quently make these Government programs tougher to get to than conventional lending institutions.

The question I have been asking of witnesses that come before this committee—I am not on the Agricultural Committee, I wish I was—I have been trying to find some sense out of these agricultural programs.

We have all these agencies and we have all these programs and about the best that Mr. Freeman could say is that we need a little goosing along. Would you share that view?

Dr. BISHOP. Let me say this: As I understand title III this would make loans available to people who cannot qualify for loans under the current FHA programs.

This would enable the Department of Agriculture to provide capital where it is not now privileged to provide capital.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Wasn't the FHA program established for the very reason of providing insurance on these close loans? Isn't FHA really a risk program to provide insurance for loans where conventional institutions for various reasons, legal or otherwise, can't grant these loans? Now, we are suggesting a third program. Are we saying that FHA is playing it too close to the chest and we now have to have a third superrisk program. Is that what you are saying?

Dr. BISHOP. You are quite right; FHA was set up to provide credit where credit could not be obtained through our traditional financial institutions. But we have, and I am not sure where these limitations or FHA's lending authority got established, but we have established limitations on FHA's lending authority which precluded the organization from granting loans to this particular type, this particular stratum of our society.

Of course, FHA has no authority for grants, FHA's funds are all loans. They are loans with interest and are expected to be repaid.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Certainly.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Dr. Bishop, would it be helpful in title III and, of course, in my book the same thing would be true of title IV, to give some discretion to the administrator to increase the amount of the loan? In other words, $1,500 is a relatively small amount. It seems to me that if $2,000——

Mr. PUCINSKI. These are grants we are talking about.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I beg your pardon, grants. Increase the grant to a somewhat more substantial amount where it would really do the job instead of putting him on the basis of a small grant and then have to supplement it with a loan, the loan, however, being on a very questionable financial basis, would it not be better in both those titles to just make up your mind that whoever administers this—and you are going to guess wrong in some of them, but at least the need is there and that it was a wise investment to take the chance to think of it more in terms of grants than loans?

Dr. BISHOP. I feel a little uncomfortable about the limits that we have on the lending authority, at least in title III. If we are going to look at this——

Mr. PUCINSKI. You are speaking of the $2,500?

Dr. BISHOP. $2,500. That is not much money. If we think we are going to farm with $2,500 today, we are kidding ourselves and we are

not going to operate any other kind of business with this limitation on capital.

It would suit my taste better if we looked upon title III as a means of bridging the gap between the current circumstances of the people the title is designed to serve and the current lending authority of organizations like FHA. What is this gap?

Let us close this gap. It may mean that we need to go beyond the $2,500 level to do it.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. This is basically true with title IV because what you are trying to do is to close the gap for the fellow who can't get it and he can go to SBA to get the loan.

Dr. BISHOP. That is right.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Pucinski?

Mr. PUCINSKI. What is your feeling about the $1,500 grant? We have a $1,500 grant, then we have a $2,500 loan on top of that and then we have a deal where a family may qualify for one of these redeveloped family farms. Now, these three things in unison, you feel that is still not enough?

Dr. BISHOP. My figures are a little rusty on the investment in agriculture but I believe we will find if we look at figures that an investment per farm worker now runs something like $20,000 to $25,000 on a commercial farm.

So, we are talking about real small amounts of money. If we are going to have economically viable units we have to pull together enough resources for people to make a respectable living on our farms.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would we be wiser then, as a committee here, to take a look at the existing FHA program on the farm, in the Department of Agriculture, where they now have a program, for giving loans, and see what is the technique they are using now and see whether or not the criteria for awarding these loans is too rigid and make our changes there rather than fool around with these $1,500 grants which you feel are really not very big, if I understand your testimony correctly, and also phase in this proposed $2,500 loan program into the existing FHA program for the farmer? Would this be an area for this committee to explore in your judgment?

Dr. BISHOP. As I indicated a moment ago, it would suit my taste to look upon title III as bridging this gap, whatever it is. Maybe you should have a $3,500, $4,500 limit on it; maybe it should be $1,500.

Maybe the current lending authority does not reach this group at all and can't reach it at all until they get—maybe grants are necessary to get enough assets to help these people qualify for loans under current authority. I think these ought to be geared together, yes, which I guess, is a way of saying yes to your question, that you ought to look at them in terms of whether these two programs, viewed simultaneously, can serve the needs of the people.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would you also recommend that this committee give any consideration to putting some sort of age limit, minimum age limit on the grant and loan program in view of your testimony that if they stay on the farm until they are 25, the chances are pretty good they are going to stay on the farm? If I understood you correctly earlier, you said that those who leave the farm usually are in the younger brackets.

Dr. BISHOP. That is correct.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would it be then perhaps wise for this committee to put some sort of age criteria so that we are not wasting the money? In other words, it does not make any sense to me, if your figures are correct and if I understand your testimony correctly, perhaps I don't, it does not make much sense to me to give a young fellow $1,500, $2,500 long-range loans if you feel he is not going to stay on the farm. On the other hand, if a man is beyond 25, he is now bedding down for a lifetime of some sort of breadwinning for his family—if the prognosis that he is going to stay on the farm is correct. Then, perhaps that is the fellow we ought to help because the chances are if we help him he will make good. Is there any merit to that?

Dr. BISHOP. Yes. I think it has a great deal of merit. I think it has merit in that if we are looking at young people who are retrainable, who could prepare themselves for nonfarm jobs, or who could do a competent job as commercial farm operators, we ought to ask ourselves how we can get enough resources for this young person to make a success in commercial farming or we should not encourage him to stay there.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Bishop, I want to thank you for your very fine testimony. You certainly have been frank in analyzing this bill. I think we are fortunate to have had your testimony. Thank you very much.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Dr. Bishop, I want to say to you that you may not have had the motion picture cameras and all the others around you, as have some of the high title officials, but you have given the committee more information that will help us in judging titles II and III, possibly I also, than has probably anybody who has appeared before us. I want to thank you very much for your cooperation.

Dr. BISHOP. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The gentleman from Georgia has requested that a statement by the Honorable Harllee Branch, Jr., be inserted at this point in the record.

Without objection it is so ordered.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF HARLLEE BRANCH, JR., ATLANTA, GA.

My comments are limited to titles II and III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (H.R. 10443 and S. 2642). I have not had an opportunity to study the complicated and far-reaching provisions of the other titles.

Insofar as my section of the country is concerned, the principal focus of poverty is in the rural areas. This explains my special interest in titles II and III.

The problem of rural poverty varies in intensity and even in nature from county to county and from State to State. It is undoubtedly less acute in my native State of Georgia, and in neighboring Alabama, than in some other sections of the region known as Appalachia. But even in Alabama and Georgia, there are numerous persons residing in rural areas whose skills have been rendered obsolete and unsalable by technological changes. Others are illiterate. Still others, despite good character, native intelligence, basic competence, and a will to work, are being forced to lead static and sterile lives simply because they lack the capital resources required to translate their energy and ambition into gainful activities.

Two quite contrary assumptions—both of them erroneous—have made us hesitate in this country to launch an all-out assault on poverty. One has been the assumption that somehow, someday, as national prosperity increases, poverty will either disappear or cease to be a problem of significant proportions. The other, and conflicting, assumption has been that no effective solution is possible. "The poor we have had with us always," it is said—the intended implication being

that the problem is simply too big and too complicated for ordinary men and their governments to deal with. We must not forget that we have also had disease, mischief, and madness with us from the beginning of time; yet we have not hesitated to commit ourselves and our resources to the treatment and elimination of those ills, and the results have been most heartening.

Surely, a nation like ours, which has contributed billions to the relief of poverty and the enhancement of economic opportunity in other lands, will not ignore its obligation to the poor and underprivileged among its own people.

Some will object to the proposed legislation on the basis that it may spawn another gigantic Federal activity. I sympathize with the concern of these people. I am a firm believer in the proposition that, wherever possible, the solution of personal and community problems should be left to individual effort and local and State initiative. However, there are some problems which cannot be effectively solved on an individual or local basis alone. In my opinion, the hard core of rural poverty which exists in this country constitutes such a problem, and I do not believe we will be able to either control or to make a lasting dent in it without the combined and cooperative efforts of our entire citizenry and every segment of government, local, State, and Federal.

The pending legislation seems to me to recognize the desirability of primary dependence upon local and State initiative. It provides that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall assist and cooperate with State and local agencies in developing and financing programs aimed at alleviating the plight of both unemployed and unemployable adults, and in providing their children with the basic educational training and work experience needed to assure that they will not become a permanently lost generation. Some States, including Georgia, have established area vocational training programs to take care of the undereducation of rural inhabitants. These programs are excellent and should not be sacrificed to Federal effort. Therefore, the Congress should insist that programs, authorized by titles II and III be employed to supplement and strengthen, not to replace, the programs of private organizations and State and local governments; and appropriate safeguards should be written into the legislation to assure that this fundamental principle will not be nullified in the administration of the act. In the past, there have been instances when the specific and limited objectives of the Congress have been ignored, disregarded, and distorted by administrative personnel so as to convert soundly conceived programs into serious threats to our free enterprise economy and dual system of government. Every precaution should be taken in the pending legislation against the possibility of such administrative abuses. The final draft of this legislation should contain no language, or ambiguity, which might lead to boondoggling or to the creation of instrumentalities of unwarranted federalization.

The electric utility companies with which I am associated have long been convinced that no section of the Nation will achieve its full economic growth so long as pockets of persistent poverty continue to exist. Something must be done to encourage and assist the rural worker and his family, displaced by farm mechanization and farm consolidation, to find gainful employment in other places or in other lines of industrial and commercial activity. A dying community spreads its virus to other communities, either through the migration of displaced workers or through the excessive burdens which, in their idleness, they impose upon the general economy. The elimination of poverty, therefore, challenges not only our compassion but our enlightened self-interest as well.

During the past 20 years, our companies have spent millions of dollars on area and community development programs designed to encourage new industry and to spread it into rural areas where economic opportunity has dried up. We have sought to cooperate with local groups (public and private) in upgrading educational and vocational training, in improving health and recreational programs, and in enriching the cultural and spiritual climate of our rural areas and small towns.

These programs have demonstrated that poverty and despair, like other human ills, will yield to preventive and corrective action. They have shown that, while no attack on poverty and economic dislocation can hope to succeed without local initiative and direction, nevertheless, since the root causes of poverty are rarely local, broader based programs are necessary in most cases. Above all, the programs have demonstrated that to be successful, an attack on poverty must be persistent and sustained. In my opinion, the supplemental Federal assistance envisioned by titles II and III, if properly administered, will avoid those shortcomings.

The poverty problem in rural areas involves two classes of people. First, are adults who are so advanced in age, so physically incapacitated, or so limited in educational background and basic industrial aptitudes as to be beyond any realistic hope of rehabilitation. No one likes to admit that such unemployables exist, but their existence is an irrefutable fact of our times. And no poverty program, local or national, can hope to succeed unless it recognizes that, as respects these people, the emphasis must be on ministering to their basic human needs, not on rehabilitation or retraining. Theirs is a relief problem for which Federal, State and local programs already exist. These programs should be strengthened and improved rather than duplicated by new programs.

The second group consists of boys and girls and those adults who are young enough to be trained, and basically competent enough to take their places in a competitive, industrialized society. These are the people on whose education, training and rehabilitation the resources and efforts of the poverty program should be concentrated. We must see that they are made literate and that they receive such additional academic and vocational training, and fundamental work experience, as will qualify them for useful and productive employment. While their education and training should be primarily attuned to the requirements of their local economy, nevertheless it should not be overlooked that mobility of workers and trainees must also be encouraged if they are to achieve maximum usefulness to themselves and the national economy.

Since the training or retraining of people for nonexistent job opportunities will only increase their frustration and, in the long run, defeat the purposes of the proposed legislation, we must recognize that an enlargement of job opportunities is indispensable to any permanent solution. In my opinion, the creation of new job opportunities is and should continue to be the responsibility of the private sector of the economy. The role of the Government should be to provide suitable incentives for, and to eliminate unwarranted barriers to, such expansion. However, it may be necessary for the Federal Government to provide some financial assistance to individuals and local businesses in rural areas. For example a man who has the desire and ability to successfully farm, or to engage in farm-oriented activities, should not be precluded from doing so merely because he lacks capital and credit resources.

The pending bill specifies that grants to low-income families shall not exceed $1,500 and that loans to such families shall not exceed $2,500 in the aggregate at any one time, and that such loans shall not be made if the family is qualified to obtain funds by loan under other Federal programs. These provisions should be strictly adhered to to avoid the creation of another perpetual welfare program.

It is noted that under the proposed bill, grants could be made to low-income farm families to enable them to "participate in cooperative associations, or to finance nonagricultural enterprises." In my opinion, it would be inequitable for the Federal Government, through such grants, to assist individuals or groups to set up nonagricultural or cooperative enterprises which would compete with existing businesses, offering the same services without governmental subsidy.

Likewise, I question the necessity of direct loans from the Federal Government to individuals, families or cooperatives. In my opinion, if the loans are justified, they should be made through existing banking and financial institutions with Federal assistance limited to loan guarantees in necessary and appropriate situations. We have had experience with such Federal guarantees in the past, and there is no reason to suppose that they would not work in this instance, thereby obviating the possibility of the Federal Government becoming further involved in competition with the private sector of the economy.

A bill aimed at eliminating poverty certainly should not become the vehicle for expanding the number and activities of tax exempt and governmentally subsidized cooperatives. A cooperative should have some justification for existence beyond the mere avoidance of taxes and the utilization of Government subsidies. Certainly, the Government should not be put in the posture of favoring one type of business organization over another; and the proposed legislation should be modified to eliminate such discrimination.

Finally, I would question the wisdom and desirability of programs looking toward the acquisition of rural real estate which will be subdivided and resold, with the aid of Federal financing, to persons desiring such lands for occupancy as family-size farms. Post-Civil War history in the South showed that even the gift of "40 acres and a mule" provided no assurance of freedom from poverty and despair. Family-size farms are disappearing in this country because such

units, under modern farming conditions, are simply not economic. If experienced and educated farmers are being forced to abandon such marginal farming operations, no useful purpose will be served by settling less competent persons on little farms. In my opinion, Federal funds should be used to assist existing rural landowners to acquire the machines, fertilizers, and other farming aids necessary to effectively utilize their lands, thereby perhaps providing farm jobs for members of their own families as well as their neighbors; and to educate and train the already displaced farmer and his family for other kinds of employment.

When modified in the respects mentioned above, I believe that the objectives envisioned by titles II and III would be more effectively achieved, thereby combating the hard core of rural poverty now existing in many rural areas which, if not alleviated, could foredoom successive generations of our rural youth to lives of failure and frustration.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The committee will stand adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 3:20 p.m., the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 9 a.m., Friday, April 17, 1964.)

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

FRIDAY, APRIL 17, 1964

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The ad hoc subcommittee met at 9 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 429, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins presiding.

Present: Representatives Perkins, Landrum, and Goodell.

Present also: Representatives Brademas, Scott, Gibbons, Gill, and Bell.

Staff members present: Dr. Deborah Wolfe, education chief; Leon Abramson, chief counsel for labor-management; Charles Radcliffe, minority counsel for education.

Mr. PERKINS. The committee will come to order. A quorum is present.

We are fortunate to have as our first witness this morning Governor Terry Sanford, a distinguished Governor from North Carolina and, to my way of thinking, one of the most progressive and aggressive Governors in the whole country.

I noted last year when we were considering the vocational education program that North Carolina had made tremendous progress. The effort that North Carolina was making in the area of job training was amazing to me, especially as compared with some of the other southern States. To my way of thinking, Governor Sanford, that speaks well of you. I think your reputation in this respect is well known throughout the country.

We are delighted to have you here testifying in behalf of such important legislation. You may proceed in any way you prefer.

STATEMENT OF HON. TERRY SANFORD, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Governor SANFORD. Thank you very much.

I might say that your former Governor, Bert Combs, said we were making progress in North Carolina because the first lady was from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. I am pleased that Kentucky has found a way to claim your success.

Proceed.

Governor SANFORD. I suppose it has been suggested that I testify on the Economics Opportunity Act, not necessarily because I am in favor of it, which I am, but because we have had some experience in planning some of these programs over the past year and a half in

North Carolina. I think we have run into what we have run into nationally. I think some of the problems that we have faced—and we hope we have gotten around most of them by now—are the same problems that will be faced in any kind of national program.

One of the first problems is that a great many people are simply unaware of the fact that there is any poverty problem in this affluent society. As the citizens ride to work on new bypasses and thruways, they fail to see just what is involved. In the Christmas of 1962 I was at my mother's home in Laurinburg preparing to write a document telling the people what a great job I had done during the past 2 years as a kind of New Year's statement. I changed my mind while I was there. The tenor of my New Year's statement was that we had not nearly begun to fulfill the responsibilities of government. Because I happened to make it a point to see some people and visit some places that I had not been to for a long time and I reported to them a little girl who stopped by my mother's house, a little girl of about 10 or 11, to say that they were moving. Her father had recently been out of prison. He had not been able to get and keep a job; they could not pay the rent on the house. They were moving, but they did not know where they were moving to.

Also, a little bit later that day I saw a little boy whose father had been somewhat of an alcoholic, had dropped out of school when he was in the second or third grade, who stopped by the house as he was going downtown to affairs that the Jaycees were holding for Christmas gifts, and he was hoping to get a pair of shoes, because on that freezing Christmas Eve day he was walking with shoes that left the soles of his feet on the ground.

A little bit later that week, I had an opportunity to talk to a half dozen young men on the streets of Raleigh who had not finished school, and somehow in our school system—which is about the same as school systems across the country—had failed to get any kind of spark of ambition or any kind of insight on what life could be, and had failed to grasp the opportunity and in fact, I thought, had failed to even understand from anybody why training, why education, why skills were important.

I also attended the Christmas party at the women's prison, and I saw so many people who had strayed from the proper paths. I wondered why, and what things we might have done that would have prevented that, and I wondered what we might do to prevent their ever returning again.

So I wrote to our State employees and our people a message that we had not begun to fulfill the compassionate side of government responsibility and that there were many, many things that needed to be done.

Then I had an opportunity to visit and speak at most all of the schools in the State, because I promised to visit them all and talk to the children. I remembered seeing a little girl who was typical of a lot of little girls and little boys. Usually when a Governor goes to the school, the children flock around like he is a two-headed bear or some kind of freak; they are anxious to see. But this little girl was hanging back and timid and didn't seem to quite fit. After I left, I had one of my friends in that section of the State look into the matter, and here was a little girl who had come from a home where she had been a bright, singing, happy little girl, but from a home that had

never seen a book. They had no idea, no comprehension at all of how you could take a piece of paper with some marks on it and get anything of value from it. In fact, they didn't even have any idea of why you should try to get anything of value. So, when she came to school, as some children coming from disadvantaged homes, she came into a totally strange world, a world she could not comprehend and a world she did not already know something about. I am satisfied, like so many coming from disadvantaged areas, that this little girl, unless she gets some kind of special attention, will simply go through two or three more grades of that strange world, failing to grasp the opportunities, failing to get anything out of it, and ultimately drop out, and ultimately because of dropping out and because of failing to understand, in her turn to become not a child of poverty but in her turn a parent of poverty.

So it was in that cycle of poverty, children caught up by these many disadvantages, that we wanted to try to break. We analyzed a couple of years ago what we called the dimensions of poverty in North Carolina. They are somewhat like the dimensions of poverty across the Nation, except they are worse. We took the figure—because I don't know how to measure poverty and I don't know whether poverty is 18 percent or 27 percent or 12 percent; but it does not make any difference which percentage you use, there is far too much of it, and there is something there to be done. In measuring poverty and trying to find out what we are talking about, we discovered—no new discovery; but as we attempted to define it, it came out this way—that these were multiproblems; there was no cycle problem, and therefore no single solution. And therefore anything we did would have to be done in a comprehensive way. These were the people of disadvantage, deprivation, disability, and people who lacked education and lacked skills and therefore had unsteady employment or unemployment, or low income.

For the most part they were people who lived in crowded, dilapidated housing; their physical health, many times, was poor; and all together they were caught up in a web of interwoven disadvantage.

Then we attempted to measure it by dollars, because this indicates one criteria, not necessarily the only and not necessarily always reliable, but a pretty good indication. First, we took the $4,000 family income figure which was set by the Conference on Economic Progress as being the level below which you could consider a family living in conditions of disadvantage of poverty. We found that 50 percent of the families of North Carolina fell in that category, which amounts to about $75 a week for a family, and we felt maybe that a more realistic measure would be to reduce that to $3,000, because the costs were not all that they should be or are in other places.

We took the $3,000 figure and found that 37 percent of our people were living on some $58 a week. When you start trying to divide $58 among the needs of a family, of parents and the children, it does not go very far. Then, just to see what our problem was, we took the figure of $2,000 as an annual family income, and found that 24 percent of our people fell into this category; and I think that is about $39 a week.

Then, to move it down one notch, we measured it at a thousand dollars, and found that 11 percent of our people fell in this category, and

we found that it did not make much difference whether you were looking at one of the cities where we measured high per capita income and things looked good, when you looked at the national statistics or when you looked at country sections that were obviously rural, mountain, backward, neglected, nevertheless you found the conditions of poverty measured by any of these things you wanted to use as a measure.

In the three largest counties we found that 20 percent fell in our definition of poverty. That is not good, it is not bad; it is about what the national average is, but it amounted to 26,000 people in these 3 counties who were living in conditions of disadvantage and bringing their children up in conditions of severe disadvantage.

Then, in some of our smaller counties, it measured as high as 70 percent. The smallest county with 70 percent had about 700 people who fell into this category. So, whether it is in a rich area, an affluent area, a city booming with prosperity and new industry, as Charlotte, Winston-Salem, or whether it is back in the country, we still have the problem not only brought about by many reasons found in all places, but it was a statewide proposition and a statewide program.

We started talking with the heads of our various departments and agencies and Federal agencies. We started talking with several foundations, and we adopted this philosophy that I expressed in setting up the North Carolina fund, which is a private agency sponsored by the State government, supported by private foundation funds, that I had come to believe that charity and relief are not the best answers to human suffering; that instead of providing for people, we ought to attempt to find ways to help them work out of their situations of poverty and become self-respecting and self-supporting, contributing something not only to themselves, but contributing something to society and to all of the people.

We thought maybe the best way to do was to look at all the various services, all the programs, health and education and welfare and employment; and we came to the conclusion that written into the Economic Opportunity Act, that the program was not enough; that we needed to look beyond the fragmented programs. We needed to look at the individual and the child and family and the breadwinner and what are his particular problems, because no one solution and no one agency had the resources to get at those problems.

We set up a private foundation. We invited the communities to join with us. We received $7 million from the Ford Foundation and an equal amount of money from the Reynolds-Babcock Foundation in North Carolina, and we started, at least we have started working, planning, and planning and organizing and designing the kind of program that will gear exactly into the President's program that is now before Congress.

I would like to comment just briefly on the provisions of this bill, because I think it is good and well designed, and I think it gets at the key to the problem and I think it has the answer wrapped up in it. And I think that answer is that we are going to concern ourselves with people more than programs, and we are going to look to people and then to how the programs might help them.

As I read it, the key to this program before you is education. It is education through special schools, and education through com-

munity efforts; and I think that is the best answer to doing something about the children of poverty.

I like the Job Corps, and I think it will work. I like the work-training program for unemployed youth, and I think that will work. I like the work-study program, because all of these programs of training, character building, we hope are tied in with education, with the future, and with some motivation, because out here is some promise of what is available if they apply themselves. I think maybe one of the weaknesses in the CCC program was that this simply was a job, an occupation, something to take them off the streets and employ them usefully, but it didn't have much promise. The key here is that there is promise at the end. If you work and train you are going to have a chance.

Now I have been asked, "Well, you have vocational training schools and you have good programs in most of your high schools. We have these programs, why do we need these?"

Well, we need them, first of all, for whatever reason, because many young people simply have not taken advantage of what was there for them. Then, too, I think it goes back to the child in the mountain school who never quite understood why education was important; and maybe we failed back there several years ago as we failed to get that message across. But whatever the reasons, we have these young people who need the training and who are going to be a burden on society for the rest of their lives unless we provide a way to give them that training, where there is hope and where there is proper motivation.

We have tried with the ARA and the Manpower Development Act, three pilot projects that we call "Operation Chance." One at Lincolnton, which now has graduated its first class, which we think has been very successful and marks the path of how we can use these programs. We have learned one thing that indicates again that it is not just enough to just have the program, but you need a special effort, again a process of education, if you will. Because we found you could not just announce in the newspapers that "Operation Second Chance" was in being and that if you wanted to apply and wanted training and wanted to catch up because you dropped out of school, you could come and sign up. We found that we had to go out and seek them and explain it to them, and lead them by the hand and bring them in for technical skill, but while they were doing it we the first time in their lives, why education was important and why this had some promise for them.

Of the first 60 we brought in in that manner, 56 have graduated in some degree of skill. We also found it was important not only to bring them in for technical skill, but while they were doing it we needed to give them same basic education; education in reading and writing, education in arithmetic, education in various other fundamental subjects. But I think that this is the answer. Here we are attacking it, not only on a single-county basis, not here and there, but through this bill we can make a massive attack on the problem of uneducated young men and young girls who need to be led by the hand, need to be shown how education can mean something to them, and need to be given the best opportunities of catching up and getting that education.

I have looked very carefully at the Job Corps suggestions, the work-training, the work-study, and I believe all of these things from our limited experience will do the job in catching these people up and show why it is important in bringing them together.

Then we have been very gratified in our community action programs. These community action programs that we are handling through the North Carolina fund are precisely the type of community actions suggested in the bill. What it does, it seems to me, is to take a look at all the programs, all the agencies, and all the resources for helping people to help themselves, and then sets up the kind of plan and machinery which will tie together, not at the top where they are already tied together, but tied together at the bottom—all of these programs, putting the emphasis again on the individual.

We had $14 million, but that was not a lot of money when you thought about 4½ million people across the State. But I want to show you just what the response was, because I think as we look beyond the Federal Government and to the State governments and to the local governments, and as we call on the States to do their share and take the position of leadership in that program; and as we call on local leaders to look at the problems within their communities, I think it is a legitimate question: Will this work? Will they take part? Can we have something that is effective, if it is not a massive Federal program directed, controlled, carried out totally from here? Will the people cooperate and pick it up?

We issued last fall a little red book that set up the guidelines of community action programs. We suggested that we, as a North Carolina fund, could sponsor about 10; and we suggested that community leaders get together and that they look at their problems of poverty and that they define them. We felt that, even if they didn't get a project carried out through the fund, that this would be a helpful thing and a wholesome thing; that we would have local people all across North Carolina say, "Well, why do we have this poverty, what are our shortcomings, and what do we need to do?"

We thought we would get a couple of dozen and we would have difficulty in explaining to some people, "Well, we simply can't take your project on, but you already have profited and there are things you can do without our help," which, indeed, there are. We gave them until the first week in February to get their proposals in. To our surprise, and pleasant surprise at that, we received 51 proposals covering 66 of our 100 counties, far more than 85 percent of the total population.

I think this is a good sign and a good indication that people across the country do see the problems of poverty and are concerned about them and do want to support them and define them and correct them. This has been the most rewarding single episode of our efforts, that so many people, literally thousands of leaders across the State, have understood what we were talking about and have joined it and are attempt to define it and get on and do something about it.

Now we can help some of them. We cannot help nearly all of them. Some of them can do it by themselves; but most of them will need some kind of outside assistance. Therefore, title II, which provides the urban- and rural-action programs, is designed to get at this need—this desire—and to get at the fulfillment of these efforts that I am sure are available, ready to go, all across the Nation.

Then I think the rural poverty section—title III—ties in with this, because many of these counties are rural counties. Many of them have suggested the kind of loans. None have suggested grants, but I am satisfied grants and loans working together would be very effective. We have in these proposals the improvement of cooperative farm efforts. We have in these proposals assistance in providing nonfarm activities on farming land. We have in these proposals suggested that we sponsor or locally they sponsor cooperative associations for production and for marketing products of the farm.

So, right here we have ideas already from all across our State—ideas I am sure similar to ideas available all across the Nation, as to what can be done with title III.

Title IV is the development of jobs; development of small business; the development of new business and industries. We haven't had a great deal of experience in this except to realize that, through our vocational rehabilitation programs where such funds are available, that this is very effective, because sometimes a few thousand dollars can put a person in business and help him along. It is the kind of loan that the GI bill participated in; a loan that is not always so good that a bank will take it up, and a loan that requires a little more faith sometimes than a bank has.

So I think that this could be used very effectively. There are adequate safeguards written into it, so that it would not be a giveaway program. It would tie in with the community overall planning committee projects. So, I think that would be very helpful to the total program.

Then I am sure the HEW officials have commented on the experimental pilot demonstrations under title V, I believe, and I am satisfied that that kind of program can be effective. I do not know what it includes—I am sure they can tell you that—but I do know that we already are using—just started, just proposed, under the experimental program—what we call community coordinators. I think of them as representing all the government, all the State government, all the Federal Government, in attempting to tie together all of these agencies and all of these services so that they look not at their program and not at their statistics and not whether or not they are taking care of so many people, so that they will get the habit of looking at this individual. And if he comes into the employment office and if they look on the card and he does not fit the particular specifications, that they simply will not file it away, as they now do, but they will say, "Well, why does he not fill the bill for some job?" And if it is necessary for him to get some health service, who is going to tell him, unless we do? If he needs additional training, who is going to tell him about some vocational training, unless we do?

So we hope we can tie together in that way, and this I think is one of the experimental projects anticipated under that part of the bill. In any event, we have found that people are concerned and that people are interested and that people are ready to go and do something about poverty. And I think this is so in every single section of our State, as evidenced by these proposals which come from every congressional district and every area of North Carolina.

When we announced, last September, these grants and the establishment of this fund, I was asked by the newspaper to make a concise statement as to what the North Carolina Fund was. Another way: What is North Carolina's interest in doing something about poverty?

So I wrote a few lines that I would like to read now, because I think they apply to what you are doing. I said:

This is a time of plenty in North Carolina, and we are thankful. There are surpluses and profits and monetary gains. We have never known such prosperity, and we have never enjoyed such leisure and recreation and the pleasures of the good life. Our schools have never been better supported and more effective. But all is not well amid the pleasures, the plenty, and the progress. In North Carolina there remain tens of thousands whose family income is so low that daily subsistence is always in doubt. There are tens of thousands who go to bed hungry and get up hungry and go to school hungry. There are tens of thousands of young people who have no skills and no present likelihood to get a skill. There are tens of thousands who live in houses, a blight on the landscape, and indecent for humanity. There are tens of thousands drawn into schools from homes where school is not understood and not encouraged. There are tens of thousands who will never find encouragement to finish school. There are tens of thousands whose dreams will die. Some of their poverty is self-imposed and some of it is undeserved. All of it withers the spirit of children who neither imposed it nor deserve it. These are the children of poverty who, tomorrow, will become the parents of poverty. We hope to break this cycle of poverty. We will experiment and seek to draw together the forces of organization, government, education; to find the causes and provide the new opportunities and to make North Carolina the place where the strong help the weak and the weak grow strong. That is what the North Carolina Fund is about and that is what the President's poverty program is about.

Thank you very much.

Mr. PERKINS. Since you came in, Governor Sanford—and I introduced you—two distinguished representatives from your great State have come in. An individual who can get to the committee room at 8:45, as you did this morning, likes to work, and I think that is an outstanding attribute.

We have with us here my good North Carolina friend on the subcommittee when last year we wrote the Vocational Education Act. He made a significant contribution. I refer to Representative Ralph Scott from your great State. Another distinguished member of the North Carolina delegation is a chairman of a committee, Congressman Bonner, chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Governor, I know these gentlemen want to welcome you here.

I first call on Mr. Scott.

STATEMENT OF HON. RALPH J. SCOTT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. SCOTT. Governor Sanford, I am sorry that I was unavoidably delayed to the extent that I could not get here at the beginning of your fine statement. I want to join other members of the committee and our entire delegation in welcoming you to Washington to testify before this committee.

I want to congratulate and commend you, too, for your interest in this particular legislation and for the fine contributions you have made in North Carolina to the beginning of such a program as is contemplated by part of this act. I believe you have probably made more progress—if I may brag a little on our State—than any Gover-

nor in the country. You have taken more interest in this type of legislation. I feel that you have made a wonderful contribution.

Thank you.

Governor SANFORD. I certainly appreciate those kind words, Congressman Scott. I might say that we are certainly very proud of our Congressman and the many contributions that he has made. I will have to say I don't deserve any credit for being here early. It is just that we had a tailwind coming up this morning.

Mr. PERKINS. Congressman Bonner.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT C. BONNER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman, I certainly appreciate the opportunity to sit here and hear the distinguished Governor from my State. I am ashamed of myself. I must congratulate your committee on your early-to-work attitude that you have here. I took it for granted that your committee would meet at 10 o'clock.

I want to apologize to my Governor. I am not an early bird. I am a late bird. I stay around here late in the afternoon, but I don't get down here so early in the morning, because that is the only time I have to be with my wife is in the morning.

Mr. Chairman, we have been proud of the government in the State of North Carolina. We have been fortunate for now more than 60 years to have outstanding government in our State, to have chief executives who have shown an interest in the people, an interest in the forward progress of the State. They have been all splendid, fine, able men. The present chief executive exemplifies it to the highest degree. He has brought progress to our State. He has shown a tremendous interest in the rank and file of the people. He has brought new thought, and he is a progressive, able leader.

The bill that you have before you and some other things that I have seen here in Congress were some of his brain children. I didn't hear all of his testimony, but I knew he began to wrestle with this subject some years ago, some time ago. I shall read his full statement with a great deal of interest and pride. I am honored and pleased, always, to be in his company. I am very proud of him. I have done everything I could to assist him as well as other Governors in my State in their administration. I wish it were so that we could keep him longer than the one more year or possibly one more year that he has. I am delighted to have this opportunity to be in your committee room, Mr. Chairman.

Governor SANFORD. Thank you, Ralph Scott and Herbert Bonner. You have made my trip worth while.

Mr. PERKINS. Governor Sanford, again I wish to join with your distinguished representatives from North Carolina in commending you for the terrific progress and leadership that you have given your great State. Briefly, since we have two Appalachian Governors who will appear here, one other besides yourself, just how this legislation will help in the eastern Kentucky mountain region? I know this is not a cureall, and in no way duplicates or obviates the necessity for the Appalachian program now being developed by the President.

Governor SANFORD. I think the Appalachian program gets at an area that needs more intense attention than the rest of the Nation, and

I think it has some basic problems that aren't simply the problems of poverty that you find in normal rural areas and in the normal urban areas.

I should think that the poverty program could be very effective and very helpful in the Appalachian region. In fact, we have proposals and community projects moving in the northwestern tier of Yancey, Mitchell, and Avery, which my Congressmen would be familiar with, and Buncombe and Macon and Polk, in these mountain counties. Now we have problems there of education.

Mr. PERKINS. Right on that point—and I did not intend to interrupt you—but in attracting industry to your State haven't you found it most difficult, without training programs?

Governor SANFORD. Yes, I don't think there is any question about that. What we have been attempting to do and I think what the Appalachian program does, we need to open that country up. Now if you look historically, the people who settled the Appalachian were the most rugged of the first settlers. They were the people who had the pioneering courage and the determination, and they are the people who wanted to push forward. So they were of the finest of the early settlers. Why did they get caught up in this? They got caught up in it because that country is still too confined in an age when transportation is so important.

I think the key to the Appalachian program—there are several, but the principal one is that it will help us open up the country. We won't be required to measure the need for a road simply on how many people use it, but we also can add another factor, how many people will it help, how will it help develop the country?

Mr. PERKINS. Retraining and jobs, of course are essential but all of these provide only a part of the answer. We desperately need to provide a massive road program and public works program to make the area accessible to the mainstream of the national economy.

Governor SANFORD. I think that is so. I think both of these things tie together very well. I think retraining is absolutely essential, which was one of the first considerations when we started talking about the Appalachian program several years ago. Retraining or training in the first instance although it might be called retraining, they missed out the first time. Moving technical schools in. It has been very difficult in the normal setup of education to get much support for technical education in these counties that were so very poor and where the population was so scattered. All of these things will help us take education to these areas where people can take advantage of it, and I think it will have a lot to do with industrial development.

Mr. PERKINS. We have wasted our human resources too long. We have the facilities available. We can enroll these young men who are now literally and figuratively "on the streets" in conservation camps. There are military installations that are not being utilized, that could be used. We are foolish and wasteful if we don't proceed in this direction.

Governor SANFORD. I think so. I think particularly so far as conservation is concerned that we will find in all States recreational areas, I know there are many things we can do on the outer banks.

Mr. PERKINS. That is an area where you have made terrific progress.

Governor SANFORD. There are areas in the mountain areas, the work training, the second category, should fit very well in those areas helping to develop what is going to be more and more in demand, and that is recreation, both public and private.

Mr. PERKINS. There are thousands of youngsters that you could put to work in your State under work training programs and in positions that will continue to go unfulfilled. Am I correct in that statement?

Governor SANFORD. I think so. As a matter of fact, I think we will find that we have far more people than we can get around to under the present provisions, but I think we will not go lacking for people who need the training.

Mr. PERKINS. I have one further question, Governor Sanford. Can you visualize the community actions program doing something in the way of repairing deteriorated housing, which is another great problem we have in Appalachia; poor education, poor housing, both of which contribute to a sense of hopelessness?

Governor SANFORD. Yes, there have been two or three good examples of that around the Nation, of how that has been done. We have our people looking at it. We have not done much about it ourselves, except these community projects, several of them put a great deal of emphasis on the cleanup and paintup and fixup programs of various neighborhoods. All of them contemplate the development of a more wholesome neighborhood, part of which is housing.

I would like to see us do some other things in housing that we have not done, that this program does not envision; but I think in any event here is a start to developing more wholesome housing.

Mr. PERKINS. Do something in the rural areas and improve community facilities in rural areas?

Governor SANFORD. Yes.

Mr. PERKINS. I have taken too much time, but you have been a very interesting witness, Governor Sanford.

Mr. Landrum.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Governor, throughout these hearings, which have now been in process for about 3 weeks, we have had eloquent statements from Cabinet officers, under Cabinet officers, from private businessmen, from elected officials, including other Governors, all of which has been tremendously helpful to me and to the committee. I believe, however, that yesterday the three gentlemen appearing from the business sector—Mr. Nichols, from Olin Mathieson Co.; Mr. Martin, from Carson-Pirie-Scott Co.; and Mr. Ralph Besse, from Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.—and then this representation by you this morning probably are the highlights of the hearings insofar as the emphasis laid upon the need for the legislation is concerned.

Certainly that was true with the appearance of the three men from the business sector yesterday. This morning, however, I see in your magnificent demonstration here a sort of calm competence that derives from very thorough study of the problem and at least some effort to implement some remedies to meet the results of your study.

As one who participated in the early drafting and the final drafting of this bill that is now before the committee, I am aware of the experience, advantages, and help we had from the study which you had con-

ducted, you and your associates in North Carolina. It was of tremendous value to us to know something of your efforts and your findings when we drafted this. So, as one who has become really enthusiastic about this, I am glad to pay my respects to you and your associates for the part you played in developing this bill to this point.

I think your characterization of the child of poverty today being a parent of poverty tomorrow probably strikes the most sensitive chord in this whole poverty picture. All of us know that never are we going to eliminate this factor of poverty in our society. What we are going to try to do, and what we hope to do, as you previously said, is to break the cycle of it. And until we do break the cycle of it, we are permitting second, third, and fourth generations of poverty to pyramid the problems that that disease creates throughout America.

One of the businessmen told us yesterday—I believe it was Mr. Martin—that if a business found itself in the condition that some of our communities and some of our areas in the country are in that it would immediately stop, take inventory, and devise some means of trying to remedy those problems and get them out of the way; for if it didn't, the business would die. And then he stated as trustees of the public interest, of the society that we have, that we as Congressmen were responsible for doing likewise, or else we might be charged with letting a nation, our form of government, die.

While I am tremendously pleased, joyous almost, over the opportunity to hear such magnificent presentations as you have presented here this morning, I am equally concerned that a great many Members of Congress have deprived themselves of hearing argument in favor of a program that probably no one who thoroughly understood the problem could oppose. I hope your statement will be read by every Member of the House of Representatives. I believe it to be the most practical approach from an elected official's standpoint that I have seen.

I want to ask you one or two questions. Is it your feeling that the community action section provides sufficient safeguards for the Governor of a State or for the local officials of a community to have a sufficient voice in the management of these community programs?

Governor SANFORD. I would certainly hope that that would be the intention of the Director. I think as far as whether or not it is spelled out completely enough, I am not certain. I do think it would be the intention of the proposed Director to give the States a voice, and I think it would be a great mistake not to. This simply cannot be done effectively, if it is going to be done in a way that requires too much redtape and too many devices of central control.

I think it can be done very effectively with State leadership operating within the proposed guidelines that are set up by Congress and by the administration of the act. But I think we would miss a tremendous resource, if we did not call the State leadership into an important role. I think the States can contribute and are anxious to contribute and have the capacity to contribute the leadership which would spell the difference between success and failure. Then, I think the States, in turn, would make a tremendous mistake if they did not call on local leadership, as we have demonstrated is readily available to State leadership, because this involves enough people to see that the problems locally are defined and designed and carried out. And

I hope that as much emphasis as possible, even at the risk of some loss of apparent efficiency, I think as much emphasis as possible should be put on State leadership and local leadership, because they are with the problems, and I think they can help considerably in doing something about it.

As well as the bill is drawn, I do not have a competent opinion, but I think it is extremely important——

Mr. PERKINS. Will you yield to me?

Mr. LANDRUM. I gladly yield.

Mr. PERKINS. Governor Sanford, your wide experience, your many accomplishments, and the sound judgment you have shown, qualifies you to answer this question in furtherance of what Mr. Landrum has ask. What types of initiative can be taken by your State or State governments to induce increased investments by industries in the poorer States like North Carolina, Kentucky, and Georgia?

Governor SANFORD. I think this country grows and, therefore, industry comes to join in that growth, as they see a resource that is of value to them. Whatever success we have had in North Carolina, if I understand the question properly, in industrial development—and I think most of the figures indicate that we have been fairly successful when compared with other States—it is not that we have good salesmanship telling people about industry, which I think we have had; but no matter how good the salesman he has to have something to sell, and we have tried to sell people and trained people and competent, honest people.

So, I think as we train people and add to their skills, we are going to create the necessary drawing power for industry. More important than having industry come from elsewhere, it is going to help us in our own State expand what industry we have. I think you will find that is true in every State. Trained people find a way of putting those skills and abilities to use, and industry finds a way and they are joined together for profitmaking. I think the key is training and education and people.

Mr. LANDRUM. Governor, would you say that this bill, as it is drafted, is directed more at the causes of poverty than it is to the consequences?

Governor SANFORD. Well, I hope so. I would hope that this could be a temporary effort, when you take the long view of it; that we are not trying to provide some means of caring for people of poverty. We are trying to get rid of the causes, so that we remove the burden of carrying these people forever.

Mr. LANDRUM. Heretofore our efforts have been concerned principally with charity and relief.

Governor SANFORD. I think that is so.

Mr. LANDRUM. Now we want to change our course and direct it at the causes of it, in the hope that we can eliminate the necessity for a great amount of this charity and relief.

Governor SANFORD. It would eliminate most of them.

Mr. LANDRUM. Now in your study in North Carolina, which again I must say has been of tremendous benefit to us in the drafting of this legislation, all of your wrestling with the problem, is it your opinion that State and local governments can cope with this problem successfully without the assistance of the Federal Government?

Governor SANFORD. No, because the State and local governments will not have the necessary funds that must be used. We thought we were doing a pretty good job when we talked Ford into giving us $7 million and two local foundations in matching that, and we will have some other funds from other sources so that we may have $20 million over a 5-year period. But that enables us to work on comprehensive programs and in only 10 to 15 communities and do a partial job in maybe 8 or 10 more, and have maybe a single person helping do some of the job in some 25 communities. So, we simply do not have the financial resources to do the job that we see. We do not have it because, as in so many things, we do not have the tax resources that we can apply.

I think certainly in our State we have done our share in providing new taxes in the last several years to meet our share of the responsibility. I don't see how you can get at the problems of poverty in all of the communities and in all of the States without this kind of help from the Federal Government. So I think this is essential, and I must say in education or in this program or anything else we have attempted to say, "Now the Federal Government can do some things and may do some things, but we would like to get on in doing our part of the responsibility now without waiting," but with the cooperation of the Federal Government I think we could do a so much better job.

Mr. LANDRUM. Beyond the assistance that financial aid from the Federal Government will provide, is this not true that the national interest, based on the great mobility of our population and the way these problems can move from community to community and State to State, isn't that an essential reason why the Federal Government must come into this picture?

Governor SANFORD. I think so. I think you have that kind of mobility now. Furthermore, the Nation has as much concern with the total resources and the total edeucation, the total human development as any State. The State has its share of the responsibility, but the total responsibility is the Federal Government's. If we had a rocket that had a noticeable 20-percent loss in efficiency because 20 percent was not working, we would start designing that 20-percent deficiency out, so that we could bring it up to peak performance. That is what we have in the Nation in terms of human resources, at least 20 percent—in our State more—at least 20-percent handicap, because 20 percent of the people are not producing anything, are not adding anything to the welfare, are not adding anything to the wealth of the Nation or the productivity of the Nation; and, worse than not adding anything, are dragging down all the rest.

I think the businessmen make a good point and a point that we have made, this is not only right because it is the humane and compassionate thing that we should do, but it is good business. These people now are not contributing and we are suggesting a small investment, relatively speaking, which will help them contribute to the free enterprise and the total economy. I think it is not only right and proper, but it is very good business.

Mr. LANDRUM. Now one question, directing your attention back to the job corps which you discussed in your former statement, some of the critics have suggested it would be better to provide or to leave this

job corps business to the States themselves, thereby keeping the prospective enrollee closer to his present environment or to his own environment, making it a State operation only. Can you envision a program such as is contemplated in the job corps phase of this as being conducted by States only without Federal assistance?

Governor SANFORD. I think the State can be very helpful. I think the State can help find the facilities. I think in some cases the State can help find the facilities. I think in some cases the State can make the facilities available and I am not sure that is provided for. But we have some facilities right now. But I think the critics that make that point are making the same mistake which has been made too often in the past in all of these programs, they are looking too much at the program and not enough at the individual.

If we have a man who can go to the University of North Carolina, at Raleigh, and become an electrical engineer and fit into a program and make a contribution in California, it is our duty to train him. Now we wish we could keep him at home, and we are trying to do more of that. But our first responsibility is not to the program, not even to the economy of the State, but to the individual. We need to train him and then let him go where that skill and that training can be used to his advantage and the public's advantage.

So, I do not think you can look at this as a regional thing or limited by the boundaries of a State. It must be a national program, I think.

Mr. LANDRUM. I want to get a little more down to detail about this environment business, if I may, Governor. I apologize to the committee members for indulging me this long. Isn't it true that a great many of these people that we hope to get into the job corps program are going to be better off if they are removed from their present environments?

Governor SANFORD. I have heard that argument in many ways. I strongly believe that part of the problem is the environment and that getting them out into the kind of residence schools that this job corps would provide would be the most wholesome single feature of it; that we remove them from the things, the environment that held them down. I think it is extremely wise that we take them out and get them in a different kind of environment where there are different sets of values.

Mr. LANDRUM. Providing that when we do so move, we do equip them with some employable skills that makes them go back to a more attractive environment?

Governor SANFORD. Yes, with the hope that they can do better. As I said in the beginning, the half dozen or so boys I talked to, it was not that they didn't have any skill; but they didn't have any idea of how they could get one, why they should or what they could do with it. They had not only lost their opportunity, they had lost their hope. I think getting them out in a new environment would help restore the hope which is a basic part of giving them the necessary motivation and ambition. I think that is a wise proposal.

Mr. LANDRUM. Did you discover in your study that the literacy level of many of these youngsters that we are concerned about with this program is below that required for admission to and pursuing a successful course in the average vocational technical school of today?

Governor SANFORD. Yes; and I think we have a tie in basic education with most of the training and skills.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you so much, Governor.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. GIBBONS. Governor, I am very sorry that our Republican colleagues other than Mr. Bell are not here this morning. I am sure they would have profited by what you have to say. I would like to compliment you for the fine way that you have conducted your State and conducted yourself here this morning. Your testimony has been very helpful and very informative.

Governor SANFORD. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Relative to the remarks that my very good friend made about the Republicans not being here, I want to point out that we do have a conflict, Governor, with the Fair Labor Standards Act, which some Republicans are on. There are other conflicts. I want to apologize for my delay in getting here, but I also had another meeting to attend to.

Governor, I understand that you have discussed somewhat the Job Corps and the problems under title I. As you well know, the Job Corps enlistments or, I should say asks for volunteers. It is quite likely that the ones that are most desirable to get into the Job Corps may not be the ones who will volunteer for it. So this, of course, will itself become a problem.

Governor SANFORD. Yes. I touched on that just briefly. I think there is an answer to it. We have tried a program that we call "Operation Second Chance." We are talking about almost the same category of young people, men and women in this case, which we wanted to bring into one of our industrial education centers for specialized training, basic education as well as some skill that they might have a particular aptitude for. We found that you simply could not get them by advertising the program. The story in the newspaper did not bring them to the office.

Mr. BELL. Right.

Governor SANFORD. We had to use counselors to go out and literally lead them by the hand, because quite likely they didn't read the newspapers. More important than that, they never had, because of the deficiencies of a number of years, which may be the same reasons they dropped out of school—they never understood of how and why they should, and they never had the competence to go.

I know we had a young boy who graduated from a high school in my hometown. My law partner had an interest in him, because he knew the child's parent had worked for him. He said, "Why don't you go around to the employment office and sign up for a course in automobile mechanics work? That seems to be something you might like to do."

Well, a month later he said "Have you gone?"

He said, "No, sir, I didn't go." Well, he didn't go because that was a strange world for him, too. This big glass door on the main street was a world he was too timid to enter. So then he wrote him a letter that should have gotten proper attention, and several weeks later he found out that even that did not give him the courage. Finally, he took him by the hand and led him and counseled with him, and put him into the school. I take it he is doing all right now.

We found out also in the Operation Second Chance that we had to recruit these people, and I don't think it is an indictment against them that they don't have the ambition; I think that is simply part of the problem. So you do need the counseling. As I see it, this program will not be successful unless we reach down and attempt to get every single individual who needs the training, and I think that is part of it; and I think our community action programs by the very nature of the way they will develop, will feed a great many people into the program, because they will furnish the neighborhood counseling service.

But I think you are absolutely right, that we will not really get those who need it, unless we go out and seek them.

Mr. BELL. The matter that concerns me in all of this, Governor, is the fact that we have today some ongoing programs, very good ongoing programs, I think, such as your vocational education, manpower development and retraining. I am also concerned about a realistic approach to such a war as this on poverty. I think you have to approach it and rifle in on some really good things, and not just throw a mishmash of everything into it, hoping that one will work. I think it is more sensible to approach it from a really analytical standpoint.

Now as far as the vocational education and manpower development and retraining, I think you will recall that basic educational features have been added to both of these programs. So it might be a great deal better, might it not, Governor, to approach this by using those ongoing programs plus perhaps a local or a State program of urban conservation in which the State would have direct control of the program, rather than trying to place $42 million worth of programs through the United States that may or may not be effective.

Would you like to comment on that?

Governor SANFORD. Yes. I think one of our reasons for having people still caught up in poverty in spite of these ongoing programs for the last 30 or 35 years has been that we have not understood and have not had the proper concept, and that we have had too many fragmented programs. I was saying earlier that I thought one of the purposes of the community projects would be to tie together at the bottom whereas there are now tied here in Raleigh and the other State capitals, at the top, would be to tie together at the bottom all of these services. Because I think the attitude has been, this is my program, this is my responsibility, I will get up the statistics of how many people I interviewed and what we did in this department, and we have lost sight of the fact that the programs were designed for people and that on one program is likely to correct the conditions that keep any particular person in poverty.

So I would hope, and we hope in North Carolina, in the some 66 proposals that we have that all of the mobilization—we have in Shelby, for example, an organization that was created, that has the name of Cleveland County Association of Government Officials. This is the concept, that they are going to all attempt greater coordination and greater cooperation in trying together these services, so that a person caught up by these many, many reasons can be guided to the kind of help that will get him out of all of them.

I think it is essential that we find a way of tying them together. I really think that is what this community service program is all about. So, it is necessary to do it. Whether or not we are doing unnecessary

things, I don't know. I remember a situation in southern France when we had a lot of artillery fire and we had some tanks and we ordered some mortar fire thrown in there. Finally we took the hill with the Infantry. My mortar sergeant said, "I don't think we needed that mortar fire." I don't know whether in this war on poverty we have one or two things in here we don't need, but the important thing is the objective.

I would rather have too much than too little.

Mr. BELL. We may have a realistic problem, too, in getting youths to volunteer to go to camps, maybe in Wyoming, Alaska, and Montana, and so on. Although I agree that we should not have too little, I think a lot of these responsibilities can be handled by the States on a local level and with some added matching funds program.

Governor SANFORD. Yes; I made a strong case, I hope, or intended to, for the use of State government and local governnment and local citizens in any program. I think it would be a mistake to make this massive, centrally directed, centrally controlled, centrally tied up program. I think to the extent that we use the State governments, to the extent that we use the local governments and the local leadership, that is the extent of the success that we will have. I certainly agree that as much of this as can, should be put out locally and through State government. I think it will be more successful, because I think our problems are different than the problems of Wyoming, and I think there needs to be a great deal of flexibility in it.

Mr. LANDRUM. Will you yield?

Mr. BELL. Yes, I yield.

Mr. LANDRUM. However, Governor, that is not to say, is it, that the provision in this bill to tie together under one umbrella a great many existing or proposed Federal programs is not a good idea, so that they can be centrally directed from here in cooperation with the State programs?

Governor SANFORD. No; I said that, too. I said it must be put under one umbrella. I think one of our problems in the past has been that we have had too many umbrellas. I think the more we can draw these things together and the thing I like about it is that it does talk about coordination and it does bring the various agencies together for a common assault instead of saying to all the agencies and all the States, "You go out and fight the battle the way you see fit." This is a coordinated, planned attack that calls on the resources of the Federal Government, all of its agencies, all the States, and brings into play all the local governments.

I think that is the beauty of it, the fact that it does bring things together.

Mr. BELL. As I understand, you are recommending wherever possible local control; are you not?

Governor SANFORD. I think you have a good example in the Hill-Burton legislation, in the legislation for construction of facilities for higher education, where you have required the States to set up some kind of broadly representative agency and within the general guidelines which Congress has set down, the State has planned its program in the case of Hill-Burton of hospital development, and I think it has worked very well. I think local initiative, State initiative have both been called into play. I think that kind of local control is essen-

tial to the success of any program involving Federal, State, and local cooperation.

I do not think it would be wise to simply say to the various States, "Plan a program, and we will give you x dollars to do your share and help." I don't think you will get a good program and not a coordinated program. I think there should be enough flexibility so that we could try different things and new things, and we might learn something that California would not have thought of, but after they saw how it worked they might want it, or after we tried it we might want to throw it out. I think you need that degree of flexibility, but I do think we need a common program.

Mr. BELL. I do not know whether you testified on title III at all or made any comment about the title III feature, about the farm grants and loans for these small farms, to make them viable.

Governor SANFORD. Yes; I commented briefly on it. I pointed out that, in some of the community projects already started, we already had some proposals that would fit in, proposals for cooperative effort.

Part of the trouble with the small farm, the family-size farm, is is that they cannot buy the necessary equipment to do the job efficiently. Therefore, we see more and more trend to large, consolidated, corporate farms, a trend that I personally think is not very good, and I know it is not very good for our immediate human problems. This, for one thing, would provide for the kind of cooperative effort that we have seen tried successfully in two or three places in our State so that a number of farmers can have a cooperative equipment company, for example.

It also provides for funds that would enable a farmer to, let us say, in addition to his tobacco allotment, get in the broiler business, because a $1,500 grant and a $2,500 loan would just about enable one family-farm farmer to take on another item of that kind, and I think it would be profitable.

It also would enable people, farmers, to get into some new crops in which there is a certain risk involved, which I think will provide one of the answers to the need for greater diversification in our State; food processing, food production, there is a considerable possibility if we could ever find the incentive or a way to move some of our people into it.

Mr. BELL. You can understand in certain areas, certain particular area, you could have a situation where there are other economic factors that play, which might mean that making a loan or a grant would do nothing except to worsen the situation. Actually, there may be lack of markets, there may be many problems that could not make these farms really viable and productive and the farmer able to go ahead. This is an economic factor that could come into play.

Governor SANFORD. Yes. If you are familiar with the Farmers Home Administration work and the way they work up a community plan or a family plan, I think there are some dangers. There are dangers in anything, but I think here, if we have that approach of the Farmers Home Administration of a careful plan before grants or loans are undertaken, anything is workable. Anything can be abused. I can see how this could be abused. But I would hope that it could be administered in an intelligent way and, if it were, it would be valuable.

It is somewhat nebulous because we have not been this way before. When I first read it, I went back and read it again and I gave it considerable thought. It would enable them, a small farmer, to do something about improving his farm operation and to reduce the mortgage or to acquire a little piece of land.

Mr. BELL. Governor, my line of questioning here is because we had a line of testimony here from one of the leaders of North Carolina University, Dr. Bishop. He suggested the idea that maybe there ought to be some other factors that play in analyzing this title III, that perhaps we should consider even such matters as the age. He divided the people in this program, the elderly people who maybe may not have had the opportunity of education are pretty much dedicated to staying on the farm and you could hardly pry them out of there. But on the other hand there may be some younger people whom it might be better to encourage to leave the farm and also set up a program of educating them, preparing them for jobs.

Governor SANFORD. Yes; I agree with Dr. Bishop. In fact, I sent out several weeks ago, when it was first available, the Senate version, which has in it the President's message and analysis, to about 250 of our leaders, State and local, including Dr. Bishop, and I have had back his reply.

I certainly don't disagree basically with anything he said to me, though I did not hear the testimony.

I think we are finding that about 8 out of every 10 farm children are not staying on the farm. That is the trend. Whether we like it or not, that is the trend. They don't want to stay on the farm and are not going to stay. They are looking for other opportunities. Some of them are leaving because there is no longer any opportunity there and they are going to some place or situation where there is no opportunity, either. So we need this training.

Here is where the Job Corps and the work training programs come in, I think, especially in a State that is as rural as ours is, that we will find this very valuable.

