

CARROLL COLLEGE

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL-SOCIOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

On August 20, 1964 the democratically-controlled Congress of the United States drafted a particularly dramatic piece of legislation, the Economic Opportunity Act, popularly known as the Anti-Poverty Act. This piece of legislation climaxed the War on Poverty which had been given its main thrust by Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Why President Johnson received such a tremendous positive response in the beginning from the American people for his War on Poverty has been the subject of much discussion since 1964. One writer believes that two revolutions lie behind the War on Poverty--one ethical, the other economic.<sup>1</sup> The ethical revolution involves Western society's attitude toward the poor. There seems to be a greater concern on the part of many Americans for their fellow citizens who happen to be less fortunate. Also, those who oppose social reform can no longer find ammunition in statements

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas F. Lord, "Two Revolutions and a War," Christian Century (October 28, 1964), p. 1334.

like "The poor you always have with you." (John 12:8)<sup>2</sup> The economic revolution, on the other hand, has caused many Americans to look upon poverty as a disorder and not as an inevitable result of some sort of economic condition or cycle.<sup>3</sup> Today we are beginning to realize that the poor are consequences of bad policy and not a necessary evil that must be tolerated.

Both of these revolutions converged in 1964 and the various myths surrounding poverty and the poor began to disappear. For the first time in its history this country realized that it possessed the means to abolish poverty and declared an all-out war against it.<sup>4</sup> Americans looked at poverty and saw not a necessary reality of modern life but an obstacle to the full development of this country.

Consequently, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was a very dramatic piece of legislation in itself because it represented a kind of re-awakening spirit in America. However, when the time came to allocate funds for the new program, Congress found it could only appropriate \$947.5 million for the entire program. This money was divided up and distributed among the key provisions of the bill which are:

1. Youth programs. Total cost: \$412.5 million.

This part of the Economic Opportunity Act provides for

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1335.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 1335.

<sup>4</sup>Although New Deal legislation was anti-poverty in nature, it was only an attempt to alleviate some of the poverty in this country.

three separate youth projects--a. Job Corps for 40,000 low-income, disadvantaged young men and women between the ages of 14 and 21, who, with the approval of state governors, would live in rural conservation camps or urban training centers, obtain a basic education, job skills and \$50 a month. b. Work-Training programs for 200,000 low-income young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who would be paid for part-time work while attending school or, if they had already dropped out, full-time work with counseling for job placement afterward. c. Work-Study programs which would provide funds for 140,000 needy college students who would be paid for part-time work on or off campus while in school.

2. Urban and Rural Community Action Programs.

Total cost: \$315 million. Under this provision it was decided that federal funds would be used for up to 90 per cent of cost and would be invested into public or private non-profit agencies when requested. Programs under this heading included "Project Head Start," "Legal Services," "Upward Bound," and "Senior Opportunities and Services."

The special program known as "Project Head Start" was to be focused upon children who have not yet reached school age and was designed to provide these children with comprehensive health, nutritional, educational and social services to aid them in developing their full potentials. The "Legal Services" program was enacted to provide legal

advice, legal representation, counseling and education to those people unable to afford such assistance normally. "Upward Bound" was another service aimed at young people from low-income backgrounds which proposed to give them the stimulation and incentive necessary to further their education in college. Finally, the "Senior Opportunities and Services" was created to meet the needs of older poor persons (60 and over) in almost every area conceivable.

These sub-programs are the most widely known of the Community Action Programs but others listed in the Economic Opportunity Act include: "Follow Through," "Comprehensive Health Services," "Emergency Food and Medical Services," and "Family Planning."

3. Rural Loan Programs. Total cost: \$50 million. It is the purpose of this part of the bill to provide 15-year loans to low-income farm families, the money to be used to improve their living conditions by improving farm operations.

4. Employment and Investment Incentives. Total cost: \$25 million. The purpose of this title is to offer 15-year loans to small businesses as encouragement for hiring the chronically unemployed.

5. Work Experience Program. Total cost: \$150 million. The purpose here was to open job and training opportunities for heads of families now on relief.

6. Administration and Coordination. Total cost: \$10 million. This last section of the bill provided for a

director (Sargent Shriver), a deputy director, three assistant deputies, all appointed by the President, a Washington staff of 250, a professional field staff of 65, and 5,000 Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) who would receive \$50 a month.<sup>5</sup>

It is essential to my task in this paper to determine the basic purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act which describes itself as "an act to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States."<sup>6</sup> As is further stated in the Act itself, poverty has continued to plague a substantial number of U.S. citizens, even though the majority of Americans now enjoy prosperity and well-being on a level surpassing any achieved in the history of the world. However, those who felt it necessary to enact this particular legislation believed that the United States can only achieve its full potential--economically and socially--when every individual is given an opportunity to contribute. The policy resulting from this philosophy was one designed to "eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty."<sup>7</sup> In general, it is the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act to "open to everyone the opportunity for

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<sup>5</sup>The above material was digested from the author's analysis of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Public Law 88-452, 78 Stat. 508, August 20, 1964 (as amended through December, 1967) in conjunction with an article appearing in Time, August 28, 1964, pp. 24-25.

<sup>6</sup>U.S. Congress, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Public Law 88-452, 78 Stat. 508, August 20, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., Sec. 2, p. 1

education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."<sup>8</sup>

The first director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (O.E.O.), Sargent Shriver, stated that the basic goal of the Act was to break down our traditional notions of poverty and the poor and to make a conscious effort to build a "Great Society."<sup>9</sup> Shriver contends, as does <sup>weinstein</sup> Michael Harrington in his book The Other America, that poverty today represents not merely the lack of material goods--enough to eat or enough to wear--but poverty in the sense of a lack of opportunity and of dignity. In fact, as Harrington points out, "one of the most important things about the new poverty is that it cannot be defined in simple, statistical terms...the new poverty is constructed so as to destroy aspiration; it is a system designed to be impervious to hope."<sup>10</sup> Harrington echoes, throughout his book, the tenents of the ethical revolution of which I spoke earlier: "In a nation with a technology that could provide every citizen with a decent life, it is an outrage and a scandal that there should be such social misery."<sup>11</sup>

Harrington's book along with the writings of other

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Sargent Shriver, Saturday Review (December 5, 1964), p. 30.

