

THE RIPON FORUM

The War On Poverty
In Mississippi
p.p. 5-7

JULY, 1967

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VOL. III, NO. 7

Overkill at Omaha

The leaders of the Young Republican National Federation have convincingly demonstrated at their Omaha, Nebraska, convention that the success of radical conservatism means everything to them while the success of the Republican Party means nothing.

For Republicans throughout the country the last few months have been exhilarating ones. It has been exciting to belong again to a resurgent party. But the spirit of energy and growth and hope for the future was dashed at the Omaha convention of the Young Republican National Federation.

A minority party which had just begun to grow and attract new voters was told that its Young Republican leaders prefer their organization to be narrow and exclusive.

A divided party which had just begun to realize a new spirit of cooperation was told that the Young Republican leaders did not wish to cooperate.

A hopeful party which was pointing ahead to victory in 1968 was told that its Young Republican leaders are planning to repeat the misadventures of 1964.

All of this would be regrettable if it merely described the behavior of a special interest group, a single candidate or a small faction. But the real tragedy lies in the fact that the disruptions in Omaha were the work of young people who are accredited as official party leaders, chartered by the official Republican Party organization and financed by funds raised in its name.

All this has come at a time when the Republican National Committee has become more professional, more disciplined and more neutral, geared to advance the general party interest and not to be the tool of any faction or candidate. Yet the Committee's youth auxiliary has flatly declared that it seeks to use one part of the party's professional apparatus as a weapon of one narrow faction which seeks to rule the party even at the cost of ruining it. Its new chairman ran on a platform which draws the battle lines even more sharply and threatens to break all Young Republican ties with the national party.

Because they have come to recognize the importance of young voters and workers to the Republican resurgence, senior party officials had worked quietly and industriously to avoid these difficulties. They were coldly rebuffed and even the compromise agreements they had apparently reached with outgoing Young Republican Chairman Tom Van Sickle were roared down at Omaha.

RAT FINKS DEFENDED

The Republican National Committee had moved last year to eliminate a well publicized embarrassment to the party and to its youth auxiliary — the prominence of the "Rat Fink" extremists who controlled New Jersey's Young Republican organization.

The Rat Finks (the name is one they chose for themselves) wrote and sang anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-Catholic songs at a number of Young Republican gatherings, enthusiastically supported Governor George Wallace of Alabama and generally styled themselves after the Ku Klux Klan. Their leader, Richard F. Plechner, became the chairman of New Jersey state Young Republicans and a national Young Republican vice chairman in 1965.

Despite these developments, and in the face of increasing publicity, the National Young Republicans, including Chairman Tom Van Sickle, refused to condemn the Rat Finks or remove their leader from national office. They went so far as to repudiate the efforts of those such as New Jersey state senior Republican Party Chairman Webster B. Todd and the Eastern Regional Young Republican organization, who had sought such condemnation. The National YRs even threatened to suspend the New Jersey Young Republican charter if the anti-Rat Fink efforts continued. Finally in June of 1966 the Republican National Committee itself stepped in and adopted a strong resolution censuring the Rat Finks "for espousing bigotry and racial prejudice" and calling for the removal of Plechner. After more foot dragging, the Young Republican Executive Committee accepted his resignation in August (but only by a 25 to 19 vote) and then turned around and voted to condemn the senior National Committee and Chairman Bliss for their "interference." It finally passed a resolution of "thanks and appreciation" to the Rat Fink leader "for his efforts in behalf of the Young Republican National Federation and to this country."

Their leader had resigned (though in honor), but the Rat Finks continued to be influential in New Jersey. Finally, State Chairman Webster B. Todd, "fed up with bad advertising," and with united support from his county chairmen, prevailed upon county Young Republican leaders to dissolve and reconstitute the organization so as to free it from Rat Fink influence. The Rat Finks announced they would retaliate at Omaha, where they knew they had support, and retaliate they did.

NEW JERSEY REJECTED

It was at Omaha that the National Young Republican leadership put the final touch on its carefully designed effort to defend the honor of the Rat Finks and to repudiate and humiliate Republican National Chairman Raymond C. Bliss, State Chairman Todd, the Republican National Committee, the New Jersey State Committee and all those who had worked to free the party of the Rat Fink embarrassment.

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Included with your FORUM this month is a summary of the response from the national press to The Ripon Society's Research Paper "The Negative Income Tax."

Plechner and a few cohorts were flown to the convention where they urged that the regular delegation be unseated and replaced by the Rat Finks. Chairman Van Sickle would not support the seating of Plechner, but he did agree to oust the regulars. And thus under tight control from their right-wing leaders, long known as "the Syndicate," the convention refused to seat the "clean" New Jersey delegation.

The rejected delegation had been chosen by the New Jersey Young Republican officers and approved by its board of directors. It had the endorsement of the senior Republican State Chairman, the two New Jersey Republican National Committeemen and the chairman of each Republican county committee in the state. The delegation was rejected by a vote of 383-229. This was the first time in history that a National YR Convention had excluded the delegation of an entire state. Many normally conservative delegates (including those from Texas and Ohio) refused to support the exclusionary move, demonstrating that it was not ideology but a sense of decency which was at issue. At the very same time that the rest of the party was fighting to present a more attractive image, the Rat Fink image cast a dark shadow over the Young Republican gathering at Omaha.

OTHER STATES AS WELL

Even as the Convention refused to cooperate with New Jersey Republican leaders, it also repudiated the wishes of the senior party in Rhode Island. State party leaders had revoked the charter of a Syndicate delegation before the convention began for lack of contribution to the party. The convention seated the unchartered delegation anyway.

The District of Columbia delegation originally chosen by the membership there was muscled out by the Syndicate shortly before the convention, but the appeal of the victimized group was ignored by the convention. A Syndicate delegation also replaced the Washington state delegation approved by Governor Evans.

These convention actions were at variance with past Young Republican assurances to the Republican National Committee. On June 20, 1966, YR Chairman Van Sickle had said: "As Chairman of the Young Republican organization I am certainly going to respect the actions of the Republican State Committees in the various states and if they recommend any actions to our Executive Committee they feel are in the best interest of them in their state, I, as Chairman of the Young Republicans, will certainly wholeheartedly support them."