I would not think that we should use title III to keep people on the farm that ought not to stay, but I think where people can stay and, after all, we are going to have in this country a food-production problem in a few more years and we are going to have it on the east coast; the west coast now supplies a great deal of food and will not be able to supply it a few years from now, according to all predictions.

So, Dr. Bishop helped us design the kind of program which has now caused us to develop a school of food science at his college, at his university, and helped us design a program of the development of food processing and, to back up food processing, we need food production.

So I see this is a device that would be of some help to us. Obviously, I am speaking as the Governor of one State about our particular problems. I do see, too, that this could be the kind of thing that could be very wasteful if it were administered in that way, but I should certainly hope that it would not be, not every farmer is entitled to a $1.500 grant.

You have four categories, to acquire land or to remove a mortgage or to acquire equipment or to get into some kind of nonfarm activity which, I take it, would be primarily recreation, which is something that is coming along, and then to do the various things cooperatively.

I think that is one of the answers because it takes too much investment now to run in a small farm. I don't know. I can see a lot of good in it.

Mr. BELL. I think there would be a great deal of business, particularly when you have so many that are not going to want to stay on the farm. Yet, you are going to have the incentive perhaps, to make them stay on the farm by having the Government step in.

Now, the crux of the question here is, who is going to determine whether this farm or whether that person is the type of person who should be encouraged to get off or to stay there or just what position should he take on this particular farm or this particular individual? He may not be 65, but he may be 45 or he may be 35, maybe he is in a position where he could do better.

These are the kinds of factors that come into play when you have a financial program of this kind and you have to analyze the factors that you and I are discussing right now.

Governor SANFORD. I don't think that will be as much of a practical problem as might appear when we think about it, because I think the farmer who does not want to stay and does not see any hope and does not have any hope is not going to stay for $1,500 or for a $2,500 loan. I think there the Farmers Home Administration has had such good experience in this kind of analysis and this kind of counseling that, I would think, that they would be in a pretty good position to give sound advice.

Now, we have just had them working on a situation involving a lot of farms in one section of our State, Congressman Bonner, where the product, the traditional product has fallen on evil days and they are not making the grade, and it looks to me, from a distance, that we had a situation where a lot of people should get out of the farming business.

Over the past few months, the Farmers Home Administration has been working with us to advise these people, and I am satisfied that if their advice is, "Let us quit farming in this section," or this particular product, that they will quit farming, because it is too burdensome as it is.

I think there is a great deal of experience behind us on how to advise farmers about future farming. We have the Extension Service, which has a great deal of experience behind it. I think we have to rely on the performance of the people charged with it but I do think that the people charged with this responsibility have much experience to draw on. That is the only way I can answer that question.

Obviously, we should not set up artificial incentives to keep people farming if they should be doing something else.

Mr. BELL. Governor, I see my time has run out. I want to thank, the chairman for his indulgence.

I also wanted to commend you for the great things I have heard about the job you have done in North Carolina, one of the most progressive States in the southern area, I know. I have heard a great deal about it. I want to commend you for a good job.

Governor SANFORD. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Since we have had only a few witnesses before the committee that have had your extensive knowledge of the way the Federal and State Governments and local governments are adminis-

tering health, welfare, and education programs, I have two or three questions:

First, in connection with Mr. Bell's inquiry, in your opinion can the field representatives of the Farmers Home Administration put their hands forthwith on the individuals who are most deserving of grants and loans?

Governor SANFORD. Yes; in North Carolina, they can. I have an extremely high regard for their ability and effectiveness. I don't know of any agency, State or local, that does any better job of knowing its people and getting on with problem.

Mr. PERKINS. I have had the same experience in the district I am privileged to represent, Governor; that is the reason I asked that question.

Would you recommend that the employment offices, State employment offices, do the selecting for the Job Corps in cooperation with the schools and other agencies—local agencies and eleemosynary institutions?

Governor SANFORD. I think there are various ways that that can work. In our State, we hope to do it that way. So far, to the extent that we have done anything of this kind, we have.

I think it is going to involve a change of attitude, not so much a change of attitude as a change of purpose in the minds of the people working in the employment security commissions, because I think we need to look not only at the filling of an order, so to speak, with a particular kind of product, a person with a particular kind of training, but we look at this individual as to how we can redeem him or rehabilitate him. That has not been quite the job of employment security up to now. I think they do need to take a fresh look at what their purpose will be in the overall program. I think they have begun to do it in the ARA and manpower retraining.

Mr. PERKINS. In the last few years?

Governor SANFORD. I think so. We are confident that they are competent to do this. In fact, we started before Christmas designing a pilot program to train in a residential school the rejectees from the draft. We had our employment security people in on that planning. It is already there. It is already available. They can do the job.

Mr. PERKINS. Without extra expense from the Government?

Governor SANFORD. Well, they might need a few more people.

Mr. PERKINS. Well, Governor Sanford, I personally could discuss this program with you all morning. You have a great interest in, and knowledge of, this legislation. We have obtained a tremendous benefit from your testimony.

Again let me compliment you for a wonderful appearance. I know the members of the full committee will enjoy reading your testimony. Thank you very much.

Governor SANFORD. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I enjoyed being here.

Mr. PERKINS. We have some six or eight other witnesses who will appear here today. Our next witness is Monsignor Higgins of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Come around, Monsignor Higgins. How do you wish to proceed, Monsignor?

STATEMENT OF MSGR. GEORGE HIGGINS, DIRECTOR, SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

Monsignor HIGGINS. I have a relatively brief prepared statement.

Mr. PERKINS. Would you prefer to read it?

Monsignor HIGGINS. I would.

Mr. PERKINS. Proceed.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Msgr. George Higgins, director of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The National Catholic Welfare Conference is located at 1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

I appreciate this opportunity to address myself to H.R. 10440, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. I speak not only on behalf of the social action department, but also for the education department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Conference of Catholic Charities, the Bishop's Committee for Migrant Workers, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking, all of which have an intense concern for the welfare of all citizens and patricularly for those who are the victims of poverty and destitution.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 sets as its objective the elimination of "the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty." By means of mobilizing and energizing all resources, public and private, the act hopes to serve as a catalyst in providing opportunities for education, training and working experience for the economically and culturally deprived. Its spectrum of proposals is broad, directed to children, young adults, fathers and mothers of families; its range of projects extensive. One might fairly surmise, however, that there will be certain revisions and adaptations of H.R. 10440 as presently written.

This committee has at its disposal highly qualified specialists in the various categories of activities included in H.R. 10440. I will not presume, therefore, to offer a critique of the different titles and subsections of this bill. Rather, I prefer to reemphasize some of the basic principles that should undergird any program assisting the poor, for sound programs will endure only to the extent that they are based upon principle.

May I state first that organizations I represent today endorse the all-out war on poverty. The Catholic Church, as well as all other religious groups, has always ben intensely interested in the plight of the poor. Its record speaks for itself. This endorsement is really the extension of the hand of welcome and encouragement to the Federal Government as it makes additional greater efforts to foster intelligent social action to counteract the causes of poverty. The dimensions of the problem of poverty far outstrip the resources of the churches and other private agencies and in some areas also outstrip the resources of local and State governments. The stimulus of the Federal Government is welcome, and indeed necessary.

The religious principles underlying a comprehensive attack on poverty have been clearly set forth in a statement issued by the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference less than 2 months ago. With the permission of the Chair, I would submit this

for the record. It distinguishes between the voluntary poverty motivated by religious conviction that elevates the soul and the involuntary debasing poverty that shatters human dignity. It offers criteria for meeting this challenge with compassion and charity and, no less importantly, with genuine respect for the individual.

The social action department's statement on poverty is concerned not only with remedial services for the unemployed and the unemployable, but also—and perhaps even more importantly—with the underlying economic causes of poverty. The statement points out, for example, that if we are to help the poor to help themselves, we must "above all be concerned about work. Avoiding job discrimination is but one step. It is equally vital to be sure that work is available and that the poor are educated and trained to do useful work."

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ACTION, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

A RELIGIOUS VIEW OF POVERTY

While the problem of poverty is as old as mankind, citizens of the United States have special reasons to be concerned over its prevalence here. We are considered to be the wealthiest nation in the world, yet one-fifth of our citizens are in want. We are compelled to spend billions for armament, although slums and blight disfigure our cities and countryside alike. As a matter of conscience the American people offer aid to developing and impoverished nations around the world. Such generosity is good, but it should not blind us to needs here at home. From our abundance we are able to give generously, both in distant lands and within our borders.

Our response should be from the heart, but it must not be purely emotional in nature. Sound programs will endure to the extent that they are based upon principle rather than feeling. To aid in forming lasting convictions, the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference offers the following considerations on the Christian view of poverty, our personal response to this challenge, and the function of society as it confronts the problem of want in the midst of plenty.

I. THE CHURCH AND POVERTY

There is paradox in the Christian teaching on poverty. The holy gospels teach us to respect poverty, but they also oblige us to help the poor in their misery. Our Lord called the poor blessed. He asked His followers to sell what they had and follow Him, advice that was followed literally by the first Christians. Jesus Christ could say that He had not whereon to lay His head, and He was buried in another man's tomb. St. Paul described the followers of Christ as the poor and the powerless.

"Consider your own call, brethren; that there were not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble. But the foolish things of the world has God chosen to put to shame the wise, and the weak things of the world has God chosen to put to shame the strong, and the base things of the world and the despised has God chosen, and the things that are not, to bring to naught the things that are; lest any flesh should pride itself before him." (I Corinthians 1: 26–29.)

St. James could say: "Has not God chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which God has promised to those who love him." (James 2: 5) The ministers of God were described as "poor, yet enriching many, as having nothing, yet possessing all things." (II Corinthians 6: 10.) This was but a reflection of the life of the Master, "being rich, he became poor for your sakes, that by his poverty you might become rich." (II Corinthians 8: 9.)

The church has been interested in the poor primarily because it sees every person as a child of God. While the world honors power, wealth, and achievement, the follower of Christ insists upon the moral worth of those who are neglected and even despised. He does not use worldly standards in judging personal excellence. A St. Francis could cast aside his clothes as a symbol of

complete freedom from worldly attachment. A St. Vincent de Paul could devote his life to the destitute and the oppressed. A St. Camillus could wash the sores of the abandoned sick. All these have been honored because their love of God led them to cast their lot with the least of Christ's brethren.

The church has endorsed poverty by demanding it from those who have entered the solemn religious life. These give up the right to use and dispose of worldly goods. They do this, not because the world that God made is evil, but in order to cut their ties to all that might turn their gaze from God and lead them to concentrate on the passing and corruptible.

Yet, and herein lies the paradox of the Christian teaching on poverty, the church also speaks of a form of poverty that hurts the soul, something totally different from religious detachment from worldly goods. There is a destitution that binds men to this earth, since it forces them to use every waking moment to keep body and soul together. There is want that breeds bitterness and resentment, even hatred.

Pope Pius XII, in his Christmas message of 1952, talked "of the consequences of poverty, still more of the consequences of utter destitution. For some families there is a dying daily, a dying hourly; a dying multiplied, especially for parents, by the number of dear ones they behold suffering and wasting away * * * sickness becomes more serious, because it is not properly treated; it strikes little ones in particular, because preventive measures are lacking."

"Then there is the weakening and consequent physical deterioration of whole generations. Whole masses of the population are brought up as enemies of law and order, so many poor girls gone astray, pushed down into the bottom of the abyss, because they believed that that was the only way out of their shameful poverty. Moreover, not rare is the case where it is wretched misery that leads to crime. Those who in their works of charity visit our prisons affirm constantly that not a few men, fundamentally decent, have gone to prison because extreme poverty has led them to commit some unpremeditated act."

Pope Pius XII is but one of the great modern Popes who, particularly in the last 70 years, have shown deep concern for poverty in our industrial society. There is an essential difference between the austerity of the Trappist monk who cultivates the fields and prays to God in his simple cell and the wretchedness of those who live in the slums of our large cities. The monk is poor, but he has sufficient to eat; he has adequate clothing and needed medical care. He is a respected member of society.

But there are those in our slums who do not have enough to eat. Their clothing is worn and threadbare. They are overcrowded in wretched housing. They have no privacy, not even the mercy of silence. And, the greatest hurt of all, they feel rejected and unwanted. They could die, and no one would shed a tear.

This poverty, in the words of Pope Pius XII, often leads to "social conditions which, whether one wills it or not, make difficult or practically impossible a Christian life" (Solennita, June 1, 1941). Again this same Pope states: "The Christian must be ever mindful that the establishment of God's kingdom in men's hearts and in social institutions often requires a minimum of human development. * * * For this reason, the Christian will always be ready to work for the relief of every material distress. * * * In a word, he will be diligent to achieve the betterment of the poor and the disinherited" (address, Apr. 25, 1957).

What precisely did the Pope have in mind when he spoke of degrading social conditions? Let us listen to his description of slum living: "Dilapidated, ramshackle houses without the most necessary hygienic installations sometimes yield a sizable income to their owners without costing them a penny. Inevitably, they neglect to make necessary repairs in them for years on end.

"Enough can never be said about the harm that these dwellings do to the families condemned to live in them. Deprived of air and light, living in filth and in unspeakable commingling, adults and, above all, children quickly become the prey of contagious diseases which find a favorable soil in their weakened bodies. But the moral injuries are still more serious: immorality, juvenile delinquency, the loss of taste for living and working, interior rebellion against a society that tolerates such abuses, ignores human beings, and allows them to stagnate in this way, transformed gradually into wrecks.

"Society itself must bear the consequences of this lack of foresight. Because it did not wish to prevent the evil and to provide a remedy in time, it will spend enormous sums to keep up an appearance of curbing delinquency and to pay expenses for prolonged confinement in sanatoriums and clinics. How many millions are authorized for the cure of evils that it would be easier and less expensive to prevent?" (address, May 3, 1957).

These words of Pope Pius XII make abundantly clear the vital distinction between the poverty blessed by the church and the wretched destitution that endangers soul and body alike. We must view abject poverty as we view physical sickness, as an evil that must be prevented when possible and certainly cured as soon as possible. Our Blessed Lord did not tell the sick that they were blind or deaf or crippled because of the unchanging laws of the universe. Rather He used His infinite power to heal, thus inspiring us to use both science and compassion in the service of the sick.

In the same way, His Holy Church views poverty as a challenge, not merely to our compassion and charity, but also to intelligent social action aimed at eradicating the many causes of human failure. It is a tragic commentary upon the world today that nations are forced to spend billions for ghastly weapons of war, and yet cannot find the funds to eliminate slums. Our ingenuity can cope with the almost unbelievable difficulties of sending a rocket to the moon. But we seem unable to come up with workable plans to aid human beings created in the image and likeness of Almighty God.

To face this challenge intelligently, we must make some important distinctions in regard to those who are poor. There are some persons whose poverty stems from personal conditions that cannot readily be changed. They are not able to earn a living today, nor is it likely that most of them can ever produce enough to secure a proper livelihood. In this class are many of our aged, some who are physically or mentally handicapped, or mothers who are the sole support of young children. Such persons need help given in a way that fully respects their human dignity.

On the other hand, there are those who are poor largely because of external conditions that have prevented their earning a decent living. They have both the native ability to work and the desire for a good job, but they lack either the training or the opportunity to earn a fitting salary. Such persons include the uneducated and the unskilled, victims of racial discrimination, farmers without adequate resources and training, many unemployed persons over 40, and those who live in areas of declining industry. In these cases, we seek methods and techniques that will enable them to become productive members of our economic society.

Another important distinction concerns the method of affording assistance for each of these groups. There is a form of aid that is intensely personal. Here the stress is upon contact between individuals. Such help does not preclude organization and planning, yet it is basically a person-to-person apostolate.

There are other problems that must be met primarily by social action, whether this be private or governmental. Here the basic concern is the removal of social conditions that breed poverty and destitution. It is obvious, for example, that economic policies that stimulate the demand for workers will make it much easier to retrain and relocate the unemployed.

Whatever distinctions might be made, however, in the Christian understanding of poverty, in practice any attack on poverty must be universal. The heart of the true Christian goes out to all in need. For charity knows no limits. Such has been the pattern, for example, of the Catholic Relief Services. Not only is the entire world its area of operation, but all men, of all races and of all religions, are the beneficiaries of its programs of aid. The only criterion is their need. So, too, as we face this problem of poverty in our country, there must be no restriction of race, religion, or politics. Nor should there be any inhibiting of those who seek to help the poor, whether they be individuals, or private agencies or offices of government. In the spirit of the Good Samaritan, who taught us that every man is our neighbor, we must seek the opportunity to serve the stranger wounded in the struggle of life.

We wish to illustrate these principles by noting both the individual and the social responsibility of Americans confronted with poverty in an affluent society.

II. INDIVIDUAL RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

What, then, does the church ask of the concerned Christian, as it directs his attention to this basic problem of poverty in this wealthy Nation? First, and above all, it asks that we make this a matter of personal concern and involvement. In older and simpler societies, it was fairly easy for any person who wanted to help his neighbor to know what was needed. Today it is possible to live in our sanitary suburbs, rush to work without really seeing our city surroundings, spend our days in an office or factory, and never even know what life is like for 35 million fellow Americans who live in poverty. We can discuss the

question in the abstract, as a political, social, or economic problem, and ignore the human tragedy involved. Pope Pius XII noted that many persons are misinformed about poverty: "Persons of good faith who have only inadequate knowledge of the matter believe that the majority of those who live in slums or who must be satisfied with an income below the essential minimum are there through their own fault or negligence, and that welfare organizations are capable of helping anyone in need of it" (address, May 3, 1957).

Secondly, the church asks us to form a Christian conscience about the dignity of each person and our own responsibility to do all within our power to help them. When our Saviour was asked to illustrate the law of love of neighbor, He gave the parable of the good samaritan as His answer. Compassion is the mark of the Christian. Christ's description of the last judgment is clear and simple. The Lord confronts the just with these words: "I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in." And the just asked in astonishment when they did these things to the Lord. He replied: "As long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me." (Matthews XXV, 34–40). On the day that all men as sinners shall ask mercy, they will receive it to the extent that they showed mercy toward their fellow man.

Thirdly, we must realize that the best form of help, as was said over seven centuries ago by the great Jewish physician, Moses Maimonides, is to help people to help themselves. Giving food to the hungry, clothing to those who shiver in the cold, and shelter to families that lack decent housing is important, but it is only a first step.

Much more necessary is intelligent concern over the causes of indigence and destitution. To cite one example, racial discrimination is widely considered as an important source of poverty. The Catholic bishops of the United States noted in their 1958 statement on discrimination: "It is a matter of historical fact that segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro. This is evident in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity, and housing. Flowing from these areas of neglect and discrimination are problems of health and the sordid train of evils so often associated with the consequent slum conditions." Certainly no Catholic with an informed conscience will remain aloof from the struggle for civil rights which is today one of our first domestic problems. Indeed, we Catholics must go beyond civil rights and be sensitive to human rights, whether or not these fall in the the province of civil law.

While we give wholehearted support to civic projects for the relief of poverty, we do not feel that our Christian duties end with such endorsement. It is not enough to vote for sound policies, to pay taxes, and to contribute to charity. The dedicated Christian must be always ready to give of himself. As Pope John XXIII noted: "Tragic situations and urgent problems of an intimate and personal nature are continually arising which the State with all its machinery is unable to remedy or assist. There will always remain, therefore, a vast field for the exercise of human sympathy and the Christian charity of individuals. We would observe, finally, that the efforts of individuals, or of groups of private citizens are definitely more effective in promoting spiritual values than is the activity of public authority. (Mater et Magistra, No. 120)

The list of possible personal projects to aid the poor and the unfortunate is long. In many of our cities, college students have formed tutoring groups to aid children in slums. Retired teachers have volunteered to give their evenings to help the illiterate to acquire at least a minimum of reading and writing. There are settlement houses and neighborhood projects to bring hope and incentive to those who seem to have no future. One can visit the bedridden poor, clean their rooms, and shop for them. Adults can act as substitute parents for children who have no real home life. Such children can be invited into their homes to study and to have a warm evening meal. Many religious groups have free summer camps for deprived children. There are parish interracial visitations programs, for the purpose of promoting better understanding among the races. Some Catholic groups have established halfway houses for former prisoners, to ease their transition into normal community life.

Such programs are many and diverse, but they have one point in common. Each calls for personal involvement. Each demands the most exquisite form of Christian charity, since each requires that we respect and honor the human dignity of the person who is poor and unfortunate. Such charity is strong and healing. It does not demean or degrade, as sometimes happens with badly planned gifts of material goods alone.

III. A SOCIAL CHALLENGE

In discussing social measures to relieve or prevent poverty, we shall present objectives and programs from a religious and moral point of view. It is not our concern as religious leaders to deal with problems that are purely economic, political, or technical.

If we are to help the poor to help themselves, we must above all be concerned about work. Avoiding job discrimination is but one step. It is equally vital to be sure that work is available and that the poor are educated and trained to do useful work. We are heartened at the concern of civil authorities, on every level of government, as they contemplate this problem. We pledge to them our full support in an unremitting war against poverty. But this struggle, to be fully successful, must adapt itself to the natural patterns of each community. It must use the schools, welfare agencies, and other community activities that are already doing good work in combatting ignorance, illiteracy, and demoralization. These local institutions should be assisted and supplemented, whether they be governmental or private in nature.

In the area of housing, we ask for sensitivity for the rights of the poor. Slum clearance and urban renewal programs are good in themselves, both as civil projects and as aid in the rooting out of poverty. But let us not approach these needs merely as engineering blueprints, ignoring the human element involved. It is heartless to uproot hundreds of families in the name of slum clearance, if no suitable alternate housing is available. Indeed, many experts today counsel us to salvage and renovate an area, if at all possible, so as to keep intact the thousands of human contacts that make life more bearable. As religious leaders, we hesitate to discuss such technical problems, except that social scientists themselves have warned of the moral factors involved in such planning.

Our special concern should be for young persons who lack the training and opportunity to secure useful work. Unemployment is tragic at any age, but lifelong damage can be inflicted when the young are unable to secure worthwhile jobs. Undoubtedly we must redouble our efforts to encourage such persons to secure at least a high-school diploma. We should seriously consider the worth of youth camps or special training projects directed to the need of young adults. Here we note the insight of Pope Pius XII, who observed that society spends millions because of crime and social demoralization, when timely measures of prevention would have prevented both the personal tragedy and the social waste.

We also note with concern the fact that nearly 2 million farm families, and hundreds of thousands of farmworkers, are among the poorest of Americans. Great religious leaders, such as the late Pope John XXIII, have extolled the spiritual and moral value of farm living. But they also asserted that such values cannot compensate for grinding poverty. Our farming poor need different types of economic help. Some can be given the training and the finances which will enable them to become self-supporting in agriculture. Others may need at least part-time employment in industries located in poorer rural areas. Still others must seek urban industrial work, but they cannot secure this without adequate training. It is a commonplace among vocational advisers that good education pays its costs many times over in the average lifetime. Surely our society can afford such an investment.

It is not difficult to persuade a homeowner to repair a leaking roof, even when he feels he can ill afford the cost. He knows that rain can damage his house and furnishings irreparably, costing him far more than any preventive repairs. In the same way, citizens must realize that urban blight and decay; the myriads of evils surrounding our slums; the effects of delinquency, vice, and crime; and the results of human demoralization constitute heavy financial losses to our society, as well as poignant personal tragedies. They demand heavy outlays from tax funds and lead to losses in deteriorating property, as well as the loss of goods and services that could have been produced by the unemployed. What our consciences dictate as morally right, our economic judgment reinforces as socially profitable.

Yet it would be unfortunate, even in this area of social action, were we to confine our activity solely to approving legislation, paying taxes, and contributing to organized social-welfare programs. Many Americans have time and energy which they would willingly contribute to the needs of their fellow men, if they could see the chance to do this. There are retired persons who wish to be active and useful. Mothers of grown children may have time on their hands. Many of our teenagers wish to be challenged with something truly useful in their leisure time. The spirit and dedication that characterized our Peace Corps can

also be used in domestic service by those who may not be willing or able to serve abroad.

In emphasizing the need for social action, we must at the same time pay deserved tribute to the many voluntary agencies, including especially our own Catholic charities, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, and others which have devoted so much to the service of the unfortunate in our society. Their workers know from firsthand experience the tragic problems caused by destitution and demoralization. Their wisdom and guidance will be invaluable in any campaign against poverty. New programs must supplement, not replace, what is being done so well by these dedicated groups.

America has been hailed throughout the world for its generosity, its willingness to come to the aid of those in need. When there is famine or natural disaster, we rush to help, using both governmental and private agencies. Without narrowing our worldwide vision of generosity and sympathy, let us also turn our eyes to the problems here at home. Of the early Christians it was said: "See how these Christians love one another." Can we think of a more fitting expression of the Christian renewal being worked out in Vatican Council II than a torrent of concern on our part for the poor in our midst? "As long as you have done it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me."

(Mt. XXV, 40.)

Monsignor HIGGINS. To make sure that work is available for all those who are able and willing to work is obviously a big challenge. Even today, 30 years after the great depression, our national rate of unemployment is still dangerously high—considerably higher, by the way, than that of almost any other major industrial country in the world.

This is our No. 1 economic problem, at the present time, and unless and until it is faced up to realistically, there can be no real hope of our solving the problem of poverty, no matter what we do for the poor in terms of remedial services and no matter how hard we try to retrain the unemployed or to help them, in other ways, to help themselves.

In summary, then, it is the position of the social action department that, as stated in its recent statement on poverty, in developing a comprehensive antipoverty program, we ought to put major emphasis on basic economic reforms, not to the neglect or the exclusion of social reform and additional remedial services for the poor, but as the necessary prerequisites for their long-range effectiveness.

Turning now to the question of education, we regret that H.R. 10440 does not provide for the full utilization of all of the educational resources of this Nation in the war against poverty. It specifically provides, for example:

Any elementary or secondary school education program assisted under this section shall be administered by the public educational agency or agencies principally responsible for providing elementary and secondary education in the area involved.

This is of the utmost concern to us, because religious schools enroll hundreds of thousands of children who come from economically deprived homes and who are in need of special educational assistance. A spot check of some metropolitan cities produced the following statistics on parochial schoolchildren in economically depressed areas: Washington, 17,000; Baltimore, 11,000; New Orleans, 11,000; Detroit, 10,000; New York, 21,000.

I would add, parenthetically, in my judgment those figures are conservative.

The parochial schools in these cities, as well as in other parts of the country, are already providing special educational programs for some of these children. They could provide much more assistance to

many more children if the opportunity is afforded. The intent of this bill is to mobilize all financial and human resources in eradicating poverty. Surely, then, it should be possible to devise some way of utilizing the facilities and personnel of parochial schools, not for the sake of the school—these programs are actually a burden to the schools—but for the sake of the children.

We note that H.R. 10440 does make a partial attempt to assure the participation of all schoolchildren in whatever special educational programs are provided at elementary and secondary levels. Section 204 states:

> No child shall be denied the benefit of such a program because he is not regularly enrolled in the public schools.

The objective of this provision, we commend, for the basic criterion should be need, and this I think is the spirit of the bill, and that need, as already observed, is just as evident among the children in parochial schools as among those in public schools. We question, however, whether this provision, paragraph (b), section 204, will in practice be effective in assuring the special educational opportunities necessary for these disadvantaged children.

As previously indicated, we recognize that H.R. 10440 is only one step in the direction of aiding the poor, but a very important step. It concerns itself about certain segments of the population, segments which need special attention. There are other groups of citizens, however, who demand consideration. The needs of these groups are utilized in a special policy statement approved recently by the Catholic charities directors of the United States, representing all sections of the country. This statement, which pledges support to the Government in fighting poverty, I would like to submit as part of the record of this testimony when it becomes available next week.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF RT. REV. MSGR. RAYMOND J. GALLAGHER, SECRETARY, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

The average citizen of the United States may well test his knowledge of the actual dimensions of poverty existing in his nation. It is probably true that each of us has read broad and generalized statements that have conveyed the fact that a large number of people are living below a minimum standard. It remains to be seen whether or not the average citizen has been moved to seek a great deal more factual material, and inspired to relate it to the poor around him. Forty million people, we are told, live below the poverty line. This alarming fact is followed by a long list of statistical citations, all of which underscores the degree of need being experienced by children, youth, the aging, families, and individuals. Indeed, even in their own income maintenance programs, public welfare services have provided for the needy at a less than sufficient material level. The average assistance grant received by those who are dependent upon the Government for their daily bread is well below the same Government's poverty line.

Upon hearing the statistical analysis of poverty, most of us have a practice of relating these facts to Harlem or to Appalachia, but rarely to this city in which we live. It has not as yet become a personal thing with us, the result being that we are not truly involved in enunciating and defending the rights of the poor. These basic rights remain, regardless of the ability of the poor to pass an affluence test which our present-day society has set forth. Their rights remain, whether or not the poor are able to earn the status necessary to defend these rights against their critics. The poor retain an equal right with that of any other citizen to an adequate and regular means of livelihood. They retain their God-given right to the means necessary to make their lives secure, productive, satisfying, and fulfilled. They retain the right to make a contribution to society,

a right which demands the tools and the materials to accomplish it. Theirs is a right to be measured in terms of their inherent worth and their potential for progress and advancement. The fact that a complex of circumstances has made it impossible for them to exercise these rights and to exploit this potential does not detract one bit from the inviolability of the rights at stake.

The church recognizes its traditional responsibility in behalf of the poor. Within the format of all major religious faiths is the stated responsibility, freely shouldered by communicants of those faiths, to seek out the poor and the neglected in order that the works of justice and charity might be multiplied in their behalf. In all creeds, the serving of the needs of the poor is not an optional program but rather one that pertains to the essence of the creed involved. While it may be true that the dimensions of the problem have developed beyond man's prudent estimates and the dollar volume required to meet these needs has exceeded their private treasuries, the obligation of religious faiths to serve the cause of the poor has not been decreased nor can it be totally delegated.

It is our responsibility in this moment of great need to delineate the concepts of justice, charity, and equality of opportunity. Our consequent responsibility is to convert these concepts into workable programs and attainable goals, set forth before all mankind so that the privation, the misery, and the disconsolate experience of the poor may continue no longer. The church must maintain her affiliation with the poor so that they may be motivated and encouraged in their efforts to utilize the opportunities and the potentials which our new consciousness of poverty forces us to provide.

Major social developments in this, the latest of social and industrial revolutions, necessitate the realinement of the resources. No longer can we depend upon the generosity of individuals, religious organizations, civic or patriotic groups, to meet the total needs of the poor. Three major processes identified with this modern era make this impossible. Many families and individuals have so increased their mobility since World War II that most of them live in a very marginal manner. The traditional resources available to stable families are nonexistent with this large segment of our people who are continuously on the move. The immigration of millions of people into the industrial centers of the North and West have multiplied the incidence of dependency. With each degree of increasing dependency, a lower level of living in an urban center has resulted. Many people crowded into little space, with reduced employment opportunities, have produced widespread need. Thirdly, the fact of automation has had a widespread effect upon the employability of willing workers who bring only their hands as their tools to do the job. The ever-decreasing need for this type of workman has added a depth and a continuation to dependency that social and economic planners could hardly have foreseen a generation or two ago.

The proposal of our Federal Government to take a leadership role in dealing with the phenomenon of widespread poverty is therefore very much in order. We look to the governmental organizations, having the widest base of operation, to take an essential role in dealing with the circumstances which are themselves so widespread and so deep. Where the need for additional Federal programs is indicated, they have the support of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, with the traditional reminder that they shall succeed in proportion to the use they make of existing voluntary civic and religious programs in the total effort to solve the problem.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities approves the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Through its several titles it addresses itself to the problems of the very young and of the unsettled youth of our day and in so doing offers to them the promise of better days. In providing programs for deprived children in social and educational situations through community action projects, this bill strikes a solid blow at the present inability of children to make maximum use of existing educational opportunities. It is the expressed intent of many of these proposals to prepare the future student to enrich his educational product by reason of greater interest, a keener appetite for knowledge and perseverance in study to the end.

In providing a job experience for presently unemployed youth and young adults, this bill proposes to eliminate what could be a disastrous attitude at the very threshold of their life's work experience. However, in analyzing the prospects of these programs for the unemployed youth and young adults, one is prompted to ask where these programs will lead. We are not able to conclude with any assurance that these job experiences will lead into a marketable

industrial skill for the future. While we agree that the present proposal offers the possibility of a good attitude toward work and a receptivity of the discipline of regular employment, we do not feel that the program is realistically geared to provide a skill or even an interest in the skills required in the highly automated industry of the future. We suggest therefore that greater detail be set forth in different versions of this proposal which would indicate how the training experience will, in reality, provide these young men with the ability to develop and improve their industrial skills for the future.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities, as with all other religious social welfare organizations is interested in maintaining the fabric of family life for all, regardless of the emergent character of the circumstances. We therefore recommend, in addition, that a greater proportion of these youth work and training programs be so administered as to keep the trainee at home in his own community where the family ties can be preserved and where the unforeseen social and moral casualties can be kept to a minimum.

In approving the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the National Conference of Catholic Charities feels compelled to identify it as only a beginning in the process of long-range and wide-gaged planning necessary to influence all fields which are deeply affected by the impoverishment which prevails. We urge therefore that early action be taken on the following matters:

(*a*) *Expanded job training for fathers, particularly fathers with dependent children.*—While we are aware of the progress being made in this area, we, none the less, feel that it is not of sufficient size to meet the challenge which is before our country to provide everyone who is willing to work with the training necessary to maintain a job in the highly technical industry of our day. Further, we believe that an adequate subsidy should be paid each month to a man while he is in training so that the dignity and sense of self-sufficiency may be preserved.

(*b*) *Increased on-the-job training for youth.*—Closer relationship between our educational system and our industries must be developed so that a wider sense of responsibility will be exemplified by industry and education for the task of preparing young people, through on-the-job experience, for a vital role in our industrial society. It is our belief that a subsidy might well be paid by Government to those young men who are training in industries that cannot support them.

(*c*) *Housing for low-income and middle-income families.*—Housing in the centers of our larger cities, for low-income and middle-income families is clearly necessary if the unity of the family is to be preserved and the joy of family living experienced to the fullest. Special attention must be given to public housing which provides apartments for large families at a rent they can afford to pay.

(*d*) *Housing for the elderly.*—Attention must be given to existing programs and to the provision of new programs that would enable the Government, or private, nonprofit groups, to provide adequate, safe, and sanitary housing for older people, also at a rate they can afford to pay. When one considers the highly minimal fixed incomes of older people, it becomes dramatically clear that the present programs limit the possibility of public or private housers to provide adequate living quarters at a reasonable cost for our senior citizens.

(*e*) *Medical care for the indigent of all ages.*—Without implying that the Government take over the field of medical service, it is our conviction that adequate preventive, as well as treatment oriented, medical care should be provided for the mothers and the infants among the poor and those who are medically in need among the aged. It is our conviction that the latter category should be based on a social insurance system rather than a means test.

(*f*) *Adequate budgets for those programs now administered by various levels of government.*—This is essential so that the average budget, be it for individual or family, can be brought to such adequacy as would place them over, rather than under, the poverty line.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities offers a pledge of renewed activity on the part of its agencies, institutional and volunteer programs, to reach out to the poor in the spirit of true religious concern. It is a responsibility to be faced by us to be ingenious in recruiting personnel and in finding resources to alleviate the conditions of the poor on a neighborhood, parish basis. It is the responsibility of organizations like our own to support the kind of administrative and legislative activity on the part of Government that will lead to a greater degree of adequacy for all of our citizens. It will be our

privilege to be the voice of the poor, to plead their cause in this or any other assembly available to us. It is for us to be the hands of the poor, to implement the spirit of self-help, wherever it is possible, in whatever area of service it may be launched. It is for religious organizations such as our own, to motivate and to inspire the poor, to convince them that inadequacy and inequality will exist no longer, and that they, with us, and with the Government, can succeed in removing the blight of personal and familial impoverishment in this day of opportunity for all.

Monsignor HIGGINS. In a similar vein, the Executive Committee of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference adopted last January a resolution pledging vigorous cooperation in the war on poverty. That resolution, which, with your permission, I would like to submit as part of the permanent record of these hearings, calls attention to the peculiar plight of the over 12 million rural people who live in dire poverty. It states that one-fifth of the schoolchildren born in rural America each year are born into poverty-ridden families.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

WAR ON POVERTY

(A resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Urbana, Ill., January 29, 1964)

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference pledges its vigorous cooperation in the "unconditional war on poverty" declared by President Lyndon B. Johnson in his first state of the Union message.

Poverty affects very many persons in rural areas. The percentage of rural families with incomes below the poverty line is almost twice as large as that of urban families. Over 12 million rural people live in dire poverty. One-fifth of the million children born in rural America each year are born into poverty-ridden families. Three-quarters of the families and individuals employed as farm laborers have total annual incomes below nationally accepted standards of adequacy. Rural America has almost three times the proportion of dilapidated and substandard houses as urban America. Rural children receive one-third less medical service than those in and near cities.

We urge the Congress to seriously consider the legislative proposals for fighting poverty, suggested by President Johnson. These fall within the scope of the Federal Government's responsibility, particularly since poverty frequently is found in "pockets" making necessary outside help to break the vicious circle of ignorance, poverty, and despair.

On the other hand, it would be rash to presume that poverty will be removed from rural America through the actions of the Government alone. Indispensable are the efforts of individuals and private organizations at the grassroots level.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference will join in the fight against poverty both at the Federal and the grassroots levels. At congressional hearings we shall reiterate our support of an expanded rural areas development and area redevelopment program; of the proposed National Service Corps, and laws to protect the rights of migrant workers. Meanwhile, at the grassroots level we shall collaborate with other local leaders in the following remedial programs:

1. Rural areas redevelopment programs are the best tool yet devised to improve education, create new industrial jobs, increase agricultural income and better living conditions in rural counties. The success of RAD programs depends primarily on local leadership and initiative. We shall continue to foster a better understanding of and support for RAD.

2, Vocational training is urgently needed by those rural youths who will not complete college. The rapid and far-reaching changes in secondary school curriculums needed will not occur unless parents and members of local school boards thoroughly understand the issues at stake. We shall persist in our campaign to inject this issue into discussions and publications which help form opinion in rural areas.

3. We shall continue and expand our programs for stabilizing migrant workers who are among the primary victims of poverty in rural areas. We shall encourage large private organizations and agencies of government to build upon and greatly expand the successful but relatively small projects we have begun.

4. We shall give new impetus to our efforts at fostering cooperative marketing associations on a commodity-wide basis. We are convinced that this is the chief instrument through which family-type farmers can gain a fair share of the national income.

5. We shall continue steadfastly to promote recognition of the rights of minority racial groups in conformity with Christian social teaching, which states that all men are equal by reason of their natural dignity; that all men are children of God and all are redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Because of this condition, and the many other substandard conditions of rural America, the Catholic Rural Life Conference not only supports the proposed efforts of the Federal Government, but recommends even further activity by all segments of society.

Gentlemen, America has been hailed, and rightly so, for its generous aid to people in need in all parts of the world. The American people have provided this aid as a matter of conscience and religious conviction. This same generosity and sensitivity to the demands of conscience must motivate all Americans to joint ranks in an all-out war against poverty at home. Our response to this problem of poverty amidst plenty must be from the heart; it must spring from conviction; it must be intelligent; it must be comprehensive. To aid in evoking this type of response from the American citizenry—at least in some small way—we are pleased to submit these observations to assist you in your deliberations.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to present this testimony on the bill.

Mr. LANDRUM (presiding). Thank you, Monsignor Higgins.

With respect to your remarks directed to section 204, what assistance now is available under Federal law for parochial schools? Do the parochial schools receive assistance under the school lunch program?

Monsignor HIGGINS. They are operating under the school lunch program. I must say in all frankness, Congressman, I am not a technical expert in the educational field but I do know something about it from observation. That would be one of the major programs under which the parochial schools are included.

Mr. LANDRUM. Is there assistance also provided to the parochial school children under the National Defense Education Act—are you aware of this—such as counseling, testing?

Monsignor HIGGINS. I cannot answer that in detail but we have people on the staff that could provide answers to any specific question. Our approach to this, Congressman, ties in with the line of questioning which you are pursuing. We would not presume in these hearings to attempt to suggest to the committee in practical detail what forms the inclusion of parochial schools under this section of the act might take, but merely raise the question for future consideration by the committee in its deliberations. If existing Federal programs are models which can be followed that might be one helpful approach. But our concern is that in many areas of the country (this I know from personal experience in traveling the country constantly in my own work in many areas of the country) some of the very poorest people are in parochial schools and very likely in the practical order would not benefit in any way from paragraph (b) of the same section which says that nothing shall exclude the participation of parochial school children even though they are not enrolled full time

in a public school. The very circumstances in which many of these people live would, in many cases, make that almost an impossible provision to apply.

Mr. LANDRUM. I interpret your remarks to mean that you are not concerned here with the law providing any particular assistance to an organization of a religious nature or to an institution of a religious nature, but you are concerned about the section as directed at the child?

Monsignor HIGGINS. At the child. We have no interest in getting additional funds which would accrue to the benefit of sectarian education or anything of that sort, but our concern, as I have tried to indicate in my entire testimony, is with helping to carry out the provisions or the spirit of the bill; which is, to help any child, or any adult for that matter, who is in need of the kind of special educational training or other training that is offered or provided for in this bill. And there are many, in our judgment, who cannot be reached in practice unless, in some way, this training provision is provided under proper safeguards in the schools which they actually attend. That would be true; for example, in many of the areas where the Spanish-speaking children go to school, most of whom, or many of whom, are very poor and are in need of special training. It would be true of many Negro children in Catholic schools in some of the large cities, both in the North and in the South. It would be true of the migrants.

Our concern is only with finding whatever way is feasible under law to help those children pull themselves up; which is, of course, the aim of the bill for all children who need this kind of help.

Mr. LANDRUM. You do not mean to convey the impression that your organization; for example, or any parochial institution, or religious organization, seeks to have written in here provisions that would allow that institution or that organization to receive funds—public funds. What you are driving at is that you want the child to have the benefit of it.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Yes. But our difficulty with the bill, as it is now written, Congressman, is that while there is the provision which I have alluded to in section (b) which elaborates upon section (a), which says that nothing shall preclude the participation of children even though they are not enrolled in public schools full time, our difficulty is that we do not see how, in practice, that is going to accomplish the purpose of the bill. In other words, if you have very deprived and very poor children in a neighborhood in which they normally would tend to go to a parochial school and you want to help them with remedial reading types of programs (which are already being offered in many Catholic schools), it seems to us that at least it is worthy of consideration by the committee to find some way in which that type of remedial reading—which would have nothing to do with sectarian education but would be within the spirit of this bill, the purposes of this bill—might be provided in the school which they attend. We fear that, otherwise, section (b) in many cases will simply not work; they will not go to the public school. They normally will get this kind of education in the institution to which they are accustomed to go. For the very reason that the Governor stated so forcefully earlier in trying to explain why some

youngsters have to be led by the hand (and these are older youngsters than we are talking about at the elementary and secondary level) will have to be led by the hand in a new world even to apply for a job and for training. If that is true of older youngsters who have graduated from high school or who are of high school age, it is even more, I should think it would be even more true in many cases of younger children.

Our concern is to think through or ask the committee to think through perhaps a little more carefully the question of whether or not this provision will really meet the full purpose of the act which is to reach all of the children who need this kind of help.

Mr. LANDRUM. We are going to give serious consideration and thought to that in the hope that we can devise some means of satisfying your concern; at the same time, I am sure, you can appreciate the position we find ourselves in that we must protect the constitutional provisions under which we have to work.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I certainly do. Anybody who has been at the National Catholic Welfare Conference as long as I have been, some 20 years, is quite conscious of the constitutional problem and all of the emotion that surrounds that issue. But it seems to us that this is not a general education bill. This is a bill designed for a very important purpose and to fill a very urgent need, and that is to help us lift these poor children up and give them an opportunity in the world.

We feel that some consideration should be given to the possibility of enabling them to get the kind of training they need where they are most likely to succeed.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you, Monsignor.

Mr. Bell of California.

Mr. BELL. Monsignor, relative to the Federal funds as you spoke on page 5 of your statement, you made very clear your position of Federal aid to parochial schools as well as public schools.

Monsignor HIGGINS. That is at the top of page 5?

Mr. BELL. Yes. If this permits the use of Federal funds in the great charitable and social activities of the church, would you not see some dangers in this?

Monsignor HIGGINS. I wonder if I could draw a parallel from the example raised by Congressman Landrum, Mr. Bell. He asked about the school lunch program. Now, this program was designed to help not only poor children, it extends, as I understand it, to all children in the schools. But in this context I think it takes on even greater importance. I wonder if basic remedial education is not more important for the poor child today than giving him a free lunch, as important as it is that he eat well and keep his health. And if the Congress, in its wisdom, over the years has been able to work out a formula within the Constitution, within the first amendment, which has made it possible for children in parochial schools to share in the school lunch program without, to my knowledge, any great difficulty about it over the years—it is quite extensive now—it seems to us that it would be equally important and in my judgment more important within the purposes and the spirit of this law, to work out some means within the Constitution and within the first amendment to enable the children, the deprived poor children in the types of schools I am referring to, to get the necessary education that they may need to lift themselves

up out of poverty in the next generation. Because to feed them, to give them milk and other health building foods is one thing but it is not going to do them much good to be healthy if they get out of school and are not able to find work—if, that is, they are not qualified to work.

As I said to Congressman Landrum, I think it would not be proper for me in this setting to try to advise the committee in technical constitutional language as to the solution of this problem, but I do raise it seriously for the consideration of the committee and I honestly feel that it is not an insoluble problem in the light of the experience that we have had with the school lunch program and the other programs.

Mr. BELL. Do you see any danger, Monsignor, in the encroachment that this would involve in Federal direct aid. In some cases in this particular bill there are phrases that would make you think there is even not the necessity for the Federal Government to go through the procedure of giving the State the direct responsibility while the Federal Government is providing the funds. In some cases, it even implies that the Federal Government moves in and makes its own arrangements with local concerns. Then you get into the other features of the activities which involve religion in which there is direct aid.

Don't you see some problems there of the Federal Government encroachment in all of this?

Monsignor HIGGINS. You mean danger to the autonomy and freedom of the school?

Mr. BELL. The parochial school, the religious organizations and State organizations and local organizations.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I do not see it as a great problem. I think the spirit of this bill, and I admire the way in which it is drafted, is very reasonable. I do not think it is the intent of the bill, or its drafters, so far as I read the language of the bill, to build up some kind of collossal Federal bureaucracy which is going to be telling the States, the local communities, and local community groups how to run their affairs.

I think the Federal Government is acting as a catalyst trying to do what it can through the coordination of programs to help the people who need help.

To be quite specific, in direct answer to the question, I would not see that as a danger to the parochial schools or to other private groups.

Mr. BELL. For example, this bill would permit the use of Federal funds for possibly even such activities as birth control carried out by public and private agencies.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I am not aware of that. If you tell me that is so, I would be glad to——

Mr. BELL. It would imply that.

Monsignor HIGGINS. That is a problem that can be discussed in its own context. Your specific question to me, I think, was, as I understood it, whether or not I felt that including under constitutionally sound ways, including parochial schools in some phases of the educational program would be a danger in the autonomy of those schools, and I do not think it would be.

Mr. LANDRUM. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Mr. LANDRUM. Wherein do you find in this act such authority to conduct these programs?

Mr. BELL. The fact that it does not, it completely leaves it out, is a problem, too.

Mr. LANDRUM. That is the most fantastic inference it has been my privilege to hear any intelligent gentleman like you or anyone else make.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I must say I do not see that in the bill.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. I wonder if I could add one word on another matter in the bill.

I presume that others may have mentioned this before but it naturally would be our hope, representing religious groups, that due consideration will be given, if not in the language of the bill certainly by the Director, to the provision of proper spiritual care for the lads who are going to volunteer to go to camps.

Mr. LANDRUM. I have seen some vivid imagination since I have been in this business but not quite so vivid as that.

Mr. BELL. I am just saying it is a possibility of interpretation: "Such component programs shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and families and shall provide, in particular areas or to particular groups in a community, expanded and improved services, assistance, and other activties, and facilities necessary in connection therewith, in the fields of education, employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and other fields which fall within the purposes of this title."

What would prohibit that?

Mr. LANDRUM. I cannot even imagine an inference there to an invitation into the family desires.

Mr. GOODELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Mr. GOODELL. I think the question is, If a community action program determines that the needs of low-income individuals in a given community involve making birth control information available to them, is it prohibited under this provision here? Is the gentleman saying that it is, that he would want to make very clear at this point that no such services could be offered?

Mr. LANDRUM. I am saying only that the two gentlemen now addressing themselves to this point are exercising a most fantastic, improper imagination I have ever seen.

Mr. GOODELL. Where do we get into this language this is fantastic? This is in many areas of the country. It is going on in North Carolina this afternoon.

Mr. LANDRUM. It might rain today but right now it does not look like it.

Mr. GOODELL. As one approach to the problems of poverty I asked a simple question. The gentleman is avoiding the question.

Are you saying that such a program, if it were part of a community action program, would be barred under the language of this bill?

Mr. LANDRUM. I think there is no possibility of such a program ever being undertaken by the community action provisions of this bill.

Mr. GOODELL. Are you saying that the provisions of this bill would not accept such a program; it would bar such a program?

You are saying you do not think any community would ever come up with such an action program. That avoids the question.

This is a question which is a legitimate one. There is broad language here.

Mr. LANDRUM. I will not avoid answering it any further if that is what the gentleman says. I will say that the bill as written does not contemplate that there would be any such action ever imagined. Certainly we are not going to have to go into the business of prohibiting taking a deep breath, are we?

Mr. GOODELL. You are not imagining that it will happen. Are you going the next step that if it should happen that it is not authorized, that Federal funds be used for such a program?

Mr. LANDRUM. I have never anticipated that Federal funds would be used and I do not think the bill as proposed contemplates it and I do not think it is possible under the bill. If you think it is, I will say you are exercising an imagination that is trying to scare the polar bears around.

Mr. BELL. It does not prohibit this.

Mr. GOODELL. If the gentleman will yield——

Mr. LANDRUM. If you have objections to the bill as written that are valid, let us advance them and talk about them constructively, but let us get out of the fairy land.

Mr. GOODELL. Now, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. LANDRUM. Regular order. Let us finish with the witness.

Mr. GOODELL. He has yielded to me. If you want to start putting a muzzle on these hearings, go right ahead, but this is a legitimate question which the gentleman from Georgia has frequently raised in other pieces of legislation, that broad general authority can be used specifically and we ought to try to anticipate how it will be used.

Mr. LANDRUM. What word does the gentleman from New York desire from me?

Mr. GOODELL. You are saying that we are raising a point that is fantastic.

Mr. LANDRUM. I will not retract the statement.

Mr. GOODELL. We are creating legislative history. If you say this won't be done and it is not authorized, that is sufficient for me. You have apparently said that as a matter of legislative history this is not authorized under the language here.

Mr. LANDRUM. Are you through?

Mr. GOODELL. I asked the question.

Mr. LANDRUM. I have answered all the questions I am going to answer from the gentleman today. You stay away from the most constructive hearing that we have and come in at the last minute and stir up a lot of fanfare.

Mr. BELL. If the gentleman will yield, the point of the matter is that certainly it would be constructive to avoid any pitfalls that could be misinterpreted or misused. I think that is a very constructive suggestion.

Mr. LANDRUM. I do not care to pursue the question with you further. I see you have no concrete argument to pursue it with.

Mr. BELL. I think the concreteness of the argument is in the phraseology.

Mr. LANDRUM. The gentleman from California may proceed. I have no desire to interrupt him further.

Mr. BELL. Monsignor, relative to this youth program, title I, are you familiar with this particular feature?

Monsignor HIGGINS. Speaking of the Job Corps?

Mr. BELL. Of the Job Corps.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I am familiar with the bill. Of course, the administration of it is another matter.

Mr. BELL. You have, I am certain you have had a considerable amount of experience with the youth throughout the Nation in your efforts.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I have had some. We have a youth department which has had much more, that has a staff in that field, but I have had some, yes, sir.

Mr. BELL. I am concerned about the possibility as far as the Youth Corps is concerned of duplication of effort. I know that we have programs which the gentleman from New York and myself and I know the acting chairman have all supported. Programs such as manpower development and retraining and vocational education and many other programs that I think are also aimed at fighting poverty. We have just recently expanded these two programs adding to it basic education, and so on. My question to you is this: Would it not be a better and more direct approach to the solving of the employment problem or helping to solve the unemployment problem as far as the youth is concerned to go directly and educate them toward gaining new jobs rather than placing them in camps throughout the Nation that may or may not adequately train them for future jobs and economic gainful employment?

Monsignor HIGGINS. Congressman, in answering this particular question, I am speaking in my own name because our organization has taken no position on this section of the bill, to the best of my knowledge. But I would answer in substantially the same way that the Governor of North Carolina answered, that it has been my experience that useful as the other programs are that you have mentioned, and they will be better with the improvements that you have referred to, I can still see great merit personally in the Job Corps program for the reason that the Governor gave; namely, the need to, in many cases, give these youngsters the stimulation and the incentive that they need and that may in some cases require giving them an environment which will make it possible for them to develop those incentives.

I think the experience under the manpower program, at least this is my impression, would demonstrate that very often we are training those who need it least, not that they don't need it. Anyone who is trained under that program I am sure is benefiting from it. But the problem referred to by the Governor I think is a real one, of how to reach those who need it most and who normally would not apply even, as he said, if you gave them all kinds of encouragement. You almost have to lead them in. Therefore, I can see, myself, from my own experience, some merit in the Job Corps program as one approach to this problem of building up incentive. I do not say that it is the only way of doing it. I would be concerned, however, as I said earlier—and I think any clergyman would be, and you would expect them to be—I would be con-

cerned about the conditions under which the camps are operated, with youngsters of that age.

We have fortunately a good bit of experience to go back on from the CCC days which I am sure will be helpful to the administrator of the law, if the bill is enacted, in working that part of the program out.

Mr. BELL. Monsignor, you were speaking of the CCC days. Many of the members of the committee have spoken of the CCC days. I would hate to think that the Members on the other side of the aisle are willing to grant today that the situation of the country is such where we have this sizable unemployment that the disastrous economic conditions of the country are such that we have to go into all-out program such as the CCC program that was done during the height of the greatest depression that we have known. Maybe the Members on the other side of the aisle are willing to grant that we are in that condition today.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Not being on either side of the aisle——

Mr. BELL. I would certainly question whether that situation does exist. I would rather take this problem in a more analytical, careful, planned-out program to try to develop a job training for youth so that they are prepared to make an economic livelihood and not send them all over the country in vast programs, recollecting days of the 1930's.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Not being on either side of the aisle, I will refrain, properly, I think, from making comments on whatever disagreements there may be between the gentlemen on either side.

However, I think I must say in all fairness as a witness, since I have been asked the question, that it is not my impression that the Job Corps part of the bill is designed to be quite the same thing as the CCC. I think it is designed primarily to do what you are stating as your own objective; namely, to provide proper training.

Now, I can readily imagine that Congressmen on either side of the aisle might have disagreements as to the wording or as to the wisdom of the provision, but I read it as being not the same as the CCC program but one which would put more emphasis on training for——

Mr. BELL. Monsignor, we have a problem on this, that you may or may not be aware of, the problem of securing teachers and adequate school facilities, and so forth, even under vocational education and manpower development and retraining. How are we going to get adequate teachers and adequate training for these youths all over the country and in camps when it might be better to expand and develop our teacher program for a going program that we have not even adequately developed yet? Yet we are taking on another program to find more teachers for this when we cannot even supply the vocational education and manpower development and retraining adequately.

Further than that, the youth are training in camps and they are learning to cut down trees and things of this kind, and I am not sure that that is going to prepare them for a job in urban areas.

Monsignor HIGGINS. As I indicated, Congressman, I do not wish to appear to be arguing in favor of this particular section of the bill in the name of my organization; because, as I say, this is a matter on which we have not taken a policy decision or made a policy statement. Therefore, I think that perhaps it might even be improper for me to

get involved in the argument or the disagreement over this issue within the committee or within the Congress except to say this, as I said earlier, that if this program is not the right answer, then I think we must think more deeply than we have thought up to now of finding some way to give an incentive to these children and to prepare them culturally, if you will, to want to take advantage of existing programs. Because I am quite convinced, from what I know of big-city life in various parts of the country, that most of the children, the young men, who need this kind of training that is provided under the manpower bill, Manpower Retraining Act, are never going to hear of it or, if they do hear of it, are not going to have much of an incentive to take advantage of it for all kinds of cultural reasons. So, I would not want to appear to be taking a strong stand one way or the other on the Job Corps, but I would take a strong stand, as the Governor did, and I think very effectively and very correctly today, on the deficiencies of an admittedly very good program that we have followed up until now. My experience with priests who are working among deprived children and youth is that their main problem is a cultural problem, of trying to get an incentive built into these youngsters to want to take advantage of available programs.

That would be where I would stand on the issue without getting involved in the——

Mr. BELL. Then, Monsignor, you would agree, as I understand it, with the idea of recruiting these youngsters to begin with and, secondly, recruiting the right kind?

Monsignor HIGGINS. Well, now, I would not want to say that, Congressman. I would rather, so far as my official testimony goes, remain out of that dispute because I do not know whether those difficulties which you contemplate can be adequately overcome or not.

Mr. BELL. Thank you.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Goodell.

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Monsignor Higgins, it is a great pleasure to welcome you to this committee and compliment you on a very fine statement.

I wish to pay tribute to the very substantial role of the church in combating poverty. I have read your booklet that you attached to your statement, "A Religious View of Poverty, Statement of the Department of Social Action." I think this also is a very impressive document. I am particularly intrigued and impressed with the statement on page 4 of that pamphlet which contrasts the self-imposed poverty from worldly goods of the church and the poverty, as the pamphlet calls it, that hurts the soul. I quote:

> There is a destitution that binds men to this earth, since it forces them to use every waking moment to keep body and soul together. There is want that breeds bitterness and resentment, even hatred.

I think this is a healthy perspective for us, too. It is very difficult to define precisely the characteristics of poverty from a Government viewpoint so that we can focus in and really be helping those who are in need and are in the cycle of poverty.

I do have one major question that I would like to pursue, Monsignor Higgins. On page 4, you discuss the problem of the language of the bill in utilizing religious organizations, and you say:

> Surely, then, it should be possible to devise some way of utilizing the facilities and personnel of parochial schools.

Then on page 5, after reciting the prohibition against aid to any schools but the public elementary and secondary and the additional sentence—

No child shall be denied the benefit of such a program because he is not regularly enrolled in the public schools—

you conclude with this sentence:

We question, however, whether this provision of the bill will in practice be effective in assuring the special educational opportunities necessary for these disadvantaged children.