<sup>10</sup>Michael Harrington, The Other America (New York: MacMillan Co., 1963), p. 17.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

humanists like him set the scene that sparked the War on Poverty which eventually led to the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act. For example, in his book Poverty in Plenty, George H. Dunne, S.J. shows how contributors like Sargent Shriver, Dwight MacDonalld, Wilbur Cohen and Gunner Myrdal have the same basic thesis: that poverty in America is paradoxical, that it should not exist, and that politicians are finally becoming interested in it.<sup>12</sup> With the Economic Opportunity Act America had set herself on a course with a tremendous objective--the total elimination of this "new poverty," this "poverty in the midst of plenty," this lack of dignity and of decency. Primarily, it is the purpose of this thesis to determine whether or not America has been successful in achieving this objective by an analysis of the implementation of a political act--namely, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964--on a local level. In this area, that implementation has been carried out by an organization known as the Rocky Mountain Development Council, Incorporated.

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<sup>12</sup>George H. Dunne, S.J. (ed.), Poverty in Plenty (New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons, 1964).

## CHAPTER II

### IMPLEMENTATION ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE RMDC

On June 29, 1965 the Rocky Mountain Development Council became officially incorporated as such when the required Articles of Incorporation were filed with the Secretary of the State of Montana.<sup>13</sup> The initial steps were taken by the Lewis and Clark County Commissioners, Harry Byrne, Ed Lamb and Al Gaskill, and the County Attorney, Thomas J. Hanrahan, the first organizational meetings being held in Judge Loble's chambers in the county court house.<sup>14</sup> Ross Cannon is credited with conceiving the name, the Rocky Mountain Development Council, and also with drawing up the original papers.<sup>15</sup>

The newly formed organization set up its headquarters at 324 Fuller Avenue because the top floor of the building

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<sup>13</sup>Montana, Office of the Secretary of State, Articles of Incorporation for the Rocky Mountain Development Council (Helena, 1965).

<sup>14</sup>Private Interview, Robert Cummins, Attorney-at-Law, January 27, 1970.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

had been donated for office space by the Prudential Diversified Realty Co. of Butte. A board of directors was elected to guide the Council and they were: Thomas J. Hanrahan, President, John L. Delano, Vice-President, and Ross W. Cannon, Secretary. Among the other first sponsors were: Harry Byrne, Chairman of the County Commissioners, Robert Cummins and Thomas Judge, local attorneys, Vern Kugel and Thomas Wicks.<sup>16</sup>

Soon after the primary contracts were filed with the Office of Economic Opportunity, the area was designated as the tri-county area of Lewis and Clark, Broadwater and Jefferson counties and applications for the first money grants were made.<sup>17</sup> In September of 1965, \$22,564 was granted for the establishment of the first community action program to be directed by Mrs. Judith Carlson. \$19,944 of this money was to come from the federal government and \$2,620 from the local community in the form of volunteered services and time as well as cash donations.<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to note that the Rocky Mountain Development Council, formed on a completely non-profit basis, was the first organization of its kind in the state of Montana.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Private Interview, Michael A. Murray, Executive Director, Rocky Mountain Development Council, February 24, 1970.

<sup>17</sup>Although some services performed by the RMDC extend into Townsend, Montana, most are centered within the community of Helena.

<sup>18</sup>Private Interview, Michael A. Murray, January 22, 1970.

<sup>19</sup>Private Interview, Robert Cummins, January 27, 1970.

The goals and purposes for which the Rocky Mountain Development Council was formed are enumerated quite clearly in the Articles of Incorporation. Its primary goal was to put into effect the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 for the residents of Lewis and Clark, Broadwater and Jefferson counties for "economic betterment and the relief of poverty."<sup>20</sup>

The following chart, revised as of August, 1969, shows how the Rocky Mountain Development Council is organized today.

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<sup>20</sup> Articles of Incorporation, p. 1, lines 16 and 17.

Executive Director

Community Organizer

Program Director

Business Manager

Communicator Director

Small  
groups

Street  
Start

Senior  
Center

Senior  
Breakfast

Weekly  
Meals

Neighborhood  
Night

Alcoholism  
Program

Work-  
shops

Data

Services & Client  
Activities

Production  
Activities

Officer  
Outreach

Bookkeeping

Security

Receptionist

A.E.D.  
Security

## IMPLEMENTATION ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

### SPECIFIC PROGRAMS OF THE RMDC

The Rocky Mountain Development Council, in accordance with the Economic Opportunity Act, set up various programs to provide services to the residents of Lewis and Clark, Broadwater and Jefferson counties. These programs can be divided into three general categories: Those providing equal employment opportunities, those providing educational opportunities, and those aimed at providing benefits for senior citizens.

The first program initiated under the title of employment opportunities was "Operation Mainstream," which has since been taken over by the Department of Labor.<sup>21</sup> This program was one of the Council's most successful undertakings while it was still under its management. It was directed primarily at "unemployables"--both men and women, aged 22 and over. The women worked at a Sewing Center, located at the old Helena Senior High School and the men worked chiefly at remodeling the Lewis and Clark County

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<sup>21</sup>Private Interview, "Woody" Glenny, Business Manager, Rocky Mountain Development Council, February 9, 1970.

