

# ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

---

67-25872 75729

## HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

### H.R. 8311

AND VARIOUS BILLS TO PROVIDE AN IMPROVED CHARTER  
FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT PROGRAMS, TO AUTHOR-  
IZE FUNDS FOR THEIR CONTINUED OPERATION, TO EXPAND  
SUMMER CAMP OPPORTUNITIES FOR DISADVANTAGED CHIL-  
DREN, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

---

PART 4

---

HEARINGS HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 20, 21, 24, 26, 27,  
28, 31; AND AUGUST 1, 1967

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor

CARL D. PERKINS, *Chairman*



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1967

80-084

06-85405

## COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

CARL D. PERKINS, Kentucky, *Chairman*

EDITH GREEN, Oregon  
FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., New Jersey  
ELMER J. HOLLAND, Pennsylvania  
JOHN H. DENT, Pennsylvania  
ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Illinois  
DOMINICK V. DANIELS, New Jersey  
JOHN BRADEMAs, Indiana  
JAMES G. O'HARA, Michigan  
HUGH L. CAREY, New York  
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, California  
SAM GIBBONS, Florida  
WILLIAM D. FORD, Michigan  
WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY, Maine  
PATSY T. MINK, Hawaii  
JAMES H. SCHEUER, New York  
LLOYD MEEDS, Washington  
PHILLIP BURTON, California  
CARL ALBERT, Oklahoma

WILLIAM H. AYRES, Ohio  
ALBERT H. QUIE, Minnesota  
CHARLES E. GOODELL, New York  
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Ohio  
ALPHONZO BELL, California  
OGDEN R. REID, New York  
EDWARD J. GURNEY, Florida  
JOHN N. ERLNBORN, Illinois  
WILLIAM J. SCHERLE, Iowa  
JOHN DELLENBACK, Oregon  
MARVIN L. ESCH, Michigan  
EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN, Pennsylvania  
JAMES C. GARDNER, North Carolina  
WILLIAM A. STEIGER, Wisconsin

# CONTENTS

|                                                                                                                                                                                                            |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Hearings held in Washington, D.C.:                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>Page</b> |
| July 20, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2471        |
| July 21, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2565        |
| July 24, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2643        |
| July 26, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2841        |
| July 27, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2979        |
| July 28, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 3129        |
| July 31, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                              | 3353        |
| August 1, 1967                                                                                                                                                                                             | 3529        |
| Statement of—                                                                                                                                                                                              |             |
| Addonizio, Frank, city councilman, Newark, N.J.                                                                                                                                                            | 3536        |
| Anderson, Nace, president, Morganfield National Bank, Morganfield, Ky.                                                                                                                                     | 3151        |
| Baptista, Sister Marie, director, Boorady Reading Center, Dunkirk, N.Y.                                                                                                                                    | 2593        |
| Benson, Mrs. Bruce B., second vice president, League of Women Voters of the United States                                                                                                                  | 2511        |
| Bernstein, Leo, city councilman, Newark, N.J.                                                                                                                                                              | 3536        |
| Biemiller, Andrew J., legislative director, AFL-CIO, accompanied by Julius Rothman, assistant director, Department of Insurance, AFL-CIO                                                                   | 2841        |
| Boone, Richard W., executive director, Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, Washington, D.C.                                                                                                                 | 3009        |
| Brand, Cabell, president, Ortho-Vent Shoe Co., Inc., Salem, Va.                                                                                                                                            | 3288        |
| Burkhart, John, president of the College Life Insurance Co. of America, and Richard L. Breault                                                                                                             | 3166        |
| Button, Hon. Daniel E., a Representative in Congress from the State of New York                                                                                                                            | 2736        |
| Clancy, Hon. Donald, a representative in Congress from the State of Ohio                                                                                                                                   | 3048, 3064  |
| Defino, Tony, chairman, Area Board 9, Newark, N.J.                                                                                                                                                         | 3538        |
| Douglass, Paul F., professor of government and director, Center for Practical Politics, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.                                                                                 | 2896        |
| Dawahare, Hon. William C., mayor, Hazard, Ky., accompanied by Paul T. Townes, city manager                                                                                                                 | 3185        |
| Dawson, Commissioner Leslie, Kentucky Department of Economic Security, Roger Crittenden and Leonard Kelsey                                                                                                 | 3193        |
| Dunn, Mrs. Mary Jane, director, community development components of the community action program                                                                                                           | 3130        |
| Flanders, Donald, secretary-treasurer, Fond du Lac Area Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc.                                                                                                              | 2684        |
| Flemming, Arthur S., president, National Council of the Churches of Christ of the United States                                                                                                            | 2862        |
| Frazier, Lynn, information officer, Kentucky OEO                                                                                                                                                           | 3143        |
| George, Dr. Zelma, director, Women's Job Corps Center, Cleveland, Ohio                                                                                                                                     | 2737        |
| Hansan, John E., executive director, Community Action Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio                                                                                                                         | 3029, 3058  |
| Harris, Louis, president, Louis Harris & Associates, Inc.                                                                                                                                                  | 3375        |
| Held, John E., member of the Cincinnati City Council and chairman of the Crime Study Committee, Cincinnati, Ohio                                                                                           | 3050        |
| Holmes, K. David, president of the Connecticut Poverty Council, Waterbury, Conn., accompanied by William Harris, Waterbury; Samuel Russel, Hartford; and Mrs. Jackie Shaffer, Hartford, all of Connecticut | 2623        |
| Horton, Hon. Frank, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York                                                                                                                                | 2471        |

## Statement of—Continued

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |              |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Mallard, William, police intelligence officer, Police Department of the City of Newark, N.J.                                                                                                                                                                  | Page<br>3539 |
| McDermott, Hon. Leo, commissioner, County of Chester, Pa., accompanied by C. D. Ward, general counsel, National Association of Counties.                                                                                                                      | 2750         |
| Odham, Brailey, president, Orange County Economic Opportunity, Inc., Orlando, Fla.                                                                                                                                                                            | 3524         |
| Olivarez, Mrs. Grace, consultant on behalf of the National Association for Community Development, accompanied by Mr. Allan Maley, Jr., member, board of directors, NACD, and executive director of the Dallas County Community Action Committee, Dallas, Tex. | 2664         |
| Panel composed of Mr. D. M. McElroy; Mr. Donald Flanders; Mr. Ben Day; Mrs. Annie Lee Small; and Mr. Jim Templeton.                                                                                                                                           | 2676         |
| Parkinson, George A., director, Milwaukee Vocational Technical and Adult Schools.                                                                                                                                                                             | 3353         |
| Parsons, Miss Cynthia, education editor, Christian Science Monitor.                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2756         |
| Perlmutter, Dean O. Williams, State University, New York.                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2743, 2794   |
| Pepper, Hon. Claude, a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida.                                                                                                                                                                                  | 3159         |
| Pollock, Hon. Howard W., a Representative in Congress from the State of Alaska.                                                                                                                                                                               | 3529         |
| Pomeroy, Kenneth B., chief forester, American Forestry Association.                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2554         |
| Ramey, George, director, Mayo Vocational Technical School, Paintsville, Ky.                                                                                                                                                                                   | 2943         |
| Robie, Edward, vice president, Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York.                                                                                                                                                                                  | 2983         |
| Rockefeller, John, member of the West Virginia Legislature, Charleston, W. Va.                                                                                                                                                                                | 2565         |
| Rogers, Hon. Paul C., a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida.                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2643         |
| Schulz, Rev. Larold, chairman, Antipoverty Task Force, National Council of Churches of Christ; Rabbi Richard Hirsch, director, Religious Action Center and George L. Haitcock, director of field service, National Catholic Community Service.                | 3306         |
| Seagren, P. W., director, Lindsay Hopkins Vocational School, Miami, Fla.                                                                                                                                                                                      | 2940         |
| Shriver, Sargent, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 3415         |
| Small, Annie Lee, director, Action, Inc., Athens, Ga.                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 2686         |
| Smith, Dr. Spencer M., Jr., secretary, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, Washington, D.C.                                                                                                                                                              | 2534         |
| Speiser, Lawrence, director, Washington Office, American Civil Liberties Union.                                                                                                                                                                               | 3027         |
| Stubblefield, Hon. Frank A., a Representative in Congress from the State of Kentucky.                                                                                                                                                                         | 3150         |
| Templeton, Jim, director, Northeast Community Action Committee, Olive Hill, Ky.                                                                                                                                                                               | 2688         |
| Watson, Don, director, Trumbull County Vocational School, Vienna, Ohio.                                                                                                                                                                                       | 2913         |
| Whitaker, Gaylord C., chairman, Graflex, Inc.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2474         |
| Statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.:                                                                                                                                                                                                             |              |
| Bailey, Stephen K., dean, Syracuse University, the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, and president, American Society for Public Administration, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 28, 1967.                                              | 3427         |
| Batista, Sister Marie, director, Boorady Reading Center, Dunkirk, N.Y.:                                                                                                                                                                                       |              |
| Cohen, Alan, director, reading center at Yeshiva University to the New York State English Teachers Council, excerpt from address of.                                                                                                                          | 2611         |
| "Dunkirk, New York," from pamphlet entitled "17 Projects".                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 2615         |
| "OEI Officials Visit Boorady Reading Center," newspaper article.                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2613         |
| "Reading Center Needs Help," newspaper editorial.                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 2612         |
| "Reading Center's Director Upset by Fund Cutback," newspaper article.                                                                                                                                                                                         | 2614         |



Statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Batista, Sister Marie, director, Boorady Reading Center—Continued                                                                                                                                                         |           |
| "Report Bleak on Aiding Disadvantaged Pupils," newspaper article                                                                                                                                                          | Page 2614 |
| "State OEO Aides Inspect Dunkirk Reading Center," newspaper article                                                                                                                                                       | 2613      |
| The American Potential, report from Boorady Reading Center, Dunkirk, N.Y.                                                                                                                                                 | 2605      |
| "The Bright Underachiever," excerpt from the National Observer                                                                                                                                                            | 2611      |
| Victor, Arnold B., M.D., F.A.A.P., letter to, dated January 18, 1967                                                                                                                                                      | 2611      |
| Benson, Mrs. Bruce B., second vice president, League of Women Voters of the United States, samples of recent comment from local leagues on the poverty program                                                            | 2528      |
| Brand, Cabell, president, Ortho-Vent Shoe Co., Salem, Va.:                                                                                                                                                                |           |
| Letter to Mr. Arch Booth, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, dated July 5, 1967                                                                                                                                    | 3303      |
| Letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 7, 1967                                                                                                                                                                            | 3301      |
| Prepared statement of                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 3297      |
| Brandborg, Stewart M., executive secretary, the Wilderness Society, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 20, 1967                                                                                                       | 2552      |
| Brown, Grace, Lyndhurst, Ohio, telegram to Chairman Perkins                                                                                                                                                               | 3288      |
| Caplan, Gerald, M.D., clinical professor of psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, letter to Lee B. Macht, M.D., deputy medical director and principal psychiatrist, Job Corps, OEO, dated May 31, 1967                      | 3081      |
| Carstenson, Blue A., assistant legislative director, National Farmers Union, testimony of                                                                                                                                 | 3327      |
| Carter, Lisle C., Jr., Assistant Secretary for Individual and Family Services, HEW, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated August 10, 1967                                                                                     | 3114      |
| Comments from the viewpoint of the title V, work experience and training program on the "Case Study" of Leslie, Knott, Letcher, Perry (LKLP) Community Action Council, eastern Kentucky (Whitesburg, Ky.)                 | 3115      |
| Interpretation of section 503(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act                                                                                                                                                          | 3115      |
| Specific comments on staff paper prepared for the subcommittee by Dr. Sar Levitan entitled, "Work Experience and Training"                                                                                                | 3121      |
| Statement regarding the staff paper entitled "Work Experience and Training," prepared by Dr. Sar Levitan                                                                                                                  | 3119      |
| Work experience and training program: Other reasons for termination by sex, December 1964–April 1967 (table)                                                                                                              | 3114      |
| Clancy, Hon. Donald, a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, letter from Lewis H. Evans, area manager, Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, Ohio State Employment Service Division, dated July 25, 1967 | 3065      |
| Clapper, Louis S., Chief, Division of Conservation Education, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 18, 1967                                                                                                             | 2537      |
| Cosand, Joseph P., president, the Junior College District of St. Louis, Mo., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 17, 1967                                                                                              | 3082      |
| Curtis, Hon. Kenneth M., Governor of the State of Maine, letter from, dated July 7, 1967                                                                                                                                  | 2831      |
| "Cutting Relief Rolls—Administration, States Step Up Effort To Put Welfare Clients in Jobs," article Wall Street Journal, July 3, 1967                                                                                    | 3283      |
| Day, Ben, lawyer, Medford, Oreg., prepared statement of                                                                                                                                                                   | 2678      |
| Dean, James C., Chicago, Ill., thesis entitled, "The Developmental Significance of Expenditures of Participants in the Work Experience and Training Program"                                                              | 3209      |
| Dechant, Tony T., president, National Farmers Union, statement of                                                                                                                                                         | 3339      |
| Docking, Hon. Robert B., Governor of the State of Kansas, two letters from, dated July 7, and 20, 1967                                                                                                                    | 2833      |
| Dolbey, Mrs. James M., president, Church Women, National Council of Churches, telegram to Chairman Perkins, dated August 1, 1967                                                                                          | 3073      |
| Douglass, Paul F., professor of government and director, Center for Practical Politics, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.:                                                                                               |           |
| Prepared statement of                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2896      |
| Resolution, Board of County Commissioners, Orange County, Fla.                                                                                                                                                            | 2900      |

## Statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Ellmann, William M., president, State Bar Association of Michigan, (enclosures):                                                                                                                                     | Page |
| Letter to Hon. Charles E. Chamberlain.....                                                                                                                                                                           | 3074 |
| Funded programs (table).....                                                                                                                                                                                         | 3078 |
| Programs in progress.....                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3080 |
| Resolution of the Board of Commissioners, State Bar of Michigan.....                                                                                                                                                 | 3076 |
| State Bar Committee on Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.....                                                                                                                                                     | 3077 |
| Evaluation of the Cincinnati community action program, prepared for OEO.....                                                                                                                                         | 3086 |
| Evans, Lewis H., area manager, letter to William Wichman, city manager, city of Cincinnati, Ohio, dated July 7, 1967.....                                                                                            | 3085 |
| Farbstein, Hon. Leonard, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 24, 1967.....                                                                               | 3430 |
| Flanders, Donald, secretary-treasurer, Fond du Lac Area Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc., Fond du Lac, Wis.:                                                                                                    |      |
| Articles from the Fond du Lac Commonwealth Reporter:                                                                                                                                                                 |      |
| Area Group Will Elect.....                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2728 |
| Economic Committee Plans Annual Meeting.....                                                                                                                                                                         | 2727 |
| "Headstart" Plan OK'd.....                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2729 |
| Include Poor, Poverty Units Told by United States.....                                                                                                                                                               | 2728 |
| 806 Families List Income Less Than \$1,000 Yearly.....                                                                                                                                                               | 2728 |
| Summary of community action programs.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 2714 |
| Community Action Means You Working to Help Your Community Become a Better Place for All Its Citizens, pamphlet.....                                                                                                  | 2727 |
| Community action programs.....                                                                                                                                                                                       | 2723 |
| Component program status report (table).....                                                                                                                                                                         | 2715 |
| Conduct and administration program.....                                                                                                                                                                              | 2716 |
| Full-year Headstart program, Ripon.....                                                                                                                                                                              | 2718 |
| Headstart, day care center program.....                                                                                                                                                                              | 2716 |
| In planning stage—Neighborhood Youth Corps, in school and summer programs.....                                                                                                                                       | 2724 |
| New careers program, title II, section 205(e) EOA.....                                                                                                                                                               | 2725 |
| Opportunity center program.....                                                                                                                                                                                      | 2719 |
| Services in action, a resource fair.....                                                                                                                                                                             | 2722 |
| Special services to the aged.....                                                                                                                                                                                    | 2721 |
| Summer Headstart program.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 2718 |
| Through conduct and administration, special project.....                                                                                                                                                             | 2721 |
| Youth employment service program.....                                                                                                                                                                                | 2720 |
| Flemming, Arthur S., president, National Council of Churches of Christ of the United States:                                                                                                                         |      |
| Resolution on funding antipoverty programs, adopted by the general board on February 21, 1967.....                                                                                                                   | 2894 |
| "The Church and the Antipoverty Program," pamphlet.....                                                                                                                                                              | 2891 |
| Folson, Marion B., telegram to Chairman Perkins, dated July 26, 1967.....                                                                                                                                            | 3081 |
| Gardner, Hon. John W., Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, letter to Chairman Perkins, concerning differences of opinion about relationship between Upward Bound and Talent Search, dated July 3, 1967..... | 3113 |
| Gladieux, Bernard L., Knight & Gladieux, management consultants, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 28, 1967.....                                                                                                | 3429 |
| Goldberg, Ned, consultant, antipoverty programs, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, statement of.....                                                                                      | 2636 |
| Gurney, Edward J., a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida, letter from William H. Folwell, rector, All Saints Municipal Church to the Office of Economic Opportunity, dated July 20, 1967.....       | 2906 |
| Gutermuth, C. R., vice president, Wildlife Management Institute, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 18, 1967.....                                                                                                | 2554 |
| Hansen, John E., executive director, Community Action Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio:                                                                                                                                  |      |
| Heisler, George S., presiding judge, Cincinnati Municipal Court, letter to Ralph F. Crisci, attorney at law, Legal Aid Society.....                                                                                  | 3038 |
| Quarterly progress report, Legal Aid Society, Cincinnati, Ohio, legal services project.....                                                                                                                          | 3040 |
| Special summer project.....                                                                                                                                                                                          | 3063 |
| Who took part in riots.....                                                                                                                                                                                          | 3039 |

# CONTENTS

VII

## Statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

|                                                                                                                                                                    |              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Harder, Robert C., Th. D., coordinator, Kansas State technical assistance program, letter and summary progress report-----                                         | Page<br>3286 |
| Hawkins, Hon. Augustus F., a Representative from the State of California:                                                                                          |              |
| McCarthy, George D., Assistant Director for Congressional Relations, OEO, letter to, dated July 21, 1967-----                                                      | 2828         |
| "Los Angeles Grad Is Placed With Trans World Airlines," article from The Corpsman (enclosure)-----                                                                 | 2828         |
| "TV Repairman: 'I Am Working with a Skill I Really Enjoy,'" article from The Corpsman (enclosure)-----                                                             | 2829         |
| "Women's Job Corps Marks second Birthday, Graduates 53," article from the Los Angeles Times (enclosure)-----                                                       | 2829         |
| "What Will We Gain From a Riot?, paper entitled-----                                                                                                               | 3572         |
| "Heckel Reviews Antipoverty Battle," newspaper article-----                                                                                                        | 3601         |
| Held, John E., councilman, Cincinnati, Ohio, statement of-----                                                                                                     | 3085         |
| "The Poverty Probe Is Needed," newspaper editorial-----                                                                                                            | 3056         |
| Hoff, Hon. Philip H., Governor of the State of Vermont, letter from, dated July 5, 1967-----                                                                       | 2835         |
| Hughes, Hon. Richard J., Governor of the State of New Jersey, letter from, dated July 10, 1967-----                                                                | 2830         |
| Kelly, W. P., Director, Job Corps, letter from, dated July 26, 1967---                                                                                             | 3533         |
| Locker, Ralph S., mayor, city of Cleveland, Ohio, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 25, 1967-----                                                             | 3073         |
| Maryland State Conference of NAACP Branches, telegram to Hon. Edward A. Garmatz, a Representative in Congress from the State of Maryland-----                      | 3082         |
| McColough, C. P., president, Xerox Corp., letter from, dated July 10, 1967-----                                                                                    | 2508         |
| Mitchell, Clarence, director, Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, prepared statement of-----                      | 2972         |
| Parsons, Miss Cynthia, education editor, Christian Science Monitor, series of articles-----                                                                        | 2757         |
| Parkinson, George A., director, Milwaukee Vocational Technical and Adult Schools, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated August 1, 1967--                               | 3373         |
| Letter to Dr. Walter M. Arnold, director, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, U.S. Office of Education, dated July 18, 1966 (enclosure)-----           | 3373         |
| Regular meeting of the local Board of Vocational and Adult Education (enclosure)-----                                                                              | 3374         |
| Peach, W. F., chief of police, Newport News, Va., letter to Hon. Thomas Downing, a Representative in Congress from the State of Virginia, dated July 21, 1967----- | 3082         |
| Pomeroy, Kenneth B., chief forester, American Forestry Association, "How Much Is a Boy Worth?", editorial from American Forests--                                  | 2555         |
| Price, Don K., dean, Harvard University, John Fitzgerald School of Government, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 27, 1967-----                                | 3426         |
| Quie, Hon. Albert H., a Representative in Congress from the State of Minnesota, excerpt from "Job Corps," by Christopher Weeks--                                   | 2493         |
| Robie, Edward A., vice president and personnel director, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States:                                                    |              |
| Olcott, D. Smith, chairman Aetna Life & Casualty, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated July 18, 1967-----                                                             | 3007         |
| Report on the Community Action program in Hartford, July 1967 (enclosure)-----                                                                                     | 3007         |
| Statement by-----                                                                                                                                                  | 2979         |
| Rockefeller, Hon. Winthrop, Governor of the State of Arkansas, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated June 30, 1967-----                                                | 2830         |
| Rogers, Hon. Paul C., a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida:                                                                                      |              |
| Report on investigation of alleged political and union activities by certain grantees under grants by OEO, by the Comptroller General of the United States-----    | 2645         |
| Report on Office of Opportunity programs within the Ninth Congressional District of Florida (news release)-----                                                    | 2660         |

## Statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Schulz, Rev. Larold, chairman, Anti-Poverty Task Force, National Council of Churches of Christ; Rabbi Richard Hirsch, director, Religious Action Center, and George L. Haithcock, director of field service, National Catholic Community Service, prepared statement of..... | Page<br>3307 |
| Shostak, Dr. Arthur B., associate professor, Department of Social Sciences, Drexel Institute of Science & Technology, Philadelphia, Pa., statement of.....                                                                                                                   | 2633         |
| Shriver, Sargent, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity:<br>Crook, Bill, Assistant Director, VISTA, telegram to Sargent Shriver, dated July 31, 1967.....                                                                                                                 | 3425         |
| Denver Department of Health and Hospitals, maximum family income for eligibility to receive benefits under Children's Bureau (HEW) and Neighborhood Health Center (OEO) programs.....                                                                                        | 3504         |
| Excerpt from booklet, "Guidelines—Comprehensive Health Services Programs," February 1967.....                                                                                                                                                                                | 3495         |
| "Job Corps," code of behavior (pamphlet).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 3433         |
| "Job Corps Staff Code," pamphlet.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 3439         |
| OEO budget data (table).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 3473         |
| Smith, Dr. Spencer M., Jr., secretary, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, prepared statement of.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 2535         |
| Speiser, Lawrence, director, Washington office, American Civil Liberties Union, statement of.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 3022         |
| Still, Timothy, president, United Community Corp., Newark, N.J.:<br>Prepared statement of.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 3592         |
| Prinz, Jonathan J., United States R. & D. Corp., letter to, dated August 10, 1967.....                                                                                                                                                                                       | 3599         |
| Statement before the the board of trustees.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 3599         |
| Smith, Hon. Hulett C., Governor of the State of West Virginia, letter from, dated July 19, 1967.....                                                                                                                                                                         | 2835         |
| Strittmatter, Father Lawrence R., letter to Hon. Donald D. Clancy, a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, dated July 21, 1967.....                                                                                                                             | 3083         |
| Sullivan, Rev. Leon, chairman, O.I.C. National Council, telegram to Chairman Perkins.....                                                                                                                                                                                    | 3288         |
| "The Poverty Probe Is Needed," article from the Cincinnati Enquirer.....                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 3084         |
| Turner, Bailey W., president, Avondale Community Council, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated June 25, 1967.....                                                                                                                                                               | 3080         |
| Turner, Irvine I., councilman, member, Council Committee To Study the Antipoverty Program for the City of Newark, N.J., minority report.....                                                                                                                                 | 3603         |
| "Turner Rebuts Criticism of Newark Poverty Agency," newspaper article.....                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 3602         |
| United Community Corp. to the city of Newark, relating to the historical development and performance of the UCC and in response to the report of the Newark Municipal Council Committee To Study the Antipoverty Program for the City of Newark, N.J., statement of.....     | 3607         |
| Appendix I.—Statement by C. Willard Heckel before Municipal Council Committee To Study Antipoverty Program, on September 9, 1965.....                                                                                                                                        | 3630         |
| Appendix II.—Letter, Councilman Addonizio to Dean Heckel, September 2, 1965.....                                                                                                                                                                                             | 3634         |
| Appendix III.—Letter, Dean Heckel to Councilman Addonizio, September 8, 1965.....                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3635         |
| Appendix IV.—Letter, Councilman Addonizio to Dean Heckel, September 10, 1965.....                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3635         |
| Appendix V.—Letter, Dean Heckel to Councilman Addonizio, September 29, 1965.....                                                                                                                                                                                             | 3636         |
| Appendix VI.—Letter, Dean Heckel to Councilman Addonizio, October 30, 1965.....                                                                                                                                                                                              | 3636         |
| Appendix VII.—Bylaws of the UCC, as amended, May 27, 1965.....                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 3637         |
| Appendix VIII.—Extract, bylaws of UCC as submitted to city council committee.....                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3640         |
| Appendix IX.—Recommendation re hiring, personnel committee to board of trustees of UCC.....                                                                                                                                                                                  | 3641         |

# CONTENTS

IX

|                                                                                                                      |              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued                                                           |              |
| United Community Corp., to the city of Newark, etc.—Continued                                                        |              |
| Appendix X.—Agreement between UCC and Cyril D. Tyson,<br>dated December 21, 1964.....                                | Page<br>3642 |
| Appendix XI.—Minutes, board of trustees of UCC, December 21,<br>1964.....                                            | 3642         |
| Appendix XII.—Notice and minutes, membership meeting of<br>UCC, January 1, 1965.....                                 | 3643         |
| Appendix XIII.—Memorandum re comptroller, Walter D.<br>Chambers to Cyril D. Tyson, March 22, 1965.....               | 3640         |
| Appendix XIV.—Summary of job description of UCC.....                                                                 | 3649         |
| Appendix XV.—Hiring procedures of UCC prepared by per-<br>sonnel department, September 7, 1965.....                  | 3651         |
| Appendix XVI.—Personnel roster of UCC, as of September 7,<br>1965, as submitted to city council committee.....       | 3651         |
| Appendixes XVII-XX.—Statements by Hirrschoff, Rountree,<br>Pitrelli, and Wendell.....                                | 3651         |
| Appendixes XXI-XXV.—Salary comparison charts—UCC. Har-<br>you Act, Mobilization for Youth, Inc., city of Newark..... | 3653         |
| Appendix XXVI.—Resolution on political activity of UCC board<br>members, adopted August 19, 1965.....                | 3657         |
| Watson, Don E., director, Trumbull County Vocational School,<br>Vienna, Ohio:                                        |              |
| Prepared statement of.....                                                                                           | 2917         |
| Attachment A.—Cooperating agencies.....                                                                              | 2934         |
| Attachment B.—A selective listing of employers of Mahoning<br>Valley Vocational School graduates.....                | 2934         |
| Breakdown of training costs (table).....                                                                             | 2908         |
| Student year cost, August 1, 1964-June 3, 1966 (table).....                                                          | 2908         |
| “Ohio Is Leading the Nation in New Education Concept,” news-<br>paper article.....                                   | 2935         |
| “Pioneer Vocational School Helps Disadvantaged Boys,” news-<br>paper article.....                                    | 2935         |
| Whitehouse, Albert, director, Kentucky Office of Economic Oppor-<br>tunity, testimony by.....                        | 3143         |
| Wheeler, Harry, secretary, Newark, N.J., Board of Education, at a<br>special board meeting, statement by.....        | 3583         |



# ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met at 9:45 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Perkins, Green, Hawkins, Gibbons, Meeds, Quie, Goodell, Bell, Dellenback, and Steiger.

Also present: H. D. Reed, Jr., general counsel; Robert E. McCord, senior specialist; Louise Maxienné Dargans, research assistant; Benjamin Reeves, editor of committee publications; Austin Sullivan, investigator; Marian Wyman, special assistant; Charles W. Radcliffe, minority counsel for education; John Buckley, minority investigator; Dixie Barger, minority research assistant; and W. Phillips Rockefeller, minority research specialist.

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

I am delighted to welcome an outstanding gentleman from the Graflex Corp., whom I feel I know about because of the efficient operation of Camp Breckinridge. Without any further statement, I am going to call upon you, Representative Horton.

## STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK HORTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure to introduce Mr. Gaylord C. Whitaker to you and your distinguished colleagues on the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. Whitaker, a close personal friend of mine for many years, serves as chairman of Graflex, Inc., which is one of the most respected industries in the congressional district I represent. Mr. Whitaker and Graflex have long recognized their responsibilities to our society, and have been active in civic and governmental affairs.

He is here this year to support the program and offer his evaluation of it. Because Graflex operates the Job Corps center in Breckinridge, Ky., Mr. Whitaker has been able to observe this phase of the poverty program from a unique vantage point. Therefore, his analyses of the program have been particularly perceptive. I am confident that his testimony today will reflect this same keen insight.

Earlier this year I toured the Breckinridge facility and exhaustively studied the manner in which Graflex is fulfilling its contractual responsibility to the Federal Government. I was most favorably impressed by what I saw during that inspection trip.

Mr. Chairman, among the exhibits which Mr. Whitaker is submitting to accompany his testimony are letters of recommendation from several Job Corpsmen as well as letters from prominent people in all walks of both public and private life.

Chairman PERKINS. I am delighted he is submitting those exhibits, and without objection all of those exhibits will be inserted in the record.

Mr. HORTON. I am most pleased that among these letters is one from another good friend, Dr. Louis K. Eilers, president of Eastman Kodak Co.

Dr. Eilers said in his letter to Mr. Whitaker: "I have been more than impressed with the progress you have made in 1 short year, educating and finding gainful employment for people who might find it very difficult to obtain work."

Mr. Chairman, I certainly join in commending Mr. Whitaker and Graflex for a job that is being well done.

And I might add here, parenthetically, it has been my pleasure also to visit the Huntington Job Corps center, which is operated by another constituent of mine, Xerox, and I certainly want to indicate from my personal experience with these two corporations, and particularly my personal relationship with Mr. Whitaker and my personal visits to these two Job Corps centers, as well as my conversations with those who are working in these two Job Corps centers and based on my conversations with those who were taking these courses, that I am very much impressed with this program.

I hope that this committee will give every consideration to its continuation. I think it is a very important step forward in the right direction to take these dropouts and give them confidence and hope that will permit them to go back into their home communities or elsewhere to make themselves productive citizens.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me state before you go any further that I wholeheartedly agree with your viewpoint. We are dealing here with a type of youngster that has never received the appropriate consideration that he should have received in my judgment in the past.

We are dealing here with a group of youngsters who need to obtain the best possible help our present day know-how can provide, and I feel that we are in the process of developing better ways of dealing with these youngsters in order that they may make their contribution to society.

You and I both know up until this time that with all these dropouts from our educational institutions throughout America that there has been something lacking and from this know-how that we will gain from efficient operation of the Job Corps, which in my judgment is taking place at the present time, especially through people like Graflex, that we are going to obtain information that is most valuable that can be fed back to the vocational schools, the elementary and secondary schools and to our colleges.

A lot of people say, well, you can put him in a regular training program, but regular training programs have already rejected or refused him or he has completely rejected them.

I am deeply impressed and appreciative, and I am completely sold on the great gains that have been made by the Job Corps in the past year. The experience gained is such that I think we can all be proud.



I have personally observed some of the fine things that have been done down at Breckinridge, and I agree wholeheartedly with your statement.

Mr. HORTON. I know you and other members of your committee have toured other installations. I have not had that privilege, but I have visited these two, and I am very impressed with this relationship where private industry works with the Federal Government to solve these problems.

I want to underscore one of the points you made; namely, the innovation which has been made possible by industry getting involved in this very important aspect of our society. I know from my personal experience of the innovations that Graflex has made with regard to the operation there at Breckinridge.

I just want to say another personal comment with regard to what I found.

Chairman PERKINS. I want to point out that the business people we have engaged in these efforts have come up with a lot of helpful answers to the problem. The innovation that has taken place is most remarkable, and it convinces me beyond any doubt that the Congress would be derelict in its responsibilities if we cut back the funds or altered the major thrust of this program.

Mr. HORTON. I feel it should be recognized, Mr. Chairman, from the standpoint of my personal experience with these two companies, and particularly with Graflex, that they are making financial sacrifices to take on this responsibility.

They are not making any money out of it. The return they get is a very small return, and certainly not anything that they could justify to their stockholders, certainly, in connection with comparison with their other aspects of business. So this, in my judgment, is a contribution that is being made by industry to help solve this problem.

I want to agree with you, too, that it seems to me this is the only way it can be done. I was impressed when I was there at Graflex. They have a dental dispensary, and they have medical attention for those boys. And they said 80 percent of those boys in there never had any dental care whatsoever.

When I was at Huntington girls were being treated and helped to learn how to make up their fingernails and make up their hair just to give them this personal confidence, which to them is so important in going out and finding a job.

I found the same thing there at Breckinridge. So I want to indicate to the chairman and the other members of the committee that based on my personal experience I have a very strong feeling it is very important for us to continue the Job Corps Center program and for us not to make any cutbacks at this time.

I think that we should give this program an opportunity to continue to prove its worth, and I think it will.

Chairman PERKINS. Representative Horton, in danger of monopolizing your time and that of our colleagues, I should not continue this colloquy, but you have made such an outstanding statement, I again wish to concur and state I agree wholeheartedly that the corporations involved in operating the Job Corps are not there for their own pecuniary gain, that they could spend their money far more wisely in other areas of their business, but they feel that they should make a

contribution in trying to solve the problem. And they are coming up with some answers dealing with these youngsters who are under their custody 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, and that existing educational institutions have never tried.

We are going through a period here that is most important to continue to obtain answers and information of this kind for several years to come. That is the reason I am delighted we have a witness here today who took over a camp where the sentiment of the whole community at the time they took it over was 100 percent against.

They found answers to a lot of these problems, and now, I am happy to say, the whole community is supporting the continued operation of this camp.

Another amazing thing is the way it has brought down the costs per enrollee.

Mr. HORTON. I might say this in continuation of my introduction of Mr. Whitaker, that Mr. Whitaker is the chairman of the board of a very important corporation, and Mr. Whitaker in spite of his very arduous duties as chairman of this very important industry has taken his personal time to spend to see and to personally oversee this operation there at Breckinridge.

He is a very dedicated man, and he is very sincere. So it gives me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to you and other members of the committee the chairman of the board of Graflex, Mr. Whitaker.

**STATEMENT OF GAYLORD C. WHITAKER, CHAIRMAN, GRAFLEX, INC., ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM C. DWYER, DARCY & ASSOCIATES, ROCHESTER, N.Y.**

Mr. WHITAKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I feel what I will say will be anticlimatic after the fine statement you and Mr. Horton made.

I would like to say what a pleasure it is to be introduced by Representative Horton, who is a friend, a sportsman, a father and a fine gentleman. We have known each other for years and this is the first opportunity that I have had to talk to him and to you as a team of Government and business unified in the same objective.

I would like, if I may, to introduce William Dwyer, former administrative assistant to Frank Horton in his office, who is working for Darcy & Associates in Rochester. They are in the public relations business, and Mr. Dwyer is here to back me up and to provide things I may not be in a position to answer.

In the interests of conserving your valuable time, I am furnishing herewith, for each of you, the following:

1. Résumé, telling you who I am.
2. Synopsis, "Graflex Capabilities," dealing with Graflex/General Precision as an organization, with particular reference to education and training.
3. "Fact Sheet," dealing with questions most frequently asked about Job Corps and Breckinridge Job Corps Training Center.
4. Brochure, entitled "This Is Breckinridge Job Corps Center."
5. These remarks as prepared for you, for delivery this morning.

In addition, I have one complete set of exhibits and supporting materials which I will leave with the clerk of your committee. These include examples of commendatory letters from community leaders in the

Breckinridge area; Government leaders, including Congressmen; heads of industrial, civic and service organization; corpsmen and their families; newspaper clippings; extracts from the Congressional Record, and so forth.

If you will permit me to deliver my remarks, I will do my best to answer your questions, if any, at the conclusion thereof.

As one who believes in the free enterprise system and our democratic way of life, I consider it a distinct honor and privilege to be called upon to appear before this Committee on Education and Labor, and this is a very warm feeling I have because of the fact, Mr. Chairman, you visited Breckinridge, as have other members of your committee, and know from firsthand experience what I am talking about.

First, may I say that as a citizen taxpayer, I share your concern regarding the rising costs of Government. The impact on Government expenditures of the legislative branch and House committees, such as this, is indeed great. Your actions help determine how the fruits of our labor are spent. At the same time, as the truly elected representatives of the people—and I mean that sincerely—you have a particular obligation to safeguard our country's future.

Education and training are vital to modern society, where, according to Lawrence A. Appley, president of the American Management Association—

We will see more progress, more change, in the next quarter century than during any previous 1,000 years in human history.

We must plan now to cope with this.

Despite our economic affluence, I don't need to tell you that we have pockets of poverty amid plenty. If neglected, these disadvantaged segments of our society can become cancerous, and undermine the entire structure. If we don't face the facts, therein could lie the seeds of our own destruction.

The effective use of education and training is the means by which we can substitute a "controlled reaction" for what might be called "social dynamite."

Much has been tried, and many approaches have failed. But I'm here today to tell you something about one approach which, despite some imperfections, really works. I refer to OEO's Job Corps program, as exemplified by Breckinridge Men's Training Center near Morganfield, Ky., as operated by Graflex/General Precision.

Graflex is a subsidiary of General Precision Equipment Corp. and our parent company. However, the contract is with Graflex, so I speak with authority in this respect. I am also a director of General Precision Equipment Corp.

Like many pioneering programs, Breckinridge was plagued with problems in the early stages. In fact, during the first year under Southern Illinois University's direction, there was a riot and, according to the newspapers, very little was right. Let me quickly point out that it's easier to "second guess" than to blaze new trails. Despite their mistakes, SIU did some things very well. When Graflex became prime contractor in July 1966, we were able to profit by their mistakes.

We applied commonsense, businesslike methods, with extremely gratifying results. Let me tell you what happened:

1. When Graflex first came to Evansville to determine whether or not Breckinridge could be salvaged, we were met with mixed reactions.

Nearly everyone privately believed in the Job Corps program and what it could do for disadvantaged youth, but few were willing to be quoted as wanting it in the immediate neighborhood.

It was sort of like the observation of the English Duchess in 1860, when Professor Huxley announced that man had descended from the ape: "Let's hope it isn't true but, if it is, let us pray that it will not become generally known."

Despite this, there were some who were willing to stand up and be counted. I shall never forget what it meant to us (and the youth of the Nation) when Evansville's Mayor Frank McDonald and Janet Walker, executive director of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, announced publicly at a luncheon that we could count on their support.

This was the turning point. Before long, industrialists, churchmen, and various civic leaders representing over 50 different groups, wrote us expressing words of encouragement or pledging cooperation.

Since then, we have tried to reciprocate in behalf of the corpsmen and the center. Perhaps the best evidence of the relationship that exists just 1 year short of our coming to Breckinridge, the Evansville Christian liaison group gave a pal dinner to welcome Graflex and hoped we would continue the operation we had and that they would do all they could to support the 100 corpsmen they invited to be guests at that dinner.

2. A look at Jobs Corps overall, and Breckinridge in particular: Since January 1, 1965, the following centers have been established:

|                                  | Number of<br>centers <sup>1</sup> | Number of<br>enrollees <sup>1</sup>  |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Men's conservation centers ..... | 91                                | 15,000                               |
| Women's centers .....            | 18                                | 9,000                                |
| Men's urban centers .....        | 10                                | 15,000                               |
| Demonstration centers .....      | 8                                 | <sup>2</sup> 570<br><sup>3</sup> 750 |

<sup>1</sup> Approximate.

<sup>2</sup> Men.

<sup>3</sup> Women.

3. Companies involved in women's centers operation include Packard Bell, Burroughs, Xerox, Avco, General Electric, Philco/Ford, and RCA.

4. Companies involved in men's centers operation include Westinghouse, Thiokol, U.S. Industries, Federal Electric/ITT, Northern Natural Gas, RCA, Litton, SRA/IBM, and Graflex/General Precision. That is quite a list of bluebloods.

5. Miscellaneous facts on typical enrollees:

Remember: Corpsman arrest rate is one-half of the national youth rate. Unfortunately, what would be regarded as a "prank" in college too often becomes "malicious mischief" for a corpsman.

(a) Reading level, 4.7 grade.

(b) Years of school, seven.

(c) Eighty percent have never seen a doctor or dentist (7 pounds underweight).

(d) Previous behavior: 63 percent no adverse record, 27 percent minor antisocial, 10 percent one serious conviction.

(e) Family pattern: 45 percent from broken home, 65 percent from family where head of household is unemployed, 50 percent from family on relief (some third generation).

It is unthinkable, but we do inherit boys who make good products who are from third generation unemployed.

(f) Earning capacity: 90 percent unemployed, 10 percent employed at less than 80 cents per hour.

I know this figure has been questioned by some, but this has been our actual experience—10 percent employed at less than 80 cents an hour.

(g) It is necessary to recruit and screen two people for each one enrolled.

6. Ratio of staff to corpsmen: Overall, 1:2.5; Breckinridge, 1:2.6.

7. Breckinridge enrollment: Now, 2,007 corpsmen (as of July 14, 1967); average, 1,900 corpsmen.

8. Breckinridge staff: Now, 700 (approximate); planned, 713.

9. Breakdown of Breckinridge staff at 2,000 enrollee population:

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Administration .....          | 130 |
| Training .....                | 360 |
| Overhead and maintenance..... | 193 |
| Subcontractor .....           | 30  |
| Total .....                   | 713 |

10. Dropout rate: This dropout rate does bother us greatly. It is 30 percent, mostly in the early months—less than most colleges, even though we start with 100 percent dropouts.

The 19,200 enrollees: We have graduated, not dropouts, 1,137 in the first year of our operation; 601 of these have been placed and they are earning good money and 466, we hope, are placed for the most part, but we don't have reports on them because they are too recent in graduation.

Those who took jobs, continued school, or joined the military are about the same percentage in our experience as in the overall reported above.

The report on graduation is monthly from Breckinridge, and Chairman Perkins and some of you committee members attended one of the graduation ceremonies when you visited there; during April there were 109, May, 107, and June, 250. We estimate in July to have 150, in August, 165 and in September, 175.

Cost per corpsman-year—Congressional ceiling, \$7,300: overall, 1967, \$6,950. This includes approximately \$1,500 per year paid by OEO directly to corpsman. Breckinridge, 1967-68, \$6,700.

I might point out there is no fee with respect to what they pay directly.

For the fiscal year ending 1968, we have brought our operating costs down to \$5,200 which, with the \$1,500 added, becomes \$6,700 and for a frame of reference your bill provides a ceiling of \$7,300 on this.

I think it is interesting to make just a quick casual observation with respect to the cost to society.

The cost for the average Breckinridge graduate, because it takes less than 9 months to graduate a student, is actually \$5,025, including that \$1,500 expense that I referred to above. If we were to let these fellows just be on their own and let them become a drag on society and if they

were to become prisoners, the cost of the average prisoner in most States is about \$12,000.

If they were to continue on relief and were to have families, the average cost of a family on relief for its lifetime is \$75,000. That \$5,000 is a real investment in our future and eventually will be paid back by tax collections by these very students.

To give you just a brief concept of the community cooperation which we have enjoyed and believe me, ladies and gentlemen, this works both ways. Some of the projects are listed below.

1. Welding swings for Evansville playgrounds.
2. Cleaning up and landscaping Evansville Settlement House areas and parks.
3. Bolstering Morganfield Police force. The little Morganfield Police force—which you know, Chairman Perkins, consists of three people—were in an automobile accident and were completely without a police force one morning, so we sent our security police bolstered by trainees in to Morganfield to maintain the law and order, which was required, which was a very simple proposition, but they appreciated it. Mayor Bell acknowledged this in one of the letters that is a part of this exhibit.
4. Volunteering blood. Our corpsmen almost 100 percent have volunteered blood.
5. Community groups use Breckinridge facilities. We have a number of community people who attend our courses and are taking the regular tests in GED high school equivalency, thus expanding their possibilities as well as the corpsmen.
6. At Christmastime we have a "Toys for Tots" program.
7. Don't laugh when I tell you this one, but our corpsmen have been very successful in teaching water safety and swimming and lifeguard patrol duty to Girl Scouts. We have had no incidents or problems in that respect.
8. Our Gospel Tones entertain shut-ins and the aged.
9. There are our courses in GED to local adults as well as corpsmen.
10. We have exhibits at fairs which are manned by the corpsmen.
11. We share functions of public interest. For example, if we have the St. Louis Hawks to town and use our basketball court, we invite the community to share in that pleasure.
12. One of our dormitories has adopted an orphan, which they are supporting in Japan by proxy.
13. Cleaning up storm damage in Clay, Ky., is a typical operation.
14. Erecting street signs in Corydon, Ky.
15. Directing traffic as requested in nearby communities, and contributing to fund for cows for Vietnam.

I could carry this list on almost indefinitely, but these are the kind of young men you are helping to build at Breckinridge and at other Job Corps operations.

Summation: I realize fully that it takes more than one swallow to make a drink, and that it takes a lot of living to make a lifetime.

Even though we've been involved at Breckinridge for only a relatively short period of time, from March 1, to July 1, 1966, as subcon-

tractor to Southern Illinois University; and from July 1, 1966, until now, as prime contractor, we have already achieved a great deal:

1. Out in the world are 1,137 graduates, proving themselves as good citizens.

2. A policy of "firm but fair" discipline and "sound business methods" pays off in educational endeavor, just as it does elsewhere.