Am I correct that you are fearful at least that there is something lacking in the bill with reference to this, that there is a cloudy area that you are not sure exactly what is intended? Whether we should clarify it?

Monsignor HIGGINS. No; it is not so much a cloudiness in the language of the bill, Congressman, as I see it, but rather the practicality of the matter. The language, I think, is quite clear, at least to me. As it is written, the bill says that if there are to be special educational programs for deprived children of whatever type, at the elementary or the secondary level, these must be conducted under public educational auspices.

Now, what section (b), paragraph (b) means, to me at least—I stand subject to correction—is that if a public school offers a remedial educational service for the deprived, the children from a parochial school or other private school may not be prohibited from taking advantage of that service in the public school.

Now, my difficulty, then, is not one of language but the one I referred to in the discussion earlier with Congressman Landrum, and that is whether or not, in practice, this is going to make it possible for the average poor deprived child in the parochial school to get the proper remedial services or whether, if the purpose of the bill, as it is, is to make available to all the children who need this aid, whether it would not be more feasible to have the necessary remedial services provided in the school which he attends, with the proper safeguards under the Constitution against using any Federal money for purely sectarian purposes.

I cited the case, in that connection, of the school lunch program which has been in operation for many years and, so far as I know, is operating quite successfully and without any difficulties.

I consider, as I said earlier, that it may be more important at this stage of the game to make sure that these youngsters get the adequate remedial services they need educationally than it is even to provide them with good food, necessary as that may be.

Mr. GOODELL. Then you are saying, in effect, that you believe that this type of program in many instances would be most effectively administered in the area where the need exists and this might be in the private school and it might be in the public school?

Monsignor HIGGINS. Yes; let us take a hypothetical example. For the moment I don't want to specify any particular area or town, but I think I could do so easily enough if I had a map in front of me. Let us take a town in a mining area where the majority of the children, and perhaps all in some small community, might be in a parochial school. These children are deprived. The purpose of the bill, the spirit of the bill, is to do what we can under the terms of this bill to

help these children lift themselves up. They need certain remedial services.

Now, under my hypothetical case, these children would have to go, whatever the distance was, to a public school to receive this type of training. That, it seems to me, is an unnecessary restriction within the purposes of the bill.

If we are interested, as I say, in feeding these children, and feeding them in their own school—they don't have to leave the school and go over to the public school to get the free lunch, they eat right where they are—then it seems to me, that in many cases it would be just as feasible and just as necessary to provide whatever special remedial services are needed in the school which they attend, for psychological reasons as well as for purely practical reasons.

Mr. GOODELL. What it comes down to, from our viewpoint, what you are recommending is that we strike out 204(b), is it not?

Monsignor HIGGINS. No; perhaps I have not made my position clear yet, Congressman; 204(b) is fine if the services are going to be limited exlusively to public education agencies. Then surely the least the bill would want to say is that since it is to aid all children, the children of parochial schools, as well as other private schools, should not be excluded by the mere fact they do not go full time to a public school.

What I am suggesting is something additional—the constitutional experts would have to work this out—and that is why I hesitate and refrain from making any specific proposal, but I am suggesting that some thought be given to changing, rather adding, something instead of subtracting so as to make it possible, under whatever conditions seem to be necessary to stay within the strict limits of the Constitution, make it possible for special nonsectarian remedial services aimed at aiding poor children, make it possible for those services to be given in private schools.

Mr. GOODELL. Then the mechanics would be a grant to the organization that is running that school, would it not?

Monsignor HIGGINS. I must say, I would be rather weak on the mechanics because I am not an educational administrator but I would assume that if the mechanics have been working out successfully, as they have in the case of the school lunch program, the mechanical problem is not an insuperable one.

Mr. LANDRUM. Would the gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes; I will be delighted to.

Mr. LANDRUM. Back to the earlier colloquy that we had, Monsignor, I believe we stated that the principal concern here is not with the receipt by the institution or the organization of the assistance but the receipt by the child; I think we must not overlook that factor. The concern is with the child and not necessarily with the organization or institution.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I think we would all agree that in a matter as tragically crucial as this is, that any school that would be thinking of aggrandizing itself as a school under a poverty bill would be a pretty poor kind of school. Taking on this kind of extraremedial services, whether in a public school or in a private school, is nothing but a burden, that the school ought gladly to accept.

Mr. GOODELL. If I may say so, Monsignor Higgins, I think 204(b), the language of it, is designed specifically to prevent the administration of this program by a parochial or a private school. It has to be administered by the public school. That is the whole purpose.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Under the language as it is written now.

Mr. GOODELL. Yes.

Monsignor HIGGINS. That would be my interpretation.

Mr. GOODELL. When I say should we strike it, I agree we can leave it in and say but you could also permit private schools to administer these programs and then the section no longer has the intent that it did when they put it in here. There is no reason for saying that it must be administered by a public education agency or agency principally responsible for providing public elementary and secondary education in the area involved except to exclude private schools.

Monsignor HIGGINS. You are suggesting striking the entire (b)?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I misunderstood you. I thought originally you were referring to the last sentence which says that "no child shall be denied."

Mr. GOODELL. No; the entire 204(b). As far as that is concerned, I would strike the first sentence and leave the sentence, "No child shall be denied the benefit of such a program because he is not regularly enrolled in the public schools."

Monsignor HIGGINS. That, it seems to me, would be a better wording than the bill has now and I think more in line with the purposes of the bill. However, my intent in raising the question, as I indicated earlier, was not to presume to suggest language to the committee.

Mr. GOODELL. I understand that. I am not presuming to suggest that this is what I think we should do. What I am trying to do is clarify what you are urging us to do here. It seems to me you are urging us to make these funds available so that they can be administered in proper circumstances by the private school, as well as the public school.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Yes; in the wisdom of the administrator, who would have to decide on the need. I think need is the matter which should be considered.

Mr. GOODELL. I agree with what the gentleman from Georgia said and what you have said, Monsignor, that what we are concerned with obviously is the child. This we will have to deal with very precisely or we will get into some difficult problems. We have seen it happen in other fields on other legislation.

Monsignor HIGGINS. I am currently reading a new book on the history of this entire dispute in the last 15 years, so I know how complicated it is, but in my judgment, if we were able to solve the problem of feeding children, even when they weren't needy, then it seems to me that if we want to really go all out in the war against poverty and make sure that we tackle this problem effectively, there ought to be some way of solving what I consider to be an even more important problem at the moment, and that is providing the necessary remedial training for these children.

Mr. GOODELL. I think the monsignor will agree with me that with our concern for material poverty we must remember that not only in the poor people of our country but in many other sectors of our

country our perhaps greatest concern is spiritual poverty. This is why I was so impressed.

Monsignor HIGGINS. It would be rather difficult to write a bill on that.

Mr. GOODELL. That is absolutely true. This is why I was so impressed with this part that I read from your pamphlet here because I agree so much that it is the material poverty which frequently breeds the bitterness and resentment and the hatred and the spiritual poverty is the breeding place for this also.

Thank you.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Brademas.

Mr. BRADEMAS. I yield to Mr. Gill for a question.

Mr. GILL. Monsignor, I am not certain that we are reading section 204(b) in the same way. Of course I realize we are walking through a very delicate minefield here which can blow up and cripple the participants and the bill as well. What 204(b) says is that the elementary and secondary education program assisted under this section shall be administered by the public education agency or agencies. Now, I am not sure that that prohibits a situation where a county school board, public agency, could set up a program where different sections of the training was done in the public schools and conceivably even in the parochial schools as long as the programs were administered by the county school board.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Well, I would have to yield to the committee in interpreting this section. It is quite possible that that interpretation is the one that was meant, but it is my impression from the line of questioning which has been followed in some of the previous meetings of the committee that that perhaps was not the intention, the one that you referred to is not the real intention of the language but, rather, it was meant to say that nonprivate schools may not participate in the program.

I must yield to the committee in interpreting its own bill.

Mr. GILL. My suggestion is that the language here does not say that the nonpublic school cannot participate insofar as their facilities, their personnel, whatever other training accouterments there are.

It merely says the program in that area will be administered by the public agency.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GILL. In other words, in the town situation that you posed here, the public agency, if there was one, would have to have the money. They could not hand it over to your parochial school and say "you set up the program."

Monsignor HIGGINS. But, you see, in many States, Congressman, the very constitution of the State would prohibit the State agency from doing that. That is why, in the case of the school lunch program, a formula had to be devised which would in those cases make it possible for the Federal administrator of the program to deal directly with another system.

Again, I do not want to pretend or appear to be toothcombing this thing constitutionally, but I raise the question so that hopefully it will be given a complete hearing by the committee in its own session.

Mr. GILL. I think we certainly will have to take a good look at the language to see what is really meant here. Frankly, I do not see any problem that cannot be surmounted here with proper administration.

Monsignor HIGGINS. In many States, Congressman, if you provided Federal assistance for this purpose and required that it be administered through the public education agency, the State constitution would prohibit you from doing that. Not in all States.

Mr. GILL. That being a special problem—even in that case, I do not see anything that would prevent the public school agency from saying to the parochial school, if it was a good one in the area: "Can you send us over two remedial teachers in a certain field for a certain length of time, we will take care of their expenses"?

Monsignor HIGGINS. My question is where the students will get their training. Presumably the public educational agency could hire anybody it wanted.

Mr. GILL. Surely.

Monsignor HIGGINS. And would hire the best people it could find. But I am concerned with the type of problem that the Governor raised earlier this morning, of whether it is psychologically and practically feasible to expect to implement the purposes of this act if it is restricted to one type of educational system—that is where the children would have to go over to this other school. That is why I cited the case which I don't think is purely hypothetical, of children, the predominant number of children, in some towns maybe all the children being in a parochial school. Would it not be possible to write the language in the bill in such a way that for the limited purpose of this bill, which has nothing to do with sectarian education, it would be possible for those children to receive whatever remedial services the Federal Government was going to assist in providing in the school which they actually attend.

I personally think, as a nonprofessional educator, that psychologically it would be better for the children to be doing that, but that is another matter.

Mr. GILL. You would have no objection to supplying personnel and facilities or training techniques and aids for training in an area which is not part of your sectarian school, would you?

Monsignor HIGGINS. No. I am not arguing against the public school doing everything it can in every conceivable way.

Mr. GILL. You would be willing to assist them, too, would you not?

Monsignor HIGGINS. By all means.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Monsignor Higgins, I have no questions to ask you but I might say we are very pleased to have our Chairman, Mr. Perkins, with us today, who had a little stomach upset the other day. We are glad to have him back hale and hearty.

I might say to you, sir, how grateful we are for your testimony. I think there are few organizations that have shown a greater interest in the difficult social and economic problems than the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. I know you have long been identified with this work and that you have given great leadership to us in Congress and elsewhere in the country in facing up to some of these problems, so that I am not surprised to see you here today, nor am I surprised by the intelligence of your testimony. I appreciate your being here.

Monsignor HIGGINS. Thank you very much, Congressman.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you, Monsignor.

The committee will stand in recess until 1:15 when we will return, and Mr. George Hecht of the American Parents Committee will lead off.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., the committee recessed until 1:15 p.m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. PERKINS (presiding). The committee will come to order. A quorum is present.

We have as our next witness, George J. Hecht, chairman of the American Parents Committee, Inc., and publisher of Parents' magazine.

We are delighted to have you again with us, Mr. Hecht. You have appeared here on several occasions to urge the committee to enact a public elementary and secondary education bill which, to my way of thinking, would do a great deal to eliminate a substantial cause of poverty in the United States. You have done everything you could possibly do in that connection. In fact, you have championed the causes of education throughout your career to the credit of both you and the educational world. We are glad to see you here supporting this legislation.

Perhaps I should observe that we have a distinguished lady with us. You have mentioned her husband to me on several occasions. Mrs. Barry Bingham, who was a member of your action committee in trying to get the Congress to enact the Federal education bill for the elementary and secondary schools of the country.

I see you have a prepared statement. Do you prefer to insert the statement in the record or follow the statement along? Which do you prefer?

STATEMENT OF GEORGE J. HECHT, CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC., AND PUBLISHER, PARENTS' MAGAZINE

Mr. HECHT. I leave that to you, Mr. Chairman. If you want me to read the statement, I will be glad to.

Mr. PERKINS. Make your own election. Proceed any way you wish.

Mr. HECHT. It is not a very long statement.

Mr. PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. HECHT. First, I want to thank you for this very complimentary introduction.

I am, as you said, publisher of Parents' magazine and chairman of the American Parents Committee, for which I am speaking today. The American Parents Committee, since it was founded in 1947, as a nonprofit, nonpartisan, public service organization, has worked exclusively for Federal legislation in behalf of children and youth. We have a board of directors and a national council of more than 100 outstanding leaders from across the Nation who serve as individuals. Their names appear on the first sheet of my statement. Through our national office in New York and our Washington staff we keep informed on legislative proposals affecting children, and actively endorse such legislation which is approved by a preponderant majority of our board of directors.

The elimination of poverty in the United States—probably the richest country in the world, but nevertheless with a huge poverty problem—requires first of all the sharp reduction in the number of our unemployed. Most poverty in the United States results from unemployment.

To reduce unemployment a threefold program is needed:

(1) The stimulation of industry and agriculture so that more people can be employed. This can be done partly by increasing defense and other governmental expenditures but I doubt whether such increase in Federal Government spending is advisable, particularly as the budget is not being balanced. The stimulation of family farms and small industry in poverty areas and among hard-core unemployed families, as provided in titles II and IV of the Economic Opportunity Act is useful, but will not anywhere near solve the huge and persisting problem of unemployment.

(2) The children of our Nation must be given a better education. For several decades, there has been a tremendous shortage of classrooms. The quality of schooling in many areas must be raised to give a chance for increased knowledge not only to the children of the poor but also to all children. While the Economic Opportunity Act does provide considerable funds for education, it is no substitute for a big program for Federal aid to public elementary and secondary schools. Bills providing for such Federal aid have languished in the House of Representatives for a shockingly long period. I urge the House Education and Labor Committee to report out this bill on which it has already held extensive hearings. And I hope the Rules Committee will enable it to come for a vote on the floor well before the 88th Congress adjourns.

(3) Some 5.4 percent of our employable population, about 5 million people, are now unemployed and automation is continually reducing the number of employees needed in many companies. The population of the United States now stands at 191 million. And if the population explosion continues at the present rate by the year 2000 (only 36 short years away) there will be 150 million more people in the United States and surely there will be proportionately fewer jobs and more unemployment and consequently more poverty.

The American Parents Committee has taken no position on the following suggestion, but I cannot refrain from mentioning it here while legislation attempting to reduce poverty is being discussed. I personally feel that along with providing better schooling for our children, the Federal Government should start at once a long-range program to check the population explosion—and to make the two-child family popular and fashionable again. I urge that the United States should finance research in the problems of population control. This is a vital matter that should not be delayed.

But to come back to the Economic Opportunity Act, I would say that it is a big step in the right direction. If I had to choose between the enactment of the bill for Federal aid for public elementary and secondary education and the Economic Opportunity Act, I would choose the former, because it will help many more more children and young people. I am glad to see in the Economic Opportunity Act the emphasis on providing better education for young people. I recognize the problems that the Federal aid for education bills have had

and are having in the Congress and certainly the Economic Opportunity Act is a good way to make a start—perhaps it is a good compromise in some of the problems in providing some Federal aid to public schools, aid which is sorely needed.

I would like to speak briefly to those provisions of titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (H.R. 10440), which specifically affect children and young people. The American Parents Committee is particularly interested in the youth programs of title I and the community action programs of title II. President Johnson has wisely keyed his war on poverty to these two titles which relate to education and job opportunities for deprived youth and the development of community action programs.

TITLE I. YOUTH PROGRAMS

Three specific programs are proposed for youth, age 16 to 21. The first of these, the Job Corps, would consist of conservation camps and residential training centers. Like the Youth Employment Act of 1963, which the American Parents Committee believed was a constructive step to aid unemployed youth, the Job Corps provided for in the act would provide job opportunities that will at the same time improve the educational level and skills of the young men to be enrolled in the Job Corps. It differs from the Youth Employment Act in that half of the youth enrolled would be assigned to camps and facilities for work on conservation projects but with emphasis on basic education. The other half enrolled would be assigned to residential training centers, the major emphasis being on vocational training and educational improvement to prepare for permanent employment. The education program in the conservation camps will be designed to meet the needs of the young men who are not ready for vocational training because of their lack of basic education. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and speech will be taught. We urge emphasis on the education program which is basic to training youth for useful, productive work. It is also a much larger program. We approve of this because we felt the Youth Employment Act was much too modest in scope.

We presented testimony to the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1961 and again in 1963 on youth employment and expressed our concern about the problem then, which threatened to become worse unless prompt and effective action was taken. It is worse and if left to itself the problem will multiply. It is estimated that there are almost 1 million young people in this country today who are in need of training and guidance. If the current trends continue, in 5 years we will have almost one and a half million unemployed youth—without adequate education or training, without jobs, and without a future. In our judgment there is no justification for further delay.

We approve in principle the proposed work-training and work-study programs of title I. We know work experience is important to the development of youth regardless of whether financial returns are needed. We realize that youth gains self-reliance and often self-support along with skills through even a part-time job. We also recognize that the lack of opportunity to work constitutes a major problem of our society. Programs similar to those proposed in parts B and C

would be valuable to both young women and young men of the 16-to-21 age group.

TITLE II. URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

The individual members of the American Parents Committee have varied interests in their States and communities which are reflected in the legislative goals adopted by the board. It is gratifying to us to find in title II new authority to mobilize Federal, State, and local resources to encourage a coordinated effort toward solving many social and economic problems.

The wide discretionary powers allowed communities in planning, backed by financial assistance, offers great hope for the success of many of our objectives. The offer of the Federal Government to pay up to 90 percent of the costs for the first 2 years and up to 75 percent thereafter and the administration focus on poverty, with special emphasis on educational services, employment and health projects, will undoubtedly spur activity in areas that have limited State and local resources.

May I say, parenthetically, that the Federal Government, I understand, collects three-quarters of all the taxes collected in America and the States and local communities only collect about one-quarter. Our organization is deeply concerned about the education of children and youth. There are great opportunities under title II for strengthening existing educational programs and establishing new ones in this field. These could include (1) training for preschool children; (2) classes in remedial reading and intensive instruction in writing and arithmetic for those in elementary and secondary school age; (3) special projects for potential dropouts; (4) centers for day care, after-school study, after-school tutoring, and summer academic classes; and (5) the badly needed projects to extend educational services to migrant children.

While we have emphasized the needs and our hope for action on educational services we also recognize the importance of expanded activity in fields of health, welfare, vocational education, and employment included in this title.

We foresee difficulties and delays in getting the proper leadership and coordination in some areas but believe the pattern of coordination established by the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity may extend to the States and the communities.

TITLE VI. ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

The American Parents Committee approves of the provision of title VI which establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President, headed by a Director appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. We support the approach which empowers the Director to coordinate the existing Federal agency poverty-related programs and gives him authority to carry out new programs including the Job Corps, the community action program and the volunteers for America program. We have felt for some time that many programs designed to benefit youth have been hampered by the lack of coordination of the Federal agencies

administering them. It is important to stop any duplication of programs among the various Federal agencies.

The Economic Opportunity Act provides for a many-sided program administered by quite a number of different Federal agencies. I have heard considerable criticisms of certain details of the act, but virtually everyone with whom I have talked about it applauds the fundamental purpose of the act and favors the act as a whole. I urge that the act be passed at this session of the Legislature even though it is not perfect. If the Congress in the early 1930's had delayed enacting the Social Security Act until it was generally agreed to be perfect, it might never have become law. It was enacted and it has been improved by amendments many times.

I urge that the Economic Opportunity Act be voted upon favorably at this session of Congress, and that as defects are discovered and improvements suggested it be amended next session and, if necessary, in succeeding sessions. The important thing is to get started at once in this long-overdue effort to reduce poverty, and the at-least-as-vital effort to provide better education for our children.

Gentlemen, thank you for giving me this opportunity to present the position of the American Parents Committee, Inc.

Thank you very much.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hecht, you have again distinguished yourself and the causes of education. As you know, from my previous remarks and sponsorship, I, too, share your concern about the lack of action at the elementary and secondary level in our school systems. I would like to see such legislation enacted tomorrow. We are never going to be able to do this job of eliminating poverty until Congress takes action to get money into these areas that are critical from the standpoint of facilities and teachers at the elementary and secondary level.

I recognize Mr. Landrum at this time.

Mr. LANDRUM. I have no questions.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Goodell.

Mr. GOODELL. It is nice to have you with us. I appreciate your testimony. I am particularly interested and impressed with your reference, after our last witness and colloquy, to population control.

I tend to agree with you that this is one aspect of the war on poverty that has been considered, is being considered, and may well be a portion of a well-coordinated attack on poverty, at least providing the education and information that is necessary. I appreciate your urging that approach in your testimony.

As you know, Mr. Hecht, Mr. Frelinghuysen, and I have introduced identical bills to authorize $5 million grants for States surveys of their educational needs. I believe you are one of the outstanding proponents of this legislation. I wonder if you would like to talk a little bit about this in connection with your other comments on Federal aid to education.

Mr. HECHT. Thank you, Mr. Goodell. I hope very much the small bill of $5 million—that is pretty small in terms of what the Government spends—but I think the $5 million by the Federal Government could not be spent in any better way than to aid the States to put on paper their most pressing educational needs and develop a plan which would be put on paper on meeting the most pressing educational deficiencies in their States and outlining a long-range plan of their needs.

There has been a difference of opinion on both sides of the aisle in the past as to actually what is the need for more classrooms and money to pay for more teachers and better equipment. I think if we had long-range plans from each of the States, this would be a useful document to help Congress formulate a program for elementary and secondary education. As this bill has, fortunately, two eminent Republican members of this committee sponsoring it and as it is identical with, or virtually identical with, title I in the bigger Federal aid bill for public elementary and secondary schools, it has the support of the leading Democrats. So, you have the leaders on both sides of the aisle in agreement on this $5 million bill. Therefore, I hope very much that it will get passed.

Mr. PERKINS. It is in the subcommittee, Mr. Goodell, in time we want to get together to report out this study. There is no earthly reason why we cannot. There is no reason why we cannot do it next week.

Mr. GOODELL. I am sure we can.

Mr. Hecht, if your appearance here has done no more than make possible the enactment of this bill, your appearance here has been well worth while.

Mr. HECHT. You have mentioned, Mr. Chairman, the religious difficulties which all Federal aid for elementary and secondary school legislation has run into, and I am fully aware of it, and I think I understand all the complications and compromises that are embodied in this bill.

While our committee has never taken a stand on the question of Federal aid for parochial schools, it has only done one thing, it has endorsed Federal aid for public schools; I do think this bill is a good compromise. Things in life—as I am getting older I see the way to get action is to do a certain amount of compromising and I am for getting started with this job.

We have been having excuses for a decade or nearly two decades. The religious problem has been the greatest problem but here is a sensible compromise that won't hurt, not only won't hurt anybody; it won't violate the Constitution. It does not establish any firm precedent and it will get money into the local communities to aid education. Let us make a start.

With this compromise, even though it is not perfect, let us pass it, amend it next year if necessary, but let us make a start.

Mr. PERKINS. I appreciate your approach, Mr. Hecht. We cannot climb all the fences at one time. If we can get over this one, maybe we can come back and pick up on elementary and secondary.

Mr. GOODELL. I have no further questions except I agree with you, Mr. Hecht, that this is a direct form of Federal aid to education. This is something that some of the other witnesses have skirted around.

I think your testimony is very refreshing in facing directly the fact that it is and that the key to this problem is education. I am not sure that I agree that this is very much of a compromise, however, in its present form.

Mr. HECHT. I meant compromise on the parochial school issue.

Mr. PERKINS. You are not giving up the idea we do need the elementary and secondary?

Mr. HECHT. No. I just meant it was a compromise on the parochial school problem that has kept the bigger legislation from going through.

Mr. GOODELL. To the degree that it is a compromise, it permits no aid directly to the parochial private schools, I guess you would call this a compromise; yes.

Mr. HECHT. Well, it permits education for every child. First of all, any child can go to a public school. They don't have to go to a private school or parochial school. Both of those kinds of schools cost money and if they are very poor they go to a public school because in private schools, you have to pay tuition, and even in most parochial schools you have to pay tuition, but this bill, as it is written, permits a shared time program so that children who need basic education and vocational training that they cannot get in the schools that they go to, can go to the public schools and get it. It gives something to all children, not necessarily in the private or parochial schools but it does a job by providing a certain amount of education to all children.

My concern is with the children, not with the means of where they are going to get it.

Mr. GOODELL. I might say that I think your comments with reference to what this does are particularly accurate. I would say, however, that I think the aid to elementary and secondary school bill to which you referred has all the same qualities that you and Mr. Perkins favor and others, which I oppose. But I do think that it does have the same qualities. It goes to the public schools. The private schools can share the time if they want to go and private school students have the option of going to public schools if they want to. In that respect, I see no difference, frankly. But I do not want to pursue the point.

Mr. HECHT. I think this bill spells out the form of cooperation between public and children in parochial and private schools a little more definitely. I think in that it is somewhat of a compromise.

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you, Mr. Hecht.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr Gibbons?

Mr. GIBBONS. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much, Mr. Hecht.

Now, our next witness is Governor Breathitt, of Kentucky.

Governor, I regret that we have had to put you on this Friday afternoon. Most of the eastern seaboard members, of course, have gone home. From the outset of these hearings they have been very lively but it may appear dull to you this afternoon inasmuch as we have only four Members of the Congress present. But I am delighted to welcome my Governor here.

We had another outstanding Appalachian Governor before the committee this morning, Gov. Terry Sanford. He was on the stand until about 11 o'clock. He went over the legislation and reviewed the problems of mutual interests of Kentucky and North Carolina.

This legislation, I may say at the outset, is certainly not a cure-all. Not by any means, or by any standard. This bill in no way is a substitute for, or overlaps with the proposed Appalachian program to be submitted, hopefully, to Congress shortly. But in this particular aspect of legislation, we are trying to do something about the children who are living in circumstances of poverty wherever they are and often

this happens in the heart of a wealthy city or in highly developed areas. In the eastern Kentucky coalfields we are faced with poverty associated with an undeveloped region.

Primarily, we are striking at the poverty cycle and trying to break it up so that at least the youngsters may have opportunities which their forebears did not have.

We appreciate your appearance here and the many things that you have inaugurated in Kentucky, such as the jobless parent program on a work relief basis down there. The million dollar grant leading up to your permanent program has been cited already before this committee by different people. We are all interested in getting as many people off relief, and into constructive pursuits. The work relief program that you have set up in Kentucky is a beginning for many folks. I especially wish to compliment you as during the Easter holidays, I saw some of the good works of that program in several eastern Kentucky counties. The people are proud of it.

You have followed in the footsteps of a very progressive and aggressive Governor and you are one of the youngest Governors of the Nation. We are proud of you. You are making a good record, and I know that, as a representative of the people in the district, I want to do everything possible to work with you to see if we cannot do something to eliminate the poverty and its causes in eastern Kentucky. I am very hopeful that we will make great strides putting eastern Kentucky into the mainstream of the national economy.

It would be difficult to single out any one particular activity as demanding the highest priority for financial assistance in helping to rebuild the economy of the eastern Kentucky Appalachian area.

The redevelopment of the Appalachian area requires energetic and concentrated effort in a number of different types of activity. Of urgent importance are:

1. Public works of all types. This includes roads—roads to make the area more accessible to our national economic mainstream, community facilities including water systems, sewage, facilities, and other public works.

2. Elimination of threat of seasonal and periodic flooding by the construction of flood control reservoirs, local flood control projects, and the cleaning and dredging of streams and tributaries.

3. The initiation of conservation practices in mined-out areas, reforestation, and the development of the recreational resources of the region.

4. Education—extensive financial assistance should be given to public educational systems, particularly on the elementary and secondary level so that adequate numbers of highly qualified teachers would be available to instruct in modern facilities with modern teaching aids to students who are provided convenient access to schools. Education to expand job training and higher educational opportunities including extensive student loan scholarship and fellowship assistance.

I am delighted to welcome you here. I notice you have a prepared statement. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD T. BREATHITT, GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY; ACCOMPANIED BY MISS KATHERINE PEDEN, COMMISSIONER, KENTUCKY DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE; AND JOHN WHISMAN, ADMINISTRATOR, KENTUCKY AREA PROGRAM OFFICE

Governor BREATHITT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I would like to file this prepared statement. Mr. John Whisman, who is my special assistant for the Kentucky Area Program Office, was to meet me at 3 o'clock but we had a tailwind and I am a little early.

I brought with me today some information which shows some of the examples of poverty in Kentucky. There is no time to repeat these for you here. Rather, I will leave them here for later reference if you so choose. Simply stated, this information shows that 38 percent of Kentucky's families live on incomes of less than $3,000 per year. The immediate cost of this poverty is enormous. A quick look at the State budget over the years will show this in the best manner. More importantly, the long-run costs are incalculable because there is no way to measure the accumulative waste of human resources.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which my testimony supports today, relates to and enhances what we have been doing in Kentucky.

Each title of this proposed legislation offers solutions to examples of poverty we find in our State. Governor Combs, my predecessor, established an area program office with Mr. John Whisman as its director and special assistant. He has been working with the Governor's Commission on Appalachia and is their executive director. We have a program specifically designed for that particular area.

This bill—the poverty bill, or the "Economic Opportunity Act" as it is more properly entitled—will supplement greatly the efforts which the State of Kentucky has been doing for a number of years. First, with the creation of a Job Corps, we will begin to reach some of the young men of our State who experience one of our greatest problems. I am talking of these men who are short of the minimum requirements for drafting into the Armed Forces. In Kentucky, the magnitude of the rejection rate for our draft eligibles is great. Recently the Selective Service released data showing that 50.9 percent of all examinees were turned down during 1963 and more significantly——

Mr. PERKINS. Let me interrupt you. If you do not mind, the committee will recess for a couple of minutes to get a picture.

(Short recess.)

Mr. PERKINS. Proceed.

Governor BREATHITT. I would like to present, to the members of the committee, Miss Katherine Peden, our commissioner of commerce, formerly the national president of the B.P. & W. Club and on the President's Commission on Equal Status for Women. In her department, she is coordinating with my area program office head, special assistants, John Whisman, and Congressman Perkins and our congressional delegation in the Federal agencies.

Mr. PERKINS. We are delighted to have the gentlelady who is a distinguished member of your cabinet.

Governor BREATHITT. Gentlemen, we Kentuckians have come to know our State as a land of striking, and sometimes ironic, contrast. Mountain ridges and bluegrass plain; thoroughbred horse and stubborn mule; the greatest bourbon distilleries and strong adherence to temperance; the Nation's gold at Fort Knox; and startling cases of human beings in dire need exist together in Kentucky to proclaim that, here, great difference is the rule rather than the exception.

And nowhere, more than in our State, is better demonstrated the ironic and intolerable contrast that concerns you here today—the persistence of poverty and underdevelopment in an America of prosperity and unlimited progress.

We know both of these situations in Kentucky. For each of the past 3 years, Kentucky has received an award recognizing our programs of development as being one of the top 3 among all the 50 States and great industries are bringing new jobs to many areas of the State. Yet we must face some of the Nation's most difficult and unyielding development problems in other areas of Kentucky where many of our people—like the other Americans who concern you—have not had the opportunity to gain the productive job-holding, comfortable-level-of-living positions which we think of as typifying today's American citizens.

It is no secret that Kentucky is not now the Nation's most prosperous State. But we hope it is just as well known that Kentucky is becoming one of the Nation's most progressive States.

It is a privilege for me to appear here before you today in my official capacity of Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. I am happy to have the opportunity to tell you how we believe the legislation, which you are considering as part of President Johnson's "War on Poverty," is viewed in my State.

Kentucky, like every other State in these United States, has the rather sharp contrast between the affluent society and those who must endure, in one degree or another, denial of the evidences of the good life. There is not a single community or political subdivision within Kentucky that does not exhibit this contrast. The significant fact to remember is that we have certain geographical areas which have greater concentrations of wealth or poverty than other regions within the State and, in relation to the several States, we are less well off economically than many of our sisters.

With some of the Nation's most difficult economic problems facing us in Kentucky we have had to develop the most effective programs for their treatment. We have learned much in devising new approaches to meet our intense and unusual problems. But we have only begun to apply the kind of action we must take.

We in Kentucky endorse strongly, and knowledgeably, the economic opportunity program as the central weapon in the arsenal of new programs now recommended to you for use in the strategic war on poverty inaugurated by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Our Kentucky endorsement of this program is not lightly given. Our need for more extensive and effective action in Kentucky is so critical that we would be reluctant to settle for a program which was inadequate in strength or unsuited to our problem. We frankly believe we are qualified to judge the weaponry of a war for development because we have declared and waged our own war on poverty

since 1960. We approve the economic opportunity program because it embodies for the first time on the Federal level a truly strategic attack on the total complex of problems which plague our people who seek the full development of their individual and community life.

In building the Kentucky development program to its present level of action, we have learned that we must recognize that the problems of overcoming poverty, economic decline, and underdevelopment must be dealt with through the comprehensive use of all our programs and resources in government. They must be well coordinated and must depend, finally, upon the understanding, participation, and leadership of people in local areas throughout the State. We have learned that, only in such a comprehensive program, can we plan intelligently to combine programs for common strength in meeting carefully selected priority objectives. And only in a total framework for action can we justify the special actions in each separate program to meet unique problems effectively.

We have found that it is not adequate to meet a problem of a lack of industrial jobs by simply enticing industry to create the jobs for us. Our problem lies deeper. Some of our communities must prepare to sustain, not only industrial jobs, but those more numerous jobs to be gained through increased sales, service, and recreation activities as well. We must recognize the problems of individuals who have not adequately developed themselves to take advantage of job opportunities where they exist. We have learned that these problems exist in combination; that the complex arrangement of these problems differs in differing areas in our State; and that the use of programs must be carefully geared to the different and particular set of circumstances in each area.

If I make the problem seem difficult, I do so with the intention of being practical and realistic but, also, to assure you that we, in Kentucky, have come a long way in being able to deal with these complex problems and that we recognize much of the knowledge we have gained showing up in the concept of the economic opportunity program.

While we appreciate the separate provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act, and each will be especially useful, we are most impressed by the fact that the economic opportunity program provides for the flexible use of its own special provisions, along with many other programs, in a total framework of action which can be specifically suited to meet each local problem situation.

No feature of this act impresses us more strikingly than the capacity of the Office of Economic Opportunity to serve in marshaling the great complex of Federal programs in response to a community action plan conceived and designed at the local level to deal with the precise nature of realistic local problems. This is not a new concept to us in Kentucky, for it is one that we have implemented at the State level. We will be able to move quickly and effectively with this new program because we are already operating in this fashion to achieve our intensive and total development program in Kentucky.

Development has been the keynote of both State government policy and community life in our Commonwealth. All of our State programs—education, health, highway building, water resource development, as well as industry, agriculture, and tourist development—have

been geared to these objectives which will help re-create in Kentucky the job opportunities and levels of living all our citizens need.

We have taken many steps in formulating our current programs without waiting for Federal money or leadership. At the same time, we have come forward aggressively and repeatedly from Kentucky to suggest and to advocate the Federal policies allow the use of Federal programs in careful concert with our special area development approach in Kentucky.

We have been most pleased at the response of the Federal agencies operating in Kentucky in their willingness to work closely with us and in trying to play a realistic and effective role in our overall program. We have made special arrangements for close coordination to allow Federal, State, and local agencies to combine and focus their actions and to work directly with responsible local area leadership. Our entire program rests on a basis of citizen organizations which we think may be unique in the Nation.

We have not achieved our overall development coordination by accident. Concerned with the end for development as the keynote of policy for all our programs, we have established special mechanisms to facilitate the development emphasis and coordination.

In anticipation of the need for coordination and developmental programing, I have established the Kentucky Area Program Office as a special unit attached to my office. Its administrator is also my special assistant for area development, Mr. John Whisman, and he is here with me today. This office will be designated to carry out the overall coordination of the economic opportunity program in Kentucky. The function of this office is to seek the best use of all programs, State and Federal, to meet the particular needs of our differing areas in Kentucky, with a special emphasis on the most severe problems of development in low-income and less-developed areas.

The area program office is, in fact, similar to the Economic Opportunity Office to be established in the Federal structure and it may be that Kentucky is the only State with such an office now established.

Mr. Whisman has been working with Federal officials on the economic opportunity program and he has already begun briefing our State officials so that they may be prepared for the best use of the program.

Also, for overall coordination, we have made great progress in the organization of the Kentucky Development Committee. As you know, one of the real problems of our times is the need for cooperation between many agencies. Now, in Kentucky, we have virtually every State and Federal as well as private agency, concerned with development, represented and working together through this committee. Where, in the past, new committees used to arise for each program, we now are able to consider all programs together in this one unit. For instance, both the ARA and rural development programs, as well as the individual programs like manpower training or timber development programs are given overall consideration through this committee. I am directly represented on the committee by Mr. Whisman, who is vice chairman. The State committee works directly with the local area and community organizations who will play the key roles in preparing and carrying out the community action plans provided for in the economic opportunity program.

In addition to special steps to make our overall program more effective, we are concerned with the action we must take in our individual programs. We have laid great stress on designing highways to meet the development needs of underdeveloped areas. We have placed new emphasis more and more on the job training and basic education aspects of our overall education program. We have tried to gear our welfare programs in the direction of rehabilitation and personal development, rather than maintenance.

But especially in our department of commerce program, we have expanded our effort and designed its purposes to seek out the real needs of people and of communities to undergird a better life for those Kentuckians who have not had opportunities for jobs, for decent incomes in town or on farm, or for education and personal development.

The department's program has been broadened to include special research effort directed at the basic causes of these problems; intensive technical assistance for overall community development as well as for pinpointed industrial or agricultural development. The department has already established, for instance, a special program to deal with the arts and crafts industry, well known in eastern Kentucky, and one to deal with very small local business establishments. Both of these programs will fit very closely to the provisions of the economic opportunity bill under title IV aimed at providing aid to local business operations. And, of course, all of the broad-scale efforts will undergird the department's continuing, award-winning efforts in its prime function to create new jobs. Our commissioner, heading this department, is Miss Katherine Peden, who is also with me today. We feel that the woman's point of view is not the least of her abilities which will give unusual sensitivity to the important role of her department in this program.

Therefore, the economic opportunity program will not represent a new or a strange program to be imposed upon State government or upon community activity in Kentucky. It will come as a welcome reinforcement to our program and pattern of development. It will allow us to seek out problems which have been previously beyond our capacity for action in spite of a complete redoubling of all our programs in recent years. It will find an existing etsablishment of community development organization, broadly representative of all interest and geographical parts of town communities and their rural surroundings. Its use will be accelerated by the more rapid handling of program information and technical assistance through special area development organizations in which groups of communities and counties throughout Kentucky have banded together for greater strength and efficiency in focusing overall action and leadership on common problems. Its fullest use in combination with every existing Federal and State Government will be enhanced by the close working relationship of agency leaders working together through established means of coordination.

Perhaps one of the Nation's most dramatic examples of the great need for the special economic opportunity program is the intensive concentration of the economic development problems which confront the people of the hard core of the Appalachian region, which includes our own eastern Kentucky. While we recognize, unhappily, this great problem and the great need of the people in our beautiful eastern

Kentucky mountain region, we take no little pride in the fact that our greatest development effort; our most aggressive development leadership and, now, our most unusual and effective development action has had its birth in this region. I refer to our eastern Kentucky portion of the practical and challenging Appalachian regional development program, which has been presented to President Johnson, and was the basis for creation of a special Appalachian effort as a companion measure to the nationwide economic opportunity program.

In Appalachia, we have recognized that most comprehensive and accelerated development action is required to meet the emergency situation of human need which exists here in more concentrated form than elsewhere. The Appalachian program will provide the means to build the underdeveloped structure of a heavily populated region which has been bypassed by the normal progress of the Nation, while the economic opportunity program will operate within this basic regional framework to deal, as it does elsewhere in Kentucky and in the Nation, with the human resource development problems of individuals and communities. These two programs, while separate parts of the total attack on poverty in terms of legislation and subjective nature, will be fused together as one program in action within this region.

For purposes of illustration, I have brought with me today some statistical data compilations which show some of the manifestations of poverty in Kentucky. There is not time to repeat these for you here; rather I will leave them with you for later reference if you so choose. Simply stated, these data reduce to the conclusion that 38 percent of Kentucky's families live on incomes of less than $3,000 per year.

The immediate cost of this poverty is enormous; a quick look at the State budget over the years will show this in the most illustrative manner. Our State budget this year, a record for Kentucky, is an increase of $400 million. All of the increase money in this budget is designed principally for the area of education, the jobless parent program, and development programs in this particular area. More importantly, the long-run costs are incalculable for there is no way to measure the cumulative waste of human resources.

With the vocational bill passed by the Congress, we have implemented our education budget sponsored by our chairman, Mr. Perkins. We have implemented our program in Kentucky to have a vocational education program and manpower training program for those who have been replaced by automation. In addition, our jobless parent program, which has been in effect actually now for only 3 months, has proved to be of tremendous benefit in the nine counties in the pilot area. We have in our budget in Kentucky extended this to the 39 counties of Appalachia this next year beginning July 1 and statewide the following year. As we develop this program, we can see great benefit.

I rode up here today with a county attorney from Floyd County, which is located in the heart of this distressed area, in the heart of the coalfields which have suffered chronic unemployment because of automation in the coalfields. He pointed out to me that the 200 Kentuckians who are employable who are now working and rendering valuable public work in this area in return for the pay they are receiving under the jobless parent program under this pilot project have

been working to paint schools, clearing streambeds, planting seedlings, and doing conservation work on the spoil banks created by a great problem in Kentucky, the strip mining, which is present in eastern Kentucky; that already with this number of people who are beginning to see great results in their own feeling of personal contribution and self-respect as well as the contribution they are making to the area.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me interrupt you to state that I am hopeful that the committee will be able to write the Job Corps legislation so that we will be able to use these youngsters to do something about rehabilitation of these strip mining areas.

Governor BREATHITT. The creation of a Job Corps would begin to reach some of the young men of my State who experience one of our greatest problems. I am talking about those men who have been deemed short of the minimum requirements for drafting into the Armed Forces. In Kentucky the magnitude of the rejection rate for our draft eligibles is great. Recently the Selective Service released data which showed that 50.8 percent of all examinees were turned down during 1963 and more significantly, that about 21 percent of those rejected were unfit because of poor educational attainment. In the same release it was shown that 66.7 percent of all Kentucky draft eligibles were rejected before examination because they had not received an eighth grade education and that 90 percent of the total preexam rejectees had not graduated from high school. Here is indeed fertile ground for the kind of basic education and training goals set by this program.

In Kentucky, 9.7 percent of all families are headed by a woman and of these, 65.3 percent have an income of less than $3,000 per year. We must do better by these women. The providing of jobs on socially useful projects that give both men and women the chance to learn new skills and to earn money to continue their education will begin to do this. There is another aspect to this program which I find complementary to Kentucky needs. It seems good that there is the potential here for keeping people in a work-training program in their own communities. In most Kentucky areas there is a great need for the kind of projects on which they would be working.

In Kentucky we devote about 65 percent of the total resources available at the State level to the education of our young people. A great portion of the remainder with the exception of our road program goes into a new concept of welfare programs which are designed to help develop the areas rather than merely give them relief or handout programs. It seems to me that, in the long run, every dollar invested in the education of a man tends to multiply itself over a longer period of time and achieve a greater magnitude than does a dollar spent for wages. This is, I think, because a developed intellect keeps giving and giving. The work-study program will help engender this process in some of our youths who would otherwise be lost to us.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

A new concept of Federal legislation, is, I believe, the most flexible of the devices for waging the war on poverty. Kentucky is no novice to this concept, however, for we have already organized broad-based community structures to deal with the problems in the local area development councils which cover Kentucky, based on the representation of all the groups and individuals I previously mentioned. Within these council areas a definite course has been charted for dealing with common ills. More recently we have inaugurated a program which aims to coordinate the economic development and improvement of defined subregions of the State. The adoption of community action at the national level can and will widen the limits which presently exist. This will make it possible to do more without appreciably changing the character of the council structure or diminishing the internal cohesiveness which the people in the council areas feel.

Programs to deal with low income farm families requested in the bill being considered here today are of special interest to me and to Kentuckians. Kentucky's greatest portion of its economy is based on agriculture. Kentucky's median income for men from farming in 1959 was $1,644 and $807 for women. Some 72.3 percent of the men and 88.2 percent of the women whose income was derived from farming made less than $3,000. I have pledged to begin, during my administration, the journey down the road to a specific billion dollar farm income as a Kentucky goal. The enormousness of this task is challenging and I appreciate the help which a program of this kind will make to the overall effort in Kentucky. In Kentucky we have created an economic development commission and now this year an agricultural development commission whereby we are mobilizing all resources to stimulate our agricultural economy.

We think that the provisions of this bill will be a great help in advancing this program.

The business incentive program is, in my view, an oblique, rather than a direct attack on an element of poverty. It will not be as easy to see the results of this program since the individual businesses must subordinate the desire and intent of this program to the capability of these individual firms to expand. Loans to small businesses may bear fruit more readily, however, and I think have greater relevancy for Kentucky. We have recently activated small business effort at the State level which, while limited in scope, is giving technical and managerial assistance to those firms who request it. Our effort will be materially enhanced by the new program.

Kentucky will soon complete a pilot project to demonstrate the value of putting unemployed fathers to work on socially useful projects. Without question, this approach has made it possible to restore dignity to men who would have otherwise been welfare recipients in the usual sense. More importantly, the willingness of unemployed fathers to support their families grew with their material ability to do so. We

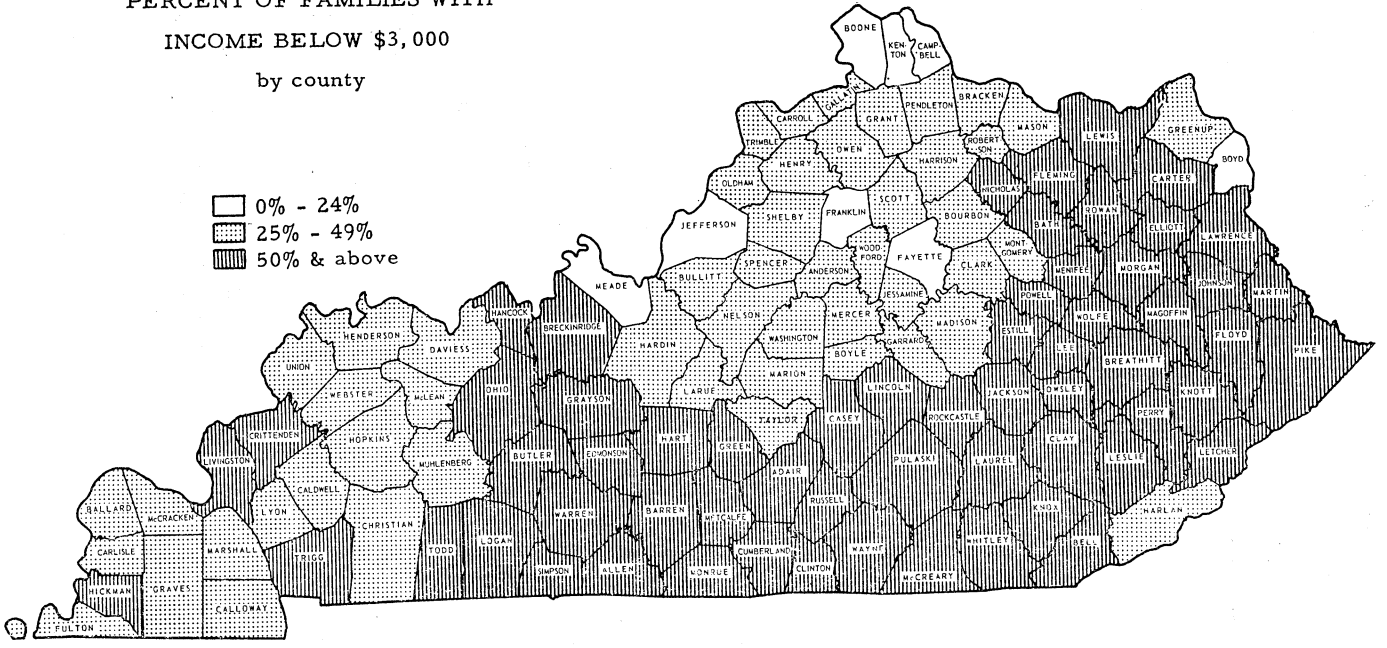
are heartened by three factors of this program which have been immensely successful: There has been virtually no absenteeism among the worker-recipients; many of the workers are already obtaining permanent jobs as a result of their work experiences; and community reactions to the work programs have been enthusiastic. The pilot program is a success in Kentucky and I welcome the broadened opportunities for work, job training, and basic education which the bill aims to achieve.

In addition to the specific comments I have made on the program elements of the bill itself, there are some general impressions I hold concerning this legislation as it relates to the total effort which President Johnson enumerated in his poverty message. Some detractors have said that the bill you are considering does not go far enough to make any appreciable reduction in the size of the problem. I do not subscribe to this notion for I am aware that we are not prepared or equipped to attempt to correct all the glaring inequities in our economic fabric. President Johnson, in his poverty speech, named additional bases of legislation which he required as essential to the successful waging of the war. Among these was (1) the completely comprehensive Appalachian program of regional development in which Kentucky has a major interest and in which Governor Combs, my predecessor, served as the first Governor of the Appalachian Congress and (2) an expanding housing program, geared to specific and critical housing needs, the food stamp program, and numerous other programs will make up the total action required for the elimination of poverty in all its respects. These legislative proposals are necessary and I believe they will be enacted to establish the full foundation, for the first time, for the strategic and permanent campaign to continue the development of real opportunity for all Americans to share in the expectations our country and our age should hold.

I am reminded of President Kennedy's admonishment to the American people to bear with patience the burden of the long twilight struggle with the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war. The timetable for overcoming these ills was too distant even for his vision to contemplate; rather, he felt the important thing was to make a start. Therefore, "Let us begin."

(The material referred to follows:)

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH
INCOME BELOW $3,000
by county



SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population 1960 - General Social and Economic Characteristics - Kentucky

Kentucky income, by counties, ranked by percent below $3,000

County	Median family income	Families with income below $3,000	Average income of income recipients	County	Median family income	Families with income below $3,000	Average income of income recipients
		Percent				*Percent*	
United States	$5,660	21.4	$3,667	Hancock	2,952	50.9	2,020
Kentucky	4,051	38.0	2,877	Carter	2,957	50.6	2,108
Wolfe	1,455	80.8	1,195	Washington	3,029	49.7	2,295
Owsley	1,324	80.5	1,235	Ballard	3,036	49.5	2,100
Menifee	1,733	76.6	1,348	Harlan	3,076	49.2	2,570
Breathitt	1,432	76.0	1,636	Garrard	3,088	48.8	2,205
Magoffin	1,504	75.9	1,452	Carlisle	3,137	48.2	2,125
Jackson	1,651	75.7	1,899	Larue	3,134	48.0	2,232
Wayne	1,729	73.4	1,603	Montgomery	3,181	47.4	2,274
Clay	1,833	73.0	1,735	Caldwell	3,202	47.3	2,202
Leslie	1,838	73.0	1,678	McLean	3,200	47.0	2,268
Clinton	1,714	72.6	1,468	Lyon	3,232	46.7	2,094
McCreary	1,835	71.5	1,641	Webster	3,259	46.7	2,377
Casey	1,802	71.4	1,350	Owen	3,259	46.3	2,283
Russell	1,704	70.7	1,597	Calloway	3,346	46.1	2,252
Knott	1,876	70.6	1,759	Marion	3,250	46.1	1,986
Knox	1,722	70.5	1,668	Spencer	3,234	46.1	2,278
Monroe	1,856	70.4	1,667	Fulton	3,292	45.8	2,102
Cumberland	1,898	69.0	1,490	Henry	3,282	45.8	2,313
Metcalfe	1,922	68.3	1,703	Muhlenberg	3,355	45.7	2,483
Morgan	1,976	67.4	1,702	Madison	3,381	45.3	2,247
Rockcastle	1,898	66.7	1,701	Bracken	3,334	45.2	2,212
Lee	1,847	65.9	1,991	Carroll	3,359	44.7	2,461
Adair	1,939	65.0	1,906	Trimble	3,554	43.5	2,575
Allen	2,205	65.0	1,721	Mercer	3,535	43.3	2,403
Elliott	2,054	64.7	1,750	Gallatin	3,478	42.7	2,418
Lawrence	2,088	63.6	1,963	Graves	3,549	42.5	2,404
Robertson	1,930	63.1	1,638	Union	3,698	42.2	2,506
Martin	2,071	63.0	1,756	Taylor	3,706	41.9	2,641
Edmonson	2,042	62.8	1,928	Warren	3,572	41.8	2,503
Butler	2,059	62.7	1,774	Boyle	3,838	40.4	2,710
Grayson	2,241	62.2	2,033	Pendleton	3,757	40.0	2,524
Whitley	2,272	61.9	1,986	Jessamine	3,630	39.8	2,285
Bath	2,326	61.7	1,741	Hopkins	4,044	39.4	2,850
Laurel	2,312	61.4	1,992	Grant	3,727	39.2	2,493
Trigg	2,306	61.0	1,874	Harrison	3,840	38.5	2,589
Pulaski	2,376	60.3	2,046	Anderson	3,812	37.9	2,528
Hart	2,436	59.3	2,089	Bourbon	3,801	37.8	2,656
Bell	2,443	59.0	2,161	Marshall	4,109	37.6	2,808
Johnson	2,449	57.5	2,140	Scott	3,901	37.3	2,428
Estill	2,489	57.4	2,048	Mason	3,847	37.1	2,669
Ohio	2,508	57.4	1,943	Nelson	4,031	37.1	2,754
Lincoln	2,498	57.3	2,142	Christian	3,740	37.0	2,441
Todd	2,595	57.1	1,788	Shelby	3,963	36.2	2,721
Powell	2,597	56.4	2,075	Clark	4,076	35.1	2,953
Breckinridge	2,637	56.1	2,138	Henderson	4,095	35.1	2,744
Fleming	2,640	55.8	2,309	Greenup	4,393	33.2	3,140
Letcher	2,615	55.2	2,436	Hardin	3,865	32.6	2,632
Perry	2,689	54.6	2,511	Woodford	4,509	30.8	3,050
Barren	2,738	54.4	2,221	Bullitt	4,640	29.1	3,135
Crittenden	2,747	54.1	2,031	McCracken	4,916	27.8	3,242
Nicholas	2,795	53.8	1,974	Oldham	4,808	27.3	3,198
Floyd	2,802	52.9	2,549	Daviess	4,786	27.1	3,178
Green	2,842	52.6	2,462	Boyd	5,055	24.7	3,475
Hickman	2,860	52.6	1,973	Meade	4,591	24.6	3,333
Pike	2,803	52.6	2,440	Fayette	5,377	23.6	3,394
Simpson	2,834	52.3	2,114	Franklin	5,424	21.9	3,196
Lewis	2,826	52.3	2,119	Boone	5,794	18.0	3,828
Logan	2,894	51.8	2,249	Jefferson	5,796	17.2	3,916
Rowan	2,913	51.5	2,049	Kenton	5,810	15.8	3,626
Livingston	2,916	51.1	2,219	Campbell	5,932	15.4	3,716

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "U.S. Census of Population, 1960."

Kentucky education by county

County	Median years school completed	Population over 25 with less than 5 years school	County	Median years school completed	Population over 25 with less than 5 years school
		Percent			*Percent*
Wayne	6.7	32.8	Robertson	8.4	10.9
Leslie	6.9	28.7	Rowan	8.4	18.2
McCreary	6.9	32.7	Simpson	8.4	18.4
Clay	7.0	33.7	Taylor	8.4	16.4
Jackson	7.1	28.5	Washington	8.4	18.2
Cumberland	7.2	29.1	Bracken	8.5	10.9
Martin	7.2	32.4	Bullitt	8.5	12.8
Breathitt	7.3	30.1	Crittenden	8.5	12.8
Edmonson	7.4	29.2	Fulton	8.5	19.3
Owsley	7.4	28.1	Gallatin	8.5	10.1
Bell	7.6	28.5	Grant	8.5	14.2
Casey	7.6	26.0	Hancock	8.5	10.6
Knott	7.6	27.7	Hopkins	8.5	16.4
Metcalfe	7.7	28.0	Livingston	8.5	12.9
Monroe	7.7	27.2	Marion	8.5	19.8
Elliott	7.8	25.8	Montgomery	8.5	14.4
Allen	7.9	25.9	Pendleton	8.5	10.1
Menifee	7.9	24.9	Trimble	8.5	12.4
Wolfe	7.9	24.6	Webster	8.5	12.6
Estill	8.0	22.1	Anderson	8.6	10.8
Floyd	8.0	25.0	Caldwell	8.6	13.9
Grayson	8.0	24.8	Carlisle	8.6	12.3
Green	8.0	21.9	Carroll	8.6	12.0
Harlan	8.0	24.4	Henry	8.6	12.5
Knox	8.0	27.2	Hickman	8.6	16.6
Letcher	8.0	23.2	McLean	8.6	12.4
Perry	8.0	24.7	Madison	8.6	17.9
Rockcastle	8.0	24.1	Nelson	8.6	15 7
Adair	8.1	20.0	Kentucky	8.7	13.8
Barren	8.1	22.1	Ballard	8.7	13.3
Bath	8.1	20.2	Clark	8.7	14.1
Breckinridge	8.1	21.4	Graves	8.7	10.2
Butler	8.1	22.1	Greenup	8.7	12.7
Clinton	8.1	21.0	Harrison	8.7	11.4
Lee	8.1	27.2	Jessamine	8.7	14.2
Pike	8.1	23.5	Marshall	8.7	9.4
Powell	8.1	21.9	Mercer	8.7	13.3
Carter	8.2	19.8	Boyle	8.8	17.6
Hart	8.2	22.1	Calloway	8.8	9.4
Johnson	8.2	22.7	Henderson	8.8	11.1
Lawrence	8.2	21.4	Mason	8.8	10.6
Lewis	8.2	17.9	Oldham	8.8	12.4
Lincoln	8.2	21.8	Scott	8.8	13.7
Magoffin	8.2	18 9	Shelby	8.8	11.4
Morgan	8.2	19.0	Warren	8.8	14.9
Muhlenberg	8.2	21.4	Woodford	8.8	14.7
Todd	8.2	21.6	Bourbon	8.9	11.4
Fleming	8.3	16.3	Union	8.9	11.0
Laurel	8.3	18.4	Christian	9.0	14.1
Logan	8.3	20.4	Campbell	9.1	5.7
Lyon	8.3	14.6	Daviess	9.2	8.3
Ohio	8.3	15.1	Franklin	9.2	12.1
Pulaski	8.3	17.3	Kenton	9.4	5.6
Russell	8.3	13.5	McCracken	9.6	9.2
Spencer	8.3	16.9	Boone	9.8	5.1
Trigg	8.3	19.6	Boyd	9.9	8.2
Whitley	8.3	15.8	Jefferson	9.9	7.0
Girrard	8.4	16.2	Hardin	10.1	8.5
Larue	8.4	15.8	United States	10.6	8.3
Nicholas	8.4	12.9	Fayette	11.2	8.7
Owen	8.4	15.5	Meade	11.2	7.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "U.S. Census of Population, 1960."

