

Dr. DORAN. Yes; but our difficulty in education in America has not been in the Federal Government controlling it. Our difficulty has been in the failure of the Federal Government to assume its proportionate share of paying for public education. Now I am exhibit A of a fellow who graduated from high school and all the science I had in high school was vocational agriculture. I went to college and they put me in a biology course. It was foreign language to me, because I had never studied biology in high school. I finally minored in biology in college, by the way.

The reason we had such a strong program in vocational agriculture in this rural community high school was because of the money that the Federal Government put into vocational agriculture. Now under your National Defense Act you are assisting the high schools of America to strengthen and broaden their science offerings. We have no more difficulty in the administrative control of education since you have been helping the biology teacher than we had when you were helping the agriculture teacher.

Mr. BELL. Isn't it true that at certain times when you start a program of this type you have troubles in administration when the Federal Government is involved? For example, I think you will find in many of the States today you will have trouble with the Manpower Development and Training Act in the administration problem where you don't have as much with the vocational education?

Dr. DORAN. There is a possibility of it. Maybe at the local level we have to kick a few shins of bureaucrats before they decide that the strong arm will not be tolerated. I agree with that.

Mr. BELL. My State of California is having considerable trouble. They think as a matter of fact they are not going to be able to use some of the funds of Manpower Development and Training Act until sometime postponed, because there is so much redtape, too many problems, the legislature has not gotten the key to how it is operating, and so on. I think you are likely to find some delays until these problems are worked out.

Dr. DORAN. We have had no difficulty in Kentucky. Now some people had a great horror at you in Congress when you required a person who received a national defense loan in college to stand up and say "I believe in the Constitution of the United States," and so on. Our people never did disagree with that, because they believed in it anyhow.

Now some people give definition, Congressman, to Federal encroachment that really is somewhat of a bugaboo, it really does not exist in the final analysis. When we get down to receiving the funds and administering the programs, the Federal control that was thought to have been inherent in the program just didn't develop.

Mr. BELL. In administrative program, from the standpoint of fluidity with which you can operate, and so on, would you not prefer to have most of these programs directed at the State level?

Dr. DORAN. No question, and we would propose that money come to the States be commingled with State funds, and they lose their identity as Federal funds.

Mr. BELL. Then, I think we could jump as far as the Job Corps is concerned, if you had the direction of it, it would be a little better operation, would it not?

Dr. DORAN. It would be; yes, sir, or the direct responsibility for it.

Mr. BELL. Doctor, you mentioned when you were speaking to Mr. Martin a few minutes ago that you favored Federal aid to education. Would you extend that also to the usual question, parochial schools?

Dr. DORAN. No, sir; I would not.

Mr. BELL. You would not?

Dr. DORAN. I would not.

Mr. BELL. The NEA would oppose this?

Dr. DORAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BELL. In other words, if you had to have the parochial features of it, you would be against it?

Dr. DORAN. I would be against the Federal support to parochial schools.

Mr. BELL. You would be against the bill, if that were included in it?

Dr. DORAN. I would be against that part of the bill.

Mr. BELL. I mean on final passage. You can't vote "maybe" in the House.

Dr. DORAN. I would say I would be against that part of it. I understand, but there is such a thing as Congress amending the bill.

Mr. BELL. Supposing the amendments fail?

Dr. DORAN. I would oppose Federal aid.

Mr. BELL. Then you would oppose it?

Dr. DORAN. I am speaking for myself now, but I think this is the general policy of the National Education Association, the Kentucky Education Association, that we would prefer the Federal Government remain out of the field of public support, unless the money could be confined to public schools.

Mr. BELL. To the extent of your putting yourself in the position of a Congressman voting the views of NEA, you would, then, have to vote against the bill if parochial private schools were involved in the aid?

Dr. DORAN. I would so do; yes, sir,

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins, do you have any questions?

Mr. HAWKINS. I have no questions.

Mr. PERKINS. One final question, Dr. Doran. I notice that you state in your statement that title II attacks the symptoms but not the causes of poverty.

What do you deem to be the causes of poverty? And then, the second phase of my question, No. 2, inasmuch as you were a high school principal in the old NYA days which was very similar to the work training program provided for in the bill we are considering—how do you see the work training program helping the youngsters that are unemployed in these communities throughout the country?

Dr. DORAN. In answer to your first question, Congressman, of course, ignorance, lack of education, would be more of the cause of poverty. An inadequate school system would contribute more greatly to poverty than unemployment, itself. I think that is what we are talking about in causes and effect.

In relation to your second question, one of the most fascinating parts of this program is the inclusion of your work-study program. We had great benefits from your National Youth Administration Act. I was a high school principal during that time. I can point to youngsters now who are in the legal profession, who are practicing medicine,

who are teaching school, who are in the ministry, and various positions of community leadership who could not have gone to high school except the \$3 or \$4 a month that they earned through this NYA program.