3. Typical American communities such as Evansville, Ind.; Henderson, Ky.; and Morganfield, Ky., will cooperate if kept informed and invited to participate in support of the program. See the letters of commendation received.

4. A well-planned "security" program, alertly implemented, earns the respect of the local citizenry and corpsmen alike, and can succeed.

5. Innovative techniques and good communications can help meet the demands of the "educational explosion." Just as teachers impart values, so also do equipment and materials convey information. It is a function of the approach plus motivation. If you combine the two, you can't lose.

So much has been said and written about Job Corps—some favorable, but much unfavorable—that I would like to cite some of the facts of Job Corps life:

1. It is something of a popular sport to take potshots at OEO, Great Society, Shriver, and President Johnson.

2. It is much more tempting to play up an altercation or a demonstration involving corpsmen (Reader's Digest for February 1967) than it is to emphasize achievements of Corps: (a) In May 1967, 76 percent sent home \$1,327,020 in one month (\$25 from adjustment allowance and \$25 matching). (b) Allotments from July 1966 through April 1967 equal \$10,418,540 (\$706,630 in New York State alone). (c) Approximately 30,000 men enrolled currently, approximately 9,000 women enrolled currently. (d) Of 75,410 total enrollees (June 1967), approximately 63,000 have been placed and others are in the process of being placed. Of those placed, there are 53 percent in jobs (at \$1.71 per hour), 10 percent in school, and 7 percent in the military. I might point out our experience at Breckinridge is that many boys who are flunked in their military examinations because of physical examinations or because of their inability to read or write do pass the military examinations when they do again apply. I dare say the percentage is about one-fifth of those who reapply and are rejected are accepted after the Breckinridge training. (e) Indications are that the investment in corpsmen will be paid back in 21 years, through taxes alone, assuming continuation of starting salary, which we know they will not do.

3. Byproducts of the program: (a) Evolving and proving new teaching techniques in control group of exclusively disadvantaged. (b) Learn how to motivate—group interaction counseling. (c) Self-governing dormitories. I might say thereby making it an honor tradition to have a few dormitories without counselors, the boys are more strict and the boys do better than we can do with counselor control and this saves costs as a byproduct. (d) Audio-visual techniques. (e) Programed instruction. (f) Single-concept

approach. (g) Self-confrontation. This is the boys seeing themselves on television, seeing how other people see them. (h) Inter-relationship of academic, vocational, and life adjustment. I might point out we found out something the hard way that should have been obvious. If you can interest a student in his vocation, he does more readily learn the reading, writing, and other necessary things to support that vocation. If you try to teach him spelling and arithmetic as such, he is less apt to be concerned with it.

In conclusion, I would like to quote Bruce Lansdale, director of the American Farm School, who happens to come from Rochester: "Give a man a fish, you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime."

Admittedly, the Job Corps is controversial by its very nature, but, as imperfect as it is, we are doing something about it. Instead of "social dynamite," we have substituted an attempt to achieve a "controlled reaction."

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Whitaker, I would be delighted for you to expound a little more on your placement record insofar as employment is concerned of your graduates from Breckinridge. Has that been successful in your judgment?

Mr. WHITAKER. We have actually placed and have the record of placement of over 600 of our 1,100 graduates. Remember that 400 of those 1,100 graduates have graduated so recently that we don't have the reports back.

Chairman PERKINS. That is better than 53 percent of the reports that you do have back?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes. I think we do have an advantage as a Job Corps center over the conservation centers we work toward the known existing.

We work with the National Conference Board and we learn what the needs are and train toward that objective.

Chairman PERKINS. Will you tell us what type of trades and so on are studied for at Breckinridge. Tell us just how you instruct this particular youngster?

Mr. WHITAKER. We have a threefold objective. One is to teach him enough reading, writing, arithmetic, so he can adjust to a changing situation.

Chairman PERKINS. You have certain classes along that line separate from the other training?

Mr. WHITAKER. Exactly. About one-third of the students' time is spent in academic training to bring him up to essentially high school equivalency.

Chairman PERKINS. Do you have people especially trained in that field to give the youngsters this type of basic education?

Mr. WHITAKER. That is right. They are the type of teachers you would have normally in secondary schools but who are given special rules to go by and special techniques and audiovisual supports to help their case.

Chairman PERKINS. And special type of equipment to use in the teaching of these cases?

Mr. WHITAKER. You are getting very close to my heart in that that is our business because we make overhead projectors, strip film projectors and so on and by doing what we can best do we practice what we preach and we find it works very well.



Chairman PERKINS. I want to find out how you are equipped to reach the problem or extremely disadvantaged youth that you are than say a vocational education center.

Mr. WHITAKER. Sir, may I go back to your original question?

Chairman PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. WHITAKER. The first third of the effort is on the academic side, the third third is on life adjustment aspects, how to meet people, taking instructions for getting up, reporting for your job, and things of that nature.

The last and perhaps the most important phase is the vocational. We teach 11 vocational clusters as we refer to them. One of them is the automotive cluster which is service station operator, body repair, motor repair.

Another group that we have is small motor repair dealing with outboard motors, lawnmowers. I might say parenthetically that we had a boy graduate last week who is now employed by Sears in Louisville, Ky., at \$2 an hour who has done so well they have let him set up his own lawnmower department within Sears.

We teach electronics which is broken down into radio, TV, oil burner repair, small electric motor repair. We teach culinary arts, we have a landscape gardening course. We teach photography. I am not doing this in as orderly a manner as I should but this is nicely listed in the fact sheet that is part of our folder.

Chairman PERKINS. I am trying to build a record here the best I know how in my feeble way, but going through your center at Breckinridge it was a real education to me. Naturally, I am quite mindful of all of the criticism and the fact that the community even though it is not in my district wanted to get that camp away from there and get those boys away at one time.

They wrote to me that it was a complete failure. I was completely surprised when I got down there and reviewed the center when I saw the 100 percent change in sentiment in the Morganfield community and surrounding communities, about the tremendous support, the 100 percent support.

I want to reiterate again, the support came from zero percent when you took this operation. We might as well admit here that mistakes had been made, but what impresses me so much is the fact that you people have profited by those errors and did something about it.

Now my real question is whether our present schools, vocational schools as presently constituted, are prepared to handle the type of youngster you are now assisting in Breckinridge, Ky.

Mr. WHITAKER. I don't feel, Mr. Chairman, that they are. This is a nuts and bolts operation. It is preparing a boy to become self-sufficient, self-reliant and to have a trade that he can put to work.

I don't want to overstate the vocational side. We have to recognize that these boys will have to be adjustable and flexible enough to change jobs as the economy changes in this respect, so you can't have the vocational only.

Chairman PERKINS. Many of these youngsters, perhaps the majority of them, have been juvenile offenders. Am I correct in that?

Mr. WHITAKER. Sixty-three percent have no adverse record but some of them are juvenile offenders.

Chairman PERKINS. The remaining percentage beyond 63 have had police records?

Mr. WHITAKER. For the most part minor, but they have had records.

Chairman PERKINS. But we are dealing here with the problem child. That is the point. This is the child who requires most careful and prudent consideration and training that he has never received up until this time; is that correct?

Mr. WHITAKER. Absolutely, sir.

Chairman PERKINS. From your experience, do you feel that we would be doing this country a great disservice if we cut back this Job Corps training funds at this time?

Mr. WHITAKER. I feel, sir, that we would be doing ourselves a great disservice. Unwittingly, we would be sowing the seeds of destruction that we see in these riots around us.

This is a real investment in the future taxpayers of America.

Chairman PERKINS. Some of the people who criticize this program—

Mr. GIBBONS. May I interrupt there, Mr. Chairman?

I think coming from a man such as this that that is a very important statement. I wish more people understood really the full meaning of what you are talking about. It seems to me we are flirting with the destruction of this program.

I say flirting—I don't think we are going to destroy it.

We are really reaping almost the same kind of harvest we did yesterday when 73 percent were killed on an airplane. The day before that we cut 5 percent out of the safety budget of the Federal Aviation Agency on a little binge that we occasionally go on from time to time.

I hope more people with background and responsibility such as you have will speak up because Congress needs to hear those words. We have a serious problem and I think what you are doing at Graflex, and what Congressman Frank Horton did regionally are the things we need to do more of. We need less of the scare articles like we have seen in the Reader's Digest.

Chairman PERKINS. You can tell this Congress and truthfully tell this Congress you are not in the job for a pocketbook venture for your own pecuniary interests because your profits are marginal and would be much greater if you were investing your funds in some other facet but that you feel as a corporation you need to obtain information as to how we can better train this problem youngster and feed that information back to schools, vocational educational institutions and to industry.

Is that what you feel and is that the case?

Mr. WHITAKER. You have stated it better than I could have. Let me put it in these words: Our Associate Director is a former high school principal. He expects to get back to become a high school principal again but this is the most learning experience he could ever have and this will spread this gospel across the board on a greater basis than we could see in this room.

Chairman PERKINS. All this polyglot about the cost exceeding \$10,000 per enrollee is nothing but propaganda for the gullible so far as I am concerned because they go back to the first year of operation and they do not consider what you are doing and have been doing in the past several months.

How did you manage to bring this cost down to an average of \$5,900 per enrollee throughout the country on a 12-month basis?

Mr. WHITAKER. One thing we have done is that we have kept our salaries and wages in line with those in the surrounding community. We have not abused that situation. No. 2, we have tried to sell teachers on the fact that this is a way to get ahead in their profession, to get direct experience in this regard.

Number three, we have complete control through 25 different cost centers of the actual aspects of the operation and have a review of those costs every quarter.

I am going out there on the 25th of this month for the review of the last quarter's operations.

We control through data processing the expenditures that are made. We know how much is being paid for everything. We feel that we have a complete business-like, sound, well-adjusted approach to this just as we would have in our own business.

Chairman PERKINS. As a businessman and as head of one of our leading business corporations, how much do you anticipate that you may be able to bring the costs down by July 1, 1968, from the present cost figure?

Mr. WHITAKER. I would be unreasonable and unfair to the boys themselves if I said at all we could come below the \$2,500 base that we have now achieved. We could limit the program and we could bring costs per head down by increasing the number of enrollees but for the same number of enrollees and the same program I doubt if we could effect substantial savings beyond what we have spent.

Chairman PERKINS. Have you had a chance to look at these Harris Surveys? Can you give us any views or point up any weaknesses insofar as these Harris Surveys convey to the general public on their face?

Mr. WHITAKER. I saw the Lou Harris Reports yesterday for the first time and I read them until late last night and I had figures coming out of my eyes and ears.

First, I think OEO was courageous for asking the report because it pointed out definite things that can be corrected and about which things are being done.

For example, the screening practices are being improved by reason of what that report points out.

No. 2, I feel Mr. Harris and his interrogators learned from the actual making of the report. If you read volume 4 you will find he says the statements contained in volume 3 with respect to employment before and after are exaggerated in some respects to the disadvantage of the corpsmen.

Chairman PERKINS. He says that himself?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, he does in volume 4.

Chairman PERKINS. He says that the reports, insofar as the unemployment figures are concerned, the youngsters finding jobs is exaggerated in some respects. Harris says that.

Mr. WHITAKER. Exactly. I feel this was an excellent objective attempt to find out helpful information to do an improved operation. Some of the observations are subpoints made without sufficient knowledge to draw total and general conclusions for the whole Job Corps program.

Chairman PERKINS. Just based on employment and the Job Corps following up for employment?

Mr. WHITAKER. That is right.

I have one other salient point I would like to make. These reports, for the most part, were based on graduates who graduated before August 1966. This meant that they were in Job Corps during the early days or the weak days of the program.

Chairman PERKINS. And that means that these youngsters were in the Job Corps in the weak days of the program?

Mr. WHITAKER. Exactly. And an attempt to draw conclusions from these reports would be basing the Job Corps on what they did at the beginning days and that would be completely erroneous to do that.

Chairman PERKINS. There is a statement there that you and I know that 30 percent of our youngsters are not being reached either in the elementary or the secondary schools and they are the dropouts.

I think that points out the reason why we should continue this Job Corps and, in fact, enlarge it. It is not reasonable that a youngster who drops out of vocational school will go back to vocational school. Am I correct in that assertion?

Mr. WHITAKER. The greatest concern I have over the statement that you have just made is that we are exceedingly eager to teach a vocation so that a boy can immediately go out and earn his living and this should be our prime objective; but I want to emphasize that you have to recognize that in our present society every laborer is retrained at least three times during his laboring life.

If he does not sufficiently know reading, writing, and arithmetic and social adjustment to cope with that situation, he is not fully geared to contribute to society.

Chairman PERKINS. I want to ask you another question. Do you feel your greatest period of program development and impact lies ahead, and do you need more time to test and evaluate new techniques in order to learn how to deal with the hard core idle youth?

Is that your view as I have understood your statements?

Mr. WHITAKER. I feel keenly with the population explosion and with the greater demand on technical approaches to work that we are more and more dependent on education as we go on.

This means that there is a greater demand on teachers and there are not enough of them to go around. We have to find ways to support them in their activities and allow the teacher to do only that which he can do best and this is a part of what we are learning in the Job Corps.

Chairman PERKINS. Here is what appeals to me in this thing. My mail was just 100 percent against Breckinridge. They wanted that camp closed down, the people in that community down there, and they wanted it closed at the earliest possible date.

I am talking about even before you obtained your subcontract to begin a different operation down there. But when I was down there along with other Members of the Congress and viewed this Job Corps camp to see a gymnasium filled with practically the whole community supporting the Job Corps and supporting the efficient operation that you were carrying on down there at that time, it made me feel, insofar as this legislation is concerned, that you more or less had just served your apprenticeship and were just beginning to find the answers to these problems: that you needed to continue for a greater period of time and that, if anything, we would be helping and assisting vocational education in the country; that we would be assisting all educational systems in the country if you people would be per-

mitted to continue this operation and feed back your valuable experiences to the industry, to our educational systems in America.

Is that your feeling at this time?

Mr. WHITAKER. Sir, you have said it very well. Just as we have on-the-job training for our corpsmen at Breckinridge, so also we have been learning as we go on the job training at Breckinridge, and I would be less than sincere if I did not admit that we found many things in this period of 1 year that we can do a better job as we go on and this would be a continuing process.

Chairman PERKINS. You conclude that there is much to be lost if we cut the operation of the Job Corps 1 dime at the present time?

Do you view cuts as a great disservice to America or do you feel we should expand the present Job Corps operation?

Mr. WHITAKER. I feel that the limit of 45,000 which is now in the new proposed legislation is small. I feel that by continuing this process we can reach more boys who will not be reached in any other way and I mean women when I say "boys" just as well, because this is a vital segment of the United States, men and women who will become our future citizens.

If we can develop them into self-reliant taxpayers, we have done something for the country and for ourselves.

Chairman PERKINS. I think you have had enough experience to know that one of our real problems in the vocational educational field is dealing with this hard-core youngster who needs special attention and basic education training before he can succeed in vocational education, and it is a great problem likewise insofar as the hard-core unemployed are concerned.

Am I correct about that?

Mr. WHITAKER. Absolutely. Incidentally, I didn't mention it in my written testimony, but from reading the Harris report last night, I gathered that there are some people who feel that the performance of the graduates has been only satisfactory.

I can speak from our own direct experience at Graflex that it has been preeminently satisfactory and some of the folks we have hired have left us to go to Kodak, for example, to improve their lot.

We have no special control over what we do with them. It is how well they operate.

Chairman PERKINS. I very seldom take this much time but since there has been so much controversy in my home State I feel bent more or less to go along here this morning and ask you several questions.

There have been many questions asked about so many of these youngsters being trained for special trades and vocations and have not been able to obtain a job for which they were trained in the Job Corps.

Do you care to comment on that?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

You have put your finger on a real problem. If a boy comes to us at age 16, and you know that 16 to 21 that they are eligible, and he graduates at age 17 and he is a welder, for example, he may not be able to find employment as a welder because that is a hazardous operation.

Therefore, he will take a job as materials handler or anything as a holdover until he can get the job for which he has been trained.

This I see is a misjudgment in the Harris report. At least I did not see this explained.

I feel that something should be done to correct this from either one of two points of view. Either allow the center director to certify that this young man is capable of taking that profession or that occupation and thus waive the laws that restrict him from taking that occupation now or since there are many more needy cases than there are spaces in these 45,000 allowed, we should change the age from 16 to 21 to 17 to 21 so that we can be working where the odds are best in those with whom we are allowed to work.

Chairman PERKINS. I recall the old CCC days. In fact, many of my neighbors were youngsters back in 1933 and some of them had to drive 153 miles to enroll at Middleboro, Ky.

I have seen much good come from that program. I have always agreed that learning how to work in the forest and so forth and other types of training should not be a lost art and, while conserving our natural resources, does build healthy bodies and more responsible and alert minds.

I feel that this experience of work is most useful in many respects. If a youngster can obtain confidence and hopefulness, I think that is most important for that youngster and it will do more than anything else to instill in a youngster that which is necessary for him to make his own way in society.

Do they receive experience and training of this type that instills this confidence and hope and has it been successful, in your belief, in building these boys to the point where they have confidence that they can make their way in the world?

Mr. WHITAKER. Most decidedly, sir. The thing that I want to qualify before I give this more complete answer is that we still have a problem with respect to dropouts from Job Corps itself.

I cannot speak for them. The Harris report made quite a study of the dropouts and the discharges which needs to be taken into account and much availed of as possible. But as far as the graduates are concerned, everything you have said is true.

You can observe a new boy coming to Breckinridge with long hair and retiring and does not know whether to run or fight and does not know what the situation is and then at the end of 90 days you see that same boy and the change is just unbelievable in terms of his hope and confidence in what he can do for himself.

Chairman PERKIN. I observed youngsters at the graduation function down there.

I knew the grandparents of some of these youngsters.

Mr. WHITAKER. I saw you speak to some of them.

Chairman PERKINS. In speaking to some of those folks, they were real happy on that occasion.

Do you feel that you have been successful, even though some of them are not now employed in instilling in them a desire and greater capacity to learn and go out in the world?

Is that an accomplishment from your viewpoint?

Mr. WHITAKER. Absolutely. If the screening is properly done—and it is now improved—if we have the rate base, we can make good tax-paying material out of that citizen.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Quie.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Whitaker, you mentioned in your testimony a figure of \$6,700 for Breckinridge. Is that right, the average cost per enrollee for a 12-month period?

Mr. WHITAKER. That is correct, that is the cost per enrollee per year. That includes that \$1,500 that is given as mustering out pay.

Mr. QUIE. The Office of Economic Opportunity provided us with a big document listing all of the centers. They list for Breckinridge \$7,737 as the experience to date.

Mr. WHITAKER. Mr. Quie, that is past information. It has cost us more to operate in the past than what it will cost us to operate in the future.

The figure I gave in my testimony is for the year ending June 30, 1968. That is the basis under which we accepted the contract.

Mr. QUIE. So this is an estimate for next year that you are using rather than the figure that actually is the cost in this past year?

Mr. WHITAKER. It is more than an estimate now. We will live within that figure, and I can assure you of that.

Mr. QUIE. What was the average cost this past year?

Mr. WHITAKER. I am guessing, but I would say it was between \$7,000 and \$7,500.

Mr. QUIE. Then where did OEO get these figures for fiscal year 1967? The cost-per-man-year was \$7,737 at Breckinridge, wasn't it?

Mr. WHITAKER. That could be correct.

One of the reasons, Mr. Quie, that the cost is high is the number of enrollees was down last year. As we get the number of enrollees up, the cost per individual can come down very dramatically.

Mr. QUIE. You say your capacity is 2,000 enrollment and that at the end of the period it was actually 1,098. And you are going to get it up to 2,000 this year.

Mr. WHITAKER. The average I am talking about will be 1,900, but the actual enrollment as we are sitting here is 2,007.

Mr. QUIE. What was the difficulty this last year in not operating at capacity as you expect to operate next year?

Mr. WHITAKER. They were not fed to us. The recruiting is a responsibility of OEO, and they were not fed in as rapidly as the projected schedule intended.

Mr. QUIE. How do you expect that they will be fed in that rapidly this year?

Mr. WHITAKER. It is apparent they will be because we are already at the 1,900 to 2,000 level, and last year we were building up from the inherited level.

The SIU had its problems, and it was impossible to feed in enrollees when we first took over the contract. There were 400 enrollees, and we had to build up to the 1,900 to 2,000 level.

Mr. QUIE. What was the month and year you took over?

Mr. WHITAKER. We took over as prime contractor on July 1, 1966.

Mr. QUIE. What was the amount of your contract for that, then, the fiscal year of July 1966 through July 1967?

Mr. WHITAKER. It was 12,300,000 approximately.

Mr. QUIE. What is your contract for this coming year?

Mr. WHITAKER. Approximately 12,150,000, but let me correct both aspects.

We voluntarily extended the period of the first year by 2 months, making it a 14-month contract when it was intended to be a 12-month contract, and the new contract is a 14-month contract.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Horton indicated that you were losing money under your contract with Breckinridge. How much money do you lose each year?

Mr. WHITAKER. I hope he didn't say that. I didn't hear it that way. He said we could do much better with our regular business than we could with this type of operation.

Our profit is 4.7 percent exclusive of rehabilitation and exclusive of payments made directly to the boys.

Mr. QUIE. In other words, you are not losing any money. It is just that your profit is not as great here as it is in other operations of the corporation?

Mr. WHITAKER. I am going to be exceedingly disarming in this respect.

From the standpoint of our stockholders, this is not considered a successful operation profitwise. From the standpoint of the social contribution that it makes, it is a really effective operation.

Mr. QUIE. Then comparing the Job Corps project with your other operations, how does Graflex fit into the other operation? This is the subsidiary of a larger corporation.

Mr. WHITAKER. Graflex is a subsidiary of General Precision Equipment Corp., and we make cameras and audiovisual equipment which is used in the educational field. Both Graflex, the subsidiary, and General Precision are desirous of being in the middle of this exploding educational market.

I don't want to cover up that fact. We have a dual purpose in being there.

Mr. QUIE. Graflex has subsidiaries as well, does it not?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, one of our subsidiaries, for example, is the Society for Visual Education.

Mr. QUIE. I thought I noticed you were on the board of that organization.

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes; I am the chairman of SVE.

Mr. QUIE. You are presently chairman and director of SVC. What other subsidiaries do you have?

Mr. WHITAKER. We have Visual Programming, which is an educational operation directed specifically to preparing special programs for special purposes, training hotel managers, and things of that description.

Are you asking about subsidiaries of Graflex?

Mr. QUIE. That is right.

Mr. WHITAKER. Dorn Optics, which makes optics for use in projectors and similar devices.

Mr. QUIE. Do you have sales from these subsidiaries to the Government?

Mr. WHITAKER. I want to answer that carefully.

That is not their basic business. There may be occasional sales to the Government by these subsidiaries, but basically it is a domestic business that we operate.

Mr. QUIE. The sales to the Government, the corporation of which Graflex is a subsidiary, are mostly in Defense contracts?

Mr. WHITAKER. Are you switching to General Precision Equipment Corp.?

