

# RIPON FORUM

Politics	1-3
Commentary	2-3
Duly Noted	4

NOV. 1, 1974

VOL. X No. 20

50 Cents

## POLITICS: REPORTS

### GOP

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 Demo-

crats 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

This issue of the FORUM is abbreviated in order to devote more time and attention to publishing a post-election issue of the FORUM as comprehensively and quickly as possible. Beginning with the November 15 issue of the FORUM, the newsletter will switch from a typeset to a typewritten style. This change is being undertaken largely to economize on printing costs. Subscription prices have never covered the bulk of the FORUM's costs, and the change to a typewritten style has been made to produce the best possible product for the least possible money. We hope this change will also speed delivery of your subscription.

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 ineligibility of the Democratic candidate chosen in the Democratic gubernatorial runoff. Successful nominee Charles "Pug" Ravelle 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 Ravelle 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 Behn 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 pieties.

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

*Behn, FORUM editor, and Stewart, Ripon vice president for publications, both live in the city of Boston.*

November 1, 1974

### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

- Title of publication: Ripon FORUM.
- Date of filing: October 1, 1974.
- Frequency of issue: Twice Monthly.
- Location of known office of publication: 509 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.
- Location of headquarters or general business offices of the publishers (not printers): 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.
- Names and addresses of Publisher: Michael F. MacLeod, 509 C St. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002  
Editor: Richard J. Behn, P.O. Box 226, Charlestown, MA 02129  
Managing Editor: Victoria Golden, 509 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.
- The owner is: The Ripon Society, Inc., 509 C Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002.
- Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: none.
- For completion by non-profit organizations authorized to mail at special rates: not applicable.
- Extent and nature of circulation:

	Average Number of copies each issue during the preceding twelve months	Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
a. Total number of copies printed (net press run)	3,500	3,400
b. Paid circulation:		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	12	10
2. Mail subscription	2,540	2,536
c. Total paid circulation	2,552	2,546
d. Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means:		
1. Samples, complimentary and other free copies	583	598
2. Copies distributed to news agents but not sold	13	5
e. Total distribution (sum of c and d)	3,148	3,147
f. Office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	352	253
g. Total (sum of e and f — should equal net press run shown in a)	3,500	3,400

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.  
Victoria Golden

**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 District of Columbia, chapters in fifteen 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., 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage rates paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing houses. Contents are copyrighted © 1974 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. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES** are \$15 a year, \$7.50 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$3 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor Dick Behn

Editorial Board:

Robert D. Behn, Chairman  
Robert H. Donaldson  
James Manahan

Tanya Mellich  
Robert G. Stewart  
Ralph Thayer

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, William A. Koelsch, Daniel J. Swillinger, Josiah Lee Auspitz, Richard W. Rahn, John A. Rohfuss, Thomas A. Sargent, Richard Cleveland, Mark Frazier, Peter Berg, Martin Sours, and William K. Woods.

Technical Editor: Brian McCarthy

Art: Leslie Morrill and Annie Greene

---

## POLITICS: PEOPLE

---

● Ramsey Clark's "Mr. Clean" image in the current New York Senate campaign belies his involvement in electronic and physical surveillance while he was attorney general in the Johnson Administration. Classified Justice Department documents reportedly show that Clark was responsible for illegal wiretapping of the country's civil rights leaders during that period. Clark also headed an interagency task force which coordinated surveillance of anti-war demonstrators. Six years later, Clark has a convenient new "Mr. Rights" image in his campaign against Sen. Jacob Javits (R).

● The political rewards of press confrontation appear to be declining. At the outset of the Hawaii gubernatorial campaign, Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi (D) was the undisputed leader. Fasi in recent years had made a virtual career of his criticism of the Honolulu media, particularly its newspapers; he went so far as to

---

## MARGIN RELEASE

---

Now the true story can be told. Santa Claus is bankrolled by the Central Intelligence Agency. The operation is funded by the CIA's white tricks department, which had previously been linked to the Easter Bunny and the Good Tooth Fairy.

These revelations were announced today by Sen. "Scoop" Washington, who has been delving into allegations linking Santa Claus to a worldwide system of counter-espionage. Although the nature of Claus' financial backing has long been the subject of speculation on Capitol Hill, it was Santa Claus' failure to file the necessary affidavits to obtain a non-profit organization mailing permit which brought him to Sen. Washington's attention.

Claus is without any obvious source of funds; congressional curiosity about the situation led to the investigation which in turn led to the CIA connection. Sources familiar with closed door testimony have revealed that Claus' beard is a fake — indeed his whole image was created by a high-powered team of CIA psychiatrists.

According to Sen. Washington, further snooping has linked Claus to the sighting of twelve flying reindeer over Moscow last year. At that time, a State Department spokesman had passed off the incident as the result of "second-rate hallucinogenics" but a high level official now admits that Claus was involved. At the time, according to this official, the Claus caper threatened the progress of détente. SALT talks broke down over the issue of reindeer parity; the Russians demanded to know if flying reindeer were multiple-targeted or single-targeted re-entry weapons. In a statement today, 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

exclude critical reporters from his press conferences. In the October 5 Democratic primary, however, Fasi garnered only 32 percent of the vote, compared to 36 percent for Lt. Gov. George R. Ariyoshi, who had been acting governor. Gov. John A. Burns, a longtime political foe of Fasi, has cancer and is retiring. Much of Fasi's political decline this year is attributable to his feud with the press and the political fallout from his large campaign contributions from real estate developers.

● A poll taken by a Vermont political scientist shows Gov. Thomas Salmon (D) crushing his Republican opponent, House Speaker Walter L. Kennedy, 43-21 percent. Republicans are leading, however, in the Senate and House races where U.S. Rep. Richard Mallary (R) leads his Senate opponent, Chittenden County State's Attorney Patrick J. Leahy, 43-29 percent. Former Attorney General James Jeffords (R) leads House Democratic House aspirant Francis Cain, 54-25 percent. The pollster, Dr. Vincent Naramore, characterized Mallary's lead as "soft," however, and noted that Leahy has been making inroads among independent voters.

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 chiselers 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 signed 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." db

---

## 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 rate of only 34 percent among Nebraska voters. By contrast, Sen. Roman Hruska has an approval rate of 38 percent and Gov. J. James Exon (D) has an approval rate 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-Dispatch*, 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 wreak 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 like to start new enterprises and make old ones come alive again. We need people who are willing to shed their institutional cocoons 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's 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 failing 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 Legislature Seats," by Pat Murphy. *Detroit News*, September 24, 1974. "Voters in northwest Detroit could have a lot to say about the married life of Robert Law and Teresa Gillis, who intend to Marry Nov. 16. . . Law 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 Democratic delegates." She based her findings 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 into the southern vote."

---

## RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.