BLISS DEFIED

In January of 1964 the Republican National Committee *unanimously* adopted the recommendations of a committee headed by former national chairman Meade Alcorn of Connecticut. The Alcorn report argued that since the Young Republican National Federation had been created and organized by the senior party, was funded and given office space by the parent group and even had its chairman sitting on the Republican National Committee, it should be subject to limited restraints imposed by the senior party.

The report was taken from the shelf when the YRNF resisted the Rat Fink cleanup of 1966. The Young Republicans condemned the report, particularly its key recommendation that the YR executive director be appointed by the Republican National Chairman. Finally Young Republican Chairman Van Sickle and Republican National Chairman Bliss compromised on this issue. They agreed to give the National Chairman the right to "advise and consent" but not to make the ap-

pointment himself. Van Sickle promised to recommend the compromise at the convention.

What happened at Omaha? *Even this watered down Bliss-Van Sickle compromise was rejected.*

And so were almost all the rest of the Bliss recommendations, which constituted a personal plea by the National Chairman for cooperation in building a stronger party. The only part of the Bliss request which was accepted allowed two National Committee members to sit on the Young Republican Executive Committee, but without being allowed to vote. This was the only part of the compromise package which Chairman Van Sickle endorsed enthusiastically, and he made it clear to the delegates that this would expand Young Republican influence by helping them to obtain greater representation on the Republican Coordinating Committee. The delegates said "yes" to this single provision, yet there were 278 intransigents who voted against even this modest effort to coordinate with the senior party. On all other proposals the votes were cast against the Alcorn Report, against Chairman Bliss, against the National Committee and against the State Chairman.

It must be remembered that the Alcorn report had received the *unanimous* endorsement of the Republican National Committee, even in its stronger form. The compromise was supported by Chairman Bliss and most senior party leaders all over the nation. The party's fund raisers were particularly concerned that responsible GOP officials should not give away tens of thousands of dollars without some kind of control over how the money was to be spent. And most elected officials had been quite frank about their desire to see the Young Republicans become more a part of the regular party team instead of an unaligned organization responsible only to its own hierarchy. To all of these people the Young Republicans gave a completely negative response.

GOLDWATER, REAGAN CONCUR

The greatest impetus to this refusal to cooperate came not from the YR ranks but from Barry Goldwater, who received a hero's welcome when he addressed the convention on Wednesday. Bliss had spoken earlier and had been received with courtesy; some thought his low-keyed speech had persuaded some delegates to support the compromise. When Goldwater arrived in Omaha, Syndicate leaders rushed to ask his help. He gave it. Meanwhile Bliss had left both the convention and Omaha. There was no strong voice to counter the Arizona Senator. With allusions to the recent meeting of the Women's Federation, Goldwater now characterized the Bliss compromise as an attempt by the National Committee to "take over" the YRs and gave his now famous warning: "Don't let it happen." *This quickly became the battle cry of the Syndicate and the motto of the convention which it controlled.* Soon signs and badges proclaimed the defiant message on every hand. When the roll was called on the amendments Virginia exemplified the mood of the day with its responses: "Leave us alone," and "Don't let it happen." So did Washington State's spokesman who thundered, "Hell, no!"

We should note that this repudiation of the senior party was endorsed after the fact by one other older voice, that of California's Governor Ronald Reagan. "Various volunteer Republican groups would lose their virility if they were completely dominated by the party machinery," he said, as he advised opposition to "any

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OMAHA: From the Convention Floor

● A sample presidential poll taken by the Douglas County, Nebraska, YRs showed something of the temper of the convention. It gave Ronald Reagan a three-to-one margin over both Richard Nixon and Texas Senator John Tower. Governor Romney received only one-sixth of the Reagan vote, but even more telling was the fact that a Democrat, George Wallace, out-pollled GOP leaders such as Governor Rockefeller and Senators Brooke and Percy. It was *that* kind of convention.

● Lieutenant Governor James Goetz of Minnesota may have provided the high point for the anti-Syndicate conventioners with his vigorous plea for reform in the YR ranks, including all the Alcorn proposals as well as efforts to more fairly apportion convention delegates among the states. The convention chairman later admitted he had invited Goetz without Syndicate approval.

● The intransigence of the YR Syndicate was demonstrated by their election to positions on the national board of precisely those leaders who had been most ardent in defense of the Rat Finks over the past two years and their denial of positions to opponents of the Rat Finks.

● When the Northeastern regional representative to the national YR board was chosen, the region informed the convention that its caucus had unanimously supported a non-Syndicate candidate. The Syndicate however, managed to defeat him in the convention-at-large, a move which prompted a telegram of vigorous protest from Massachusetts senior party chairman Josiah Spaulding to Chairman Bliss.

● Some convention observers wondered if moderates might not have drawn the line more dramatically on a number of issues. "They didn't even contest a number of offices or ask for roll calls on some touch-and-go issues," a Syndicate member remarked. "It was easier than we expected."

● When Chairman Van Sickle reported Governor Romney's cancellation, he noted that if Romney's new tax program did not go through, state spending would have to be cut 18%. The convention immediately responded to this possibility with a loud roar of approval. (Fortunately, Romney won a major victory and pushed through the new income tax.)

● "I don't know why the National Committee keeps giving them funds," one disgruntled delegate exploded at week's end. "It's like pouring money down a rat-fink hole."

● The London *Economist* noted that on the last day of the convention, after most of the press had left, one of the very few Negro delegates "plaintively and unsuccessfully sought recognition from the floor in an effort to propose a civil rights amendment; he resigned from the Federation the next morning." The *Economist* described this as "perhaps the most symbolic moment of the convention."

● Considerable sentiment developed against refunding the registration fees which the New Jersey delegation had paid before being refused seating at the convention. The issue was "compromised" by allowing the New Jerseyites to stay on as guests with a refund of fees only for those activities which the delegation had not yet attended.

● Although Chairman Van Sickle had pledged himself to support the Bliss compromise, few Syndicate delegates misunderstood his real position. The New Hampshire chairman, in fact, announced that his delegation was voting against the compromise "and in support of our chairman, Tom Van Sickle."

● Governor Reagan took full advantage of his opportunity for public exposure in Nebraska, an important primary state. To his convention appearance he added a press conference, plus breakfast, luncheon and dinner appearances.

● One of the greatest abuses at the convention was the strange allotment of votes to the state delegations. The method of allotment gives enormous power to the Federation Chairman by giving votes to the officers, chairmen and co-chairmen of the standing committees - all of whom are appointed by the national chairman.