Fairgrounds.<sup>22</sup> The starting pay was \$1.60 per hour, but trainees could advance to \$2.00 per hour, and the original purpose of "Operation Mainstream" was twofold in nature: To provide training and to provide work for those who were waiting to get into a training program or who could not find any other work.<sup>23</sup>

According to attorney Robert Cummins, "Operation Mainstream" was a highly successful enterprise. It gave certain "unemployables" within the community a new chance and the community of Helena benefited in that a fine edifice was left at the County Fairgrounds as a tribute to the work done by these men.<sup>24</sup> Cummins also stated that besides giving these men a new sense of responsibility, a kind of "esprit de corps" developed among them and they actually began to enjoy their work.<sup>25</sup> Mayor Dave Lewis also looks upon "Operation Mainstream" as a highly successful program. According to him, this job gave men some personal pride and they were able to "identify" with the project.<sup>26</sup>

As I mentioned, however, "Operation Mainstream" is no longer under the direction of the RMDC. It was taken

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<sup>22</sup>"A New Light," Rocky Mountain Development Council brochure of services, published by RMDC, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>The Independent Record, March 4, 1970, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Private Interview, Robert Cummins, Jan. 27, 1970.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Private Interview, Mayor Dave Lewis, March 18, 1970.

over by the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) in August of 1968, and there is now a threat to phase out the entire program as of April 17, 1970.<sup>27</sup> The Department of Labor has ordered a restructure of the CEP program and consequently, the Helena work sites would have to be terminated as presently structured "because they emphasize jobs rather than training."<sup>28</sup> CEP supervisor Waltermire also said that the Helena projects have been "dead end" employment rather than training employable people for other permanent jobs.

If the decision to eliminate the sites in Helena takes place, many complex problems could arise. First of all, Michael A. Murray, Executive Director of the Rocky Mountain Development Council, said that about 30 to 40 people would immediately go on the welfare rolls.<sup>29</sup> Secondly, the Fair Board and County Commissioners are concerned because those men now working at the Fairgrounds will be forced to quit as of April 17 and the construction project will terminate. Thirdly, many men now working at the Fairgrounds are satisfied with their jobs and do not want to seek employment elsewhere. Furthermore, jobs are scarce and the employment service realizes that these trainees cannot be placed, even if they wanted to move up.<sup>30</sup> A new program

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<sup>27</sup>The Independent Record, March 4, 1970, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> According to Herbert Waltermire, CEP supervisor, The Independent Record, March 4, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

will have to be worked out but as yet no solution has been reached.

A second employment service originated by the RMDC was the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This service was instigated for young people aged 16 to 22, although the upper age limit has since been removed.<sup>31</sup> The program was at first divided into two parts: One section for those who were still in school and one for those who had dropped out. The out-of-school part of the program has been ended but the in-school part provides work experience, counseling, and financial aid to students from low-income families while they finish their schooling.<sup>32</sup> In-school enrollees may work 10 hours per week at \$1.30 per hour and Dick Meeker currently directs this program.<sup>33</sup>

The third program under the equal employment opportunities section of the RMDC is one known as "Small Job Services." Bertha LaPier directs this center, the purpose of which is to act as a "middleman" for those needing work and those wanting certain short-term odd jobs done. Small jobs include such things as washing windows, raking yards and minor repair jobs.<sup>34</sup>

A newer service provided for the citizens of Helena has come into existence under the title of "Hire Helena Youth." This was a summer program for two years before

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<sup>31</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>32</sup>"A New Light," RMDC brochure, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

it was incorporated as a full service.<sup>35</sup> This program, directed by Holly Luck, has as its purpose the part-time or full-time placement of Helena youth, and there are no minimum-income standards in this service.<sup>36</sup>

The next major department of services offered by the Rocky Mountain Development Council is educational and the best known program in this division is "Project Head Start," directed by Billie Jean Hill. The RMDC operates six half-day and two full-day centers which are located at Wilson Hall, the old St. Peter's hospital, the old St. Mary's Church, and one center in Townsend, Montana.<sup>37</sup> These centers offer either half-day or day care classes for children 3 to 6 years old. The Head Start program is concerned with the development of the whole child and consequently medical-dental services are provided as well as a sociologist, psychologist and speech therapist.<sup>38</sup> Ten teachers are employed by the RMDC for the various Head Start centers and these people are assisted by numerous teacher's aides and work-study students.<sup>39</sup> For this fiscal year, Head Start is operating on a budget of \$180,000 federal money and \$43,823 local money.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 3, 1970.

<sup>36</sup>Private Interview, "Woody" Glenny, February 9, 1970.

<sup>37</sup>Telephone Interview, Frances O'Reilly, Head Start sociologist and teacher, Rocky Mountain Development Council, March 16, 1970.

<sup>38</sup>"A New Light," RMDC brochure, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 11, 1970.

<sup>40</sup>Private Interview, "Woody" Glenny, February 9, 1970.

Of all the programs operated by Rocky Mountain, Head Start seems to have enjoyed a tremendous amount of success according to people in this community. As Frances O'Reilly, Head Start teacher stated however, this success cannot be measured in statistics because the program teaches such basic things--things that cannot be learned in "hard core poverty-stricken homes."<sup>41</sup>

Attorney Robert Cummins also believes Head Start has been a success but says at the same time it has its shortcomings. "Head Start doesn't reach enough kids," as he put it.<sup>42</sup> He does not feel the full potential is being realized from the program and part of this is due to financing. "It's costing us \$1000 per kid a year and it shouldn't cost more than \$300 to \$400."<sup>43</sup>

Father John Bauer, President of the Board of Directors of Rocky Mountain feels that Head Start has been quite successful in the Helena area even though it has not been the success it could be nationwide.<sup>44</sup> On a national level the best study of Head Start to date was done by the Westinghouse Learning Corporation which was focused on children who had been out of the program for three years.<sup>45</sup> This was done deliberately to find out if the Head Start

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<sup>41</sup>Telephone Interview, Frances O'Reilly, March 16, 1970.

<sup>42</sup>Private Interview, Robert Cummins, January 27, 1970.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Private Interview, Father John Bauer, President, Rocky Mountain Development Council Board of Directors, February 9, 1970.