I know we have many students in our college and they are in the elementary and secondary schools now who need this kind of assistance to eat and get the clothing they need to continue their education. One of the strong facets of this program is your work-study title.

MR. PERKINS. You feel that the work study program will enable hundreds of youths in eastern Kentucky to enter college who otherwise would not be able to go to college?

DR. DORAN. And remain in college, Congressman. If you will, let me give you this personal experience I had Sunday afternoon. I interviewed a young lady for a job as a laboratory assistant in our language program and she is the youngest of eight children. Her father is a displaced person in Ohio working, and he commutes back and forth from home. The mother is torn between the two locations. She is the first of her family to graduate from high school, the first of her family to graduate from college, and she has worked her way through college. Now the thing of it is, the colleges do not have enough money for all of the people to obtain employment. Nor can all of the jobs that need to be done on college campuses or on high school campuses be done by the people who are now available for employment. There is no question but what in our particular region there would be many students continue their education who have dropped out or who are flooding the labor market that would stay in school under this kind of arrangement.

MR. PERKINS. Thank you very much for appearing, Doctor.

MR. BELL. Mr. Chairman, could I ask one more question of the witness?

MR. PERKINS. One, yes.

MR. BELL. Dr. Doran, did NEA support the Higher Education Facilities Act this past year?

DR. DORAN. The National Education Association, Mr. Congressman, took no particular position for or against. I was very strong for it.

MR. BELL. You were for it?

DR. DORAN. And many college presidents were on the other side. It was not a matter of the NEA supporting it or opposing it.

MR. BELL. Why did they not support it?

DR. DORAN. Well, there were some areas of consideration in it that may have been interpreted to be inconsistent with the resolution passed by the delegate assembly in Detroit last year.

I personally had no fear, neither did we in Kentucky have any fear, and there are many private colleges in Kentucky that are not going to use the money; but I know of no public schools that will not use it.

MR. PERKINS. We appreciate your appearance here, Dr. Doran. You have been extremely helpful to the committee.

DR. DORAN. You honor me, Mr. Chairman. It is a great honor to see my Congressman in the position you are in.

MR. PERKINS. Come around, Mr. Brooks.

Our next witness is Dr. Joseph J. Vincent, superintendent of schools, South Park Independent School District, Beaumont, Tex.

We have with us here this morning a distinguished Member in the Congress, Congressman Jack Brooks.

It is a pleasure for me to recognize you, Mr. Brooks, to introduce the witness.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JACK BROOKS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS**

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I want to say thank you to the committee for your gracious willingness to hear Dr. Vincent. Joe Vincent has been a lifelong friend of mine. He taught in public schools for 40 years and he taught in a 2-room school and now has been running, for the past 17 years, a system which has 14,000 students.

He served in World War I and in World War II. He has been a broadminded educator who was not unwilling to get into the political battles of mine and others. He has made a considerable contribution in that light. Also, during World War II, he worked specifically in rehabilitating semiliterates and illiterates and did some considerable work there. He has some background, I think, and he will make a contribution. I want to thank you for your willingness and courtesies in hearing him, and hope he will not impose too much on your time.

Thank you very much.

Mr. PERKINS. I want to say, in response to Mr. Brooks' statement, that I feel you did a good job in sending Mr. Brooks to Congress, because on all occasions he has worked for the general welfare of the people of Texas, and especially for all educational programs.

I am delighted to join with Mr. Brooks in welcoming you here. I notice you have a prepared statement. Do you wish to insert it in the record?

**STATEMENT OF JOSEPH J. VINCENT, SUPERINTENDENT OF
SCHOOLS, SOUTH PARK INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT, BEAUMONT, TEX.**

Mr. VINCENT. I will proceed in order—

Mr. PERKINS. Any way you prefer.

Mr. VINCENT. Instead of questions at the end, if any of the committee wish to ask questions they may do it when each matter comes up. I promise I will be out of here in 15 minutes.

Mr. PERKINS. Take your time; proceed.

Mr. VINCENT. First, I wish to thank this distinguished group for taking the time out for this. I want to thank my good friend, Congressman Jack Brooks, for making this meeting possible.

With the hopes that I can avoid being placed more or less in the category of a crackpot or someone handing in new ideas, and with the hopes that I can gain your attention and consideration of this thing, I am going to try to identify myself so that it will explain my attitude, if this is creative.

I was born in a homestead on the lowland swamps of Louisiana. There were no schools. We lived off the land. And, since I have viewed the very sections of the underprivileged and poor people in the Appalachian highland, I decided I must have been very poor, because those children there have much more now than I had. We lived

from game, and we had no electric lights. We got food if there were plenty of ducks and geese and rabbits, and that sort of thing. We were not unhappy, because we didn't know we were poor. We were as good as anybody else. There were no rich folks around to compare us with.

