Busing Politics

Courts, HEW, Nixon Collide

WASHINGTON — President Nixon's August 3 statement on the Austin school desegregation case and busing in general was the latest attempt by the Administration to placate all sides on the civil rights issue. As usual, it failed.

The President announced that the Department of Justice was appealing a federal court order approving a school board proposal that would maintain largely segregated "neighborhood schools" in Austin and provide for only occasional busing of students for "inter-cultural" learning experiences.

Mr. Nixon sought to soften this blow for his Southern constituency by "disavowing" a plan proposed by his own Department of Health, Education and Welfare that, with the aid of busing, would have thoroughly desegregated the Austin schools.

But as interested Texans and others immediately understood, the "disavowal" was meaningless. The HEW plan was still a part of the record in the case, in fact the only plan in the record other than the one whose adoption was being appealed.

There was every reason to suspect that the result of the appeal would be imposition (delayed a few months) of a plan very much like HEW's.

With Forked Tongue

Senator John Tower of Texas blasted the President for the decision, and Austin officials were no more appeased. "Man in White House speaks with forked tongue," observed School Superintendent Jack Davidson and School Board President Will Davis predicted that extensive busing would be enforced through "the only alternative" to the plan now under appeal.

Nor did hosannas follow the President's renewed attack on busing which was specifically approved as a desegregation technique by the Supreme Court in the Swann case. The President seemed not to have noticed that reaction to the Swann decision in the South had been strangely muted, and that many Southerners had decided to

Indicts Top Officials

Bayley Shocks Seattle

SEATTLE — This city has just discovered what you get when you elect a Ripon Society leader to high public office.

One year to the day after Ripon co-founder Christopher T. Bayley filed for election as King County Prosecutor and just six months after assuming office, the 33-year-old Harvard graduate rocked Seattle by initiating indictments against some of the city's best known public officials for activities related to bribery, extortion, gambling and prostitution.

Among the more than 30 indicted by a Grand Jury called by Bayley were the President of the City Council, and the former prosecutor whom Bayley ousted in a bitterly fought Republican primary. Also charged were a former King County Sheriff, a retired Seattle Police Chief, the city License Director, and an Assistant Police Chief.

The Grand Jury depicted a widespread system of payoffs resulting from Seattle's "tolerance" policy. "Tolerance" was designed to keep big time organized crime out of the city by licensing certain illicit activity, chiefly gambling, and closely controlling it among relatively small time operators. Testimony indicated, however, that the "controllers" participated heavily and systematically in the profits and passed them on through the city government, often as campaign contributions.

Uhlmans Response

Although response to Bayley's action was generally favorable, Democratic Mayor Wesley Uhlman charged political motivations when his own campaign fund records were subpoened, and he had criticized the Grand Jury for "wasting the taxpayers money" and for failing to act. After the indictments, however, he had "no comment" on the matter of waste and inaction.

One possible problem is that 19 of the indictments, including those against top officials, are for conspiracy, which is hard to prove. The local Civil Liberties Union, under pressure from the national ACLU office, reluctantly urged the conspiracy charges be dropped as a threat to civil liberties.

Whether Bayley emerges from the affair as a major force in Washington politics is expected to depend on his performance in the courtroom and his success in getting convictions. He is said to be confident.
THE POLITICS OF CHINA

Let us give solemn thanks to Richard Nixon. Who would have thought that in one fell speech he could sweep aside all the demographic predestinations of Kevin Phillips, all the warnings of right wing revisionism, all the puff adder menace of the Committee of Ten Million, all the ritual legacy of William Knowland and Walter Judd and Joe McCarthy, all the superstitions about the iron-fisted grip of Republican opinion; who would have thought that finally it would be Richard Nixon who would prove the validity of the progressive Republican strategy we have been proclaiming so long that the words become a hopeful litany we say as much to reassure ourselves as to persuade others?

But on the other hand, who would have thought that in 1970 it would be Nelson Rockefeller who would show in New York's Catholic communities the efficacy, together with $6 million, of a subtle rendition of the economic and social appeals of Kevin Phillips? Richard Nixon might do well to try that strategy nationally in 1972, we hasten to admit, if the Democrats nominate for President Arthur Goldberg.

Otherwise, however, Nixon has shown a better way, which can only be defined—in terms of political strategy—as Progressive Republicanism. Although it is difficult to calculate the likely substantive results of his China visit, which in any case is being appraised fully in the press, the political impact is clear. "As an American," said Senator Muskie turning wearily from his television set, "I am very pleased." Vice President Spiro Agnew's response is not recorded.

"If the President had any plans to dump you, I'd have been the first to know!"

