

week in Washington for the polio vaccine, and dropping a sugar-coated pill marked "incentive" into their mouths. Until Americans realize that most poor people are poor not so much because of their own deficiencies as because of basic deficiencies in society at large, we shall never win the war on poverty. Until that day comes, the real poverty in America will be found not in the slums, but in the impoverished hearts of those who refuse to accept responsibility for the welfare of their fellow men.

We support this antipoverty legislation, not because it will solve all our problems, but because it will firmly establish a recognition that the problems exist, and that our society, through its Federal, State, and local governments, is determined to embark on a comprehensive, coordinated, continuous campaign to eradicate the problems from American life.

We support this legislation because we need to convince the "invisible Americans" that they have been seen, the "wasted Americans" that they are useful, and the "other Americans" that they are brother Americans.

The impact of poverty on the personality of the poor has been well documented: Destruction of self-respect, dissipation of incentive, and feelings of hopelessness and frustration, often accompanied by hostility and aggressiveness. However, we should be just as concerned about the impact of poverty on the rest of the population. Our sages taught that during the years of the famine in ancient Egypt, Joseph used to eat so little that he was always hungry. When people said to him, "Why are you hungry when you have vast storehouses filled with grain at your disposal?" He answered, "I fear that if I satisfy my own hunger, I might forget the hungry." When the satisfied forget the needy, the character of the satisfied is distorted. What kind of values do we inculcate in our children when they see the adult population callous to the needs of the poor? What kind of "mixed-up kids" do we create, when children in school learn about "the land of opportunity" and outside the school see the doors of opportunity closed to millions of persons? What kind of human beings do we produce, when white children feel that people of colored skins are inferior and that persons who live in slums deserve no better?

Fortunately, in this instance our moral concern is buttressed by sound economic policies, and it is possible to foresee the fulfillment of the Biblical statement: "He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack, but he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse." (Proverbs 22: 9.) Long-term unemployment, depressed areas, vast expenditures of public funds to sustain nonproductive persons, inadequate economic growth, crime, and juvenile delinquency offer vivid evidences of "many a curse" which are the result of hiding our eyes. Conversely, programs such as those contained in this legislation, followed soon, it is to be hoped by much more extensive and intensive programs, would result in the alleviation of these "curses" to the greater benefit of society. Never before in our history has there been such a coalescence of the needs of the economy and the imperatives of social justice.

This legislation will improve the lot of all persons regardless of race, but it is important to recognize that although nonwhites constitute only 10 percent of the population, they comprise 21 percent of the poor. At the very moment this committee is considering antipoverty legislation, the other body of Congress is considering civil rights legislation. Passage of both pieces of legislation in the strongest and most effective form is essential to the well-being of our Nation. For the Negro, the civil right, and antipoverty bills are the two sides of one coin. The problem of race is inseparable from other social and economic problems.

In a sense, the treatment of the Negro has come to mean what the treatment of the Jew meant in other periods of history—the criterion by which to gage the moral health of our society. The Negro has become America's "chosen people," destined to be God's "suffering servant." The very color of his skin has made all poverty more visible and all injustice more conspicuous. Without fully realizing it himself, the Negro has become a symbol for all Americans. It is as if God, the divine artist, had taken His brush and darkened the face of every 10th American in order to teach all Americans the lesson of social responsibility. So long as there is unemployment, a high percentage of Negroes will be unemployed. So long as Americans are inadequately housed, Negroes will people the slums. So long as the lowest 40-percent income groups do not receive an increasing proportion of the total national income, Negroes will be deprived citizens. All social issues are interrelated, just as all men are interrelated. Racial justice for nonwhites is inextricable from economic justice for all Americans.