<sup>45</sup>The Independent Record, February 2, 1970, p. 6.

experience helped children once they entered school. The report indicated it did not help significantly.<sup>46</sup> "In

In human terms, Head Start has brought special training in cleanliness, nutrition and health to more than 200,000 pre-school children annually. There have been eye-opening field trips for youngsters who had never been out of squalid neighborhoods. And there have been a myriad of other activities intended to give the disadvantaged children an even break. To this end, just over one billion dollars has been budgeted since the program began in 1965. Yet it has become increasingly clear that the money and the good will behind Head Start have not been enough. Head Start still is trying to get off the ground.<sup>47</sup>

However, despite the difficulties the program has on a national level, as pointed out in the Westinghouse Report, locally it seems to be quite effective. More favorable comments were made about this service than any other and this is probably because as Mrs. Judith Carlson put it, "It's easier to love a little child than a beat-up old wino."<sup>48</sup> The Head Start program has been favorably received by the community of Helena, which is a definite pre-requisite for the success of any RMDC program.

The second educational service is the Adult Education program. This is coordinated through Billie Jean Hill and Carroll College and offers a refresher course to anyone over 19 years of age who did not finish his education and who needs further study to pass the G.E.D.<sup>49</sup> Individual

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>48</sup>Telephone Interview, Mrs. Judith Carlson, Director, Helena Model Cities, March 16, 1970.

<sup>49</sup>"A New Light," RMDC brochure, p. 3.

tutors are supplied by Carroll College to help those people enrolled in this program. In addition to the Adult Education program for the underprivileged people of Helena, the RMDC offers refresher courses for its own teachers. Under this provision, half of the tuition is paid by Rocky Mountain and half is paid by the employee. Through this part of the education program, the RMDC hopes to improve its teachers and thus improve the quality of its educational programs.

A third service within this general area is the newly-expanded Alcoholism Information and Referral Center. Dick Meeker now heads this center with a staff of 7 and a budget of \$90,000.<sup>50</sup> The Alcoholism Information and Referral Center is a comprehensive program covering the tri-county area, "to promote full understanding of the problem created by the disease of alcoholism."<sup>51</sup> It is funded at the present by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, D.C. and states as its goals "to destroy the myths of alcoholism, the stigma that surrounds it, the fear that hides it, the ignorance that increases it, and thus bring about in the community an understanding and mature attitude so as to deal intelligently with the disease."<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>51</sup>Alcoholism Information brochure, printed in Helena, Montana by the Rocky Mountain Development Council, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

Meeker and his staff work with doctors, the hospitals, the churches and courts in an intensive educational program to help the problem drinker and his family. They carry out this program through counseling, seminar sessions and the use of films and slides in order that the family might realize the value of obtaining help.<sup>53</sup>

Michael Murray has said that the Alcoholism program hopes to expand by mid-March, 1970 and perhaps a de-toxification center could be incorporated.<sup>54</sup> It has been estimated that there are some 2,000 alcoholics in this area and some 8,000 persons affected indirectly by alcoholism.<sup>55</sup> The entire program is based on the precept that alcoholism is a disease, that the alcoholic is sick and that the public has a responsibility to help these 10,000 people.<sup>56</sup>

One facet of this service is the Helena Teen Council on Alcoholism, also under the direction of Meeker and established in October of 1969.<sup>57</sup> This council cooperates closely with the Information and Referral Center and gives the teen-agers of Helena a chance to participate in the education of others as to the effects of alcohol and the causes and symptoms of alcoholism. It is the responsibility of the Teen Council members to appear

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>54</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>55</sup>The Independent Record, October 5, 1969, p. 30.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>57</sup>Helena Teen Council on Alcoholism, Information brochure, printed in Helena by the Rocky Mountain Development Council, p. 1.

before various Helena service groups to explain their views on alcohol.<sup>58</sup>

The last program listed under educational opportunities is called the "Big Brother" program. This is coordinated by the Rocky Mountain Development Council but operated under the direction of Father John Bauer and Catholic Charities. Volunteers donate their time to spend with a youngster who needs special guidance or additional adult companionship and the relationship usually proves beneficial to both parties involved.

The third major section of the Council's programs is entitled Senior Programs. The first of these, the Rocky Mountain Daily Dinner Club, is primarily a nutritional program. \$60,345 is granted from the federal government to maintain this service and \$6,000 is donated locally.<sup>59</sup> Mrs. Josephine Slaughter directs the two centers which are located at Eagle's Hall and the Community Action Center at 1421 Roberts.<sup>60</sup> Citizens 60 years of age and over are invited to eat their noon meal at these centers and are able to enjoy the company of persons their own age while doing so.

The next senior program is known as "Foster Grandparents." This is open to those people 62 years and over who wish to work with children at the Boulder River School

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>59</sup>Private Interview, "Woody" Glenny, February 9, 1970.

<sup>60</sup>"A New Light," RMDC brochure, p. 3.

or in Head Start Centers.<sup>61</sup> This enables older people to supplement their incomes as well as the chance to accomplish something quite worthwhile. Joan Duncan is the director of this program which operates on a yearly budget of \$76,717 federally-granted money and \$18,382 of local money.<sup>62</sup>

The last senior program, also under the direction of Joan Duncan temporarily, is the Senior Center, 1421 Roberts. Funds for maintaining this center run into \$19,875 from the federal government and \$13,558 from the local community.<sup>63</sup> The object of this center is "to provide any person over 55 years old with a place to congregate for social and cultural enjoyment."<sup>64</sup> Basically, it attempts to provide recreation for the senior citizens of Helena.

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>62</sup>Private Interview, "Woody" Glenny, February 9, 1970.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>"A New Light," RMDC brochure, p. 3.

