again.

CRLA *from page 1*

report "forced" him "to the conclusion that many significant issues of public policy have been raised by Governor Reagan" — significant enough presumably to loosen up money for a program Reagan has always pushed as a substitute for programs like CRLA.

Ironically, the Carlucci decision, which was approved but not dictated by the White House, undercut the President's own proposal for legal services. The President's plan, submitted to Congress May 5, would transfer legal services to an independent corporation of 11 members all appointed by the President, which he claims would be "immune to political pressure."

After the Reagan fiasco, Congressmen, particularly if they have had requests for legal services programs in their districts turned down "because of lack of funds," will be suspicious of the President's own immunity from politics in appointing the board. Many of them will no doubt prefer the rival Mondale-Steiger bill which would limit Presidential appointments to six, while giving another 13 members seats as representatives of the American Bar Association, poverty lawyers and the client community.

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