Muskie was right about the sentiments of Americans. 72 percent of whom were found by Gallup also to be very pleased. But of equal interest to us was the response of Republicans, who have been assumed by all the pundits to be rigidly more "conservative" than Democrats on foreign policy. The power of the response of Republicans, who have been assumed to be trying indeed. The tremendous amount of time required of Robert Dole's reputation for independent judgment and initiative rose sharply last year when he endorsed and co-sponsored the most carefully elaborated of the various Senatorial proposals designed to recover Congressional powers in the commitment of U.S. troops overseas. "A bill to regulate undeclared war," introduced by Senator Javits, it imposed a number of detailed procedural requirements on the President and mandated specific Congressional authorization for all military engagements of more than 30 days. After a series of speeches defending the President's Cambodian incursion, Dole's move suggested that he not the less recognized the serious responsibilities of a Senator to preserve and fulfill the Constitutional separation of powers.

It was therefore sad to learn from his office that the wity and intelligent Kansan has now withdrawn his name from the Javits bill on the grounds that it conflicts with his responsibilities as National Chairman. This withdrawal, moreover, symbolizes a deeper abdication from the role of leadership he occupied last year in Senate floor debate.

As many people feared when Senator Dole was selected as National Chairman, wearing two hats can be trying indeed. The tremendous amount of time required of Senator Dole in speaking engagements on the road has taken him away from his leadership capacity on the Senate floor. At the same time when Senator Dole feels he has to back away from a worthy position like co-sponsoring the Javits bill, because he is the national party chairman, he falls short of serving primarily the interests and needs of his Kansas constituency.

Meanwhile Minority Leader Hugh Scott has not let high party office subvert his high Senatorial vocation. Although he did not endorse the Javits bill last year, he recently declared that such legislation is urgent at a time when the executive "maintains secrecy... to the point of suffocation and isolation."
The right wing has gained a strong voice on the President's new Council on International Economic Policy. Appointed deputy to Council Executive Director Peter Peterson is tough and ambitious conservative Robert McFarlane, who had left the Nixon administration in early 1969 after a conflict with Henry Kissinger. Allen served officially as Nixon's chief foreign policy advisor during the 1968 campaign.

Peterson, who was endorsed by a Business Week report that Peterson opposed the choice of Allen, whom he had met while Allen served on the Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy. The Commission, headed by former President Albert L. Williams, is scheduled to report to President Nixon this month.

Faced before his recent blast against the Administration, William F. Buckley, Jr., made a contribution to the President's speechwriting staff. Appointed with Buckley's warm endorsement was Harold "Tim" Lazar, who has been collaborating in the National Review, it is on a new book dealing with American political ideology. Buckley recommended Lazar to his old Yale College friend, Presidential speechwriter Raymond K. Price.

Lazar, however, is unlikely to shift the President's rhetoric far to the right. A libertarian conservative, the independent-minded Yale graduate is said to take his ideas from the late Galbraith, if not only from him, but also from such diverse sources as John Stuart Mill and Charles Reich, who befriended him at Yale while preparing The Greening of America. At 22, Lazar is the President's youngest high level appointee.

Frank J. Carlucci has resigned as Director of OEO to become an Assistant Director of the Office of Management and Budget. The change was consistent with Carlucci's desire to stay with the poverty program no longer than he had to; the new job is a promotion. And again begins the task of finding someone to preside over the demise of the war on poverty.

The change is General Counsel Donald Lowitz, to return to his Chicago law practice. Lowitz is a close friend of former OEO Director Donald Rumsfeld, and stayed longer than many expected. His resignation is unrelated to Carlucci leaving.

Former Arkansas Governor Winthrop Rockefeller was host for a meeting of five former Republican governors and one incumbent in mid-July.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss ways in which ex-governors could continue to make a contribution to the party. The focus was on the Republican National Committee, with a proposal that ex-governors serve a two-year term on the committee immediately after leaving office. At the RNC meeting a week later, Chairman Robert Dole at first opposed debate on the idea, then agreed to appoint a committee to study Rockefeller's plan.

Also discussed at Winrock was the value of an organization of former state executives, many of whom feel cut off from national party affairs.

Attending were ex-governors, Dewey Bartlett of Oklahoma, David Cargo of New Mexico, Frank Farrar of South Dakota, Harold LeVander of Minnesota and Raymond Shaver of Pennsylvania. Also present was Governor John Love of Colorado.

If Oregon Governor Tom McCall challenges Republican Senator Mark Hatfield in the GOP Senatorial primary next year, his campaign will be hampered by the fact that a two-year term he recently vacated was filled by a Democrat. McCall's current term expires in 1974, and the Oregon constitution provides that the President of the Senate, Democrat John Burns, would become governor if McCall went to Washington. Thus a vote for McCall in the primary could be a vote to turn the state over to the Democrats (except in the highly unlikely event of Republican control of the Oregon State Senate in 1972). The race also raised questions, and disconcerted his aides, by his behavior at the Western States Governors Conference where he appeared to be attracting Governor Reagan on one day and warmly embraced him the next.