## IMPLEMENTATION ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

### PROGRAMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE RMDC

In addition to the programs mentioned above, the Rocky Mountain Development Council is in the process of initiating a new service which will be known as the "4 C's Program." Helena was chosen as 1 out of 20 pilot centers for this new program.<sup>65</sup> The 4 C's stand for "Community Coordinated Child Care" and the purpose of this service is to assist in developing private child day-care centers.<sup>66</sup> This will be directed temporarily by Billie Jean Hill and will be coordinated with Head Start. The goals of this project are in fact very similar to those of Head Start.

A second related program is the Helena Legal Services. This organization was formed by the Montana Bar Association under a Community Action Program of the O.E.O. and it endeavors to provide legal representation and counseling to low-income clients.<sup>67</sup> The Rocky Mountain Development Council is connected with the Legal Services in the area

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<sup>65</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>66</sup>Private Interview, "Woody" Glenny, February 9, 1970.

<sup>67</sup>Private Interview, R.W. Silberling, Investigator, Helena Legal Services, March 11, 1970.

of referral, especially through the newly-formed "Credit Counseling Service." This service, financed by Model Cities but sponsored by Legal Services, has a two-fold purpose. First, it seeks to aid families who already have debt problems either by advice or by a plan for "orderly debt liquidation" with the cooperation of their creditors.<sup>68</sup> Secondly, it attempts to educate low-income families on the wise and unwise use of credit, on budgeting and family money-management.<sup>69</sup> Clients are referred to Helena Legal Services by creditors, attorneys, employers or the RMDC. Free counseling is given these individuals and gradually they are taught how to live on a budget and how to stay out of debt.<sup>70</sup> Mr. R.W. Silberling, investigator for the Helena Legal Services, feels this "Credit Counseling Service" is off to a slow start but that it should prove to be a success once it gets off the ground.<sup>71</sup> As most new programs, it is difficult to evaluate as yet.

The Rocky Mountain Development Council is also associated with a program known as the Helena Indian Alliance. This is a private corporation which was formed 16 months ago and is currently directed by George P. Richter.<sup>72</sup> The Alliance was financed initially by a

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<sup>68</sup>"Credit Counseling Service," Helena Legal Services Information brochure, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>70</sup>Private Interview, R.W. Silberling, March 11, 1970.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>The Independent Record, February 22, 1970, p. 34.

\$1,600 grant from the Montana Council of Churches and has since received \$64,000 in federal money, part of that from the Office of Economic Opportunity and part from the Helena Model Cities Program.<sup>73</sup>

Helena's Indian population is estimated to be about 1,300 and of these approximately 950 are on the Alliance's membership roll. The problems faced by these people are quite massive but probably the greatest problem, according to George Richter, director, is keeping the Indians out of prison. About 50 per cent of all Indian families in Helena have had at least one member in the state prison.<sup>74</sup> Other problems are their high unemployment rates and percentage of alcoholism. The unemployment rate among Helena's Indians runs about 45 per cent and about 28.9 per cent are "admitted alcoholics so the rate is probably about double that," Richter has said.<sup>75</sup>

The biggest advancement made by the Indian Alliance as seen by George Richter is that "it has taken the Indian's problems out of the hands of whites."<sup>76</sup> It has also given the Indians of Helena a sense of pride they have never experienced before. "They're speaking up for themselves and going after what they want...Three months ago Indians

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>76</sup>Private Interview, George P. Richter, Director, Helena Indian Alliance, March 11, 1970.

were afraid to speak up for their rights and now they are willing to demonstrate publicly."<sup>77</sup>

Many improvements have been made in this area among the youth, also. The Indian Alliance sponsors a youth center and the membership has reached 200 (43 of these young people are white). Mary Kendall, director of the organization's youth program until just recently and an Indian herself, has said that Alliance activities give Indian youths something to do and a place to go where "they don't feel the sting of prejudice which hurts more than poverty."<sup>78</sup>

Much of the Alliance's daily business is concerned with helping families who need emergency welfare aid, food or medical attention. "We're trying to do something about all their needs," said Richter.<sup>79</sup> This is an enormous task in itself for the infant organization and really only time will tell whether or not it will be successful in its over-all objectives and whether it will improve the Indian's situation.

The relationship between the RMDC and the Helena Indian Alliance is looked upon by Michael Murray as a rather negative one.<sup>80</sup> The Indian Alliance is contracted

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<sup>77</sup>The Independent Record, February 22, 1970, p. 34.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>79</sup>Private Interview, George Richter, March 11, 1970.

<sup>80</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

by the RMDC although the Council has no direct control over its functions or programs. Murray does feel that the relationship is negative, i.e. if the Indian Alliance does something wrong, the Rocky Mountain Development Council is held responsible, and has said that the RMDC is in effect a kind of "monitor."<sup>81</sup> Alliance Director Richter also notes this rather negative relationship but he affirms the value of the Indian Alliance by adding that "the Indian people felt that Rocky Mountain had bypassed them...We were able to do something Rocky hadn't been able to do and that was to organize the Indian people."<sup>82</sup>

The last related phase of community service to be discussed here is the one concerning the Volunteers in Service to America. Helena presently has 8 "Vista" volunteers who work closely with the RMDC but who are directly responsible to the federal government.<sup>83</sup> Their actual duties involve working with the poor people of Helena in the community organization phase. They are not assigned to specific programs but work closely with these services to aid the poor of Helena. These people are: Vivian Manyx, Dick Benz, Alan Davenport, Bruce Whitmore, Garth Knudsvig, Terry Dewan, Robert Sidley, and Jeff Passel.

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<sup>81</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>82</sup>Private Interview, George Richter, March 11, 1970.

<sup>83</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 11, 1970.

