

RIPON FORUM

VOL. VII, No. 10

AUG. 15, 1971

25 CENTS

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 "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

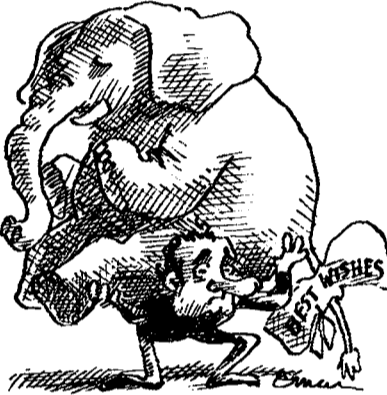
- turn to page 4

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.



Senate Group Prods Nixon

WASHINGTON — The Wednesday Club of progressive Republican Senators, thwarted in attempts to arrange a private meeting with the President, held a press conference early in August in an effort to communicate to him their desire "to help him fight inflation and unemployment."

Although club members had led efforts to constrict Presidential powers in foreign policy, this time they offered the President new economic powers he says he does not want.

The group proposed to establish two new economic agencies: (1) a three member board, to set "voluntary" wage-price guidelines, which would be enforced through government procurement, loan and regulatory policies; and (2) a 23 member National Commission on Productivity, conceived by Senator Jacob Javits, which would create local councils with representation from labor, business and government to give businesses advice on how to increase productivity.

The club, begun by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland early in 1969 as a four-man luncheon

- turn to page 4

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.

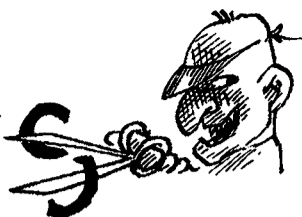
Uhlman's Response

Although response to Bayley's action was generally favorable, Democratic Mayor Wesley Uhlman charged political motivations when his own campaign fund records were subpoenaed, 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 that 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.

EDITORIAL NOTE



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 revulsion, all the puff adder menace of the Committee of 10 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!"



Conrad Cartoon — Reprinted by permission of the Register & Tribune Syndicate.

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 GOP, one might have supposed, would be somewhat grudging in its rejection of a quarter century of its leaders' teachings. But according to Gallup's surveys, after the President's speech Republicans had become *more* receptive by 17 percent than Democrats to normalization of relations with Communist China. The power of Presidential leadership easily prevailed over earlier Republican prejudices long regarded as solid "public opinion."

The right wing, meanwhile, seemed reduced to Senator John Tower, who immediately attacked the President, and the twelve crotchety conservatives — none with elective office—who signed William Buckley's "suspension of support." Even some of

Tower's own aides and supporters in Texas were disappointed by the Senator's attack on the President's initiative.

And Senators James Buckley and Barry Goldwater had learned enough of politics not to enlist against the President at the crest of his acclaim, when even a 57 percent Gallup majority of young people—age 18 to 29—swung to overall approval of the President's performance.

Yet the China demarche is only a beginning. The President is said to be "elated" with his discovery of Progressive Republican politics. The question remains whether he will continue to fulfill the promise of this initiative by staying on a high course in foreign policy and by extending this approach to domestic policy (with a real shift in priorities that allows effective revenue sharing, welfare reform, and employment programs); or whether he will discredit his office, as he did in the 1970 campaign, by returning to narrow calculations of partisan advantage in exploiting the fears and prejudices of the electorate—seeking a downhill course to reelection that will more likely end in defeat.

The China initiative and the response to it—which the President might profitably compare to the reaction to Spiro Agnew and the 1970 campaign—give us hope, however, that Nixon has at last discovered the responsiveness of the American people to inspired Presidential leadership.

PATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP

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 none 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 witty 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."

People in Politics

● 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 Richard Allen, who had left the Administration in early 1969 after a conflict with Henry Kissinger. Allen served officially as Nixon's chief foreign policy advisor during the 1968 campaign.

Allen and Peterson were embarrassed 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 IBM president Albert L. Williams, is scheduled to report to President Nixon this month.

● Shortly 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 ("Tex") Lazar, who has been collaborating with the National Review editor 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 philosophical inspiration not only from Buckley 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.

Also leaving 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 be given two-year terms 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 chaired by Rockefeller to study it.

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 Farrah of South Dakota, Harold LeVander of Minnesota and Raymond Shafer 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 gubernatorial vacancy would be 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 Republican primary would be a vote to turn the state over to the Democrats (except in the highly unlikely event of Republican control of the State Senate in 1972). McCall also raised questions, and disconcerted his aides, by his behavior at the Western States Governors Conference when he bitterly attacked Governor Reagan on one day and warmly embraced him the next.