Mr. QUIE. Yes.



Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, they have subsidiaries such as Link Aviation and Librascope and other companies that do sell to the Government in the Defense posture, that is right.

Mr. QUIE. I noticed in Standard & Poors that 43.8 percent of the sales of the corporation go for Defense as space products.

Mr. WHITAKER. That is correct.

Mr. QUIE. It also indicates that you had net sales in 1965 of \$240 million and this jumped in 1966 to \$440 million.

Mr. WHITAKER. That was especially through the acquisition of two additional companies, the American Meter Corp. and the American Vapor Co. & Controls Co. of America, which greatly increased the total sales of General Precision Equipment.

I am delighted to answer your questions, but I am not sure this relates to Graflex and the educational operation. There is a marked distinction.

Mr. QUIE. I just wanted to see the correct involvement you had with the Federal Government.

Do any of the subsidiaries with which you are involved—the Society for Visual Education and the other two you mentioned, Dorn Optics and Visual Programming—do any of these three subsidiaries have any involvement in the Job Corps contract that you have, or any of their personnel?

Mr. WHITAKER. Dorn has no connection. That is the optical—VEI has no connection because it is too recent. I will not say they will not have. If they could make a contribution, we would call on them as we would any other source. SVE has had expertise to contribute but not a product.

“SVE,” ladies and gentlemen, is the Society for Visual Education in Chicago. They have been in business in the educational field for over 40 years.

Mrs. GREEN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. Yes, I yield.

Mrs. GREEN. On the Society for Visual Education, you say they only gave expertise. Did you subcontract anything to them?

Mr. WHITAKER. None whatsoever.

Mrs. GREEN. Did you use their personnel?

Mr. WHITAKER. We used their president, Jack Kennon, and others from their organization to help us with educational problems at Breckinridge. We did not use their film strips, because they are geared for secondary schools and not for Job Corps usage.

Mrs. GREEN. There was no subcontract with them at all?

Mr. WHITAKER. None whatsoever.

Mrs. GREEN. Was there any subcontract with any of your subsidiary companies or any other companies of the parent organization?

Mr. WHITAKER. Mrs. Green, I see what you are reaching for, whether we gained in other ways. We did sell some of our equipment to Breckinridge, but these were at the GSA published prices.

Mrs. GREEN. What was the amount of that contract?

Mr. WHITAKER. It would not have exceeded \$100,000.

Mrs. GREEN. Was any profit from that included in your 4.7 profit?

Mr. WHITAKER. No.

Mrs. GREEN. So that would be additional profit in the total?

Mr. WHITAKER. A very modest profit, if any, because the equipment

was special and it was sold at GSA prices, the lowest price we would sell to any member of the military.

Mrs. GREEN. And this was the only one?

Mr. WHITAKER. That's right.

Chairman PERKINS. If the gentlewoman will yield, this is the same type of equipment under regulations that you sell to the military at very little profit, if any?

Mr. WHITAKER. That is correct.

Mr. QUIE. Was it that there was no profit in sales to the military?

Mr. WHITAKER. Maybe you can say we are doing a poor job, Mr. Quie, but we have not found it at Graflex profitable to deal with the military. I think that we have contributed as much as we have made in this respect.

I am not talking about General Precision Equipment Corp. I am talking about Graflex.

Mr. QUIE. That is considerably different.

Chairman PERKINS. Where you make your profit is dealing with the domestic field and not with General Services and the military or the Job Corps?

Mr. WHITAKER. That's right.

Mr. QUIE. General Equipment Precision Corp. makes substantial and handsome profits dealing with the military and the space program. Graflex is a subsidiary of them. I hope we don't have the impression that the whole operation out of the goodness of their heart is dealing with the Federal Government. I think any of these corporations that are dealing with the OEO and the Job Corps centers seem to be doing quite handsomely in their trade with the Government.

Mr. WHITAKER. I object to the "handsome profits." They make profits and they are in business to make profits and we don't apologize for them. I am a director of General Precision and we are trying to get our profits up.

Mr. GIBBONS. The profits pay the taxes in this country. That is what runs this thing. I know that my colleague understands that better than I do; but that is what pay the taxes and run this place—those nasty old profits. It might be funny coming from a rather liberal Democrat.

Mr. QUIE. I wonder what impression it gives when we think that the corporation is doing this purely out of goodness of their heart.

Mr. WHITAKER. I said we have a dual objective.

Mr. QUIE. How does the corporation use the Job Corps enrollees after they have been in 3 months and they leave and are considered as graduates? Do you have a placement program for them back into Graflex or any of the corporations in General Precision Corp.?

Mr. WHITAKER. Our objective in the General Precision family is to hire approximately 50 per year.

Mr. QUIE. What is the percentage? I don't recall the graduates.

Mr. WHITAKER. 1,100-some in the first year.

Mr. QUIE. What other kind of followthrough program do you have for them?

Mr. WHITAKER. Sir, I am not ducking the question, but the question is basically a responsibility of OEO. We make sure, however, that each graduate has on the average of three interviews lined up ahead of him before he leaves our center.

Mrs. GREEN. Would the gentleman yield there again?

Mr. QUIE. Yes, I yield.

Mrs. GREEN. How do you define "graduate"?

Mr. WHITAKER. One who completes the vocational training in the vocation of his choice. He receives a certificate just as does a graduate of a high school or elsewhere.

Mrs. GREEN. That training period is how long?

Mr. WHITAKER. On the average, 8.8 months, just under 9 months.

Mrs. GREEN. On the average?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. GREEN. And it would go from what to what? What are the extremes?

Mr. WHITAKER. Some do it as rapidly as 6 months and some take it a year and a half.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you consider a boy who goes into the military a graduate?

Mr. WHITAKER. I am not sure I understand your question completely. A graduate can go into the military if that is what he likes; yes.

Mrs. GREEN. But if he has not completed the course and goes into the military, do you consider him a graduate?

Mr. WHITAKER. No; I would not.

Mrs. GREEN. That is not included in this?

Mr. WHITAKER. No.

Mrs. GREEN. "Graduate" is pretty loosely defined by OEO.

Mr. WHITAKER. The graduates are certificate-bearing graduates from Breckinridge only.

Mr. QUIE. You don't use the same definition of graduate that OEO uses.

Mr. WHITAKER. I assume, from the way the questions are being asked, apparently I am not. I apologize if I am not.

Mr. QUIE. It sounds like a better definition than OEO uses. I wish they would use that one, too.

Have you tried to develop a placement program as a part of your contract with OEO so that you can follow through rather than depending on them? You say this is a primary responsibility of theirs. Have you attempted to assume this?

Mr. WHITAKER. We feel placement is important, whether it be in military, in a continuing school, or in an earning job. Even though it is not spelled out as such as a definite key responsibility in the contract, we have worked very diligently in this area; yes, sir.

Mr. QUIE. Is there any possibility of securing in the future more of the responsibility for placement or have they turned you down?

Mr. WHITAKER. No; they have not turned us down. I want to be just as frank with you as you are with me, sir. If the contract were to require us to place every graduate, this would probably be an impossible thing to accept because we don't know what the economic future of the country is going to be and what the situation will be with each graduate when he comes through, but as a practical matter we feel we are judged by you and others on how well placed they are and we try to do that job.

Mr. QUIE. Regarding the 50 you have an agreement to take, is this with Graflex or is this with General Precision?

Mr. WHITAKER. General Precision is targeting for 50. We have not agreed to take 50, but that is our target.

Mr. QUIE. Have you attempted to work out any contracts with other corporations for placement so they will have a similar target?

Mr. WHITAKER. We work with other corporations such as Caterpillar Tractor, who are mightily pleased with our welding graduates, and Johnson Motors, who are pleased with our small-motor-repair graduates.

Right now we are working with the Governor of Kentucky to establish an industrial committee whose job it will be to concentrate solely on this placement problem.

Mr. QUIE. One other question which indicates I came in a little late here. Who is the individual sitting next to you?

Mr. WHITAKER. This is Bill Dwyer, vice president of Darcy Associates, our public relations people. He was formerly administrative assistant to Congressman Horton.

Mr. QUIE. Do you have a contract with Darcy Associates?

Mr. WHITAKER. Long before Bill was associated with them; yes, sir.

Mr. QUIE. Do you mean with your Job Corps?

Mr. WHITAKER. Graflex has had a contract with Darcy and as a part of that, we also have them do Breckinridge assignments.

Mr. QUIE. Is that part of the contract?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, a portion of it is; yes, sir.

Mr. QUIE. Breckenridge had a lot of trouble before you took over, but we have not seen much in the paper since then.

Mr. WHITAKER. I hope you have seen some good things in the paper.

Mr. GIBBONS. It might be because of Mr. Horton's administrative assistant that you have not seen anything bad.

Mr. QUIE. I note at the end of June the Job Corps Recreation Center caused you some trouble. A Mr. and Mrs. Fitzgerald threatened to picket city hall unless the situation improved, complaining that Job Corps youths were drinking, chasing small children, trespassing on the lawns, and so forth. Did that get resolved?

Mr. WHITAKER. First, let me say we are not perfect and we have not hit the millennium, but basically the things that are being done in the community relations are ideal.

There was a bit of feeling expressed because of a Job Corps recreation center that we established in Evansville in an unmixed neighborhood because of the fact that some of the colored boys were not welcome in that area. We feel that we have overcome that and that we have a good feeling now due to the fact that the neighborhood is now using the facilities in the daytime and we are using it at night. There seems to be a good feeling about it.

Mr. QUIE. How did you go about working out better community relations?

Mr. WHITAKER. First of all, before we accepted the contract or before we said we would accept the contract, we went out—I went out personally with a group from Graflex, talked with the industries, with the chamber of commerce, with the service clubs to find out if Breckinridge was salvageable.

When we came to the conclusion it was, we told them of our plans and asked them if they could help us improve those programs. We have committees in Evansville, Henderson, and Morganfield, and in other surrounding towns, that work very helpfully with us in estab-

ing the program. We had good communications and a good understanding of what our objectives are, both theirs and ours.

Mr. QUIE. Do you recommend similar action by other contractors at Job Corps centers who have problems with communities, as a substantial number of them have had and a number of them still do?

Mr. WHITAKER. The bill before the House, as I read it, does provide for this. I think you have done a good job of anticipating what we have already found through experience works.

Mr. QUIE. Last year one of our amendments that was adopted on the floor required the same thing, so there is nothing new in the bill this year, which I found interesting because they call it a new program.

The last question I would like to ask is a little bit on the philosophy of the Job Corps. I was reading Christopher Weeks' "Job Corps," where he goes over the history of it. As you know, he was on the Job Corps staff here in Washington. He talks about the negative side of the sheet.

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, so that what I quote here will not be taken out of context by anyone who reads it, and since the last chapter is very short, I request that the conclusion be placed at this point in the record.

Chairman PERKINS. Without objection it can be placed in the record. (Excerpt from "Job Corps" by Christopher Weeks follows:)

#### CONCLUSION

As Sargent Shriver led off the poverty program hearings on St. Patrick's Day of 1964, he pledged that "if, as time goes on, we find that any of these programs is not making a contribution to the total effort, we will change that program or get rid of it. . . ." In 1966, Congress came close to asking Shriver to make good on that pledge. Obviously riled at the administration of the program, Congress tacked several amendments onto the Job Corps section of the legislation designed to force tighter discipline, better evaluation, and a different method for assigning enrollees to centers. Well-founded rumors disclosed that a proposal to transfer the entire program to the Labor Department was beaten down by the closest of margins in the House Education and Labor Committee. And it was a grudging Congress that approved \$211 million to continue operations for another year, \$17 million less than the Administration asked for. Had it not been for that fact that the Job Corps had already spent more than \$100 million in building, modernizing, and equipping more than one hundred centers, the cuts might have been far deeper.

*Clearly the Job Corps has fallen far short of the goals set out for it in 1964.* In part this is because the program was oversold to begin with. Its superficial similarity to the Civilian Conservation Corps led many to hope that it could emulate its predecessor's success. But the similarity was only superficial. In fact, the Job Corps was an incredibly more complex undertaking. The Civilian Conservation Corps was concerned only with taking men off the streets and putting them to work; it was a solution to an economic problem. But the Job Corps was designed to solve a social problem; it had to do everything the CCC did, and on top of that it had to figure out ways to rework social attitudes, build work skills, and imbue its enrollees with the habits of good citizenship.

Moreover the Civilian Conservation Corps was able to use existing organizations to overcome the challenge of getting into operation fast. This option was closed to the Job Corps by the early demise of the proposal to use the Defense Department to handle Job Corps planning and logistics. Operating without funds, the Jobs Corps planning group in 1964 was hobbled in any attempt to mobilize talent, start construction, purchase initial allotments of equipment, or develop training materials. Once appropriations became available, the task of recruiting staff and putting together an organization took months.

Then the Job Corps success formula of remedial education and job training in residential centers proved illusory. There was, in fact, no success formula which the Job Corps could rely on to achieve its stated objectives.

Other parts of the poverty program faced a similar crisis as they got under way. And in retrospect, it is evident that even the experts, in 1964, underestimated the deep-rootedness of poverty, and consequently overestimated the country's ability to devise effective solutions for those caught in its clutches. So rapidly had the social consensus of the country changed in the early 1960's, and so quickly had this change been translated into political action, that neither our understanding of the complexities of the problem nor our technologies for solving it could catch up. As a result, the Job Corps was caught in a hopeless position—reliable technologies simply didn't exist for achieving the extremely ambitious goals which had been set for it.

In short, overoptimistic expectations are largely responsible for much of the disappointment and disillusionment over the Job Corps today. But this is hardly a reason for crossing it off as a failure. And there is a far more important problem which needs to be considered in determining its future.

The Job Corps was enacted by Congress as a program to help eliminate poverty. But there are real questions as to whether on balance it has reduced or aggravated the problem. Job Corps press releases stress the number of graduates now leaving centers and taking jobs, or joining the Armed Forces, or returning to school. And there is little doubt that *some* of these graduates are clearly better off than they would have been without the Job Corps experience. Unfortunately, follow-up data on Job Corps graduates is so sketchy that it is impossible to tell just how many graduates have gained a lasting benefit from their Job Corps experience, and what the degree of that benefit is.

But there is a negative side to the Job Corps balance sheet. For tens of thousands of trainees, the program which seemed to offer one last chance has turned out to mean only disillusionment, frustration, and finally defeat once again. No one knows what the social cost of a Job Corps dropout is—what price must eventually be paid to overcome the effects of reinforced failure on the teen-agers who have found they couldn't make it even in this "last resort" salvage effort. But it is certain these social costs are sizable, a fact which was documented by a Job Corps-financed poll of Job Corps dropouts carried out by the reputable and experienced survey firm of Louis Harris and Associates. The Job Corps attempted unsuccessfully to suppress the results of the survey, which showed among other findings that unemployment was higher among Job Corps dropouts than before they enrolled, and that more than half of the unemployed dropouts were either working or in school before they entered the Job Corps. After twenty months of operation, there were six dropouts or kickouts for every Job Corps graduate—six defeats for every victory. As time passes, this ratio may improve. But until the Job Corps can demonstrate that its successes outnumber its failures, it cannot claim that it is making a positive contribution to the elimination of poverty. And so long as its contribution to the elimination of poverty remains debatable, then its essential justification is subject to serious question.

If it is questionable whether the Job Corps is helping to eliminate poverty, then it is reasonable to ask why it should be continued any longer. Why not shut it down now and stop throwing good money after bad?

The answer is that the problem the Job Corps was designed to solve still exists in massive proportions. There are still hundreds of thousands of teenagers at the bottom of the economic ladder with little hope for moving up. Every year more than one hundred thousand new candidates for unemployment and frustration turn sixteen. Out of this group, some can be helped by simpler, less costly, and more reliable programs of job training, remedial education, work experience, counseling, and other uplift aids in their own hometowns. But there still remain a large number—no one knows how many—who will get little or no help unless they get out of where they now live and into another setting. For this group, there is no alternative but the Job Corps.

No War on Poverty worthy of the name could leave this portion of the battle-front untouched. Therefore, some program like the Job Corps must be continued as a part of the effort to eliminate poverty.

Furthermore, even though the Job Corps has scored only a few breakthroughs in social technology to date, it still has great potential for advancing our understanding of the complexities of teen-age poverty and for developing more effective solutions. As a program, it is not tied to any particular professionalism; therefore, it is free to blend different systems and approaches in almost infinite variety. It is nationwide in scope, with small and large centers in both rural and urban settings. It still has great potential to mobilize brainpower, and Congress has opened the door to day students at Job Corps centers, adding even further flexibility to the kinds of approaches that can be planned and tested.

But if the Job Corps is to achieve this potential for developing new, more effective techniques for solving the most complex teen-age poverty problems, it must change its administrative priorities. In simplest terms, it needs to give far more attention to the *quality* of its effort, and far less to the *quantity*. There is little to be gained from pushing larger and larger numbers of trainees through programs of doubtful effectiveness which many of them fail to complete. There is much to be gained from putting far greater effort into finding out what it takes to hold the enrollees in the program and what makes a successful graduate.

In short, it would be bitter irony indeed if Congress were to shut down one of the programs most likely to produce new breakthroughs in social technology at precisely the time when our existing technologies for dealing with social problems simply do not measure up to our goals. The country needs the Job Corps today not to *solve* the problem of teen-age poverty, but to *find a way to solve it*.

Mr. QUIE. He talks about the 30-percent dropout at Breckinridge and he speaks of the social cost of this being quite high because the Job Corps is the last resort and salvage effort and if the enrollees lose again, it would seem they would cease to have hope any more.

He says this fact was documented by the Job Corps finance poll of Job Corps dropouts carried out by the reputable survey firm of Louis Harris & Associates. The Job Corps attempted unsuccessfully to suppress the results of the survey, which shows unemployment was higher among Job Corps dropouts than before they enrolled and more than half of the unemployed dropouts were either working or were in school before they entered the Job Corps. Also, after 20 months of operations there were six dropouts or "kickouts" for every Job Corps graduate, six defeats for every victory.

As time passes, this ratio may improve, but until the Job Corps can demonstrate its successes outnumber its failures, it cannot claim it is making a positive contribution to the elimination of poverty. So long as this contribution to the poverty program remains debatable, then its essential justification is subject to serious question.

I don't want to give you the impression that Christopher Weeks says we should do away with the Job Corps—he does not—but raises some of these questions.

I assume you don't count these people as dropouts until after they have been in the camp for a month, so there is an additional number who have left and are not benefited by the Job Corps.

When do you think we will reach the point of positive contribution? I assume you are not satisfied with the 30 percent either. What point do you think we ought to reach in the whole Job Corps dropout picture before we can really say this is succeeding and the number of dropouts is negligible?

Mr. WHITAKER. You have asked a number of questions and I will try to answer them one at a time. While we are trying to improve the dropout rate, it is understandable when you are working with this kind of material.

Second, the Harris report is in my judgment, while accurate as to facts, misleading in some respects. First of all, it was made in August of 1966 of those who dropped out or graduated before that date.

So you are looking at much material that comes from training that was done in 1965 and early 1966.

The third thing I would like to say is—

Chairman PERKINS. You mean that was during the early period that many mistakes were made and the Job Corps was under attack resulting in much criticism?

Mr. WHITAKER. It is vastly improved from the days when this was evaluated—vastly improved.

Congressman QUIE, the next thing I wanted to say is if you read volume 4 of the Harris report, he admits or states in that volume that the extent of employment of the Corps men before they went into the Job Corps was greatly exaggerated, their memories of the job would extend back a year or 6 months, a year and one-half, 3 months, and they would report as if they were working when they went in the Job Corps and this was a mistake in the earlier volumes.

I don't know what the correct figure is but he states the figure he quoted was wrong.

Mr. QUIE. He did not upgrade the report in any way and give more correct figures?

Chairman PERKINS. If the gentleman will yield, on page 52 of the Harris report, he states that one should not conclude from the above data that those who never go into the Job Corps can do as well as those who are in for a short time and then drop out.

The sample of no-shows is distinguished by the fact that they did not join mainly because they were able to get jobs. Their experience is not necessarily representative of the group that has not come into contact with the Job Corps at all.

Mr. GIBBONS. May I make an observation here?

These figures have worried me but the very process of just being interviewed and screened for this Job Corps is a big educational process for some. It is probably more time than they ever used to sit down with a mature adult and examine themselves.

I think the education of a Job Corps man begins from the time he makes the decision to walk into that place and get interviewed.

Certainly, he begins to learn from the very moment he is touched by a skilled interviewer and goes through these very searching questions and has to lay out his past record and experience and reexamine himself.

I would say that the success, of course, in this program is very hard to measure, but success is a rather intangible thing anyway.

I think he begins to learn at the time he is interviewed and at the time he makes the commitment. This is an extreme example and I hope you won't hold me to this as a measure of success but I think you can measure the success of a fellow who stayed in the Job Corps a week, if he went there and understood himself well enough to realize that his place to start and place to work was back in his own community.

That would be a success for an individual. While I think these statistics and surveys are important, I think based on the human understanding we all have as parents, and this man is a grandfather of seven, the Job Corps is successful.

It is a successful experiment in getting something done that we have not been too successful with. It is not the only solution. I hope as we go along we will try to find other ways of solving this problem.

I just wanted to interrupt there because I did not know whether you are going to filibuster or not.

Mr. QUIE. I must say if that is a good experience, and undoubtedly it is, there must be more expensive ways to bring that about. An airplane trip may enable them to stay in a camp closer to home or have some of that same activity closer to home.



Mr. GIBBONS. I wish it could be closer to home. I regret that we don't have any of these cities in my part of the United States. Perhaps if there had not been as much unfavorable publicity about these centers, maybe we could get some of the Governors down in our part of the country to allow these centers to come in because that is a real problem.

Mr. QUIE. I would like to have you make a comment on the second-to-last paragraph of his book. He said:

But, if the Job Corps is to achieve this potential for developing new, more effective techniques for solving the most complex teenage poverty problems, it must change its administrative priorities.

In simplest terms, it needs to give far more attention to the quality of its effort, and far less to the quantity. There is little to be gained from pushing larger and larger numbers of trainees through programs of doubtful effectiveness which many of them fail to complete.

There is much to be gained from putting far greater effort into finding out what it takes to hold the enrollees in the program and what makes a successful graduate.

You have had a year now, 14 months of operating at Breckinridge.

Have you been able to identify the means of successfully holding them there since you moved from 100 percent dropout to 30 percent dropout? I do not mean necessarily 100 percent under your experience. Also you have had a number of graduates now that have been placed even in your own corporation.

Mr. WHITAKER. Congressman Quie, we have not solved the problem. We think we have made great strides and if I can believe the reports of the last 2 months, we are much improved over the past 10 months.

The key to the dropout problem in my judgment is to make sure that the orientation is so well done that they don't make missteps and choose the wrong vocation when they start and keep them as busy as cats on a tin roof so they don't get homesick and want to go home and make sure that the communications are clear cut.

We have made great success in reducing the number of dropouts by what we call group interaction counseling, by having the boys work on the other boys to not want to give up this wonderful opportunity that they have and I think this is helpful.

I don't want to sound like a psychologist but you can do things that way that you can't get adults to do when working with young men.