## IMPLEMENTATION ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The last phase of services rendered by the Rocky Mountain Development Council involves the Community Action Agency. The purpose here is to organize the poor people of this area on a neighborhood level through the use of outreach centers.<sup>84</sup> The philosophy of community organization according to Michael Murray is "to organize the low-income people in Helena into one cohesive organization so they can speak up for their rights as they see them rather than as an agency sees them."<sup>85</sup>

Community Action outreach centers are designed as "crisis centers" and operate on a much more flexible schedule than does the central office of the RMDC. There is now only 1 such center in operation and the schedule is 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. Monday through Friday and 12:00 p.m. through 6:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday.<sup>86</sup> Service is provided seven days a week at most hours and families are encouraged

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<sup>84</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 3, 1970.

<sup>85</sup>The Independent Record, March 5, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>86</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 3, 1970.

to seek help at these "crisis centers" whenever they desire. The entire atmosphere around an outreach center is informal and conducive to drawing in poor persons who need aid.

A destructive blow was dealt the RMDC this past month when the organization's outreach center, People's Action, 204 E. State Street was forced to close because of evidence that an unauthorized party had been held there. The party allegedly took place on Friday, February 27 and by Sunday, March 1, the story had hit the front page of The Independent Record. Details of the mess created by those involved were reported by Mary Pat Murphy, Independent Record staff writer, who also noted in her article that one woman in the neighborhood said, "They call it people's action and that's what it turned out to be. It should be called the Central (bar) Annex."<sup>87</sup> Other charges were made that the "eight-to-five office" had turned into an after-hours drinking establishment and that the outreach workers were quite irresponsible.<sup>88</sup>

On March 3, 1970 a follow-up article appeared in The Independent Record concerning the People's Action incident. In this issue, Michael Murray responded to some

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<sup>87</sup>The Independent Record, March 1, 1970, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 1

of the previous charges by saying:

The newspaper article in Sunday's paper (showing the situation at People's Action) did one thing. The monster of discrimination that has been somewhat hidden in our community has finally surfaced. If we had an established crisis center on the west side for middle and upper-income people, would a party there be called a 'Capri Annex' or a 'Golden Cache Annex!' I resent the implication that when poor people have a party it's a barbaric pagan brawl and when the middle and high-income people have a party it's labeled merely a cocktail party.<sup>89</sup>

As a result of the incident, People's Action at 204 E. State Street was closed and an Advisory Committee on Community Organization was formed to look into the matter. The Advisory Committee members took several steps: First, they decided to move the outreach center closer to the heart of the South Main area. Secondly, they decided to put a ban on all drinking at the center, and thirdly, Harold "Harry" Hartman, RMDC Community Organizer, was fired.<sup>90</sup> Since the first committee meeting, Dick Benz, a "Vista" volunteer, has been appointed temporary Community Organizer and arrangements have been made for the new outreach center to be located in the old Bison Bar on South Main.<sup>91</sup>

It is difficult to evaluate this incident regarding any long-range detrimental effects it will have upon the Council and its work. Michael Murray believes that this has not completely marred the success of community organization

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<sup>89</sup>The Independent Record, March 3, 1970, p.1.

<sup>90</sup>The Independent Record, March 5, 1970, p.1.

<sup>91</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 11, 1970.

and in fact said plans are now being made to open two new outreach centers.<sup>92</sup> However, taking into consideration the remarks made by people in the neighborhood, the image presented by this incident cannot be judged entirely beneficial. Mary Pat Murphy believes the RMDC was quite "defensive" regarding the People's Action incident.<sup>93</sup> She also feels the remark made by Murray concerning discrimination was not justified.<sup>94</sup> Whatever the implications, in the final analysis, one group of people in this community certainly did not benefit from the People's Action party--the poor.

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<sup>92</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 11, 1970.

<sup>93</sup>Private Interview, Mary Pat Murphy, Independent Record staff writer, March 11, 1970.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER III

### A GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE RMDC

#### PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

Generally, to be eligible for the programs offered by the Rocky Mountain Development Council individuals must have incomes of less than \$1,800 per year, families of 2 less than \$2,300, families of 4 less than \$3,300 and families of 6 less than \$4,400.<sup>95</sup> These figures are primarily averages for non-farm families. Subsistence is included in figures for farm families and these average approximately \$400 less (e.g. 1 person= \$1,400, etc.).<sup>96</sup>

The basic causes of poverty in this area of Montana have been summarized by Rocky Mountain experts into the following categories: Lack of job opportunities, lack of health care, lack of education, lack of adequate housing, lack of organization by low-income groups and family and emotional problems.<sup>97</sup> The RMDC seeks to solve these deficiencies by implementing the programs I have named.

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<sup>95</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, February 24, 1970.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>Rocky Mountain Development Council Planning Document #3, Printed in Helena by the RMDC, December, 1968.

The very latest and more specific needs are outlined in the last report of the RMDC. Some of these problems are:

\_\_\_\_\_ Forced idleness due to age is causing despair and a general feeling of apathy toward life.

\_\_\_\_\_ Lack of opportunity for the unskilled, poorly educated person.

\_\_\_\_\_ An estimated 2,000 alcoholics in the tri-county area and an estimated 8,000 persons related to alcoholics suffering from the effects of this illness need aid.

\_\_\_\_\_ Lack of job opportunities for the Indians which means that they are forced to take the most dangerous types of employment, heavy construction and logging.

\_\_\_\_\_ Townsend and other small towns are not paying the minimum wage for most workers.

\_\_\_\_\_ A base pay of \$316 per month is creating low-income families in the Boulder area.

\_\_\_\_\_ There is a great need for additional health services for Broadwater county.

\_\_\_\_\_ The Helena Mental Hygiene Clinic needs a social worker.

\_\_\_\_\_ There is definitely substandard housing in the Helena area.

\_\_\_\_\_ The 1960 census showed that 12 per cent of all persons over 25 in the tri-county area had less than an eighth grade education, thus adding to the unemployment problem.

\_\_\_\_\_ There seems to be a prevailing attitude in this area

that the poor are lazy and inefficient.<sup>98</sup>

These are some of the immediate problems which the Rocky Mountain Development Council hopes to solve within the next few years.

