

whereby they begin to develop leadership capabilities, and then to cut off, or refuse to expand, such programs and services is a matter of sheer cruelty. It can only be perceived as a punitive measure on the part of a nation turning its back on the sufferings of the poor and on their hopes for dignity and result in inevitable fury by those thus twice scorned.

In a sense, we have encouraged the poor to become "middle-class," to assert themselves, to petition for redress along the historically established lines long known to the middle class, to mobilize to increase their voices within the corridors of power. At the same time, we become frightened when they become "militant" and we may even go so far as to misinterpret their every plea for dignity as a plot for our destruction.

The *third question* directed to Urban League executives was "*What was the primary obstacles to greater achievement in the war on poverty? Lack of a community concern? Lack of funds? Lack of Coordination? Inefficient management? Other?*"

In the Eastern, Western and Southern Regions, the primary obstacle to greater achievement is seen as a lack of funds. In the Mid-Eastern and Mid-Western Regions, a lack of community concern is defined as the primary obstacle. To a lesser degree, in these latter two regions, lack of funds is also of major concern. For example, 67 percent of the 19 cities reporting in the Mid-Western Region define lack of community concern as the major obstacle to greater achievement. Most of these are the larger cities.

Lack of community concern is manifested in a variety of ways:

- (1) Through lack of concern on the part of the power structure, often cited as including the Chamber of Commerce.
- (2) By virtue of a conservative climate which rejects federal funding in principle (particularly in smaller cities).
- (3) Occasionally, the indifference of the mayor (primarily in smaller communities).

This lack of community concern also is described as disinterest on the part of the "haves" and apathy on the part of the "have-nots." One wonders, at the same time, whether a failure to sell the program to the poor is interpreted as meaning "apathy" on the parts of the poor. It also must be stated that in many cities the lack of community concern was not spelled out, hence, to some extent the answer to this question remains unclear.

In order to create viable communities, the individual must have a sense of participation in, and control over, the events that effect his life. Conservatives, in the power structure, are only too eager to accept this concept as it applies to themselves, but most often reject it as it applies to the poor.

The conservative systematically maintains the *status quo* because he recognizes, as Daniel Bell pointed out in a recent article, that steady, dependable poverty is the best guarantee of social conservatism. In short, if people have no reason to expect or hope for more than they can achieve, they will be less discontented with what they have, or even grateful simply to be able to hold on to it. But if, on the other hand, they have been led to see, as a possible goal, the relative prosperity of the more fortunate in the community, they will remain discontented with their lot until they have succeeded in catching up. We as a nation cannot continue to ask the poor to bear the burden of social stability on these terms for the community at large. To do so is an intolerable abridgement of human rights and human dignity.

The attitude of the local CAP agency toward local existing agencies is also a factor frequently cited by Urban League executives as an obstacle to greater achievement in the war on poverty. CAP programs are very often seen as shutting out existing agencies and refusing to delegate program to them. In some instances, CAP duplicates what existing agencies do, rather than buttressing independent efforts. There is a feeling, particularly in smaller communities, that the CAP program does not encourage participation by other community agencies.

It is particularly interesting to note that the civil rights agencies, some of which have a half-century or more of experience in dealing with problems the war on poverty attack, have been given little, if any, poverty war funds, which would have greatly reinforced their positions at times of civil disorder by permitting them to implement some of the tangible programs sought within the ghettos. Paradoxically, as much as some of these agencies and organizations are left out of the picture, they are still the first ones to who the authorities turn when disorders threaten to replace realistic and orderly procedures, as well as the first ones upon who the extremists turn because the civil rights agencies cannot deliver on the meat, bread and potatoes issues fast enough.