Mr. QUIE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Mrs. Green?

Mrs. GREEN. You are chairman of the board of Graflex?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, Ma'am.

Mrs. GREEN. And you serve on General Precision?

Mr. WHITAKER. I am on their board also.

Mrs. GREEN. How many are on both boards?

Mr. WHITAKER. Three are on the Graflex board and 23 I believe on the General Precision board.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you serve on both of those?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes.

Mrs. GREEN. Where is your office?

Mr. WHITAKER. In Rochester, N.Y.

Mrs. GREEN. Could you tell me approximately how much of your busy life you spend at Breckinridge?

Mr. WHITAKER. I am there at least once every month and sometimes twice a month. I will be there next on the 25th of this month.

Mrs. GREEN. How much time do you spend there?

Mr. WHITAKER. One to three days.

Mrs. GREEN. Who wrote this report? Is this your P.R. firm?

Mr. WHITAKER. No, I wrote it personally.

Mrs. GREEN. How do you account for the difference OEO gives us on the cost of Breckinridge, not talking about your estimate of this year ahead but on the cost of the past year?

How do you account for the spread of about \$1,000 per enrollee?

Mr. WHITAKER. I think there is a misunderstanding on that, Congresswoman Green. Would you refer me to the page you are looking at?

Mrs. GREEN. I thought you gave the cost of \$6,900.

Mr. WHITAKER. The \$6,900 was the overall.

Mrs. GREEN. \$6,950 and I think OEO gives \$7,700.

Mr. WHITAKER. I gave the overall cost for all Job Corps of \$6,950 which was the figure I obtained from OEO.

Mrs. GREEN. I thought, in response to a question from Congressman Quie, that you gave the Breckinridge cost.

Mr. WHITAKER. No, I said I was not certain, that I was guessing; but I thought it was in the \$7,000 range.

The \$6,950 figure is the overall cost for all corpsmen in the Job Corps and the \$6,700 is the cost for this year of which we are now operating for Breckinridge only.

Mrs. GREEN. This is a new figure to me. It is not one I have seen in any other report.

Mr. WHITAKER. My source for it was from the New York Times on June 11, 1967. I have the clipping in my materials here and those released by Mr. William Kelly.

Mr. QUIE. Would the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. QUIE. From this analysis of Job Corps reports from the Office of Economic Opportunity, they give their estimate for this next fiscal year as exactly the same amount Mr. Whitaker does, that of \$6,070 for Breckinridge in round numbers.

Mr. WHITAKER. That is a firm contract at this figure.

Mr. QUIE. Overall estimate of all of the urban men's centers.

Mr. WHITAKER. It may come back to \$6,700, so apparently we are apart. Excuse me, Congresswoman Green, I did not mean to stray from your question.

Did I answer fully what you asked?

Mrs. GREEN. Yes. On the contract you said you have \$12 million; is that based on man-months?

Mr. WHITAKER. Yes, it is based on a population of 1,900 corpsmen average for 14 months.

Mrs. GREEN. If you do not have that many man-months, the fixed fee of the Graflex remains the same and the contract remains the same?

Mr. WHITAKER. That is correct.

Mrs. GREEN. I am thinking of one contract where the contract was for a particular number of man-months but during the year they only provided less than half the number of man-months for training.

Mr. WHITAKER. That is correct. We have to gear to that population and we are confident we will have that population.

Mrs. GREEN. In one place in the report you say in your achievements, I think, that you take 100-percent dropouts. What do you mean by that, that your Breckinridge enrollment is made up of 100-percent dropouts?

Mr. WHITAKER. I meant in terms of school. Perhaps like Ivory soap it may be a shade under 100 percent; but that was my way of expressing the fact that, for the most part, we are working with school dropouts.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you have the actual figures of the enrollees at Breckenridge in terms of the number that came directly from school to the Job Corps center and the number who came directly from a job to the Job Corps center?

Mr. WHITAKER. I would be glad to get that information. I don't have it offhand; I can supply it to you.

Mrs. GREEN. According to most of the reports I have seen, that is quite a substantial percentage, and this figure of 100-percent dropouts intrigues me.

Mr. WHITAKER. I should have said 100-percent school dropouts.

Mrs. GREEN. Most reports I have seen show a substantial number across the country—I don't know the exact figure for Breckenridge—a number go directly into the Job Corps directly from school and some go directly from jobs.

Mr. WHITAKER. I read late last night what you are quoting from in the Harris report, and I had not seen it before. I did also read in volume 4 of the same report some of the earlier information was due to lack of experience on the part of the interrogators and misremembrance on the part of the corpsmen.

This was particularly true of those who held jobs.

Mrs. GREEN. On the achievements, I notice you say 1,137 graduates are out in the world proving themselves as good citizens.

Who has made a study of these 1,137 graduates? On what do you base this?

Mr. WHITAKER. I am basing it on the information that we do have which is not a total, complete picture because they have not been out long enough to justify that kind of a statement.

Mrs. GREEN. What information do you have?

You say you are basing it on information you have. What is this information?

Mr. WHITAKER. I have placed in file with this committee letters from Job Corps men and their families indicating that they are successful after they graduate.

Mrs. GREEN. Letters from how many of the graduates did you place in the record? Do you know?

Mr. WHITAKER. Only a few, but I believe them to be typical, Mrs. Green.

Mrs. GREEN. On that basis you would say that 1,137 are out in the world proving that they are good citizens? Have you made any evaluation of how many out of the 1,137 have jobs, how long they stayed on the job, what they are doing, what their record is now?

Mr. WHITAKER. We hope to do so but it is too early to give that as final statement.

Mrs. GREEN. I do not understand the information on which this statement is based. If this is correct, you have achieved a great deal.

Mr. WHITAKER. We know, of the 1,100 graduates, we know over 600 have received jobs. There are some 400-odd that have graduated so recently that we don't have the reports fed back.

Mrs. GREEN. Of the 600 out of the 1,100, who got jobs, how many of the 600 stayed on the job for, say, for 6 months?

Do you know?

Did you make any study?

Mr. WHITAKER. No; it is too recent to give you that information.

Mrs. GREEN. On the basis of it not being too recent or anything I am just trying to find out on what your facts are based.

Do you know how many of the 600 that got jobs stayed on the job for more than 2 days?

Mr. WHITAKER. I can't answer that with absolute assurance, but I would be willing to say that most of them held jobs and are continuing to be wage earners and are satisfactory taxpayers.

Mrs. GREEN. On what do you base that statement if you have not made any evaluation or study. How do you know this?

Mr. WHITAKER. On the limited information I do have. All I can say is this: If a young man obtains a job and has a home and lives in that home and is a resident of a community, the chances are that he will continue and particularly if this is the situation that was not as successful as the case before.

The important thing is as they go on and get experience, they won't keep the same job. They will go from Graflex to Kodak to Bausch & Lomb.

Mrs. GREEN. I want to know how many "ifs" are facts and how many are still "ifs" out of the 1,100.

Mr. WHITAKER. All I can say is we want to know the same answers to the same questions, too.

We feel what we say is the case and we want to have further evidence to verify it.

Mrs. GREEN. What you are saying is in accordance with what you feel rather than being based on any study?

Mr. WHITAKER. That particular statement is what I feel; yes.

Mrs. GREEN. The agreement then is that he sign a paper saying he would like to have the Federal Government match his \$25 and send it to his home free for his family for future use?

Mr. WHITAKER. Are you questioning whether the money ever got to his home?

Mrs. GREEN. No, not at all. I am putting it down as one of the major achievements of the Job Corps.

Mr. WHITAKER. I think this illustrates he was thinking of someone other than himself or he would not have given up \$25 for that purpose.

Mrs. GREEN. A moment ago in response to another question, and I agreed with this, I think we are learning from the Job Corps program. There also have been some critical reports of past achievements in Job Corps, and your statement was that conditions are now vastly improved in Job Corps centers.

Again may I ask on what basis you make that statement? Is there a study that is later than the studies we have and, if so, I would like to see them.

Mr. WHITAKER. Congresswoman Green, I can speak with authority with respect to Breckenridge only. With respect to the rest, I have a

feeling that what I have said is correct, but as far as Breckenridge is concerned, I know the situation that existed when we entered the picture and I know what it is now and I will back the statements that I have made.

Mrs. GREEN. In terms of what?

Mr. WHITAKER. In terms of enrolles, the relationships with the community, the number of placements.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you have a study now? I am really seeking information. Do you have a later study, for instance, that is on the number of placements and the number of kids that stay on the job, and so on, that you could make available to this committee?

Mr. WHITAKER. The center provides its record each month to the OEO. We have complete and full records that we make out and submit monthly.

Mrs. GREEN. What do these records show?

Mr. WHITAKER. What I have stated here.

Mrs. GREEN. What?

Mr. WHITAKER. The 1,100 graduates of whom 600 are placed, with 400-odd not yet reported. I can find it, if you would like me to repeat that.

Mrs. GREEN. I though we determined a moment ago this was based on what you felt and not what you studied.

Mr. WHITAKER. You asked me could I make the statement with assurance that there 1,137 graduates were out in the world productively occupied. With respect to those 1,137 graduates, I can say this: That 601 had been specifically placed and as far as I know are still on jobs.

Mrs. GREEN. As far as you know, but do you know how many of the 600 are on the job? Do you know whether they stayed for more than 2 days? Most of the studies show that these kids after they are graduated don't stay long, and this is what I am trying to find out. Do you know? I think it would be helpful for us to know this.

Mr. WHITAKER. We have followup questionnaires and we try to keep track of what happens after the first experience.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you have any of those that we can see so that you can tell us specifically "we do know, based on a study, how many of the 600 stayed for more than 2 days, 2 days or a week."

I understood you to say a moment ago that you did not.

Mr. WHITAKER. I will try to get the information that you are asking, but I don't have it with me.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Bell.

Mr. BELL. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Gibbons?

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

Chairman PERKINS. Do you believe that private educational establishments are better equipped to reach these hard-core youngsters to train them in employment or in skills rather than switching over to residential centers operated by vocational educators at this time before you pass on any experience?

Mr. WHITAKER. I feel the educational people are excellent in the educational side alone. From the administrative standpoint, the industrial or businesslike approach is much more successful and a fair and firm technique with the corpsmen is the only thing that works.

Chairman PERKINS. Do you feel within the next few years that you

will gain valuable experience that you can communicate to the educators and operators of the vocational schools?

Mr. WHITAKER. I feel certain of this.

Mr. QUIE. How do you account for the fact that Gary which is run by educators in Texas is supposedly the most successful urban Job Corps center in the country? How do you account for the good success of a residential vocational school like Mahoning Valley Vocational School run by educators?

Chairman PERKINS. Let me make an observation that Mahoning—I have been there and I know it is a great institution, but equipment-wise, training-wise it does not compare with Breckinridge at the present time.

Mr. QUIE. If the chairman will yield, they do not have the equipment that they have in these 100-percent federally funded programs, but the results of the graduates are far superior.

Mr. GIBBONS. I am willing to have the witness answer this question, but I can help give you information.

Mr. WHITAKER. I hope I am remembering the right part of the question. You asked, How did Gary succeed?

Mr. QUIE. In light of your answer to Mr. Perkins and the impression that private industry was doing a far superior job than the educators, how do you account for the fact that a vocational educator, like, say, at Gary which is supposed to be the best one in the country and run by the educational system of Texas, and also an educational system like Mahoning Valley has had great success with its graduates.

Chairman PERKINS. I think the gentleman will find the Gary school is operated by a businessman and not an educator.

Mr. WHITAKER. I have been out to Gary and I have been through their operations and plans. The board is made up essentially of businessmen.

Mr. QUIE. That happens in many boards of the country in vocational education. For instance, in Milwaukee, the great job they do in their out-of-school programs is a day school instead of residential school. The same thing is true of the board, but still it is the vocational educators. The businessmen are not serving on the staff.

Mrs. GREEN. Would the gentleman yield?

Chairman PERKINS. Mrs. Green.

Mrs. GREEN. It seems that we are not contributing much to the Job Corps center when we say it has businessmen on the board. I don't know of a school in the country that does not have businessmen on the board, but they are not on the staff.

Is there any experience or study that would show this, or is this your feeling? I don't know of any study that says private industry can do a better job with vocational training than the schools have done.

Mr. WHITAKER. Congressman Quie mentioned a specific school which was run by educators. I did not intend to say educational people are not capable of doing a good job, but I do feel, Congresswoman Green, with the type of people we are dealing with in the Job Corps, industry is better equipped to deal with them than educators.

Mrs. GREEN. On what basis?

Mr. WHITAKER. They are doing the sort of thing we train for and have had experience in training for and trained for all the time. We at Graflex, for example, have to train our own machinists to man our

machines. We can do this much more effectively than the University of Rochester and Alan Wallace would agree with me on that statement.

Mrs. GREEN. We are talking about people at the fifth grade level. What experience do you have in training fifth-grade-level youngsters?

Mr. WHITAKER. We employ teachers who do.

Mrs. GREEN. You mean you go to these people who have failed and get them to do this job for you?

Mr. WHITAKER. I did not say they failed. I think that is an overstatement of the case.

Mrs. GREEN. I accept that.

Mr. WHITAKER. Congresswoman Green, before you came in, I said when we inherited Breckinridge, we found many things that Southern Illinois University did extremely well. We are in the position of being able to second-guess and maybe that makes it easier to do the kind of job we are doing, because we profited by their experience.

I would like to say the president of SIU cooperated with us fully in making a painless changeover.

Mrs. GREEN. Would you not agree, though, that there is really no time yet to evaluate and there is just no hard evidence that shows that private industry can do a better job than the schools have done.

Would you not have to agree to that, as a person I presume who wants information, before you make a judgment?

Mr. WHITAKER. Being an industrialist, I don't feel that I should answer that.

Mrs. GREEN. Do you know of any study, do you know of anything that would deal in hard, cold facts and is there enough experience to show and prove that private industry can do a better job?

Mr. WHITAKER. I feel in quotes, Congresswoman Green, if a study were made of the graduates who are now coming out of Breckinridge, and I think they are representative of those graduating from other Job Corps centers, you would get a vastly improved picture over what is in the Harris reports. That is the feeling.

A study has not been made, but we hope it will be made.

Mr. GIBBONS. I see Mr. Quie has left, so I will not try and enlighten him.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Meeds.

Mr. MEEDS. I have no questions. I am sorry I did not get to hear the gentleman's testimony. I had to go to another committee hearing. I wish I could have heard his testimony.

Chairman PERKINS. Even though no study has been completed as to the effectiveness of the job being done in the Job Corps by people with your experience, you feel that you are better equipped to manage a total problem to rehabilitate, so to speak, the problem youngster who is lacking in basic education because of all of the experience you have gained in the past in this and other areas, approaches not taken by our established educational institutions. Is that about your feeling, the reason for that statement?

Mr. WHITAKER. We feel this way and we feel the survey we hope will be made will verify what I have said.

Mrs. GREEN. I have a serious suggestion. I think this committee might well have a couple of controlled groups. We would take one of our best vocational schools which is run by educators, since this charge which we have heard has been made not only by this gentle-

man but by other witnesses appearing before us. And I suggest we take a good vocational educational school, define it in the legislation, and give to that vocational school \$7,000 per kid per year and give to the teachers and principals the salaries that are comparable to the salaries which we pay for staff of the Job Corps and give to that school the same kind of student-teacher ratio.

I think the ratio in the Job Corps is one staff member to one and a half or two kids. Let's give them this kind of ratio in the classroom and then say to the school, to the teachers and to the principals, at the end of the year, "You not only have the salaries that are probably twice as much as you received in the past, in some instances; at the end of the year we will give you a 4.7-percent bonus on the total contract for your school."

Then you know we will have a basis of comparison and will really be able to make the judgment of whether or not schools are failures in the country or, if as a society we were willing to finance them, whether or not they could do just as fine a job as private industry.

Mr. GIBBONS. I think that is a good suggestion. Let's put it in the legislation.

Mrs. GREEN. I think it would once and for all end this criticism that the schools have failed. It is not the schools that have failed. It is the society that has failed.

We have asked the schools to produce absolute miracles. We give the schools and teachers classrooms with 35 or 40 children to teach; we pay the teachers considerably less than many nonprofessionals are paid; and then we raise hell at the end of the year because a teacher has not turned out 40 ideal students.

I am really getting pretty tired of hearing this. I don't know of anything that is more damaging to schools, when we desperately need teachers, than to hear these constant attacks.

For the past 150 years schools have been charged with responsibility, and I think, with the money we have given them, they have done an amazingly good job. I would say there is less graft and corruption and less wrongdoing in the schools than any other segment in our society in the United States today, and I for one am getting tired of this constant criticism when we won't finance our schools, and when we say to these other people we will give you any amount of money you want.

Mr. WHITAKER. I say amen to that, Mrs. Green. I believe in our school system, too.

Chairman PERKINS. I am a great believer in vocational education. I think there is room for everybody in this area when we have dropouts of approximately 500,000 youngsters a year. There is room for residential centers and room for the Job Corps, but it is my feeling that some invaluable experience and training and techniques are resulting and being obtained from your period of experimentation. It would certainly be detrimental to the progress that we are taking if we cut back any operating funds on the Job Corps at this time.

I think you will agree with that statement.

Mr. WHITAKER. It would be just shameful. We would be throwing away much of what we have learned and not gaining what we are all on the threshold of achieving.



Chairman PERKINS. And you will be depriving vocational educators of our general school system in general of all of this knowledge and valuable information. Is that statement correct?

Mr. WHITAKER. Absolutely.

Chairman PERKINS. It is your purpose to cooperate and feed the schools now any information that you have and you do that and many schools and vocational educators visit your center just to see how you are treating this problem child and how you are bringing the problem child to the present time.

Mr. WHITAKER. This interchange of staff will be helpful, too.

Chairman PERKINS. I personally want to compliment you on your testimony. I feel it has been most outstanding and most helpful to the committee. To my way of thinking, we just cannot afford not to back the Job Corps and its operations. In fact, we ought to make more funds available to expand the Job Corps.

I am sold on it, and I feel, furthermore, that there is nothing wrong with making available supplies to residential schools which I feel likewise could do a good job, but they can profit tremendously from the know-how that you have already obtained and they will profit more within the next few years.

Mr. WHITAKER. The peripheral benefits may prove to be even greater than the benefits to the young men and women.

Before you conclude, may Mr. Dwyer make a comment?

Chairman PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. DWYER. As Mr. Whitaker's friend and also as one who serves him in a public relations capacity in connection with his important responsibilities, I would merely like to express the hope at the conclusion of this hearing that the record not reflect any misapprehension with regard to Mr. Whitaker's personal feelings for the Graflex Co. regarding the role of the professional educator in our country.

Certainly for much longer than the existence of any economic opportunity program, there has been a congressional concern for vocational education and very thoughtful application of Federal funding for vocational education. The results are plain to see. They have meant a great deal to the economy and forward progress of our Nation. However, new problems come along and they have to be met with new solutions.

Graflex hopes to be a part of that just as it has been a part in the past of vocational education and continues to be. It is a major provider of the tools that are used in today's educational system. It is thankful to Congress and particularly to this committee for all that it has provided to vocational education.

However, this committee and the Congress, in its wisdom, in recognition of the new problems, of the poverty-stricken person, of the family caught in a cycle of poverty, decided on the Economic Opportunity Act. It has extended and expanded that program in the past couple of years. It has sought a public and private partnership with industry such as General Precision and Graflex.

It structured the Job Corps. Graflex was happy to enter into that partnership. Its role today is one of trying to assist wherever it can in programs that the Federal Government sees as being able to aid those who are less advantaged, who have fewer privileges.

I do thank the committee and its chairman and its members for this opportunity to speak in Mr. Whitaker's behalf at this point and suggest again that Graflex is as much a part of vocational education as it is any specialized program such as Job Corps and others that this committee, the Congress, and the executive branch may bring along.

Thank you, sir.

Chairman PERKINS. In other words, you are stating that Graflex is as much a part of vocational education as it is involved in the operation of the Job Corps.

Mr. WHITAKER. We serve both to the best of our ability.

Chairman PERKINS. To what extent would you say you serve vocational educators?

Mr. WHITAKER. I don't know how this got twisted around to where industry was fighting the educational system, but we are not. I am a trustee of Rensselaer Institute of Technology, which, as such, is a vocational school and I have done much more for it and contribute much to it every year and so does the company.

Chairman PERKINS. Nobody is fighting education. We are all for education. We have a problem in this country with the problem youngster, and I think the vocational educators would be the first to admit that the hard-core unemployed and the problem youngster with the lack of basic education is one of their greatest problems that they want to help solve in this country.

They want all of the information that you can give them that you are learning and can transmit to them in this connection.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman would yield, I would like to put this in the right context.

I don't think anyone is impugning the educational departments or the vocational educational departments or any other business interests. I don't think that is the point here.

The point is that some of these things have to be done and we are trying to do them. Which is the best route to take in educating some of these deprived children? Do we educate them through the OEO using different methods outside the educational system or do we use the ongoing established educational system to continue and develop the education of our children?

I think that is the basis of the issue we are discussing.

Mr. WHITAKER. It is a good point.

Mr. Chairman, there was one thing I had hoped to say while Mrs. Green was here. She suggested this evaluation and mentioned a number of the ingredients for the evaluation.

One thing we want to be sure of is we start both comparisons with deprived young men or women, as the case may be. I did not hear her say that and that would be very vital. I am sure she meant to start off in the same phase, but this is one thing that is different from our normal educational system.

We start with folks who, for the most part, maybe not 100 percent, but for the most part, are dropouts and are unsuccessful on the scene.

Chairman PERKINS. At your center you have practically 100-percent dropouts.

Mr. WHITAKER. That is wherein lies the problem between the educational center and the Job Corps center.

Chairman PERKINS. So many vocational educators have children who are going right on to advanced training, going into technical training, and so on.

Mr. WHITAKER. Exactly.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Quie?

Mr. QUIE. No further questions.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Bell?

Mr. BELL. No questions.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Meeds?

Mr. MEEDS. No further questions.

Chairman PERKINS. If you have any further comments that you feel we have not asked you about or if you have additional statements, furnish them to me and I will see that the minority and Mr. Quie are furnished a copy and we will insert the material in the record after the minority sees it.

Mr. WHITAKER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate more than I can say your patience and the understanding way in which you have asked the questions. I hope the answers have been as good as your questions.

I do have a statement I would like to make as a concluding remark.

Chairman PERKINS. Go right ahead.

Mr. WHITAKER. Graflex and our associates in GPE feel that profits alone are not enough, that a truly successful business must have a social conscience. Today economic and social health go hand in hand. We regard education and training as means for achieving a controlled reaction instead of social dynamite where we have pockets of poverty in the midst of plenty.

Failure to recognize this could lead to the cancerous growth of social unrest and unwittingly to our own destruction. Job Corps is as significant an approach to the crux of this problem, the disadvantaged youth of America. Think of it as transforming school dropouts, some of them as much as third-generation relief into self-reliant taxpaying citizens.

As imperfect as it is, Job Corps is doing something about it, helping youth to help themselves, at the same time revealing useful leads on success, innovative learning techniques.

