G O P

The probable have become possible. The possible have become unlikely. And the unlikely have become impossible.

That is the Republican condition. Even the unbeatable Republicans are running scared. The scared Republicans are dying of fright.

What is particularly distressing is the probable fates of the GOP "bright lights" who gambled in a year when Republican gamblers kept their money at home. In Tennessee, Republican gubernatorial candidate Lamar Alexander appears likely to be buried in a Democratic tide. Like his Republican counterpart in California, Houston Flournoy, Alexander is widely acknowledged to be the more knowledgeable, more experienced candidate. But in 1974, even excellent Republicans running against mediocre Democrats are underdogs. In California, Democrat Jerry Brown is an anathema to most of his party's professionals. His imperious ways are not particularly amenable to the press either, but Brown will win. In Tennessee Ray Blanton is a party hack compared to Alexander, but he and California's Brown both appear to have the Democratic and independent rank and file support necessary to win.

Another indication of the depth of Republican difficulties is reflected in a recent Detroit News Poll. It showed Democrat Sander Levin leading Republican Gov. William Milliken, 45-43 percent. Levin has pulled even with Milliken in traditionally Republican outstate areas and now appears to be in position to accomplish what he was narrowly unable to do in 1970: defeat Milliken. If the able and progressive Milliken loses, it may give the Democrats a clean sweep of the nation's ten largest states.

Republican prospects now appear particularly grim in California, New York, and Massachusetts where they will not only lose gubernatorial elections but face substantial losses in congressional races as well. A loss of 10 seats in those three states alone is not impossible.

Illinois is another potential disaster area despite the continuing scandals and indictments which have rocked Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's political machine. Four currently GOP seats could easily go Democratic. In the race to succeed U.S. Rep. Harold Collier, former Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan (D) may beat State Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R). In the 10th C.D., freshman U.S. Rep. Samuel H. Young may well be ousted by former U.S. Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D). In the 15th C.D. district being vacated by GOP House Whip Leslie C. Arends, it is a close race between former U.S. Rep. Clifford Carlson (R) and Democrat Tim Hall. And in the 3rd C.D., the economy and Nixon have made freshman U.S. Rep. Robert Hanrahan (R) vulnerable to defeat.

Republican veterans like U.S. Reps. Wiley Mayne (R-Iowa), Roger H. Zion (R-Ind.) and Vernon Thomson (R-Wisc.) are in danger in the Midwest. In Arkansas, even the Argentine Fireball will probably be insufficient cause to replace U.S. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D) with Republican Judy Petty.

In Kansas, Sen. Robert Dole (R) is in trouble. It may take a miracle to keep lawyer-obstetrician William Roy from replacing Dole in the Senate. Colorado Sen. Peter Dominick (R) has similar troubles with Democratic Gary Hart. The once-vulnerable Democratic Senate seats in South Dakota, Connecticut, North Carolina, and Indiana now seem virtually impregnable.

Notable as one of the few bright spots in the otherwise dismal Republican picture is the Republican opportunity to win the South Carolina governorship. That opportunity developed in spite of Republican organizational difficulties which have been transcended only by the eligibility of the Democratic candidate chosen in the Democratic gubernatorial runoff. Successful nominee Charles "Fug" Ravenel has been replaced by defeated aspirant U.S. Rep. William Jennings Bryan. The ensuing confusion among the Democrats may provide an opening for GOP State Sen. James Edwards. Before Ravenel was ruled ineligible because of his failure to meet state residency requirements, even Republicans admitted the Charleston Republican was now having trouble getting his campaign together.

The magnitude of the impending national Republican disaster is such that only Democratic imbroglios of South Carolina proportions can boost Republican hopes.
COMMENTARY: 
Busing 

Bigotry 
In 
Boston 

by Dick Bebn and 
Robert Stewart 

Civil Rights used to be an emotional issue. Men and women, black and white, marched because they believed that integration was better than segregation and love was a better basis for social comity than hate.

Now busing is an emotional issue. Men, women, and children march through the streets of Boston to preserve a segregated school system. Men and women, children and adults, black and white, display their hatreds as emblems of racial pride.

Busing is a complicated issue. It is not necessarily the best solution to the problems of school segregation, but in Boston it is now the "law of the land." Some of the most virulent supporters of law and order now seem to be equally vociferous in their opposition to the orders of a federal judge.

Not only have the people become selective in their adherence to legal norms but their leaders have become crass and cowardly in their statements on the issue. Their positions have ranged from demagoguery to silence. Statements of elected leaders have bordered on contempt of federal court orders.