So, I think I know what I mean when I mention poverty here in reference to the President's message. I was a dropin at school when they finally got a little one- or two-room school. I mean, I dropped in when there were no potatoes to plant or corn to pull, or something of that sort. I have three college degrees from standard universities, and I never spent a day on a college campus during regular session. I belong to the old school. I took an examination, started teaching school. I took correspondence; I did some summer terms, and I did extension work, traveling sometimes a hundred miles each weekend to take it.

So I think I know what it means to get an education the hard way. This is not boasting. I am trying to get you to listen to me with the hopes that I understand the phase in our help to the underprivileged. I am talking about two-room schools; I am talking about colleges. I have coached football. I am now retiring as the superintendent of a fine school system where I have been for 37 years. I should have retired 5 years ago, when I reached 65, but the board asked me—they can ask me 1 year at a time—and they asked me if I would not stay on. The other day I told them they would have to let me go. Of course, that aroused my ego, because most of the boys try to hold their jobs.

So I feel I have working knowledge of education administration. We built 21 buildings, \$11 million worth, and never lost a bond issue since I returned from overseas during the last war. I served in both of these wars, and each time I got charged with the "eight balls." What are eight balls? Section 8 of the Army Regulations, which provides for rehabilitation of people who cannot read or write, or who are not well adjusted and are not good for the service. We returned 91 percent of them to the services. And now I will ask you—this is just to prove it, not to satisfy my ego. I have a letter of commendation there, just as a matter of proving what I have said. In the second paragraph it says the way it was done. I was interested in this conversation a while ago in speaking of people who have education and become teachers of educational courses.

In this case, we took a segment of soldiers, and we took the top people, all soldiers, and taught the bottom group and rehabilitated 90 percent of them. And here is proof from one of the finest generals in the U.S. Army. I have a personal commendation from General MacArthur, but it is verbal, and I am sorry I do not have a record of it, for the Tokyo Army Educational Center, in which I had 25,000 students. There, every member of the faculty was a POW, including Henry Snyder, the greatest harpsichordist in the world. It was the only school I have ever had where we had to put out MP's to keep people from coming in. Usually we have to work the other way.

Now you have this, which is a short skeletal outline of something that I propose. Let me emphasize at this time I am retiring; I am not looking for a job. I do not want any political favors. I just think I have something here which would bother my conscience the rest of

this time if I did not lay it out. If you would pick up this paper and ask questions as you come along, it is too brief to do otherwise.

Now, in order that you may get in somewhat of a frame of mind just stand back and think of the CCC camp. That is not what it is, but in order to get you based on it, I propose something like that, because the CCC camp did do a wonderful job. And I know men retiring in town here, field grade Army officers, who if it had not been for the CCC, would be out now on charity. So the CCC camp did do a good job. It had its faults.

Now this particular thing, after it was written and after we had been working on it for a number of months—I have the President's message here of last March, and I find after underlining the red parts that the President has here that it has been included here. Now I am pleading for a package unit, using just what is dripping off the table from the many programs which we have to educate and to rehabilitate and to take care of poverty.

I think that we can take the drippings from the tables of these various organizations, mobilize them in such a way as to take care of a whole lot of it—the things that we have discussed here for 2 or 3 hours. The name of this thing, I don't know what it would be. I have a name there. I feel definitely the name of it should be something that sounds important. The name above, or one similar to it, is an important thing. This is fundamental, if it is to appeal to the people who want to be somebody. You get down to the bottom of it, and that is what most of us want to be.

Now listen, the object of this thing, to coordinate, combine, and economize those parts of our many agencies which overlap in their efforts to fight poverty, aid education, rehabilitate the delinquent youth, and on and on. To vitalize America. We are running short on patriotism. I am saying this now, because a little later on I am going to propose a military turn to it which now seems to be a little unpopular. To satisfy military obligations of our young men.

Why do we draft a young man and put him in the Army, when at the same time we could be educating him in a school setup? I tell you why. The Southern Association, American Association, dictates to us in high schools that we can't recognize work done in the Army. A man retired, who dropped out of my high school 20 years ago, worked at Cape Canaveral and did most of the electronics work. He took an examination when he came home and retired to the Texas Gulf Sulphur Co. He came to the topman, and he said, "You are going to be boss of this construction. Where is your high school diploma?"

"I don't have it." He came out to my high school, "I would like to get a high school diploma on these credits, 20 years in the Army."

"I can't do it. The association says I can't." We do a lot of silly things under the Office of Education. That is one of the worst.

We could demand standard teaching in this unit. Not all Army teaching is standard teaching, but much of it is much better than some I am doing in public schools. I don't know about the rest of it.