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much, Governor.

Miss Peden, before Mr. Landrum commences his questioning, do you care to make some comments? We are certainly delighted to have you here. We are glad that the Governor of Kentucky has recognized women to the extent that he has in placing you at the head of the department.

I regret Mrs. Green is not here because she certainly would have interrogated the Governor on the statistics he cited. She has been a real champion of equal opportunities and treatment of women upon all occasions. She has recommended that they make them equal partners in the Job Corps.

Proceed.

Miss PEDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I regret, also, my close friend, Edith Green, is not here. I have appeared on other occasions before the committee and she is certainly a fine member of the committee, as you well know.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mrs. Green is in Cleveland conducting a hearing there today. She is working, I can assure you of that. In fact, she will work you to death if you stick with her long enough.

Miss PEDEN. The Department of Commerce of Kentucky, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, is certainly very much interested in this war on poverty. The Governor has given us quite an assignment, 70,000 new industrial jobs during his administration. One of the writers for our local Courier Journal analyzed it as 50 new industrial jobs every day, that is quite an assignment, even Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. But in order to maintain this quota and to bring new industries in Kentucky, as Congressman Perkins knows, we are having to look toward his home area and other areas of Kentucky for the ability of training our people.

As Governor Breathitt has said, we feel so strongly the value of education. I believe the various titles of this bill will mean a great deal not only to our State in providing the educational training but the opportunity for a job. The department of commerce, certainly working closely with the Governor's office, is prepared to implement all the titles of the bill when it passes.

We certainly speak strongly in favor of this. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Landrum.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you, Miss Peden.

Governor Breathitt, I was impressed, as you detailed your statement there, with the tremendous job you are doing with your own State and local resources. Do you feel that you could accomplish the final task in this job without Federal assistance?

Governor BREATHITT. Mr. Landrum, we certainly cannot do the job that must be done without Federal assistance, without this program. Of course, we are going to do all within our resources, whatever the Congress does, but we have taxed our State to the limit in many ways. Our whole revenue program has been designed to get the maximum in the way of taxes for our program. Our total program is designed, the greatest portion of it, toward attacking these very problems. We are working, for example, in solving the problems in Appalachia and problem areas in Kentucky, we have a small lakes problem which is a State program, we are redesigning our highways so that our land fills will be dams for water storage, for community use, recreation use,

and industrial purposes, so that we can use water in our areas. We found that by the slightest redesigning of a dam or highway field you can raise the culvert and you have a dam requiring rights-of-way. We are assisting in the development of our arts and crafts program throughout Kentucky.

We have a division in Miss Peden's department which is giving technical assistance to the old crafts of the poverty areas of Kentucky and designing what is mere channelable and marketable and of good quality. We are promoting it. We are helping to establish the crafts interests to market it and we are preparing materials and catalogs that can be sent all over the world for people to buy their products.

We are doing everything in the educational field that it is possible for us to do.

The new dollars in our new budget we have put into this jobless parent program, and it is a $61/2 million dollar program next year and a $41/2 million dollar program this year, and in education, where we have tremendously increased our aid to education with particular emphasis this year on training for literacy. We have an illiteracy program and we have a program for vocational education in cooperation with the Federal Manpower Training Act. We are doing everything we know to do. We are pushing our tourist industry.

We feel that since we have gone the limit in Kentucky, we know this is true in other areas of the country, and this is a nationwide program, that we must have the bill.

Mr. LANDRUM. In your illiteracy program, as it relates to your vocational schools, do you find it necessary to teach basic education skills to a great many people before they are able to enter the vocational training program?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes; we do. We had this problem. As I pointed out, so many of our younger people have no education or they still are below the literacy level, below the fourth- or sixth-grade level, and we have to teach them these basic skills before they can enter the vocational program.

Mr. LANDRUM. Is it your feeling from the study of this act that the Job Corps phases of it will assist in accomplishing that objective?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes; it is very important. It is very important to us.

Mr. LANDRUM. Now, there have been some suggestions that possibly these Job Corps programs could better be operated by the State without the assistance of the Federal Government. Do you think that would be possible in all the States?

Governor BREATHITT. I will say this from the Kentucky standpoint: I think it would tax us beyond our ability to do so. I think we need Federal help. We find that we have had a very fine relationship. There has been no violation of our responsibilities in the State or our rights to solve these problems. We have a fine working relationship with the Federal Government. We welcome and must have their help.

Mr. LANDRUM. You realize that, under the provisions of the bill, a great many of these enrollees coming into the Job Corps will be removed from their present environment and into another one. Do you see any real objection to that?

Governor BREATHITT. Probably it would be very helpful. I think that many of our people in Kentucky live in isolated areas and they will remain isolated until we get our highway program and our developmental programs. I think it is good for them to move into other areas. I think it will be helpful to them. We found surprisingly enough in the 4 months or our pilot program, on our jobless training program, which, of course, cannot be as comprehensive and does not affect the youth like this title of the act does, that many people who had not been able to get a job are working in these jobs and getting a new environment, they see opportunities that they did not see before.

Mr. LANDRUM. Have you found any grounds for apprehension that the bill is drafted in such a way as to circumvent the State government?

Governor BREATHITT. None whatsoever.

Mr. LANDRUM. Do you think there are ample safeguards for the Governor of a State and for local governments to be appropriately consulted?

Governor BREATHITT. I think so. I think the provisions of the law have ample safeguards. Our experience in working with Federal agencies has been very fine. We have had a fine relationship in working with them. We have had no problem at all. Our office is set up and designed to work with these agencies and with our own State agencies.

Mr. LANDRUM. I think it is commendable that you have moved as effectively as your satement indicates you have in establishing an organization that will be able to immediately take advantage of the benefits from this bill if and when it becomes law. With the organization which you have constructed, do you see any possibility that you will have to reorganize that in order to comply with the terms of the bill?

Governor BREATHITT. No, Congressman. We have done some reorganization now since the first of the year in the Governor's office headed by Mr. Whisman, so that it will be ready and available to implement this act in Kentucky.

Mr. LANDRUM. That is for your own convenience and not because we are circumventing that State authority.

Governor BREATHITT. No.

Mr. LANDRUM. With regard to title III of the bill and the proposed assistance there for small family-type farmers, do you see that there can be any real values made available to the Kentucky family-type farmers under this provision?

Governor BREATHITT. Particularly I think this is important because we find that other than in the bluegrass and in the larger farm areas of western Kentucky down near the Mississippi and in the Ohio River valleys, our farms are subsistence farms. In the nob area of Kentucky and in the south-central area and in the eastern areas of Kentucky, Congressman Perkins' district, and in southeast Kentucky, the farmers there are in this substandard group that I mentioned in my prepared testimony, have income which is actually submarginal. These are the people who need the help. These are the people whose children do not seem to have the chance to see the opportunities they have.

I think this provision, title III of the bill, will be particularly help-

ful in this area and will do things that we just do not have the ability to do in Kentucky.

Mr. LANDRUM. Is it your feeling, then, that a $1,500 grant with the possibility of a $2,500 loan might elevate these farmers into a higher subsistence level?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, I do, because with our Agricultural Development Commission, with their local county councils which can give guidance and working with the extension department of the university, these loans and grants will give the ability to these marginal farmers to get their operation at a level where they can increase their income, in our judgment, substantially.

Mr. LANDRUM. Did I understand you to say in your formal statement that the farms headed by women in Kentucky, and I assume widowed women, have an annual income of less than $1,000?

Governor BREATHITT. $807 per year; for the men the median is $1,644.

Mr. LANDRUM. Is that gross or net?

Governor BREATHITT. That is their median net income; yes, sir.

Mr. LANDRUM. I want to thank you for coming and giving the committee the benefit of your views and especially thank you for describing the actions which you have already taken to alleviate some of the problems associated with poverty.

I want to ask you one other question. Is it your feeling that this problem of poverty is of sufficient national interest to justify putting all of the Federal programs that we have drawn together under one umbrella here, under the director of one office, so that the information and assistance from all the agencies can be made available at one time to all the States?

Governor BREATHITT. I think that would be helpful just as we have done in Kentucky. Of course, I do think that it is important that all the other programs, when we do this, be given the emphasis that they are now being given, such as Appalachia, the housing programs and other programs. I think it is very helpful to bring them under one umbrella and we have done that in Kentucky. I might say this: This week, groups in Kentucky throughout the State have been supporting this program including our State chamber of commerce which passed a resolution strongly supporting the poverty program in our more regional problem of Appalachia, which, of course, fits more closely together. Every group that I found in Kentucky in our State where we see these problems so acutely, regardless of their political affiliation or general economic outlook, feel that this is a sound program and one that the Congress should pass to help solve this problem.

Mr. LANDRUM. So, you agree that with this program and the program such as your own State is inaugurating, that we are beginning a movement away from the relief and charity phases of our treatment of this disease and moving more intensely and directly against the causes with remedies to rid ourselves of the blight?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, sir. I have been speaking in the last 2 weeks to a number of local annual chamber meetings as well as the State annual chamber meetings. This is a group of people in Kentucky—of course, they are greatly interested in welfare programs. This direction of Federal legislation and Federal programs and this particular piece of legislation has their strong approval.

I have been speaking to these groups and discussing it with them. I am very much encouraged because I, myself, feel that the programs in eastern Kentucky, and in the poverty areas of eastern Kentucky, where we need economic opportunity, should be directed to the area of helping these areas help themselves so that they can make their contributions not only to the economy of their communities and the State of Kentucky, but to the Nation, and not have to be developing generation after generation of welfare recipients. We are in the right direction and this bill is in the right direction. I certainly give it all the support I can.

Mr. LANDRUM. Your colleague, Governor Sanford from North Carolina, this morning made the same statement.

Governor BREATHITT. He married a girl from my hometown, Mr. Landrum.

Mr. LANDRUM. You spoke of the chamber of commerce meetings that you attended. Do your State chamber of commerce and your local chambers of commerce support this program?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, sir. By resolution they have done so.

Mr. LANDRUM. Do you have a State Farm Bureau in Chicago?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes.

Mr. LANDRUM. Does your State Farm Bureau support this program?

Governor BREATHITT. In fact, all State groups that I know of are supporting it. I know of no group in Kentucky which has not come out with a resolution supporting it.

Mr. LANDRUM. Is it not somewhat of a mystery to you that our State farm organizations and our State chamber organizations would support these programs and yet our National Farm Bureau and our National Chamber of Commerce would oppose it?

Governor BREATHITT. In my judgment, I think, Mr. Landrum, the National Chamber of Commerce and the National Farm Bureau should get in tune with the times and recognize the needs of the people because these programs do just exactly what they have been asking for for years and that is developmental programs rather than mere welfare programs.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you so much, Governor. I have enjoyed your appearance here.

Thank you, also, Miss Peden.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Governor, it is a real pleasure to welcome you to the committee. One Federal Department, HEW, will spend $4 billion next year on grants to the States for education, for health, welfare, and vocational rehabilitation. Now, Governor, you keep referring to the fact that these programs must be coordinated. Are these programs today that I just mentioned being well coordinated in Kentucky?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes; they are being coordinated, but I think that we can, under this approach and under this program, do a better job in Kentucky.

Mr. BELL. Why do you believe that? How could we do a better job?

Governor BREATHITT. Because if we have one agency working under the President with the authority of the President, coordinating

the program, the specialized programs of all the Federal agencies, working with a similar setup in the States, the communication and coordination efforts will be simplified in our judgment based on our experience.

You see, we in Kentucky have done identically what the Federal Government is proposing in this bill under the appointment of Mr. Shriver. We have found it to be extremely successful rather than having the local communities work with the various State agencies in trying to coordinate.

States agencies work together well just as the Federal agencies are doing. We found that in our office, this is the man who fits the role of Mr. Shriver, Mr. Whisman, who is in my office. Our area program office is doing identically the same as the office that is being established by Mr. Shriver as the President's Special Assistant. We have found it to be very successful in coordinating our efforts and implementing our programs.

Mr. BELL. That is fine.

I assume from this that you have no problem then, as the gentleman from Georgia indicated in his questioning, in the attempt to bypass your State organizations, you don't think you would get into that problem at all in many of the programs?

Governor BREATHITT. Our experience has shown that we have no problem. Our office, our area program office, and Mr. Whisman have worked closely with the Congress and with the agencies. I see no problem with that.

Mr. BELL. The only problem that concerns me a bit on this point is that the poverty head, in this case it would be Mr. Shriver, could approve community action programs without actually going through the State government. As a practical matter perhaps he would not, but the wording of this proposal would give him such authority.

Under this bill all you could do as a State is to comment about it. This is conceivably what he could do. I don't say as a practical matter it would work this way, but he could do this according to the writing of the bill.

Governor BREATHITT. Let me say this. We believe in the bill so much that even with the situation that I do not think would ever happen, but supposing it did, I think it would be a great step forward and a great help to us in Kentucky, although we do not anticipate any difficulty at all in coordination and complete expression of views on how to carry it out between Mr. Shriver's office and the office of the State government.

Mr. BELL. Governor, how many unemployed do you have in the State of Kentucky now? Do you have those figures in your mind?

Governor BREATHITT. I do not have those final exact figures as of today. It is about 6 percent statewide.

Mr. BELL. What percentage of that could you hazard a guess would be the age, say, from 16 to 21 or 24, thereabouts, the age of the Youth Corps?

Mr. PERKINS. About 16 percent.

Mr. BELL. In other words, the percentage is rather high.

Governor BREATHITT. Yes. It is much more than the proportionate amount. As you will see from these figures which I gave you on draft turndowns here, they are higher than the national average in Ken-

tucky. You see that 50.9 percent of all examinees were turned down, 21 percent of those were rejected as unfit because of poor education. Of these draft eligibles 66.7 percent were rejected before examination because they had not received an eighth grade education.

If you take 66.7 plus 50.9 percent of the others, you have a Youth Conservation Corps or Job Corps.

Mr. BELL. Governor, would you say that the prime objective of these young men is to make an economic livelihood and to find jobs for themselves and to be trained to achieve a satisfactory living? Isn't that what they are after?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes.

Mr. BELL. The sooner they can get at a vocational program or programs that would apply to the job they want to get, the quicker they will be satisfied and the slack of 16-percent unemployment could be taken up; is that right?

Governor BREATHITT. Our experience in Kentucky has been with our jobless parent program, which in a sense is a guide to what this program would be to a more restricted age group. In Floyd County—I have been talking to our county attorney, he says the dropout rate in Floyd County schools has gone down since the 4 months we have had this jobless training program in that particular area.

Once they have the feeling that they have an opportunity for education and for work, then they have hope and they have guidance, and they can direct them. These are people who are not going to school. These are the dropouts. These are the people who are not even eligible to serve in the Armed Forces. They are the ones who are a tremendously large part of our population.

Mr. BELL. What is your job training program?

Governor BREATHITT. It is part of the Federal aid to dependent children of unemployed parents. We have gone with a pilot program in Kentucky this year into nine counties. Next year, starting July 1, we are going to the 39 counties in Appalachia. The following year to the entire State.

We enacted it into our budget this year.

Mr. BELL. These youngsters are not in residential homes, are they? You are giving them regular vocational job training, aren't you, in a local area?

Governor BREATHITT. We have a work relief crew. These are fathers, but many of them fall within this same age group. Many of them are fathers. They are unemployed parents.

Mr. BELL. I understand.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell, we adopted an amendment to the Social Security Act temporarily in 1961, and then in 1962 we made it permanent, for extending the aid to dependent children to aid to dependent children and unemployed parents. It was set up provided the States wanted to take advantage of it on a work relief basis. Very few States have taken advantage of it on a work relief basis, but about 18 or 19 have.

What we have done in Kentucky under a pilot project under a million dollar grant, they have done wonders down there in setting up a work relief program with these jobless parent people.

Mr. BELL. I see. I would like to commend you for that. That sounds to me like a very wise approach to a very difficult problem which

I understand you have in Kentucky. As far as the program for your youth in the way of training, don't you think, Governor, that you might get at this problem a little quicker and more directly through using the basic facilities that we already have, such as vocational education and manpower development and retraining and pushing toward actually getting these youngsters trained for jobs right now. In addition to this having an urban or rural organization of your own State of Kentucky in which the youth could be placed in camps for work in the immediate area of your State doing such work as the development of parks and other problems along with their vocational education and their manpower development and retraining. A program in which you as Governor would have complete and direct control on a matching basis with the Federal Government, rather than having the youth taken out of your State voluntarily, but sent maybe to Wyoming, Alaska, or some place? Don't you think this would be more appealing to them to get right down to the basic program which you in Kentucky and the local people there could direct. Don't you think this would have more appeal to your youth and more appeal to your people?

Governor BREATHITT. I think both programs are important. We have the other program, because we have taken advantage of the jobless training program, this category of aid. We are finding that many who have gone into this particular program, now after they are received there, and we don't have the educational program in the work relief program, but many of them are now going into vocational and manpower training, and we are getting 100 percent of our Kentucky vocational trainees getting jobs.

We had our first report, an analysis and survey of results on this pilot program, after 4 months, which was just published over the weekend and carried by all of our dailies, which showed that a great percentage of these in this training program are now finding jobs. But we also find, and we conducted a survey, that there are many who are not parents who are in this category that we can't help, who need this particular program of the Job Corps. We are only helping those who are parents in our program, because that is the only program we have. This will do the same thing, plus an educational program.

They have found that our program for the parents has been a tremendous help to us. I would like to furnish to this committee, with the permission of the committee, a survey of this program.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, it is so ordered, and all the statistics you have referred to will be inserted in the record.

Governor BREATHITT. This program will supplement it because we don't have this type of program for those who are not parents. We find that there are many that this has an appeal to, that the regular vocational program and manpower training programs do not.

Mr. BELL. You do recognize, don't you, that the vocational education program has a work study program with it and a residential school type of study program, too? So I think it could be dovetailed as far as that is concerned.

Governor BREATHITT. We agree with that program very much. We agree with our jobless parent program. We also agree with the Job Corps. We think they complete the picture of opportunity to our jobless youth and our underprivileged youth, the ones that fit in this particular category. We need this other category to complete it in our judgment.

Mr. BELL. Thank you very much, Governor. I want to again congratulate you on the excellent job you are doing in Kentucky and also commend Kentucky in being fortunate to have a very fine person like Carl Perkins here who has shown very much leadership in the vocational education program.

Governor BREATHITT. Thank you so much.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. GIBBONS. I have no questions.

Mr. PERKINS. Governor, I have several questions. I will keep you only a moment. I again wish to compliment you on your statement. But getting back to the community action provision of the bill, it is contemplated, as I read the legislation and listen to witnesses, that the greatest community action will be in the field of health and education, primarily basic education for adults or teenagers likewise, community action programs of that type, and community action work relief programs such as you have inaugurated in Kentucky.

Now one of the greatest needs still remaining undoubtedly will be community facilities, the lack of rural community facilities which you referred to. Am I correct?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, sir, I agree.

Mr. PERKINS. I would like to ask you from your observation under the vocational education program if that does not only take care of the youngster who in most instances has already completed his high school education? Am I correct?

Governor BREATHITT. That is correct.

Mr. PERKINS. Of course, we contemplate taking care of dropouts. The manpower program thus far has taken care of the cream of the crop, the better educated youngster, and we have not still reached that unemployed, that uneducated youngster up and down those hollows and creeks, in the cities. Am I correct in that statement?

Governor BREATHITT. You are just as correct as you can be.

Mr. PERKINS. I think it is a pretty accurate statement that vocational education at the present time reaches very few people, if any, below the sixth or seventh grade level. Inasmuch as we have three-quarters of a million youngsters on the streets of this country, do you feel as I do that we should enact this Job Corps, accept these Job Corps recommendations, establish a Youth Conservation Corps to do immediate conservation work and get them off the streets, give these youngsters at the same time some basic education?

Governor BREATHITT. I do, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. And where they are able to take it, to give them vocational education?

Governor BREATHITT. I do.

Mr. PERKINS. It is going to be some few years before the present vocational education program in Kentucky, the expanded program, gets underway. Am I correct?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes.

Mr. PERKINS. As to the schools that Mr. Bell referred to, the residential schools, in conferences we had I may say we had a devil of a time getting even four residential schools in the bill. One of those it was specifically agreed by everybody in conference would be placed in the District of Columbia here. So it is very apparent that vocational education facilities are inadequate to reach this hard core, the out-of-school youngsters that we should be do something for at this time.

It makes good sense to me to put those youngsters under forest rangers and park rangers for conservation work and training. Get them off the streets. Give them some basic education. Give them some good training habits. At the same time we would be making greater progress in developing and conserving our natural resources—our timber, our water, our soil, and our mineral stripped waste land. Am I correct?

Governor BREATHITT. You are correct.

Mr. BELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. BELL. I think the gentleman will find a great timelag in getting the Conservation Corps nationally organized and put together and materialized; probably it will take much longer than it will to use the expanded vocational education programs.

The suggestion that I was making to the Governor here is that we might use a State program of matching funds which would be just as effective in which you would use the vocational education manpower and training.

Mr. PERKINS. The testimony in 1961, 1963, again this year from Agriculture, states that they can have thousands of them in camps within 30 days with very little renovating. And within 60 days I think they can have 6,000 or 8,000—each department. And within 90 days maybe 16,000. So there is no holdup there at all.

Then on top of that, we have the Army camps that are not being utilized, such as Camp Atterbury in Indiana.

Mr. BELL. Are they going to have teachers in all these camps in 30 days, too?

Mr. PERKINS. They can be recruited.

Mr. BELL. Are you going to have teacher programs and all those things?

Mr. PERKINS. Certainly.

Mr. BELL. Teachers are already hired and ready to go in?

Mr. PERKINS. The plans have been made. The plans have been on the shelf for 2 or 3 years. We can get this thing in operation in just a few months and do something for the youngsters.

Governor BREATHITT. May this witness make a statement, please?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes; go ahead.

Governor BREATHITT. We did not make a decision in Kentucky to go to our jobless-parent program until last December, and we implemented it immediately. We now have a 4-month record of accomplishment behind us in this program, which is very similar to this program of the Job Corps—Youth Corps.

Mr. PERKINS. That is the type of community-action program that can be inaugurated immediately throughout the country; just what he is talking about.

Governor BREATHITT. In our adult education program we find a fine, untapped reservoir—our teachers that have gone in retirement. There are a great number of them who have been fussing about going into retirement; some of our best teachers. It is easy. They are ready to go to work the next day.

Mr. BELL. I don't see why we can't step up our vocational education and manpower and retraining. I can't see why we can't have those programs expanded in 30 days.

Governor BREATHITT. Most of these types of boys, we have found in Kentucky, are unacceptable for vocational training programs. They are the types that have been turned down. They are dropouts.

Mr. BELL. You say they are not prepared for vocational education. Are you aware that they have a basic education program in the vocational education and the manpower development and retraining; that all we have to do is set up the teachers and training program to teach them these things?

Governor BREATHITT. We find that through the efforts of this type of program we take the ones who drop out of the regular vocational education program, we put them in camps, under good leadership we stimulate them; we take them off the streets at home; take them from a bad home environment. If we give them leadership and training and an attractive program and atmosphere, they will go to school and they will make a productive day's work. We find that it is important to take them out of the environment and put them in these type groups.

Mr. BELL. You are on my side in that argument. That is what I am saying; under vocational education, get them out.

Governor BREATHITT. You are not going to get them away from their home environment or get them away from their nighttime pursuits on the streets.

Mr. BELL. Well, your residential school feature could possibly take care of that as it develops.

Governor BREATHITT. If our three schools can take care of all the needs in Kentucky, it might go somewhere, but I am afraid we don't have enough schools.

Mr. BELL. Of course, with your urban camps in some of the States this would be the plan. For example, the gentleman—I believe it was Governor Welsh—indicated he had plans for camps which would be a work and vocational education program, too, in a State program. This could be done on a State matching basis just as well as the camps, I would think.

Governor BREATHITT. May I say this as one last statement: We have squeezed the lemon dry in Kentucky on a matching basis. We have cut mental health funds. There is a lady back of me now that has been scorching me with editorials because we have done so—because we have not done enough that we should have done in other programs—and we intend ultimately to get into those programs. But we had to squeeze our budget and our taxes to meet these programs; these developmental programs, for Kentucky.

No State in the Nation with their ability can say they have done any more and, based on the record, say so any more justifiably than Kentucky has done, because we have gone into this unemployed parent program. As a result we have to cut our ability to go into these other areas. We can't go into these other areas. We must have this sort of help to take care of the category of young people that we can't take care of with the present programs. That is our experience; honestly.

Mr. BELL. Of course, on the matching basis there are various kinds of matching programs. Arrangements can be made.

Governor BREATHITT. We have matched them all, I think.

Mr. BELL. As you well know.

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, sir; and they are very fine programs. Please don't misunderstand. I believe in those programs and they are helping, substantially, to meet this problem. We have found that there is a great gap and a great area that needs additional support. We think this program and this bill meet that area.

Mr. BELL. The basic problem in Kentucky is basically an economic one. It is the result of industry, the coal mining problem.

Governor BREATHITT. Well, our unemployment problem is economic; yes.

Mr. BELL. Partially the result of the coal mining industry.

Governor BREATHITT. We have an educational lag that we are making up. We have a highway problem. We have a flood problem. We have a great problem brought about by strip mining in Kentucky. We are now engaged in these programs. When we get one of these camps, in Kentucky, we are going to use them if we can to help us work with our jobless-parent program in working in these strip mine areas to have the conservation programs that we need.

Mr. BELL. Kentucky, as I understand it, is one of the States that has a peculiar problem of its own that many States don't have.

Governor BREATHITT. There are 11 States that have this problem to a degree. Governor Sanford's State, West Virginia, particularly, I expect, more closely parallels the situation—areas of Virginia, areas of South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, all the Appalachian counties that are in our Appalachian Governor's conference that are represented there—and we are working on this together with a State program, also a program of matching programs with the Federal Government. We are supporting all of these programs. We are doing all that we know how to do to meet it.

Mr. BELL. I want to compliment you. You are making a very good case for your situation.

Governor BREATHITT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Governor, has there been any noticeable change in the State employment offices in the past 3 years from the standpoint of doing a better screening job on these youngsters?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes. Our department of economic security—that is one of the areas where they place great emphasis—is in this screening job. I think there has been and the facts show there has been.

Mr. PERKINS. You cannot visualize the situation where your employment offices, in carefully screening these youngsters, would place a youngster in the Conservation Corps camp when he would be more suited for vocational education under the Manpower Development and Training Act? It is your view and study of the legislation that these youngsters will be carefully screened by experts?

Governor BREATHITT. They not only will be but they are carefully screened. The need of this program is because we have a category of youngsters that we have no program to meet. That is our problem. For example, we are increasing our staff and our size. We have just let two contracts in the heart of this—Pike County and Floyd County and their economic security offices—to set up increased staff and security offices, to set up increased staff and facilities to handle this screening problem because we now are beginning to have programs to meet this problem but we can't say to one whole category of young people,

"We have nothing for you, you are unacceptable to the Army, you are unacceptable to our vocational training programs, you are unacceptable to the job opportunities that we have coming into this area and you are not apparent, so you can't fit into this other program we have." So we honestly feel that this is a very important program. The States that have the greatest problem, of course, will avail themselves of this program.

Mr. PERKINS. There is usually someone in these employment offices who knows who the dropouts are, who the unemployed are, what families they come from, and you have someone that consults with the schools and other interested people and institutions. As a usual rule a good job is being done by the employment service in Kentucky.

Governor BREATHITT. Yes; I find that there is a new caliber of school superintendents, a younger group all over eastern Kentucky, in this area working closely with these officers and the community leaders. But we still have this large category as demonstrated by the fact that Kentucky has one of the higher percentages of rejections of any State in the Nation by our Armed Forces. It is an alarming situation. We are doing all we know to meet it. We think this program will take care of that other category.

Mr. BELL. Do you think that is primarily due to the longer period of time in which families have been struggling in poverty?

Governor BREATHITT. Certainly, that is a major contributing factor. The whole economic distress problem of Appalachia has contributed to it. This has brought about many things. We first had the timber industry, then we had the coal industry in this area. Now coal is being automated. They have switched now to stripping, which is creating a byproduct of problems as well as the problem of putting people out of jobs. They have automated deep mines. It is also laying waste to our lands and clogging our streams and we are having to deal with those problems in the area. That is what these corps are going to do, our jobless parents corps, probably one of the first assignments. We are going to have them go in the old strip areas to recontour, plan, rehabilitate, and conserve that area. Then with the new law and new regulations we are going to try to control the operation that goes on now. If it does not work, we will pass more laws, more regulations. But we are really attacking the routes and bases of the problem rather than merely responding to the problem with relief programs. That is where Congressman Perkins is doing such an effective job as our Congressman in the heart of that area, for this area.

With all due respect to every other Congressman here, I don't think there is any Congressman who is more sensitive to the needs of an area and is going about it, in my judgment, in his support of programs any better than Congressman Perkins is doing.

Mr. BELL. I certainly concur.

Governor BREATHITT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. I would like to see this bill cover many other areas that are necessary to do this job. This bill is no more than a skirmish, in my opinion, but it is an important one to start with.

Governor BREATHITT. You are also supporting the Appalachian bill, the housing, and all the other bills.

Mr. PERKINS. I have advocated programs directed specifically to Appalachia for years and I am delighted that more people are coming now to share that view. I hope that we certainly will get the program through and you get your bond issue through so that we can make some progress down there and open up the whole area. I hope somewhere along the line we can get some public works programs to furnish some jobs for a lot of these people.

Governor BREATHITT. Gentlemen, let me say this: If we are successful in these programs, and I have every reason to believe we will be, the Congress will be called on less and less for welfare programs and relief programs in Appalachia and the poverty areas of the Nation. That is the beauty of this program. It offers a relief to every section of the country where we have problems, certainly to ourselves as an integral part of the total program in Appalachia.

Mr. PERKINS. I would like to have seen it cover the public elementary and secondary schools but at the same time I know we have a problem. We hope we have the votes the way the bill is now written and we are certainly hopeful to cover some of the other areas at some future date.

Governor, just how do you visualize briefly the legislation as written which will be beneficial to eastern Kentucky and areas of that type, slum areas in Kentucky?

Governor BREATHITT. You are talking about this particular bill?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes.

Governor BREATHITT. There is so much we need to do as well as handling the human resources. We have so much work to be done.

Mr. PERKINS. You agree with me that we only stress human resources in this legislation?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes. But we have highways, we have flood control, highways, reforestation, plus our whole area of manpower training, all the developmental programs, our Corps of Engineer projects. This total attack on the economic problems of the area is necessary.

Mr. PERKINS. In your pilot program—I am anxious to know because I know you are doing it maybe on a limited scale—can you now go on private property and do work?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, we are doing it. We are doing these sorts of jobs. We are painting schoolhouses. We are clearing steambeds we hope in two ways. It helps with the flooding situation to a slight degree and it helps the appearance very much in the area. We are improving the appearance of our communities. I think probably the most important thing is working in the strip mine areas, reforestation, conservation work. We are helping on roads damaged by the winter floods. Our problem in eastern Kentucky is being a hilly land. We have 200 employed county workers working on the roads. I know that is true of the other nine counties. They are being very ingenious. They think up new public works projects for these crews all the time that are helpful to us. They keep them busy. We find all the supervisory help we need and people pitching in and lending equipment. It encourages private groups and others to pitch in on these projects, too. If we need a bulldozer, we need a grader, some contractor who has not been busy this winter, this spring, is contributing. The important thing is just attitude and the feeling of

self-respect that these people get by doing something constructive. They know what they are getting, they know what they are being paid for. They are choosing this, even those who might be eligible for some other type of aid. They are choosing this. We are making it a condition although it is not required by the public law, it is authorized by public law. We in Kentucky are making it a condition. There are so many of them. That was the most interesting thing. I came up with the Floyd County attorney and talked to him to see how this program was working. We are finding that the dropout rate has been significantly reduced. These parents are back working. These children sort of lose hope when they know their parents are not working, when they have no income coming in except food stamps and commodities.

Mr. BELL. How many people do you have working under those projects?

Governor BREATHITT. About 1,800. We have nine counties and about 200 people working in each country on the average. That, of course, will go to 120 counties under our total program.

Mr. BELL. It is in just the early stages yet?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes. We are now on a pilot program in nine counties. We started with that so that we could gain experience with the program. We have been real successful. For example, we have a timekeeper assigned to the job. He checks it off just as carefully as if they were working for $2.85 an hour on a highly qualified construction job. They are working and we are really getting results from it.

Mr. BELL. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Governor BREATHITT. And when they are back to work it is a working pool where employers can go to and they can go and ask the fellow on the job, he picks out the best people on the job, he can go right to it. Here is a pool of available employable people and they don't do it on the individual basis. They can go and pick up what they need. That has been another benefit. It is a manpower pool that people go to. And they are beginning to learn some skills. You would be surprised how many skills we have found these people have.

Mr. BELL. You mentioned the automation in the mines. Is that going to make a particular dent in the economy there, do you think?

Governor BREATHITT. It already has. The mines are automated. That is what has caused the real problem in eastern Kentucky in two areas. The deep mines which were the original coal mines were automated. That threw them out of work. Then the strip mines are almost totally automated. You have a big shovel that strips the dirt aside. Then the big auger that goes in the side or big shovel that scoops the coal up. The railroads have built spurs right to the mine and they have loaded right at the mine and they ship it to the system plants. The people who work are highly paid technicians but——

Mr. BELL. The market is sizable enough to help the economy I assume.

Governor BREATHITT. Well, the coal market does help the economy on the contract sales but the base is very narrow now. Instead of being paid to a large number of miners it is coming to the operator and

a few technicians. Of course, that is good that we have that but we are also getting resultant problems through the strip mining, the spoil banks that are left and Kentucky is the major problem in this area along with all Appalachia because we are trying to develop a tourist industry. We find industrial prospects want to go to an area where you have good schools, good roads, and a pleasant place to live. We are attacking those problems and we are beginning to make headway on the investment capital in the area.

Mr. BELL. I understand there is some talk of an Appalachia bill in the House which is coming up which would strike at the whole Appalachia area. I don't know what the wording of the bill will be yet but it seems to me it will probably place the whole Appalachia in a kind of lump. This might involve some bypassing of States and so on and there might be some problems there. Do you see any problems there with such a program as that?

Governor BREATHITT. The two programs complement each other. Human resources is a part of Appalachia. That part of the Appalachian program will be taken out. It will be right in poverty which will be nationwide. It will dovetail together. In fact, they do. The nine-State area which is made up, of course, of Pennsylvania, which has many problems as we do in Kentucky because of the coalfields, all the coal-producing States; West Virginia, which I guess more closely parallels the situation in Kentucky because it has had great problems of lack of communication, highways, lack of development. Alabama has a small area, Georgia has, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, these are the areas. We support very strongly both programs. What you would save out of the total recommendation in Appalachia would go into this program, the economic opportunity program.

They dovetail, they do not conflict or overlap because the poverty program as such deals purely with human resources; Appalachia deals with highways, development of highways in the area which, of course, would be on a matching basis as is the rest of our highway program. It just gives us an additional allocation. We have the report from the Commission here which is the basis for the recommended legislation which is based on the work of our general State commission and the President's Appalachian Regional Commission which was appointed. We thoroughly indorse the report of this Commission and recommend the program that they do, but legislation should be drawn in such a way that there not be any overlap so that we would not have in Appalachia anything that is in this particular piece of the bill but that would be worked together.

Mr. BELL. Governor, I assume you also endorse the title III feature of this bill, too. We had yesterday a gentleman from North Carolina State University who pointed out, that in some cases you could get into a program of augmenting and helping these farms to a point where it actually could be difficult.

You might, for example, take farms in certain areas and give them grants and loans and encourage them, but actually these farms aren't really economically viable. They really can't go ahead and make progress. So, conceivably you could be getting into a problem where you could be helping these farm areas and you could be getting into some kind of multiple problem.

He did suggest that there is a certain group of people who were elderly and perhaps are pretty hard core, they are hard to get out, to move. But he felt in certain cases, particularly the younger people, maybe there should be some encouagement to move them off the farms and to give them some training through this Job Corps or through vocational education, manpower development, and so on, to go to the cities and to be encouraged actually to leave.

Do you see a problem in this area? Then you get to the question, the last question, who is going to decide who leaves and who stays, and so on, and it gets into quite a problem if you start analyzing it under title III.

Governor BREATHITT. Of course, this is a much broader problem that you are talking about now, getting into the whole question of the large corps, rather farm, versus the small family farm. In Kentucky there is bound to be a line that you will have to draw where the farm should not be continued perhaps, but I don't think that we should make that determination arbitrarily in Government.

I think economic conditions will do so. But there is a broad gap, a marginal area, where I think we should maintain the family farm because that family farm and that income is the basis for the economy of that whole area and that region.

We have ares of Kentucky where we don't have the large bluegrass farm or the large western Kentucky farm in tobacco, corn, and livestock, where by modern programs with sufficient help, that this program will give in capital they can become not only submarginal farms, but they can make a decent living for themselves and family. That category of farms, I think, must be preserved.

I think we should have this type of program to help them. I recognize that at the bottom end of the economic scale there are some economic situations, the movement in the whole area of agriculture, they just are going to fall out of the picture.

Mr. BELL. No matter what you do.

Governor BREATHITT. That is right. But there is another category that fits between that and the large highly mechanized farm.

Mr. BELL. I would not consider them.

Governor BREATHITT. In that category this program will be helpful. Our agricultural development commission is taking this on as an area of study in Kentucky. Preliminarily, the members of our commission in considering this title of the act feel it would be helpful. We know an area of Kentucky, not so much in Congressman Perkins' district, but in Congressman Chelf's district and other districts of Kentucky, although there are areas in his, in the outer bluegrass, in the foothills of Kentucky, that he has this problem.

But we get out of his area where this particular title will probably help some of our areas of Kentucky that are real bad. I think it is a good program, properly administered, and then I think it comes to the job of proper administration as to how effective it will be, but I think it will be effective. We are going to help in Kentucky, and I am sure the other States will, too, avail themselves of these programs in seeing that we give them the direction and help in working at the local level through our local council, the council that Mr. Whisman has, and the specialized council in agriculture.

Mr. BELL. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Governor, I have one other question following up Mr. Bell's inquiry. The Farmers Home Administration, it is contemplated, of course, will be consulted and asked to make recommendations in connection with the provisions in the bill to assist farmers insofar as the grant up to $1,500 and loan up to $2,500 is concerned.

Do you feel that the Farmers Home Administration in Kentucky has been doing a wonderful job in administering programs of assistance to the small family farm?

Governor BREATHITT. Oh, yes.

Mr. PERKINS. And are they able to identify this marginal farmer that needs this assistance?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, sir. In fact, in our agricultural development commission we are having study committees or subcommittees, just as you have, we are following the congressional pattern. We are conducting hearings and studies and we are utilizing these Farm Home Administration people in Kentucky to help us develop the plan of State aid.

We are asking their advice and help because they are the best in the business and they have done a fine job in Kentucky. They can administer it. I have no doubt in my mind about their ability to administer.

Mr. PERKINS. They can readily put their fingers on those marginal farmers who need the assistance more?

Governor BREATHITT. That is right.

Mr. PERKINS. Which will enable those farmers to stay on the farm, is that correct?

Governor BREATHITT. Yes, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much, Governor. I again wish to express my regrets that it is late Friday afternoon, when many members of the committee were unable to be present to hear you. I know the members would have been here if you had testified earlier in the week or this morning and those of us who were privileged to hear you have been impressed.

Governor BREATHITT. I am sorry I could not be here earlier.

Mr. PERKINS. Your testimony has been very helpful to the committee. I think I can speak for all the committee that we appreciate your being here. I know I appreciate your being here.

Governor BREATHITT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. When we adjourn today, we will reconvene on Monday morning, April 20, at 9 a.m. Our first witness will be Reuben Johnson, of the National Farmers Union, followed by Hershel Newsom, master of the National Grange, and Lou Schneider, American Friends Service, and Mrs. Dexter Arnold, president of the American Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mr. Richard Schifter, Association on American Indian Affairs, and Mr. E. B. Whitten, executive secretary, National Rehabilitation Association.

The committee will adjourn until Monday at 9 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p.m., the subcommittee recessed until Monday, April 20, 1964, at 9 a.m.)

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

MONDAY, APRIL 20, 1964

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The ad hoc subcommittee met at 9:30 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 429, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins presiding.

Present: Representatives Perkins, Green, Holland, Dent, Griffin, Quie, and Goodell.

Also present: Representatives Hawkins, Gibbons, and Bell.

Staff members present: Dr. Deborah Wolfe, education chief; Leon Abramson, chief for labor-management; Charles Radcliffe, minority counsel for education.

Mr. PERKINS. The committee will come to order. A quorum is present.

Come around, Mr. Johnson.

We have with us this morning Mr. Reuben Johnson, the director of legislative service of the National Farmers Union.

We are delighted to have you with us, Mr. Johnson. I know that you have appeared before this committee on several occasions in the past, particularly in behalf of Federal aid to education. I notice you have a prepared statement. Now do you wish to file your statement and summarize it, Mr. Johnson?

STATEMENT OF REUBEN JOHNSON, DIRECTOR OF LEGISLATIVE SERVICE, NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, last Monday, April 13, I filed Mr. Patton's statement with the committee. It is in the record, but I would like this morning, with your permission, very briefly to augment that statement with a further statement directly related to title III of the bill.

Mr. PERKINS. Proceed.

Mr. JOHNSON. As far as we who represent farm families are concerned, we look upon the entire program as would be authorized under and administered under this bill as being of benefit to farm families. Children from farm areas, young people, will benefit as well as urban youth from programs of work-training and work-study, and possibly even under the Job Corps section of title I.

The group I would like to direct my comment to for just a minute this morning is the so-called group that is not going anywhere. They are stagnant; most of them are aged people. They own small farms.

They do not have skills which enable them to get jobs in cities and, further, would be very difficult to train; to get them to move from the point where they are now, both in the context of geography as well as society.

This is the group that title III would attempt to aid through a direct grant program.

Mr. Chairman, I think this program is probably one of the most vital in the entire bill, because the people it will help are the most difficult to reach. About a million and a half of these farm families presently live at the poverty level in rural America. Of this number, some of the younger and better educated have found an opportunity away from these areas, but there are still about 1.3 million young people who are caught in this situation.

If these families can raise their income by just merely a modest amount, they can increase their level of living standards significantly, we believe. If a family, for example, with an income of $700 a year can increase its income to $1,500 a year—you can see just what a dramatic impact this would have in terms of living standards.

Of course, Mr. Chairman, in rural America we believe that we have been subjected to an outflow of capital for generations. We not only have moved raw materials to the cities to help build cities, but we have moved our most valuable resource in this country, our human resource. If you add up all of the dollars represented by this movement of human resource, it would be a fantastic figure. In fact, the NEA did put together figures showing that the drain on rural areas—and this seems really preposterous—is about $500 billion over about a 30-year period in the history of this country.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, to get some capital back in rural America seems to be one of the things we need most. All farm families need capital. Modern farming requires capital. But the group that is poverty stricken could certainly be helped if capital is put where they are—particularly if we could call on an agency like the Farmers Home Administration to supervise the use of that capital.

Somewhere along the way the Farmers Home Administration started making harder loans. Back in the old farm security days, they made some loans they figured out would be repayable, although there were some thin lines of determination. Today, the Farmers Home Administration is recovering about 99 percent of the money that it lends. I would call this, by any measurement, a hard-loan program. Therefore, what does an FHA county supervisor do when he meets a family that wants to borrow $500 to try to get into the farming business; to buy seed, fertilizers, and so forth, when he discovers that not by the wildest stretch of imagination is this a family that can repay the loan? Here is a program that can augment a Farmers Home Administration program already in effect, and provide some help to these people who, as I have said, are not going anywhere.

I should like, also, to say that I look upon this grant program as providing the basis for further progress in farming for these families. If it was apparent, for example, that a young member of a family could help in the farming operations, the Farmers Home Administration could augment a grant by a so-called hard loan, such as they are making now, as the family progressed. So here is the beginning of an operation that will help rural families faced with

despair and defeat to move out and develop a farming operation that would enable them to live on the farm in decency.

Mr. Chairman, a lot of people like the Committee for Economic Development apparently believe that the solution of this problem is to get people off the farm. I would like to point out here that, while this may appear to afford a simple solution to this problem of poverty in rural America, it is not a simple solution, for this reason. The costs of programs to maintain these families in the city are far greater than if they remain on the farm. They will be able to live decently under a good farm program with adequate loans, and grants such as title III would provide. If the family moves to town and can't earn a living they are on welfare; and, as we all know, welfare costs have been increasing about a billion dollars every 3 years. The total cost is up over $4 billion total now. If the family is on welfare, they more than likely are going to live in a federally subsidized housing project. The money that goes to help build sewage facilities is a part of this cost. Furthermore, as these people leave rural America you are drying up the opportunity for main street business in rural America. Therefore, it seems to me to be the most prudent course of action to try to develop programs that will give people an opportunity to develop themselves, to maintain themselves under decent standards in rural America.

We believe that title III would be a big asset in this effort.

Title III would authorize a corporation through which large tracts of land could be bought. In many areas there are large land holdings that could be broken up. The Government does not break it up under this provision—that ought to be made clear, farm families who want to farm additional land are enabled to establish a corporation to buy and hold available land until it can be broken up. We think this section 303 of title I is also a very important part of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, that is all I have to say. I will be happy to respond to questions.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Johnson, I appreciate your statement this morning. I share your view all the way. In fact, I have personally witnessed the operation of the Farmers Home Administration under the Department of Agriculture down in east Kentucky, which borders right on the point you have testified about here this morning. Many grants were made in eastern Kentucky during the past year to needy farmers much in the same manner as title III would operate. We should do something to assist these people who cannot for a number of reasons leave the farm.

If we can give some assistance to enable those people on the farm where retraining is not appropriate, to make a decent living, it certainly would be the least that should be done. I agree with your viewpoint.

Mr. Holland, do you have any questions?

Mr. HOLLAND. I was much interested in your statement about keeping people on the farm, because the conditions that exist, as you point out to us, are exactly the same in Pittsburgh. We have that trouble there. Some have been taken away from the farm. Eventually, they go on relief and there they stay. I think your ideas coincide with mine; that we should let them stay on the farm and help prepare them to secure an income, to create an income. Today it is just a case of

moving one person from the farm to the city and he is just moving from one depressed area to similar conditions in other surroundings.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to say, further, that these rural families are not as far beyond help as you might imagine. If we use supervised credit of the Farmers Home Administration, if the county supervisors will work together with the teachers of vocational education, to set up special classes for these people, involving all the agencies, here is where the community cooperation of this program can be effectively used.

These people can become skilled in agricultural pursuits. It is just a matter of being capitalized, and with a little assistance in bookkeeping and planning that the Farmers Home Administration has been doing very effectively all these years in connection with its lending program.

Mr. HOLLAND. I agree with you 100 percent. I think you have made a very fine presentation.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Johnson, do you envision this program in title III as just affecting the older farmer, the one who is perhaps on a subsistence level but yet not quite too old to work; too old to retrain, to move off into some other area?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I think if I were administering the program I would give priority to this type of operator under the program. But in many areas we have young families struggling to try to get started in the farming business, who have young families. It has always been a kind of strange thing to me to see these young families on farms—during the period when they needed a dishwasher or a washing machine most they didn't have them. They rear all their children, and most of them raised big families, then you begin to see a washing machine once in a while. These young families in many areas also have the same problem of not having sufficient capital.

I don't know whether you could say that the needs of one of these groups is more important than the needs of the other. They have the same basic problem, regardless of age. I don't think it is a matter of just aged people in rural America in the context of the need for this program, there are many young people and there may be some in between these groups that need help.

I think they can be identified rather easily. In other words, you don't have to go through a lot of rigmarole to try to find out where and who they are. You ride through the country or walk in the yard and see where and who they are. You know where they are and who they are when you see them and the conditions under which they live. So I don't visualize that administering the program and identifying the families that have needs for these grants and loans is difficult to work out. On the other hand, it is a very simple matter.

Mr. GIBBONS. Would these people be farming primarily to keep themselves off relief; in other words, to provide the food that they need there on the farm, or would they be farming primarily to produce cash crops to go into commercial channels?

Mr. JOHNSON. I happen to come out of the "hill country" myself. The people who live in these communities are the proudest people in

the world. Their word is as good as a written piece of paper. They do not want to accept relief if they can help it. They would like to have a little money and most of them, when they go out to plant in the spring, visualize having a little cash left over after expenses are paid. They are indeed fortunate if they produce the food needed to stay off relief.

I often wondered why there could not be developed a different kind of psychology among these people. Needy families in town have to take relief, if they are to breath and live. But if they have a piece of land, a hoe and a seed, and they live on the farm, they will work. This is one main fact about people who will benefit from title III that justifies the kind of program envisioned. When we have these kind of people in rural areas, the sensible thing to do is to give them some seed, some fertilizer, and give them the capital they need to make a decent living.

If you have to augment this with a grant, let us do it right there and keep these people, keep rural America strong. This group has been the backbone in our country in an earlier day. They have sent some of the best people to town to work. Not all that left these areas are on relief, by any stretch of the imagination. They are worthy of our help; they are worthy of the help of this Nation.

Mr. GIBBONS. Isn't there a possibility, then, that this program may prevent an early solution to a long-term problem that we have here in America; some land that is not fit to farm because of its terrain and because of its physical makeup?

Mr. JOHNSON. In past years we have seen people leave this kind of area. Actually, you know, we have had to give them some type of help to move them out of these areas. When the area west of here that makes up what they call the Skyline Drive area, when it was developed into a park area, you almost had to bulldoze some of those people out of the mountain homes and communities in that area. They did not want to leave, but they had to leave because it was just impossible to make a living there.

I think for the most part people have moved from this type of farming community. It may be that under the provision of this bill to provide some incentive for industry to move into any areas remaining, a further solution to the problem can be found. In other words, you don't try to make a family wholly dependent on income from a farm operation, but provide him with some assistance to do a subsistence-type farming and a job. In fact, that is the way many of these people in these areas today survive. They farm part time and they work off the farm part time.

Mr. GIBBONS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. And further questions, Mr. Gibbons?

Thank you very much.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Herschel Newsom is the next witness. Is Mr. Graham representing Mr. Newsom of the National Grange?

We are delighted to have you with us this morning, Mr. Graham. Proceed.

STATEMENT OF HARRY L. GRAHAM, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE MASTER OF THE NATIONAL GRANGE

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, may I express the appreciation of the National Grange for the opportunity of discussing with you for a little while this morning this extremely important and far-reaching legislation which has been proposed to meet the needs of one of the most pressing problems that faces America today, not only in terms of her inward problems but in terms, also, of her relationships to the peoples around the world.

May I express the regrets of the national master that he could not be here? It is just one of those situations where on man can't be in two places at the same time. It is not because of a lack of interest in this program that he sent me. He asked me to assure you that one of the reasons he sent me is because he was interested in the program and you can judge his decision when I am done with the testimony.

We, like Mr. Johnson, distributed copies of our testimony a week ago and copies again are placed at the desks of all of the members of the committee. I do not think it would be the wisest use of your time for me to try to read this whole statement.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, your statement as prepared will be inserted in the record at this point. You go ahead and summarize it.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT BY HERSCHEL D. NEWSOM, MASTER OF THE NATIONAL GRANGE

On December 4, 1867, the National Grange was formed here in the Nation's Capital. In 1967 we shall return to the Nation's Capital for our 100th anniversary celebration and convention. During these intervening years, the National Grange has written a record of which we are proud. Most of that record has been in direct relationship to the problems which this distinguished committee is considering today. Our founders recognized that if they were to carry out their stated objectives of "educating and elevating the American farmer," it was necessary to improve his income and to sustain his purchasing power if the citizens of rural America, who were proportionately greater in number then than now, were to have a reasonable share of the fruits of their labors and the abundance of the American way of life.

We have been coming to this Congress now for almost a century, asking for laws to provide the basis for improving the income of farm people. For many years the Granger laws took the form of Government regulation and restraint upon those who would concentrate the monopolies of their wealth in order to control markets—who would reduce or eliminate competition—and thus deny to the farmer, in his wide and diverse private enterprise structure, a reasonable return for his production of new wealth, a return that would give him purchasing power sufficient to eliminate the poverty which had reduced, or sometimes destroyed, his opportunity for improvement in accord with his productive output—his contribution to the general welfare. When our cause was just, and we think it usually was; when our suggestions were reasonable, and we have tried to keep them so; when our interest rose above sectionalism, and we have tried to keep national welfare paramount in our thinking; the Congress has heard our cry and often has taken action to expand opportunity and extend the individual enterprise structure and its benefits to increasing numbers of people and of families.

History clearly records that it was the Granger movement that induced the Congress of the United States to rescue our rural areas from a direction that was clearly establishing itself prior to the influence of the Granger movement itself. That direction was one of complete dependence or materialistic concepts that had, in other parts of the world, generated a type of capitalism which, during the past century, has proven to be so vulnerable to socialism

or Communist concepts. We take great pride, therefore, in the influence of the Grange in avoiding the extreme socialistic concept that in that period threatened the very foundations upon which American agriculture and rural society has been built.

It seems no exaggeration, even for us to say today that the so-called Granger laws charted the course and established the direction of our own American-type modified capitalism, embracing reasonable regulation under law; but resulting in a system which has afforded opportunities under a widely diverse individual enterprise structure which, in turn, has made the United States the envy of the world.

It seems appropriate to consider this chapter in American history as we come before this committee in support of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Our American system has clearly been a land in which there is not only the highest per capital income in the world but we have the widest distribution of wealth because of the very wide provision for opportunities. Even though, however, most of our people today have standards of education, nutrition, health, recreation, and so forth, greater than those that could have been enjoyed by the privileged few no more than a century ago; and even though we have the highest standard of living—the greatest abundance of high-quality food, and at very low cost, the world has ever seen; and a relatively high level of prosperity and well-being for the vast majority of Americans, there are a great many people to whom opportunity has not effectively come, and for whom destitution and poverty seem inescapable from their own point of view. We shall leave the matter of urban problems to other witnesses before this committee.

Since the beginning of World War I, American farmers have not had an income level which meets the definition of "parity" or "equity" a single time except during periods when the United States was at war. Even today, the general income level of American farmers is considerably lower than that of nonrural Americans. This insufficient farmer-purchasing power, in terms of a direct relationship to the costs of production and cost of living of the American farmers, continues to be a basic cause of rural poverty. We are very grateful to this Congress and to all its Members who have intelligently come to grips with some portions of this problem. We hasten, however, to point out that more needs to be done with direct relation to farm income.

Quite beyond and in addition to the problems dealing strictly with farm income, however, we must clearly define the additional problems demanding a reasonable solution if we are to avoid seeing these rural areas become increasingly a spawning ground, not only for social and economic problems of agriculture, but also for our urban centers to which the economically depressed and dispossessed of our agricultural and rural areas have been forced to turn as they seek refuge from their unfortunate circumstances. It is no secret that much of the unrest and need in our urban centers is simply a result of our having transferred victims of rural poverty to the cities without consideration as to the skills, education, and ability to make a living in an economic and social situation that is vastly different from that which they have known most of their lives.

It seems clear to us that we have both a moral and social responsibility to consider any reasonable program that increases or improves the prospect of providing reasonable opportunity for vast numbers of these Americans—opportunities which might readily be developed under some such program as the President has obviously envisioned in his message as to a war on poverty. In fact, the grange has been concerned with this sort of community service program for many years under a nationwide effort of our subordinate granges. In the past decade and a half we have enjoyed the cooperation and financial support in this nationwide community service program as on the the great benevolent foundations which are a product of our American corporate structure; namely, the Sears, Roebuck Foundation—which program we have recently rechristened as the community progress program for service, improvement, and development in grange communities across America.

We have been much concerned with many great areas—especially those in Appalachia, as well as those in smaller concentrations in other parts of the country—where the victims do not often migrate; but where, in fact, it seems more accurate to say they tend to stagnate. Poverty, self-denial, illiteracy, hunger, poor health, early marriage, early death, and despair have become a way of life in far too many of these areas.

I would be much more proud of the grange and of our whole American network of voluntary organizations if I were able to come before this committee with any measure of assurance that Americans and their own organizational structure are both willing and prepared to meet this problem without Government help of interference. Unfortunately, the record clearly establishes the fact that these problems are beyond the current capacity of relief agencies and service organizations, commendable as we think our own and many other efforts in this direction have been.

The resources required to meet this problem in terms of the amazing increase in agricultural efficiency—which obviously tends to add to the unemployment figure and increase the number of victims of such increased efficiency, added, of course, to the technological revolution in the nonagricultural segments of society—appear to be beyond the available resources of either the areas in which these problems are located, or of the organizational and voluntary private agencies there.

Because, however, the existence of these problems is so real, it seems that all must agree that neither Americans, nor America collectively, have any moral right to close their eyes and pretend that they are not there, nor will any reasonable social conscience permit us to ignore these problems by reason of some real or presumed danger in calling upon Government to design a comprehensive and well-organized program to deal with these problems. We must, on the contrary, recognize that in these circumstances we must turn to Government, not with fear and reservation, but rather with confidence and determination that we will not willingly permit abdication of our own responsibilities as individual Americans, and that we will likewise avoid neglect of our organizational responsibilities in connection with this problem. To turn to Government with the erroneous conclusion that we are relieved of all responsibility for this problem is the real danger.

On the contrary, we must make up our mind that we will welcome a partnership program with our Government to meet these problems. Any other course will invite danger—not by reason of government itself, but by reason of our own failure to accept responsibility not alone for the problems, but for Government action, influence, and guidance of such action. Having thus reached the determination to accept our responsibility, work with and influence our own Government in this field, we will be able to make certain that Government continues to be an arm of the people to enable us collectively to accomplish that which we cannot do individually. The grange accepts this responsibility.

We heartily agree with the finding and endorse the declaration of purpose of H.R. 104440.