● A published poll taken by E. John Bucci in May was circulated at the convention. The poll had been sent to 3200 Republican office holders and party leaders on a non-selective basis. The more than 380 replies showed the adverse effects of the Rat Fink affair and the Syndicate's preoccupation with its own position within the Federation. The most common complaint (also voiced by state party officials outside the poll) was the YRNF's failure to apply itself to the election of GOP candidates. To the question "In general, what is your opinion of the YRNF?" 39% indicated "Unfavorable," 33% "Favorable" and the remainder "Neutral." or "No Opinion."

● While the YRNF convention was taking place, the College Young Republicans were holding their own convention nine blocks away. It ended in a victory for the "Machine," the college version of the "Syndicate." Actually, both Gary Fairchild (57½ votes) and his chief opponent, Terry Davis (14 votes) were "Machine" members. This, plus the fact that the remaining four officers were from the Midwest, West and South, indicated that the Machine's influence was even stronger than that of the Syndicate in the YRNF. Following the lead of Ohio, which felt that neither candidate for chairman deserved election, seven states abstained. The only major threat to the Machine developed when a move was made to change the order of voting, but a few words from the Machine leadership crushed the resolution.

● The closest the convention came to discussing issues facing the nation was in its consideration of twenty-two resolutions proposed by the various delegations and considered by the resolutions committee. Debate was somewhat limited, for the chairman presented the resolutions to the convention without having provided the delegates with copies.

Perhaps the most indicative of the resolutions was the one which urged the Senate to reconsider the Consular Treaty. Claiming that "events in the Sea of Japan, the Mid East and Vietnam . . . have shown quite clearly that . . . 'bridge-building' is only being truly pursued by the United States," the resolution passed the resolutions committee by a vote of 11-2, with two abstentions, and the convention by a margin of 417-205. As the minority report by John Alden of Vermont and Alan Buchmann of Ohio noted, the Consular Treaty was in-

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NEW JERSEY: 'Rat Finks' Board New Ship

*So leap with joy, be blithe and gay,
Or weep, my friends, with sorrow.
What California is today,
New Jersey will be tomorrow.*

With this jingle as their theme song and an ex-"Rat-Fink" as their leader, the United Republicans of America are organizing in New Jersey. After six months of recruiting, however, they have drawn relatively few to their right-wing standard. Membership now has reached 625; the goal announced last December was 5,000.

The jingle appears at the front of the group's 25-cent booklet entitled, "So You Want Political Power." The pamphlet is a primer for conservatives on how to gain party and government posts in a state where their failures have been conspicuous. The key to the process is control of the Republican Party. "If conservatives are to become dominant in American politics," the booklet begins, "they must learn how to capture and control party organizations."

PRACTICAL ADVICE

Its advice is practical. For example:

USE THE POWER OF APPOINTMENT TO MAINTAIN CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP. Honor and elevate only Conservatives. No matter how inconsequential a political post may be, every political position — club president, precinct captain, county or state committee member, legislative nominee — carries with it some power of recognition or appointment.

Although occasional compromises may be necessary, real political strength is not developed through rewarding the opposition. Liberals and opportunists are seldom "won over." When brought into camp, they merely sow seeds of Conservative undoing. If the fruits of victory are to be distributed to enemies, what does it profit one to be your friend?

The man who heads the organizing drive is H. William Mullaney, a 29-year-old insurance agent and

From the Floor (continued from page three)

initially proposed by President Eisenhower and was ratified by 25 Republican senators, including the entire GOP senatorial leadership. The minority report summed the situation succinctly: "In short, the Resolution places the Young Republican National Federation in direct opposition to most of the Senators of the Republican Party, a position which is certainly an improper one for this body to take."

The convention endorsed the "Eleventh Commandment: Thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican," and urged that all federal support to education be in the form of loans repayable with interest, because "an education can only be recognized as an investment in substantially increased income on the part of the individual."

Also passed was a thoughtful resolution calling for a five-point program to combat air and water pollution. The only resolution specific in its recommendations, it should have set an example of responsibility for the others.

Dairy Queen operator from Oakhurst, N.J. Mullaney was president of the Monmouth County Young Republicans last year until the state YR executive committee named him among ten leaders of the song-singing conservative Rat Fink faction. (The "Rat Fink" term is one which the group chose for itself.) He was forced to resign last September.

Although Mullaney admitted being a Rat Fink, he denied the "Rat Fink Songbook" produced in 1965 had anti-Semitic or anti-Negro verses. He said he never sang the songs anyway, although he still seems fond of at least some political jingles. A special investigating committee of the Monmouth County YRs condemned Mullaney for "poor judgement," but said he committed "no acts of bigotry."

BETTER THAN YR'S

Mullaney sees the United Republicans as a better vehicle for promoting conservatism among the New Jersey GOP than the scarred YRs. But he admits that despite mailing 15,000 brochures in January, the new group has not gotten off the ground. Several months ago he talked enthusiastically of bringing Goldwater, Buckley, or other right-wing luminaries to speak in New Jersey this spring; none of them materialized.

Meanwhile, the New Jersey Young Republicans have been placed in a deep freeze by the Republican State Committee. In January an eight-member board of older Republicans took complete control of the YR organization, ousting the Young Republican's state committee. Conover Spencer, executive director of the New Jersey GOP state committee, said the YRs had become "a source of constant bickering and brawling to the detriment of the Republican party."

Since the take-over, many of its conservative stalwarts appear to have quit, either joining Mullaney's United Republicans, or going even farther right into the wispy ranks of the state Conservative Party.

—Lawrence W. Feinberg
Reporter, Newark News

CALIFORNIA: Bob Wilson

Despite his California base and conservative orientation, Representative Bob Wilson, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, has recently reenforced one of the strongest arguments for a moderate GOP presidential nominee. Looking over the list of marginal seats which the GOP should target in '68, Wilson made it clear that most of the gains would have to come "in the East." The most vulnerable Democrats are those who took traditionally Republican seats in 1964 in New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maine.

"We cannot hope to win a majority," said Wilson, "unless we come back to at least our 1962 strength in the East." Ironically, the man in charge of this eastern-oriented effort is staff director I. Lee Potter, who headed the ill-fated "Operation Dixie" under National Chairman William Miller four years ago. But clearly, the most important factor in building Congressional strength, and possibly a Congressional majority, next time around will be the popularity in these northeastern target districts of the GOP Presidential nominee.