Former GOP standardbearer Alf Landon organized an association in which eleven business, labor, educational and political leaders announced support of the Nixon Administration's China policy. The signers included Colorado's Governor John Love and UAW President Leonard Woodcock.

Landon has long supported recognition of China and its seating in the UN. Some years back, he expressed his preference before a DAR convention. When asked later why he had chosen that forum, he replied, "Why else would one go to a DAR convention?"

Nixon vs. Agnew Dept. Three black leaders received warnings from the White House that the President Agnew's remarks comparing them unfavorably with African politicians. Vernon Jordan, new head of the Urban League, Ralph Abernathy of SCLC and Roy Wilkins, President of the NAACP, were told by the Presi
dent did not agree with Agnew. Chosen to relay the Presidential apologies were Leonard Garmoni, special Consultant to the President, and George Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Rep. Charlotte Reid (R-Ill.) is scheduled for appointment to the Federal Communications Commission. A possible successor in her district Northwest of Chicago is Republican William Williams of Illinois.

Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, like Governor Ronald Reagan and Spiro Agnew, continues to speak highly of the President, but unlike Reagan and the Vice President, he also supports the President's key policies. It is thus not surprising that Rockefeller is being mentioned increasingly as a possible replacement for the Vice President on the 1972 ticket.

The President, though, is unlikely to afford his right wing supporters so directly, and Rockefeller himself often denies interest in service as "standby equipment." Both he and the President, therefore, may prefer him to take active responsibility in the Cabinet. Henry Kissinger is known to want his former boss as Secretary of State; and Rockefeller's long commitment to heavy military spending makes him a likely prospect to succeed Melvin Laird, who plans to resign.

Nonetheless, as Rockefeller continues to transform Albany, with its monumental new mall, into what appears to be a standby national capital, he may feel diminishing interest in moving to Nixon's Washington.

YAF IN ACAPULCO
Young Americans for Freedom has announced a three-day national convention in Houston, September 5-5, in preparation for its eight-day "South of the Border Tour," culminating with three "free days" fighting Communism in Acapulco.

"Come for the "fantastic ... exciting ... de­ luxe" tour; arranged by anti-Castro writer and activ­ ist Peter Peterson, it's $270. To assure that only the toughest anti-Communists take part, however, the trip is restricted to survivors of the rigorous conven­ tion schedule in Houston, including a five-hour flight to Acapulco. Plan it now. Promote it now. "Wayne's World,Bertie," and a program of speeches by William F. Buckley, Senator James Buckley, Senator Robert C. Byrd, Senator Al Gore, Mayor Richard J. Daley, Mayor John Breitman, Mayor Richard H.批判, Dr. Fred Schwartz, Stephen Stasheff, Dolph Droge, John East, Lee Edwards, John Jones, and several other well known speakers.

The final elimination is a telephone address by the group's favored 1972 Presidential candidate Gov­ ernor Ronald Reagan on the evening of Saturday, September 5. Survivors leave for Mexico City on the 6th.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and luncheon club run by a Policy Organization whose members are women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters and affiliated groups throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of psychologists and historians. The magazine is published semi-monthly, distributed by mail to members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of psychologists and historians. The purpose is to provide for a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched and prepared for a widespread audience of people interested in political, educational, and independent thinking within the Re
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Contributing Editors: Howard L. Rotter, William Bald.
DENVER — The mid-year Republi- 
can National Committee meet-
ing last month went along with the 
President’s wish for a San Diego 
convention — and did little else.

Disgustment among many 
Committee members about the San 
Diego choice was evident, but even 
the opportunity provided by an 
open floor fight led by Florida 
yielded only 12 votes for Miami 
from among the 131 Committee 
members voting.

The report of the RNC’s Dele-
gates and Organizations Committee 
(OD) concerned with opening up 
the process of selecting delegates to 
the National Conventions was 
received by the Committee with 
difference.

BUSBING from page 1
peacefully get on with the business of 
educating their children.

To many Southern schoolmen, 
the President’s grandiose decision 
to forbid use of federal desegrega-
tion money for busing meant only 
that the cost would have to come 
out of strained state and local 
budgets. The President’s basicetics 
also made it all but impossible for 
local officials in the South to ignore 
the racial issue.