"Although the economic well-being and prosperity of the United States have progressed to a level surpassing any achieved in world history, and although these benefits are widely shared throughout the Nation, poverty continues to be the lot of a substantial number of our people. The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the working of our society. It is therefore the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training; the opportunity to work; and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. It is the purpose of this act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy."

The grange, therefore, supports the objectives of this bill as being well within our purposes and ideals for the United States and for American people.

We recognize the need for jobs for those who are no longer interested in school and are too young to enter into the full-time labor force. The Job Corps proposal meets with our qualified approval. We wish we were able to suggest a better approach to the problem of youth programs for those who need such programs but being unable to offer a better answer to this problem at the moment, we support the provisions of title I as being reasonable in their attempt to deal with a problem which America must confront and, which, unfortunately, is not being adequately dealt with at the moment. The value of work-training programs and work-study programs has been demonstrated by similar programs in the past and is worthy of support.

We would like to distribute to the members of this committee a booklet entitled "Success Unlimited," which describes our community service program since 1947, to which we referred above. This is by way of saying that we have

long and continuing interest in this area of better communities and improved opportunities for rural Americans. We believe the provisions of this bill are not only consistent with, but are reasonable and proper expansion of the more desirable aspects of the area redevelopment program and the rural areas development programs of the past few years; which programs we have supported and will continue to support.

Under title III, providing special programs to combat poverty in rural areas, we have no substantive change to offer to the committee, but would like to record the opinion that the grant program invites or magnifies the dangers and opportunities for the sort of abuse that may decrease individual responsibility acceptance rather than stimulate incentive and initiative, and this grant program should, therefore, be provided only in very extreme cases, if at all. In making this statement, we recognize that there are instances where grants are the only practical way of relieving some situations and are, therefore, much less expensive than extraordinarily liberal credit.

The language of section 302 seems reasonably adequate. However, to insure initial and substantial reliance on loans of a very liberal sort rather than to resort to grants except in extreme cases, we would suggest that the committee might consider a way of reporting this measure to the House which would add increased emphasis on the importance of having such a program administered with extreme caution or reluctance, to use grants only "if the family is not qualified to obtain such funds by loan under other Federal programs"—which, in turn, implies that credits not available on one hand, but that the requirements under this act are such that the grant may be appropriate in combination with, or as a supplement to, other available funds. Clearly, the constant and continuing purpose of administration of this act is to develop responsibility along with opportunity. Without the development of such responsibility and without continuing and adequate regard for the maintenance and improvement of self-respect and individual dignity on the part of the participant, the program cannot serve the purposes outlined in the declaration.

Section 303 of title III appears simply to make available to rural people some of the facilities of Government that have already been available to urban people in meeting the economic problems of similar nature. We would approve this section in general—certainly of its apparent purpose. It appears that the safeguards provided against abuse are adequate. We hope, however, to be able to give further study to the possibility that these provisions might be improved without destroying the intent and purpose for which they were obviously drawn. We offer to hold ourselves in readiness for further consultation with the committee or staff, and we would hope that for a reasonable period of time, we might reserve the opportunity of making further recommendations, as the committee considers this measure.

The program seems clearly to us to offer both practical and effective possibilities of coordinating public agencies in the service of well-designed private programs, such as our own mentioned above. It likewise seems clear that there is a possibility of utilization of public agencies in support of private and non-Government organization programs and efforts to improve communities and broaden opportunities. We wholeheartedly support this philosophy of seeking to intelligently bring resources of Government, local communities, individuals, and organizations into effective and mutually beneficial relationships for the purposes embraced within the declaration of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and we pledge the best efforts of the Grange to a continuing effort in community progress through service, improvement, and development, toward improved opportunities, and a better and fuller way of life. It is our hope and belief that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 can and must be made to enhance and increase the value of our efforts and all similarly motivated organizations and individuals.

Mr. GRAHAM. I would just like to point out what, in our judgment, are some of the more pertinent problems and the answers which this legislation suggests.

I would tell you, first of all, that we have no fear of Government at this point. The National Grange probably did more than any other organization in the history of the Nation to put Government in its proper relationship with business in our Nation and in the Grange legislation many years ago. Because we have been in business almost

a hundred years, we properly identify, I think, the relationship of the Government to the economic life of America. And we believe that it has been due to this relationship more than anything else that America has avoided the extremes of capitalism which has made it vulnerable to communism in other sections of the world.

Although we do not believe that all the answers to all of our problems must necessarily come from Government, we believe there are some answers to some problems that cannot come from anywhere else. We try to distinguish between the two.

It is the feeling of the Grange that this Economic Opportunity Act is probably the first time when we have taken a broad enough look at the whole problem of American poverty. This is a seamy side of our life that we have been reluctant to discuss. We have not been very happy about having to wash what appears to be a kind of dirty linen in public, yet we cannot avoid the responsibility of looking at the problems of our American life, and looking at them as objectively as possible.

We have supported the legislation such as area development, rural areas development, and all this other legislation in this general area to try to help solve some of these problems. But the problems cannot be solved quite this easily. I would point out for you that there are three types of poverty, in our judgment, which we have to deal with in our American life.

One of them is that which is incurable, the result of illness, disease, mental and physical, the problem of relief recipients of any country. We have made provision for those in our relief rolls. The others are the unfortunate. If you will pardon the personal reference, I remember this in my youth, when my own father was caught in the depression and lost his farm. We were impoverished, but we did not belong to the poverty group, and it wasn't too long before we began to work ourselves out of it.

This group, I think, today could be helped by both title III and to some extent by the programs that would help in retraining and relocation with new job opportunities.

There is another group which I would call those who are unnecessarily impoverished, who have been denied by circumstances far beyond their control the opportunity to get education, the opportunity to have capital background, the opportunity to take advantage of the general blessings of our American life. I think this legislation moves toward the answering of some of these problems. As it moves in those directions, it certainly has the unqualified support of the National Grange.

We think these problems are partly historical, in that this poverty to some extent is always with us, as our Lord said. But by the same token we do not believe that He intended that, because they are always with us, that we should sit complacently by and watch them suffer. We believe that this is probably the first time in history that a major nation, with the exception of the Socialists who have their own approaches to this—but certainly within a free society, when a great nation has made a studied attempt to come to grips with the pressing, eternal, historical problem of poverty.

The American people, I think, should be grateful to the leadership which has been given to bring this legislation properly before us.

This is partly sociological in terms of the problems that evolve from it. Many things happen as a result of poverty. And they are a blight on our Nation and hang like a heavy cross on our consciences. When people are not given the opportunity to make a living and they resort to some of the things that they do in order to subsist, this is inexcusable to us. Many times the social problems cause a mass migration, a dislocation of relationships that make it much easier for a person away from home to violate the accepted codes of conduct than it would be if they were at home.

As Mr. Johnson pointed out, these proud mountain people don't like relief. In the city, they are more ready to accept it because they do not have to carry the burden of disapproval of their mores through all these years that is present when they move from being self-sufficient over into relief rolls. This is a terrible experience for them. I am glad it is. I think this is a hopeful sign that people don't want to go this route any more than possible.

The thing that worries us, also, is the depressing effect that this kind of situation has on our total economy. People with productive capacity that are denied, through lack of training or various other causes, the right to make their contribution to American life certainly are no asset to us, and in many instances they are a liability. They are the ones who hang like a millstone about our whole economic life. This is true, not only of agriculture, but it is true of the rural nonfarm population where there is poverty.

In our judgment, nothing would contribute more to the economic stability of American life than to give these people an opportunity to develop a purchasing power that would enable them to share the good things of American life.

Last of all, let me say that I think that the political implications of this bill are much more far reaching than they have been given credit for. It is a historical fact that communism has never developed in an area that does not have a great deal of poverty. It develops around the shirtless ones or the unwashed ones, or whatever you want to call them, whether in Cuba or wherever it is. I think it is a tribute to the American people that many of these people who have been impoverished have not turned to communism. But by the same token the Communists have made this a point of reproach for us, and they do not, in their propaganda concerning America, talk about the widespread benefits of our society where we have the highest standards of living for most of our people of any nation in the history of the world. They point to the people, rather, who are living at subsistence levels or lower and these people then in turn, their whole situation becomes a millstone, hanging around the political neck of America.

We must, I think, in order not only to survive as this kind of government, but in order to survive as a government of respectability in terms of the nations of the world, be able to point to our impoverished people and say we have, to the best of the ability of the American people, relieved our people of need.

This bill points us in that general direction.

I would make two comments about the sections of the bill: One is about title II. Let me go back to title II and say that in our concept this community development concept must be developed even further than it is in ARD and Area Redevelopment Act. We have had

some experience with this in the National Grange, and we have distributed copies of this book "Success Unlimited" for the members of the committee.

During the last 10 years, the National Grange, in cooperation with the Sears-Roebuck Foundation has distributed prize money for community service projects to the amount of one million and a half dollars. The best of our information is that we have generated in rural communities a capital investment of 10 times that amount, a billion and a half dollars. We are proud of this. But we do not believe we can solve this problem this way. We can solve part of it, but the problem is too big for us or any other private charity or philanthropic group to solve.

In terms of title III in the grants, it was the feeling of the Executive Committee of the National Grange that as far as possible this type of assistance should be given in a loan instead of a grant, recognizing that there are times when grants are the only way, the only practical way out; but in general we believe that the interests of the recipient would be better served if long-term, nonrecourse loans that could be written off, but which at the time they were made and as long as possible would give the person who received them an opportunity to repay them, maintaining this self-respect. We believe this would be a better way when possible.

That means that the Farmers Home Administration lending programs would have to be broadened. It would mean that, in our judgment, Congress would have to approve funds, to appropriate funds for the writeoff of some of this type of loan. But as far as possible, we would prefer going that direction without at the same time, as I mentioned, objecting in toto to the grants part of this bill.

Over in the last section, section 303, which deals with the land reform, we recognize that probably this is the only way that we are going to get some of this land out of the large land holdings back into the family owner-operator farm situation. It is unfortunate that sometimes this extra outside money that is involved in agriculture expansion or in the concentration of agricultural production in large units and is done through the capital gains advantages of our tax laws, have simply built up economic units that are so large that no family farmer, no owner-operator could, under any stretch of the imagination, ever be able to buy that unit.

There is not that much credit available anywhere from any source to purchase that kind of land. Now our hesitancy at this point is, we think we should take a good long, hard look at this one, that this does not become a land reform program in disguise. By that I mean that we do not yet, it seems to us, have sufficiently established a policy concerning land reform to embark too far on this without establishing policy.

Now the example that I want to use is this. If there is a large holding of land under corporate ownership, who is to judge whether or not the Federal Government should acquire that land and redistribute it? This is a very serious question. Now if the land comes on the market, this becomes an entirely different thing. If the land is on the market to settle an estate, or something of that kind, then I think the Federal Government, through this kind of program, should probably move into this situation and try to reestablish the type of agricultural program which has been the American pattern.

But I think we must draw a pretty fine line there about which direction we are going, and when and why we are to go these directions. I think we should point out that this is not going to be a very easy problem to solve, because in many instances the farm buildings of the land that has been joined to other lands, other farms, to make this large unit, the farm buildings have been destroyed. They are no longer in existence. And the buildings are so extremely expensive today. I worked as a real estate appraiser long enough to know that if a barn burns in a great many areas, especially in New York where I worked, you are much wiser to buy an old farm, because you can buy the farm cheaper than you can build a new barn.

These are economic problems we should be careful about getting into, unless we are willing to pay the economic price to do this. Perhaps we are going to have to do this in terms of land reform. I don't think we know whether we are going to have to do that or not, but this is an extremely important problem that we can't avoid facing. Perhaps this is the answer. I think on a limited basis we ought to try to see what will happen in this area by some kind of Government program. I think we would be reluctant to make this Government policy at this point, that is, an overall policy.

I think with that much longer statement than I had anticipated giving, this completes my statement.

Mr. PERKINS. This legislation leaves it optional with the corporation if they desire to sell to another corporation which wants to sell land to the small individual farmer. There is nothing here that spells out any compulsion.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is the way we interpret it. We would hope that the Congress would so interpret it, too.

Mr. PERKINS. I appreciate your comments on title III. If I understood you correctly, you feel that we should start out on a loan basis to the little farmer who has his problems, instead of giving a grant, even though it may turn out in the end that we may have to write the loan off.

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes; in general. The little farmer or the big farmer, this is a deeply involved social problem, as you well recognize. Members of this committee, I think, are probably more familiar with the complexities with these social problems than, perhaps, any other committee of either House, so I am not telling you anything except for the record saying that if it is a young farmer who has not even the beginning capital for a down payment, the $1,000 that he needs, even to qualify for the loans under the FHA, then I think if we are intending to develop a situation in which this farmer becomes self-supporting, that we should probably go the loan direction. Because, always, this other is something that hangs over his head. If he becomes self-supporting, if these loan terms are sufficiently broad, I think he can handle that all right.

Mr. PERKINS. Let us assume we have a little farmer who has an income of $1,500 and has indebtedness on his farm, say, $1,500; and the outlook in the future is that he may suffer foreclosure and will lose that farm unless he receives some Government assistance. Now in a situation of that type you would not see anything wrong with making a small grant available, where the representatives of the Farmers Home Administration recommend it and reported in all

probability it would let him get back on his feet and enable that type of individual to stay on the farm?

Mr. GRAHAM. This is why we have said that we do not oppose grants in some situations. We prefer the other, if it is possible. There are times when it is not practical to do it. Then we would go the grant way. We would have no objection to that.

Mr. PERKINS. The situation of the type I have mentioned would be the instance where a grant would be most likely.

Mr. GRAHAM. I should think that if a young man was trying to get possession of a good operating farm, one that is valued at $25,000 instead of $1,500, and he needed a thousand dollars for a downpayment, in this instance it probably should be done in terms of a long-term loan.

Mr. PERKINS. I agree with you.

Mr. GRAHAM. On the other hand, if you get these older people who are simply trying to subsist on the land because they are too old to retrain or they are too old to at least want to be retrained—the old saying is that the old dog does not learn as well as the young one—the only reason for it is that the old dog does not want to; he can learn all right. Some of these people can be retrained; some of them don't want to be. Their roots are deep in these communities. Their children live there.

Mr. PERKINS. You agree we should help this type of farmer make a go of it on the farm if he can?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes.

Mr. PERKINS. He only knows farming, he does not know anything else.

Mr. GRAHAM. He only knows that community, too. We had better leave him there and support him someway there in a degree of happiness than to move him off, in any retirement, in these retirement villages which are not the best thing for these people.

Mr. PERKINS. That is one of the chief purposes of title III.

Mr. GRAHAM. At this point, I think we have no choice except to do it that way, no practical choice.

Mr. PERKINS. Mrs. Green.

Mrs. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am sorry I was not here for your full statement. May I say that what I did hear of it is such a welcome change, in its constructive aspects, from the statement made by one of the other national farm organizations a week or so ago. I also appreciate a witness who proposes specific changes that he thinks will improve it.

Under title III, regarding the grants to farmers, I find myself in agreement with you that a loan would be preferable.

I would also say that from the political standpoint we would have an easier time of getting it through the Congress on a loan basis than on a grant basis. But you suggest that the grant may be appropriate in very extreme cases. How would you write that language?

Mr. GRAHAM. That is a good question, Mrs. Green, and you put your finger on the problem. The only way I could say, and I am not prepared to write that language, I am sorry I am not, I think we could give you some staff assistance at that point, and I would prefer that Joe Parker help with language rather than me because this is an area with which Joe is considerably more familiar. But I think we have

simply got to write our language broad enough that there must be room for judgment on the part of the administrative agencies. I don't know how we can get around judgment in the final analysis.

My only designation is this. If it is to be especially young people who are trying to get into really a productive farm that it ought to be the loan. If it is an attempt to keep people on the land in their homes, to enable them to live there at above poverty levels, and there is no justification in terms of the long-term repayability of a man 60 years old, for instance—how can he repay the long term? The changes are almost nil. It should go the way of the grant. I think the possibility of repayability should be the determining factor.

Mrs. GREEN. You mean that if he could repay the amount, we would give him a loan; if he could not possibly repay it, we should give him a grant?

Mr. GRAHAM. I did not mean it quite the way it sounded like when it came back from you.

Mrs. GREEN. I am sorry. I do not mean to put words in your mouth.

Mr. GRAHAM. I know you didn't, but that is probably what I said. Yet, when you said it back to me, that did not quite sound like how I wanted to say it.

Mrs. GREEN. Then you say it, please.

Mr. GRAHAM. I don't know if I can. I think we have to find a way of differentiating between the possibility of repayability—if we are going to get somebody up simply a little above subsistence levels, I don't think we can possibly expect them to repay.

If we are going to try to assist him in becoming a really efficient, full-time farmer, who has an income of $25,000 a year to $35,000 or $40,000 a year in terms of net income, I think we ought to expect that to be repaid and perhaps that is the purpose of the loan, the purpose of the use.

Mr. PERKINS. In that instance, we should expect repayment?

Mr. GRAHAM. Certainly.

Mr. QUIE. You did not mean net income, did you?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. $25,000 to $35,000 net income?

Mr. GRAHAM. Well, I recognize that is a low point, as you well recognize, too. It is according to where you are and where you are farming, as you well know.

Mr. QUIE. Maybe I did not understand; $25,000 to $35,000 net income? That is pretty good.

Mr. PERKINS. This bill is not addressed to that type of income.

Mr. GRAHAM. I think the Congressman was exactly right and perhaps he got my point more nearly than I thought you would. I think we ought to aim at that kind of farmer in the future if we are going to help these young men go into agriculture as full-time farmers. We ought to aim at a direction where they can live with some decency and have at least a fair share of the good things of American life; $25,000—I did not mean net—I meant gross.

Mr. QUIE. I thought you meant gross income. We should be aiming toward a $25,000 to $35,000 gross income?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes. You would agree that this is about as low as we can aim in gross. Net, I wish we could aim in that direction of income for agriculture, but I don't see how it will be possible to do it under this legislation.

Mr. QUIE. Or any other.

Mrs. GREEN. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Quie.

Mr. QUIE. Go ahead. Mr. Bell was here before I was. I would just as soon defer to him.

Mr. PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Graham, are you familiar with the programs we have had in the past where there have been some grants to farmers available for assistance?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. Could you make any comments on how they have operated and the reluctance to use them?

Mr. GRAHAM. I could, but I would answer the Congressman saying that these were used at a time when our economic situation was so completely abnormal that the comparison between that time and the present time was a bit difficult to make and do it with good judgment.

The other thing is that some of this information is rather old and what the results then were and what they would be today might not be the same.

What I am talking about is more in general. I would answer you by saying this, that in some of the experiences that I have had where I had opportunity to dispense money to needy people, and I think this is generally true of relief groups, that they find that it is more desirable, if possible, to be helping them than to be giving to them. The net result is better. I think this is pretty generally recognized by social workers everywhere although this does not say that we should not give them money in some instances.

Mr. QUIE. I think you are right, helping them to help themselves is better than an outright grant.

Right now, the Farmers Home Administration can make loans to farmers but they have chosen to give the loans only to those who are at a pretty high level, just below the level of credit rating where they can get loans from private sources, Federal land bank or PCA, and just below the Farmers Home Administration. The ones who have less of a credit rating they have chosen not to make the loans to. Part of this is due to the decision of the farmers who pass on the loans, looking at their neighbors and deciding on which ones are actually good risks even though they do not have a good credit backing.

How do you think their minds can be changed or their concept changed in a program of this kind? What you are doing will reach a little bit deeper into this kind of program.

Mr. GRAHAM. This is one of the things that concerns us, to some extent the original purpose of the Farmers Home Administration seems to have been lost in administration at the level that you are pointing to, and that the original purpose of the Farmers Home Administration to bring people into productive capacity in agriculture that is sufficiently high that they have a reasonably good income has in more recent years, due to this continual depression in agriculture where their input has been so much greater than their output, their credit possibilities have been reduced and the FHA now in many instances is working the opposite way that it was supposed to because people who have been able to get credit from normal credit sources and then they have gone into PCA, first the commercial and then into PCA

and they get so far into debt where PCA thinks it no longer thinks it can handle them and they turn them over to FHA, which is the last stop before bankruptcy.

Now, I think we ought to recover some of the original concept there where we help people go up instead of helping them come down and cushion their landing when they come down.

It is at this point that we need, it seems to me, to begin to rethink the relationship of the Farmers Home Administration to this particular problem of poverty, and then write the legislation in such a way that even the committee cannot misinterpret it and use these funds only in the direction they want to use it and refuse to use it in areas where it needs to be used, also. This is both the strength and the weakness of the committee system.

Mr. QUIE. One thing about the way the FHA has been operating, there are certain requirements made of the farmer when he receives the loan to improve his management of his operation. The deeper you reach into the group who need help, I think there is the less willingness to accept new management operations and talk to some people, such as supervisors. Some of the farmers seem quite willing to do it, but when they come out to the farm for the next checkup they have not done it.

I remember reading an article once when they were looking around at a farm area and they said, why is it that this farm sits in an oasis of marginal farms around here? The farmer said, "The trouble here is that there are more marginal farmers than there are marginal farms."

Do you think there has to be any tightening up of the authority given FHA to require the management practices that are certain to make a success especially when grants are made?

Mr. GRAHAM. Certainly in terms of grants, this ought to be pretty tight. I think this is what the Department has in mind that this will not be given, a fellow is not going to be given a check for $1,500, it will be a controlled fund like the present funds which are controlled funds.

Incidentally, I am probably one of the few witnesses who has had an FHA loan. So I am a little familiar with the way it operates. I think the Congress should, either by direction or by law, and I don't think there would be any disagreement on the part of the Department, to have a pretty clear understanding about just how tight this ought to be in this administration of the grant and, on the other, I think they probably have enough authority at the present time if they want to use it. I would not be competent to be the final judge on that, but they have a good deal of authority, I can tell you by experience.

Mr. PERKINS. One more question.

Mr. QUIE. OK.

I would like to hear your comments on the other portion of title III where the corporations can be set up to purchase land and resell it again to low-income farmers. First, what type of operations do you think we should have in mind to secure the land? What corporations are now owning or is it large landholders when the land comes up for sale; and, secondly, do you agree with the average of 80 acres which the statement that Sargent Shriver prepared for Members of Congress contained, as the size of operation that will be sold to the low-income farmer?

Mr. GRAHAM. Let me see if I can get all three of these questions in order. No. 1, at this point, on the kind of land that should be acquired, I don't think it makes much difference whether it is a corporation or a great deal of land that has been acquired by a private individual.

The second is the time that it should be acquired, in my judgment, yet, unless we establish a national land policy, would be when it comes up for sale.

What was the other question?

Mr. QUIE. And what do you think of the average of the 80-acre size that was talked of in the statement that Sargent Shriver sent up to the Congress in the beginning?

Mr. GRAHAM. I find it difficult in sizing a family farm, an owner-operator farm, on the basis of acres. It depends where you are. Eighty acres in some areas, in Illinois, for instance, you can get a pretty good living out of that 80 acres. There are other 80 acres where you would starve to death and do it pretty rapidly.

The definition that the National Grange has as to a family farm is one that is large enough to give the operator a reasonably good income and small enough that it is done with the majority of the labor and capital furnished by the owner-operator.

Now, this means a good deal of flexibility, depending on areas and how you are farming. If it is an area like a gardening area, such as in New Jersey, then it does not have to be very large. If it is a great farming area in the Great Plains, obviously it has to be much larger than that.

I think this kind of definition must be left more in the areas to define what is a family-size farm. To put a man on a farm that is small enough that you are simply condemning him to live along in semipoverty just makes no sense so far as any antipoverty program is concerned.

Mr. QUIE. Is it not true that the area where a farmer can make a living and a good living on 80 acres, there is no poverty anyway?

Mr. GRAHAM. That is generally true.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Holland, any questions?

Mrs. GREEN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. I want to go back to the grants. Will you give me some examples where you think a grant would be justified and specifically for what?

Mr. GRAHAM. I should think if it is a couple, 60–65 age bracket, that has a little retirment, that has a home but does not have enough income to live on a level that is by any American standard up to subsistence or better, and where they need something, for instance, like a roadside stand or some way, anything that would enable them to earn some extra money to get their living standard up above that of poverty would be justified.

That is one "for instance."

Mrs. GREEN. I come from a city area but farmers are located at the edge of it and the farmers could probable benefit from a roadside stand. How I could I justify voting for a bill for a 60-year-old farmer to build a roadside stand when I have thousands of 60- and 65-year-old people who live in the heart of my city who are living on $60 and $70 a month, far below subsistence wages?

Mr. GRAHAM. No. 1, I would say that this is not either—or, that this kind of grant for the rural area does not remove the need for something in the area that you are talking about in the cities.

Mrs. GREEN. What would you put in the bill so that I could vote for a $1,500 grant? For one thing, I should think there would be unlimited policing power to see that it was wisely used and the item kept and not later sold for some critical need at any given moment. For example, could the $1,500 be used to buy a tractor?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes, it can. I still am not sure that unless this tractor can be used efficiently and over a long enough period of time to justify this expenditure of money that this is the way to do it. I don't think the grant ought ever to be given to do the thing which is economically unjustifiable any other way. This is a hard thing to define. I am vague on this, I know that I am. But would you loan money to the same person if the money was available and his credit was good?

Mrs. GREEN. I must say it would make some sense to me to increase the social security payments for everybody over 60 than to give a $1,500 grant to a 60- or 65-year-old person living on a farm to increase his income. I think there would be more justice in it if we could have a social security payment that recognizes the cost-of-living increase from the time when we set the present amount. Then we would have justice across the board for the city dweller and the rural family.

Mr. GRAHAM. I am not prepared to argue with the Congresswoman's judgment at this point. I think that is pretty good judgment.

Mrs. GREEN. The gentleman said they would not all come under social security—then I think somehow we ought to find some way of bringing them in.

Mr. QUIE. Farmers are under social security. This provision is if their income is low they have other options to pay into the retirement.

Mr. GRAHAM. The problem is that if the income is low, the option is so hard to pick up.

Mrs. GREEN. Even if it is hard, would it not be a better alternative to devise some way to make it easier than to say we will give a 60- or 65-year-old farmer who is living in poverty a $1,500 grant to supplement his income? You know the political facts of life. A situation like this would be politically impossible. How could a person go home to his city and say, "I voted for a $1,500 grant for farmers for which you people are going to pay taxes and we don't pay you anything even though you also have barely enough to buy the necessities of life."

Mr. GRAHAM. You are bringing up some of the questions that were in our mind when we talked this over in executive committee for a couple of hours. There are real questions to be resolved here. We are not sufficiently enthusiastic about this approach to have resolved all the problems yet.

Mr. QUIE. Will the gentlelady yield?

Mrs. GREEN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield. I yield to you farmers.

Mr. QUIE. I want to remind you that your constituents are going to be paying a lot more of that to wealthy farmers under the cotton-wheat bill. I know you did not vote for it.

Mrs. GREEN. The gentleman who is a witness can close his ears, but the gentleman knows my vote on that.

Mr. GRAHAM. So does the witness.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. I am sorry that I was not able to hear your statement earlier. I had another meeting that I had to go to.

There is one thing that puzzles me a little bit in this bill. That is the grant, outright grant of $1,500 to the farms, but there is no provision in there for loans to the farmers directly other than through this corporation. I do not quite get the reasoning behind it. Do you have any comment on that?

Mr. GRAHAM. Without trying to cover this with all the committee again, may I just briefly say what you will find in the record: that our preference is the loan route with the long-term nonrecurring loans that can be written off, if necessary, and with appropriate funds made available to see that this kind of approach is made possible.

Mr. BELL. In other words, you would favor a loan arrangement of some kind?

Mr. GRAHAM. That is correct. This is what we said. We say there may be instances where the grant is the only practical way. It may be cheaper than putting them on welfare, for instance. But, in general, we would prefer this other direction.

Mr. BELL. I am sorry, I may have to ask you some questions that you have already been asked.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is all right, that is your privilege, I will answer them.

Mr. BELL. In a situation where you have, as you know, a great many farms, some of which may not be viable at all, simply because they may be just impractical to try to operate. I do not know how many that will be, but I know there are many other economic factors in farming than just the routine operation of the farm—I should think in making loans and grants to farms of this kind the Government could be just adding to a dilemma and making it worse. Would you like to comment on that? Is that a problem you have discussed earlier?

Mr. GRAHAM. This is the problem that is in the back of our mind all the time. I did discuss it some earlier. I suggested that we ought to decide which direction we are going.

In the case of a young man trying to get into farming with a lifetime ahead of him, we ought to point him toward a good farm where he can make a good living and not toward one which brings him forever at a subsistence level or a semipoverty level. We must get a different approach than that or we are not solving the poverty problem.

There is justification, I think, for trying to help some of the older people who are used to living on this small farm, to stay on that land throughout the rest of their lifetime. This becomes a different problem.

Mr. BELL. Then you are saying, in effect, I assume, just by jumping at what you are saying a little bit, that maybe some of the younger groups or members should be enouraged to go in the direction of a different type of economic livelihood and maybe leave the farm. Then you would be inclined more to take it on an age basis and maybe encourage the younger members to leave the farm and get in some other type of work. Is that right?

Mr. GRAHAM. I think we have got to do that especially in the areas we are talking about because we are talking about marginal farming areas in general where the poverty is most deeply seated.

I know the old New Englander that said, "There is no such thing as a poor farm, there are just poor farmers." But this is not entirely true.

Some of these people, the holding would have to be so large and the difficult of getting a living from the soil is just so great that it is pretty difficult to understand how a young man could expand an operation in some of these areas, and never become a very stable economic unit in terms of being able to compete with the good productive areas of the rest of our Nation.

I don't think we ought to try to direct young people in that direction unless they can see a reasonably good chance of making a reasonably good living.

Then the next thing is how do we direct these people in these areas we are talking about so that they can make a living at something else when they have the poor education they have and a number of other things. We have to attack that problem, too, so that if we are not going to keep them on the land in poverty we certainly do not want to move them into the city in poverty. We must give them something better than that, because we have solved nothing simply moving them off the welfare rolls on the land, in the country, on to the welfare rolls of the city.

We must get at the root of this thing which is basically education and the things, the skills, that give them a chance to make a living in our industrial society.

Mr. BELL. So you would move directly into, as I get it, into a training program, training pointed directly toward giving them a skill in some other area that would prepare them for other parts of the country, maybe the city, or wherever it may be. Is that correct?

Mr. GRAHAM. I think we have to do that as part of the ARA and ARD program and we also have to move beyond that to see that as often as possible they get businesses and industries in their areas so that they have a chance of living. There is no one way we go in this, it seems to us. We go all the ways we can go to move into a problem.

Mr. BELL. In a situation like that, Mr. Graham, how would you determine and who would determine which person stays on the farm, which person goes to the city and gets trained? Would you do this on an age basis? Would you do this on a viability of the farm basis? Or would you do it on a combination basis? How would you decide and who would decide?

Mr. GRAHAM. I don't think anybody should decide too much beyond the men that are involved. This gets into an area of compulsion that is repugnant to us. If a man wants to live on the farm and shows his opportunities to do that, his ability to do that, let us help if we can. But some of these people don't want to live there and yet they don't have the skills to go anywhere else.

I think it is a matter of personal desire in America as far as possible. If a man chooses to go one direction to make a living and it looks like he has the ability to do that, if he has the ability to do that, if he has sufficient education and sufficient skills, then if helping him get this education and skill takes him off the poverty roll into being a productive citizens, then this seems to us to be a practical answer to the poverty problem.

Mr. BELL. As I get what you are saying, there would be no attempt to force somebody to do something he did not want to do but perhaps you would use a persuader on the basis of economics and say, "Well, now, you can't possibly make a living on this piece of land here, and you are fairly young, why don't you go to school?" Would that be the approach?

Mr. GRAHAM. That would be my approach.

Mr. BELL. In other words, you would have someone representative of either the Federal Government or the State, or whoever it may be, to have a discussion with the person to try to talk to him about changing his line of work?

Mr. GRAHAM. I think the Farmers Home Administration is in a good position to do this because the man probably would be coming to them for credit or for the long-term loan or this type of thing. If, in their judgment, and these men have some experience in farm management, that what the man is trying to do simply does not make any economic sense whatsoever, then we ought to be able to give this man an alternative from what he wants to do to something that he can do.

Mr. BELL. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. GIBBONS. My farm problem in Florida is probably a little different in my particular part of Florida than most of the ones you are familiar with. I do not know whether you have had any experience in it or not, but I have a lot of people who are farmers and I have a lot of people who are in rural areas who are poor. It has been my observation that the successful farmers in my particular area of the United States are the people who left the farm, went into the city, gained some skills, then came back and had a little capital, and could go into successful farming.

The most unsuccessful farmers I have had are the people who never gained the skills or gained the capital.

I do not know how this program would really help them at all other than maybe a little barbiturate to keep them from suffering quite as much.

Can you explain to me how this thing could really raise these people in it?

Mr. GRAHAM. The fellow who has never left the land, many of those have really insufficient skills and management. They have no knowledge of bookkeeping. Educationally, they are certainly lacking in many of the things that would be needed for modern farming.

The day has passed when, if you don't know anything else, you can be a successful farmer.

Mr. GIBBONS. That is what I am talking about. The most successful farmers I see are those armed with bookkeeping people and CPA and know the tax laws pretty well, probably have some other income to rely upon, and farming is almost a sideline with them. They reap a substantial income from it, but it is their main source of income or principal source of income.

Mr. GRAHAM. There is another group down in Florida, from my observation down there, that is doing a pretty good job, and that is a bunch of the Yankees who have gone down there with Yankee capital and gone into milk production or something of that kind, but they are taking capital and know-how. You have to have both today, both

capital and know-how. If they have neither one, to try to put them on the land and keep them there becomes a pretty hopeless situation.

Mr. GIBBONS. The poor people that I see around rural areas in my State are not really farmers, they are farm laborers and they are people who do truck labor, citrus labor, things of that sort. I do not believe this program would get to them at all.

Mr. GRAHAM. I think you have put your finger on one, and this is a concern that I would have, that this does not get to them and they are poor to some extent because of some other situations. We have those in the North, too, the dairy country, especially where the day laborer, and this is terrible——

Mr. GIBBONS. That is the person I was thinking about, the day laborer on the dairy farm.

Mr. GRAHAM. This is not confined to Florida, I assure you. The reason these people don't have the decent living is because the dairyman himself does not make a decent living. He does not have sufficient return from what he is selling in order to pay his laborers. All of them are working themselves to death with an average of 58 to 90 hours a week, an average of 37 cents per hour income from this kind of problem.

So, I think we properly try to attack this one on a different level so as to give the farmer enough income that he can pay his hired man a decent living. But he can't get blood out of a turnip and they are both caught in the same squeeze at that point.

Mrs. GREEN. Would you yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. You would include all of the day laborers in this category who are working for people who do not pay decent living wages?

Mr. GRAHAM. No, I am talking about particular people. He and I are talking about something that is more confined to the east coast than to your area.

Mrs. GREEN. We had a cotton bill. There are a great many farmers who get a fairly substantial income from cotton who still insist on paying the day laborer 60 cents an hour.

Mr. GRAHAM. Then you have a problem of minimum wages that some time, I guess, we will have to face in agriculture, too.

Mrs. GREEN. The sooner the better, I think.

Mr. GIBBONS. No further questions.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Griffin.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions. I would yield to my colleague here from California for another question.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Graham, pursuing that course that we were discussing a little bit, is it not possible you could run into a situation where you could have some farmers that just are not doing a thing but just eking out a living and still they would rather stay on their farm, eking out that living than to try to go to the city or improve their lot. They would rather take the $1,500 that is given to them each time and continue? Do you find that to be a situation that would occur frequently?

Mr. GRAHAM. I don't think there is any question but what some of the people are on the farm today and are eking out a living are doing that because they would rather do that than anything else. Again, this

is what they know, this is the community in which they grew up; their families are there; they buried their parents there; they know everybody there. The little economic benefit that people of that age would get from moving does not offset at all the sociological benefits that are involved. I don't know what you can do with those people except to let them make their choice and stay where they want to.

Mr. BELL. Let me go a little bit into the Job Corps and see how this fits into the program. As I see it, the Job Corps, you feel, might fit into this situation or at least some type of training might fit into this situation as a possibility of relieving the younger people by preparing them for skills in the city, rather than stay on the farm. Now, Mr. Graham, would you not be further ahead to try to develop these young men directly in the training of skills that would be usable in the city and basic education that would be attached through the use of an expanded program such as vocational education and manpower development and training that we already have? Would you not be better off to rifle-in on direct training programs and direct basic education rather than have these young men spend a certain amount of time out in the woods chopping down trees and getting maybe some basic training or some training in skills but obviously not as effective or as direct as you would get by using programs that are already in the works? Would you not think that would be a little better approach and more State control rather than totally Federal? After all, you know this is voluntary and that you are going to get youth who maybe could go into some direct training programs that would go out into the forest and postpone their economic viability?

Mr. GRAHAM. You have two or three questions there. Let me see if I can get them all in order and get them answered.

No. 1, I don't think there is an either/or answer. We probably need some of both. I am in perfect agreement that this program that we have in existence, if it were properly implemented and properly followed would do a great deal along this line. There is much that needs to be done. Unfortunately, some of the problems that we have is because the education that should have been done at the school level was not done there, so we are past this for some of these people. We should not pass this for the future, this is for sure. We ought to make it certain through our educational program that these young people do not come to the productive years of their life with no skills. I would go with you all the way on that except to say that I am not quite so sure as you seem to imply that the State always is superior to the Federal Government at this point. I think a good case could be made the other way, too.

Mr. BELL. But you would think it more appropriate to get right at the basic core of the problem educationally rather than some program of spreading a work program that might involve skills not usable in the city and areas where the youngster may want to go to gain an economic living?

Mr. GRAHAM. This is true up to only a point, and that is from what I read of the brief that was prepared, some of the skills that they were talking about in horticulture and planting and these various things are skills that are in demand in the cities. For instance, I heard not very long ago that one of the major needs that we have today is skilled greenskeepers for golf courses. Now, maybe we can teach these boys

to raise grass or something like this. These are real needs today as we move our recreational life from the cities into these rural areas.

So I think the Job Corps, what it is trying to do for some of these people would be a practical way of approaching a real problem.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Graham, I would agree with you there that in some cases this may be the case, that is certain, but taking the large amount of youngsters that we have in mind, really what most of them are going to get are probably jobs available to them in the city or urban areas, such as welding, machine tool work, and things that are in administration. These are different types of things that will teach them right on the spot an economic ability to make a living.

Mr. GRAHAM. Well, we have some provision for that under present legislation besides what you have referred to in the ARA and the rural areas development, manpower training, and vocational education. That is right. I think we should pursue that as far as we can.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. HAWKINS. I have no questions.

Mr. PERKINS. I certainly wish to compliment you, Mr. Graham. I think you have made it perfectly clear from your testimony that the Farmers Home Administration is in a position to identify the farmer who deserves a grant, who deserves a loan, and I think your testimony is also clear that you do not oppose the grant authority but believe that the Director should be circumspect in its use.

Will you agree with me that the bill is balanced in its approach as respects urban and rural poverty and that title III certainly should remain in the bill in order to maintain that balance?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes.

Mr. PERKINS. In order to give these farmers some assistance. Am I correct?

Mr. GRAHAM. That is correct.

May I say this in just a concluding statement, to go with your concluding question. We believe that in many ways we have attacked this already legislatively but there are still areas that we are not reaching with present legislation. This legislation appears to be moving toward this in about as practical a way as we can see to do it. So, we support the legislation with the suggestions that we have made, the way we think it might be strengthened.

Mr. PERKINS. We already have the administrative machinery, as I understand your testimony, through the Farmers Home Administration where we could carry out title III.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is correct.

Mr. PERKINS. And you would recommend that the Farmers Home Administration make the identification as to who needs the loan; who needs the grant?

Mr. GRAHAM. In terms of the rural people, I think this properly belongs with the Farmers Home Administration.

Mr. PERKINS. That is what I am speaking about.

Mr. GRAHAM. In terms of how it might apply in community action programs, this we would not be so hard and firm about.

Mr. PERKINS. I readily agree with you. Thank you very much.

Mr. GRAHAM. I thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. The next witness is Mrs. Helen Baker, who represents the American Friends Service Committee.

Do you wish to read your statement?

STATEMENT OF MRS. HELEN E. BAKER, MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE; ACCOMPANIED BY MISS BARBARA MOFFETT, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

Mrs. BAKER. May I, please? I am testifying on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee, as a member of its board of directors. I also speak on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. The two organizations speak for themselves and for likeminded Friends.

We appear in support of the general purpose and principles of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. We speak on the basis of our experience.

I speak personally on the basis of strong convictions of my own which have grown out of my experiences with illiterate urban workers in Virginia and North Carolina, in settlement houses in Chicago, with migrant workers in California, with the Prince Edward County relations attempting to rehabilitate or help the morale in a community where the schools have been closed for nearly 5 years, and my present work as an attorney with the Baltimore City Legal Aid Bureau where all of our clients are people who fall within the bracket of the very poor.

For almost 50 years the AFSC has reached out to the poor in many parts of this land and, indeed across the world. Our work in this country has involved us with the people whom the legislation under consideration is designed to help. Our work has shown us the syndrome of poverty: inadequate education; poor jobs or no jobs; poor housing. We have seen these problems combine to create an ever-more-permanent poverty class.

Out of our experience we would like to identify some factors which we feel could spell the difference between success and failure in this attempt to break the circle of poverty.

We would like to emphasize that no program will produce lasting results unless it gains the participation of the poor. This, I should emphasize, should be in the initial stages of planning. To gain the participation of the poor is easier said than done. Few programs do it now; in fact, many are now saying that the people at the bottom of the economic ladder cannot realistically be involved in shaping the programs which affect their business. We believe they can; we will report experience which bears this out.

In stressing this, we do not minimize the need for initiative from other sources. The act appropriately calls for wide involvement in attacking poverty. It seeks to stimulate broad community responsibility for what is a problem of the whole community. We stress participation of the poor themselves because they are most easily ignored and because their exclusion at early stages of planning jeopardizes the success of projects undertaken.

The war on poverty must operate on the democratic assumption that all people, given the necessary facilitating resources of skilled personnel and funds, can plan effectively for their future. The administrators of the program should be prepared to enforce standards of participation reflecting this commitment.

We further wish to emphasize that the program will require a major investment in finding and training skilled personnel.

Staff must be put to work who can stimulate the participation of those unused to planning together. Personnel will need to serve as the catalysts through whom tentative and unsophistictaed ideas can become practical plans for action. The ability to listen; to be patient; and to persist are some of the qualities of effective community workers. They also need to be able to introduce practical alternatives; to share ideas that have worked elsewhere; and to use their imaginations to bring needed resources into a situation at the right time. This requires, first of all, an attitude of respect for the people and for the work to be done. It is also based on a set of learnable skills. Major training programs will be called for.

We cannot stress too urgently that there must be room for experimentation; for new and imaginative approaches. Pioneering is called for in the war on poverty. Such pioneering has been the traditional role in our society of the smaller private agency, with its flexibility and freedom to test out new ideas. We stress the need for funds directly available to groups free to work on the cutting edge. This is not to underestimate the role of the comprehensive plan and the large coordinating group, but the administrators of the program will need the resources to introduce the innovation more likely to come at points through the small voluntary group effort.

We support the provision in the act, therefore, for direct grants to private agencies. In this regard we would make the point that the skills and talents of many groups will be needed. We urge that support be given to a wide variety of groups, drawing the line only where the primary purpose of the work is the propagation of a creed.

We call your studious attention to an aspect of the pioneering necessary to really reach the poor and; that is, a change in the usual timetable for producing statistically measurable results as a justification for the expenditure of funds. There is an urgency to the need, true. And who can feel it more clearly than the poor themselves? They want jobs or better jobs, better schools, and a better place to live, and they want these things now. But hastily conceived plans produced with an eye to quick results and omitting, in that haste, the development of the capacity of the poor to solve their problems, will not produce the results sought. People emboldened by being allowed to try things out for themselves and, therefore, better able to cope with their problems in the future, must be the primary measure of success.

In stressing these three general points, we speak out of the successes and failures of our own operations over the years. In work with American Indians, seasonal farm laborers, Negroes excluded from the job market—denied equal educational opportunities and decent housing—and with Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking American citizens facing similar handicaps, we know that a step forward, without the participation of those for whose benefit it is taken, can amount to a step backward. We are aware of the sensitivities and skills required to gain the respect of people who have reason to suspect that there must be a catch somewhere in any help offered them or that at least the helping hand will be withdrawn before the job is done. And we have learned that the most freewheeling, unstructured approach can produce the most results in certain situations; especially in those

where people are alienated and are hostile as a result of their experience with society in general. Thus, we recommend: Thorough involvement of those we are trying to help, an emphasis on putting trained personnel into the field, and a willingness to engage in long-range experiment.

With these emphases, we support the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as a first step in war on poverty. We see these strengths in the proposed legislation:

First. By attacking the educational and job problems of youth, it can get at the vicious circle of poverty at one important point.

Much has been said about the difference between our present poverty and that of the depression years because of its lasting quality today. It is deeply entrenched. We are dealing with second and third generation poor. The young people fated to enter this poverty class are frustrated, and rightly so, for without some skillful aid and some fairly revolutionary happenings in our economy they are indeed trapped in an environment of poverty. In introducing the proposed legislation, it has been said, "For the rebel who seeks a way out of this closed circle, there is little help. * * * He cannot make his protest heard or has stopped protesting."

This is a true statement in general, with the exciting exception of the civil right protest movement. To date this group has provided the most eloquent spokesmen of the poor—Negro or white or Spanish-speaking or American Indian, young or old. The issues of civil rights and economics have been joined in the protest movement. Can we hear that message and act on it?

It is a heartening sign of life, of the strength of the spirit of our youth, that hope can exist for them. For the protests are a sign of hope as much as they are a product of despair and frustration. Their call—one of impatience with rights too slowly granted—includes a concern for jobs needed now, adequate education for the jobs of the future, adequate houses and neighborhoods in which to raise the families of the future.

The Economic Opportunity Act can be one important response from the elected officials of the land to these fervent pleas from the youth of the land.

2. In considering the projects proposed for work with youth, we have welcomed the assurance of those who have designed the programs that they will be nonmilitary in character and will remain 100-percent voluntary.

The Job Corps in particular will require every imaginative effort to meet its purposes. Its voluntary quality will be important in achieving its goals, in keeping it from the danger of having a punitive aspect, of seeming to be the place one is sent instead of to a reform school or after being rejected in the draft. It must be more than a convenient way to remove troubled young people from the headlines they may be making. To achieve its training goals, the corps will require top personnel with experience in working with youth and with the educational qualifications needed to establish programs with relevance to the future job requirements of this country. Because of the difficulty of this task, perhaps it would be wise to specifically charge the Citizens Advisory Council with an annual review of this aspect of the program.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, could I ask one question here?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. You say there is a need for top personnel with experience for working with youth and with the educational qualifications. Are these people available?

Mrs. BAKER. I could not say that today but I believe that in our country we have resources that can be made available within reasonable time.

Mr. QUIE. Thank you. That is all.

Mrs. BAKER. 3. By encouraging many-faceted approaches to community problems, the program recognizes that "poverty is a web of circumstances, not the simple result of a simple condition.

The declaration of purpose of the act recognizes that "education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opporunity to live in decency and dignity" are the several problems that must be tackled if we are to fight poverty effectively. We support the multiproblem approach. Poverty is more than an economic phenomenon.

From one of our field staff comes this supporting material.

There is no poverty in the abstract, only poor people with many problems. If programs are set up to tackle only the problems of education or of housing, or of jobs, only people who fit into those programs will benefit. If instead, or in addition, programs are aimed at the problems of poor people, working through these problems in whatever way they arise, many more can be brought along to the point where they can participate in broader programs already existing.

We have many illustrations of this principle. To select one at random: Our contact with one American Indian family began when they came to our project for some emergency relief. The husband had been out of work for over a year. They were about to be dispossessed. The family had exhausted any help the Bureau of Indian Affairs could give them. They had not been in California for the 3 years necessary to get general welfare assistance. Through our caseworker, the confidence of the family was gained, emergency aid found. But as the contact deepened, other problems were revealed: With the probation department; with medical and dental needs of the children; the attitudes toward the school on the part of the parents who kept one of the older children home frequently to look after the smaller ones; alcohol, housekeeping, and so on. In other words, a typical set of problems which keep occurring with variations. It would be wonderful to report that all the problems had been solved. They aren't, but the husband does now have a job, much of the pressure is off the situation, and the other needs are being tackled one by one.

At one point this morning, we discussed rather thoroughly the much needed emphasis as to the need of the rural American. I would like to refer you to our written statement for that. 4. The act supports the principle of direct loans to the Government for the poor. I refer you to page 8 for that material.

Here I think on page 8 will be found an answer to one of the questions asked earlier this morning of Mr. Graham.

On page 9, I think you will find a delineation of the way in which the Farmers Home Administration came to the rescue in one of the cases in which we were working.

We would like to point out, however, or call your special attention to our project in Tulare County and emphasize with you that our emphasis has not been with the farmers as was the emphasis of the previous persons who testified this morning but rather with farm laborers, particularly in Fresno, in Tulare County in California.

We share these illustrations with you to point up three things: The wisdom of involvement of the poor, their capacity to plan, the need for skilled personnel, and the need for experimental approach.

Now, neither the President in proposing this legislation nor any of those who testify in its support have seen this act as a cure-all or even remotedly adequate by itself to the task of eliminating poverty.

We urge you here to consider the adequacy of a coverage for the poor of a great part of legislation which already exists. We have had reference this morning to some of this: The Fair Labor Standards Act, for instance, which even in its revised form excludes many of the rural poor, have any studies been made to see how many of the poor we are considering are covered by this act? Or what about extending social security coverage as part of the war on poverty? Farmworkers who are excluded, for instance. What about unemployment insurance coverage? Here again seasonal farm laborers are among the groups not normally covered. What about a new look at our housing policy? It, too, must share in the goal of eradicating poverty.

Finally, let us assume that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is passed in its strongest form and implemented in its most effective manner. Assume also that other legislation affecting the poor is strengthened. The challenge of the war on poverty will still not have been met. Before each of us, citizens and public officials, are the challenges of the manpower revolution and the conversion of our economy from defense preparation to meeting national needs.

These issues do relate to the structure of our economy and the size and kind of labor force that is required to meet the needs of a healthy economy.

In conclusion, we reaffirm our belief that the problem of poverty in our country is solvable. This bill is an important first step. With a personal and governmental commitment on a National, State, and local level equivalent to our commitment in terms of national emergency, we can wage a succesful war on poverty in this way.

(The formal statement follows:)

TESTIMONY PRESENTED BY MRS. HELEN E. BAKER, MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, my name is Helen E. Baker. I am testifying on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee, as a member of its board of directors. I also speak on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. The two organizations speak for themselves and for like-minded Friends. No one organization speaks officially for the Religious Society of Friends.

We appear in support of the general purposes and principles of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. We speak on the basis of our experience.

For almost 50 years the AFSC has reached out to the poor in many parts of this land, and indeed across the world. Our work in this country has involved us with the people whom the legislation under consideration is designed to help. Our work has shown us the syndrome of poverty—inadequate education, poor jobs or no jobs, poor housing. We have seen these problems combine to create an ever more permanent "poverty class."

Out of our experience we would like to identify some factors which we feel could spell the difference between success and failure in this attempt to break the circle of poverty.

We would like to emphasize that no program will produce lasting results unless it gains the participation of the poor.

To gain the participation of the poor is easier said than done. Few programs do it now. In fact, many are now saying that the people at the bottom of the economic ladder cannot realistically be involved in shaping the programs which affect their futures. We believe they can. We will report experience which bears this out.

In stressing this, we do not minimize the need for initiatives from other sources. The act appropriately calls for wide involvement in attacking poverty. It seeks to stimulate broad community responsibility for what is a problem of

the whole community. We stress participation of the poor themselves because they are most easily ignored and because their exclusion at early stages of planning jeopardizes the success of projects undertaken.

The war on poverty must operate on the democratic assumption that all people, given the necessary facilitating resources of skilled personnel and funds, can plan effectively for their future. The administrators of the program should be prepared to enforce standards of participation reflecting this commitment.

We further wish to emphasize that the program will require a major investment in finding and training skilled personnel.

Staff must be put to work who can stimulate the participation of those unused to planning together. Personnel will need to serve as the catalysts through whom tentative and unsophisticated ideas can become practical plans for action. The ability to listen, to be patient, and to persist are some of the qualities of effective community workers. They also need to be able to introduce practical alternatives, to share ideas that have worked elsewhere, and to use their imaginations to bring needed resources into a situation at the right time. This requires first of all an attitude of respect for the people and for the work to be done. It is also based on a set of learnable skills. Major training programs will be called for.

We cannot stress too urgently that there must be room for experimentation, for new and imaginative approaches.

Pioneering is called for in the war on poverty. Such pioneering has been the traditional role in our society of the smaller private agency, with its flexibility and freedom to test out new ideas. We stress the need for funds directly available to groups free to work on the cutting edge. This is not to underestimate the role of the comprehensive plan and the large coordinating group, but the administrators of the program will need the resources to introduce the innovation more likely to come at points through the small voluntary group effort.

We support the provision in the act, therefore, for direct grants to private agencies. In this regard we would make the point that the skills and talents of many groups will be needed. We urge that support be given to a wide variety of groups, drawing the line only where the primary purpose of the work is the propagation of a creed.

We call your studious attention to an aspect of the pioneering necessary to really reach the poor and that is a change in the usual timetable for producing statistically measurable results as a justification for the expenditure of funds. There is an urgency to the need, true. And who can feel it more clearly than the poor themselves? They want jobs or better jobs, better schools, and a better place to live and they want these things now. But hastily conceived plans produced with an eye to quick results and omitting, in that haste, the development of the capacity of the poor to solve their problems, will not produce the results sought. People emboldened by being allowed to try things out for themselves and therefore better able to cope with their problems in the future must be the primary measure of success.

In stressing these three general points, we speak out of the successes and failures of our own operations over the years. In work with American Indians, seasonal farm laborers, Negroes excluded from the job market, denied equal educational opportunities and decent housing, and with Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking American citizens facing similar handicaps, we know that a step forward without the participation of those for whose benefit it is taken, can amount to a step backward. We are aware of the sensitivities and skills required to gain the respect of people who have reason to suspect that there must be a catch somewhere in any help offered them or that at least the helping hand will be withdrawn before the job is done. And we have learned that the most free-wheeling, unstructured approach can produce the most results in certain situations, especially in those where people are alienated and are hostile as a result of their experience with society in general. Thus, we recommend: thorough involvement of those we are trying to help, an emphasis on putting trained personnel into the field, and willingness to engaged in long-range experiments.

With these emphasis, we support the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as a first step in war on poverty. We see these strengths in the proposed legislation:

1. By attacking the educational and job problems of youth, it can get at the vicious circle of poverty at one important point.

Much has been said about the difference between our present poverty and that of the depression years because of its lasting quality today. It is deeply entrenched. We are dealing with second and third generation poor. The young people fated to enter this poverty class are frustrated, and rightly so, for without some skillful aid and some fairly revolutionary happenings in our economy they are indeed trapped in an environment of poverty. In introducing the proposed legislation, it has been said, "For the rebel who seeks a way out of this closed circle, there is litle help * * * He cannot make his protest heard or has stopped protesting."

This is a true statement in general, with the exciting exception of the civil rights protest movement. To date this group has provided the most eloquent spokesmen of the poor—Negro or white or Spanish speaking or American Indian, young or old. The issues of civil rights and economics have been joined in the protest movement. Can we hear that message and act on it?

It is a heartening sign of life, of the strength of the spirit of our youth, that hope can exist for them. For the protests are a sign of hope as much as they are a product of despair and frustration. Their call—one of impatience with rights too slowly granted—includes a concern for jobs needed now, adequate education for the jobs of the future, adequate houses and neighborhoods in which to raise the families of the future.

The Economic Opportunity Act can be one important response from the elected officials of the land to these fervent pleas from the youth of the land.

2. In considering the projects proposed for work with youth, we have welcomed the assurances of those who have designed the programs that they will be nonmilitary in character and will remain 100 percent voluntary.

The Job Corps in particular will require every imaginative effort to meet its purposes. Its voluntary quality will be important in achieving its goals, in keeping it from the danger of having a punitive aspect, of seeming to be the place one is sent instead of to a reform school or after being rejected in the draft. It must be more than a convenient way to remove troubled young people from the headlines they may be making. To achieve its training goals, the Corps will require top personnel with experience in working with youth and with the educational qualifications needed to establish programs with relevance to the future job requirements of this country. Because of the difficulty of this task, perhaps it would be wise to specifically charge the Citizens Advisory Council with an annual review of this aspect of the program.

3. By encouraging many-faceted approaches to community problems, the program recognizes that "poverty is a web of circumstances, not the simple result of a simple condition."

The declaration of purpose of the act recognizes that "education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity" are the several problems that must be tackled if we are to fight poverty effectively. We support that muliproblem approach. Poverty is more than an economic phenomenon.

From one of our field staff comes this supporting material. "There is no poverty in the abstract, only poor people, with many problems. If programs are set up to tackle only the problems of education or of housing, or of jobs, only people who fit into those programs will benefit. If instead, or in addition, programs are aimed at the problems of poor people, working through these problems in whatever way they arise, many more can be brought along to the point where they can participate in broader programs already existing. "We have many illustrations of this principle. To select one at random: our contact with one American Indian family began when they came to our project for some emergency relief. The husband had been out of work for over a year. They were about to be dispossessed. The family had exhausted any help the Bureau of Indian Affairs could give them. They had not been in California for the 3 years necessary to get general welfare assistance. Through our caseworker, the confidence of the family was gained, emergency aid found. But as the contact deepened, other problems were revealed: with the probation department; with medical and dental needs of the children; the attitudes toward the school on the part of the parents who kept one of the older children home frequently to look after the smaller ones; alcohol, housekeeping, and so on. In other words, a typical set of problems which keep occurring with variations. It would be wonderful to report that all the problems had been solved. They aren't, but the husband does now have a job, much of the 'pressure' is off the situation, and the other needs are being tackled one by one."

4. The act gives much-needed emphasis to the needs of rural Americans.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman has said that nearly half the poverty in the United States is in rural America. He has pointed out the relationship between the poverty of our cities and rural poverty, saying: "* * * the urban poor who are today overcrowding our cities are the rural poor of yesterday, or the children of the rural poor of a generation ago. And the rural poor of today, and their children, are the urban poor of tomorrow."

We know rural poverty through our seasonal farm labor programs and our work with American Indians. We see the related urban poverty in our programs designed to promote fair employment, in our school desegregation programs. It challenges us in our housing programs and in our work with urban youth. The problem needs no documentation here. We welcome the fact that the act provides for an attack on one of the main sources of poverty in the United States.