THE WAR ON POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

A Ripon Special Report
THE RIPON FORUM
July, 1967

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A Republican Appraisal

On June 4, 1967, the New York Times Magazine featured an article on the starving poor in America. Many of the examples were drawn from Mississippi, a state which, because of its resistance to civil rights campaigns, suspicion of federal programs, low levels of income and education, and the funds it received under the Employment Opportunity Act of 1964, is a formidable testing ground for anti-poverty programs. This report by Ripon member James L. Robertson examines the balance sheet of these programs and offers several pragmatic recommendations to improve them. Mr. Robertson last year was a member of the board of directors of and presently is legal counsel to the Mid-Delta Education Association, Inc., which operates a Head Start program in Washington County, Miss. He is also chairman of the County Bar Association Committee to study the feasibility of an OEO legal aid program. —Ed.

On November 25, 1964, the Office of Economic Opportunity approved a grant of \$48,887 to the Corinth Miss., Urban Renewal Agency to finance the Program Development Phase of a Community Action Program for a five-county area in extreme northeast Mississippi. This grant was the first allotment of funds appropriated under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to fight the massive problems of poverty in the state of Mississippi. Despite the extent of the need, however, the state into which the grant was made hardly seemed to be an ideal location to wage a war on poverty.

A little over two years prior to this first anti-poverty grant, the state leadership had openly defied the federal government's authority to enforce the orders of the federal courts. In 1963 the voters had approved that act of defiance by electing as their governor the candidate who had been former governor Ross Barnett's right-hand man at Oxford. In the summer of 1964 the state had seen a massive invasion of civil rights forces who had left behind a renewed bitterness in many whites toward anything "tainted" by federal money. And, only three weeks before this grant, Mississippi had given 87% of its vote to the candidate who vowed to bring an end to the New Frontier and the Great Society.

DYNAMIC AND CREATIVE

Today, two and a half years later, it is not at all an exaggeration to state that the War on Poverty has been the most dynamic and creative phenomenon in Mississippi since the Balanced Agriculture With Industry program shortly after the Depression. The program has brought whites and Negroes together in relationships thought impossible three years ago. It has put bread on the tables of the poor and clothes on their children; it has provided hope where before there was none. Local economies have received a shot in the arm from the heavy doses of OEO finances dumped into almost every county in Mississippi. Grants totalling more than \$75,000,000 have been made to an infinite variety of agencies in the state by the Office of Economic Opportunity, but over 75 per cent of this total has been granted to three principal programs: the Community Action programs, Operation Head Start and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Other non-OEO programs, such as the Manpower Development and Training Centers administered by local educational institutions under grants from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, leave little doubt that before the end of the year over \$100,000,000 will have been spent by the federal government toward the social and economic development of Mississippi. Ironically, just

as the rest of the country is becoming a bit disenchanted with the anti-poverty effort, a vast number of former critics in Mississippi are coming around to the view that it may not be such a bad thing after all.

When this two-and-a-half year effort is studied with some detachment, however, it becomes apparent that all is not well. More specifically, the attempt to correct the mistakes of the New Deal by beginning to treat the sources of poverty rather than dealing merely with its symptoms is in serious jeopardy. Local agencies have been confronted with the uncertain funding procedures of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Washington politics have kept local programs operating on a day-to-day basis and have made long-range planning most difficult. Local anti-poverty boards have been unable to reconcile the often conflicting goals of involvement of the poor and the operation of quality programs. And, although millions have been spent, money is always in short supply in proportion to the total need.

MANNER OF OPERATION

Before the several deficiencies of the program are discussed in some detail, it will be helpful to consider the manner in which most anti-poverty programs operate in Mississippi and to point out some of the positive accomplishments which have been made. Although there is no one set of characteristics which will describe every program, most are being organized along the following line: Each program is run by a board of directors, and in the majority of cases the racial composition of such boards is fifty percent white and fifty percent Negro. OEO has recommended a further formula which has been followed in most communities: one-third of the board members must represent the existing governmental agencies (in Mississippi usually the county Board of Supervisors and the city Mayor and Board of Aldermen or City Council); one-third must represent the civic and business leadership of the area to be served; and, one-third must represent the poor.

The basic operating unit for most programs is the county and few, if any, of Mississippi's 82 counties remain untouched by such programs. In some of the more rural areas, counties have been combined to form multi-county programs. Operating with boards described above, these county anti-poverty agencies have won a major victory over the steadily diminishing opposition of white community leaders. Although white involvement in and support of these programs is still not what it ought to be, it is far greater today than anyone believed possible in 1964. Aside from persons with political motivations and a few die-hards, little effort is made locally by whites to impede the anti-poverty effort. Still, many bridges remain to be crossed before this silent tolerance is turned into open advocacy.

BENEFITS

One important achievement of these county programs may be found in the experience which local Negroes have gained in positions of great responsibility. No matter how able a given Negro may have been, he is bound to have become a more useful citizen after spending a year as a member of a board of directors administering a million-dollar program. Generally speaking, the first experience of so many Negroes in Mississippi of being able to assume a measure of responsibility for their own destiny has been a healthy one for all.

Another positive result of the operation of these programs has been the opening up of hundreds of new jobs

for both Negroes and whites. People who formerly worked as cooks and domestic servants for salaries often less than \$25 a week are now making \$1.40 an hour performing very similar duties in Head Start centers. Although in many instances the poor have been placed in jobs in which they are not able to function effectively (generally through no fault of their own), they are at least able to feed their families three square meals a day and to say that they earned (rather than were given) the money with which to do it.

Still another beneficial effect of these programs may be found in the educational effect their existence has had on the community at large. First, they have proven to many skeptics that Negroes and whites can work together as equals, even though in many programs petty conflicts attributable to race have developed. Second, program personnel have unearthed and widely published countless statistics dealing with the extent of poverty in the community. Hundreds of middle-class Mississippians have been astonished to discover just how many poor people live in their area.

TOO FEW ARE HELPED

This latter realization, however, leads to a major deficiency in the anti-poverty effort in Mississippi—only a small percentage of the persons in need are being served. True, roughly \$75,000,000 have already been spent in Mississippi. But when it is considered that 62.8% of all families in Mississippi, a state with a total population of approximately 2,200,000, live on less than \$4,000 per year, the amount granted by OEO to Mississippi is little more than a drop in the bucket.