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<sup>98</sup>"Community Action Agency Has Many Goals to Pursue,"  
by Ann Conger, The Independent Record, March 1, 1970, p. 11a.

## A GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE RMDC

### EVALUATION

The Rocky Mountain Development Council has proven at times to be quite a controversial organization and many people in trying to evaluate its successes and failures have been either strongly critical or have had nothing but high praise. In my research I noted that a truly objective viewpoint was difficult to find. Those intimately associated with the RMDC were reluctant to criticize while those people who were highly pessimistic often were unfamiliar with many of the Council's programs and therefore were really in no position to condemn.

Nevertheless, probably the best constructive criticism of the Rocky Mountain Development Council came strangely enough from a man who is not only closely connected with it but who helped organize it in the beginning. I am speaking of Robert Cummins, local attorney and Secretary-Treasurer of the RMDC Executive Board. In an article appearing in The Independent Record on January 8, 1970, Cummins accused the Rocky Mountain Development Council

of "not reaching the poor...We've got hundreds of outreach workers who are doing nothing but reaching out to each other," he said.<sup>99</sup> His biggest complaint is that Helena's poor are not sufficiently organized enough to fight the establishment and that they do not really participate in the programs designed to help them.

Cummins' explanation for this fact is that "the poor are inarticulate."<sup>100</sup> He believes that these people are quite "reticent" about seeking help for their problems and therefore they must have a spokesman. So far, in his opinion, Rocky Mountain has not succeeded in filling that role. "Some of them (the poor) feel the Rocky Mountain Development Council has become part of the status quo-- part of the establishment."<sup>101</sup> Mr. Cummins has no concrete solution to this problem and feels it will take generations for the poor to get in a position to bargain for themselves but he did offer one bit of advice--"the Rocky Mountain Development Council must become more flexible."<sup>102</sup> By this he means that the Council should be more receptive to the needs and wishes of the poor and that the staff of the RMDC should be less professional and more concerned with establishing a rapport between themselves and the poor.

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<sup>99</sup>The Independent Record, January 8, 1970, p. 1.

<sup>100</sup>Private Interview, Robert Cummins, January 27, 1970.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

In addition to his ability to criticize Rocky Mountain, Cummins also has praise for many of its specific programs, especially "Operation Mainstream" and Head Start, as I have mentioned. He feels these programs give the underprivileged a new chance and yet they make positive contributions to the community of Helena in many different ways.<sup>103</sup>

Mrs. Judith Carlson, former Executive Director of RMDC, feels that Rocky Mountain is particularly significant because it represents the first major effort in this area to use federal funds to solve local social problems.<sup>104</sup> She believes there are important ramifications from this fact--the initial acceptance of the RMDC led to a later acceptance of Model Cities and both promise to provide many benefits for Helena. Of all the programs, Mrs. Carlson also feels that Head Start and "Operation Mainstream" can point with pride to the best achievements.<sup>105</sup>

Dave Lewis, Mayor of Helena, believes that Rocky Mountain has been very successful but he pointed out three significant problems: First, it is his opinion that some of the employment programs, especially the youth employment programs, seem to overlap with services provided by the Montana Employment Service.<sup>106</sup> This appears to be

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>Telephone Interview, Mrs. Judith Carlson, March 16, 1970.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Private Interview, Mayor Dave Lewis, March 18, 1970.

somewhat wasteful and consequently undesirable. Secondly, Lewis voiced the belief that the people of Helena are not really informed about the services rendered by the RMDC.<sup>107</sup> "Helena has been reluctant to face up to its social problems and Rocky Mountain is still vague in the minds of many people."<sup>108</sup> Thirdly, he stated that in the minds of many poor people in Helena the RMDC is "considered a welfare organization and therefore bears the stigma of one."<sup>109</sup> This strikes me as being most unfortunate as the Rocky Mountain Development Council was designed as an organization to create opportunity and not as a welfare unit to dispense hand-outs.

Of all the programs administered by the Council, Mayor Lewis feels "Operation Mainstream", Head Start and the Senior programs have been the most successful. The others, he says, are actually too new to evaluate honestly. His suggestion for increased success is to place more stress on the educational aspect and training because before everything else he feels the poor need some basic skills with which to work.<sup>110</sup>

According to Father John Bauer, President of the RMDC Board of Directors, the Rocky Mountain Development Council has been "partially successful"--it has reached

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<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

many people but not as many as hoped."<sup>111</sup> He also looks upon the biggest problem faced by the RMDC as organization of the poor and this is because the poor are "timid," as he put it. Father Bauer stated that if the poor could be organized, that if they could have their own in positions of leadership, there would be less need for professionals like himself and the entire program would work better.<sup>112</sup> One of his strongest complaints is that there is never enough money to finance the kinds of programs needed in this area. The local administration is always being cut by the federal government.

One of the most outspoken critics of the RMDC has been the local newspaper, The Independent Record. In an indirect way it appears to me that The Independent Record has capitalized on most of the unfavorable incidents concerning the RMDC and has succeeded in surrounding it with an aura of bad publicity. A case in point would be the People's Action incident which prompted Executive Director, Michael Murray to comment, "The Helena paper fought the foundation of the Rocky Mountain Development Council from the beginning. It is quite conservative and we are a liberal organization."<sup>113</sup>

In a recent editorial, George Remington lashed out

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<sup>111</sup>Private Interview, Father John Bauer, February 9, 1970.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>Private Interview, Michael Murray, March 3, 1970.

against "Operation Mainstream," a program thought to be highly successful by most local people, when he said, "The taxpayers should not be expected to provide 'dead end' employment when there is such a crying need for trained workers. 'Operation Mainstream' hasn't been getting its people back into the mainstream. It has been leaving them in a stagnant backwater with little hope of or incentive to get out."<sup>114</sup> I believe it is necessary to evaluate this criticism in the light of the conservative slant of the newspaper. There is undoubtedly tension at times between The Independent Record and the RMDC and the publicity is not always beneficial to Rocky Mountain.