Boston's troubles can be perceived as problems of community control and consciousness. The city's neighborhoods are strong and proud. Too often, they are also racist. The racial balance of Boston's school system is a matter of de jure segregation. The city's school board has traditionally abdicated moral leadership on racial questions; Judge Arthur Garrity's court orders are understandable in the light of that moral abdication. As a city, Boston has not dealt with its racial problems. The city of Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison is now the city of Louise Day Hicks and Raymond Flynn.

The city is also a textbook case in how civic and political leaders fail to exercise their moral responsibilities. Almost every political leader seems to have one eye on the streets and another on his political ambitions.

For decades, politicians have allowed ethnocentrism to eclipse equality. The city's political structure has been dominated by an all-white city council and an all-white school board who have appealed to their own neighborhood power bases and shortchanged the education of black children. Judge Garrity did not produce this time bomb. It has been ticking for a long time. The city has never faced up to the fact that it is a city, not just a collection of isolated neighborhoods. Responsibility has never been a hallmark of Boston politicians.

What is both ironic and reassuring about Boston's troubles is that Boston's often-maligned Police Department has provided the rare instances of leadership which the city has witnessed. In many instances as opposed to busing as the demonstrators, the police generally kept order and upheld the law while the politicians and educators mouthed platitudes and piecemeal.

The violence in Boston has been ugly this fall. But still uglier is the complicity of political leaders who place politics above probity.

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Justice Department documents reportedly show that which in turn led to the CIA connection. Sources familiar powered team of CIA psychiatrists. been official, the Washington, who has been delving into allegations linking the Russians demanded to know if flying reindeer were him to Sen. Washington's attention.

Meanwhile, Sen. Washington announced he will intro­duce legislation barring further agreements on the reindeer issue until all the elves are let out of Siberia. Elves were uppermost on the senator's mind. He said that Santa's Goodwill Charities is in violation of the minimum wage law, the Occupational Health and Safety Act, and child labor statutes.

Washington said the investigation into numerous gifts made by Santa Claus in recent years is continuing. The sen­ator is concerned whether these gifts were used for political gain or merely charitable purposes. "There is no allegation of impropriety at this time," said the senator but the possi­bility exists that Santa Claus may have not properly reported these gifts for tax purposes.

In a separate but incestuous development, Sen. William Cutter announced a comprehensive bill for reform of Santa Claus. Under the proposed Cutter legislation, Santa Claus would be financed from the federal treasury, he would be obligated to issue quarterly statements on fund receipts and expenditures, and jurisdiction for Santa Claus would be shifted from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to Federal Aviation Administration. Cutter said he was proud to be on the enemies list found in Claus' files. "I've been getting coal in my stocking for 12 years," said Cutter.

Sen. James Review called the proposed legislation "a raid on the American taxpayer." He called the Claus financing proposal an intolerable corruption of the free enterprise system, and he insisted he would not bail out Santa Claus or Lockheed.

Meanwhile, Sen. Washington announced the Senate Perman­ent Investigations Subcommittee would hold hearings into charges that Santa's routes are being infiltrated by Westchester County garbage collectors controlled by the Mafia.

In Alabama, Gov. George Aspirant defended Santa Claus, saying "he represents the little man." Similar com­ments came from Gov. Ronald Hollywood, who promised to put welfare chiselsers to work for Santa Claus, if need be.

Rumors were flying in Washington, meanwhile, that Claus was depressed by the public furor over his gifts and was thinking of selling out. Another rumor claimed he had invested a long-term contract to do promotional work for the new Arab owners. The stock market rallied at this news; although the SEC announced no prospectus for the stock has yet been issued.

Meanwhile, back, in the nation's capital, Sen. William Paperclips took the Senate floor to announce, "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus."
Duly Noted: Politics

• "Private Assessments," by Paul Pittman. Clarksdale Press Register, September 19, 1974. "Mississippi Republican leaders, dismayed by what they regard as somewhat erratic behavior on the part of President Gerald Ford during his first month in office are privately making a new assessment of their chances to elect three GOP congressmen in the coming general election. The GOP is shakiest in the 4th C.D. where U.S. Rep. Thad Cochran (R) is facing Kenneth Dean (D), a television executive. Republicans are worried that Dean may be successful in uniting the often-fragmented Democratic Party.