If the white South was not 
pleased by the President’s per-
formance in defiance of the Su-
preme Court, even two loyal and 
moderate Republican Congressmen, 
Albert H. Quie of Minnesota and 
preme Court, said 
Alphonzo Bell of California, said 
moderate Republican Congressmen,
formance in defiance of the 

RNC Gears Up for 1972

Lindsay May Switch Alone

NEW YORK — As John Lind-
lsay negotiates his way into the 
Democratic party, he will not bring 
many Republicans in tow.

Republicans still in high posi-
tions at City Hall include Finance 
Administrator Richard Lewisohn, 
Corporation Counsel Lee Rankin, 
Investigations Commissioner Rob-
ert Ruskin, Housing Administrator 
Albert Walsh, Transportation Com-
misioner Constantine Sidamon-
Eristoff, and Executive Assistant 
Leon Panetta. Eristoff, Walsh, and 
Panetta have stated they will not 
remain Republicans and none of the 
rest is expected to switch.

Outside the Administration but 
important to the Mayor, top fund-
raisers John Hay Whitney and 
Gustave Levy, former roommate 
and Deputy Mayor Robert Sweet, 
campaign treasurer Fergus Reid III, 
and David Rockefeller all indicated 
willingness to sign a public Ripon 
letter asking the Mayor to stay Re-
publican; and close long term coun-
sellors Bethuel Webster and Her-
bert Brownell have made recent 
private entreaties.

The Mayor’s top staff advisers — 
including Deputy Mayor Richard 
Aurelio, a Democrat before moving 
into Republican employ — have 
been unanimous, however, in urg-
ing an early switch and Presidential 
announcement: Aurelio has been 
looking exclusively for a Democrat 
to replace Robert Shrum, formerly 
the Mayor’s speechwriter, who de-
rected to Senator Edmund Muskie.

Many Democrats close to the 
Mayor would like him to resign in 
a manner that prepares the way 
for a reform successor like Howard 
Samuels, but political reality is 
more likely to dictate a deal with 
the powerful Brooklyn Democratic 
organization for support at Miami 
Beach. Aurelio understandably 
poses any arrangement that 
relinquishes the Mayoralty as a power 
bare before the convention.

that they would not support Mr. 
Nixon’s attempt to ban federal 
funds for busing.

As a final note just to underscore 
the futility of the President play-
ing politics with the race issue, 
Governor George C. Wallace of 
Alabama virtually announced his 
candidacy just two days after Mr. 
Nixon’s stand in the school bus 
door. Wallace accused the 
President of “performing badly” 
and of “standing forthrightly on both 
riors” on the busing issue.

Willard Marriott, National Com-
mitteewoman from the District of 
Columbia, Treasurer. The general 
counsel is Fred C. Scribner, also 
general counsel for the RNC. A 
couple of positions were created 
for the first time for 1972. McDill 
(“Huck”) Boyd, National Com-
mitteeman from Kansas, was ap-
pointed Special Assistant to the 
Chairman for Convention Planning. 
(Year ago, Boyd was one of those 
who pushed hardest for Dole’s ap-
pointment as RNC head.) Also, 
Ray C. Bliss, who set up the 
‘68 Convention, serves as Advisor 
to the Committee on Arrangements.

The five subcommittees of the 
Arrangements Committee, each 
with a chairman and vice chairman, 
were also chosen by Dole. With 
the sole exception of Hope Mc-
Cormick, National Committeewo-
man from Illinois, all are from the 
conservative end of the party.

WED. CLUB from page 1

group, had expanded to 12 by the 
time of the 1970 elections, when 
active member Charles E. Goodell 
was defeated. Since then, with 
the election of the President’s “ideo-
logical majority,” the group has 
grown to 16, including new Sena-
tors Lowell Weicker, Robert Taft, 
Jr. and J. Glenn Beall and incum-
bents J. Caleb Boggs of Dela-
ware and Ted Stevens of Alaska, 
both up for reelection in 1972.

Other members are Senators 
Brooke, Case, Cooper, Cook, Hat- 
field, Javits, Pearson, Percy, Saxbe 
and Schweiker.

Senator Len Jordan of Idaho, a 
non-member, endorsed both Wed-
nesday Club proposals; Marlow 
Cook and James Pearson, both 
members, supported neither. Mem-
ers Percy and Beall backed estab-
lishment of the Productivity Coun-
cil, but not the wage-price board.

Senators Pearson and Hatfield, 
on the other hand, both advocate 
immediate imposition of mandatory 
controls, an action opposed at 
this time by the rest of the Wednesday 
Club. Hatfield was the only Sena-
tor directly to attack the President’s 
economic policies at the press con-
cerence, calling them “disastrous.”

The problem of communicating 
with the White House without re-
sort to the media has also con-
froneda Minority Leader Hugh 
Scott. Senator Scott reportedly gets 
to see the President but not to ex-
press his views on the economy.