To provide experience in a wholesome environment for those who have been deprived of this. Sanitation—those of you who remember after World War II the hospitals, you sent a person in from a pretty good family. You went there and he was down, very far down, because of the spat in the bathtub. It was a terrible situation, because

a lot of those people came out of that sort of environment, and military training thrown back in there would teach them sanitation. Sanitation goes along with that.

Look at your pictures on TV about Appalachia. You see open privies and all that, in the backyard. No garden, but at the same time a situation which could be corrected through a camp environment and military influence, housekeepers.

Now through cooperation and planned liaison with industry and business to train for jobs in existence and those anticipated. What are we saying up here? A lot of school teachers are in this room. Listening to this silly thing. We are getting students, prepare them for jobs which we are going to have 10 years from now. Who knows what those jobs are? I don't know. Now we could do something along that line.

You remember during the war how they sent around trains to different towns and they had gadgets on the wall everywhere. People walked in and said, "I can prepare this in my little factory." Somebody else said, "I can prepare that in my little factory." Why can't we do that with these people in these towns? We go out, industry will help us. These folks will say, "We can prepare this and teach them to prepare it." Industry can come nearer telling us what these jobs will be than anybody else. They would serve probably for a dollar a year.

Now for whom? For youth, male and female. Avoid rigid age brackets, because some kids at 14 years old are older than some at 20. Biggest fallacy is that a child should be 6 before accepted first. Some should enter school when they are 3 years old, and some not until 10. But you have to have a deadline. That would be a hard political problem in this situation, but I am giving you what I think would be right at the time.

Interest should be on case studies. Dropouts, kickouts, another problem, as well as normal people, I think could be handled provided you had the military for the housekeepers. Not necessarily squads right and left, but the military housekeeping as regards sanitation, getting up, going to bed, and keeping lockers clean.

Now where? A lot of Congressmen now are having trouble for the simple reason that I know down around Lake Charles they removed the base from down there, the airbase. They want to save taxes, but not at Lake Charles. They are all friends of mine, so I can talk about them. Now these camps can be good schools. Many of them have good hospitals. The last time I went to Fort Crockett in Galveston, that was a good while ago, there was the most expensive hospital there. We sold it. It was a wonderful plant.

In this place we could teach nursing; we could teach dental technicians; we could teach anything that is there, because a military community is a complete community.

Where would you get your staff? I noticed a while ago that came up. We hired some teachers who do not have standard degrees. We gave a teacher \$6,000 a year when she starts. We hire two people with degrees that do not have training. We hire two for one, for \$3,000 each; and we have been able to get them for that.

Now housekeeping in charge of selective armed service officers and noncommissioned officers from all services. Do not ask for these peo-

ple by number. Any old soldier knows this. You say, "I am going to set up a unit here, send me 10 men." The old general will tell you that. He will clean out his regiment. I always got that. So, call for these men on an elimination basis, on the screen test. Servicemen and civilians used as teachers depending on supply. At any rate, let it be organized by hard core, experienced people.

Combine and coordinate that part of all agencies which overlap as far as you can in the poverty, education, unemployed, training, Peace Corps, and so forth. There will be little bits of that. Of course, what you fellows are thinking about is how all these organizations are going to say, "Don't get into my own little empire." But if we could get the right, we are talking about what drips off the table, and we could have a wonderful program with that, if we can get the coordination of these people.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Roosevelt, do you have any questions?

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

Mr. PERKINS. Do you have any other observations you want to make before we ask some questions?

Mr. VINCENT. No, sir. You can start any time you want to.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Hawkins, do you have any questions?

Mr. HAWKINS. None.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, except to say how much I appreciate hearing you.

Mr. VINCENT. Is the time up for me?

Mr. PERKINS. How much more time do you feel you need? We want to try to hear another witness.

Mr. VINCENT. I want to put my proposed plan in the record.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, that will be inserted in the record.

Mr. VINCENT. Thank you very much.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much, Dr. Vincent.

Mr. VINCENT. No, sir. I am just Joe Vincent. One of my degrees wasn't doctor.

Mr. PERKINS. You have made all the comments you cared to make, have you not?

Mr. VINCENT. Yes, sir; in view of the fact that you have copies of this thing.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much.

Mr. VINCENT. I hope you excuse flamboyancy, but I am just a country boy.

(The outline referred to follows:)

PROPOSED PLAN FOR ARMED SERVICES INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND EDUCATION FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

The name

The name above, or one similar to it, is important sounding. (This is fundamental if it is to appeal to people who, mainly, "want to be somebody.")

The object

1. To coordinate, combine and economize, those parts of our many agencies which overlap, in their efforts to "fight poverty," "aid education," and "rehabilitate delinquent youth."

2. To vitalize Americans.

3. To satisfy military obligations of our young men.

4. To provide experience in a wholesome environment for those who have been deprived of this.

5. Through cooperation and a planned liaison with industry and business, to trains for jobs in existence and those anticipated. (a) Plan job placement in services, industry, and business.