I thank each and all of you.

Chairman PERKINS. You are excused, and thank you very much.

Mr. WHITAKER. Thank you all. We appreciate your patience.

Mr. QUIE. May I make this one comment for the record?

I noticed the comment from the State leagues give the inference that Community Action would be ended; that there wouldn't be any Headstart program and so on. It gives that impression.

I want to say for the record for anybody who reads it, Community Action and Headstart and none of these programs would be eliminated under the Opportunity Crusade.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, may I add a point to this?

It does indicate to me also a general lack of understanding that the issue here is not the elimination of any of these programs. The issues are primarily mechanical as to where the programs can be placed more efficiently. That is the issue, not the question of elimination of any of these programs.

I think that is the program, Mr. Chairman, that seems unfortunately to be misread by many people throughout the Nation.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me say that all of these statements will be inserted immediately following the prepared testimony of Mrs. Benson and the comments of Mr. Quie and Mr. Bell, so we can have some continuity. At this point in the record I would like to insert a communication from C. P. McColough, president of Xerox Corp.

(The communication referred to follows:)

XEROX CORP.,  
Rochester, N.Y., July 10, 1967.

HON. CARL D. PERKINS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I regret very much that a long-standing travel commitment prevents me from testifying in person before your distinguished committee on July 13.

I do, however, want to make available to the Committee some of the conclusions we at Xerox Corporation have drawn from experience gained in operating the Job Corps Center for Women in Huntington, West Virginia.

By way of preamble, let me explain why Xerox is a contract Job Corps operator. We are participating in the program primarily because we believe in it, because we feel that the United States cannot afford to waste the human resources of young people who need help in order to fit successfully into our economy and because we recognize our responsibility as an industrial organization to contribute some of that needed help.

At the same time, I by no means want to suggest that our Job Corps participation is a one-way street.

Xerox has undertaken a major commitment to serve the broad field of education. We hope to provide the educational community with the means to impart knowledge more effectively. First-hand experience on the firing line, working with youngsters who have some of the most difficult learning problems of any student group, is therefore extremely helpful to us.

In undertaking to operate a women's Job Corps, Xerox never thought that the task would be an easy one. It hasn't been. Like our brother contractors—and indeed like the Office of Economic Opportunity itself—we have been exploring new routes and navigating uncharted waters. Inevitably, we have come up against our share of sandbars and other hazards. But we have profited from such painful lessons.

For example, the first young women trainees arrived at Huntington in January, 1966. Four months later, we found we were spending about \$1,198 a month for each enrollee. This figure seemed obviously excessive to us, even though it included the anticipated high cost of starting up the program.

Since then, through stern self-examination and with the invaluable cooperation of OEO cost analysis, we have trimmed that \$1,198 figure to a monthly cost of \$546 per enrollee.

But much more significant in my view is the fact that from January, 1966, to the end of May, 1967, we have graduated 230 young women, the great majority of whom are now making a real contribution to the national economy rather than becoming wards of that economy.

We take into our Center girls who are out of school, out of work, really out of any sort of productive society. In six to nine months, we return them to society with the skills to command an average annual income of more than \$3,000. We teach them not only how to be employable, but how to be sought-after for employment, and we also teach them living skills vital to their personal and family lives.

We send them out in the world with a new born realization that hope and ambition are as much their legitimate possessions as they are for those born "on the right side of the tracks."

For what, in the broad view, is an extremely modest cost, we take young women who might otherwise become lifetime recipients of relief—net losses to the economy—and turn them into productive contributors to that economy.

I would like to describe some of the things we are doing in Huntington that I think are particularly noteworthy.

Before vocational training can take hold, a student must have a foundation of basic knowledge—reading, elementary mathematics, and the like. This founda-

tion is provided. Because we feel reading is particularly important, Huntington girls are required to read a book a week.

Each of our graduates leaves the Huntington Center with at least the equivalent of ninth-grade ability in the basic education areas.

One of our major problems is the fact that most of these girls come to us, not only with an extremely low level of learning, but with no idea of how to go about studying.

Therefore we have instituted a Learning Skills Development course. A required subject for all students, it shows the girls the different approaches needed to study reading as opposed to arithmetic. It also prepares them for taking Civil Service and general education development tests.

Because we recognize that a major goal of a Huntington Job Corpswoman is to be an effective wife and mother, we give her a very generous helping of education in the various home economics skills.

In further pursuit of this *total* approach, we have instituted evening cultural sessions designed to teach the girls to spend their leisure time in a constructive and personally-rewarding manner. This program has given many of the girls their very first exposure to good music, opera, ballet, handicrafts. We feel this exposure will lead them, when they return to their homes, to participate in community activities, from hobby groups to civic organizations.

An intrinsic part of our approach is to tailor a girl's vocational training to a realistic appraisal of her interests and abilities. It is not only pointless, but destructive, to encourage a student to take up a vocation for which she has little or no aptitude. We would much rather train a girl to be happily productive in food service than see her adding a new frustration to a long line of failures in a vain attempt to become a typist.

We have graduates successfully working in a broad gamut of career fields. keypunch operators, PBX operators, clerk-typists, file clerks, nurse's aides, practical nurses, institutional aides, retail sales clerks, and graphic arts.

In order to follow the progress of each trainee—and at the same time obtain some measure of our program's cost effectiveness—we have instituted an individual tracking system. It is set up for automatic data processing based on four electronic tabulating cards for each girl: a vital statistics card, a "milestone" completion card, a behavioral analysis card and a cost analysis card. This system permits us to monitor with great accuracy the progress of each girl and the performance of the Center's program as a whole.

It has been our good fortune to enjoy fine support from the Huntington community.

Our girls are invited into many private homes for dinner. They are welcome in the youth activities of local churches and sing in church choirs. Our Job Corpswomen have been invited to special showings of motion pictures, to the Marshall University artist series and to a host of other community activities.

Library cards, which cost college students \$1 in Huntington, are given free of charge to our girls, and many Huntington citizens have taken the time to give talks, before a highly-responsive Job Corps audience, on topics ranging from national affairs to flower arranging.

Some 2,000 Huntington citizens have toured our Center, and a number of community organizations have held their meetings there.

We are deeply grateful, not only for what the Huntington community has done for the Job Corps Center, but for what it has permitted our girls to do for it. Our students, for example, devoted many hours of extra-curricular work to the last two Mental Health Society campaigns. They have participated in the Christmas drive and the March of Dimes, and they are currently working on a civic clean-up drive of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. The girls have taken food baskets to needy families at Christmas, they have made gifts and given a party for mental patients of the State Hospital, they have baked and mailed more than 3,600 cookies to Huntington-area servicemen serving in Vietnam.

Our corpswomen have also benefited greatly in their training from the cooperation of the Huntington business community. More than 250 of them have enjoyed on-the-job training in such local enterprises as insurance offices, florist shops and hospitals.

For all this progress, we are very much aware that the past 20 months of operation in Huntington are but a modest beginning. But it is a significant beginning.

I think we can all be proud of the dedication brought to the Job Corps program by its administrators in the Office of Economic Opportunity and by the

people on the firing line, operating the Centers. In this regard, I would like to single out two individuals who, in my mind, typify this dedication. One is Dr. Bennetta Washington of OEO. The other is our own George Mayer until very recently director of the Huntington Job Corps Center.

It was with regret that I learned of Dr. Washington's planned resignation from OEO. It was she who nurtured and brought to maturity the Women's Job Corps. She pioneered a new, obstacle-laden frontier. Her efforts and her guidance were crucial to our success.

George Mayer has brought imaginative and highly-effective leadership to his assignment as director of the Huntington Center, what must be one of the most difficult—and frequently exasperating—job extant. For nearly a year now, he has been responsible for the day-to-day remodeling of the lives of 250 to 300 young women, many of whom came to the Center with problems that would seem unthinkable in this country today. Mr. Mayer is being replaced by Mr. Willard Duetting, one of our most able executives, and I am sure he will be a worthy successor at Huntington to Mr. Mayer.

The Bennetta Washingtons and the George Mayers of Job Corps have caused this program to come of age. They have developed a viable organization, a well-functioning team, with centralized responsibility and a developing set of standards and goals against which to measure the program.

These are some of the observations we can now make from first-hand operation of the Huntington Job Corps Center for the past 18 months, and they are respectfully submitted to your Committee.

Cordially,

C. P. McColough, *President.*

Chairman PERKINS. We will recess at this time until 2 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m. the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. on the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will come to order.

A quorum is present.

I certainly want to take this opportunity to welcome you here today, Mrs. Benson, and the other women from the League of Women Voters. I personally appreciate the support you are giving this legislation.

You are serving a very worthy purpose and performing one of the functions that the League of Women Voters so ably performs and has performed throughout the years working for the general welfare of the public.

I am sure you know Congressman Meeds and he will introduce you.

Mr. MEEDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a real pleasure and honor to present to the committee Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, representing the League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Benson is the second vice president of the national board of the National League of Women Voters and chairman of the development of human resources on the national board.

She is the former president of the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts and the vice chairman of the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education.

She fills a number of other positions quite well and I have a personal friendship and knowledge of her activities and her competence.

It is a pleasure to introduce her to speak in behalf of what I consider to be one of the best associations or organizations in the United States, the League of Women Voters, which has a long and as far as I am concerned spotless history of nonpartisan objective ability to research problems of national, local, and State problems and to come forward with some pretty objective conclusions.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I think particularly for this purpose the testimony and the advice and suggestion of the League of Women Voters will be valuable to us because I know of the method they use in arriving at their conclusions, having been a county official at one time and having been subjected to their scrutiny in forming positions for their members and for informing their members. I know they do a very thorough job.

I know that during the 2-year period of time they have been studying the poverty program they have done a very thorough job. For that reason I think this committee, this Congress, and this Nation would place a lot of credence in your testimony.

Mr. HAWKINS (presiding). It is a pleasure to welcome you to the committee.

You may proceed to present your testimony in any way you care to do so.

Mrs. BENSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Meeds.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES**

Mrs. BENSON. I am Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, second vice president of the League of Women Voters of the United States and chairman of the league's national work on human resources.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to present the position of the members of the League of Women Voters—in 50 States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico on the poverty program and on the proposed Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967.

Since 1964, when league members first began to study the problems of poverty and equality of opportunity in education and employment, they have explored with great interest the Economic Opportunity Act and the programs developed and funded under it in their local communities across the United States.

After a 2-year study, league members in 1966 agreed on a position of strong support for a whole range of programs, many of which have been developed under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The members of the League of Women Voters of the United States believe that the Federal Government must continue to assume a large share of responsibility for providing equality of opportunity in education and employment for all persons in the United States.

Local and State governments have important responsibilities in this area. However, we believe the Federal Government must provide leadership and increased funds if we as a country really mean to carry out our commitment to overcome poverty by making it possible for all persons to have an effective opportunity to get an education and to find employment.

Since employment opportunities in modern, technological societies are tightly related to education, we therefore support Federal programs to greatly increase the education and training of disadvantaged people—of all races and ethnic groups.

The league supports a number of different kinds of programs to provide greater educational and employment opportunities. For instance, we support programs to provide basic education, occupational

education and retraining when needed at any point in an individual's working career; apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs; day-care centers for disadvantaged preschool children to give parents the opportunity for employment; compensatory programs for disadvantaged children beginning at the preschool level and extending through secondary education; and Federal financial help to aid needy students remain in high school and to take advantage of post-high-school training and education.

I know that many of our leagues have already written to you describing specific poverty programs in their communities.

Today I should like briefly to present to you an overall picture of the national league's assessment of the poverty program based on reports in various forms which have come to us from our more than 1,200 local leagues. (We are also attaching to our statement a number of league comments.)

At the outset I should like to stress that the League of Women Voters of the United States strongly supports the efforts which have been undertaken by the Federal Government following passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

We believe that progress is very definitely being made. It also seems very clear to us that we have a long way to go before we can begin to feel that we are getting the upper hand over the root causes which continue to generate poverty.

The job the country is trying to do—to remove inequalities and actually to create the conditions under which equality of opportunity will be a reality for all persons—not only is going to take a great deal of time, but also it is going to require more, not less, commitment of ideas, energy, and funds.

Of the programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Community Action has attracted the greatest interest within the League of Women Voters. Our members support its basic goals of encouraging local initiative and innovation.

By requiring participation of the poor, it has enabled many people for the first time to work to solve their own problems and to plan their own lives. It gives them an important part in defining their own needs, in suggesting priorities and in devising ways to meet them. By offering people who have never before had the opportunity a chance to develop leadership, Community Action has added a vital and fundamentally constructive new element to the local political scene.

We have received many reports from our local leagues about the Community Action program as it has been implemented across the country.

There has been a variety of successes and problems. Many of the Community Action programs were started relatively smoothly; some were not.

There have been—and there undoubtedly will be—conflicts with established agencies and with local government in some communities.

We expect that problems of implementation and coordination will continue. We know more time is needed for local Community Action Agency councils or boards to analyze and agree upon priorities and upon ways in which to meet them.

People who have not worked together before as members of a group need to learn how, and the poor and the nonpoor must learn



to communicate and to work with one another in a framework of mutual respect.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the need for enough time to allow Community Action programs to develop and to work out solutions to the many problems involved in organizing.

The most serious problem our local leagues have described, however, does not concern administration. Many of our leagues have reported difficulties and bitter disappointments as a result of the drying up of versatile funds, resulting from the stringent earmarking of the 1966 amendments.

While the league supports national emphasis programs, such as Headstart, which receive earmarked funds, it is extremely important that there be enough available unrestricted money for locally developed programs and experimentation.

Another widespread problem is difficulty with redtape, overly complicated administrative procedures, and long delays in funding.

We recognize, of course, the need for proper oversight of the expenditure of funds, but we hope that the Office of Economic Opportunity—with the help of the Congress—will continue to push for simplified and consistent guidelines and procedures for applications.

Paralleling our interest in local community action umbrella agencies is our interest in the administration of the poverty program at the Federal level. We think it is necessary to have a single Federal agency to focus on the needs of the poor and to be responsible for the difficult and indispensable job of originating, coordinating, and evaluating programs to meet those needs.

The league therefore strongly supports the continuation of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We think that the Office of Economic Opportunity has, by and large, performed its job well—particularly as the innovator of programs aimed at finding solutions to a multifaceted, extremely complicated problem.

We do recognize that coordination of the various poverty programs run by different Government agencies is difficult and has not always been smooth. Simultaneously, we think that there is little reason to see why disbanding the Office of Economic Opportunity or “spinning off” major programs would improve the relationships between, for example, Health, Education, and Welfare and the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, and Housing and Urban Development.

In fact, we believe that, if anything, the coordinating role of the OEO should be buttressed in order to better insure that poverty programs administered by other agencies—including delegated Economic Opportunity Act programs—actually are directed to the needs of the poor.

I do not mean to imply that league members believe current OEO administration or programs are perfect, but it seems to us that now is the time for continued and sophisticated evaluation of results and for adaptations based on those evaluations rather than drastic changes and cuts.

Our comments about the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967 can be relatively brief. Basically, it seems to us the amendments make no major changes in the present program. We understand that the \$2.06 billion requested by the administration would allow for a

modest increase in all programs. We think \$2.06 billion is the absolute minimum and we would be far happier with a larger sum, considering the magnitude of the need.

We do note with approval that the bill would not earmark title II funds. Our experience has been that earmarking funds for certain programs limits the freedom of local initiative, limits the flexibility of the OEO, and inhibits and frustrates innovation at the local and Federal levels.

In the interest of flexibility we also question the wisdom of writing out in the law many detailed regulations which are already administratively in operation.

Those on the Job Corps, for instance, seem to us rather rigid—especially in view of the fact we have heard only favorable reports on the Job Corps from leagues near Job Corps centers.

Finally, the league supports the amendments to the present act which provide more specific provisions for evaluation both by the OEO itself and outside professionals. The league also supports increased funds for research and pilot demonstration projects.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, none of us knows as yet if the poverty program will, in fact, be successful in removing the root causes of poverty. That task will certainly involve a joint effort by many agencies, all levels of government, and the private as well as public sector of American society.

It is clear, however, that some progress is being made. The League of Women Voters believes we should continue to maintain, and indeed, increase, the momentum of this country's effort to provide equality of opportunity for all its people.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mrs. Benson, for a very excellent statement. I notice you do have other members of the league present. Would you like to introduce them?

Mrs. BENSON. There are quite a few here. Perhaps we should go on.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Meeds, do you have any questions?

Mr. MEEDS. Thank you.

First let me compliment you on your testimony personally and also compliment the organization which you represent.

I am particularly interested in your observation that you gather from comments of your local leagues that the effort with which we are involved here is to a great degree experimental.

Frankly, I am very pleased to see that you are taking the position that this is a social experiment, because I fear that some of us have felt from the outset that it might be an overnight cureall for problems and feel it is a solution rather than an experiment.

I think this is the first step that has to be taken in corrective evaluation of the program.

It seems to me of particular value in your statement is the fact that you support a continuation of the heading up of these many programs, experimental programs, by the OEO.

Does this come about from or is this expressed by the letters which you receive from your groups and by research which has been done by your local chapters of the League of Women Voters?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes; it does. It has come to us in many forms—letters, reports. We have an annual time of the year when annual reports come in and many of their comments were included on these.

The leagues have been since the programs first started to be established watching their development in their local communities and sometimes becoming involved in them in one way or another.

Their feeling apparently, as it is very clearly expressed, that they feel the great need to have a single agency which can concentrate on and, as one of the leagues said, zero in on the problems of the poor because they are peculiar problems to deal with.

We have tried maybe not successfully to deal with this problem before. Now we are trying in a different way and our leagues apparently feel this requires the concentration of one agency rather than many agencies trying to work together on this.

Mr. MEEDS. Mrs. Benson, I think it might be of importance here if you were to inform this committee as to the 2-year process that your organization has gone through in fact-gathering with respect to this program.

In other words, how does a local unit come to the conclusion which they submit to you?

Mrs. BENSON. It is actually a long, drawn out process. Actually, it has taken 4 years in two sections. Our local leagues decided in the spring of 1964 at a national convention to undertake a study of programs and policies provided by the United States to provide equality of opportunity which meant that all of the local leagues all over the country started after that convention to look into what were our policies and what are our programs.

Of course, just at this time the Economic Opportunity Act shortly thereafter was passed and the programs began to be started in various places in the country.

During that first 2-year period from 1964 to 1966 the league studied the Economic Opportunity Act and studied anything any of us could get our hands on and how it was implemented in various parts of the country and then we went through the process of consensus which means the chapters send in their positions and out of that came our position.

Since 1966 when the league arrived at this position of support for the variety of programs, they have been studying them at the local level as they have been implemented at the local level and observing them and constantly keeping up with what is going on.

Mr. MEEDS. When you say studying them at the local level, I recall as a prosecuting attorney in Snohomish County, Wash., having two league women descend on me one day and ask me questions for 2 or 3 hours about the operation.

Mrs. BENSON. It sounds like kind of an ordeal.

Mr. MEEDS. I was very happy to do it and I was surprised that any private, non-profit agency was doing this, but this is the type of study you are talking about. Is this what your members did?

Mrs. BENSON. This is part of what they do. It is a standard method of finding out either how Government operates or how a particular program is working. The members attend school board meetings, city or town council meetings or whatever it may be with great regularity.

To take a community action program in a given community, the league might be on the council itself, might be an observer at meetings, attend all of the meetings of the Community Action Agency or council, whatever it is called; it frequently observes the programs as they are

implemented in the community, talks with the people who are involved with the program and running the program such as the director and also with the people for whom the program is intended to see that they are really doing what they were intended to do.

Mr. MEEDS. Additionally, as a Member of Congress, I and four other members of the Washington State delegation attended and participated in about a 3-hour session of intense questioning by league members in six different groups about programs—not only the OEO but other programs with which we were engaged here in Congress.

Mrs. BENSON. I know the meeting to which you are referring. I read about it in the Washington Voter. This would have been part of their effort to bring to the attention of the public these various programs and also to learn more about them themselves.

Mr. MEEDS. When you talk about a study and an evaluation you are really talking about a lot of effort that has gone into this by people at the local level and the conclusions you give the committee today are the consensus of those studies and evaluations made; is that correct?

Mrs. BENSON. That is correct. I should perhaps say so there will be no question about it, we don't claim unanimity in the League of Women Voters.

We have overwhelming majority.

Mr. MEEDS. I would just comment it is a woman's prerogative to retain the right to dissent.

I am also interested in your observations about the earmarking and categorizing which was done by the amendments of 1966 and the effect on local community action programs.

You might expand a little bit on the conclusions you have in your prepared testimony with regard to the results that your people obtained.

Mrs. BENSON. The effect of the earmarking would not make any difference if there were no ceilings on how much money is appropriated. It would not make any difference if you earmarked a couple of million dollars if there were money left over for the additional programs the local agencies might decide to set up.

Since there is a large ceiling and not very much overall available for title II, if the money is ahead of time earmarked it cuts down the flexibility at each local level to institute programs other than those earmarked programs such as Headstart.

We submitted with our testimony a number of samples of recent comments from local leagues and a number of them in this sampling refer to the problem of getting started, going through a great deal of planning, getting people together to come to a meeting when they have never been to a meeting before and get them to sit down and talk to people and talk about what they mean and finally manage as these examples show an agonizing period of time to determine what is needed.

Then they apply for funds and then there are no funds available because of earmarking and the ceilings on the appropriations.

We recognize there has to be a ceiling on appropriations but we would rather see this flexibility with the local communities and the local community action groups should have greater flexibility in deciding what should be spent.

They should be able to decide what kinds of programs they need. In some communities it may be a Headstart program or in others a combination of centers, day care, health centers, whatever it might happen to be.

Mr. MEEDS. Don't you think they will make errors?

Mrs. BENSON. Undoubtedly there will be errors but the whole history of programs we have instituted at all levels of Government in this country—local and national—errors are always going to be made.

You have to learn from your errors and go on and not make the same errors again hopefully.

Mr. MEEDS. Thank you, Mrs. Benson.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Steiger?

Mr. STEIGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. BENSON, it is a pleasure to have you here before the committee representing the league. I was very much interested in your comments and do appreciate the processes by which the league arrives at its consensus and therefore does appear before the committee.

There are portions of that consensus with which I might not agree.

There are, however, portions of it with which I do agree. I notice that you do raise the point which has been of concern to many of us on page 3 of your testimony about the difficulty with redtape, overly complicated administrative procedures, and long delays in funding.

I could not help but notice the statement from the Champaign County, Ill., League of Women Voters in which they said:

Another real stumbling block is the utter chaos in our Chicago Regional Office. Personnel turnover is high, agreements made with one administrator may be annulled by his successor; decisions seem often arbitrary and irrational.

Since Wisconsin is serviced by the Chicago regional office, I fully appreciate how the Champaign County, Ill., chapter of the League of Women Voters feel.

Mrs. BENSON. I should say since this report came in we understand there has been a change in the staff in the Director of the Chicago regional office. We had a report not too long ago from another community which is serviced by that office and things seem to be on the upswing rather than the other way around.

Mr. STEIGER. As far as I know, it has greatly improved and I think we can all be grateful for that. It is a very serious problem and it is one to which the Congress must give attention.