Rarely do any of the local programs serve even 25% of those eligible. For example, Head Start schools usually have enrolled only about ten per cent of the children eligible. In Washington County two programs serve approximately 1,700 children, only about one-fourth of the total who ought to be enrolled and who could profit from Head Start. Statistics are similar for the Neighborhood Youth Corps and other programs. Thus, the conclusion may be drawn that, unless OEO grants are greatly increased immediately, an actual reduction in the number of such poor persons in Mississippi as a result of the War On Poverty is simply not likely to happen to such a significant extent that twenty years from now poverty will no longer be a problem in Mississippi.

On the other hand, anti-poverty programs do not run themselves. With many programs operating on budgets of \$500,000 or more per year, the need for sound and efficient management is acute, will become even more acute if Congress ever appropriates enough money to allow local programs to begin making a serious effort to reach all of the poor, and has been made all too apparent by a number of problems which have arisen.

EXORBITANT CHARGES

First, many local merchants and business men charge exorbitant prices for goods and services. Landlords of Head Start centers and other physical facilities try to charge unrealistic rents. Book salesmen try to sell unneeded and often unsuitable textbooks and resource materials to the programs. In short, many of the capitalists of Mississippi have found a soft touch in more than just a few local anti-poverty programs.

Second, most local programs have encountered many difficult personnel problems. Many of these result from petty racial conflicts. Others are caused by the failure of many Negroes employed in the programs to understand that much more is expected of them than was the case when they were twenty-dollars-a-week domestic servants. Still others result from criticism by civil rights forces of whites and so-called "Uncle Toms" in the programs. What is most universally needed in Mississippi's anti-poverty programs is a corps of tough but impartial directors.

Third, and closely related to the personnel problem just mentioned, few local programs are run by people whose primary allegiance is to the program itself. Most programs are run by people with commitments to civil rights groups whose self-interests do not always coincide with the best interests of the poor. Perhaps this is inevitable in any program which brings together such

widely diverse groups as are found on anti-poverty boards in Mississippi, but until the programs are directed by people who can effectively communicate with whites, Negroes and with OEO officials, while at the same time remaining independent of all three, the American taxpayer is not going to get his dollar's worth for the money spent in Mississippi.

OEO SHORTCOMINGS

Although most OEO personnel deserve the thanks of the nation for their patience and perseverance during the past three years, many of the problems encountered by the Mississippi anti-poverty programs may be laid at OEO's doorstep. Fighting poverty in this state is big business. Yet, for reasons partly within the control of Congress, OEO has in most instances been unwilling to allow the local programs to compete in the market place for the facilities and services they need to maximize the efficiency of this rather expensive War On Poverty. The racial overtones of the program are some hindrance. However, the short duration of grants, long delays in grant approvals and constantly conflicting instructions from OEO make it impossible for the local programs to fight this war with both fists.

More specifically, most programs have found it impossible to rent automobiles, adequate physical facilities or office equipment for periods of time often less than six months without paying exorbitant rentals. Yet OEO has made many grants for just this short a period. And when the local program officials try to get around this problem by putting renewal clauses in their leases, OEO consistently voids those provisions by failing to approve new grants until long after the renewal clauses have expired.

The problem is the same with respect to personnel. It is next to impossible to persuade a young administrator to leave a good job with industry to work for a program that OEO may not refund when the present grant period runs out. Even though OEO's salaries are better, local school teachers prefer the relative security of the public school system to the uncertainties of Head Start and the various programs of basic adult education.

REFUNDING FIASCO

In these and many other ways, OEO, as a federal administrative office, has discouraged many local people in Mississippi from becoming too deeply involved in the anti-poverty effort, either on boards of directors or on program payrolls. The most glaring example of this was the CDGM-MAP fiasco last fall. By the summer of 1966 the Child Development Group of Mississippi had Head Start centers in operation in 28 Mississippi counties. Because of fiscal and other irregularities, OEO announced in August that the program would not be refunded and quietly encouraged several Mississippi NAACP leaders and prominent white business leaders with moderate to liberal political philosophies to organize a new program (which later became Mississippi Action for Progress) to replace CDGM. Several months later, almost predictably, OEO reversed itself and CDGM was reinstated.

Without going into the merits of the CDGM-MAP controversy, the one unquestionable result has been the complete destruction of the confidence of both CDGM and MAP in the leadership of OEO. The inability of OEO to make a decision and stick by it has resulted in the funding of two mammoth programs, neither of which will ever possess the stability needed to operate an effective, long-range Head Start program.

In many ways the entire anti-poverty effort in Mississippi today is a logical extension of the civil rights movement of the early 1960s. Now that the basic legal rights have been won for the Negro in Mississippi, it seems logical that the focus of the participants in the civil rights movement should turn to social and economic rights. Logic, however, has not necessarily been the order of the day.

FROM PROTEST TO PROGRESS

One problem is the inability of many civil rights militants to change from the role of critic and protestor to the job of building a new order. Mississippi has found that it takes one kind of commitment to take

a "freedom ride" or stage a "sit-in" and an entirely different sort of commitment to teach in a Head Start program or sit on the board of directors of a Community Action Program. One example of this type of person is Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the militant civil rights leader in Sunflower County who attracted national attention in 1964 with her emotion-charged appearance before the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention as a representative of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. In many ways Mrs. Hamer has more courage than any civil rights leader in Mississippi today. Her personality and temperament, however, are geared to the role of a leader in protest. Perhaps sensing this, the Negro poor in Mrs. Hamer's home town rejected her in an OEO-monitored CAP board election several weeks ago.

Other difficulties have arisen from attempt to fuse the civil rights movement and the anti-poverty program. Many civil rights leaders find it difficult to sit on CAP boards with members of the so-called "white power structure" (and, as indicated at the outset, OEO generally insists that both groups be represented). Understandably, civil rights leaders insist that job preference be given to those who have put their necks on the line for the movement in the past and become very irritated when white board members start asking about the qualifications of such prospective employees. Also, many civil rights leaders find it difficult to understand why anti-poverty money cannot be diverted to support purely civil rights activities. And where civil rights forces possess substantial control of anti-poverty programs, they often use the programs as a base of power from which to conduct their civil rights activities. It is not at all uncommon in Mississippi to hear of civil rights leaders who sit on anti-poverty boards threatening employees with loss of their jobs if the employees fail to support a boycott of certain white merchants.