From my own observation of the Rocky Mountain Development Council, several things did appear which I felt were detrimental to its effectiveness. First of all, it became clear to me through observation and the various interviews that the poor of Helena are extremely difficult to organize. They are shy and hesitant to share their problems and I believe this is the most formidable obstacle to Rocky Mountain's complete success. The solution to this problem seems to lie in the development of neighborhood outreach centers because in my opinion the central office at 324 Fuller Avenue is simply not an inviting place. There is an atmosphere of, for want of a better word, what

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<sup>114</sup>The Independent Record, March 6, 1970, p. 4.

I shall call "professionalism." This sense of formality would, I feel, definitely deter anyone who was already afraid or ashamed to seek help.

Former Community Organizer, Harold Hartman criticized this at a Model Cities meeting earlier this year when he said, "Social service agencies try to put as much distance as possible between them and the people."<sup>115</sup> It should be the purpose of outreach centers to correct this situation and I believe the RMDC should set this as one of its most urgent goals.

Secondly, I feel that there is some overlapping of the Rocky Mountain Development Council's programs with already existing agencies in Helena. This occurs with the Welfare Department and the Montana Employment Service primarily. I feel this is an undesirable fact because much more headway could be made if programs were concentrated and duplication was avoided.

Thirdly, I found that there seems to be a tremendous turn-over in employees of the RMDC, and this, I believe, seriously hampers its effectiveness. I could find no concrete reason for this turn-over but I am convinced it exists and cannot be entirely desirable.

Fourth, I believe that there are very few people

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<sup>115</sup>The Independent Record, January 15, 1970, p. 1.

in Helena who really understand the objectives or the programs of the Rocky Mountain Development Council and I would venture to say that the relationship between the RMDC and the community of Helena is at best vague. Helena, Montana is a very unique community and, I believe, a perfect example of the paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty." The fantastic wealth of this area is equalled only by the hideous poverty and repulsive slums. Although many middle-income people in Helena support the RMDC, I am sure thousands would join the fight against poverty if they only knew what was being done.

Fifth, I believe Mayor Lewis made a valid point when he commented on the "stigma" attached to the Rocky Mountain Development Council as a welfare agency. However, as I mentioned, the purpose of this organization is to provide opportunity and the poor of Helena must understand this. When they do, Rocky Mountain's job will be much easier.

A sixth and final element that has weakened the effectiveness of the RMDC is the picture presented by the local newspaper which is by no means a rosy one. This, I propose, complicates the already vague relationship between the Council and the community.

Despite these disadvantages, many things must be said in favor of the Rocky Mountain Development Council. Basically, the mere fact that Rocky Mountain was created

for, and does exist for, the poor people of this area says much. At least the poor have some semblance of representation now whereas before they had none. It is also to the credit of the Council that it has a well-organized group of dedicated individuals who are constantly working to improve it and make it grow. Many of these people are volunteers who dedicate their time unselfishly to the cause of fighting poverty.

Finally, I think it must be said in a general evaluation of the Rocky Mountain Development Council that it has definitely proven successful in many specific programs provided for the underprivileged--"Operation Mainstream" and Head Start probably being the most obvious examples. Where it has perhaps failed in community organization of the poor it has made up for in programs like these. Many advancements made by the Rocky Mountain Development Council can be measured in statistics, but many more cannot.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

#### POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE POLITICS OF POVERTY

The ultimate intention of this paper has been to examine the fairly new discipline known as political sociology. Because this is such a relatively new area, the term "political sociology" is somewhat vague but in the introduction to his book, Political Sociology, Lewis A. Coser defines it as "that branch of sociology which is concerned with the social causes and consequences of given power distributions within or between societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power."<sup>116</sup> It attempts to show the interrelationships, the interconnectedness of politics with the entire social structure. Political sociologists hold that because men associate with many different groups--family, occupational associates, religious groups, racial groups, etc.--that all of these lend to a

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<sup>116</sup>Lewis A. Coser (ed.), Political Sociology (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1967), p. 1.

determination of his political orientation. They say that all of these factors must be recognized if we are to obtain an accurate view of man, the political animal.<sup>117</sup>

Traditionally, political science has been concerned with the mechanics of government, of public administration, and law. Today there is a decisive trend toward a study of the wide interplay between politics and the social processes. Whereas political science used to start with the state and examine how it affected society, political sociology begins with society and examines how it affects the state.<sup>118</sup>

Political scientists and sociologists today realize that no clear-cut lines of demarcation can be drawn between the areas of political science and sociology. They necessarily overlap because they both study the same subject--man. Throughout history, scholars have tried to distinguish between them and consequently gaps have been created. Political sociology, as one writer put it, has become an "inter-disciplinary bridge."<sup>119</sup>

Modern American political sociology is exemplified by what has come to be known as the "Politics of Poverty." This is the specific application of politics to a social

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>118</sup>Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, "The Field of Political Sociology," Political Sociology (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1967), p. 26.

<sup>119</sup>Giovanni Sartori, "From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology," Politics and the Social Sciences (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 69.

problem--namely, poverty. In this area the Rocky Mountain Development Council has been the tool for applying a political act--the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964--to the social problem of poverty. It has sought to eliminate poverty by providing opportunity; it has sought to bring social problems to the attention of the people of Helena; it has sought to become the spokesman for the poor.

Whether or not the Rocky Mountain Development Council will be successful in achieving all of its goals only the future will determine. To be sure, it has done one thing for Helena--it has made a start in the elimination of this "poverty in the midst of plenty" and it has caused the "invisible poor" to become a little more visible. Its future success depends on many things: The community acceptance of new programs, developments in the local administration of programs, the Council's ability to organize the poor, and even the new national administration. Its future success depends on the future.

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