• "Survey Rates Governor Over Curtis, Hruska," by David Beeder. Omaha World-Herald, October 3, 1974. Nebraska Sen. Carl T. Curtis announced October 1 that he would be a candidate for reelection in 1978. A recent telephone poll however showed that Curtis, who will be 73 in 1978, has an approval rating of only 34 percent among Nebraska voters. By contrast, Sen. Roman Hruska has an approval rating of 56 percent among voters. J. James Exon (D) has an approval rating of 70 percent. Exon, who is virtually assured of reelection this November, has maintained a phenomenally high approval rating throughout his four-year term as governor.

• "GOP Looking to Rhodes to Withstand Dems' Drive," by Chan Cochran. Columbus News-Diary, October 13, 1974. "Republican legislative strategists who said openly earlier this year that former Gov. James A. Rhodes was a 'no-win-candidate' now are looking to him as their main hope to avert being steamrollered by Democrats. And Democrats, keenly anticipating the big win the odds will be theirs at the polls, are already turning up that roller to wreck havoc with the old order as established under a decade of Republican dominance in the Sixties." Republicans, who lost the House in 1972, are now in grave danger of losing the Senate as well. Money is the chief GOP problem, and it is slow to come in this year.

• "Putting Yourself on the Line," by Charles Peters. Washington Monthly, October 1974. "The American system is in trouble and we all know it. We’ve grown fat and sloppy. General Motors and the Post Office each has over 700,000 employees. One turns out lemons. The other loses packages. Managers and workers are more concerned with preserving their positions and expanding their benefits than with doing their work. The old organizations — public or private — simply aren’t doing the job. They require regeneration or replacement. This means we need people who are willing to enter new enterprises and make old ones come alive again. We need people who are willing to shed their institutional corns and stand or fall on the basis of their actual performance. What we need in short, is a rebirth of entrepreneurship," writes the editor of the Washington Monthly. His criticism of present institutions and prescriptions for solutions sound exactly like what progressive Republicans should be saying: "From the conservative must come the liberal humanitarian concern for income security and medical care. From the liberal must come the old conservative respect for entrepreneurship. From both must come a new respect for free criticism of institutions, including their own. Together they can produce a climate that will encourage men to want to see themselves and their organizations evaluated, to want to change from phony jobs to jobs that count, to want to reform their organization, and falling in that attempt: to form new organizations that will do the job better, to want to do well without having to kick the shit out of the other guy, to have the fun of waking up in the morning and saying I know I’m going to try to do what I want to do, not just what someone else thinks I should do, not what will earn me social position or paper credentials but what I enjoy doing and do well.

• "His and Hers Campaigns: Engaged Pair Both Seek Legislative Seats," by Pat Murphy. Detroit News, September 24, 1974. "Voters in northwest Detroit could have a lot to say about the delegates." She based her law and order, Dem and Miss Gillis both are candidates for the Michigan legislature. Law is running in the First House District and Miss Gillis is a candidate in the Sixth Senate District. Both are acknowledged underdogs because both are Republicans running in districts which are traditionally Democratic. If both are elected, they will have to maintain residences in both districts.

• "Representativeness of Delegates Analyzed by New Study," by Anne Crutcher. Washington Star-News, September 8, 1974. "According to a study of the 1972 presidential nominating conventions by Prof. Jeanne Kirkpatrick of the Government Department of Georgetown University, presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago... political parties can be highly unrepresentative of their own rank and file in ideas and values. Particularly Democrats — even though it was Democrats who made an issue of 'representativeness' and who, in 1972, had quotas for blacks, women and young people at their nominating conventions." Dr. Kirkpatrick found that McGovern delegates in 1972 were particularly unrepresentative of their party and that "on the important issues of 1972, Republican delegates were closer to the attitudes of Democratic voters than than the Joh. Delegates." She based her law and order, De on two surveys, one done by the International Research Associates on interviews with probable voters in December 1971 and one done by the University of Michigan's Center for Political Studies with convention delegates in 1972.

• "New Politics in the Old South," by Chandler Davidson. The Nation, September 28, 1974. Davidson rejects the imminent rise of Republicanism in the South and concludes that the South will "remain a three-factioned region for some time to come, with each faction holding about a third of the field. Davidson's factions are Republicans ("conservative on most economic and social issues, including race"); national Democrats (liberal on economic and social issues); and Independents (liberal on some economic issues and conservative on social issues). Concludes Davidson: "The South is ripe for progressive change of many kinds. A national Democratic Party that speaks boldly and convincingly to the economic needs of the region's majority is today in a far better position than it has been for many years to make inroads in the southern vote."

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