For whom

Youth: male and female; avoid rigid age brackets; entrance on case study. ("Dropouts," students expelled from school included * * * that is reason for military discipline.)

Where

In some of the "not needed" military installations scattered over America are laboratories, workshops, cafeterias, libraries, schoolrooms, and mountains of usable material being sold to GI surplus. Some of the clothing would be usable—for example, coveralls, of which we have tons.

Staff and teachers

"Housekeeping" in charge of selected armed services officers. (Not asked for by numbers because commanding officers would send least competent, not his best.) Servicemen and civilians used as teachers, depending on supply. At any rate, let it be organized by "hard core" schoolmen from the field with years of experience.

Combination and coordination

1. Combine and coordinate that part of all agencies which overlap * * * poverty, education, unemployment, training, Peace Corps, etc.
2. Affiliate work with public high schools of the Nation, when it is up to standard. (Servicemen have returned home as master sergeants in electronics and high schools could give no credit for graduation.)
3. Coordinate work with labor and trade unions. Ask their help in solving apprentice problems and training.
4. Industry and business—same.
5. Use both the above to find jobs.
6. Get support and good will of armed services by asking them to train for service courses.

Motivation and helping solve poverty problem

(1) Ten dollars per week which, if allotted to parents, would be matched dollar for dollar. (Base pay.)

(2) Training and education personal pay. (Motivation pay.):

(a) Academic education pay:

Grade 10 cents per point per month average (academic), thus: grade

Grade 10 cents per point per month average (academic), thus:

grade of 87×10 cents----- \$8.70

"Doing" subjects, 90×10 cents----- 9.00

Total merit personal pay per month (grading period)----- 17.70

(3) Travel pay home on common carriers once per 6 months, if in uniform. None for private cars * * * there should be no cars.

(4) Uniform dignified—probably modified service uniform; the uniform should be one which would add dignity, as these people most of all want to "be somebody."

Philosophy in brief

Much of our social and economic training and education problems come as the result of personal or community lack of discipline * * * people who want freedom but refuse to accept the resultant responsibility. Military discipline is training in patriotism, punctuality, endurance, pride, courage, and respect for the "boss" and oneself. This could be a fine training for an armed service career which is certainly a worthwhile service and profession. Nurses, beauticians, dental technicians, cooks, and hundreds of other job-training features could be offered by the WAC to girls.

Mr. PERKINS. We have with us now Rabbi Hirsch, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Come around, Rabbi Hirsch. Identify yourself for the record and proceed.

STATEMENT OF RABBI RICHARD G. HIRSCH, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Rabbi HIRSCH. Thank you very much. I am Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, director of the Religious Action Center of the American Hebrew Congregations.

In the interest of time, I don't think it is necessary for me to read the entire testimony.

Mr. PERKINS. Without objection, your testimony will be entered in the record at this point as though you did read it.

(The full statement follows:)

TESTIMONY OF RABBI RICHARD G. HIRSCH, REPRESENTING THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM

I am Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, director of the Religious Action Center, Union of American Hebrew Congregations. I appear in behalf of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, a joint instrumentality of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Other national agencies which are members of the commission on social action are the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, and the National Federation of Temple Youth.

In consonance with the policy positions taken by the organizations I represent, I come before you today to urge full support for H.R. 10440, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In 1960 the Central Conference of American Rabbis called for a sustained attack upon all the social and economic conditions which make for poverty, stating that social progress is realized through concrete solutions of specific problems rather than by the adoption of any dogmatic and inflexible system. Our aim must be a social order which will provide the maximum of security, education, and wellbeing consistent with the liberty and dignity of the individual and his right of free choice.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in November 1963, adopted a resolution which states in part: "America faces a serious moral problem in the continuing high rate of unemployment. * * * We heartily commend the local, State, and Federal Government programs designed to (a) train unskilled workers; (b) retrain workers who have been displaced by technological changes; and (c) develop a more extensive vocational guidance and training program. We urge that such programs be expanded."

Although our national organizations have not taken positions on the specific details of legislation before this committee, Judaism has formulated a position on the responsibilities of a society to its individual members. I speak to you from the perspective of that historical position.

The economic and social conditions which necessitate Government action to alleviate poverty have changed since Biblical times but the moral issues which motivate our concern have remained constant. The admonition of the Bible applies with remarkable pertinence to our day: "When you have eaten your fill and have built fine houses to live in, and your herds and flocks have multiplied, and your silver and gold have increased, and everything you own has prospered, beware lest your heart grow haughty and you forget the Lord your God, who freed you from the land of Egypt, the house of bondage * * * and you say to yourselves, 'My own power and the might of my hand have won this wealth for me.' Remember that it is the Lord your God who gives you power to get wealth." (Deuteronomy 8: 11-18.)