The anti-poverty program in Mississippi is at a crossroads. The direction in which these local programs described above will turn will largely be determined by policies made at the federal level.

PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVEMENT There are a number of proposals for improvement which might be helpful towards correcting the current deficiencies of the program. An obvious opener is the suggestion that appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity be greatly increased. But this alone will not provide the answer.

A second idea, which has great possibilities, is the Negative Income Tax proposal. (See April FORUM.) This proposal might provide an immediate and effective means for reaching the great mass of the poor who are not being touched by the local anti-poverty programs now in existence. The incentive factor in the Ripon plan certainly represents an important improvement over pure welfare payments. In order to be truly effective, however, a comprehensive effort towards a program of family education and planning would have to be made hand in hand with the Negative Income Tax. Budgeting and birth control are by and large meaningless to the poor of Mississippi at this time. These two skills would have to be taught effectively if the Negative Income Tax were ever to be a meaningful aid to the Negro in the Mississippi Delta.

At this point in time, there are two basic corrective moves which must be made in Washington if the War on Poverty in Mississippi is to have a significant impact on solving the problems of the poor of that state in the years to come. First, it is absolutely essential that the Congress authorize OEO to make grants in far more substantial amounts and for periods of time ranging from two to five years. Second, once this first step is taken, OEO must then insist that all programs funded assemble adequate administrative and professional personnel as a pre-condition to the release of any federal funds. Competent personnel are simply too hard to come by when their jobs cannot be guaranteed for more than six months

and the possibility always exists that the local program may not be refunded. If the anti-poverty programs of Mississippi are not allowed to compete with other similar agencies for the services of qualified personnel, it is only the poor who will suffer. And the same holds true with regard to the competitive position of these local programs when it comes to the rental of physical facilities and equipment.

COMPETENT PERSONNEL

The second corrective measure is a firm OEO policy of refusing to release funds until these personnel have been assembled. This does not mean that the poor should be removed from the payroll. To the contrary, OEO should continue to insist that the poor be employed whenever possible, consistent with providing quality services to the people for whom the program is intended. What this program does mean is that OEO should no longer fund Head Start programs in which less than ten percent of the teachers are college graduates. And, with respect to the top administrative positions, the old excuse "but there just weren't any applicants who had the necessary qualifications," no matter how legitimate, must be ignored.

Many teachers and administrators have been given OEO-sponsored cram courses in how to run a Neighborhood Youth Corps, an adult education program or a Head Start program. Helpful though these courses are, OEO must begin to insist upon far more from those people who will hold positions of responsibility in the local programs. For without a certain very high minimum standard of education and intelligence, local anti-poverty personnel will never be able to learn from their program experience to adapt to the conditions which they face. The Community Action Program concept of fighting poverty is something new in Mississippi. Two years ago there were no experienced personnel. That is why it is so important that every lesson that may be learned is in fact learned by program leadership.

One excellent example of a lesson learned and an adaption made may be found in the experience of the Catholic Church's Systematic Training And Redevelopment, Inc. program. In its job training phase, STAR worked actively toward placing the graduates of its school in local industries around the state. But, almost without exception, the recent STAR graduates dropped out of their new jobs after only a week or two at work, and for no apparent reason. One STAR employee started investigating this problem and discovered that it lay to a great extent in the fact that STAR trainees were people who had spent all of their lives adjusting to the slow pace of agricultural labor in the cotton fields and that they simply could not readjust overnight to a fast-moving assembly line.

This is the kind of lesson which needs to be learned from the anti-poverty effort in Mississippi. And these lessons need to be learned as soon as possible so that the necessary adjustment can be made. As long, however, as OEO permits unqualified personnel to be employed in high positions in the Mississippi programs, such lessons will not be learned. Mediocre programs run by mediocre people are not going to win the War on Poverty.

It has been suggested that the transfer of Head Start to the jurisdiction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would likely solve such problems as those mentioned above. The Department of Labor could supposedly do a better job of overseeing the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Perhaps so, but there is no reason why OEO could not continue to do the job just as effectively as these older, more established agencies. OEO simply has to make up its mind that there can be no substitute for quality and ingenuity in fighting poverty in Mississippi. And the President and his Administration must be prepared to stand behind this decision. Unless the federal government develops the temerity and objectivity to help the local programs of Mississippi to see the sources of poverty and then to help these programs along the lines recommended above to wage an all-out war to eliminate poverty in Mississippi, history is not likely to be kind.

Overkill at Omaha

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reform that would put an organization under what it regards as excessive party control."

DEDICATED TO A CANDIDATE

Observers who were at Omaha are agreed in their observation that the Young Republican convention was the first overt move of "the Syndicate" to regain control of the national party through a nomination of its own presidential candidate.

It is clear from the tactics employed at Omaha that this group is willing to use its muscle vigorously and effectively to achieve its ends. Responsible conservatives and moderate Republicans would be naive, indeed, if they expected these forces to enter into the spirit of an "open" convention. Unlike many moderates, they already know what they want and they intend to get it. The far-right group has already successfully dominated one Republican National convention while operating under the leadership of F. Clifton White, who ran the Syndicate for many years and who headed the "Draft Goldwater" movement from 1961-1964. (One of White's top assistants throughout the "Draft Goldwater" operation was Tom Van Sickle.) Now they seek to do it again and the network used so well in 1963 and 1964 is presently being reactivated. The tool through which the far right syndicate seeks to capture the Republican Party in 1968 is the Presidential candidacy of Governor Ronald Reagan.

The Young Republican National Federation has become the advance guard of the Reagan presidential candidacy.

Individual party members are, of course, free to support any Republican contender. What is regrettable here is that the machinery of the Young Republicans, an official Republican Party organization designed to serve *all* Republicans, is being devoted to a particular candidacy.

The convention scene clearly manifested this design; a large portrait of Governor Reagan dominated the convention hall. At least fourteen state banners carried "Reagan for President" signs, to one (Michigan) for Romney and one (Texas) for Senator John Tower. Reagan was the only presidential contender to address the convention. (Governor Romney pleaded the press of state business and sent his wife to represent him. Richard Nixon, knowing the mood of the YRs, had long since decided to keep a safe distance. There was not a single Nixon sign or button in evidence anywhere, though press reports that *no* Nixon representatives were present were the result of misinformation.) Reagan's was the only hospitality suite set up in Omaha. His autobiography was sold by California delegates in the convention lobby. A bevy of Reagan operatives maneuvered under skilled professional direction. "The whole thing was nothing but a gigantic 'Reagan for President' rally," said one midwestern delegate upon returning home. And a dress rehearsal for 1968.

