

section of Washington are able to attend relatively good schools and live in an atmosphere that encourages them to look for a better life. Poverty in the midst of poverty, as in eastern Kentucky or Harlem, poses problems of a different order. Here the whole environment fosters a circular process that traps whole generations.

Some of the planners believe that the tax cut will provide job openings on a larger scale than has been officially forecast. This thesis is disputed both within and without the administration. In any event, it may never be fully tested. Next year, it is quite possible that the budget restraints will be lifted and welfare and public works spending will be permitted to rise. This prospect will be enhanced if the administration's promise of reducing military expenditures is fulfilled.

From this blend of fact and forecast the administration drew several conclusions. Programs must rehabilitate impoverished human beings and prepare them for more productive lives. Although direct relief is necessary for some, it won't be granted because of the budget cuts. Thus public works and those measures designed for relief alone should be minimized, and a greater effort made in education and programs that increase the ability of the poor to improve their condition.

Finally, it was agreed that direct attacks must be launched in the sectors where poverty is concentrated and institutionalized, such as the South Side slums of Chicago and the played-out mining communities of West Virginia. This attack must be launched on a broad front, against the whole environment. It cannot be limited to better housing or better schools or vocational training. The principal beneficiaries should be the young, and the principal strategem on this sector must be to bring the present scattered programs together in some coherent fashion. Also, community leaders must be drawn into the planning. Because of the limit on resources, the campaign may be pushed in only 75 communities this year and twice that number the next. But such an approach will yield more dividends than thinly financed programs on a national scale.

So much for the underlying theory. In practice, of course, the administration program will take many forms. One important element consists of camps to teach basic reading and arithmetical skills to youths rejected by the draft. This is precisely the kind of program that supposedly was to be shunned, since it overrides the master plan of working through the community and applies a remedy nationally to one age group among the poverty-stricken.

But tearing apart and rebuilding impoverished environments is a slow process. The camps were accepted largely because the newly appointed Director of the poverty program, Sargent Shriver, insisted on something that would bring quick and visible results. Indeed, Shriver was named in part to bring peace among the various departments and agencies with competing interests in the program, as well as to charm Congress. The Labor Department, for one, had to abandon much of its hope of contributing to the campaign by creating new jobs particularly suited to the limited skills of the poor. Labor Department officials wanted a large slice of the available resources spent on projects to clean up cities, service public buildings, and the like. In one heated session at the White House late in January, high officials from Labor and five other departments went at each other for several hours without coming close to an agreement. In the end, however, fragments of each agency's proposals will survive.

#### THE SANGUINE APPROACH

The public response to the President's declaration caught nearly everyone in Government by surprise except perhaps Mr. Johnson himself, who is largely responsible for designating the poverty program as an "unconditional war." Before President Kennedy's death, his aids were employing bloodless titles like "Human Conservation and Development" or "Access to Opportunity." They had tentatively settled on "Widening Participation in Prosperity—An Attack on Poverty."

One day after President Johnson took office, he gave his blessing to Heller's project. By now the idea has won applause from virtually every sector but the extreme right. In Congress, the Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee did not follow Barry Goldwater, who had suggested that poverty is the fault of the poor themselves and that the Federal Government had no business worrying about it. Instead, the committee members outlined their own thoughtful seven-point program for conducting the war. For the most part, these points are incorporated in the administration's campaign. But they include