Unfortunately, too many Americans have grown haughty and have forgotten that their personal wealth is not only the fruit of their own labors, but represents the accumulated wealth derived from the labors of countless generations of men. A recent Gallup poll, March 21, 1964, revealed that 54 percent of the American people believe that when a person is poor, it is because of "lack of effort on his own part." The concept that poverty is the result of indolence or lack of ability is deeply ingrained in the American psyche and is reflected throughout our history from Puritanism to Horatio Algerism.

The fundamental task confronting us today, therefore, is to reorient our own people to a recognition that poverty cannot be solved by individual action alone. We cannot vaccinate people against poverty by lining them up, as we did this

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We commend the section of the bill (title I) which stresses vocational training and work experience. One of the rabbis of the Talmud declared, "Whoever does not teach his son an occupation, teaches him to become a robber." This legislation would enable our society to provide its sons with the skills necessary to become productive citizens. It would enable persons who have been enmeshed by generations of poverty to break out of the pattern of inherited deprivation. It would restore a sense of self-respect and dignity, reflected in the dictum of our tradition: "A man prefers 1 measure of his own to 10 measures of his friends."

We support those programs (title IV) geared to offering incentives for employment and investment, in consonance with the spirit of the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides who declared that the highest degree of charity is "to give assistance to a fellow man"—by procuring work for him, thereby enabling him to become self-supporting.

We endorse the section of the legislation (title II) which would enable the Federal Government to encourage and aid financially, State, local, and other "community action programs." Federal initiative and finances are indispensable, but the primary responsibility still rests within each community and it is most appropriate that emphasis should be placed on stimulating local action. We note with approval the provision that all funds for educational programs will be administered by public educational agencies and we trust that the principle of separation of church and state will be adhered to throughout the legislation.

The legislation before this committee is only a beginning, but it is a vital beginning in the direction of fulfilling the American dream of assuring every person equal opportunity for dignity, security, education, and maximum development of his human potentialities. We look to you, our elected representatives, to assume leadership in the struggle for justice. "Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and the needy." (Proverbs 31: 9.)

Rabbi HIRSCH. I realize we are somewhat in the position of an Egypt mummy pressed for time. Therefore, I would like to read excerpts of my remarks.

Mr. PERKINS. Any way you prefer.

May I say we had hoped to get to you before this time. In fact, I looked around for you as the first witness this morning.

Rabbi HIRSCH. We were called by your office and notified that we were going to be number three and that it wasn't necessary for us to be here until 10:15.

Mr. PERKINS. We kind of reversed the trend this morning. If we had been here we would have gotten to you sooner.

Rabbi HIRSCH. That is perfectly all right.

Unfortunately, too many Americans have grown haughty and have forgotten that their personal wealth is not only the fruit of their own labors, but represents the accumulated wealth derived from the labors of countless generations of men. A recent Gallup poll—March 21, 1964—revealed that 54 percent of the American people believe that when a person is poor, it is because of "lack of effort on his own part." The concept that poverty is the result of indolence or lack of ability is deeply ingrained in the American psyche and is reflected throughout our history from Puritanism to Horatio Algerism.

The fundamental task confronting us today, therefore, is to reorient our own people to a recognition that poverty cannot be solved by individual action alone. We cannot vaccinate people against poverty by lining them up, as we did this week in Washington for the polio vaccine, and dropping a sugar-coated pill marked "incentive" into their mouths. Until Americans realize that most poor people are poor not so much because of their own deficiencies as because of basic deficiencies in society at large, we shall never win the war on poverty. Until that

day comes, the real poverty in America will be found not in the slums, but in the impoverished hearts of those who refuse to accept responsibility for the welfare of their fellow men.

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

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

There has been a great emphasis, gentlemen, on the impact of poverty on the poor, and considerable amount of testimony has been submitted to this committee in that regard. I should like to emphasize that I, personally, am very much concerned about the impact of poverty on those who are not poor; on the other members of society. What kind of values do we inculcate in our children when they see the adult population callous to the needs of the poor? What kind of mixed-up kids do we create when children in school learn about the land of opportunity and outside the schools see the doors of opportunity closed to millions of persons? What kind of human beings do we produce when white children feel that people of colored skins are inferior and that persons who live in slums deserve no better?

I think it is very important to realize that fortunately in this instance our moral concern is buttressed by sound economic policies. I think it is possible to foresee the fulfillment of a Biblical statement, "He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack, but he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse." We have seen many of the curses which have come to our society as a result of our failure to live up to our responsibilities. I include in these inadequate economic growth, the vast expenditures of public funds to sustain nonproductive persons, crime and juvenile delinquency, and many others, including the impact of poverty on the personality of those who are poor.