● Former GOP standardbearer Alf Landon organized a statement 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 beliefs 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 phone calls from the White House after Vice 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 of the NAACP were told that the President did not agree with Agnew. Chosen to relay the Presidential apologies were Leonard Garment, 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 moderate Republican William McConkey.

● 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 affront his right wing supporters so directly, and Rockefeller himself often denies interest in service as "standby equipment." Both he and the President, therefore, might 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.

ERRATUM

Carl J. Gilbert, the President's able Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, was erroneously identified as Lewis Gilbert in the editorial on page 3 of the August FORUM.

YAF IN ACAPULCO

Young Americans for Freedom has announced a three-day national convention in Houston, September 3-5, in preparation for its eight-day "South of the Border Tour," culminating with three "free days" fighting Communism in Acapulco.

Charge for the "fantastic ... exciting ... deluxe" tour, arranged by anti-Castro writer and activist Paul Bethel, is \$279. To assure that only the toughest anti-Communists take part, however, the trip is restricted to survivors of the rigorous convention schedule in Houston, including a five-hour film festival, featuring John Wayne's "The Green Berets," and a program of speeches by William F. Buckley, Senator James Buckley, Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), Rep. William R. Archer (R-Tex.), Kevin Phillips, Rep. Philip Crane (R-Ill.), M. Stanton Evans, Dean Clarence Manion, Herbert Philbrick, Dr. Fred Schwartz, Stephen Shadegg, 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 Governor Ronald Reagan on the evening of September 5. Survivors leave for Mexico City on the 6th.

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.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid at Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1971 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$10 a year, \$5 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$10 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editors: George Gilder, Evelyn Ellis.
Contributing Editor: Howard L. Reiter.

RNC Gears Up for 1972

DENVER — The mid-year Republican National Committee meeting last month went along with the President's wish for a San Diego convention — and did little else.

Disgruntlement 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 Delegates and Organizations Committee (DO) concerned with opening up the process of selecting delegates to the National Convention, and broadening representation within the delegations, was received by the Committee with indifference.

Authorized by the 1968 Convention, the DO recommendations will probably go to the 1972 Convention without action, so that the first implementation would be delayed until 1976.

Reported proposals liberalizing the selection process and assigning half the positions to women were unpalatable to many state chairmen concerned with retaining control of their delegations.

National Convention committee appointments made in Denver include: Arrangements Committee — Sen. Robert Dole chairman; Richard Herman, National Committeeman from Nebraska, vice chairman; Mrs. Mildred K. Perkins, National Committeewoman from New Hampshire, Secretary; and Mrs. J.

Willard Marriott, National Committeewoman 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 Committeeman from Kansas, was appointed Special Assistant to the Chairman for Convention Planning. (Last year, Boyd was one of those who pushed hardest for Dole's appointment 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 McCormick, National Committeewoman from Illinois, all are from the conservative end of the party.

Lindsay May Switch Alone

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

Republicans still in high positions at City Hall include Finance Administrator Richard Lewisohn, Corporation Counsel Lee Rankin, Investigations Commissioner Robert Ruskin, Housing Administrator Albert Walsh, Transportation Commissioner Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff, and Executive Assistant Leon Panetta. Eristoff, Walsh, and Panetta have stated they will remain Republicans and none of the rest is expected to switch.

Outside the Administration but important to the Mayor, top fundraisers 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 counsellors Bethuel Webster and Herbert 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 urging an early switch and Presidential announcement. Aurelio has been looking exclusively for a Democrat to replace Robert Shrum, formerly the Mayor's speechwriter, who defected 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 opposes any arrangement that relinquishes the Mayoralty as a power base before the convention.

BUSING *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 desegregation money for busing meant only that the cost would have to come out of strained state and local budgets. The President's histrionics 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 performance in defiance of the Supreme Court, even two loyal and moderate Republican Congressmen, Albert H. Quie of Minnesota and Alphonzo Bell of California, said

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 playing 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 sides" on the busing issue.

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 "ideological majority," the group has grown to 16, including new Senators Lowell Weicker, Robert Taft, Jr. and J. Glenn Beall and incumbents J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware and Ted Stevens of Alaska, both up for reelection in 1972.

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

Senator Len Jordan of Idaho, a non-member, endorsed both Wednesday Club proposals; Marlow Cook and James Pearson, both members, supported neither. Members Percy and Beall backed establishment of the Productivity Council, 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 Senator directly to attack the President's economic policies at the press conference, calling them "disastrous."

The problem of communicating with the White House without resort to the media has also confounded Minority Leader Hugh Scott. Senator Scott reportedly gets to see the President but not to express his views on the economy.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Ma. 02138. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.