I also agree and was very interested in your very pertinent remarks regarding versatility. This is something which I know is looked upon with great concern by many because it does as you have so ably stated, limit the flexibility of the local community to determine its own priorities.

While it may be that the Congress can assume there are certain priorities throughout the country, it is much more difficult for us to do so than it is for a local community action agency to do so and I think your statement adds a great deal to the cause of those of us who want to continue the versatility and not go to either the kind of earmarking that we have had in the past or as some have suggested, we ought to have in the future.

On page 5 of the testimony you have given you make reference to the evaluation by OEO and also support increased funds for research and pilot demonstration projects.

This is something which is of interest to me. As you may know, the House Government Operations Committee estimated OEO spent some \$70 million on research and evaluation. I wonder what kind of work you have done in terms of reviewing any of the research or evaluation that has been done thus far by OEO.

Mrs. BENSON. Do you mean our assessment of such evaluation?

Mr. STEIGER. Have you had a chance to review it and assess it?

Mrs. BENSON. Not really. We have been so busy trying to keep up with and gathering together the reports from our local leagues that we really have not had a chance, although we know they exist, to thoroughly go through the evaluations which have already been made.

Mr. STEIGER. Would you have any comment for the committee as to where you feel the league might place the greater emphasis? Would it be in research done by OEO or would it be done in research available through outside professionals rather than an inshop type that oftentimes is used, I am afraid, more as a justification rather than a real evaluation.

Mrs. BENSON. I don't know that we could say that we would have a very specific type of opinion about that. I think both kinds of evaluations are needed. Any Government agency, any agency at all or institution has to do evaluations of its own in order to hopefully honestly assess how it is doing and what it is trying to do but I think the other kind of evaluation which is done by outsiders with professional expertise is also necessary.

We feel very strongly both are needed.

The OEO or any other agency, HEW or Labor, must be constantly involved in evaluating what they are doing so they can know for themselves whether or not they are achieving what they want to achieve.

While I suppose it is possible that some efforts at justification are made by evaluations I am sure that is not always the case, and evaluations have to be done both within and without an agency, we feel.

Mr. STEIGER. Has the League of Women Voters nationally, or have any of the State or local leagues become directly involved with the OEO?

Have you, for example, ever received any research grants from OEO?

Mrs. BENSON. Certainly the League of Women Voters of the United States, the national league, has not received anything of that order at all. As far as I know, no local league or State league has received any kind of contract or grant or anything.

I can't say they haven't because not having asked them "Have you?" I can't be absolutely certain, but I feel sure we would have heard of it had it been so.

Leagues have been involved with Community Action programs. They have been asked, for instance, to run voter education or voter registration courses. They have been, in several communities, asked to set up the election process for electing the boards, but nothing more formal than that.

Mr. STEIGER. I know the leagues, of course, throughout the country and certainly in the Sixth District, with which I am familiar, are very dedicated on this question of voter registration. What kind of work has been done by local leagues in terms of what you indicate are the courses for the local Community Action agency in this area?

Mrs. BENSON. I was just reading a report this morning from a local

league which has been asked to set up a series of discussions as to how government works. First, they went through a series of meetings with the people in the neighborhood that the Community Action Council had decided to provide this service for.

This was Springfield, Mass. These were so-called block groups. They decided what they wanted to learn about the Government and what the league learned what they wanted to know was how to be a part of it. They had the traditional feeling of the alienated voter that we have all heard so much about.

Over a couple of meetings, they planned out these courses, starting out with how the city council operates and the school board and I presume that is as far as they got in this report.

I presume they will go on to other levels of government in the same fashion.

Mr. STEIGER. Are you aware of any local leagues which have participated with local community action agencies in voter registration drives?

Mrs. BENSON. No. There may be some local leagues which have actually done voter registration drives. I know it has been talked about but I don't believe that I—at least not here with me today know anything I can put my finger on saying yes four, five, ten, or even one hundred have done this.

Mr. STEIGER. Would it be possible for you to go back and perhaps supply of the committee any information on that question you can locate?

Mrs. BENSON. I will see what we have. It may be a very small amount. Right at the moment I am not sure I can distinguish whether it has been voter registration drives they have worked on or whether it has been setting up elections for electing the council of the community action agencies, but I can certainly check into it and let you know.

Mr. STEIGER. I would certainly appreciate that.

I believe you have reviewed the Opportunity Crusade. While you obviously could not agree with the provisions of it that might spin off existing OEO agencies and place them in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, what kind of reaction do you have to the concept of the industry youth corps, for example, attempting to involve private industry to a larger extent in job training and job opportunities?

Mrs. BENSON. We think it sounds like a very good idea and would like to see some of these established, but not as a substitute for the Job Corps. We are supporting the continuation of the Job Corps but there isn't any reason at all why there couldn't be either in addition to the Job Corps or on an experimental basis to begin with something that could be called the Industry Youth Corps.

I think we would say the same thing about the residential skill centers, that is, tied in with the Vocational Education Act. This is another approach which sounds as if it would be very worthwhile to try. I don't think that any of us believe we have found the final answer to how to overcome the overwhelming effects of poverty and what causes this kind of overwhelming effect.

We do not feel it is time to give up the things that are presently being tried. We do not think there has been enough time but we also

feel we should keep on experimenting. It is quite possible that the residential skill centers would be just what certain kinds of youngsters need whereas others might need the Job Corps type of approach.

I think we can only find this out by experimenting.

Mr. STEIGER. The Industry Youth Corps as proposed in the Opportunity Crusade as you know is not involved with the Job Corps. It is not a replacement for the Job Corps in any sense of the word. It is a totally different type of organization, just to clarify that in your mind and for the record.

Another of the ideas that is proposed in the Opportunity Crusade is the Council of Economic Opportunity Advisers. I wonder if you feel that this might be valuable both in promoting coordination and policymaking at the level of President?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes; I think we think it is a very good idea. I will have to confess that it is not clear to me what is the difference between the Council of Economic Opportunity as the Opportunity Crusade proposes it and that which already exists and which is strengthened by the administration bill.

I went over both of them again last night and I am not sure what the difference is but in any case the functions as outlined by the Opportunity Crusade for this Council we approve of highly.

We would not like to see it substituted for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. STEIGER. I think the basic substantive difference between the two is the fact the existing Council is related to the programmatic operations of the agencies involved.

The Council for Economic Opportunity Advisers is envisaged as an organization totally separate with three full-time men which is again a difference from the present operations of a part-time, once-a-month, sometime twice-a-month, meeting.

I think this is one of the real difficulties and is why I think the Council of Economic Opportunity Advisers with a full-time staff and full-time people would make some sense in doing a better job.

Mrs. BENSON. It is quite possible as you outline this would be a stronger way to do it. We would support this. We think that the functions as we understand them are important functions and these functions are necessary.

Mr. STEIGER. Thank you, Mr. Benson, very much.

I have no further questions.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAWKINS. May I ask whether any of the leagues in the State of California have participated in the recommendations you have made?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes; vast numbers have. We have many reports from California.

Mr. HAWKINS. Have all of the leagues in all of the States participated?

Mrs. BENSON. I would have to check our statistics, but I cannot think of any State offhand from which we have not heard. I think we have heard from all of them.

Mr. HAWKINS. Generally speaking, this does represent the league on a national basis?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, it does.



Mr. HAWKINS. Were there any dissenting opinions?

Mrs. BENSON. I am trying to think back to the time when we went through the formal consensus procedure, which was 1966. The reports we have had since then are implementing the original position and I would have to look that up, Mr. Chairman.

I do remember that not everybody agreed in every way with even the idea of the role of the Federal Government in this but the agreement among the leagues—and there was no regional difference in this—was really very overwhelming.

Mr. HAWKINS. Also, I understand, in answer to one of the questions Mr. Steiger asked, you indicated that there were many innovative ideas such as the residential skill centers and the bulk of industry Job Corps concepts, that you thought that such innovative ideas could be accomplished within the framework of the existing Office of Economic Opportunity, and that you saw no need for the development of a new agency or to spin off programs to various established agencies in order to accomplish these innovative ideas.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, that is right. We would say that probably eventually, with more experience and time, in order to have a better idea of how they are working it, it would probably be quite logical to spin off some of the programs. Some of them have already been spun off, or already are run by other agencies, such as the Department of Labor, but we don't see the value of moving the operations of the OEO to another agency, or to other agencies, because we do feel that we have a need for a central concentrating agency.

Mr. HAWKINS. Then I assume that the thrust of your statement in this regard is that there will continue, at least for some time, to be a need for a coordinating agency that cuts across the established agencies, and that if the Office of Economic Opportunity is to be dismantled, that there still would be a need for some council or some agency to do what the Office of Economic Opportunity is now doing.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes. Yes; that is our position.

Mr. HAWKINS. Then you reject the idea of creating another agency, whether you call it a council of advisers or any other agency under another name to do this, and that for the time being you support the concept of retaining this function in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes. That is right. We do see a need for something called the council, as it is presently in the administration bill, or in the Opportunity Crusade, but not as a substitute for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. HAWKINS. Now in your statement you also emphasize the participation of the poor, in the resolution of their own problems. Do you see any threat of the discontinuance of this concept, if the programs are going to be spun off to other agencies? In other words, do you think that this concept can still be retained, even though the various programs are fragmented among existing agencies?

Mrs. BENSON. Well, I don't think I could say it would not be maintained. I think it would be much more difficult to maintain this emphasis on the participation of the poor, if the various programs were placed in other agencies.

Now maybe in the future this would not be so, but the whole idea of the participation of the poor involving their own problems is—it

may not be a new idea, but it is certainly new to be put in practice, and we haven't had a great deal of experience with it as yet, and perhaps in the future the established agencies will be geared up to this kind of thing, too, but at the present time I don't think they are, and I think it would certainly weaken the effort to increase the participation of the poor in solving their own problems.

MR. HAWKINS. Now in respect to the earmarking of the funds and what you refer to as the possibility of drying up the versatile funds, you have indicated that you preferred a flexibility, and you opposed at least earmarking, or you indicated support for a national emphasis program, but some flexibility. Now does this in any way mean that the League supports Federal aid without any strings attached or any direction, or is it merely a reflection of the views of the League on this particular issue?

MRS. BENSON. I am not sure I understand your question, but I think—

MR. HAWKINS. I am merely asking whether or not this is a blanket support for Federal funds without any instruction whatsoever, whether or not you are merely saying in this regard that since the appropriations are inadequate, that you believe that more flexibility should be given if the appropriations were more adequate? Would you then feel that some of your opposition to earmarking and to giving greater emphasis to some programs would be reduced?

MRS. BENSON. Yes, it is the latter. The funds which are presently being channeled to local communities, community action agencies, et cetera, are not channeled without any strings at all. They all have to go through a good deal of agony preparing a plan for the Office of Economic Opportunity or whatever, and there are guidelines set up, and certain restrictions, things they can and they can't do. Our feeling has to do with the importance of the local community or the people in the local community deciding what program, among all of those which are available, they need the most, or what programs they need the most, and the effect has been as we have heard from our local leagues that with so much money in last year's bill earmarked for Headstart and for other programs, this did cut out of the total pie, as it were, available; those funds which they could use to set up base centers, or what-have-you, and for this reason we are opposed to earmarking.

MR. HAWKINS. Thank you.

MR. DELLENBACK?

MR. DELLENBACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I regret having been at another meeting which precluded my hearing Mrs. Benson's testimony directly, and hearing the earlier questions, but I would like to say as a preliminary that ever since my first session in my home State legislature, when the League of Women Voters and I worked arm in arm in an attempt to modify the Oregon constitution, I have had the highest regard for this organization with which you serve. There were some exceptionally fine members of that organization in the State of Oregon, it did a tremendous job, as we sought together to succeed in something we didn't quite succeed in, but we fought a dickens of a fight, and we got our revised constitution through the house. We got it through the body with which I was tied, and I am sure that eventually it will come in Oregon. But we are delighted to have you here today.

There would be just one thing, Mrs. Benson, that I would tend to ask, and I had a chance to scan the bulk of your testimony as it appears in written form.

As the various league groups throughout the country have made this assessment of the war on poverty, they haven't, I assume, had a chance to actually examine H.R. 10682 themselves, have they?

Mrs. BENSON. Well, many of them, I am sure, have, on their own behalf, but it hasn't been in print a great deal of the time. We described it to them the best we could before it was actually in print, and they were greatly relieved to see that we didn't miss the mark in any important way. I think most of them are aware of its major provisions, but not of the details. They will be very shortly, but they have not yet had a chance to be.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I think it is important that the league be aware, as you have undoubtedly made them aware, that H.R. 10682, as proposed, certainly doesn't make any move in the direction of disbanding the war on poverty. It is talking of making changes in it, in making in some instances, we think, significant additions thereto, and making some improvements therein, but we don't by any stretch of the imagination visualize it as a disbanding of the organizations, as you realize. For example, Community Action agencies, the program would still be continued, as an exceptionally fine part of what has been done, in my opinion, and many of the individual programs are good ones. I read you, as you make your comments on continuing the OEO, as really saying, if I listened correctly, that you think there ought to be some coordination in the various efforts made in the attack on the war on poverty. I don't read you as necessarily approving of everything that the Office of Economic Opportunity has done, or is doing. Am I correct in this?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, I think I would like to add to that, as I believe I said in my statement, we don't give a sort of blanket approval to everything the Office of Economic Opportunity has done. We don't know about it. I am sure we don't know about a great many things that it has done. We have concentrated primarily on the education and employment aspects of the problems of poverty.

I would like to say a little bit more, and that is that we do feel that there is a need for an agency to do this coordinating. We question the ability of a council without powers to implement, and to actually originate, to carry out this coordination process. In other words, it is not just any old agency. I think we would need to be convinced that one should, for instance, abolish the OEO and set up another coordinating agency. We would like to see the OEO maintained and strengthened, to do the job it is doing, and the job the Congress wants it to do, that the Opportunity Crusade wants done, we feel, can be done better with the OEO than without it.

Now it would seem not too much point, to us, to disband. I don't think that is what you mean.

Mr. DELLENBACK. No, H.R. 10682 does not do that.

Mrs. BENSON. I know.

Mr. DELLENBACK. It sees drawbacks in the preamble, and seeks to improve that. As you are aware, it seeks to bring the private sector of the economy much more deeply into this war on poverty. I was very interested in reading, myself, in the newspaper, within the last

few days, that one of the Senators whose name is well known in the other body has come out in effect making a very strong pitch for exactly this concept, which was laid out months ago in the Opportunity Crusade. Saying that in large part, the strength of America lies in the private sector of the economy, and if we really are going to be fighting this war on poverty the private sector should be involved instead of acting as if the whole war should be waged by the Government, and by Government agencies. We are ignoring one of the most potent weapons in the arsenal, if you want to stay with that metaphor, in this war on poverty, if we don't seek in every way to bring the private sector into the battle. This is in large part what the Opportunity Crusade seeks to do, to wrap this into the program, and bring private industry into the battle. I was glad that the Senator on the other side of the other political party spoke out so very strongly for this very principle, and I gather that from your testimony you have also embraced this principle and spoken approvingly.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, we have, a very strong point.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Of this very idea.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And as I say, this is one of the major points that is involved in the Opportunity Crusade. You are aware of the fact, of course, that since the concept of the Community Action program is maintained, it is not a case of disbanding whatever coordination is already existent in this area, but rather a case of saying that there should be a change in the extra layer which is above this, above even the coordinators for the Community Action program, which role the Office of Economic Opportunity in part is considered as playing, and that is the role that the principal backers of the Opportunity Crusade have felt is not the essential role. I hope that you do realize that this is not a case of either substituting another agency in the place of OEO, nor of disbanding and fragmentizing the whole operation by saying every little program, the Legal Aid program, and the Headstart program, and the Upward Bound program, and the Follow-Through program, and all of these will walk their own directions uncoordinated.

Mrs. BENSON. No; we do realize that.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You are fully aware of that, I am sure.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So that what you are speaking in favor of is maintaining close coordination of the various individual programs that make up the war on poverty?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, that is true. I think we should say that we should increase coordination. I think we do not think there is enough coordination, that the OEO, we believe, should be strengthened so that it will have greater ability to coordinate. We don't see, as I did say in my statement, why transferring the Community Action program to HEW would improve the possibilities of coordinating. We do not see why moving it to HEW would make coordination among the various departments any easier than it already is now, and it is not easy for people to coordinate, let alone big Government agencies.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Correct. And again, I don't really mean to be beating it too hard, because I think we are coming closer and closer together in what we are saying on this. That what you are saying, as I read you, is that it is the element of coordination which is essen-

tial, the element of tying together the war on the various individual steps that make up this movement, and as it now has been done, you see that the Office of Economic Opportunity has done certain things in this regard. You have indicated that certain things about what the OEO has done do not meet with your full approval. You would see those things coordinated and improved.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes. But we do believe that there are other functions that belong in the Office of Economic Opportunity, in addition to coordinating. We see the functions of originating, of innovating, of establishing new programs and getting them started. We see this also, as a function of the OEO.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Excuse me just a minute on that point, because I think you have made a point on this, Mrs. Benson, that again, what you are saying is to reduce it from organizational terms to program terms, what you are favoring is the capacity to innovate, and do the various creative things which need to be done, and which to date have in part been done by OEO.

Mrs. BENSON. Right.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You see the point that I am getting at. That in part, people approve of a principle. They see the principle to date embodied in the organizational form of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and approving as they do of the principle, they then say, "We approve of the Office of Economic Opportunity." And if it is possible to strip out, and I don't ask you to judge whether it would be done better or not as well, but if it is possible to strip out the principles and carry forward this concept of coordination, and carry forward this concept of innovation, and carry forward these various concepts, it is these concepts that I read you as approving, rather than anything magic in whether you call it the Office of Economic Opportunity or the Association of Amalgamated Hoofensnatchers. Whatever you may want to call the Office, it is not that there is anything magic in the Office. It is these principles that go in to make up what the Office has done, and hopefully will continue to do.

Mrs. BENSON. I think there is one additional thing that is involved in this, and that is what we consider to be the need for an agency which is focusing on the problems and the needs of the poor, from all points of view. Not just from the HEW point of view or from the Department of Labor point of view, or from HUD, or what-have-you, but an agency which seeks to bring together, to bring to bear on the problems of the poor, and somewhat, well, I hesitate to use the example, the Veterans' Administration, but the veterans have a special administration for their interests. The needs of the poor, the problems of the poor, are very complex, very difficult. No matter how much time you spend looking into them, and how to cope with them, and how to get rid of poverty, it is quite clear that even after the tremendous amount of effort, to say nothing of money, which has so far been poured into this effort to get rid of poverty, or to increase opportunities, that we have a long way to go, and we feel very strongly that there is a need for an agency, over and above the philosophical or theoretical approach, which is actually operating in behalf of the poor, its function is the poor. Its function isn't health, education, and welfare or labor, or what-have-you.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I may say, somewhat parenthetically, that it is very interesting to me that another committee on which I serve is

the Committee on Merchant Marine, and right now, these days, in fact this morning, we were in the process of holding hearings on whether there should be an independent maritime agency, or whether the maritime agency should be taken out of the Department of Commerce and made part of the Department of Transportation.

Now the administration is fighting a bitter battle to say there should be no independent agency in this regard. It should be part of one of the established departments. It should be part of the Department of Transportation, and it can far better serve its functions, and so on, if it has all the coordination which is made possible by being one of these agencies, and yet in this particular regard philosophically they turn around and they are fighting the other battle.

Mrs. BENSON. But I think the nature of the problem is entirely different.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Why?

Mrs. BENSON. On the one hand, in the case of the poor, you are dealing with people who have a whole series of deepseated problems. The other, it seems to me, is an organizational problem. I just don't think the problems of the maritime service or needs can be compared to those of the poor. But I don't know anything at all about the maritime service, so I withdraw from the comparison.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DELLENBACK. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. MEEDS. By way of comment, I might just say that I think the administration is terribly wrong, here, too, and for the very reason the gentleman has so well brought out from the witness, purposefully or otherwise. The reason for coordination is a concerted attack on a problem. It seems to me that the maritime situation is such that it has developed into a situation that needs a concerted, concentrated attack, and I feel a separate agency is the best way to do that; then when we get it on its feet, perhaps place it under a full committee, or a full department.

But I visualize the answers of the witnesses here to be—I mean, you can't compare them in all respects, but the need for a concentrated attack is the same in both areas, and this is precisely what she is saying. We have a problem here, in that we have to place the full brunt of concerted action against and I think the Department, or the Office of Economic Opportunity does this, as would a separate Maritime agency.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I don't seek to push the comparison beyond where in truth it ought to go, but Secretary Boyd in lengthy testimony before the committee has recognized and indicated that he felt that the goal was to push forward in this vital, important area, and his declaration is that it can be done far better in this manner than in the other manner. We can differ or not, and I don't mean to push the analogy too far.

I appreciate very much your testimony. I think it has been helpful, and the implication of my good friend from Washington to the contrary, I think that the purpose of these hearings is not really to take our preconceived opinions and then try to fit a witness into them or push her out of those preconceived opinions, and agree if she is with us, and disagree if she is against us, but rather to push for what you

are thinking, so that you can help us, in seeking to create whatever legislation can best serve the problem. Thanks again.

Mrs. BENSON. Thank you.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mrs. Benson, so there will be no misunderstanding as far as the record is concerned, may I again ask you whether or not both proposals, H.R. 8311, as well as H.R. 10682 the so-called Opportunity Crusade, were put before the various leagues throughout the country, they had an opportunity to thoroughly analyze both proposals, and that you are appearing here today in behalf of H.R. 8311 as what you consider to be the proper approach to incorporate the ideas of the national league as well as the individual league members?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, Mr. Chairman, that is true, but I should perhaps explain that a little bit. I know that it is not true that every single league member or even every single local league has examined both of the bills in detail. They have examined an analysis of the administration bill, and a temporary analysis, ahead of time, of the Opportunity Crusade, because at the time that we did this, the Opportunity Crusade was not in print as yet, but as I said earlier, in talking with the minority, we had been able to find out the essential details, and they were aware of the essential details, but not some of the fine points in the bill.

Many of them are aware of it on their own.

Mr. HAWKINS. Generally speaking, this is the opportunity that the members have had, but unfortunately some of us haven't had much of an opportunity to hear witnesses in behalf of 10682, either, because we haven't had too many to appear before the committee.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Would the chairman yield?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes, I will yield.

Mr. DELLENBACK. To be sure of this, is my recollection accurate that the league has been doing some thinking and studying and meeting together on this for a number of months?

Mrs. BENSON. Well, for quite a long while. You mean overall, on the whole problem? Since 1964?

Mr. DELLENBACK. But also, within the last year, you have been—

Mrs. BENSON. Concentrating on it. Oh, yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Concentrating on it.

Mrs. BENSON. For the last year. Oh, yes; very much so.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So that much of the study of the committees of individual leagues goes back many, many months?

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, and it is going on constantly.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And it is true also that H.R. 10682 has been in existence for a very limited period of time.

Mrs. BENSON. That is right.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And it is true also that H.R. 10682 has been in existence for a very limited period of time.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes. That is right.