I believe never before in our history has there been such a coalescence of the needs of the economy and imperatives of social justice. This legislation will improve the lot of all persons, regardless of race. It is important to recognize that although nonwhites constitute 10 percent of the population, they comprise 21 percent of the poor. At the very moment this committee is considering antipoverty legislation, the other body of Congress is considering civil rights legislation. We believe that passage of both pieces of legislation in the strongest and most effective form is essential to the well-being of our Nation.

For the Negro, the civil rights and antipoverty bills are the two sides of one coin. The problem of race is inseparable from other social and economic problems. Jewish tradition maintains that all social issues are interrelated, just as all men are interrelated. Racial justice for nonwhites is inextricable from economic justice for all Americans.

We endorse the section of the legislation which would enable the Federal Government to encourage and aid financially State, local, and other community action programs. We believe that Federal ini-

tative and finances are indispensable, but the primary responsibility still rests within each community. And it is most appropriate that emphasis should be placed on stimulating local action.

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The legislation before this committee is only a beginning, but it is a vital beginning in the direction of fulfilling the American dream of assuring every person equal opportunity for dignity, security, education, and maximum development of his human potentialities. We look to you as our elected representatives to assume leadership in the struggle for justice. "Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and the needy."

Mr. PERKINS. I certainly wish to compliment you on an outstanding statement, Rabbi Hirsch. I just regret that we do not have the full membership of the committee here to have heard this statement.

Congressman Roosevelt.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Rabbi Hirsch, I would like to join our acting chairman in what he has said, and to say that I think too often, as we begin to legislate, we get bogged down in the technicalities of improving the legislation. While I would be the last one to try to take away that function, it is an important function, of course, to improve the mechanism of each piece of legislation; but I think you have again brought back to us the proper moral tone; the spiritual need; the philosophic background upon which this proposal rests. And I want to say that I join the chairman in saying that I hope all members will read your full statement, because I think it is a very valuable contribution.

Rabbi HIRSCH. Thank you, Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. Rabbi Hirsch, I would like to add my word of compliment to that of the chairman and Mr. Roosevelt. I fully concur. Yours was an excellent statement. I appreciate the soundness of your thinking and your broad viewpoint on this whole problem. In some of the testimony you may have heard here earlier, Mr. Quie brought out a point that I thought was somewhat surprising; that is, the large percentage of rejectees in our military that have a high school education. These rejectees took tests equivalent to the seventh grade. There certainly is something peculiar with our educational system, when something like that can exist.

Will you comment on that? I have felt that a substantial proportion of the rejectees are nonwhite, which would indicate, I think, that perhaps some of the educational features for one group is one thing and for another group is something else.

Rabbi HIRSCH. I think what is at issue here, and something which I think our society unfortunately has not recognized, is that there are two types of education. There is what might be called book learning and what might be called inculcation of values, incentives, which are provided not only by the public school system, itself, but which are part of the essential background motivating someone to learn, which essential background derives from a person's environment and his reaction to environment in which he lives.

If I might just comment on that, in terms of Jewish tradition, I think one of the reasons why Jews have placed such emphasis on education—and I do not say this in any way, in any kind of chauvinism; but it is a known fact that Jews have always stressed education—one of the reasons we have done that is that it has been part of the family environment.

In Jewish tradition, for example, study is the equivalent of worship. You want to pray to God? You improve your mind. The emotion without the intellect is nothing. That there is an inextricable relationship between what a person feels and what a person thinks. Unfortunately, I think what so often happens in our society—and it is true, not only of those who flunk the examinations; it is true of those who pass, as well—what happens in our society is that too many people are concerned with getting an education for the sake of earning a livelihood alone, or for some other motivation just to get through with it. The difficulty is that I think our society has not yet created that incentive which will look upon education as the fulfillment of the human personality.

Just to answer your question more specifically, to get away from the philosophical approach, I think that the reason why these people failed is not necessarily because of the poor educational system but because of all the other failures which I blame on society as much as on specifically the home environment of those individuals involved.

Mr. BELL. Rabbi Hirsch, I understand that—correct me if I am wrong. I understand that in the Jewish religion they start the youngsters earlier; do they not, in some type of actual academic training of your own religion. Is that true; at the age of 4, 3, or thereabouts?

Rabbi HIRSCH. Well, it depends on the particular situation. The Jewish home is a learning experience from the day a child is born. There are ceremonies and rituals which are part of the home environment. Our holy days are observed in the home. We talk, for example, the holy day of Passover we just had, where a 2-year-old is expected already to participate in the educational experience of recounting the story of the exodus from Egypt. There is not only a discussion, but there is actually action which takes place as part of the home.

I think that is part of the deficiency in our society; that the learning experience, particularly in those instances where children come from broken homes or where they come from homes where the parents are not around because they have to work—the difficulty is, that in those homes the home environment is not such to induce or to motivate the learning experience.