5. The act supports the principle of direct loans from the Government to the poor.

We have had experience in California with one Government program allowing for direct loans to the rural poor. Out of that experience we enthusiastically endorse the extension of this principle to other areas.

The Government program was made possible by the 1961 Housing Act allowing the Farmers Home Administration to make direct loans on good credit terms to people who wanted to build homes. The loans could go to citizens in communities of less than 2,500 population who could show their ability to repay the loan and who owned their land.

The AFSC community development program with seasonal farm laborers in Tulare County, Calif., had been at work 6 years or so when these loans became available. The work had involved patient exploration with people in shack towns to discover what their problems were and what could be done about them. Specific result had been achieved over the years. For example, one community had organized itself to get a water system. As important, leadership qualities in the people had been tapped and they were gaining confidence.

Jobs and housing were urgent problems. We tackled the job problem with a "farm labor co-op" to which we will refer later. To tackle the housing problem, we added to our community development staff a builder with a concern to experiment in ways of getting housing to people in an area where $2,600 was the median income per year.

It was decided to use the self-help technique which would reduce the cost of the housing since the farm laborers would themselves, especially in off seasons, share in the work of building their homes, thus reducing the construction loan needed. Families were eager to start, but our project was stymied for lack of building capital. Most sources of loans, private and governmental, found the families ineligible for loans because of their short workweek, their low wages, and the type of communities they lived in.

The new Government provision for direct loans ended the stalemate. We went ahead to organize a group of farmworkers. They studied with our staff the intricacies of mortgage financing, taxes, and insurance. Next they studied house design and layout, construction materials and methods. They were then ready to plan a home that matched their desires and their financial ability.

In January of 1963 the Farmers Home Administration deposited funds to the account of the first three families to meet the requirements. Construction started and 6 months later these families moved from their substandard shacks into standard 1,000-squarefoot, three- or four-bedroom houses. The value of each home is approximately $9,000. The monthly payments total $38—$26 on the loan amortization and another $12 for fire insurance and taxes.

Two factors are important here: (1) The direct loan from the Government had realistic credit terms—4 percent over a period of 33 years; and (2) the construction loans were reduced by $2,400 worth of construction work on the part of the families themselves.

On the subject of credit terms, recent research has shown that by extending the period of amortization from 30 to 40 years and lowering the interest rates from 5¼ to 2 percent nearly twice as many families could enter the housing market.

More houses are under construction in Tulare County now and a group of farm laborers in nearby Fresno County are planning a whole new subdivision—57 houses in a community to be known as El Porvenir, or The Hope of the Future.

We do not mean to suggest here that self-help housing techniques combined with realistic financing are the answer to the complex housing needs of the

Nation. Obviously many approaches are needed. We report this experience primarily to support the workability of direct loans with good credit terms from the Government to the poor. We understand that the loss ratio on the Farmers Home Administration direct loan program has been two one-hundredths of 1 percent.

We also share this case history to illustrate the points with which we opened this testimony: the wisdom of involvement of the poor and their capacity to plan, the need for skilled personnel, and the need for experimental approaches.

OTHER STEPS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

Neither the President in proposing this legislation, nor, to our knowledge, any of those who have testified in its support have seen the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as a cure-all, or as even remotely adequate by itself to the task of eliminating poverty.

We urge Congress to consider the adequacy of the coverage for the poor of a great part of our existing social legislation.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, for example, even as revised in 1961, excludes many of the rural poor. Has any study been made showing how many of the "poor" we are considering now are covered by this act? We do know from our experience that inclusion of seasonal farm laborers, of unskilled day laborers—presently excluded, along with other groups of whom we do not have firsthand knowledge—would be an effective step in the war on poverty.

What about extending social security coverage as a part of the war on poverty? Farmworkers, excluded from complete social security coverage, have no other source of assistance in retirement (except, in some States, old-age assistance). The partial exclusion of the farmworker—extending him coverage only if he earns $150 from one employer—is in many instances total exclusion, since many cannot meet this requirement.

What about unemployment insurance coverage? Here again seasonal farm laborers are among the groups not normally covered. We tried an experiment in Tulare County, Calif. We organized a farm labor cooperative which employs crews of farm laborers and contracts with growers. In California unemployment insurance is optional. The co-op, being an employer, could opt for the insurance and did so, making a deduction from members' earnings. But they found that they were at a severe competitive disadvantage with the growers, who did not deduct for unemployment insurance. We had difficulty attracting and holding the best workers in our co-op crews. If unemployment insurance were compulsory, this would not happen.

What about a hard look at national housing policy? It must share in the goal of eradicating the poverty in which many citizens live. By getting at housing problems, the environment of poverty is attacked. But getting housing benefits to the poorest in the Nation has proved difficult.

In the March issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, devoted to "Urban Revival," William Grigsby, research associate professor of city planning at the University of Pennsylvania, writes that, although urban renewal had its genesis in legislation to improve the residential environment for low-income families, "on balance it appears that not over one-fifth of the $3 billion donated to local communities under the Federal renewal program have been earmarked for projects intended to improve the living accommodations of the lower income families."

Finally, let us assume that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is passed in its strongest possible form and implemented in its most effective manner. Assume also that other legislation affecting the poor is strengthened. The challenge of the war on poverty will still not have been met. Before each of us—citizens and public officials—are the challenges of the manpower revolution and of the conversion of our economy from defense preparation to meeting national needs. These issues relate to the structure of our economy and the size and kind of labor force that is required to meet the needs of a healthy economy.

In this connection we commend to your attention H.R. 9005, a bill introduced by 21 Democrats and Republicans to examine the problem of economic conversion, and S. 2427, introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey, which would establish a Commission on Automation, Technology, and Employment. We feel that passage of these bills would provide the legislative support for needed studies dealing with our economic structure.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much. I think your statement, Mrs. Baker, is very clear and to the point. I am sure we all understand it. At least, one witness has testified that some percentage of the poor are in nowise motivated to abandon poverty by prospects of greater income.

Do you agree with that statement?

Mrs. BAKER. I do not agree with that statement at all. I think there are people who have no mind to abandon their present locale. There is a difference between abandoning locale and abandoning poverty. I think there are few people in their right minds who do not wish to abandon poverty.

Mr. PERKINS. Your studies bear out the contrary.

Mrs. BAKER. I would say that all our studies and experience bear out the contrary. Hope springs eternal in the mind and heart of the poorest person.

Mr. PERKINS. Would the experience of the Friends offer any guides to possible courses for training the Domestic Peace Corps?

Mrs. BAKER. I should like her to say that Barbara Moffett, who is director of our community relations program, is here and available for answering any questions you might ask.

Mr. PERKINS. Yes. Come on up.

Miss MOFFETT. Those are two questions that have been on the general subject of whether you could find the people to do the tasks we have outlined and said need doing. I think there are sources for training people in the skills of community relations and community organizations.

I think we have stressed as our second point here that a rather massive training program may be needed to carry out the provisions of this act, in-service training, with the staff currently working in this field and perhaps training of new people. But in the universities of the country and in some of the resources of private agencies, such as NAIRO, National Association of Inter-Relationship Officials, they have offered training to young interns under the grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, just as practical examples of the possibility of training human relations skills.

Mr. PERKINS. Mrs. Green.

Mrs. GREEN. First of all, it is good to see you again, Mrs. Baker. I have said many times that I know of no group that is affiliated with any religious organization that shows anywhere near the interest in legislation that the Friends do on Capitol Hill. So, again, my hat is off to you.

I think our last conversation was in connection with the work you were doing in Prince Edward County. Is that correct?

Mrs. BAKER. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. Did you ever get any grant from the Federal Government to carry on the work there?

Mrs. BAKER. We have never got a grant from the Federal Government.

Mrs. GREEN. There were youngsters in the country who were out of school for 5 years.

Mrs. BAKER. This is the fifth year.

Mrs. GREEN. The potential for juvenile delinquency was pretty great?

Mrs. BAKER. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. I think your point of having grants made directly to private agencies is one that is made very advisedly. But I must say after my experience with the juvenile delinquency control program, I do not see anything in this bill that will really result in grants to private agencies. It says "with community action organizations." But the community action organization is very likely to be a committee appointed by the mayor, which again would require a comprehensive program without the grant going directly to an agency. Do you think this is possible?

Mrs. BAKER. I think your observation is certainly true.

Miss MOFFETT. It is to that very point that we are trying to speak here. Maybe we should have been a little more blunt. It is the material on page 3. We are saying we are not underestimating the role of the comprehensive plan and the coordinating agency but we would like somewhere in the administration of this program the freedom to make a grant outside of that piece of machinery for the innovating pioneering program. Obviously, it can't be out of step with the comprehensive plan, it should not be, it ought to fit in with any comprehensive plan. But we are trying to pinpoint the possible difficulty of having everything divided into such large units that you can't get a pioneering effort introduced.

Mrs. GREEN. I am particularly interested in your comments in regard to personnel. I happen to agree with you on the lack of personnel that may be available for this kind of program, and the success of the program will depend on the personnel. Now, we have had people outline to us the shortage of teachers. If I remember correctly, we need 8,400 additional teachers in the elementary and secondary schools that we are not getting. For each year in this decade, we have that much of a shortage.

We need 321,000 additional college teachers in this decade, and we require a 75-percent increase in nurses.

I am a little bit concerned when people say that we will have no problem, the personnel is available.

Mrs. BAKER. I did not intend to give quite that impression that we will not have problems.

Mrs. GREEN. But others have said people will respond to this program; but it may be that they will respond only at the expense of already established programs. We have a shortage of personnel in almost every professional field—or otherwise, the committee has been misled in previous testimony—and in other legislative hearings.

Mrs. BAKER. I think we have a real shortage, for instance, in the teaching force in the country. But there is a third point I think in my presentation that we may not have emphasized enough, which is new approaches.

I am struck, for instance, by the approach of the Henry Street Settlement House in New York City which is unearthing a large body of personnel from the community and retraining them. These are people who live in the community, who understand the community, and its problems. Henry Street Settlement House is dedicating itself to training those people to work with the children, with the teenagers, and so forth. I think there is a large body of that sort of resource that we have bypassed far too long.

Mrs. GREEN. Congressman Dent, Congressman Hawkins, Congressman Sickles and I held hearings in Cleveland last Saturday on the juvenile delinquency control project in that city and title II of this bill is patterned after it. If you had attended those hearings and then written your statement, you could not have made any more realistic appraisal of some of the problems than the necessity of participation by the poor.

I gathered the impression that here was a group that came in to do the job for the other groups instead of involving them in it. They told us they could not get personnel. They have been working a year on planning and a year on the action program, and they simply could not find the personnel for that one program in Cleveland. They tried. They advertised in newspapers in several cities and carried on an active recruitment program and still could not get them.

Mrs. BAKER. I think our experience in Prince Edward County is worthy of mention here, to indicate what we mean by "personnel"—the teachers have left the community but where we found a large body of people, a group of 24 people with high school and slightly above education, who were dedicated souls, willing to be trained to help in the problem there.

Mrs. GREEN. But they will have to have training?

Mrs. BAKER. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. Also, going back to the private agencies, one of the programs in Cleveland was a preschool program. Now, I do not know why we need to have a year of comprehensive planning before we could make a grant to this agency. The program, in and of itself, is good, but I do not think you have to have a citywide planning to decide that you need to establish a preschool training center. So, I hope that this language will be tightened up so that grants can be made directly to the agency that is already involved in the center of the poverty-stricken part of the town, and has people who have had experience and worked with the problem for a long period of time.

I have one other question on the rural program. You mentioned the importance of the loans. You did not make any comment on grants.

Miss MOFFETT. I just feel we don't have experience from which to speak there.

Mrs. GREEN. I liked your suggestion for an increase in social security payments. I prefer this, as I mentioned earlier. If we are really going to do anything about poverty, let us also bring under the minimum wage law the migrant workers and some of these other agricultural workers who are getting 60 cents an hour—get them up to a decent hourly wage at least, or else quit talking about poverty.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Quie.

Mr. QUIE. You mentioned that you thought we should have an opportunity to train people who are needed for this program. Are there enough courses available, are there enough places where they are providing this training available to do this on a big scale? Are not both private training centers and the universities using their personnel to practically the fullest extent now? Are some of these people sitting around and waiting for students to come and receive training?

Mrs. BAKER. I don't think we are sitting around. I can think of a city in which I am living now, which is Baltimore, in which all the colleges are very busy reshaping their emphasis, taking out a great

body of what has commonly been accepted as what they will offer and putting in things that are directed toward helping with the problem which we call in Baltimore, the "inner city." So, I think that colleges increasingly are recognizing this problem as being the problem of the age, and so there will be more and more training in this direction.

Mr. QUIE. How long a waiting period do we have, then, before these individuals will be out on the market to be hired for these jobs?

Mrs. BAKER. I don't think there is a particular waiting period.

Mr. QUIE. How fast can they be trained?

Mrs. BAKER. I know of one college which this year appointed a director and the students already are going out with some of the answers to the community. This is a sort of internship. The internship idea might well be borrowed from NAIRO and used by more institutions in a bigger way than NAIRO could possibly use.

Mr. QUIE. Down in Prince Edward County there were some highly qualified individuals who came down there to give stimulus to the people——

Mrs. BAKER. This year?

Mr. QUIE. Yes, this year; to give stimulus to people who were in the area and who could provide training to teachers. This was quite a stimulus to the teachers who were picked up in the area as well as to the students. What happens in the communities where they came from where the help of those particularly able individuals is no longer available?

Mrs. BAKER. I don't think that the communities from which they came are any poorer for their having come down. I think some of the group came from a foundation in Baltimore, which has the name "Koinoina." Some came from northern cities, some came from southern cities.

I know in one or two cases there were people who were not working at this time, who were qualified teachers, who felt this urge to go to this place and help at this time. I think we have a large body of people like that who are not being used.

Mr. QUIE. Do you think the same thing could have been duplicated in other areas? It is true that other areas do not have exactly the same situation as Prince Edward County in that there were no schools available, but there are areas in the South which have wholly inadequate schools. The teachers are so poorly qualified that the students are not learning to a sufficient degree so that you could even call them educated when they leave school. So the same kind of education input is needed all over such as put in Price Edward County.

Do you think the Federal Government can duplicate what interested individuals have done in Prince Edward County?

Mrs. BAKER. I would be reluctant to even suggest that the Prince Edward County experience has nothing—it has a great many things that can be learned from it, chiefly—let us say not have another one, but I would be very reluctant to suggest that this is the sort of thing that ought to happen all over any section of the country. I think that educationally we have needs all over the country. I would be certainly reluctant to pinpoint any area and say, "Well, people ought to go in to raise the standards of education." I think that with the mass communications, media for communication that we have now, there will be a leveling of what is offered in all areas of the country.

Mr. QUIE. If you are not going to bring the Prince Edward County experience to other communities, how do you expect to upgrade the education in the communities where a high percentage of high school graduates cannot pass the preinduction mental examination for selective service?

Mrs. BAKER. As I said——

Mr. QUIE. The Governor of Indiana appeared before us and told us 50 percent of the people in their program, which would be similar to the Job Corps, were illiterates, could not read and write. Yet they had gone through 8 or 10 grades of school.

There is something wrong with the educational system all over the country when this happens.

Mrs. BAKER. I don't think that here in this Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 that we propose this will cure all the ills of education.

Mr. QUIE. Will it cure any of them?

Mrs. BAKER. I think so; yes.

Mr. QUIE. I would like to know how this is going to be brought about. This is a very unique experience in Prince Edward County which could be brought into other parts of the country but you say this should not be done. I wonder how it can be done? Whenever you trot out a new program or old program with new names, I know that hope does spring eternal but I would like to know how is could be done.

Mrs. BAKER. We will admit that Prince Edward was an emergency. This is a very sick situation in which we had to do something.

Mr. QUIE. I would say there is just as big an emergency in some other school systems where the children are in school but the education is perhaps no better than in Prince Edward County where the children were not in school.

Miss MOFFETT. You are identifying an educational crisis. I think Mrs. Baker is saying, in Prince Edward County it finally got to be recognized as a crisis and a tragedy and therefore we put unusual resources in it. I think we are resisting saying put the same pattern of resources into each situation. But if you can identify an educational crisis and begin to mobilize the resources of the county to meet it, in many ways you are on the right track. It will have to be in many ways.

Mr. QUIE. Do you think the Federal Government could have duplicated what happened in Prince Edward County without Federal help?

Mrs. GREEN. They did not have any Federal funds.

Mr. QUIE. Suppose there were Federal money available, a Federal program available, you could have turned to the Federal Government instead of struggling with private sources of money. Do you think the Federal Government could have duplicated this?

Miss MOFFETT. The thing that we were discussing was not a school system. In other words, a group of private citizens, private money is running the school in Prince Edward County now. Under discussion were various other smaller approaches, some of which could have had Government support, and very happily, sir, that could have added to the situation.

Mr. QUIE. But I gather from this that the Federal Government or these Federal programs could not have done the job that was accomplished with private funds?

Miss MOFFETT. They might have. I think the Federal Government could. You asked "could." There wasn't the legislation to allow it but I think that at one time we made a proposal that these children be taken to a nearby abandoned camp and young people be brought in to teach the children. This would have been a Federal project. But the Federal Government is not free to move into Prince Edward County with an educational system. The field has been preempted.

Mr. QUIE. I know there was not any money but I was wondering if we had a program.

Miss MOFFETT. If legislatively that had been possible, the program could have been done by a Federal agency.

Mr. QUIE. Do you think it would have worked as well?

Miss MOFFETT. I think so.

Is your question whether you need local involvement to make these things work?

Mr. QUIE. Yes.

Miss MOFFETT. If so, you do. Whether it is in response to Government initiative or private initiative, you need local involvement.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Dent.

Mr. DENT. Without detracting from the value of proposals and suggestions relating educational and juvenile delinquency phases of this program, I want to compliment the witness for touching on something that is more directly in line with our present struggle to wipe out poverty. As we plan, many of the features of this act go into the planning for tomorrow's winning of the war on poverty. I notice on page 11, you touched on, just slightly, but very pointedly, the things I believe ought to be done now. I do not believe that the program can move forward to achieve a base strictly on poverty until we move into the area of social security, and until we move into the area of unemployment compensation. If there was any valid reason for having social security passed in 1935, 1936, and 1937 and perfected, then there is more valid reason today to implement it and make it work. This is the one program, these are the props, that through the years have kept this poverty situation from becoming as explosive as it is now. However, it has carried as much as it can carry under the old concepts of social security and unemployment compensation.

Mr. Chairman, I do believe, and I have made this point for the last 8 or 10 years, that our failure to update social security, our failure to make unemployment compensation work in every area of our industrial complex, farming, mining, and industrial, has been probably the greatest contributor to the present crisis in poverty in our country. As we lower the number of years that a man has to produce, whether it is through automation or any other outside influence in the area of production of goods, as we lower the number of hours required to make things, certainly in the bottom we have to increase the number of years that we send children to school to be better prepared for the new type of operation and then reduce the number of years that a person has to work.

We seem to have completely forgotten that in the past 30 years.

Of all the witnesses who have come before us, at least the young lady who is presently addressing us has put her finger on what I think is the most vital part of the program, and it is not covered under any conditions in the war on poverty.

How can we have an all-out war on poverty if we are just going to have skirmishes and not make an attack on the problem itself? The problem itself is the people who are untrained for today's new jobs, but are trained for the jobs that are being held by people over the retirement age under social security but who cannot afford to retire.

We would save millions and millions and millions of dollars in our retraining program if we would take people who are trained for jobs right now and who are denied them because older workers have to hold on to these jobs. It is only because of seniority that they are holding on to the jobs.

I think that, very frankly, this committee ought to consider seriously discussing with the administrative heads the possibility of tying into this program the question of unemployment compensation and the question of social security.

I know that it is not within the jurisdiction, but neither are some of the other phases of this act, of this committee.

I would like to know your reaction to this suggestion.

Mrs. BAKER. I certainly approve. I think your comment is part of the answer to personnel. In Prince Edward County we used a great number of people who were retired people.

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mrs. BAKER. And this is something that we must turn our attention to.

Mr. DENT. I do not believe, and I think it was pointed out at our hearings in Cleveland, that these agencies are coordinating their efforts. I question whether they are getting much coordination for they seem to completely overlook this great area of help that they can draw from without any special prejob training.

What does it take for a visit to a home? Does it take a confirmed or certificated social worker? Or does it take somebody with understanding? There are simple questions to be asked, there are simple records to be kept. They can be kept by a retired person or a person in a community that has the time. This program will never succeed if we are going to have to man it completely with high-wage personnel. We have already discovered in Cleveland that the majority of the money that has been spent has been spent for 300 personnel and as yet not one delinquent has been questioned, not one history has been recorded. Yet the program has been going on for 3 years. We are supposed to be alleviating the situation among the juvenile delinquents. It appears to me we are alleviating the joblessness among social workers.

Mrs. GREEN. Would you yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. I would like to ask one other question because I know of your tremendous work in housing programs. You have had experience in these slum areas. Is it totally unrealistic to devise a program where you would have a grant and a loan on a block basis? We would take a slum area. You talk about participation and the absolute necessity of people who need the help participating if the program is going to be effective. Suppose we devise a program and we said there should be a grant or a loan if the people on a block in a slum area get together and devise a plan for the improvement of that block. I know of a few instances here in Washington where they had

a cleanup and paintup program on a block basis and both children and adults were involved. As a result, there was a difference in the appearance of that little block. Do you think that this would be possible?

Mrs. BAKER. I think it is not only possible but very necessary at this time. At one time in here I said that we have the experience of our successes and our failures. I think that American Friends Service Committee has done a great deal in housing and we have learned the hard way about some things, but I do think that the idea that you have for a block grant for self-improvement in which you eliminate much of the cost of the improvement by self-help would be a great idea and highly workable.

Mrs. GREEN. We drove into this area where there was a grant for a juvenile delinquency control project and saw rubbish, dirt, all over the street, and the one playground for the school was locked up and dark and the kids were standing on the street corners. It would seem to me that if they developed a plan in which they could say: Let us have this school ground lighted for the kids to play in, let us have a group——

Mr. DENT. Will the gentlelady yield at this point?

Mrs. GREEN. Yes, it is your time.

Mr. DENT. After going to Cleveland, I checked into the recreational program in my own locality. I find that it is more paperwork than play work. What we have now are recreation directors who, by some logic or reasoning, have gotten themselves into the class of a professional and the recreation areas are shut down at 5:30 or 6 o'clock. They say the children have to go home to supper, but I find it is the recreational director who has to go home for supper. The whole thing is completely out of hand.

We have beautiful playgrounds which, when I was a kid, we did not have. These kids do not have as much opportunity to use the playgrounds that they have as we had to use the playgrounds that we did not have. It is a bit out of line.

Mr. QUIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Certainly, if you will be on my side.

Mr. QUIE. I am on your side.

I want to know what these 300 people are doing up there.

Mr. DENT. So do we and we are going to get the answer. Mrs. Green has already asked that we get a detailed report on these 300 people, their duties, and their salaries. We will get it, I hope, if we do not have to send the sheriff to get it.

Mr. QUIE. That is all I want to know.

Mr. PERKINS. I wish to compliment the witness. I share the concern of the gentleman from Pennsylvania concerning the inadequacy of our present social security system. I personally feel that we should lower the retirement age, that we should update our social security laws, because no one realizes better than I do, that we are going to do nothing for so many old people unless we do update our social security laws. But, at the same time, I feel that this legislation will combat juvenile delinquency, especially title I, by giving these youngsters a job, taking them off the streets, at the same time we can give them some basic education.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. BAKER. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins, do you have any questions of this witness?

Mr. HAWKINS. No, I will just commend them and let it go at that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. The committee at this time will recess to come back at 1:30 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the committee recessed until 1:30 p.m. this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. PERKINS. The committee will come to order; a quorum is present.

Our next witness is Mrs. Stephen J. Nicholson, who will represent the American Federation of Women's Clubs.

We welcome you here.

STATEMENT OF MRS. STEPHEN J. NICHOLSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Mrs. NICHOLSON. Thank you. I am Mrs. Stephen J. Nicholson, executive secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

I should like to read the statement which our president, Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, had hoped to present today.

Mr. PERKINS. Proceed.

Mrs. NICHOLSON. The General Federation of Women's Clubs is an organization whose purpose is—

to unite the women's clubs and like organizations throughout the world for the purpose of mutual benefit, and for the promotion of their common interest in education, philanthropy, public welfare, moral values, civics, and fine arts.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which would mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States, touches on many of the areas of interest of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

As stated in this bill—

The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society.

It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

There is no mention in this bill's purpose of a national welfare dole—and that is good. The most important words are "education" and "training" and "opportunity to work."

The members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs have long realized that the most lasting help which can be given to those in need is the opportunity to learn and the opportunity to become self-supporting. Poverty perpetuates itself so it is the upcoming generation that should be given the greatest consideration if the cycle of poverty is to be stopped.

And one of the best ways to help them is to educate their parents. If a father and a mother are given the opportunity to work and to con-

tribute to the full extent of their capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society, then their children will be better able to take advantage of this bill's educational opportunities.

In title II and in title V of this bill, mention is made of adult education but no specific recommendations are made. In our opinion, the need for making the basic educational opportunities available to adults is equally as important as making these opportunities available to the 16- to 21-year-old group.

Illiteracy is a major cause of poverty and, if first things come first, illiteracy must be eliminated before the problem of poverty can be solved. With the increase of technological unemployment, it becomes more and more important that the unlearned and the unskilled be given a basic education in order to prepare them for other jobs. We ask you to consider seriously the possibility of writing into this bill a provision which would provide educational opportunites to the illiterate, unemployed adult.

For the past 2 years the General Federation of Women's Clubs has conducted its own battle in the war on poverty in the form of an adult literacy program which has been aimed at this very problem of adult illiterates.

This program has been taken up quite enthusiastically by our club members across the country and the results have been very gratifying. We published and distributed this book which I hold in my hand entitled, "Teaching Adults the Literacy Skills," which was prepared for us by experts in the Office of Education. This book is designed to teach volunteers how to conduct courses in the basic literacy skills.

Another highly successful tool to combat illiteracy which has been used by our members is "Operation Alphabet"—a series of 100 television lessons designed to take the student through the third grade.

"Operation Alphabet" has been televised in many States and in those areas where it has been shown for the second and third times it seems to be gaining a wider and wider audience. An enlargement of educational television programs of this kind is certainly worthy of consideration.

Since 1955, clubwomen throughout the country have fought their own war on community inadequacies which lead to poverty through the community improvement program, a program sponsored jointly by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Sears, Roebuck Foundation.

At the present time, close to 10,000 clubs—an estimated 300,000 clubwomen—are working in this program which examines community needs, organizes for action, and works to solve local problems. Their successes cut across a wide range of community improvements including health, welfare, employment, education, and industrial development.

Acting as community catalysts, clubwomen have brought about change in defunct coal mining towns in Appalachia, in complex metropolitan areas, and in small towns throughout the land. Their work is testimony to the fact that community problems relating to the perpetuation of poverty can be attacked and solved.

If the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is passed and if the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity believes that the members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs can be of help in

combating poverty through community action programs or in some other way which might later suggest itself, we hope we might be given the opportunity to serve and thereby further implement the purposes for which our organization was formed.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs appreciates this opportunity to appear at this hearing in order that we may publicly announce our willingness and eagerness to promote the public welfare by joining in this concerted effort to eliminate poverty in every possible way.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Goodell.

Mr. GOODELL. I have no questions. Thank you very much, Mrs. Nicholson.

Mr. PERKINS. Likewise, I wish to compliment you on your statement, Mrs. Nicholson.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. NICHOLSON. Thank you for this opportunity.

Mr. PERKINS. The next witness is Mr. Richard Schifter, general counsel, Association on American Indian Affairs.

Come around, Mr. Schifter. I notice you have a prepared statement here. Do you wish to insert that in the record and summarize it?

STATEMENT OF RICHARD SCHIFTER, GENERAL COUNSEL, ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. SCHIFTER. I shall do so, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, the statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT BY RICHARD SCHIFTER, GENERAL COUNSEL, ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am here to testify on behalf of the Association on American Indian Affairs. As we may be unknown to members of this committee, I would like to identify us briefly. The association is a national organization of citizens concerned with the welfare of American Indians. Together with its predecessor organizations it has been in existence since 1909. Today, it has about 10,000 members distributed throughout all 50 States. Our president, until his death last year, was the well-known novelist and writer, Oliver LaFarge, of Santa Fe, N. Mex. Our present acting president is Roger Ernst, of Phoenix, Ariz., who served as Assistant Secretary of the Interior from 1957 to 1960.

The association enthusiastically supports H.R. 10440. We believe that the programs which can be initiated under the bill can bring hope and encouragement to areas of our country which are, at present, not really part of our land of opportunity. These areas most definitely include our Indian reservations.

In his testimony before you, Secretary Udall furnished you with some statistical information about the present conditions of our American Indian population. I do not want to repeat the Secretary's figures, but would like to add another dimension to his analysis. What the conditions of poverty, ill health, poor housing, and maladjustment have produced is an all-prevailing spirit of hopelessness, resignation, despondency. These factors, in turn, are reflected in a high incidence of broken homes, in delinquency, alcoholism, and other symptoms of social disorganization. What must be remembered in this context is that the experiences of the 18th and 19th centuries are still a vivid part of the group memory of Indian communities. All too often do you hear expressions of fear and distrust of outsiders; the feeling that outsiders are out to get something out of the Indians. There also prevails the resigned feeling that these outsiders will ultimately succeed, that the Indian just does not have a chance to come out on top. This is, as I have indicated, the prevailing mood; a mood instilled in

Indian young people when they become aware of the conditions of their community; a mood which stays with them all their life.

Let me illustrate this point with the result of a study conducted by Rev. John F. Bryde, superintendent of the Holy Rosary Mission School at Pine Ridge, S. Dak. Father Bryde compared the achievement test results of Indian youngsters with the results in comparable non-Indian groups. He found that the Indian youngsters lagged behind in the early elementary grades, largely because of problems of cultural deprivation in the home and often an inadequate knowledge of the English language. They caught up in the third and fourth grades, but began to lag behind again by the time they reached seventh grade and continued to lag from then on, with the dropout problem setting in relatively soon. Father Bryde attributes this lag at the high school level to the fact that it is at that age that youngsters become aware of the predominant view of their community—that Indians cannot succeed; that they have no future.

To give you another illustration of Indian attitudes: 3 years ago the leaders of the Oglala Sioux Tribe in South Dakota took the initiative in creating the first Indian housing authority for the construction of low-rent homes. After news of the new housing program spread throughout the Indian community, a great many people laughed it off as just another Government promise that would be broken. When construction was begun on the first houses, doubt was still expressed by a great many people that the project would ever be finished. When the program was finally finished and the first families moved into the new homes, the questions which were being asked were: "Where is the catch? What is the Government trying to get out of us now?" Soon a rumor spread that the tribe would lose the rest of its land. One of the candidates in an election to the tribal presidency contended that the housing project was "a Trojan horse," that the tribe would now surely have to give up its land in return for the housing assistance.

I am glad to say, though, that the tiny fraction of our Indian population which has obtained housing during the last 2 years has responded well. These families feel that the homes have given them new hope; a new lease on life. They are grateful for the opportunity of providing decent surroundings for their children.

Similarly favorable responses have resulted from other Federal programs, once they had established themselves and have been accepted by the community. One of them is the cattle loan program which was started by the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the thirties. While there have been failures under that program, there have also been a good number of successes and on many reservations the only Indian families which have achieved economic independence, other than those employed by the Government, are the families of cattlemen who were put into business by the Indian Bureau's loan program.

Another great success was the Civilian Conservation Corps. The so-called CCC–ID projects, which differed somewhat from the regular CCC program and came closer to the programs envisaged by title I, part B, of the bill now before you, helped a great many young Indian people to develop work habits and skills which enabled them to fit better into the pattern of our American economy.

More recently, another successful Federal program has been launched. It is the adult vocational training program, under which young Indian people are given training which makes it possible for them to be placed in jobs; generally off the reservation.

I have now spoken of the programs which have been successful in improving the lot of Indians. I have mentioned these merely to demonstrate that, where improvement programs were initiated, they had good results. But it should be understood that these programs were, and are conducted, on so small a scale as to affect only a fraction of the population in need. Also, each of the aforementioned programs has been a pinpointed program, addressed to one phase of living; such as, housing, or to one group of people; such as, young people with a sufficiently good school record to benefit from an adult vocational training program. Most of the programs have not reached the people who are really down and out, and there are a great number of those in the Indian country, particularly in the so-called full-blood group. The hope is that through new programs, authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act, a substantial impact can be made on the problems of Indian poverty.

You may wonder how my statement, that existing Federal programs for Indian economic improvement are quite small, can be true in the light of the rather substantial appropriations which Congress has been making and continues to make in the field of Indian affairs. What you will find, if you look closely at

your appropriation acts, is that the Federal Government operates only one major program which provides a special service for our Indian population. That is the Indian Health Service, a division of the Public Health Service, which has done a great deal to improve Indian health conditions. Yet, as Secretary Udall's statistics indicate, we still have far to go before health conditions on Indian reservations will approximate the national average.

If we look at appropriations for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we find that the bulk of the appropriations is a form of relief to the States. Close to 60 percent of the Indian Bureau appropriation is for education (both operation and construction), a service which if not rendered or paid for by the Federal Government would have to be assumed by the States. The second largest BIA appropriation item is for the construction and maintenance of roads, roads serving Indians as well as non-Indians, roads which would otherwise be built or maintained by the States. The Federal appropriations for the maintenance of law and order on Indian reservations fall into the same category. By the time you get down to the programs designed to improve economic conditions on Indian reservations, you will find that they are narrow in scope and limited by the size of the appropriations. This is why, in spite of the existing Federal programs, there is a need on our Indian reservations for a comprehensive attack on poverty.

Let me make it clear, at this point, that I do not want to suggest that H.R. 10440 will cure all Indian problems overnight. What it can do, however, is provide the funds, the flexibility and the personnel (including in particular, the volunteers under title VI) to attack some of the root causes of poverty. Programs could be developed to rehabilitate people and to start youngsters on a path which will not require later rehabilitation. Projects could be started to improve the educational opportunities of young people from nursery school age up. Nor should we overlook the need to provide employment for heads of families, to give Indian people the opportunity to acquire skills which would fit them into our general economy, which has less and less use for unskilled people and, above all, to provide them with opportunities to use these skills.

Let me be specific for a moment. Title II would make it possible for Indian tribes to provide day-care centers for preschoolers, providing better surroundings for the great many children who come from broken homes, and making it possible for all participating children to be better prepared for schoolwork when they enter the first grade. Title I, parts A and B can reach the teenage group, taking the dropout children off the streets and putting them to work in activities useful to them as well as to their communities and the Nation. Titles III, IV, and V, as well as community projects under title II, could enable adults to become economically independent and self-sustaining. Finally, the volunteers provided under title VI could do much to assist Indian people in developing their own potential and to do this at a very low cost to the Federal Government. In conducting these programs, the Office or Economic Opportunity could help bring to bear on the problems on Indian reservations the resources made available by various other departments of the Federal Government, resources such as those provided by the Department of Agriculture, of which Indians have not heretofore availed themselves.

To make these projects successful, it will, of course, be important to work with the communities rather than imposing them on the communities from the outside. Projects should be developed jointly with Indian tribal councils and should be designed to give key planning roles to the Indian people themselves. This approach would not only safeguard the success of the project but would also provide valuable leadership training for the participants.

There are two points of a purely technical nature which I would like to call to the committee's attention. Secretary Udall has already stated that Indian tribes are intended to be covered by the antipoverty program. It would, nevertheless, be helpful if the committee report were to make it clear that certain terms in the bill, such as "local agencies," "publicly owned and operated," and "public agency" encompass Indian tribes and their property. Furthermore, I would suggest that on page 25, line 17, in section 302(b), the word "qualified" be stricken and the word "able" be substituted. This section refers to families eligible to obtain help under the title III program. As presently written, families "qualified" to obtain assistance under other Federal programs are not eligible. Almost all Indian families would be "qualified" to obtain help from the Indian revolving loan fund. However, they may not be able to obtain loans because of the insufficiency of funds in the Indian loan program. The

standard which should prevail is whether a family is "able" to obtain assistance elsewhere, not whether it is "qualified" to obtain such assistance.

In summing up, let me say again that our growing, dynamic society and our productive economy have, by and large, passed by our Indian reservations. These have remained islands of poverty and depression. Efforts at relocation have failed in that only the more enterprising persons have been successfully relocated, thus depriving the home community of leadership talents. Even at the height of the Government-sponsored relocation program in the fifties, the reservation population continued to increase. The reservation communities won't just go away. To solve their problems, effective and comprehensive improvement programs must be started. The present Federal programs of assistance to Indians are, regrettably, small both in size and scope and inadequate to get at the root causes of Indian poverty. On the other hand, programs which could be initiated under this bill could make a start toward the rehabilitation of Indian communities. In doing so, they could have the effect of turning areas of our country which are, at present, a drain on our economy, into true assets, making a useful and valuable contribution to the Nation.

Mr. PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Mr. Chairman, my name is Richard Schifter. I appear as general counsel to the Association on American Indian Affairs. In view of the fact that our association has never testified before this committee, I will just say briefly who we are. We are an organization of citizens throughout the United States with members in all 50 States of the Union. Our organization is concerned with the welfare of the American Indians.

We have about 10,000 members and we have been in existence, including our predecessor organization, since about 1909. Our association wishes to endorse H.R. 10440 not as a final solution to the problems of poverty in the United States but as a good first step.

The problem that we face on the Indian reservations is a problem that combines the problems of lack of opportunities in rural areas throughout the United States with the problems of social disorganization in the core cities of the United States. In other words, the Indians have the worst of both problems; rural poverty and urban slums. This is reflected in a great deal of unemployment and the lack of skills of many people and in such matters as broken homes, delinquency, and generally a spirit of hopelessness, that poverty engenders. This spirit encompasses the feeling of a great majority of people on Indian reservations.

I believe that Secretary Udall has indicated to the committee what the problem is in terms of numbers. When we think of unemployment ratios of 15 to 20 percent in other parts of the country, we think that is high. On an Indian reservation that would be low. The average unemployment in the Indian country is about 45 percent and that is actually lowered by the fact that a good many women are employed. Among men, unemployment is usually above 50 percent. You can visualize what this means to a community when more than half of the potential supporters of the families, the breadwinners, are unemployed and there is a feeling that there is no place to go.

There are some myths throughout American society about how the Indians get by. Perhaps I could say a few words about that. Some people think every Indian gets a check from the U.S. Government. Of course, members of the committee know that is not so. There is also talk about oil-rich Indians. There are very, very few in that category. Even those tribes that do have oil or uranium resources have an income that, if divided among all members of the tribe, would

be negligible. There are few exceptions where such income makes a difference so far as the economic status of the group is concerned.

By and large, Indians throughout the United States have no substantial resources to fall back on and, above all, generally lack skills that enable them to fit into the American economy.

You may wonder why the services already provided by the Federal Government are inadequate. I would like to comment on that briefly. There is only one very substantial service that the Federal Government offers American Indians and that is the medical service through the Public Health Service. This is undoubtedly an extremely valuable aid to Indians and something that has done a great deal to bring Indian health standards closer to our national norms.

Mr. PERKINS. Have the Federal programs worked well insofar as they go and have the Indians been discriminated against or has the Federal Government done a good job in administering the present programs, so far as you know?

Mr. SCHIFTER. So far as the health service is concerned?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes; and other programs.

Mr. SCHIFTER. I would like to comment on them, one at a time. So far as health service is concerned, there has been a substantial step-up since 1955 in the kind of assistance that is being given, and there have been very good results.

Indians have come along quite a bit in the last 10 years in terms of improved health conditions. However, they still are way behind the national average.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question at this point pertaining to health?

I read somewhere, I do not know whether it was in one of my local newspapers or whether it was something that the AMA sent me, but they are blaming, somebody is blaming the poor health conditions and the short longevity of life that the Indians have on the fact that they do receive all this Government medical care.

Could you fill me in a little on what has been the history of medical care to Indians?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Congressman Gibbons, the medical assistance to Indians, goes back for a good many years. It was not really substantial until about 1955 when the Public Health Service took over the responsibility. Whatever assistance there was was helpful, no question about it, but I think the evidence would show, if you just look at what has been going on on the reservations, that where the service has been stepped up the Indians have definitely benefited.

For example, what you have seen in recent years is really the eradication of tuberculosis on the Navajo reservations. Now, that would not have happened if it were not for what the Public Health Service did there.

Another thing is that there has been a very substantial decline in infant mortality. It used to be very, very high. It still is quite high. But there has been a decline just as there has been an increase of the kind of medical services being given. So, I think the record would indicate that whatever help they have received has brought them closer to the national average but they are still far behind.

Mr. GIBBONS. I was wondering, what is the cause of poor Indian health? Is it poverty?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes; definitely. There is a Public Health Service study that was put out some years ago that made the point that by providing doctors and nurses and all that, you can bring Indian health standards up to a certain point. But if you have environmental conditions that breed disease and general economic conditions that result in malnutrition or improper diets and, above all, poor housing conditions, all of this creates a health situation which presents us with certain problems that no amount of doctors and nurses can solve.

Mr. GIBBONS. Would it be fair to say that to blame the Indians' poor health on Government medical services is ridiculous?

Mr SCHIFTER. Yes; I would say so. From all the evidence I have seen wherever you have had improved medical care, you have had improved heath conditions among Indians. If you talk to the Indian people themselves they will tell you that. There is no question that more and better medical care has helped to improve conditions on Indian reservations. If you take a look particularly at the problem of infant mortality, the sharp decline coincides with the stepping up of the Public Health Service assistance. I think this tells the story in itself.

Mr. GIBBONS. Is it because the Indians live such an isolated life on their reservations that they really have no interest to get medical help other than by this?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes. In a way, the problems are similar to other parts of rural America, but it is so much worse on most reservations in terms of inadequacy of medical care.

Mr. GIBBONS. That is all, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Proceed.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Another type of assistance, to come back to the chairman's question, is rendered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As to that, one point ought to be understood. If you take a look at the annual appropriations made by the Congress to the Bureau of Indians Affairs, more than half of the amount appropriated is really aid to the States. For example, 60 percent of this year's appropriation is for education alone. If this were not done by the Federal Government, it would be a burden on the States to furnish that particular help.

In the same category is Federal assistance for the construction and maintenance of reservation roads. Local and State governments would have to supply that to serve not only the Indians but non-Indians as well if the Federal Government did not do it. Federal supported law and order on Indian reservations is in the same category, as are certain types of welfare assistance.

So really, when you get down to the economic development type of help, there is very little of it in the Bureau of Indian Affairs program, simply because there is very little money for that. Whatever they have, by and large, Mr. Chairman, has worked out quite well.

If you take a look at some of the Indian reservations throughout the country, you will find the beneficial effects of economic development programs. If you examine the self-supporting Indian families, you will find that a good number of them got their start back in the 1930's through a lending program which is somewhat similar to what you have in title III of this bill.

Another group of self-supporting people got their start in the 1930's in the CCC. As a matter of fact, the way the CCC was carried

out on the Indian reservations was not the CCC that you know of normally. The usual CCC program of the 1930's roughly corresponds to title I, part A of this bill. The CCC program on Indian reservations was more like title I, part B, that is, a local program which was not limited to the very young people but took Indians up into their 30's as well.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has operated a small economic development program which has tried to get industry in Indian country and that, too, has provided employment.

All in all, these programs have been really a drop in the bucket and the unemployment and poverty problem on the Indian reservations is really still an extremely serious one, probably more serious than in any other type of community throughout the country.

I believe it was Congressman Bell who, this morning, raised the question about whether you cannot possibly train people better through the manpower development training program and various programs sponsored by ARA. I think the answer to that question, at least as far as the Indian people whom I know, would be that for a certain group of people, those who received enough of a background at home and in school, a program such as Manpower Development and Training Act and Area Redevelopment Act can be of great help.

But, there are a great number of people among the Indians who just never got started in life. Perhaps because of home environment, perhaps because of other factors in the community, they never got started on the road where they could pick up the kind of training that you get when you go to school. For them it is extremely important to get a simple work experience, just being broken in and just doing work and being on a regular schedule of work, that you could get through the programs in title I of this particular bill.

What I am basing this on is that people have told me time and time again about the experience among the Indians, the successful experience, with the CCC in the 1930's.

Mr. BELL. Will the gentleman yield on that point?

I agree in some instances, for example, in certain areas that this may be desirable in some limited way and perhaps it could be very beneficial to the Indians. But I was thinking primarily of the situation back here in the East, such as in Appalachia, oppressed areas and other areas, that it could be done in a different fashion. In other words, as far as you are concerned, you would not say that sending some of your Indian youths to Alaska or to Montana on a youth program would be more satisfactory than having them in a State program where they live?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Well, what I was addressing myself to, Congressman, some youngsters in good families that may be in a situation where they pick up from their home, from their environment, the background that makes it possible for them to fit into our economy. Giving them the added help that Manpower Development and Training Act and Area Redevelopment Act provide, can solve their unemployment problems. But, there are others who do not get that background, who are from the down-and-out families. For them a program such as the one provided by parts A and B of title I would be extremely helpful.

Mr. BELL. Let me ask you a question there. Would it be likely that the ones you are talking about would be the ones who would enlist in the Job Corps or would they be the ones who might not go into that project? They might choose some type of basic education somewhere else or something else.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes; the Association on American Indian Affairs discussed that for a number of years. After all, this program has been under consideration since 1958, or so. As a matter of fact, even before then the Indians would tell me, "If you could only bring the CCC back, this is what really got our boys going."

I think the answer perhaps is that they themselves feel that this is what helped a great deal in getting things going.

Mr. BELL. But the problem still remains, though, that that does not necessarily equip them immediately for another job.

Mr. SCHIFTER. There is no doubt about that, Congressman.

What a CCC-type program does, though, is help some people to get the basic skills that perhaps you need before you even develop a technical skill, and that is simply the ability just to fit into our economy in terms of actually getting going and looking for a job and being interested in working and being able to adhere to a work schedule.

There are some people, particularly among Indians, who have not picked that up at home. Most of us pick it up at home; many Indians have not. This goes back to historical cultural problems that I don't want to take up here.

One point I also want to make in that connection, and I notice that the Farmers Union and the National Grange people this morning touched on it, is the problem of relocation. There is no doubt that as far as many Indian young people are concerned a good many of them would be better off finding their way into communities off the Indian reservations. But if you take people without skills, without adequate preparation and background and move them from one community to another, particularly from these rural Indian reservation areas into the big cities, you are just transferring the problem from one geographic location to another and the comments that were made this morning with regard to rural people generally, certainly apply to Indians.

The Indian relocation program conducted by the Federal Government during the 1950's was limited in its success by that very fact. A good many Indian people could not make it in Chicago and Los Angeles and came back to the reservations, sometimes at substantial expense to the Federal Government.

Now, what this bill could do is make it possible for Indian communities to initiate programs, first of all, for the young, under titles I and II.

I believe reference was made before to what you can do in the way of preparing youngsters for school through a preschool program. This would be extremely valuable in the Indian country. When the kids get to school at age 6, they have to spend a number of years just getting used to the school surroundings and perhaps even perfecting their knowledge of the English language. If you can initiate programs that make it possible for children to participate earlier in some form of preschool activity, you can make the educational process later on much easier. You can step up, of course, the quality of education generally.

Title I, again, can provide an outlet, an opportunity for teenagers and then under titles II, III, IV, and VI—and Indians can use all of these because their problems run across the board—you can develop programs for the adult population that can sustain them better in their community setting. They could make greater use of the agricultural resources that are available to them. They could develop commercial opportunities and finally industrial opportunities that would employ people in the reservation setting.

Now, all of this would have to go hand in hand with the training program, such as could be evolved under this and other legislation. You can use here the volunteers which would be available under title VI of the bill in helping people get trained.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins, do you have any questions?

Mr. HAWKINS. Not specifically, except that I would like to relate to the witness the question that Mr. Bell, my colleague from California, has been developing, it seems to me, in these hearings and that is this question of title I, the Job Corps, being the means of somehow delaying a young boy's entrance into industry and some productive occupation rather than facilitating it. There seems to be the implication that these young boys already have the habits and the attitudes that would make them, let us say, the type of individuals who would take advantage of vocational education or many of the other programs already in existence.

Now, is it your opinion that title I—I know you are relating it primarily to a specific group of persons, the American Indians—but do you envision this title as somehow delaying a person who may better be sent into a different surrounding altogether or do you agree that this would be the means of delaying an individual from obtaining help in one of the existing programs?

Mr. SCHIFTER. While I am testifying particularly with reference to Indian people, I believe the same thing applies to youngsters who come out of the slum areas of the cities. There are certain ones, and, as a matter of fact, there is a good number that do not pick up at home or in their immediate environment, the habits that are needed to fit into our economy and into our society generally. To think of training programs for them is illusory. Before you can train them in the skills you have to get them to acquire certain habits and attitudes that I believe the title I programs certainly would help instill in them.

Mr. BELL. Will you yield?

Mr. HAWKINS. I will yield because you seemed to be developing the point, I think to some extent you do have a point, but I am wondering whether or not your approach is the complete story.

I yield to you, Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Hawkins, I am not saying what should be done but I detect certain weaknesses in this, I believe, that may not stand up under really a fair amount of scrutiny. I think perhaps in certain cases I would agree that there are certain areas and the Indians may be one area where this could be handled in certain cases perhaps on a State level. However, I do want to point something out: that, first of all, in answer to Mr. Hawkins' point, they have set aside a basic education program in the manpower development and vocational education program, these are for the basic education.

Reading from this book, "One-third of the Nation," put out by the Labor Department, they do not seem to agree with this.

These young men face a lifetime of recurrent unemployment unless their skills are significantly upgraded. In the opinion of professional employment interviewers, 80 percent of the group needed job counseling, literacy training, or job training. A great majority of the men indicated they were willing to undertake such training.

In other words, what it implies is that 80 percent of the people who are interviewed relative to what they want, basic education and training is what they wanted, and to the tune of 80 percent they were willing to accept it and go right into the training programs. This is what the Labor Department indicated in their study in this book.

One other feature bothers me relative to the Indians. The lack of faith that you indicated in here of the Indians traditionally because, as you quoted, they felt it was just another promise that might be made only to be broken.

This lack of faith is where? In the Federal Government, not your State government or local government. This is the Government which has had the Indian affairs in their direct counseling and programing.

In the history of this country, it has been, and under Federal Government still is, one of the poorest programs where the literacy and the problems of the Indian people are greater than any other single minority.

That was indicated by testimony by, I believe, Mr. Udall. So, here the Federal Government has had a project but this has been one of the weakest programs of all of them for the minority race. It seems to me there is a pretty good indication there that perhaps the Federal Government should not be handed so many things.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Do you want me to answer that, Congressman?

Mr. HAWKINS. You are getting far afield from my original point.

Would you answer that and then I also would like to get back to the first phase of the point you raised because that is the point I was trying to develop. I do not mind including this also.

Mr. BELL. I felt this was also pertinent to what we are talking about.

Mr. SCHIFTER. I think, in all fairness, it might be said with the Indian people you start further behind than with any other group. If you think, for example, of people whom we are concerned with here, people on the reservations of the West today, about three generations ago they were hunters and fishermen and perhaps thousands of years removed from our culture. In other words, just 75 or 100 years ago, the American Indians were in a state of life in which your ancestors or mine, Congressman, were about 4,000 years ago. I don't want to go into an anthropological analysis of this but there was a tremendous gap which had to be bridged here. The fact that it has not been successful is perhaps understandable.

For example, if we found ourselves plunged down in the world in the year 5000, we might run into problems, too.

So, the problem is very serious and the Federal Government has had a tough time trying to cope with it. By and large, the Indians still feel that the Federal Government is in a better position to bring its resources to bear on the problems on the Indian reservation than the State government can.

I personally feel you have to be flexible about this.

In some States, undoubtedly in California, the State can do a good job. In other poorer States, the States won't have the money to do it and are not even set up in terms of facilities to do it.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Schifter, I am not exactly throwing out the idea of matching programs for the States. So, you cannot say they would not be getting help, Mr. Schifter. They could be getting help.

Now, when you speak of the problem of the Indian, I also want to point out that there are many other minorities who also have very difficult problems. I am the first to come to the aid of the Indians because I have been instrumental in helping them many times. I also want to point out that the other races in this country have had very severe problems, too. It is a question of just how you analyze it. Yet, this is the one that has had the least effect and this is the one where the Federal Government has had the most control.

That is all.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Could I make one other point; that is, under title I, part B, and title II, the Indian tribal governments can actually do a great deal for themselves in the way of developing programs, and that would be extremely useful. In other words, for local communities to come up with programs to qualify for Federal assistance but which were developed at the local level.

Mr. BELL. That is what should be emphasized, the local application of it and the Indians themselves working on it.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Very definitely.

Mr. BELL. And maybe directed by the State rather than the Federal Government.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Technical assistance would be desirable from the Federal Government but certainly the local people could work up the programs.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Bell, the only point I wanted to make was that you continue to emphasize a group of persons who can directly be benefitted by existing programs such as the Manpower Development and Training Act and vocational education, and so forth, that in addition to that there are certain individuals who cannot be helped by those programs.

This is merely an additional program to help a small section perhaps but certainly a substantial number of individuals, and I certainly have many of them who live in my district who need to be removed from the environment in which they live and to develop wholesome work habits and new attitudes. They are not going to develop those attitudes in the environment in which they now live. If they can be transferred to a new wholesome environment and put to work in a wholesome outdoor environment, let us say a completely new one, to develop these habits, to develop cooperative attitudes and so forth, I think they would be helped. Now, I am simply suggesting that I do not think that it is the question of saying that it has to be one or the other, we need all of them.

I join you in emphasizing that, wherever possible, if they can be given training in their home environment, that is wonderful, but I see no reason why this precluded title I of the bill on the theory that it does not help a substantial number of individuals. That was the only point I was trying to make.

Mr. BELL. If the gentleman will yield.

Mr. HAWKINS. Certainly, if I have any time left.

Mr. BELL. I am not suggesting that we should eliminate all of the youth conservation programs entirely. I am just suggesting that maybe in most instances the State government can handle it. You have also a voluntary program and all these people might, I think, be more interested in volunteering if they are going to be within the reasonable area of their homes, perhaps, in the same State but in some cases a different area of the State.

Mr. HAWKINS. You vaguely say let the State have it. Take the State of California, which is certainly one of the more prosperous States. You are suggesting that our State can assume the financial responsibility of handling this problem when it is the Republicans in Sacramento who today are voting against the appropriations of the budget. Do you think they would accept a program to increase the taxes of the people of California? Are you suggesting this?

Mr. BELL. Mr. Hawkins, I want to, first of all, say I have suggested matching funds in which the Federal Government would be paying part of the bill just as many other programs we have in the State today are on a matching basis. I am not suggesting that California would be by itself in this program.

Mr. HAWKINS. Even if it means increasing taxes in our State?

Mr. BELL. I am saying mostly through a matching fund arrangement programs could be set up and there is a program today in California, a conservation pilot program and it is fairly large for a pilot program which is operating today.

I have talked to the people in California and the one thing they wanted was to be sure that there was no Federal control in directing it. They wanted their resources to be used. They have lots of places to use them but they wanted the State to control it.

Mr. HAWKINS. Who is going to pay the bill?

Mr. BELL. I am suggesting a matching program. The State pays part and the Federal pays part of it.

Mr. HAWKINS. It seems to me we get back to the old story. On the Federal level, we say the State should do it. On the State level, it is usually members of your own party who oppose these heavy expenditures. They in effect say let the Federal Government do it.

Mr. BELL. When you say who is doing it, you are not talking about the Federal Government doing it on a matching basis. In some cases, our matching arrangements are higher than 50–50. So the Federal Government could be doing the lion's share of it in some cases. I am saying that the State should have control over it, not put up all the money. That is what I am saying.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. GIBBONS. How many Indians are there who are actually involved in reservations?

Mr. SCHIFTER. The total Indian population of the United States is about 650,000. The reservation population is about 380,000.

Mr. GIBBONS. Is the problem primarily on the reservation?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes. There are some off reservation, too, but then it becomes not an Indian problem but really a problem of various communities.

Mr. GIBBONS. What makes these people stay on the reservation? Most reservations that I have seen most human beings could not live on them. Why do they stay on the reservation?

Mr. SCHIFTER. You heard the testimony of the representatives of the National Farmers Union and the Grange this morning. I would say that Indians stay on their reservations for the very same reason that white people stay on poor lands. It is home to them. It is a community they know. Indians have their own system of helping each other which is quite different from most of our society. If an Indian is hungry and he has a cousin, second cousin or uncle or an aunt, he just moves in with them and they help him somehow. Indians feel very insecure going off into the white man's world.

This is a very serious problem to them. And there is this clear remembrance of the last battle. On one reservation that I work with in South Dakota, the last battle was in 1890. They talk about it as if it happened yesterday. Every child is taught to remember that.

All that provides is a feeling, "here is home, here is where we have been all the time for hundreds and hundreds of years, this is where we ought to stay."

Mr. GIBBONS. Don't you think we ought to try to lure these people off the reservations?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Congressman, when you try to lure older people off it doesn't work. When you train young people to look for other things, then quite naturally they are going to look around for opportunities elsewhere. What you have to do is, first of all, teach them a certain amount of knowledge about how to fit into our society and our economy and some skills. The only way off the reservation has invariably been a higher education. It is the Indians who go to college that stay away.

In a way, that presents a problem for the community because then the community is deprived of having college people within it or people with better training. So you have somewhat of a problem with those who stay behind because the less enterprising are the ones who stay behind. Somehow you have to cope with that problem, too.

Mr. GIBBONS. Is the population increasing?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Increasing in a way that refers back to what I mentioned before, the substantial decrease in infant mortality, has increased population at a rate higher than the general average throughout the United States.

Mr. GIBBONS. I have seen so many examples of Indians moving into the mainstream of American life and excelling when they get off the reservations. I have seen so many of these reservations and they just appall you. I do not see how anybody can make a living on them.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Usually the ones with a higher education are the ones that move off. That is right.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Goodell.

Mr. GOODELL. I appreciate your statement, Mr. Schifter. I think, basically, what you have said is that you need more money to help the Indians. As far as I am aware in questioning Secretary Udall, it was pretty well confirmed that the present authority in the law would permit, for Indians, virtually everything that is in this bill for the poor, generally. There is the authorization now for the Fed-

eral Government with its responsibility, with its authority, to undertake programs of this nature for the Indians alone.