A poll of convention delegates taken by United Republicans of America, a conservative organization, showed 46% for Reagan, 30% for Nixon, 11% for Rockefeller, 7% for Percy and 6% for Romney. It was clear, however, that much of the Nixon support was "soft" and already headed in Reagan's direction. In fact, Senator Goldwater, heretofore a Nixon supporter, made it clear that he would reexamine his posi-

tion if Reagan continued to rise. He underscored the fact that most of Nixon's support would be vulnerable if Reagan asked for it.

F. Clifton White, in his recent memoir of the "Draft Goldwater" operation, articulates his conviction that the Young Republican convention immediately preceding a presidential year is the key to Republican presidential politics in subsequent months. He is on solid ground historically and, if history repeats itself, the Governor of California will be the next Republican presidential nominee.

THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Omaha was just the tip of the iceberg. There is evidence that the Young Republican National Federation is willing to set itself up as a completely independent competitor to the Republican Party until it reaches the point where it can dominate it completely. For example, new Chairman Jack McDonald, elected by a 425-184 vote, had listed as part of his campaign platform a proposal for a full-time fund raiser and six full-time field men. Spokesmen for the Syndicate admit that many conservative contributors would rather give to the tightly-controlled Young Republicans than to the national party or to state parties. They say McDonald wants to be in a position to "go it alone;" in doing so he follows the lead of his predecessor, who candidly made money, not members, the goal of his recruitment efforts.

This sense of independence and exclusiveness has been symbolized in other ways. Last winter, for example, the Young Republicans got rid of the baby elephant as their organizational symbol in an effort to further weaken the tie to the senior party. (They replaced it with a star.) And further evidence of their desire to discourage diversity and dissent was the syndicate decision to virtually close the galleries at their Omaha convention by charging a \$45 per person gallery fee! After considerable objection this was reduced to \$10. Even at that level it kept the gallery empty; over 1,400 seats were vacant at the major sessions. The number of observers was generally kept to a "manageable" fifty. This unusual policy sets a new precedent for political conventions, a dangerous precedent for a party which should be opening its arms to a wider public instead of turning inward upon itself.

Frightened, closed off from the larger world, adopting xenophobic resolutions, suspiciously rejecting all outside advice, repudiating its national chairman, unseating a major state delegation, thereby tacitly endorsing racism, childishly changing its own symbol, threatening to dissolve all party ties and even closing off its galleries, the Young Republican Federation in Omaha was a sad and sobering reminder of what can happen to a great political institution when it falls into irresponsible hands.

It could happen to the Republican Party. The present leaders of the Young Republican National Federation are determined that it will.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As the Young Republican National Federation is ignoring and defying senior state and national party leaders, the Ripon Society calls upon the Republican National Committee and the various Republican State Committees to act now to clean up the situation. Specifically, the Ripon Society makes the following recommendations.

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Overkill at Omaha

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1. The Republican National Committee should act immediately to withhold funds and the use of office space and equipment from the Young Republican National Federation. The Republican National Committee has been supplying the Young Republicans with \$80,000 to \$100,000 a year in addition to supporting other costs such as office space and certain office equipment.

The Ripon Society notes that this action supports a similar recommendation by the New Jersey Republican State Committee. We make this recommendation because we believe that the Young Republican's tactics and positions disgrace and embarrass the party. The Young Republican National Federation has plainly declared war on the regular party organization. It would be the height of folly for the Republican National Committee to channel the money of its contributors to a group which repeatedly defies it.

2. The Republican National Committee should not restore the Young Republicans their office space or resupply them with party funds until the Young Republican National Federation Executive Committee:

- a. Repudiates and condemns the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic Rat Fink element in its ranks;
- b. Apologizes to the New Jersey Republican State Committee and to the Rhode Island Republican State Committee for rejecting New Jersey's official delegation and accepting Rhode Island's disfranchised delegation at the Omaha convention;
- c. Pledges itself not to use Young Republican resources on behalf of any single Presidential candidate before the Republican National Convention;
- d. Agrees to Chairman Ray Bliss' request that he be allowed to approve the appointment of the Young Republican's full-time executive director;
- e. Agrees to Chairman Bliss' request that the group limit its membership to people under the age of 35; and,
- f. Guarantees that the Republican National Committee shall be given a full accounting of all National Committee funds which the Young Republicans expend.

The Ripon Society makes the following recommendation to the Republican State Committees and State Committee Chairmen.

3. We commend the example of Chairman Webster B. Todd and the New Jersey Republican State Committee and Chairman Howard E. Russell, Jr. and the Rhode Island State Committee, who have not been willing to gloss over the actions of state Young Republican groups when they have disgraced the party image and refused to cooperate with senior party officials. We urge responsible Republican Party leaders in other states to exercise similar control where it is appropriate.

The Candidates

● A number of influential conservative strategists have settled on the following tactic for 1968. Support Reagan solidly. If he does not win, he can block Romney or Percy and guarantee that Nixon will "owe" his nomination to conservatives.

But this strategy directly counters that of some personal advisers to the California governor. They want him to throw his support - if he is not nominated - to a Romney or Percy or other moderate in exchange for the Vice-Presidential nomination. (Nixon would presumably want a more liberal running mate.)

A suggestion that a progressive presidential candidate might be entertaining this possibility might distress a good portion of the moderate electorate. So little is said publicly, although moderate leaders of considerable importance are said to be toying with, for example, the Romney-Reagan idea.

● In a variety of ways Michigan's Governor George Romney has defied doomsayers in the last few months; his presidential campaign continues to build and some pundits are altering their predictions accordingly.

In a mid-July Viet Nam speech, Romney took another careful step in his slow but sure effort to carve out a responsible policy which is distinctive from the President's. A bit earlier he reinforced his strong credentials in domestic affairs as he won a new income tax after a tooth and nail battle — the toughest of his career — with the state legislature. And in the realm of electoral politics, the Governor demonstrated once again that his "coattails" are the strongest in American politics today; his intervention was credited for the success of Republicans in two special state legislative races.

National Review Poll

The *National Review* is in the poll-taking business. They expect to receive ballots from over 100,000 Republicans declaring their reaction to possible GOP nominees. According to the accompanying letter from publisher William A. Rusher, "NR is limiting its poll to subscribers. This insures against any group (*sic*) 'stuffing the ballot box.' It also guarantees that the poll will reflect possible conservative opinion."