Mr. BELL. It is true, I think you were practically stating it there, that when they reach the school age the youngsters also have some additional learning which parallels their school learning. Do you find from this that actually our schoolchildren potentially could be pushed a little more? Isn't this an indication that our learning could be stepped up a little bit by virtue of the fact that many of the Jewish children are really taking what amounts to two courses at the same time? Would this seem to indicate to you that possibly we could step up our educational facilities?

Rabbi HIRSCH. I think that, in great measure, we have done that in recent years. I think that one of the unfortunate aspects of our

stepped-up educational program has been that it was motivated by the Sputnik and our desire to compete with Russia, which, from what I recall, is the time when the issue first came to the fore in American society. I would have liked that issued to have come to the fore 30 or 40 years ago. I do think there is much we can do.

Mr. BELL. You think our education system could be stepped up and a little more push given to our children?

Rabbi HIRSCH. I think so.

Mr. BELL. Thank you very much, Rabbi.

Rabbi HIRSCH. Thank you.

Mr. PERKINS. Rabbi Hirsch, I have one concluding question: Do you believe any of the features of title I endangers family life, we may say; and then again, how do you propose to upgrade the level of education in poverty-stricken or impoverished areas?

Address yourself to the first part of the question, and then to the second part.

Rabbi HIRSCH. First of all, let me say that as a representative of the organizations for which I have spoken, we have not taken any specific stand on any of this legislation. In essence, what we have said is that in this war on poverty we are going to praise the Lord and you should pass the ammunition. But I do feel, and I am speaking personally now, I do feel that there has to be great concern for family life in title I, where you do take people—particularly the first section of title I, where it is proposed that people will be taken out of their home environment. In some instances, it may be good for the person and good for the home. In other instances, depending on the individuals involved, it may be bad.

My only concern in that area would be that there should be sufficient welfare concern to see to it that the programs that are involved are programs that are best for the development of the potentialities of the individuals involved.

I have heard some of the testimony which says that it is bad to take people out of their homes. I say the answer to that is: Which homes are you taking them out of? That, I think, has to be decided on an individual basis.

Mr. BELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PERKINS. Let him answer the second part of the question, to upgrade the level of education.

Rabbi HIRSCH. The second part was the upgrading of the level?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes; how do you propose to upgrade the level of education in these impoverished areas?

Rabbi HIRSCH. We have no specific recommendations on that. The only thing I do think is, that none of the programs which have either been encompassed in this legislation or in the other sections of legislation are sufficiently comprehensive or intensive enough to do the job. I think this is a beginning and we will have to experiment; and, if we have the commitment to do something, then I think we will recognize we should do more.

Mr. PERKINS. Do you want to comment, Mr. Bell?

Mr. BELL. Yes, relative to the first part of the chairman's question, don't you believe this home feature should certainly be analyzed very carefully, and we should be sure that we are not upsetting the home situation by encouraging youngsters to go off to some kind of camp?

It means that we should be very careful about this feature of the bill. Don't you agree with this?

Rabbi HIRSCH. I think we should be careful, but not be so careful that we should eliminate it. I think we ought to be concerned with the individual.

Mr. PERKINS. Thank you very much, Rabbi Hirsch. We certainly appreciate your appearance this morning. I wish all the members could have heard your testimony.

At this point I wish to insert in the record a statement from the American Association of University Women in the form of a telegram addressed to the chairman, endorsing the legislation. If there is no objection, it will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The telegram referred to follows:)

APRIL 21, 1964.

HON. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL,
Chairman, House Education and Labor Committee,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

(Attention of Deborah Wolfe)

Greatly regret misunderstanding date of appearance representative of American Association of University Women in support of H.R. 10440. As unable to present representative today, will file supporting statement for inclusion in record of your committee's hearings.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN,
ALISON BELL, *Staff Associate.*

Mr. PERKINS. Now the committee, when it reconvenes tomorrow at 9 a.m., will hear at first a panel comprised of Dr. Herman Miller, Bureau of Census; William H. Hurwitz, Chief, Statistical Research Division, Census; and William Werner, Assistant Chief, Statistical Reports, Census.

They will appear as a panel.

Then at 10:30 a.m., we have nother panel composed of Harold Goldstein, Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics for Manpower and Employment Statistics; Dorothy Newman, Bureau of Labor Statistics; and Harold Wool, Department of Defense, Office of Manpower.

At 2 p.m., we will hear David Hackett, Department of Justice. And then we will hear another panel, composed of Dr. Ellen Winston, Commissioner of Welfare; Dr. Forrest Linder, Chief, National Center for Health Statistics; and Rosemary Walker, Office of Education.

Until tomorrow at 9 a.m., the committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 9 a.m., Wednesday, April 22, 1964.)

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