Obviously, if we extend a program of this nature to all the poor of the country, the Indians would be included. But if you had enough money, presumably, the Bureau of Indians Affairs, you could do it right now. Some 70 percent of the Indians are on reservations, I think we are getting an average of $837 a year from the Federal Government to support them. This is a very substantial figure in terms of the amount of aid that the Indians seem to be getting. They seem to be supported at the very lowest level of poverty in some cases.

I think the question we have is not whether Indians should participate—obviously, I think they should participate and this program holds some potential for them—the question we have had is why have we not had any programs of this nature for Indians over the 100-and-some-odd years that we have been carrying the major responsibility for them.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Congressman, first of all, the figure of $837 is not a figure paid to support the Indians. If you take a look at it, as I mentioned before, most of that goes for schools and it is really a way of aiding the States. In other words, the States with a large Indian population, Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota, Montana, would have to foot the bill for providing assistance to Indians if it were not for the fact that the Federal Government is either maintaining schools on Indian reservations or paying under the Johnson-O'Mahoney Act a certain amount of assistance to local school districts.

Mr. GOODELL. This is the net cost today in the Federal Government.

Mr. SCHIFTER. That is right, of which schools, as I say, are the largest item.

Mr. GOODSELL. Schools will be a large item of this, too. I did not mean we are giving them $837 cash. This is the total benefit. They are getting benefit from the schools as much as they are from any other program that we have.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes. As I said, this is aid to the States. This is not really special assistance to Indians. The Federal Government is providing education rather than the States in these communities. In some cases, it is done by the State.

Mr. GOODELL. If you would accept that logic, then every program where we have a joint Federal-State situation or jurisdiction, the Federal money is in the form of aid to the State. All of your various types of welfare programs, your manpower program as it is set up, your vocational education program, you can make the same kind of argument by analogy that these are aids to States not to the individuals involved because there is State money involved.

Mr. SCHIFTER. What I am saying is that education throughout the United States is a service rendered by the States and the local communities. In the case of the Indians, the Federal Government steps in and pays the bill.

What I am trying to say is that this is not a special service for economic development. What we are talking about in this particular bill here is financing opportunities for economic development.

Now, you are absolutely right in that under the broad powers vested in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the In-

terior, there is adequate authorization legislation to do it all if Congress were to appropriate funds for these purposes. But Congress has not seen fit in the past to appropriate money for such purposes and probably will not do it just for Indians, that is my guess. I think it is politically rather clear that if you render assistance across the board, then the Indians can benefit from it, too.

Let me point out to you, as an example, only a few years ago we found out that the Public Housing Act covered Indian reservations and there is now housing assistance being given at a rate which Indians a few years ago would have considered unbelievable, simply by tying into a program that is just generally available to the American public.

The same may be true of other programs. The Accelerated Public Works Act provided a great deal of help for Indians. They would not have gotten it on their own.

Mr. GOODELL. I sympathize with that view. Of course, at the same time that we are providing the eligibility for Indians under our general program, we are punishing the Indians through other policies of the Government. Has your organization been involved at all with the Seneca Nation of Indians, the Kinzua Dam, in trying to help them?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes, we have been.

Mr. GOODELL. I hope you will be in the next crucial 2 or 3 or 4 weeks.

Mr. SCHIFTER. We are aware of it, sir.

Mr. GOODELL. The Senate having knocked the insides right out of the House bill, there is probably a minimum justice for them. The thing that concerns me so much about this is that the House bill was set up on a basis to make the Seneca Nation a continuing self-sufficient unit. They have been completely free of Federal aid since 1949. They are one of the unusual Indian tribes in this country who have not been receiving Federal money. We take the very heartland of their nation away from them and then we refuse to give them enough money as reimbursement for this so that they can have a self-sufficient economy from what remains of their reservation.

The Senate has cut them right to the bare subsistence level and they are going to have to take an $837 allotment or whatever it turns out to be for them from the Federal Treasury, once again encouraging the lack of any ambition or motivation, just the worst features of an individual human being to sit back and accept these things; they did not want it. They are a very proud people. And they moved away from it. Now we are forcing it right back on them.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Congressman, we applaud the position that you and the House of Representatives have taken on this and we hope you will prevail over questions raised by certain Members of the Senate.

Mr. GOODELL. If you have any influence over some of these western Senators——

Mr. SCHIFTER. Yes, there are just a few involved.

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you, Mr. Goodell.

How many Indians did you say there were still on the reservation today?

Mr. SCHIFTER. About 380,000, Congressman.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much for your appearance.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. The next witness is Mr. E. B. Whitten, executive secretary of the National Rehabilitation Association.

I notice you have a prepared statement, Mr. Whitten. Do you wish to summarize it or read it?

STATEMENT OF E. B. WHITTEN, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL REHABILITATION ASSOCIATION

Mr. WHITTEN. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit the statement for the record, including two documents that are attached to the back of it, one of which is an amendment to the bill, the other a brief statement explaining in detail the reasons for the amendment.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, your statement and the exhibits will be inserted in the record at this point.

You may proceed.

(The statements referred to follow:)

STATEMENT OF E. B. WHITTEN, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL REHABILITATION ASSOCIATION

I am E. B. Whitten, director of the National Rehabilitation Association, a voluntary nonprofit association with approximately 20,000 individual and organizational members and with affiliates in 46 of the States. About one-half of our members are people who have a professional interest in rehabilitation of handicapped individuals, including administrators, physicians, counselors, psychologists, nurses, social workers, and therapists. The other half are public-spirited citizens in many walks of life who attempt to advance rehabilitation of the handicapped individuals by supporting the association in its efforts. The membership of the National Rehabilitation Association not only cuts across many professions, but includes individuals employed by or otherwise related to both public and voluntary rehabilitation agencies.

Established in 1925, the National Rehabilitation Association was the sponsor of the 1943 Amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, which broadened the program to include physical restoration services and made the mentally ill and mentally retarded eligible for services, and of the 1954 amendments which set up programs of research, training of rehabilitation personnel, and the legal basis for a greatly expanded State-Federal program of rehabilitation. The interest of the association is in the rehabilitation of all physically and mentally impaired persons without regard to age or category of disability.

AMENDMENT PROPOSED

The National Rehabilitation Association is giving general support to H.R. 10440. Our testimony is confined to the bill as it relates to the rehabilitation of handicapped people. At this point, I shall appreciate having inserted in the record a one-page item headed "Amendment to H.R. 10440, Proposed by the National Rehabilitation Association" and a three-page item containing questions and answers pertaining to the amendment which is proposed.

The general purpose of our amendment is simple. It is to assure that in an all-out attack upon poverty we do not neglect physically and mentally handicapped persons who can profit from rehabilitation services and who desire such services in order that they may become useful and productive citizens.

EXTENT OF PROBLEM

Mr. Chairman, testimony on H.R. 10440 has included very little reference to the problems of physically or mentally impaired people, and there has been no mention, so far as I know, of organized efforts now underway to rehabilitate such individuals: yet disability is a most significant factor in poverty. In fact disability contributes to poverty, and poverty, in turn compounds disability. It is generally agreed that we have in this country at least 3½

million individuals who need vocational rehabilitation services to become employable and who would accept such services if they were available at the time they are first needed. Aproximately 400,000 additional individuals are added to this number annually, as a result of accident, diseases, and congenital causes. The Secretary of Labor has reported that 12 percent of all of the individuals applying under the manpower development and training program are identified as being physically handicapped. It is undoubtedly true that the most severely handicapped do not make application at all for benefits under this program. If the emotionally ill and mentally retarded are added to this number, the proportion would be much greater. Handicapped people are to be found in every strata of human beings who are eligible for services under the various titles of H.R. 10440. The tendency is going to be to neglect them, unless serious steps are taken in this bill to see that efforts to rehabilitate handicapped people keep pace with general efforts to abolish poverty.

STATE-FEDERAL VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAM

In 1920, the Congress of the United States established a vocational rehabilitation program. The legislation has been revised and the concept of rehabilitation expanded a number of times, notably by Public Law 113 of the 78th Congress (1943) and Public Law 565 of the 83d Congress (1954). This program is administered by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare through the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. At the State level it is administered by State vocational rehabilitation agencies in all of the States and territories The program operates in all of the States and in all of their subdivisions. It may literally be said that vocational rehabilitation services are being carried through this program into every nook and corner of our country. Economic need is a condition for practically all of its services. If there has ever been a program devoted to constructive efforts to relieve poverty in this country, it is the State-Federal program of rehabilitation. It has learned the hard way the lessons that many others are learning today. In these agencies and in their companion voluntary agencies, principally the rehabilitation centers and the workshops, will be found the knowledge that is required in order to deal successfully with a large proportion of the people with which this bill is concerned. It is significant that the U.S. Department of Labor, through its manpower development and training program, is making contracts with rehabilitation agencies throughout the country to carry on demonstrations of how the economically and socially deprived may be prepared for employment.

The State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program is a successful one. Currently, it is rehabilitating over 110,000 individuals annually. It is estimated that the number of persons rehabilitated will increase to 133,000 in the 1965 fiscal year. It is significant that the number of people being rehabilitated annually today by the State rehabilitation agencies is more than one-half of the number that the Secretary of Labor estimates will be involved in the work-training program under H.R. 10440.

Services provided handicapped people under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act include medical and psychological diagnosis and evaluation, counseling and guidance, medical services, vocational training, placement, and followup on the job. These are the same services that are going to be required to help millions of individuals who may not be physically or mentally impaired in the usual sense but who have many of the same problems. The techniques for applying these services practiced by the rehabilitation agencies, public and voluntary, are the techniques that are going to be found effective in dealing with such individuals.

Rehabilitation agencies have the confidence of their State governments and the confidence of the Congress of the United States, as has been demonstrated in many ways. These agencies are in a position to make a vital contribution to the success of any antipoverty program. To ignore their experience, would be foolhardy.

H.R. 10440, as now written, mentions vocational rehabilitation services only one time. This is in section 204 which lists vocational rehabilitation as among the fields with which community action programs will be concerned. There is no mention of the utilization of the State vocational rehabilitation agencies in this poverty program. The testimony of administration witnesses has given no indication as to how vocational rehabilitation will be involved in this program or how the State vocational rehabilitation agencies will be utilized. We believe, therefore, that we have real reason for concern that physically and mentally impaired persons may be neglected under this program.

AMENDMENT EXPLAINED

Our amendment is written as a second section to title V. There are good reasons for this. The Public Welfare Administration which will administer this title as it is written, and the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration are companion programs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. They carry on cooperative programs at the State and local levels. Many of the projects are concerned with the rehabilitation of physically and mentally impaired parents and guardians of needy children. Disability is a factor in such dependency in at least one-fourth of these families.

The amendment authorizes the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to transfer funds to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the specific purpose of extending and improving vocational rehabilitation services to handicapped people under section 3 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. This is a special project program. All projects must be identifiable and must provide for a new or extended activity. The section appears to be tailor made for use in implementing the purposes of H.R. 10440.

The amendment provides that funds will be allotted to the States on the basis of criteria determined by the Secretary to be most appropriate to assure maximum contribution to the purposes of the legislation. The Federal Government would pay 100 percent of the cost of the projects, as is provided for in the other section of title V. Projects will be initiated at the State level.

The individuals to be served will have some kind of identifiable physical and/or mental disabiltiy, but a substantial component of their total disability may be the result of economic and cultural deprivation. This is a somewhat more liberal definition of the handicapped individual than appears in the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. It will enable State rehabilitation agencies to provide services for a badly handicapped group of individuals who need the identical services that are being made available for physically and mentally handicapped clients at this time, but who might not be considered eligible in some cases. The State of Washington has been a leader in providing rehabilitation services to a group of handicapped who may be said to be "nondisabled," in as much as they may not necessarily have medically determinable physical or mental disabilities. Cooperating with the Department of Public Welfare, and using State funds only, this program is making a significant contribution toward the achievement of objectives of H.R. 10440. In this amendment we do not disassociate eligibility from physical and/or mental disability, but we are assuming that numbers of individuals such as those now being served by the Washington Rehabilitation Agency under its new program will be eligible for services under this amendment.

We shall give a few illustrations of the kind of projects that might be developed under the amendment. The Georgia Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, in cooperation with the Georgia Public Welfare Department, is operating a successful pilot project in Chatham County demonstrating that handicapped parents and guardians of ADC recipients can be rehabilitated to the great benefit of the families themselves and with great savings to the State and Federal Government in public welfare cost. With additional funds appropriated under H.R. 10440, this program could be extended to other parts of the State. Similar projects are underway in many other States. They include: Arizona, Maricopa County; Arkansas, Pulaski County; Florida, Orange and Seminole Counties; Minnesota, Ramsey County; Nebraska, Douglas and Lawrence Counties; New Jersey, Union, Passaic and Middlesex Counties; Oregon, Multnomah County; Texas, Harris and Bexar Counties; Vermont, Chittenden County; West Virginia, Kanawha County; Wisconsin, Milwaukee County; Massachusetts, Boston County; Utah, Salt Lake County; Illinois, Cook County; Kentucky, Harlan, Bell, Johnson, Martin, and Lawrence Counties.

The Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation has developed a program in cooperation with the public school system of Champaign to provide services to bridge the gap between school and employment for mentally retarded youth. A similar program is operating in the La Grange area. With funds appropriated under H.R. 10440, these programs could be extended to other parts of the State. Almost all of the States would be able to develop similar projects. States that already have underway special projects making a beginning in this field include: Oregon, New Jersey, Minnesota, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Puerto Rico, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Texas, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

In Kentucky, the vocational rehabilitation division is developing rehabilita-

tion units in two State schools for the mentally retarded. It also has a special program for the mentally retarded and others in Harlan County. These programs could be extended with funds appropriated under H.R. 10440.

In Minnesota a significant project at the Kenny Institute has demonstrated significant rehabilitation potential in applicants for and recipients of social security disability benefits. The division of vocational rehabilitation is currently seeking financial support to extend its program to this group of the disabled. Similar research projects have been carried on at Tulane University and the Ohio University Rehabilitation Centers. Projects of this kind are appropriate in all of the States. In considering an all-out attack on poverty, special concern must be given to the approximately 1 million individuals who are already drawing social security for disability benefits and the almost equal number who have made application for such benefits but have been denied services on the grounds that they are capable of some substantial gainful employment.

It is significant that State rehabilitation agencies are ready to go on programs such as we have described. Pilot projects are underway or have been completed. This program has leadership and direction. It has experience. It has contracts and/or effective working relations with all of the professions and community facilities, medical, educational, and vocational, that are needed to get the job done.

In New York City, a special project recently completed has demonstrated techniques effective in the rehabilitation of older workers. This program could be extended to other areas. Such projects would be appropriate in most of the States.

Many other illustrations may be given: Projects can be developed to extend services to special categories of the handicapped, such as to the mentally ill or to the mentally retarded; or to groups in certain settings, such as recipients of public assistance or social security disability benefits. Projects may also be developed to improve community facilities for serving the handicapped, such as workshops and rehabilitation centers.

RESULTS ANTICIPATED

We are not asking additional appropriations to implement this amendment. We do suggest, however, that $20 million of sums appropriated be allotted to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to implement this program during this first year. Experience will sho whow much will eventually be needed to do a complete job. Twenty million dollars is necessary if allotments to States are to be large enough that significant projects may be developed. Small allotments has been one of the difficulties in the administration of section 3 of the present act up to the present time.

This committee, naturally, is interested in what might be expected as a result of this expenditure. The average cost of rehabilitating an individual at the present time is approximately $1,000, which includes all salaries and administrative costs. The average cost under the new program should not be substantially higher. This would mean that between 15,000 and 20,000 additional rehabilitations may be expected per year. Again this means successful cases, actually working at the time of closure, not just people who are served with the hope that they will find employment. Incidentally, it is significant that vocational rehabilitation agencies are providing comprehensive rehabilitation services on an individual basis at a lower average cost than is estimated for vocational training programs only in other sections of this act.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to emphasize that this amendment is consistent with the express purposes of H.R. 10440, its administrative framework, and its drafting procedures. The amendment will help achieve the purposes of the bill by stepping up the war against poverty in that portion of the economically deprived who are physically and mentally handicapped. It will do so by using an experienced successful program already devoted to the alleviation of poverty. It will be administered in the manner consistent with other provisions of the bill, that is, by the transfer of funds to an already existing department of Government. The drafting form is similar to other titles and uses almost the same language as found in the present title V. The Federal share of expenditures is also consistent with the provisions of title V. We shall appreciate the careful consideration of our proposal and will be glad to furnish any additional information which the committee may require in making its judgment.

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 10440 PROPOSED BY NATIONAL REHABILITATION ASSOCIATION

The principal heading for title V shall be revised to read "Family Unity and Rehabilitation Through Jobs."

A new "Part B" is added as follows:

PART B—REHABILITATION THROUGH JOBS

SEC. 503. The purpose of this part is to assist in initiating, extending, and improving rehabilitation services for physically and/or mentally handicapped persons, including those unemployed individuals whose inability to secure and maintain employment is heavily influenced by economic and cultural deprivation.

PAYMENTS FOR EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS

SEC. 504. In order to stimulate the expansion by the States of programs designed to help handicapped individuals achieve independence and productive capacity, the Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this act to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him to make payments to the States for extension and improvement projects under section 3 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. (29 U.S.C. 41.)

The costs of such projects to the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, shall, notwithstanding the provisions of such act, be met entirely from funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this act and the limitation on the duration of projects and the allotment provisions of section 3 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act are waived.

NATIONAL REHABILITATION ASSOCIATION PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO H.R. 10440

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Question. Why is it desirable that a part of this bill refer specifically to services to handicapped people?

Answer. Physically and mentally handicapped people constitute a large proportion of the proverty stricken in this country. For instance, the U.S. Department of Labor reports that 12 percent of those applying for training under the manpower development and training programs are physically handicapped. Most of these cannot be served effectively without special services not ordinarily available in State and local training programs. The inclusion of the mentally retarded and emotionally ill would increase this percentage sharply. Handicapped people usually feel poverty first and are affected most deeply. Since handicapped people require special treatment for their rehabilitation, they are likely to be neglected, unless special provisions are made for them.

2. Question. Why should this program be administered through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare?

Answer. It is assumed that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will assign responsibility to the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, which administers the Federal aspects of the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program. The Vocational Rehabilitation Administration has a long history of successful administration of vocational rehabilitation, including research, training, demonstration, and extension and improvement areas.

3. Question. How would the program operate in the States?

Answer. The Secretary would make grants to the States (vocational rehabilitation agencies) as under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. Services would be provided under conditions of State vocational rehabilitation plans and such other policies as the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall deem appropriate.

4. Question. Are the State vocational rehabilitation agencies prepared to carry out such a program?

Answer. Yes. These State agencies are well established, operating effectively and economically. They have been rehabilitating handicapped people for over 40 years. Practically all services are provided on the basis of economic need. If there ever has been a program devoted to constructive efforts to alleviate poverty in this country, it is the State-Federal program of rehabilitation. It already has contracts with hospitals, physicians, clinics, rehabilitation centers, sheltered workshops, vocational schools, and other vocational training institu-

tions. These State agencies are rehabilitating over 112,000 persons annually. This means that those handicapped individuals are actually placed on jobs and have been employed long enough that there is a reasonable expectation that employment is permanent. These agencies are in a position to expand their programs without delay.

5. Question. Why is it suggested that section 3 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act be used as the legal basis for this program?

Answer. This is an "extension and improvement program." Projects must be designed to extend services to new groups, provide more intensive services to groups of handicapped already being served, or to otherwise extend and improve vocational rehabilitation activities. This section of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act seems ideal to carry out the purpose of H.R. 10440, so far as it relates to handicapped individuals.

6. Question. Is it possible for the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to transfer funds to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for purposes described in the amendment as H.R. 10440 is now written.

Answer. It may be possible. We are not sure. It is extremely unlikely that it would be done without specific authority. We feel that the handicapped need the legal protection of a special provision of the bill. This will enable Congress from year to year to identify specifically rehabilitation aspects of the anti-poverty program and evaluate their effectiveness.

7. Question. How much money do you propose be transferred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare during the first year for purposes of the amendment?

Answer. Twenty million dollars would make allotments to States large enough to enable them to develop significant projects.

8. Question. How would the funds be allotted to the States?

Answer. Section 3 funds are now allotted on a population basis. We are suggestiong that this be set aside for the new program to enable the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish criteria for fair distribution of funds among States, as is provided in other titles of the bill.

9. Question. What will be the Federal share of the program?

Answer. We are suggesting a 100-percent Federal share, as is provided for in part A of title V, pertaining to pilot projects and demonstrations in public assistance.

10. Question. What results can be expected with an allotment of $20 million annually?

Answer. Twenty million dollars should be the starting figure. Experience will show needs in future years. The average cost of rehabilitating an individual at the present time is approximately $1,000, which includes all salaries and administrative costs. The average cost under the new program should not be substantially higher. This would mean that between 15,000 and 20,000 additional rehabilitations may be expected per year, after the program has got into full swing. Again, this means successful cases, actually working at the time of closure, not just people who are served with the hope that they will find employment. Incidentally, it is significant that vocational rehabilitation agencies are providing rehabilitation services on an individual basis at a lower average cost than is estimated for vocational training programs only in other sections of this act.

11. Question. Will the vocational rehabilitation agencies participate in other titles of this bill?

Answer. Yes; both public and voluntary agencies will do what they can to help in community action programs, and use other programs as resources, when this is appropriate. The amendment we propose will enable the rehabilitation agencies to make a contribution much more consistent with their experience and knowledge in dealing with problems of poverty on a nationwide basis, than they could do if their activities were confined to existing titles of the bill.

12. Question. Why should vocational rehabilitation be singled out for special attention in this act? Are there other public programs not mentioned in this bill that could make an equal claim for such consideration?

Answer. The most important answer is that handicapped people are likely to be neglected, unless specially provided for. In addition, however, it must be said that vocational rehabilitation is the only nationwide direct service program whose activities are already directed 100 percent toward constructive alleviation of poverty. Its contributions, therefore, to the achievement of the objectives of this bill will be unique. Its participation on a nationwide scale will result in more

genuine, constructive relief to the poverty stricken than can be accomplished anywhere else with similar expenditures. In saying this, however, we recognize fully that other programs are necessary for other groups of economically deprived individuals.

13. Question. Is this amendment consistent with the purposes of H.R. 10440, its administrative framework and drafting procedures?

Answer. The answer is yes in all three instances. This amendment will help achieve the purposes of the bill by stepping up the war against poverty in that portion of the economically deprived who are physically and mentally handicapped. It will do so by using an experienced, successful program already devoted to the alleviation of poverty. It will be administered in a manner consistent with other provisions of the bill; that is, the transfer of funds to an already existing department of government. The drafting form is similar to other titles and uses almost the same language as found in the present title V. The Federal share of expenditures is also consistent with the provisions of title V.

Mr. WHITTEN. I will come directly to the point with respect to the chief purpose for our being here. We are in general support of this legislation but our organization is concerned specifically with its relationship to the rehabilitation of physically and mentally impaired persons.

Incidentally, this is a most significant part of the total number of impoverished people in this country.

You may have noticed that the Secretary of Labor says that 12 percent of the individuals who are applying for manpower development and training programs are physically handicapped people. We have every reason to believe that if the mentally retarded, the mentally and the most severely handicapped who would not necessarily apply for such benefits were added, that this might mean 20 percent of the total number of individuals that you are proposing to help through this legislation.

Now, frankly, we want to use this legislation in order to speed up efforts to rehabilitate handicapped people in this country. They are generally the most poor of the poor. In fact, disability itself is the cause of poverty in a large number of instances and poverty compounds disability when it is the other way around. So, we think this is the most significant part of the total purpose that legislation of this kind ought to have.

Now, in the hearings up to this point, there has been slight reference to rehabilitation, to this particular part of the poverty load. None that I remember at all by any administration witnesses, and any other references have been in the sideline fashion.

We have been afraid that, unless there is special emphasis given to the special problems of handicapped people in this legislation, we are going to find handicapped people falling again through the cracks, so to speak, of these programs just as they have in so many other programs that have been started in this country.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt the witness for a moment?

Mr. PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. GOODELL. I am going to have to leave. I want to tell you, Mr. Whitten, that I have read your testimony and I would just like to ask you—I think it is very impressive—it seems to me, however, that in a sense you are proposing something that, for some portions of this bill, should be an alternative rather than a supplemental suggestion.

I am deeply concerned that we are setting up a new director with some sort of implied authority over ongoing, existing programs with-

out any very specific authority in the law. The director has new authorities we grant under this act for special projects. Obviously, to be effective it must be dovetailed with the ongoing existing programs.

One of the finest is the vocational rehabilitation program. I notice you say $20 million will do the job to start with the first year. You recommend two or three things which are very important; one, that there be a State allocation formula for that $20 million; two, that the money go to HEW and thereby obviously to the present Vocational Rehabilitation Administration.

Both those points I agree with very strongly.

I would like you, if you would, to expand for a moment on the importance of those two points and why you stress them so.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman and Mr. Goodell, let me say that we assume that rehabilitation agencies, both public and voluntary, would participate to whatever degree they could in any kind of community undertaking underway. But the reason for our specific proposal is this: The State rehabilitation agencies have been in the poverty business for 40 years. They are the agencies that know more about the problems of poverty and they have been dealing with it more effectively than any other in the country. These are statewide organizations, operating in all the States, in the territories, and in every political subdivision of the States. They have programs going on now of experimental, special project nature, including experimental extension improvement projects that are ready. In other words, this would be a very simple thing and I am confident that more would be accomplished for the money spent for this particular group of people for whom we are concerned than any other way you could spend it.

It is just that simple to me, Mr. Chairman, I hope it will be to others.

Mr. GOODELL. I agree with that point that you have made. You are saying, in effect, that they have had since 1920 the experience of building up, rehabilitating these individuals with one form of disability or another, and that a very large segment of our impoverished in this country belong in that category, perhaps not technically under the present Vocational Rehabilitation Act but they are disabled.

You make the point that it is cultural deprivation that disables them but they are disabled in making their own way in society today. They are beyond the immediate reach of the programs that are there for those who can help themselves.

I do think that the faster, the most effective way of launching a new attack here is to utilize the framework of such organizations as the vocational rehabilitation, trigger them with some more money. They are all ready apparently with a lot of plans, particularly the Vocational Rehabilitation Act amendments that we put there a few years back that authorized this experimental type of program.

Mr. WHITTEN. In fact, Mr. Goodell, some of the things that people are calling experimental are not experimental to us at all. It just happens that this section 3 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act is ideally tailored to accomplish the objectives of this bill. This is nothing contrary to the spirit that we are suggesting and the purpose, I think, of those who proposed the bill. We think our knowledge as to how this is operated puts us in a position to say that in addition to approaches that other people have taken that this is the way to

really get these agencies involved in the most effective and economical manner to accomplish a large part of the objectives of this bill.

Mr. GOODELL. In effect, what you are saying is, give us $20 million more under section 3 with a little broader authority than you now have under section 3, and you can do a tremendous job here, probably more per dollar than in any other immediately available program.

Mr. WHITTEN. This is illustrated by the fact that the average cost of rehabilitating people in State rehabilitation agencies is about $5,000 a year and this includes all cost, salaries, administration, and everything.

I understand the Secretary of Labor is anticipating a greater experience than that for each person trained under the youth program.

I am not saying his estimates are too high, but I am saying that through the experience and the connections and the fact that these programs have had to operate economically all through the years that they are geared to do this job more economically probably than anybody else could do it.

Mr. GOODELL. I do not think there is a finer program that we have going in the Federal Government than the vocational rehabilitation program. When I say "in the Federal Government," I recognize, and I think you do, Mr. Whitten, the importance of the State contribution involved in this program as it now operates. Both levels of Government plus the local level deserve a great deal of credit for it.

I appreciate your testimony. I am very sorry to interrupt your train of thought and your presentation, but I wanted to get these points in.

I was particularly interested in your being here today and did read your testimony very carefully in advance. I appreciate the points you have made.

Mr. WHITTEN. I am glad you interrupted me because the important thing for me is to get my message over and you are here now. So it does not bother me to be interrupted.

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, by virtue of this interruption, which has indeed been welcomed, I may change my tack a little bit so as not to repeat some things that I might have otherwise said.

I think that probably you might be as interested as anybody else if I could tell you how this program would work in some of the States and illustrations of the kinds of projects that might be developed.

I believe I will begin with that and see if I can make clear the kinds of things that we would probably do in the vocational rehabilitation program.

There are 110,000 people or more being rehabilitated each year in the program now. By the way, this is over half the number that the Secretary of Labor anticipates will be trained each year under the youth training program. So, you see, this is not a small program we are talking about, it is a program that has reached proportions and is staffed and engineered to do a real job. The problem of it has been to try to get enough State money to match Federal allotments in order to do a more complete job.

Now, about illustrations of the type of projects we might have. One group is in connection and in cooperation with State and local educa-

tional agencies. These are aimed, of course, at rehabilitating handicapped youth and many of them, particularly mentally retarded handicapped youth. We have special projects already underway in this country and, by the way, it is interesting, Mr. Chairman, three or four of them would be in your State, in Bourbon County, Rockcastle County, Rowan County, and Floyd County; Vigo County, Ind.; Eugene, Oreg., Jewish Vocational Service, St. Louis, Colorado Department of Education, University of Kansas, Massachusetts Rehabilitation Division.

Let me illustrate how this works in Harlan County: A contract is entered into between the division of vocational rehabilitation of the State department of education and the Harlan County public schools. The purpose is to rehabilitate handicappped youth that are coming up through the schools, some of which stay, of course, on through, and others drop out.

The public schools offer the intensified general educational services that any child is supposed to get. The vocational rehabilitation division identifies these people early in their careers while they are still in school and together, the educational people and the vocational rehabilitation people plan the course of this individual after he drops out of school or after he graduates from school so that there is no interruption. The vocational rehabilitation division gives him additional vocational training and/or other services, frequently in a workshop or other rehabilitation center, and takes responsibility for placing him on the job. This is the type of thing that is in an experimental program now in 15 or 20 States in the United States.

It has already shown to be thoroughly sound, productive, and successful. If we had money under this bill we then would just be able to expand these units. Instead of 5 counties in Kentucky, we could go to 10, 15, or 20, or in any of these other States that I mentioned. There would be no necessary delay other than just getting tooled up to do the job. In other words, we know how to do it.

There is another type of project I would like to mention and this has reference to cooperation with the public welfare departments. You know, there has been a lot said about the fact that there are so many children on ADC grants—and, by the way, about one-fourth of the relief load is the result of disability on the part of one or more of the parents or of the guardian in the case.

Now, we have experimental programs underway in cooperation with the public welfare people in Arizona, that is Maricopa County, Ariz.; Pulaski County, Ark.; Chatham County, Ga.; Orange and Seminole Counties, Fla.; Ramsey County, Minn.; Douglas and Lancaster Counties in Nebraska; Union, Essex, and Monmouth Counties, N.J.; Multnomah County in Oregon; Harris and Bexar Counties in Texas; Kanawha County in West Virginia, and Milwaukee County in Wisconsin.

Here is what they do, about like this. The rehabilitation division and the public welfare department comes into an agreement. The public welfare department assists the vocational rehabilitation people in identifying the people on the public assistance caseload that have promising rehabilitation potential, then with the public welfare department continuing to provide welfare services as they are needed during the course of rehabilitation, the rehabilitation agencies take

these individuals, provide them sheltered workshop experiences, rehabilitation center services, vocational training, whatever they need, and then take the responsibility for putting them out on the job.

An interesting thing is that this has been going on long enough that we know at least half of these people can be rehabilitated if you provide the right kind of service.

Again, what I am saying is that if you give us enough money under this bill we will immediately move in where, instead of one county in Georgia, we will move to two, to three, four, five; the same way in Kentucky, California, and Oregon and all these other States. We know how to do it. The experimental work is over, so to speak. We just need to move in with the money to provide the services.

Mr. PERKINS. The Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1954 with the amendments, you are saying, is adequate to do the job now?

Mr. WHITTEN. It is not adequate to do the entire job, Mr. Chairman. A piece of legislation is before this committee which I think Mrs. Green's subcommittee will hear as soon as this is over which will, shall we say, correct and improve the legislation itself. So we had not intended here today to get into the little changes that need to be made in the vocational rehabilitation law but to show you what can be done without any change in law through this poverty program to attain its objectives, to enable us to rehabilitate more handicapped people.

There is one other illustration I want to give. One of the most terrific problems of rehabilitation in this country, and poverty is found through the individuals identified as disabled through the social security programs, we have 1 million people drawing disability benefits under the Social Security Act. We have nearly another million people who have been denied benefits on the ground that they have some ability for gainful employment, most of whom, however, are not employed, and the rehabilitation agencies have not in most instances been able to serve them effectively yet, because of the lack of money primarily.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these are people whose names and addresses we can produce. They have applied for benefits. They have either received the benefits or they have been denied them. This is not guesswork about the number of disarmed people like we used to have to do. We can produce them.

Mr. PERKINS. Do you not think that, under the proposed program here, the purposes of your amendment could be accomplished under a community action program under title II of the bill?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, we gave a lot of thought to that. As I said a moment ago, we feel that the rehabilitation agencies, both public and voluntary, will cooperate in every possible way with these community projects. But the programs I am talking about are not the kind of thing that lend themselves to 40 different agencies getting together to accomplish some specific objectives. We have the names of these handicapped people; we know where they are. These are cooperative programs, you see, as I have mentioned, the Rehabilitation Division with the Department of Education on the one hand, the Public Welfare Department on the other.

Mr. PERKINS. The kind of programs which you are now advocating; would they be different in nature from those already em-

ployed to aid the physically and mentally handicapped under other legislative programs?

Mr. WHITTEN. There would be additional, yes. For instance, the definition of handicapped persons that we have in our amendment as implied a while ago is somewhat different and broader. Although it does not dissassociate services from physical——

Mr. PERKINS. Don't you feel that if we had more money to spend on the present vocational rehabilitation program under this legislation that each program would complement the other?

Mr. WHITTEN. Which programs do you mean, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. PERKINS. I mean if you had more money to carry on the present program which you are advocating before this committee along with the legislation, if it was enacted into law under the community action programs to do rehabilitation work, do you not feel that each one would complement the other and that we could use both of them?

Mr. WHITTEN. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we certainly don't want anything that we are saying here to appear to be in opposition to the community action program. That is useful and it will be useful in rehabilitation ways, too. As I have indicated, it is not the best, or certainly ought not to be, the sole method of involving 52 poverty agencies—agencies experienced in poverty—in a direct attack.

Mr. PERKINS. I think I understand your position. You have made yourself clear.

Is there any other statement you want to make before we question you?

Mr. WHITTEN. I though you would want to know what you could expect if you should let us have $20 million in this program, because this will be a program the results of which you can measure. We are rehabilitating now at a cost of $5,000 apiece. We think this would be somewhat more of a caseload than we have already. We believe we can rehabilitate 15,000 additional individuals per year with $20 million; 15,000 to 20,000 people with $20 million. You will be able to call us to task and see whether we are able to accomplish it or not.

These reports are made annually so it is easy to see whether it is possible to deliver. Sometimes we don't deliver as rapidly as we think we can and sometimes we do.

As I said a moment ago, Mr. Chairman, this, we think, would be a most significant attack upon poverty as a supplement to the already existing provisions of this bill. It is not out of harmony with the bill itself. It is not out of the spirit of the bill but it is a way, we think, of getting the job done better, quicker, and cheaper than the same job could be done without this supplementary legislation.

So I think that is all I will say now. I will wait on you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Whitten, I get a strange reaction to your statement. It seems to me that you are trying to single out one group and give it some particular attention under the bill when it seems to me that they are somewhat related to all titles of the bill as all other groups. I think the same argument could be made to any group. I cannot see just how you relate this to the general problem of trying to do something for impoverished people.

It seems to me that the physically handicapped are in perhaps the same position as persons who are handicapped for other reasons.

While I agree with everything that you want to do for this particular group of people, yet it seems to me that you have an idea which you are trying to hitchhike on a bill that perhaps should be a separate process rather than relating it to this bill. I see nothing in this bill which prohibits State vocational rehabilitation agencies from being employed or being used. It seems to me cooperation is set up in the bill for that group as well as the other. The physically handicapped have some of the same needs as all other people. Their needs are not only those that relate to their health but also housing and the general community. These things are also of interest to the physically handicapped as to the other people. It just seems to me that you are simply objecting to the question that they are not emphasized enough in this bill. But to set them out as a separate group is exactly what the physically handicapped do not want.

That is my reaction to your statement. Perhaps you can explain why you attempt to have this specialized approach rather than one which would relate their problems to everybody else.

If every group came in with the same idea, then we will end up with no bill at all, it seems to me, but with a hundred different approaches to the same problem, and we will be back just where we were in the beginning. Nobody will get helped and everybody will have his own special program.

If there is any value in this approach it is that it is a comprehensive overall approach to the problem; one of coordinating all the forces in the community to help everybody who is impoverished. Everybody has to rise with it or else each individual group is going to fall.

That is my reaction to your statement. I would like to have your comments.

Mr. WHITTEN. Well, we have so much zeal for this subject, we might not be above what you call riding on the coattail of a program or something like that.

Mr. HAWKINS. Hitchhiking just in order to get $20 million. I do not think that is the purpose of the bill.

Mr. WHITTEN. Really, that is not the idea here. We all have plenty to do. It is not that. I think there are logical reasons for this approach.

In the first place, handicapped people do require special services. They do not fit into these other programs as the general rank-and-file do. For instance, the Department of Labor says that 12 percent of all the people who are coming to them in the manpower development and training program are handicapped but they are serving a very small percentage of them, by their own reports. In other words, they are slipping through.

We are convinced that the severely handicapped people cannot be very well served; for instance, through the camps that are proposed. Their disabilities make them less likely to fit into the regular training programs that are developed in schools for classes of individuals.

The very fact that we have a Vocational Rehabilitation Act which Congress passed and which it has supported liberally in its emphasis is the fact that there are special programs that have to operate in special ways in order to serve this particular group of people.

Mr. HAWKINS. Agreeing with you, is there anything in the bill which prohibits that being done? Why can't that be done under the bill as it is now written?

Mr. WHITTEN. I think you are correct in this sense that there is nothing in the bill that forbids it. We made a very thorough investigation to try to see what thinking had gone on behind this bill. It is very evident that in a community action project, whatever a community action project turns out to be, that there could be involvement of rehabilitation. We do not argue this at all. We think it would be difficult, however, in that kind of program to involve the rehabilitation agencies in such a way as to make a very significant contribution to the program, but it could be.

Mr. HAWKINS. Why can they not be involved as well as any other agency? Are they so different that they will not cooperate or that they cannot be involved as well as any other agency?

Mr. WHITTEN. Well, it is not that they wouldn't cooperate but the organization of the vocational rehabilitation agencies makes it difficult. For instance, they do not operate on a county basis or on municipal basis. They operate on a statewide basis with the assignment of individuals to various sections. There would not, for instance, be spelled in every municipality where they might be an urge to develop a community action program. So it would be more difficult for them to participate administratively in this sort of thing.

I certainly want to say again that we assume and feel confident that they would work to the maximum of their possibilities in the community action programs. We just think these special programs are necessary. After all, what we are suggesting is not out of the spirit of the bill. Actually, this type of transfer of funds is provided for in all these other programs, the youth program, the college training program, the welfare program, to attack the problem of dependency. This legislation is right along the lines of these current provisions of the bill.

I don't think it is out of harmony or spirit of it at all.

Mr. HAWKINS. I do not think so, either. That is why I suggest that the bill at the present time, without this amendment, facilitates having everything done that you suggest but to the extent that you rewrite a bill and put in, in effect, a separate title with special attention, pulls away from the bill a specialized program, and there is no reason why it should not be done for each group. If you do it for each group, then you do not have any overall plan. You may as well not have any director. You may as well just set up an appropriation bill and give the money to the various agencies; and what would we have then? We would have nothing.

Mr. WHITTEN. I, of course, don't agree with you as you probably didn't expect me to on that point. For instance, I wondered, myself, is it not possible, I said, for the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to make this transfer of funds to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, without any amendment to the bill?

Mr. HAWKINS. If he so desires, I assume it can be done.

Mr. WHITTEN. There is nothing in the bill that forbids it but when I got to talking with people, including the staff of the Office, what staff they have, I talked to some of the high officials in it, they felt there was practically no likelihood that it would be done because it was not written in and these others are written in. They seem to feel more or less the fact that some are spelled down with specific au-

thority and this one is not would make its chances very slim that a transfer of this kind would be made. Therefore, we decided to offer the amendment.

If they had told me, "yes, this can be done, probably will be done if the Director decides this is an urgent part of the program," I would not have felt the keen necessity to offer the amendment.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. No questions.

Mr. PERKINS. I certainly wish to thank you for your appearance, Mr. Whitten. I appreciate your statement.

Mr. WHITTEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. The vocational rehabilitation program is an outstanding program to my way of thinking and under the amendments that we enacted in 1954, I feel that considerable good has been done throughout the country.

Mr. WHITTEN. You have every reason to be proud of that legislation, Mr. Chairman, and we want these agencies to make the maximum contribution to the purposes you have in mind in this bill.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned until 9 o'clock in the morning, at which time we will hear Dr. Adrian Doran, NEA legislative commission representative in behalf of the president of NEA; Paul Glazer of the Ashland Oil Co.; Rabbi Hirsch; Allison Bell; Dr. Charles Schottland; and Joseph Vincent.

(Whereupon, at 3:15 p.m., the committee adjourned to reconvene at 9 a.m., Tuesday, April 21, 1964.)

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1964

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The ad hoc subcommittee met at 9:15 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 429, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins presiding.

Present: Representatives Perkins, Landrum, Green, Roosevelt, Dent, Ayres, Griffin, Quie, and Martin.

Also present: Representatives Pucinski, Hawkins, Gibbons, Gill, and Bell.

Staff members present: Dr. Deborah Wolfe, education chief; Leon Abramson, chief counsel for labor-management; Charles Radcliffe, minority counsel for education.

Mr. PERKINS. The committee will come to order. A quorum is present.

We have with us this morning as the first witness who is here—he is not scheduled first—Dr. Charles Schottland, on behalf of the National Association of Social Workers.

Come around, Dr. Schottland. We are delighted to have you with us again, Dr. Schottland. I note you have a prepared statement. You may proceed in any manner you wish.

STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND, CHAIRMAN, DIVISION ON SOCIAL POLICY AND ACTION, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS; ACCOMPANIED BY RUDOLPH DAMSTEDT, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to be present. For the record, my name is Charles I. Schottland. I appear today in my capacity as chairman of the Division on Social Policy and Action of the National Association of Social Workers. With me is Mr. Rudolph Damstedt, our Washington representative. May I identify myself further at the outset. I am dean of the Florence Heller Graduate School of Advanced Studies in Social Welfare of Brandeis University. I served from 1954 to 1958 as Commissioner of Social Security under Health, Education, and Welfare Secretaries Marion Folsom and Arthur Flemming. Before that, I was State commissioner of public welfare in the State of California, appointed by the then Governor, now Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren.

The National Association of Social Workers which I represent here today is a professional organization with 40,000 members employed in governmental and voluntary health, welfare, and recreational agencies. The association represents a profession which has been historically concerned with the problems of the poor, many of whose members are today the foot soldiers who will and must be called upon to wage what your committee and the President calls the war on poverty.

Our association supports this legislation but, in our testimony, we shall particularly address ourselves to Title V: Family Unity Through Jobs, and Title II: Urban and Rural Community Action Programs, because those titles bear most closely upon areas in which as social workers we have very particular experience.

Viewed historically, H.R. 10440, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, has the promise of becoming the sort of pioneering social legislation that the American concern for the welfare of people periodically produces. We whittle away at problems and then, suddenly, it almost seems, an approach takes shape and a social solution to what we had viewed as a series of separate incidents occurs.

The students of poverty in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, among whom many distinguished social workers were included, occupied themselves intensively with a search for the personal and social causes of poverty.

One statistical table of that period included in addition to drink, immorality, laziness—a "roving disposition" as a factor contributing to poverty. But, gradually over the years we fulfilled in some degree our social obligations to widows and children and the aged who could no longer work as we cautiously moved State by State into programs of mother's assistance and aid to the aged. Then in 1935, we encompassed these concerns into a national program through the Social Security Act. Thus action against the hazards of death or disability of a breadwinner and a loss of income because of age became a matter of an earned right instead of a privilege granted because of need.

Although we have placed a floor of income under an increasingly large proportion of our people through the Social Security Act, through unemployment insurance, through veterans' benefits, through public assistance and through private retirement plans, and although our labor force continues to rise as does annual income, we still have the stubborn and persistent fact that for too many Americans their share of society's goods, services, and benefits, continues year after year to be extremely limited.

PIONEERING EFFORTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN PREVENTION OF POVERTY

Over the years, welfare programs—governmental and voluntary—have first sought to alleviate the conditions of poverty. In our urban areas we had societies for improving the condition of the poor while in New England our public bodies were the overseers of the poor. In the last quarter century those of us who had responsibility for administering public welfare programs have sought valiantly to prevent poverty by seeking authority and funds to provide preventive, protective, and rehabilitative services to recipients of public assistance. In 1956 when I was Commissioner of Social Security, the Congress amended the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act to encourage States to provide self-help, self-care, and maintenance of family life services.

Then in 1962, public welfare took a great stride forward when Congress enacted the public welfare amendments which provided assistance to the needy children of unemployed parents, permitted the development of community work and training programs for employable relief recipients, offered incentives for recipients to seek and hold employment, provided day care for the children of employed mothers and insituted a program of social services designed to prevent and eliminate dependency.

Reluctantly, perhaps, we have to concede that while these forward steps in public welfare were impelled by our desire to help recipients toward self-help and self-care, they were also propelled by extensive, often completely unwarranted public criticism of the program—particularly, aid to the families of needy children. But we do have the outlines of a program of prevention although time is required for the States to understand, accept, and implement the constructive provisions of the amendments while today and for some time to come these public welfare agencies have and will have problems of acute shortages of persons well qualified to provide these services.

THE PROBABLE IMPACT OF THIS ACT ON PUBLIC WELFARE

It is our judgment that the Economic Opportunity Act provides a new and imaginative concept that will stimulate public imagination and support and can supply a dynamism that will accelerate State action on the public welfare amendments and challenge young people to seek employment in the welfare field. Poverty becomes truly not an issue to be endlessly debated as to its causes—social or individual—but a condition that is at least partially remediable.

Roscoe Drummond, in a recent analysis of the war on poverty, describes the poverty program of President Johnson as "headed in the right direction." He notes that poverty is not due to the failure of our economic system per se, but rather "to the failure of our society to provide the education, the job training, and retraining and encouragement and the environment needed to help the poor become productive and the productive more prosperous."

The inclusion of title V, "Family Unity Through Jobs" is, we believe, an illustration of the point of the stimulatory effect of this legislation, for we understand that some opponents of the act nevertheless do support this particular title. In the perspective and philosophy of this legislation—this program is not work for relief—too often an employable individual on assistance is given work relief to quiet criticism of the so-called dole—but a program providing tools and supervisory skills so that employability is maintained and even enhanced. In the context of this legislation, work relief becomes transmuted to economic opportunity; a dignity is added to earning an assistance payment that is a significant strike forward in an individual's feeling of self-worth, a basic ingredient in the psychology of employability.

We do want to underscore, however, that families on aid to families with dependent children represent the poorest of the poor with the national average yearly family income well below $2,000. As part of the history of this legislation, we stress the importance of State action to increase payments for AFDC and, with respect to AFDC youth

in the Job Corps, we urge that the States take full advantage of the 1962 amendment that permits the corpsman's allocation to his family to set aside in part at least for his future identifiable needs including educational plans and therefore not counted as income to his family deductible from the assistance grants.

THE CATALYTIC POTENTIAL OF THIS LEGISLATION

The proposed community action program—title II—will in our judgment be the most difficult one to initiate and administer. Except in times of crisis, the "mobilization" of resources, public and private, to combat some social problem, is one of the most difficult tasks in human affairs. The history of social welfare is strewn with good intentions—in the form of plans to mobilize and coordinate public and private health, welfare, education, and related programs so as to prevent or control this or that social problem—good intentions stranded on agency competitiveness or jurisdictional claims.

An extensive research concern at the Florence Heller Graduate School at Brandeis is the study of the dynamics of effective community action program in urban renewal, programs for the aging and other areas of health and welfare. Not unexpectedly, we have reaffirmed that there is no substitute for solid, inspired community leadership which has a workable plan and the power and resources to translate this plan.

We find high significance in the fact that this legislation places responsibility for the leadership in this war on poverty in the Office of the President. We do not know of any other instance in the history of our Government where the resources and leadership of such a wide range of key Federal departments such as Health, Education, and Welfare; Labor; Interior; Agriculture; Commerce, and even the Department of Defense, have been so extensively related in an attack on a social problem. This impresses, particularly, the many of us who have labored often with indifferent success with the use of coordinating devices like the omnipresent interdepartmental committees.

At the Federal level this represents the sort of leadership which has a workable plan and the power and resources to translate the plan into action. This is a "can do" approach and philosophy which can and should assure a "can do" response in the local community.

We attach, also, high significance to section 202(a)(3) which describes a community action program as one "which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups referred to in section 204(a).

We think this is particularly important in getting the cooperation of members who will be involved. We think this is one of the few pieces of Federal legislation which emphasizes this particular point of a partnership between those administering the program and those who are the beneficiaries of it. This is a principle frequently subscribed to in theory but frequently overlooked and ignored. In 1 to 1 personal services we recognize that a helping service does not begin until the individual wants it and participates actively in the helping process. We know, similarly, that programs directed toward groups of people achieve a much more significant level of participation if the members

have an important role in the creation and administration of such programs.

Wise and concerned community leadership will, of course, recognize that plans created by, for, and of the people affected possess a powerful dynamic and that the role of the leadership is not only to assure that such planning occurs, but, also, that the resources necessary for the realization of the plans are provided.

In hundreds of communities throughout the United States there are powerful arrays of public and private resources which can be mobilized. There are 400 welfare planning councils in our local communities in the United States and over 3,000 local public welfare departments.

In every county of our country there is a local public welfare agency which can and should be a primary and basic resource in any community action program. Although such agencies have as their first responsibility the provision of assistance grants—the foundation program in any attack on poverty since the recipient group is at the very bottom of the economic ladder—they are also the agencies that know and should know and work and should work with other primary programs, the employment services, the educational system, the health agency, the housing agency, and a wide variety of specialized voluntary groups in family counseling, child welfare and day care and neighborhood organizations. Many of these local public welfare agencies and voluntary organizations provide counseling and social services designed to help recipients become employable and to maintain and strengthen family life. Under the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments all these local public agencies are now charged to provide such services and have access to funds needed for such provision. Furthermore, these agencies may now provide such services to individuals and families who have been or are likely to become applicants for assistance. So in every county in the United States this public welfare agency represents in some degree a present resource or a potential resource designed or capable of being redesigned to in some measure prevent poverty. What this legislation and this community action section particularly does, is to energize this resource by focusing upon the partial solubility of the problem of poverty by providing resources for coordination and planning and through a call to action to community leadership.

This committee has already seen the response to this call to action represented by this legislation in the endorsement and testimony of business, labor, and community leaders and the mayors of many municipalities. We are prepared as an association to enlist behind this community action proposal the interest and support of our 165 chapters located in every section of the United States.

The association also supports the Job Corps and volunteer proposal—our association has testified previously before subcommittees of the House Education and Labor Committee in support of both the Youth Conservation and National Service Corps legislation.

Title I, the youth opportunity program, represents in our judgment an improvement over the original youth conservation bill through the inclusion of training centers in addition to conservation camps. This legislation provides an intriguing series of educational levels that flow from essentially work-habit training—the conservation camps—

through intensive training in semiskilled jobs—the training camps and community work-training programs—to providing work-study opportunities which would enable young people with the highest potential to obtain a college education.

The volunteer program proposed in title VI is a somewhat more limited approach than the original legislation. When we testified earlier we indicated that one of the great values of this legislation is the endorsement that would be given to volunteer services by presidential and congressional endorsement of such services.

In my own State of Massachusetts some of you may be aware of the fact that the Governor of the State has proposed that we have a State domestic peace corps to utilize volunteers in the State and hopefully, if this is enacted, it would be able to be integrated with whatever is passed by the Congress.

We note with interest that at the end of February—more than 2 weeks before the President submitted his message on poverty—the six Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee proposed a seven point program for an attack on poverty.

Two of these proposals were: (1) Lifting children out of a poverty environment by federally assisted programs including residence schools for certain disadvantaged ones; and (2) upgrading schools in poverty impacted neighborhoods.

The first of these suggests a close similarity to the training camps in the pending legislation while the latter proposals could be pursued under the community action program.

The Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee also proposed "increasing the number of professionally trained public and private welfare and social workers" in order that the ranks of these workers, the statement continues "who are on the frontline of the war on poverty" may be increased.

This struck a particularly responsive chord for as we have earlier testified unless some action is taken to increase the number of foot soldiers in this war—the family unit through jobs and community action phases of this legislation will be severely handicapped.

We realize, of course, that the community action title provides that up to 15 percent of the funds may be used for research, training, and demonstration activities. Without knowing the details, however, it is probable that such training will be short term and inservice training since this is the usual pattern of similar provisions in other legislation. The realities of the manpower needs of this program quite obviously will require extensive utilization of persons without special education including quite properly some of the beneficiaries of the program who may be discovered to have a promising potential.

But special trained staff is essential to the overall poverty program and vital to the effectuation of public welfare services. We want the history on this legislation to record that the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments provided authorization for such training of public welfare personnel. However, no appropriation for this purpose has been made.

May I add a personal remark since I was involved in some of the original legislation which passed the Congress for the training of public welfare personnel, that I think it is particularly regrettable that we keep passing legislation to train such personnel but we do not make the

small appropriation which would make the training of such personnel possible, particularly when we realize that the personnel involved handling the big public welfare programs, most of them almost entirely completely untrained, are spending over $4 billion of the taxpayers' money in very complicated programs of public assistance, programs which really require the most competent kinds of personnel. I do hope that the time will come when an appropriation may be made so that we may be able to train these personnel in the same way that we are training personnel with Federal training funds in mental health, child welfare, medical care, and a variety of other programs.

Now, the President, in his poverty message of March 16, described this economic opportunity legislation as "the foundation of our war against poverty." However, it "does not stand alone" he indicated and then went on to describe the critical importance of hospital insurance for the aged, protection for migrant farmworkers, a food stamp plan for the needy, coverage for millions not now protected by a minimum wage, new and expanded unemployment benefits for men out of work, a housing and community development bill for those seeking decent homes.

To these basic measures we would add two more: An increase in social security benefits—too many of our poor are the elderly whose sole income is old-age insurance—and elimination of residence requirements in determining eligibility for public assistance and health services. Americans at all economic levels are a mobile people in search of better opportunities including following the crops, to be closer to family, in search of a better climate, better schools, in search of health care. When disaster strikes we should not deny them food, shelter and clothing, and needed health care because they fail to meet some legal definition of residence.

In this statement we have described this Economic Opportunity Act as pioneering legislation that recognizes that poverty is a social problem that requires a total approach involving community leaders and beneficiaries instead of a series of not related measures. We have underlined the core nature of public welfare programs to this attack on poverty. We have stated our conviction that this legislation provides the outlines of a campaign and sets forth a mission to which Americans will respond.

This proposal is an important and necessary beginning in a national attack on poverty. It provides us with a framework and sets a direction that should command and stimulate the sort of long-range planning that will be absolutely required if we are to truly abolish poverty.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much, Dr. Schottland. I am delighted that you have been interested in securing legislation to assist our Nation's youth as it enables us to hear you again. I recall you were before the committee when we had the Youth Opportunity Act and other legislation. You have had a great deal of valuable experience. I am wholeheartedly in accord with your viewpoint that we need an increase in social security benefits. I am very hopeful that the House Committee on Ways and Means will get around to increasing retirement benefits during the present session.

I have talked to Congressman Mills and I know they are going to consider it.

I personally realize that we cannot overlook this group of retired people who are living on a very meager income. An increase is long overdue especially in view of the inadequacy of previous increases and when we consider that the cost of living has risen substantially since the retirees have received any increase at all. I think your recommendation is excellent in that respect. I agree with you that because too many of our people are the elderly that we should eliminate this residence requirement in determining eligibility for public assistance.

I do not know why we have not done that before, but it certainly should be done. It may be that we have left it up to the States to more or less make policy in that area. I feel that your recommendations are excellent.

Mrs. Green, do you have any questions this morning?

Mrs. GREEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is good to see you back again, Dr. Schottland.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. It is good to be here.

Mrs. GREEN. On the residency requirement, since there is a matching fund, do you think it is politically feasible? I presume you are referring to a Federal requirement.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you think this is politically feasible?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Well, there are some requirements that are in the Social Security Act that probably when they were enacted, were more revised by the States. I think more and more the States are coming around to it. I think there would be opposition from many States.

It is quite interesting, you know, the article that people would come into the high-income States just is not borne out. New York has very liberal public assistance grants. They don't have a residency requirement. People are not coming into New York to take advantage of relief. I do not think people move for those reasons and I think they move for other reasons. I think the States are beginning to realize it. Even my old State of California, I think there is a considerable change in attitude.

The Kerr-Mills legislation on medical care has done away with residence as a Federal requirement. They have made it a Federal requirement that the States cannot have residence under the Kerr-Mills medical legislation. No one has really objected to it.

Mrs. GREEN. The Kerr-Mills Act has not worked out very well, as yet. I'd have to admit those two matters are unrelated, however.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think they are. I agree with you that it has not worked out as well it should.

Mrs. GREEN. But the residency requirement has no bearing on it. Does New York have any residency requirements for mental health care, for hospitalization?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I do not know about that. I do not think so, but I am not sure.

Mrs. GREEN. I was under the impression they did not.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I am not sure.

Mrs. GREEN. On pages 9 and 10 of your statement you refer to the lack of personnel. Would you or your organization be able to provide any more detailed statistics on the shortage, especially in the area where you are particularly competent to speak?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Yes; we will be glad to do that.

If I may take a few seconds to tell you why we are so concerned and why over the years we have tried to get the Congress concerned.

Take the average local welfare department; they take some young lad or some girl out of college and they give them a case load and they give them a little training. They know nothing about the complexities of the program. That young person goes out and obligates between $50,000 and a quarter million dollars worth of public funds, just to give you a quick figure so that you can see the realities; let us say they have a case load of 200 pepole and the average grant is, say, $75 a month. That is $900 a year times 200, you can see that is $180,000. We let them go ahead and do this kind of thing without the slightest training, without any attempt to tackle his problem realistically.

One of the problems that we have in this field is that many federally aided programs are draining off personnel, because they can get money for training—mental health, child welfare, and some of the others. We need the same kind of backstopping to train people in this particular field, because a young person today who does not have any money is going to go for training; he would much rather take a training program where he can get some stipend to assist him.