The poll, however, is being sent only to renewing subscribers, those readers who are attracted to NR's brand of Republicanism, and renewal is a prerequisite to voting in the poll. The choice of sentiments is from:

"I expect to vote for any Presidential candidate the

Republican Party is likely to nominate in 1968, on the theory that any Republican will be better than anyone the Democrats are likely to name."

"I will vote for the Republican candidate in 1968 only if he is a conservative."

"I will vote for the Republican candidate in 1968 if he is a conservative or at least a middle-of-the-roader, but not if he is a Liberal (*sic*)."

"If the Republicans nominate a Liberal in 1968, I will vote for a third-party candidate or write in a conservative candidate."

"If the Republicans nominate a Liberal in 1968, I will vote for Johnson."

"If the Republicans nominate a Liberal in 1968, I will not vote for a Presidential candidate."

In the words of Barbara Garson's MacBird, "Unity, unity! wherefore art thou unity?"

LETTERS: 'The Man Who'

Dear Sir:

The Republicans need a candidate for 1968. Let's review some of the qualifications which might define the ideal man, keeping in mind the similarities with the last Democratic defeat in a presidential election (1952).

A war hero; a diplomat; a man with business experience; a general; and, of course, a man whose views on Viet Nam allow for a gradual and "gracious" withdrawal (called, for instance, "phasing out"). Now there exists such a man. His personality I know nothing of. His "image" is nil, but that should prove easy to take care of if anybody cared to!

I mean, of course, General Gavin. If my memory is correct, he jumped on D-Day in France. He was ambassador to France; he's with Arthur D. Little; he's on the board of American Electric Power, one of the biggest private utilities in the country. And his Viet Nam views were clearly expressed (enclave theory) in the Fulbright hearings.

As I say, for all I know, he may not be presidential material, but then who is?

E. PARONE
New York, New York

A Democrat Writes

Dear Sir:

I have been reading your book *From Disaster to Distinction: The Rebirth of the Republican Party* (T)here is nothing inviolate about the continual life of a party We Democrats now face a dilemma similar to the one you Republicans faced in 1963. I remember talking at that time to a moderate Republican. I emphasized that, as it was his Party, it was up to him what type of person was nominated for the Presidency. As you will recall, in (August 1963) the Democratic Party predicted that if Goldwater was nominated, the Democrats would win by the largest percentage of the popular vote in the nation's history, a prophecy that came true.

We Democrats can only hope to do a better job than you did. We thank God that so many Democratic voices

1430 MASS. AVE: 'Big Doings in Only Two Small Rooms'

Under this heading Boston *Globe* writer Fred Pillsbury recently reviewed the growth of the Ripon Society. Ripon, he said, "despite its modest size and budget, has become one of the most influential political organizations in the country." The article concluded, "It may be a long, hot summer in those two fourth-floor rooms on Harvard Square, but it should be a lively, creative one, too."

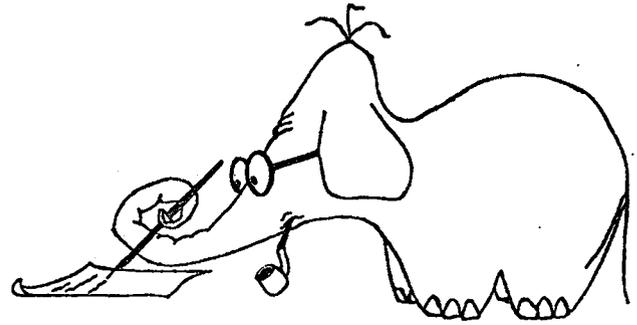
YR PRESS RELEASE

In the wake of the recent Young Republican National Convention the Ripon Society issued

an eight-page statement calling on the Republican National Committee to cut off its support of the Young Republicans until they made a series of corrections in their policies and structure. The statement, the substance of which appears elsewhere in this issue, received press attention across the country, although most of the stories unfortunately did not mention the reasons Ripon gave for the proposed cutting of funds nor the conditions which it hoped the YRs would meet. The report was well received: senior party officials at the National Governors' Conference responded favorably, as did a number of state party chairmen and members of the Republican National Committee.

AND ON TV

Ripon Executive Director Thomas Petri discussed the YR report and GOP politics with commentator Louis Lyons in a recent Boston television interview. Ripon President Lee



in the Senate have been raised in opposition to the President.

Though I have been a life-long Democrat, this has not meant (that) I am a blind partisan. When Senator Douglas . . . became a yes-man for President Johnson, I played an active role in electing Senator Charles Percy. . . . His subsequent career in the Senate has vindicated my faith in him. There has been no such betrayal as with the case of Senator Brooke.

The great majority of people in our country are of the left and the center. Only a minority are of the right. If the people are united and organized, they can accomplish wonders. The thing that enabled Goldwater Republicans to capture the Party was the inability of the moderates to unite and organize.

If the Republicans nominate a moderate . . . like Senator Percy, they will be pleasantly surprised to find how many Democrats will vote for him in preference to President Johnson.

LOUIS R. MERZ
Baltimore, Md.

Future issues of the FORUM will contain on a regular basis correspondence received by the Editor. Comments on all aspects of Republican and national political issues are welcome.

Huebner spoke for the Society on a series of television and radio news programs in Boston and New York concerning both the YR white paper and the recent Forum article on "The Myth of Bipartisanship."

GROWING PLEASURES

The increasing business in the Cambridge office now occupies two full-time secretaries, Ardis (Mrs. John) DiGuilio and Miss Judy Delmar. And in New York the work load has demanded a new office at 2700 Broadway, N.Y. 10025, headed by Miss Alice Sokolof.

THE RIPON SOCIETY 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, with chapters in Boston, Los Angeles, New Haven, and New York, and National Associate members throughout the fifty states. The Ripon FORUM is published monthly by the Society through its Publications Committee: Josiah Lee Auspitz, Chairman; Ralph B. Earle, Jr., Editor; Gerald E. Bellows, Business Manager; Rusty Bellows, Assistant to the Editor. To those who wish to subscribe to its publications and support its programs the Society offers the following options for annual contribution: FORUM, \$10; FORUM (student), \$5; Contributor, \$25 or more; Sustainer, \$100; Founder, \$1000. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

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