We will furnish the figures to the committee.

Mrs. GREEN. I do not know whether the committee wants them, but if you will send them to my office, I will appreciate it.

I think this is one of the most serious obstacles to the successful implementation of this program—the shortage of personnel in spite of the way it has been passed over by some of the witnesses.

On page 6, you discuss participation. Let me throw out a suggestion and see your reaction to it. In one of the titles we have language which would make possible the grant of $1,500 to a farmer if it were going to improve his income or standard of living, and we also would have loans available.

What would be your reaction to language which would make a grant and/or loan possible if the people in a block in the slums of the city could get together and could map out a program for the self-improvement of the residents of that block? It might include repairs, painting, cleaning up of the area; but there certainly would be self-participation in it. I realize they are not the owners of the property, and this presents a real problem. But if the tenants in a block area were young families, and there are 100 youngsters, maybe they need most desperately a day-care center. But if they could get together, maybe with the help of a neighborhood house, map out this program, would it not make just as much sense, or more sense, to make them eligible for grants or loans as for a single family in a rural area?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think it is an interesting idea. I had not thought about it, of course, until this very second. I rather like the idea.

I have two comments: I think if this were done, of course, this should be merely in the form of a recommendation so that you would not give to them the authority to obligate Federal funds. This would be a procedure subject to the approval of the appropriate authorities directing the program. I see this as something that could make a real contribution.

Mrs. GREEN. Maybe a couple of blocks could get together. I drive past these areas and see the schoolyards closed at the time when they are most needed for recreational purposes. If there were involvement and participation, I think we could move to clean up some of these areas. I think that some landlords would welcome a program such as that in which his tenants are going to be involved. They could do a lot themselves. You could have people channeling their energies in constructive ways instead of standing out on the corner.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think something could be thought through and worked out satisfactorily.

Mrs. GREEN. I wish you would lend your considerable talents and brainpower.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Let us think about it and see what we can do about it. You might be interested to know in our community of Boston we have been opening the public school grounds after school in some cases. It is not easy in many communities but it is terribly important, I think.

Mrs. GREEN. It is the rigidity in the school system I'm concerned about. I cannot understand how this country can have the capital investment it has in the schools and not insist that they be used 12 months a year—365 days—from early morning until late at night.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I agree with you; it is very discouraging.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Quie.

Mr. QUIE. I would like to defer to Mr. Martin, since he has another committee he has to go to, but I will retain my time for the rest of the questions.

Mr. PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. MARTIN. Thank you, Mr. Quie.

Dr. Schottland, on page 2—when you are speaking of the students of poverty in the late 19th and 20th centuries among whom many distinguished social workers were included, they occupied themselves intensely with the search for the personal and social causes of poverty—you state:

> One statistical table of that period included, in addition to drink, immorality, laziness—a "roving disposition" as a factor contributing to poverty.

Do we not still have those factors today, and how are you going to overcome this with a national program in this field?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. We still have these factors, Mr. Martin, but they are relatively minor in relation to the total number of persons involved. If you take the total poverty class in America, they fall into big groups. You have the aged, where you have many millions of persons with very low income. You have the minority groups: the Negroes with lack of education. You have certain geographical pockets of poverty where, during periods when the area had employment, you did not have real poverty.

Today, the area does not have employment and, therefore, you have poverty. You still have these problems. You still have some of these personal problems but they are relatively minor.

The way to tackle these personal problems is to provide skilled personnel who know how to work with people.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you think you can overcome the habit to drink too much—laziness, and immorality—with your social workers?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. You can't completely overcome it but you can make a real impact on it. We do this in many areas. We do it with delinquents. We work with a person who commits a crime and gets sentenced; we supply probation, social, psychiatric services; and we do make impacts. Persons who present personal problems and people who are just poor.

Mr. MARTIN. I am afraid I will have to disagree with you on your conclusions.

On page 4 you quote Roscoe Drummond who emphasizes the fact, about providing education, job training, and so forth, for these people. Now, the Congress has recently passed, last December I believe it was, a greatly expanded job retraining program and a greatly expanded vocational education program that thus far has not even had an opportunity to show what its effects might be on this problem. Do you not think that before new legislation is enacted—and I emphasize this point here—that we should find out what this expanded program, which is going to cost so much, will do?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think, Mr. Martin, the virtue of this approach—setting up this program in the President's office—makes it possible to avoid the question of duplication because I think it can be coordinated and integrated so that whatever any of the other programs pick up——

Mr. MARTIN. That is not specifically answering my question.

Here are two programs that are greatly expanded and we have not had an opportunity to see what effect they will have on this problem.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I am hoping they will have an effect but I don't think they will answer the complete problem because it is not just a question of jobs. I think that the community action programs here, some of the other programs, touch other aspects of the problems of poverty that aren't answered just through jobs and retraining.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you think we should authorize another program that is going to cost almost a billion dollars the first year without seeing the effect of the millions of dollars that will be spent on this retraining and education program?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Mr. Martin, on all these programs, if we sit back and wait to see the effects on one program and then we start another program and wait to see the effects of that, we really will never tackle these big social problems. In a country like ours, where we have rich resources, whatever our limitations, we are the richest country in the world who continue to have large numbers of our people living in conditions of poverty. It is something I don't think this country can afford. I don't think we ought to have it. Therefore, I think we ought to have a broad attack on this problem, not just job training, not just a community action program, not just a program for youth but a series of programs across the board which will help once and for all to put us in a position where we can say, as some countries today, the Scandinavian countries, for example, are able to say, we don't have large groups of people who are below the minimum standard of living in our country. This is something that I think we ought to have as our goal.

Mr. MARTIN. I believe you will agree with me that statistics show that on a percentage basis of our population the number of people in the so-called poverty classification has decreased over the last 30 to

40 years in this country quite a considerable extent, so we are making progress in this field.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. That is true, but we ought to make faster progress. I don't see any reason why millions of people ought to stay in the poverty class if they are ready, able, and willing to work but are prevented from doing so.

Mr. MARTIN. That is the first point I made, are they able to work? What do you think of this Newburgh plan where the recipients of welfare relief there were told if they were going to continue to receive aid they had to get out and work on municipal projects or for nonprofit groups, schools, whatever it might be, in the area. What do you think about putting these people to work and giving them some credit against the welfare relief they receive?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I am very much in favor of work plans but I think that you ought to be aware of the fact that there are very few people on relief today of the 7 million people on relief who are able to work.

Mr. MARTIN. They found quite a few of them up there, I understand.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. They really didn't, Mr. Martin. If I might be very blunt, this was one of the biggest frauds. The manager of Newburgh actually found one person in his entire caseload who was able to work and that person didn't last very long because of personal difficulties. That is all he really found. You analyze it very quickly—don't hold me to the exact figures because I don't have them in my head—but you take the 7 million people, you have many of them who are receiving old age assistance. Very few of those can work. Their average age is 77-point-something. Two-thirds of them are women. The typical person in this old-age assistance load——

Mr. MARTIN. I am sure Mrs. Green will agree with me that women are capable of working and have the ability to work, so why should their sex be excluded?

Mrs. GREEN. I'm not sure how many jobs are available to women in their seventies, and I would not agree if the gentleman from Nebraska is suggesting that we not be concerned about the poverty because some people are immoral or alcoholics.

Mr. MARTIN. That was not the point we were making, Mrs. Green, I am afraid.

Mrs. GREEN. I thought you were pointing out that these immoral and drinking people on welfare——

Mr. MARTIN. I was making the point that we should have the same philosophy as was proposed and propounded in the equal pay for women.

Mr. PERKINS. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Gibbons?

Mr. GIBBONS. I will yield to the lady from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN. I would like to ask one other question, if I may. Are you connected with the juvenile delinquency control program in Boston?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Yes; I am.

Mrs. GREEN. Title II of this bill is patterned after the juvenile delinquency control legislation.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. Would you have any recommendations for changes that should be made?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think in the administration we have to have some changes made. I think that we should not just have a little project approach, take a project here and a project there. I think it ought to be a part of a broad community action program. I think the Federal Government should require that when requests are made for a grant that this be a broadly conceived program as part of a total program approved by the appropriate responsible parties in the community, city government, et cetera.

Mrs. GREEN. I do not mean to interrupt, but do you favor the requirement in the juvenile delinquency control program that no grants be given unless there is a very comprehensive program in the city involving every public and private agency?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Yes; I like that.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you think it has worked out well in Boston?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. No, I would not say that it has been the most perfect plan in Boston but I think the idea is good. I am very much concerned about individual agencies going off on their own, spending money without having it a part of a coordinated plan. I think we ought to try to get these coordinated plans. I think it has made a real impact in Boston and has made a real contribution. I don't think it has been as good as it might be.

Mrs. GREEN. I wish you might offer some recommendations and changes there. I am pretty disillusioned with the way it is working out. I am not enthusiastic over title II if it follows that same procedure.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Quie.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Schottland, do you ever oppose any proposal for a Federal program for the poor?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Have I ever opposed such a proposal?

Mr. QUIE. Opposed any proposal for a Federal program for the poor.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I don't know that I have testified in opposition to any specific programs, but I certainly have been opposed to much legislation which has been before the Congress. As a matter of fact, yes, now that I recall, I have opposed several things Congress has passed. I opposed reducing the age of social security for women to 62 which I thought was a step in the wrong direction. But it has since been followed by the reduction of the age for men to 62. I think this was a mistake. I don't think with our increasing longevity we should have done this. But I am in a minority on this, both the minority in the profession I represent here today and a minority as far as Congress is concerned, because you gentlemen passed it.

Mr. QUIE. This is in the administration of a program. Is there any Federal program which you think is unwise for a Federal program?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I can't remember specifically over the years but certainly much legislation I have opposed. There have been specific proposals in legislation that we have opposed that persons proposed because they thought it would be helpful to persons in the poor and poverty class, but I can't recall specific programs.

Mr. QUIE. Have you analyzed this program to where you believe that all parts of it are good, and do you support every bit of this big program here?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Well, there are certain things we think are going to be more valuable than others. We are hoping that once this program is passed with the specific things that are in it that we can also begin to look to the gaps in the program, that we can begin to think of an overall plan in the attack on poverty. If you were going into a private business, you would want to develop a pretty complete plan of action, including an analysis of your production, your sales, the market, and so forth.

We do not like to do that in Government programs for some reason. We do not like to think it through along the broad front because that sounds too much like planning, but, really we have to do this in this attack on poverty so that we can do it as efficiently and as effectively as possible. I am hoping that out of this will come much more thinking about some of the gaps in the program so that we can make a real impact on the problem.

Mr. QUIE. In other words, what you are saying is all that is proposed here is good but there may be some gaps that may have to be filled in?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. That is right.

Mr. QUIE. You mention this is the first time in history where the resources and leadership of such a wide range of Federal departments have been so extensively related to attacking a social problem. Does this mean that each specific department itself has not proposed anything as far reaching as this, or are you only drawing attention to the fact that we are going to have a man who will be the general of the war on poverty and we have never had a general.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think it is both. We have never had any person with the authority to really utilize the programs of the various departments and coordinate all of these departments. I think that is very good.

I think also that—no; I would not say that no one has proposed anything as sweeping as this before. There have been proposals that have been very broad. But the one thing we like about this particular proposal is that it does make it possible through the Office of the President to overcome some of the jurisdictional problems between departments. When you have a program of employment and retraining in the Department of Labor this has influence on other programs that might be in HEW and one way to make some sense out of this is to have it coordinated at the presidential level.

Mr. QUIE. You mean to say that no President before this one has proposed the coordination or even worked at coordination of the poverty programs?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. No; there have been various methods of coordination, interdepartmental committees, the Budget Bureau is a coordinating agency, itself. But there have not been very many times since way back that we have had an agency right in the Office of the President charged with this kind of responsibility. I think it is a good device for this particular type of program. I would not want to recommmend it for everything or we would have all offices in the Office of the President.

Mr. QUIE. There are many departments handling education. Do you think it would be good to have an educational czar, too? Do you propose one for poverty here?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I don't think it is a bad idea to have someone in the Bureau of the Budget, someone who is charged with the responsibility of seeing to it that educational activities among the various agencies are properly coordinated. I think it would be a good idea to have experts in the Bureau of the Budget who would be experts across the board on particular subjects so that someone in Government knows what is happening in a particular field, health or education or agriculture or something else.

Mr. QUIE. In title II, the community action program, do you expect it would take us as long to do the planning and get any action programs underway as it has been in the juvenile delinquency program? Do you think we have to expect 3 years of planning before we can help any individual in poverty, unless the program is already going on at present?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I don't think so. I don't think it ought to take very long at all.

There was a great emphasis in the juvenile delinquency program on planning because a lot of people felt we didn't know too much about the problem. I think there is not the necessity for this kind of approach. I think we can have community action programs that can start quickly and immediately. We have a tremendous number of local agencies able to immediately move in and make a contribution in this area.

I really think that this could be started almost immediately.

Mr. QUIE. In other words, the idea would be to put Federal money into an ongoing program, ongoing organization?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. It might or it might be for some new activity. I would hope that existing agencies could be utilized for this. There is no sense in creating additional agencies.

Mr. QUIE. Is this not one of the reasons why so many existing agencies support it because they expect to get Federal money to aid what they are doing right now?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I am sure that Federal money always influences some people. I really don't think that this is the basic factor. I think the basic factor is that there are an awful lot of people in this country who don't believe that a rich country like the United States ought to have poor people and there are things we should do about it.

Mr. QUIE. We should not have juvenile delinquency, either.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. It is a little more difficult to know what to do about that. We know a great deal what to do about the poor. We have seen programs that take people out of their poverty and we know that we can make a great impact on it.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Quie, I have to go to an executive meeting. Would you yield to me so that I can ask a question and you can have my time?

Mr. PERKINS. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DENT. I want to ask only one question.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Dent.

Mr. DENT. I have only one question. As a social worker and as a representative of an organization of social workers, in this war on

poverty and considering its history as we know it, and the future prospects, do you think that the greater emphasis has to be placed upon the social aspect of poverty or upon the economic aspect?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. This is a never-ending question, Mr. Dent.

Mr. DENT. I know it. It is like, which came first, the hen or the egg, but one of them got there first.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think you have to do both at the same time. I just came back from a meeting, international meeting of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, in which they were discussing the problems of the children in the less developed countries. The same problem is bothering even the developing countries, they emphasize the social and economic aspects. I think we have to do both. I do think there are a tremendous number of people in the poverty class where the problem is primarily economic. This is the basic problem.

Mr. DENT. A tremendous number, or would you say the vast majority? As I see it, this is a war on poverty, not on social status. Maybe I am wrong in my viewpoint. I just wanted to know whether or not we can overemphasize the social aspect because of the fact that the social workers are organized and are probably the only organized group in the entire country prepared to step into the picture at this time and, if they do, can Congress give them the "go" sign, and in the normal process of social service thinking will they give the proper emphasis to the economic factor in this war, or will they overemphasize the social factor? I am asking you as their representative.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Yes; I think we ought to clarify something. If the implication is that these are programs that will make a lot of jobs for social workers and members of our association, I would like to make it clear that we don't need jobs. There are tens of thousands of jobs that are vacant today in this field.

Mr. DENT. I am not questioning that part of it. I am just asking where the emphasis, in your mind, as a social worker, is to be placed properly in this war on poverty?

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. I think it is on both. If you want to have a categorical answer, I definitely would place it on the economic side.

Mr. DENT. I think if we go along on that premise, and all of us so understand it, we may be able to reach the social aspect as we upgrade the economic standard. I may be wrong but that is my opinion.

I went through the depression, as many of us did. If I remember correctly, all of the talk did not do any good until we got the WPA into operation and somebody started getting $52.80 a month. Then we started to pull ourselves away from the abject poverty which was prevailing in the whole country, even among some of the bankers.

I appreciate your answer very much.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Landrum.

Mr. LANDRUM. I have no questions. I am sorry to have been late. But personal conditions made it unavoidable.

I will read your statement carefully.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much for your appearance this morning.

Dr. SCHOTTLAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Come around, Dr. Doran.

It is my privilege to welcome Dr. Adron Doran, the president of the Morehead State Teachers College, Morehead, Ky., who is representing the National Education Association. I have known Dr. Doran and his interest in education for some 25 years. He served as speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and since he became president of the Morehead State Teachers College, approximately 12 or 13 years ago, that institution has grown, I would venture to say, about 200 percent.

We are delighted to have you here, Dr. Doran. I notice that you are to present the statement of Robert H. Wyatt, president of the National Education Association of the United States.

Did you wish to insert that in the record or summarize it and then let us ask you questions? How do you prefer to proceed?

STATEMENT OF DR. ADRON DORAN, PRESIDENT, MOREHEAD STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, MOREHEAD, KY., REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Dr. DORAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to respond to your charitable statement.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, the statement will be inserted in the record at this point. I suggest that you summarize it, since the members of the committee have not had time to read it.

Dr. DORAN. All right, sir. As you indicate, this is a statement prepared by President Wyatt. I would say to you that the statement represents the background philosophy of the National Education Association represented in its charter, as represented by the resolutions which the National Education Association has passed through the duly elected representatives or delegates in their convention and the consistency between President Johnson's statement concerning the act before you and the philosophy of the National Education Association through the classroom teachers who are dealing with such problems as represented in H.R. 10440.

I would like to file this statement as representing President Wyatt's personal viewpoint and the viewpoint of the National Education Association and if you would, sir, I would like to use this as a point of departure. If there are to be any questions to be asked concerning it, I will try to answer them. Otherwise, I would like to use the time that the committee will indulge me in presenting my own concept as a citizen of a region and as a person directly dealing with the problems presented in this legislation as a schoolteacher in eastern Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Proceed.

Without objection, the statement will be inserted in the record.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF ROBERT H. WYATT, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

I am Robert H. Wyatt, president of the National Education Association, an organization of over 890,000 professional educators of which 90 percent are classroom teachers from every level and kind of school and college in every State in the Union. Our members are employed in public and private schools in the cities, suburbs, towns, villages, and rural areas of this Nation. They teach in American schools throughout the world. They teach children and youth of all races, creeds, and economic backgrounds. They are bound together by their

dedication to the purposes and objectives as stated in the charter authorized by the U.S. Congress in 1907: "To elevate the character and advance the interest of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States."

The concern of the NEA for equality of educational opportunity for all has, through the years, been evidenced by the association's continuing interest in the problems of migratory farm labor, school dropouts, disadvantaged rural youth and, more recently, the socially and economically deprived youngsters in the heartland of our large urban population centers. The latest expression of this concern is in Resolution No. 8 as adopted unanimously by the 6,795 delegates to the 1963 representative assembly:

"8. *Disadvantaged Americans.*—The National Education Association calls for wide recognition of the grievous problems in education of disadvantaged Americans. The mobility of the disadvantaged serves to underline the fact that their problems are the problems of the whole society. The forces that prevent their successful adaptation to urban living lead to low achievement, dropout, delinquency, disease, and disorganization.

"It is of the highest importance that the American people take steps to combat these problems at their roots. Public schools of good quality, universally available to all Americans, are the greatest single hope. Such schools are costly, but not nearly so costly as the other programs which must be—and are—provided for dealing with these problems.

"The association urges that action programs be planned and implemented which will lead to the rapid improvement of the educational, economic, and environmental status of disadvantaged Americans.

"It is desirable that State associations, in cooperation with affiliated groups such as the Congress of Parents & Teachers and board of education, initiate the call to action.

"The above groups plus representatives of housing authorities, churches, social agencies, political agencies, political organizations, realtors, businesses, industries, and organized labor should be encouraged to participate in effecting and implementing action programs."

President Lyndon B. Johnson's inspiring White House message on poverty is one of the most far reaching proposals ever directed toward achieving the American ideal of equality of opportunity that has been made in this Nation's history. The recognition of the importance of education and the emphasis on opportunity for youth are, of course, most gratifying to the teaching profession. The President's message, which for the most part has been transferred into the legal terminology of H.R. 10440, gives renewed emphasis to programs which the NEA has supported such as the Youth Employment Act and the proposal for a National Service Corps. We note with approval that the President's message also called for enactment of "new proposals which strike at important areas of need and distress." The President then asked the Congress for immediate action "to extend those which are already in action, and to establish those which have already been proposed." Among those listed by the President are "programs which help the entire country, such as aid to education which, by raising the quality of schooling available to every American child, will give a new chance for knowledge to the children of the poor."

There are pending before various subcommittees of this Committee several of the remaining parts of President John F. Kennedy's National Education Improvement Act (H.R. 3000, S. 580). While appreciative of the contructive action taken on parts of this comprehensive legislation, we remind the committee that the basic problem, that of aid to public elementary and secondary education, has been virtually ignored.

With remarkable insight, the distinguished Secretary of Labor, the Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, said, in a November 6, 1963, address before the National Committee on Youth Employment:

"Think what would happen in this country if we declared war on ignorance—by elevating the standards of teachers to the levels the importance of their job demands, by paying them the salaries which the required skills would warrant, by cutting the students-to-teachers ratio to the point good sense would require, by building the schoolrooms which are needed, and by giving every child in the country the educational opportunity, from first grade through college, which a few have today. Education would become our largest economic enterprise, as it ought to be. This would, in itself, create full employment. It would wipe out ignorance. It would virtually end the intolerance and bigotry of

racial and religious discrimination. It would give young Americans the skills they need in an automated work force, and the broader knowledge a working majority of people must have if a government by the people is to make sense in a world where most of nature's forces are now being brought within human control."

The most effective war on poverty, in the long run, is a war on ignorance, as Secretary Wirtz has so eloquently said.

We have a few specific recommendations in regard to certain titles of H.R. 10440:

TITLE I. YOUTH PROGRAMS

Part A. Job Corps.—The inclusion of this proposal, so similar to H.R. 5131, the Youth Employment Act, in the Economic Opportunity Act, is very appropriate. We approve of the enlargement of the program as provided in title I of H.R. 10440. However, we believe the language of H.R. 5131, section 104(4) pertaining to the education of enrollees requiring that "to the maximum extent practicable such programs shall be provided by State and local educational authorities under agreement with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare" is far superior to the provision in H.R. 10440, section 102(b) which seems to give precedence to a federally operated and controlled education program. We urge the committee to substitute the H.R. 5131, section 104(4) language in the final draft of the bill, not only for philosophical reasons, but for economic reasons as well. The proposed substitute language is reasonable, and clearly expresses the intent of Congress that education be primarily under the control of the State and local education agencies.

Part B. Work-training programs.—This proposal is very similar to title II of H.R. 5131 and we believe it is an essential part of the Economic Opportunity Act. While the Job Corps opportunity is limited to young men, this work-training program gives to young women as well as young men a chance to "earn and learn" in a wide variety of useful ways. We believe that part B, as drafted, is sound and highly desirable.

Part C. Work-study programs.—This is a sound proposal which can be very useful in assisting more young people from low-income families to attend college. The American tradition of working one's way through college should be encouraged. As student enrollments expand it becomes an increasingly competitive situation. There are not the resources in the colleges, and in most small college communities, to provide jobs for those who need them. This work-study proposal will aid the colleges and the students alike.

TITLE II. URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

This proposal is commendable in its intent to stimulate communities to combat poverty through communitywide action programs. However, we feel that this type of proposal will be primarily an attack on the symptoms rather than the causes of poverty. We recognize that immediate as well as long-range programs must be provided for, and that concerted Federal-State-community action for improving housing, health, and employability are practical battles in any war on poverty. Nevertheless, the war will not be won unless and until the causes of poverty and inequality are attacked at the same time. A war on ignorance is a war on poverty—and the only way to achieve permanent victory.

We note with approval that section 204(b) provides for public control of any elementary and secondary school education programs which may develop under this title and that such programs must be made available to all children whether or not they are regularly enrolled in the public schools.

We urge that the committee seriously consider as part of the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments to Public Laws 815 and 874 to provide payments to local school districts based upon two additional categories of public school pupils who have a relationship to Federal programs and activities. Public Laws 815 and 874 could be amended to recognize the Federal connection for school district payment purposes of (1) children of school age on whose behalf parents are currently receiving payments under the aid for dependent children welfare program, and (2) children in families receiving unemployment compensation in those areas which have been designated by the Secretary of Labor as areas of substantial unemployment.

TITLES III AND IV

The National Education Association has no specific comments in relation to titles III and IV since they are not primarily related to education. However, the NEA agrees with the sponsors of the Economic Opportunity Act programs to combat poverty in rural areas and programs to provide employment and inevstment incentives should be an integral part of the overall "poverty war" and should be included in the Economic Opportunity Act.

TITLE V. FAMILY UNITY THROUGH JOBS

The objective of this proposal is especially commendable and should result in experience, through experimental pilot programs and demonstration projects, upon which a long-range attack on the causes of poverty can be based. Stable family life is the cornerstone of our Nation. The necessity for the head of the family to be able to secure and retain employment is a basic social as well as economic factor in family stability.

We would urge that the Adult Basic Education Act, H.R. 5542, as previously approved by this committee either be included in the Economic Opportunity Act or passed as supplemental legislation in the war on ignorance and poverty. Hearings on H.R. 5542 have developed ample evidence to show the necessity of substantial expansion of existing basic adult education programs. The experience to date with the Manpower Development and Training Act proves conclusively that many of the chronic unemployed need basic training in simple skills of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic before they can be helped by MDTA or similar programs. Title V can help in discovering new ways to improve family unity, but cannot cope with the widespread need which H.R. 5542 is designed to help fill.

TITLE VI. ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

This title appears to have been drafted with considerable care. The granting of quite broad authority to the Director, while somewhat unusual, seems justified by the urgency of the job to be done. The Economic Opportunity Council including all members of the Cabinet (except the Postmaster General and the Secretary of the Treasury) as well as other agency heads, should insure broad interagency cooperation. The NEA is also pleased that the National Advisory Coucil provides for participation of the public in recommending courses of action.

We particularly approve of section 603 providing for the recruitment of skilled volunteers along the line of H.R. 5625, the National Service Corp., already approved by the Special Subcommittee on Labor of this committee. Perhaps a better title than "Volunteers for America" can be found, to avoid confusion with existent civic and patriotic organizations.

The National Education Association strongly urges that the Economic Opportunity Act be considered as a totality—a combination of elements to solve problems that have no single solutions.

The National Education Association appreciates this opportunity to comment on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and congratulates the chairman and members of this committee for their dedication and diligence in seeking solutions to the problems of our disadvantaged citizens. The resources and staff of the NEA are ever ready to assist the committee and its staff in every way possible in this war on ignorance and poverty.

Dr. DORAN. I want to say to you and to the committee, Mr. Chairman, that back in 1957 the Acting Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky appointed what came to be known as the Eastern Kentucky Planning Commission. Later its title was changed to the Eastern Kentucky Regional Development Commission.

From 1957 until 1960, this nine-member commission, which was a cross section of the professional and business and educational interests of our region, and containing representation from the two major political parties in Kentucky, worked on a plan to develop the approach to the attack on the underdeveloped region of eastern Kentucky and other countries in other States that constituted the Ap-

palachian region. The program that we tried to develop, and I think successfully so, and the provisions of the act before you, have great similarity. It represents what we proposed and what I think you are proposing as local initiative coupled with State support, Federal assistance and regional cooperation to solve the problems of areas of our Nation that are either depressed, underdeveloped, underprivileged or whatever other term that you would want to apply to it.

We feel, and I speak not only my personal conviction but the conviction of those in my region with whom I have worked, that the economic opportunities of our people will be enhanced greatly if the local, State, and Federal governments arrive at a cooperative effort to protect the people and their property against floods, will make provisions for the construction of roads as inlets and outlets to our people, and will cooperate in the full process of developing the educational facilities and programs and personnel to handle these jobs.

So, I would say in general that we in Kentucky have moved in this direction. We have many communities which have reached the limit of their financial ability. We have designed what we think is sound machinery at the State level, and with the assistance of the Federal Government and a cooperative effort on the part of the other people with similar problems, we feel that great advances can be made with the passage of this legislation.

Mr. PERKINS. I notice that you have suggested that the adult basic education legislation be included be included in this legislation. Why do you make that suggestion?

Dr. DORAN. I feel, and I think it is the position of those who have dealt with the problem, that the provisions of this act could well be enlarged to include the same principles that have been embodied in the Adult Basic Education Act.

You will recall that your hearing on our campus on this legislation produced the evidence of the great need for this program. Some of the other members of the committee were with you. Mr. Griffin was there. The principles embodied in that legislation which you sponsored could well be used as a base for consideration in this act, too.

Mr. PERKINS. I certainly agree with your suggestion that we should get this legislation, the Adult Basic Education Act, enacted into law at the earliest possible moment. The Federal Government should do something to encourage the States to set up an adequate adult basic education program throughout the country. We have tried to get the legislation enacted but we have never been able to get by the Rules Committee on that suggestion.

However, here, as you realize, is the question of just how broad a bill we can get through the committee and through the Congress, how much ground we can cover, in other words. I am certainly hopeful that we can do something quickly in this area of adult basic education.

Now, I notice over here, in another part of the NEA's statement prepared by Mr. Wyatt, that he suggests amendments to Public Laws 815 and 874 in order to make assistance available at the elementary and secondary level. He suggests that the impacted aid program be extended to school districts on the basis of the relative number of parents currently receiving payment under the aid for dependent children welfare program and children in families receiving unemployment compensation and those areas which have been designated by the Secretary

of Labor as areas of substantial unemployment. I personally feel that we should have enacted an elementary and secondary education program a long, long time ago, but we have not been able to do it.

I am sure that you realize that the religious controversy has been our greatest handicap in this particular area. But be that as it may, I do not know whether we can get an elementary and secondary amendment of that type in this legislation but I am hopeful again that the Congress will take some action before this session is adjourned.

I certainly intend to continue hearings on all aspects of elementary and secondary education just as soon as we get this legislation over with.

Dr. DORAN. Of course, Congressman, as you well know and have implied, the National Education Association is committed wholeheartedly to general Federal support for public elementary and secondary schools.

In this connection, we feel that there are other factors that impact areas in addition to the factors that Congress has already considered as impacting forces.

We, in no wise, are suggesting that you lessen the attention given to the impacted areas under 874 or 815 but rather to enlarge it, in considering that there are other factors that impact it in addition to Federal installations and these are factors over which the local communities or the people who live there have little control.

Mr. PERKINS. I may say that the Subcommittee on Education has given that idea considerable thought. I believe that there is a very real "impact" on an area occasioned by an act of the Federal Government when it decides to locate a Federal activity in a certain spot and attracts to that spot technicians, skilled workers, and commercial activities by draining the best talent and activity from other areas, so that the areas in which the Federal activity is not located are more adversely affected by the Federal decision that the area in which the activity is actually located. In fact, we are considering that proposal at the present time, and have been considering it for some time.

Dr. DORAN. I know you have.

Mr. PERKINS. Now, there is one question that I would like to ask you, Doctor, which has recurred here on several occasions.

Under title I, the Job Corps, do you feel from your experience as a college president that we will encounter any difficulty in selecting personnel at an early date to teach basic education in the Job Corps and in the work training centers in the country considering your experience there on the campus, your teacher placement offices, and the retired teachers that we have in the country, who might be available as volunteers? It has been suggested before this committee that that would be a difficult problem. I just want to hear you discuss that.

Dr. DORAN. Congressman, I think it will be a difficult problem surely but I do not think it presents difficulties beyond the ability of a community to marshal its forces.

Now, we have many people who have reached retirement age who would be available. We have many community-minded individuals, who have other jobs, who would be willing to devote some time to instruction. We have the ability as a college, in such a region as we are talking about, to bring these people to our campus for refresher courses, for conferences, and for institutes where our division of ap-

plied arts at the college could help organize their techniques and the procedures that they would follow.

Now, we have not encountered great difficulty in our adult education program of marshaling enough community forces to conduct these education courses outside of the public school hours.

As you know, Mrs. Doran is president of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, and they have taken this on as a project of theirs. The women in the various communities who are housewives or wives of professional business people have spent much time in working on an illiteracy elimination program or working with these youth in the area who are functionally illiterate.

I have all the confidence in the world in the communities of Kentucky, and I am sure they are representative of communities all over the Nation. There are sufficient untapped resources to get the job done.

Mr. PERKINS. And that could be done at an early date, say within 4 to 6 weeks?

Dr. DORAN. I would venture that kind of guess, yes; that within a month the public agencies of these communities could marshal these forces without great difficulty.

Mr. PERKINS. What number of teachers would you estimate could be selected within a month by your college after a refresher course of some 4 to 6 weeks, teachers who would be qualified to teach basic education to these groups out in the Job Corps, in the conservation camps, and in work-training centers?

Dr. DORAN. I would not venture a guess on numbers, Mr. Chairman, but I am confident in the 44 counties that we designate as the Appalachian area in Kentucky that there is not a community, known to me at least, where there would not be 4 or 5 people immediately available to begin this work.

I think we would have more difficulty in organizing ourselves to take care of the large number of people who would be available than we would in recruiting people to make themselves available.

I think the greater task would be on refreshing these people than getting the people, themselves, marshaled.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Landrum.

Mr. LANDRUM. I am in hearty accord with that statement that Dr. Doran has made here. The correspondence that I have received since being involved in the drafting and presenting of this legislation indicates that just what you have said is true, not only in Kentucky but throughout the country.

I see a tremendous interest, a sort of ground swell of interest throughout the country in just what we are talking about.

I think that perhaps one of the great benefits we are going to derive from this legislation is the development of an awareness of this problem among the people.

I quite agree with Dr. Doran that our real problem is going to be probably a sifting out and choosing of the right personnel rather than getting personnel to apply for it. I think we are going to have a great many well-qualified people.

I would ask you, please, Dr. Doran, to comment just a little more explicitly about just what Mr. Wyatt, I believe it is Mr. Wyatt, means in his last paragraph of his statement on title II about amendments to 815 and 874. Surely, he does not mean to say that we should add

those provisions to this act? Is he saying there that we should go over and amend 815 and 874 when they are extended or does he mean we should include this provision in this act?

Dr. DORAN. I think it is an effort, Congressman Landrum, to point out that either in this act or by some legislative enactment the strengthening of public elementary, and secondary schools would be a very effective weapon in eliminating poverty and would be justified on a poverty district area as an "impacted area" as greatly as Federal installations do in what we by law now consider as impacted areas. It ought to be considered in this act or by immediately modifying in a separate bill 815 and 874. These factors ought to be considered.

Of course, we are in no position as a national education association, and I am sure I speak President Wyatt's sentiment, to tell you in what fashion such legislation should be drafted or how it should provide.

Mr. LANDRUM. One of the problems that I have in my small mind here is that the theory of 815 and 874 is simply that we provide this assistance because of a Federal activity that creates an impact on the community.

Now, while it is true that some of the communities in which we have large Federal activities have pockets of poverty, I doubt seriously if we can say that the Federal activity is a contributing factor to that pocket of poverty.

I think, on the other hand, it has tended to relieve that somewhat and pushed it down in a concentrated area where the locality needs, where the local forces need to take hold of it.

Dr. DORAN. I think, Congressman, the point of it is that he is not contending that this installation has contributed to the pockets of poverty but, rather, take in our own situation in Fort Knox, Ky., Fort Knox has impacted the area where the schools have received Federal assistance.

We believe that there are other areas, Congressman, not only in Kentucky but somewhere else, not because the Federal installations at all have impacted those areas but because the conditions which have contributed to poverty have impacted those areas; not Federal installations impacting them but these factors here have impacted those that are two separate and distinct things.

The point of it is that the Federal Government has assisted school districts where impactions have been brought about because of Federal activity without any feeling of Federal control at all on the schools.

Now, our point is that there are other areas in America which have been impacted not by Federal installation but because of these factors of poverty that the Federal Government ought to give equal attention to, that the Federal Government did not cause it, the communities did not cause it.

Mr. LANDRUM. I think I see what you are driving at there. I am not quite ready to agree that it ought to be done under 815 and 874 because I believe we are doing what I think you mean under title II of our bill, under the community action program.

I am afraid that if we tried to amend 815 and 874 so as to provide additional assistance under that theory that we would run into some problems that we have been trying to keep from running into in that particular area. I am not unwilling to consider it. I appreciate the suggestion. But I wanted to get your reaction.

Dr. DORAN. We would be in no position to tell you how to do it. Of course, the bill that Senator Morse and Congressman Dent have introduced has to do with this thing we are talking about.

Mrs. GREEN. Will you yield?

Mrs. LANDRUM. Yes; I will yield.

Mrs. GREEN. It does not seem to me this has a direct relationship to the war on poverty. There have been tremendous changes since 1954, not all of them based on the Supreme Court decision, but it seems to me there really has been a Federal impact as a result of the 1954 decision. There also has been a tremendous in-migration to the urban centers of people from some of the rural areas who have not had the same type of education or the same quality.

It would seem to me this impact of in-migration from other States might be more urgent for the committee to consider in Public Laws 815 and 875 than the two suggestions made on page 4. What would be your comment?

Dr. DORAN. Mine would be consistent with yours that these are things that are impacting areas. As Congressman Perkins knows, we, in his congressional district, have contributed to the impact in other areas because of the outmigration. That is why it becomes more important for the youth of eastern Kentucky to receive a more adequate education if we are going to impact areas outside of Kentucky.

I had the privilege a few years ago of visiting the Ohio Legislature when it was in session. As speaker of the House of Kentucky, the Ohio speaker introduced me to the House. He said: "One of the things that has impressed me about the Kentucky school is that it is teaching the three R's—four R's, he said—'reading, writing, arithmetic, and Route 23,' which is the road that leads out of Kentucky into Ohio. As soon as our students were able to read Route 23, they left for Columbus, Cleveland, or somewhere else and impacted the area."

That is the great argument that we have for the Federal Government's assistance in the school area where these impactions have taken place.

Mr. LANDRUM. Well, Route 23 has taken a great many people out of a great many communities throughout the Nation who ought to remain home and who could make a great contribution to local improvement if we could provide some means of keeping them there and I hope we can. I hope this may be part of the foundation to do it.

Dr. DORAN. I think so.

Mr. LANDRUM. I believe it was last Thursday or Friday that we had the privilege of having your young Governor here; Governor Breathitt.

Dr. DORAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LANDRUM. In his appearance, he made very clear the fact that Kentucky is moving on its own to eradicate some of this poverty. Nevertheless, he emphasized that it could not be done without the assistance of the Federal Establishment.

I wonder if that would be your view, also: That your experience in Kentucky as a member of the State legislature, as speaker; your experience as a college professor; your firsthand knowledge of the condition in Kentucky and knowledge of the organization and the efforts that are being put forth down there now by your State government, as great as they are; could they be as sufficient on their own without the assistance of the Federal Government?

Dr. DORAN. I would agree wholeheartedly with Governor Breathitt's observations. We, through our efforts to determine our ability and plan for the utilization of our resources of Kentucky through the Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning and Development Commission, have definitely found that we have reached limits in certain places with local community financing and even State financing to get the job done.

Now, I know there are many Federal agencies who are working in our region to help us improve the way of life for our people. But, Congressman, there are certain criteria that these Federal agencies are using which do not fit these underdeveloped areas that we are talking about; for instance, in highways. So much of the road funds are distributed, as you know, on the basis of the traffic count. Well, you can't get money into a place where you don't have any traffic, and you can't get any traffic in a place where you don't have some roads. The same thing with flood-control money. The property value is one of the great factors in determining whether we will build a dam to hold back the water. The property is not worth much until you control the floods.

Mr. LANDRUM. Incidentally, is it not true that Public Law 566, the Small Watershed Act, is one of the basic pieces of legislation in the fight on this thing we are talking about?

Dr. DORAN. No question about that; yes, sir.

So, what we think this act will do is to provide opportunity for the Federal Government to redefine its criteria and to set up an agency which will provide coordination among the agencies that are doing the work, Congressman, lest they duplicate efforts and go off in different directions on different horses in an effort to solve the problem.

Mr. LANDRUM. Thank you, Dr. Doran.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Griffin.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Dr. Doran, I am sorry that I did not get here earlier to hear your testimony in full. I am glad to welcome you to this subcommittee. I recall with great pleasure the trip that I had the pleasure of making with your Congressman, Representative Perkins, to your campus and observing first hand what you are doing and are trying to do there. We are very pleased to have your testimony and the statement of Dr. Wyatt. I assure you I shall read with careful attention.

Thank you.

Dr. DORAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Mrs. Green.

Mrs. GREEN. I have another question on personnel. I have a tremendously high regard for my colleague from Georgia, but it does seem to me that the testimony that the NEA—other educators, and the Secretary of Labor—have given is based on the evidence that we do not have an adequate number of personnel; that we have a great shortage of teachers, social workers, nurses. Unless, under this legislation, we are going to pay them more and attract them in this way, I just do not quite see how you reconcile these two views. You plead for more Federal aid for schools and for teachers' salaries, and so on. Yet today you tell us that there will be no problem getting the personnel.

Dr. DORAN. Mrs. Green, I do not intend to appear to represent inconsistencies. There is definitely a shortage of classroom teachers and we do need assistance to prepare and hold them. But there, to me, is a reservoir of people who are not willing either because of commit-

ments at home, commitments to other choices which they have made or other professions, to remain in the classroom but who would be available for the poverty program. We have grown up here with a feeling that we are not sure who is responsible for all of this poverty and this underprivileged and underdeveloped sector of American life. Somebody wants to get in here and sort of relieve their conscience and purify their souls and relieve their feeling of guilt that we can do something about it and we ought to do something about it in a land of plenty and in a land where there is an affluent society.

I believe from this group of people we can draw enough teachers, supervisors, instructors, guidance people, to get this thing off the ground. And they are people who are not now available to us because of many conditions to enter the classroom but would be available to do this job that we are talking about to help the community raise its sights and raise its level of living.

Mrs. GREEN. I hope you are right, but I cannot see how a person would not be willing to go into the classrooms because of family or commitments but would go quite a few miles away to a conservation camp.

Dr. DORAN. Well, they would have a different commitment, in my opinion.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you think it would be a lasting one?

Dr. DORAN. I would hope that it would last long enough for us through our normal process to train some other people to do it.

Mrs. GREEN. Let me ask two questions which may seem contradictory. The first one is the greater effort that it seems to me educational leaders and NEA could take, a leadership in doing more in the war on poverty itself, and then the second one is the concern that we are overburdening the schools. I say these seem to be contradictory. We talk about comprehensive plans in a community. Could not the National Education Association take the leadership in making suggestions and recommendations for the schools of the country?

Let me mention some areas that come to mind immediately. One, opening of the playgrounds, especially in the urban centers that now we find locked and dark. Second, a more flexible schedule in school systems that would allow many people to teach for a half day who would not be able to teach for a full day. I refer to the same group to whom you referred a few moments ago, the very large number of women college graduates, whose families are raised, who have brilliant minds and who would like to teach for a half day and could adjust their family responsibilities to do that, but school systems have been so inflexible that unless you can teach full time they do not want you. I think of two diametrically opposing conditions. In New York City, under the juvenile delinquency control program, we are spending part of the money to pay teachers an additional amount so that they will visit the homes of the underprivileged. Last Saturday I was told that there is a school regulation in Cleveland that a teacher cannot visit the home.

Now, it seems to me there are so many areas where more could be done, and I think also of using the school buildings longer hours. A youngster who comes from a deprived home and comes from a room where there are five other youngsters and no books and no facilities does not have an equal opportunity in studying and learning with the

child who comes from a very well-to-do home where he has his own private place or study and where he can put forth his best efforts.

Cannot the schools, without any assistance from anybody, really make a comprehensive study of a much greater contribution that they could make to the war on poverty?

Dr. DORAN. I would suppose the same thing could be said, Mrs. Green, about various public institutions in the communities could make a greater effort. I would suppose that my answer, number one, would be that the schoolteachers are pretty well taxed energywise, timewise, and facilitywise, to get the job done that they feel primarily committed to do in the classroom.

I do doubt that the school, within itself, could be charged with the lack of interest or concern or energy to keep the playground open for all times. Now, I would say to you that, in my opinion, you would find receptive people in the National Education Association to this sort of thing. But there is a limit to which a schoolteacher can go in getting these jobs done if you take a full survey of all of the things that the community ought to do for itself.

That is where I think this bill will engender some initiative on the part of various other agencies of the community to do this.

Mrs. GREEN. I am not suggesting that the teacher needs to do all of it, but I am suggesting that the school leaders make recommendations of how their facilities and how their personnel and perhaps volunteer personnel, could carry on a program.

Dr. DORAN. I would hope that the schools could be one of the agencies, Mrs. Green, that would be motivated with assistance from other agencies to do this for a community.

I would say that I would be the first to stand indicted that schoolteachers and the public systems have not done all they could in some communities to make their facilities and their personnel available or to schedule their programs and their time in a flexible fashion to provide all of this.

I am sure we are hidebound and committed to certain traditions and customs and procedures away from which we are quite reluctant to move.

Mrs. GREEN. There is another comment I would like to make. At the same time, I say this: I do feel that society is most willing to overburden the school with all of the ills of society and with adult problems. I refer to housing, for example. We have segregated housing in city after city. This is a problem not created by the schools. The teachers and the school personnel are not responsible because housing in almost all cities is segregated. Yet, today, we are witnessing boycotts against the schools and urging children to stay home and not attend classes; we are placing this burden on the educators and the schools as if they themselves had created the problem.

I think of another instance, the very controversial one of prayers in the schools. Again we are attempting, or it seems to me many are attempting, to shift from the church and the Sunday school and the home the responsibility for religious training, for prayer and Bible study. In other words, let the teachers also take on this responsibility. It seems to me that the adults in society ought to let the schools do the work for which they were established—educated and train youth.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I just want to add a footnote of agreement with Mrs. Green on the point she made about utilizing teachers in the community who are willing and desire to teach half-time. Every time we get an educational organization or someone administering education before this committee I think we ought to bring this matter up.

I have the same feeling as Mrs. Green; that the NEA and the State educational associations not only are not encouraging the use of half-time teachers, but maybe they are discouraging it. If the people in the community who are willing to teach half-time were utilized, it would free many other teachers to go out and teach in a camp situation, for example. I know that the use of half-time teachers is working in some of the communities in my own area, where the local school administration does employ teachers half-time. But I know, as you do, that many other areas refuse to hire teachers on this basis.

I do not think the Federal Government can direct them to change, but certainly we could be encouraging them.

Dr. DORAN. Mr. Griffin, I don't want to seem defensive in this at all, but there are areas in which this is being done. At our college, for instance, we are using the city engineer to teach a course on campus. Many of us have done that in many areas but I am sure we are lacking in other areas, too. I don't know but what this kind of opportunity would be good for us for you to goad us into doing more of this; and I am sure we have not exhausted it.

Mr. Chairman, I hope Mr. Roosevelt, who has just come in, will remember he spoke to our Eastern Kentucky Educational Association when I was its president, at Ashland one time at your invitation and got to look in on our situation there.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Quie, do you have any questions?

Mr. QUIE. I note that in part A of the Job Corps you suggest a change in language so that such programs shall be provided by State and local education authorities. In other words, tie this educational program to the State and local education program, rather than have some Federal program put out there. Evidently this is what you are driving at.

Dr. DORAN. This is consistent with our philosophy as a national, and certainly as State associations, that we believe that that ought to be the basis on which any Federal programs are financed and administered; that it ought to be done through the State and local educational authorities which have been created for that purpose.

Mr. QUIE. The NEA has always been strong on this and insisted that there be local and State control and responsibility over education, even though Federal money goes into it; is that right?

Dr. DORAN. That is what we think.

Mr. QUIE. I mean strong in your resolution as well.

Dr. DORAN. Yes, sir; I am a member of the National Education Association Legislative Commission, and that is the basis on which we represent the delegation assembly. After all, the position of NEA is determined, Congressman, by the delegate assembly. NEA has no policies and can move in no direction other than the direction that is established by the delegate assembly; and it is very clear in its enunciation of this principle of operating the schools in the local communities and in the States through the local and State agencies created for that purpose.

Mr. QUIE. There are some school districts in some States which evidently do a wholly inadequate job of education, as evidenced by the booklet "One-third of a Nation," in which a study was made of preinduction examinations of Selective Service. It was indicated, for example, some Northern States have very few who are rejected because they cannot pass the mental examination. In that book the figure they state for Minnesota, the best State, is 2.7 percent. South Carolina is worst, with 72 percent rejected because they cannot pass the mental examination.

I note in looking at an NEA Journal, that South Carolina is one of the best States in the percentage of elementary and secondary school teachers, with at least 4 years of college. There are only six States which are better than South Carolina, according to this booklet. What is happening to the education in some of the States?

Also in the booklet "One-third of a Nation," it states that 20 percent of those who are rejected because they cannot pass a mental examination, which could be called equivalent to a seventh grade education, have had 4 years of high school, or more. They make the point that 40 percent of these rejectees have had only elementary school education. The astounding thing, then, is that 60 percent have had more than an elementary school education. What is going on in the educational system?

It is not only in the South. The Governor of Indiana was in here and told about a program which is similar to the Job Corps, and they found that better than 50 percent of these young men could neither read nor write. The average education was, I believe he said, between 8 and 10 grades of school. How can the students spend all that time in school and learn virtually nothing?

If the Federal Government is going to put money into it, are we going to get results out of it? I feel that education is one way that we can break this vicious cycle we have gotten into where people stay in poverty generation after generation. But how are we going to do it, if these people don't know how to educate? There is something wrong. You being in the NEA and an educator probably can give us some answers to this.

Dr. DORAN. I am not familiar with the statistics to which you refer, I do not have them at my fingertips. But, I would say to you, that it may be because the funds that have been available, because of the emphasis that the Federal Government has given to certain programs may have resulted in neglect of some of the more basic programs in education, and in some cases we may have found ourselves moving with greater emphasis, say, in science and mathematics because we want to get up to a higher level on that. And not having the facilities and the funds and the institutional materials to strengthen the areas of reading and spelling and speaking that you are talking about, I am sure we are inadequate in a lot of the people we turn out who cannot read and who cannot spell and who cannot write acceptably.

That is why I would contend in the extension of some of your assistance programs that you would consider English, not as a second language, but as basic to an education as science and mathematics.

Mr. QUIE. Is there any excuse, however, despite the shortage of money or facilities, for a person to finish elementary school and not know how to read or write? Is there any excuse for a person to finish

4 years of high school and not be able to pass the equivalent of a seventh grade test?

Dr. DORAN. I could not defend that; no, sir. And I would not put myself in a position to do so. I would agree he ought to be able to read and write, if he graduates from high school.

Mr. QUIE. He ought to be able to read and write, if he graduates from elementary school. He ought to be able to pass the equivalent of a seventh grade test if he graduated from high school; isn't that right?

Dr. DORAN. I don't know why Cassius Clay didn't pass his test. He did not, however, and he has a certificate of attendance at one of the high schools in the city of Lousville.

Mr. QUIE. I doubt if Federal money, itself, whether it be for the buildings or for the teachers, is going to do the job. My own feeling is that there are some people in this country who are experts and can greatly upgrade the education level in the school and it would not only upgrade the education level of the students, but it would also be a great incentive for the teachers to improve themselves and, if such could be made available to the schools—who definitely do not have their sights set very high, and for reasons that the power structure in the community has not seen fit to provide adequate education—something along this line could be done.

Dr. DORAN. I think that would be spotty instead of general indictment against public education.

Mr. QUIE. It would have to be spotty, because some States have such a great record. Also, the schools in some communities have a great record in terms of what happened to these young people after they graduated from high school.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Roosevelt, do you have any questions?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to say to Dr. Doran, I certainly do remember that meeting with a great deal of pleasure. I have one question: It does not deal with what is in the bill today, but I would like to know what the NEA's position is with respect to education of migratory workers' children.

Have you taken any action in this area at all?

Dr. DORAN. The position that we have taken is an advisory one to the hearings that have been held on such legislation, and, of course, we favor an effort to assist the communities which have been impacted by these migratory workers, children of migratory workers.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The migratory worker, as such, and the problem of his children are certainly fitted into an area of poverty; and it is the feeling of some of us that if you really want to eliminate poverty that this should be included in this effort and that an educational part of the bill should certainly include the effort to provide educational facilities for the children of migratory workers. Frankly, I do not feel the impacted area section probably would not be enough, because migratory farmworkers don't stay long enough to be considered.

Would you, in general, favor this program?

Dr. DORAN. Yes, sir; very strongly, if this act could be modified to include it. Very definitely so; yes, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Thank you very much.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Ayres, do you have any questions?

Mr. AYRES. I have no questions.

Mr. PERKINS Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. HAWKINS. I have none; thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Martin.

Mr. MARTIN. I have a couple of questions in regard to your point that Public Laws 815 and 874, your recommendation that those laws should be amended and consideration given for children attending the public schools whose mother is receiving aid from the dependent children program and also those who are receiving unemployment compensation in areas of substantial unemployment.

What is your logic based on that these programs should be amended to include these two points?

Dr. DORAN. Well, we feel—and there are communities that show evidence of it—that these school districts are not able to provide the kind of programs that other communities are able to provide, because they are impacted by an undue number of these people who do not provide the wealth to this local community that would be provided if they were not classified in these——

Mr. MARTIN. Are you familiar with the reasons why this program was first enacted; the original hearings on the bill?

Dr. DORAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. You are getting quite a distance away from that, aren't you?

Dr. DORAN. Our point in this connection, Congressman, is the fact that the same reason that Congress employed that saying that certain communities have been placed at a disadvantage because of Federal installations or Federal activities which have impacted them is one thing, and if that community and the school system is placed at a disadvantage because the Federal activity has impacted that area, then by the same reasoning there are other communities which are impacted by these people living in them, constituted by these definitions, that are unable to cope with that situation and, therefore, the Federal Government should look at its obligation to provide adequate education for these children whose parents cannot——

Mr. MARTIN. In other words, we started originally with the primary concept that it was an in-lieu-of-taxes program. This is getting far afield from that. If this program—Public Laws 815 and 874—were expanded to include these two points you have made here, you would have a general Federal-aid-to-education program in the entire country.

Dr. DORAN. If you had a general aid program, you would not need impacted areas or anything else.

Mr. MARTIN. I realize that you are in favor of the general Federal-aid-to-education program, and I am on the other side of the fence because I am opposed to that. But you would make Public Laws 815 and 874 a general aid to education?

Dr. DORAN. I would do so.

Mr. MARTIN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Gill, do you have any questions?

Mr. GILL. Yes. I think the gentleman has been refreshingly frank, and it would solve a lot of our problems if we could get over the last hurdle of the general Federal aid to education.

Could you give us some idea of how this particular program might work, particularly in relation to making payments to areas that need

supplemental education for disadvantaged children? It is my understanding that the majority of these children would be going to school during the regular hours anyway, but they would need additional help either after hours or in the summertime or times when they are not normally in school, and that would require either additional teachers or additional time being put in by existing teachers.

Dr. DORAN. You are talking about expanding Public Laws 874 and 815?

Mr. GILL. No; I am talking about the poverty program as it might work under the titles that relate to aid to education. Now would it be your feeling that we should set up an afterhours program and hire existing teachers and pay them additional amounts over and above their regular salary from the locality, and make that additional amount chargeable to the poverty program; or how would this be worked mechanically?

Dr. DORAN. That would be one solution, of course, to it. But you would find few people already regularly employed in the public schools either with time or energy to do this sort of thing. But we explored earlier the great reserve of retired people in the various communities who would be available for this sort of activity, and that the colleges would be willing to assume the responsibility of in-service education, to sharpen the wits of these people who would be available for this kind of teaching.

Mr. GILL. By "these people," to whom are you referring?

Dr. DORAN. I am talking about retired teachers or teachers who have made choices to leave the classroom and rear families, or wives of professional people who, because of extenuating circumstances, are not available to go into the classroom as such, but who would be available for this sort of work; such as, marshaling civic clubs, fraternal organizations, women's clubs as a means of motivating these people to accept these assignments.

Mr. GILL. In other words, you are saying there is a reservoir in most communities of people who have teaching aptitude or experience but who are not able or willing to take on a full-time teaching job because of other responsibilities?

Dr. DORAN. I would think so. I testified from my knowledge of the people of our region who would be available for that, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. GILL. Would you suggest that the same training requirement or competence requirements be applied to these special teachers as are applied to the school system in the given locality where they are teaching?

Dr. DORAN. Well, yes; I would. I would not want to water this program down below the competency of the people who are being certified to teach in the public schools. I don't think you would have to do that. On the other hand, you would have some people who would qualify for what you might call equivalency certificates in certain areas that would not qualify to go into a first grade in a formal classroom who would be available for this kind of help.

Mr. GILL. How about the wage scale? Would that be comparable to—the wage scale in the locality?

Dr. DORAN. It should be comparable.

Mr. GILL. In many of your areas, where you have the worst problem with teachers' pay scales, can you get good competent people at those rates?

Dr. DORAN. I said, or implied, earlier, that I think many of the people who would be available for this sort of work are going to be motivated by the desire to help our people improve their standard of living, and they are going to be motivated by some missionary zeal behind all of this, as you have found in your Peace Corps program, for instance.

Mr. GILL. We certainly hope that, but you can't eat missionary zeal.

Dr. DORAN. I understand that, but they are already, most of them, are going to be supported on other than the salaries they draw from this. But I would not want to set the pay scale for these people less than the pay scale you have set for the public school teachers of your community.

Mr. GILL. Or higher, either?

Dr. DORAN. I would not think there would be any need to make it higher. It would be a comparable thing, to me.

Mr. GILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PERKINS. You would agree that it would require the best teachers, though, and special equipment which we already have through adult basic education courses, and teachers trained in that connection to teach these adults and to teach vocational educational courses, and things of that kind?

Dr. DORAN. I would; yes, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. DORAN. I appreciate very much your interesting statement and having you here with us this morning. Thank you.

Mr. BELL. I want to commend you for your statement on title I, on page 3, relative to your statement preferring the wording in the Youth Corps program of the bill H.R. 5131, rather than the present one. I certainly think it makes more sense to have certain specified state authority in a program of this kind. I want to ask you, Do you do this because of just a general philosophical viewpoint, or have you had some little difficulty through having the Federal Government get more in the direction of this program?

Dr. DORAN. We have not experienced any difficulty, Congressman Bell, at all. I have no fear of the Federal control following the Federal dollar. We have had no trouble with it in public education, and I have been from a classroom teacher, a high school principal, and State department of education before I degenerated to a college president. We never did have any trouble. I fear none now. But basically, the concept of education from the profesisonal standpoint has been that these things ought to be handled through the local and State agencies created by our society to handle them.

Mr. BELL. In addition to the feature you mentioned, the Federal control feature, I want to step also to the problem of administration. There is a problem there, is there not, sometimes, when you get the Federal Government in to direct something you have problems of overlaps and problems of administration, and other difficulties. Isn't that correct?