Mr. DELLENBACK. In this form, and so therefore as to comparison between the OEO and H.R. 10682, really, they have not had anywhere nearly the same chance to delve, try as the national office will, to get out the major features to the various component leagues, they haven't really had a chance to study H.R. 10682 over the course of many, many months.

Mrs. BENSON. Well, yes and no. I don't really think that is accurate. I think they are aware of the importance—I mean, I know they are aware of, as many of the important features, with which we are concerned in the field of education and employment, of the Opportunity Crusade, as the administration bill, but in any effort to be completely accurate and honest, I did say that they have noted, since the opportunity Crusade has not been in print as long ago as the administration bill, what they got from us was not our analysis of the bill as we analyzed the administration bill, but what we were able to learn from the minority office, what was going to be in the Opportunity Crusade, and in fact, turned out to be the same thing, so that in effect they have had the same information, and the same degree of information.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Thank you.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mrs. Benson, I assume that you also have Republicans in the league as well as Democrats. Do you not?

Mr. DELLENBACK. We are pleased that that is indeed the case.

Mr. HAWKINS. And that there is sufficient opportunity for the Republicans in the league to get the message from their Republican Congressmen, as well as the Democrats to get their message from the Democratic Congressmen, so there is free play and free expression.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAWKINS. And that there certainly has been opportunity for both proposals to have been given some study, and that neither proposal, I suspect, is new in the sense that we have not discussed coordination, or involvement of the poor and these concepts before now, and that as a result of this you are appearing here today in behalf of H.R. 8311.

Mrs. BENSON. That is correct.

Mr. HAWKINS. Now I ask you whether or not you also believe that under the existing program, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the private sector can be brought in, and that it is not in any way discouraged that actually there is opportunity for the private sector to be involved in the current war on poverty?

Mrs. BENSON. We would say so; yes. In fact, has been. We would encourage it. It certainly is possible, within the structure.

Mr. HAWKINS. And that while you agree that the matter of coordination can be improved upon, even under the current agency, that you likewise believe that it is safer to at least leave it where it is for the time being, and to improve it rather than to make any drastic changes.

Mrs. BENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAWKINS. That is all, unless there are other questions of Mrs. Benson.

Again we wish to thank you for a very excellent presentation, and to again commend the league for the work that it is doing in all of our districts, both the Republican as well as the Democratic districts.

Mrs. BENSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

(Letters presented by Mrs. Benson follow:)

#### SAMPLES OF RECENT COMMENTS FROM LOCAL LEAGUES ON THE POVERTY PROGRAM

##### *From the League of Women Voters of Iowa City, Iowa*

Opinions about the local CAP program differ greatly. "In business" only since June 1966, CAP has already received a whole range of appraisals from its complete lack of purpose and ability to work with other agencies . . . to enthusiastic approval of the program. It is being judged by a wide variety of standards.



Many low-income people have entered enthusiastically into CAP activities. The 13 low-income members of the CAP board seem to be giving themselves and others who identify with them a real feeling of participation in local affairs. The low-income aides employed by CAP to identify, survey and aid other low-income families evidently are building good relationships between CAP and its "target" people.

[We are] concerned over Congress's appropriations for the poverty program in its last session. They earmarked great amounts for Head Start, NYC and other socially acceptable programs, but greatly curtailed the more free-wheeling activities of the Community Action Program. We feel it is much too early to stop experimenting and creatively trying to find new ways to solve problems of poverty in the U.S.

*From the League of Women Voters of Gainesville, Florida*

Alachua County's efforts to implement a community action program under the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act date from February 1965, when the Board of County Commissioners established a Community Action Organization that was unique. Known in some quarters as "the three-headed monster," it featured an appointed Board of Directors, and a Policy Advisory Committee which was to be broadly representative of community groups concerned with poverty. Considerable responsibility for program development was delegated to these two bodies, while ultimate responsibility for projects approved and funded by OEO remained in the hands of the County Commissioners.

When it became clear that the "monster" could not move ahead with clogged lines of communication, responsibility, and authority, two of its heads, the Board of Directors and the Policy Advisory Committee, voted themselves out of existence and returned full control to the Commissioners.

A list of the accomplishments of this defunct creature will perhaps surprise you. In spite of the troubles it had:

1. obtained a year's grant (\$23,000; 10% locally funded) to support a research director (Dr. Madelyn Kafoglis) and a staff of five to survey the county and identify "target areas;"
2. approved and supported 1966 Summer Head Start, directed by Cornelius Norton under the county school system;
3. undertaken volunteer projects, including an adult basic education program and day care centers in Newberry, northwest Gainesville, and Hawthorne;
4. brought VISTAs to the county and put them to work;
5. conducted a highly successful 8-week "Medicare Alert" campaign early in 1966;
6. prepared project proposals for submission to OEO: a. neighborhood development centers, b. legal aid machinery, and c. year round Head Start-type child development program.

Action on these was suspended by OEO, however, until our local organization could put its house in order.

Reorganization got under way in the fall of 1966, when the County Commissioners called a public meeting to consider the plan they had submitted and OEO had approved during the summer. As accepted at the meeting and established, we now have a Policy Advisory Board whose membership is to be open ended, starting with a minimum of 60 representatives. Of these  $\frac{1}{2}$  are to be from the target areas, chosen by the poor;  $\frac{1}{3}$  from major public and private agencies concerned with poverty;  $\frac{1}{3}$  from other important elements in the community, i.e. religion, labor, business, civic interests, civil rights. (LWV is presently represented by the chairman of this national item committee.) No representatives are to be appointed by the County Commissioners or by the PAB itself. As of this writing, there are still only 56 members, although more than 60 have been invited. The number is expected to grow quickly.

The Policy Advisory Board is empowered to advise the County Commissioners on all matters pertaining to development of anti-poverty programs. Its support is required for any such program. It will be identifying areas of unmet need in the community, acting as a forum for citizen groups wishing to propose changes, establishing program priorities, exploring proposed projects. Its committees are currently working on by-laws, organization and membership regulations, day care for pre-schoolers and additional recreation facilities for all. Its elected chairman is Dr. J. Anthony Humphreys (Gainesville Tutorial Association), its secretary Dr. Madelyn Kafoglis (Human Relations Council).

The Board of County Commissioners continues to serve as grantee, sponsor, and administrator of all programs developed under the Act of 1964. It acts as fiscal agent for all project funds, employs all program personnel, manages and administers all phases of the program.

As the new order became a reality, word was received that The Neighborhood Development Project had been funded for one year, until September 1967, at \$95,000, 10% to be provided locally. It calls for "multi-service" neighborhood centers in target areas, their purpose "to develop an environment in which families can find inducement and initiative to break the cycle of poverty."

Project Director is Mrs. Esther Lane, who describes her headquarters at 429 NW Second Street as "two cubicles in a corner of the building used by the Friends Society and known as Neighborhood House." Its central staff includes Employment and Vocational Counselor Edward Jennings, Family and Home Management Counselor Mary Ellen Mardis, Coordinators of Volunteers Rosa Williams and John C. Thomas, Jr., and Secretary Evelyn Smith.

Neighborhood aides are being hired to bring information to target areas and to link neighborhoods with central staff and the agencies of the community. VISTA workers provide important help for the new Centers.

Already in operation are the day care centers in Newberry and Hawthorne, adult education and general recreation center at Waldo, and after-school study hall at Alachua. Several other neighborhoods have plans under discussion.

Things are moving along.

*From the League of Women Voters of Cherry Hills Village, Colorado*

Locally in our Arapahoe County, after several years of organizational difficulty, a meaningful CAP program was established. However funds are not available to begin the program behind which the community has united. The Arapahoe Opportunity Foundation, the Interfaith Church Council, the Tri-County Health Department and the Welfare Department have worked earnestly to establish a Multi-purpose Center that would coordinate the functions of the various county and local organizations at one central point located in a target area whose people have shown a desire for such a center and program. It is discouraging to have strived for so long to finally organize a practical program only to realize it may not have a chance to be productive.

*From the League of Women Voters of Yonkers, New York*

While the programs now being conducted in Yonkers are for the most part worthwhile in their intent, we feel particular emphasis should be placed on the work-training programs as embodied in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Multi-occupational Training Center . . . Project Enable, under the direction of its dynamic and dedicated Director has developed a program of self-help, successfully reaching the poor in his area, and helping them to establish communication with the "power structure". The multi-service centers too are reaching out and involving the poor. These programs are helping the disadvantaged they service to develop a sense of worth and a hopeful outlook for the future.

*From the League of Women Voters of Champaign County, Illinois*

It is a sad fact that in our community funds are being cut back or denied just when interest in the E.O.C. has been established and participation of the poor is beginning to be a reality. This will create bitter frustration and suspicion, and will leave the community more divided than ever.

Another real stumbling block is the utter chaos in our Chicago Regional Office. Personnel turnover is high, agreements made with one administrator may be annulled by his successor; decisions seem often arbitrary and irrational.

*From the League of Women Voters of St. Louis, Missouri*

We feel that HDC which is our local agency carrying out the Economic Opportunity Act is a distinct asset to the community, especially in its establishment of neighborhood stations which are located in the midst of the poor. The programs developed in the stations are of varied importance, but they have given people in these areas hope, a voice in their own affairs, and services which formerly were too far removed from their lives. There are administrative difficulties, some duplication of services, etc., but we are beginning to make some headway in this fight against poverty. More jobs for people, especially those with few or no skills are needed. Longer range financing, largely federal in nature, with the fewest possible restrictions attached is another vital need.

*From the League of Women Voters of Missoula, Montana*

We feel that the local CAP program has done an excellent job of (1) surveying needs of low income families in the community and (2) setting up citizen advisory committees and with their help formulating plans to strengthen existing programs and institute new ones for the low-income families to improve their economic status. A number of programs are in progress. We feel the office has been very ably administered and that criticisms found in the news media as to graft, inefficiency, political involvement, etc. do not apply here.

*From the League of Women Voters of Wichita Falls, Texas*

The local programs under Titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act have seemed to work quite successfully under the sponsorship and guidance of the Wichita Falls public school system. Alas, at the moment funds have run out for carrying on the Basic Adult Education classes but they may be resumed again in September if federal funds become available. It is our League's considered opinion that these local programs are needed and well worth the cost, generally speaking. We deplore the loss of time from now until such time as additional federal funds become available. The time is Now.

*From the League of Women Voters of Denver, Colorado*

The Neighborhood Health Center has been a true "community action program" in that it was locally created. It operates on an essentially new medical concept of total health service to a whole family which is essentially preventive rather than a response to a crisis situation. The center was organized to handle 400 outpatient cases a month and is currently seeing 1600. Denver Opportunity has now applied for funds for a second health center.

A secondary purpose of the Neighborhood Health Center has been to employ disadvantaged neighborhood residents. This is aimed at (1) providing specific training in various health disciplines to improve the aides' vocational potential; (2) providing an adequate wage to help lift the aide out of the poverty status; (3) serving as a communication bridge to other neighborhood residents; (4) helping provide the manpower necessary to operate the center.

This system has worked out well so far as an "on-the-job" training program. From 6 to 10 of the clerical help have gone into private industry. Arrangements have been made with the Denver Career Service for the clerical help to be certified for eligibility for appointment after working for the Health Center for approximately six months. Arrangements are now being made with the Career Service to have a new "subprofessional" category in Mental Health and Social Welfare so that the trained aides can find jobs with the city. Some of these workers have been employed as "psychiatric technicians" by private institutions, but if the city had a classification for them and employed them, it would help to establish this field in the community.

*From the League of Women Voters of Lewiston, Idaho*

One portion of the Homemaker program under CAP that is a success without planned intent is the nursery school experience provided for the 30 to 45 pre-school children while mothers are participating in the Homemaker classes. The children's delight with this school more than insures attendance of the mothers to the classes. No one is typical, but I would like to cite the experience of M. B. which might reflect the help that many have received from the Homemaker program. M. B. is 28 years old, a drop-out from school at the seventh grade. She has three children aged five to nine. She is separated from her husband. Her income is Department of Public Assistance. Though she had an evident need for dental care, her most serious handicaps were a feeling of friendlessness and shyness. Homemaker classes changed this. She developed a warm, friendly attitude and a concern for other people. At the present time she is employed part time to conduct surveys for CAP. She is using the money she earns to get her needed dental care. Her own words portray her development: "I never was the first person to speak before, and now I can speak first."

*From the League of Women Voters of Victoria, Texas*

The League has become concerned at the growing discouragement of the local members of the Neighborhood Councils formed by our Community Action Committee. Citizens of the poverty areas of our county have spent a great deal of time since December organizing these councils and planning projects to meet the needs of the individuals living in their neighborhoods. The delay in funds for the Multi-Purpose Center which will aid them in solving some of their problems is

not understood in these Target Areas. One of our Councils is disintegrating because of this sense of frustration.

The Councils have acted as referral sources for candidates for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, students and teacher aides for the Head Start program, and have recruited individuals interested in job training. In addition, they have become centers for the starting of local projects which can be accomplished through local resources.

*From the League of Women Voters of Des Moines, Iowa*

The most noteworthy accomplishment of our CAP in this short time is the involvement of the poor and their effort to improve themselves. I have been astonished at the individual development of the neighborhood leaders, many of whom came to first CAP meetings dirty, shouting, and waving their fists. These same people have acquired dignity and self-respect when they realized their ideas would be listened to with respect. Many of the natural leaders have been employed by CAP, and are replaced as spokesmen by a new crop who have developed the sense of community responsibility.

In Des Moines CAP has proved to be the purest example of democracy, and a training ground for people who were unaware of the proper channels for voicing their opinions. It is interesting that when race riots occurred last summer, CAP staff members were the first to propose evening activities for Negro youth. VISTA workers are already planning to recruit young people to staff "Drop-In" centers for youth activities each day and evening until midnight, in the hope of preventing further riots this summer.

*From the League of Women Voters of Phoenix, Arizona*

The South Phoenix Community Service Center is serving an average of 700 families or individuals per month, even though it is barely two months old. Gradually the hope is to be able to serve upwards of 2,000 each week. In an effort of necessity to keep operating expenses at a minimum, a good deal of the work will be done by volunteer workers from the community.

This is an example of a CAP service which is in its infancy here, certainly will and must expand in services rendered, and will prove the concretely positive results of a program which has community approval, city sanction and federal assistance.

*From the League of Women Voters of Savannah, Georgia*

Project Enable, federally funded as a one-year demonstration project, came to an end March 31, 1967. Under the direction of the Savannah Family Counseling Center, it operated as a special detail of social workers and aides hired from the ranks of the poor to serve in EOA's War on Poverty in Chatham County. There have been cutbacks in this program. Since the 1967 appropriations for EOA were so severe, the national program of ENABLE from Washington on down was totally dissolved. In Savannah, the whole structure of ENABLE was taken and moved from the supervision of a delegate agency (Family Counseling) to a newly established division known as Human Services. Although the service that was being provided under Project ENABLE is now being provided by the Social Service Division of Human Services, it yet has to be proven whether or not the service can be provided in depth under this new format. Hopefully, it will achieve depth as well as added breadth but only time will tell.

This was an ongoing program when the project was stopped because of the cut-backs in funds. It was able to be absorbed in the new division and the staff who wished came along with this project. We were able to have an orderly transition period of two months so only minor interruptions of service for the people for whom this program was intended to reach. Savannah was able to absorb the program this year, but if any major cutbacks in appropriations come in 1968, services will have to be discontinued for there won't be any money to hire staff to handle this program.

*From the League of Women Voters of Baton Rouge, Louisiana*

Our local CAP agency in Baton Rouge, Community Advancement, Inc. has proved itself to be an honest and effective effort in the war on poverty. The director and the staff have shown themselves to be able and dedicated people.

Although this agency has been operating for only ten months, it already has many accomplishments, to list a few:

1. Fifteen thousand people have been contacted.
2. Six hundred fifty people have been taken off the welfare rolls.
3. Three thousand people have been referred to the proper agency.

4. Eight Neighborhood Service Centers have been set up in poverty areas.
5. Thirty-six social action organizations have emerged from these centers such as a Merchants Association, a Clean-up Campaign, parents groups, etc.
6. Last summer CAI ran a very successful Headstart course which reached twenty-five hundred children.
7. Presently several year-round Headstart classes are being conducted.
8. Currently in the planning stage, with the money already funded is a \$1,500,-000 skill center.

This whole program was needed in the Baton Rouge area. In a survey CAI conducted, they found that approximately 25% of the population could be defined as living in poverty. Of this 25% 83% are Negro, and the remaining 17% are white. On the whole the Negro community has received the program enthusiastically. Unfortunately, CAI has been able to make few inroads into the white community, but plans are presently underway to try to overcome their objections.

The government cutback has affected this program in two ways. It is now more difficult to obtain qualified personnel to fill the staff positions because of the uncertainty of career opportunities. But even more important, the cutback has discouraged long-range planning and sorely-needed expansion plans.

*From the League of Women Voters of Grand Traverse Area, Michigan*

Early in 1965, the County Agricultural Agent of Leelanau County called together a representative group of citizens to explain the possible programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. Father Henry Dondzila, pastor of an Indian mission agreed to be chairman. Several meetings followed, exploring the county's disadvantaged population and their needs. It was early admitted that the county's most obvious pocket of poverty was the Indian settlement at Peshawbestown.

This group of Indians, both Chippewa and Ottawa, live scattered along a State highway skirting Grand Traverse Bay. The planning committee explored many ideas on what were the chief needs of these native Americans, not living in a reservation. They are generally regarded by the "establishment" as second-class citizens, whose family life, dependency, alcoholism, work habits, make them employable only in the lowest sort of jobs. Although they have more self-pride in their race than have Negroes, they are still the most despised and neglected group here.

Most of the committee believed that a return to their native crafts was unrealistic; they needed to take their place in industry. One skilled weaver wanted to secure a SBA loan to set up a weaving center for the women. Such fabrics sell at a high price. However, lack of funds, plus a real lack of a building in which any activity could be held, heated throughout the winter, presented a stumbling block to any plans. Not only were meetings held with representative Indians, but with representatives of the Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs and the Indian Affairs regional office in Wisconsin.

Because these Indians live separated from the various villages in this rural county, their need seemed primarily to be a building where any activities to be developed could be held in their neighborhood. A gift from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Grand Rapids of a community building, to be leased to the county CAP, and used by all citizens, brought into reality the project. It is modern, well-lighted, and heated with central heat. It has two bathrooms, a kitchen, a spacious recreational room on the first floor, and upstairs a study center and library.

Once the building was ready for use, the CAP funds made possible the maintenance, a director (a leading Indian in the community), an arts and crafts teacher, and teachers for evening study. During 1965 the project was benefited by the assignment of two VISTA girls; during the second year, two others succeeded them. Their leadership, and identification with the community brought to the Community Center the kind of imagination and interest which was invaluable.

It is difficult to imagine to dwellers in large metropolitan areas what the geographic and social isolation, as well as economic, of such Indians as the Peshawbestown group face over the years. They have high unemployment, their houses are run down, only four of the families have any running water, most have electricity but a community well furnishes most of their water supply. They have no reliable private transportation, there is no public transportation, and what cars they own are almost always in disrepair. The children do not have bicycles, for example. They attend a public school several miles away, to which they are transported by a school bus.

Although these Indians had a certain feeling of unity through their common race, their chief characteristic was apathy and complete hopelessness. Their isolation seemed complete. With the establishment of the Community Center, and the assignment of the VISTAs, a self-pride, a feeling of purpose and unity became possible. They elected a board of directors, 9 of whom were Indians. They held pot luck suppers. One sent in news to our county newspaper, a sort of society column. Large gifts of clothing were sent them through various news media, and they held sales in the summer to migrants. They had a booth in the Northwestern Michigan Fair, at which they sold Indian handicrafts. Of enormous help were the evening tutoring sessions for the school children. The great ability and devotion of the art teacher made these creative activities broaden the cultural life of the children.

Adolescents were given sewing lessons by the VISTAs, and the boys used the Center for games, such as pool, skittles, record-playing, etc. The skill of the director in keeping strict control of the behavior of the children has kept the place from getting a bad reputation among the white community.

The League of Women Voters from the first, giving strong citizen support to this CAP program, made possible a voter registration evening at the Center, to which the township clerk came, and some very old Indians were registered for the first time. An AA group, begun by Fr. Dondzila, faded out, but will make a fresh start later.

The joy which the League of Women Voters and others have felt at the first two years of this CAP project is now decreased because of a down-grading of the financial support by OEO. *First*, the very necessary staffing by VISTAs has not been continued. For approximately four months, the Center has expected new assignments but none has arrived. *Second*, the funds for maintenance, rental, and program have decreased so that the art teacher has had to use her own money to buy clay and other art supplies. *Third*, the support by OEO was discontinued in August of 1966, and after applying without success for a small grant from two Michigan charitable foundations to keep the Center open until funds from OEO would be forthcoming, the day was saved by the Michigan Migrant Opportunity Agency, who granted minimum, but very necessary support. But this Agency and its funds, will be discontinued permanently May 31, 1967.

What has been the effect of these deprivations on the Indians themselves? Not becoming in a short two years as responsible, self-directing, citizens, they have, without the support of the VISTAs, and with uncertainty as to their future, gone back somewhat to their usual apathy, whose symptoms are fewer community suppers, less attendance on the part of the children, no more society news in the paper, no board meetings and losing what contact they had made with the outside world (the whites) and through the League, the VISTAs, and the school (through the ESEA). Such brave starts as were made by OEO and our county CAP for the benefit of these citizens will be just another demonstration to them of the hopelessness of their situation, if it is decreased—a real tragedy, even for a relatively small segment of our deprived poor.

This project needs to be increased in CAP funds. The art teacher, for example, has served for two years, has given both day and night service, has taken an Indian boy into her home, when he needed to be sheltered, and has kept the community in touch with needs. She earns only \$2.50 an hour, for 18 hours of scheduled duties, but works actually about 40. She needs a raise. The Center should have a full-time group or community organization leader, if no VISTAs are available. CAP has been important to these people. They will need it for years to come.

Mr. HAWKINS. Is Dr. Smith here?

Dr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. HAWKINS. Dr. Spencer Smith, Citizens Committee on National Resources. Dr. Smith, would you kindly come to the witness stand.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. SPENCER M. SMITH, JR., SECRETARY, CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you have a prepared statement, Dr. Smith?

Dr. SMITH. Yes, I have it distributed, I think.

Mr. HAWKINS. Dr. Smith, it is a pleasure to welcome you as a witness before the committee, and I see that you have a prepared statement. This will be written into the record.

(Dr. Smith's prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY DR. SPENCER M. SMITH, JR., SECRETARY, CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Dr. Spencer M. Smith Jr. Secretary of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, a national conservation organization with offices in Washington D.C. It is a dual privilege for me to represent many of our country's outstanding conservationists, who comprise our Board of Directors, before this distinguished Committee.

Our concern regarding the Conservation Job Corps is the culmination of over a decade of interest. We supported strongly the very early efforts of the distinguished Chairman of this Committee, Congressman Blatnik, and, Vice President but then Senator, Hubert Humphrey. As members of this Committee are aware, the earlier proposals took a variety of forms. The first was the creation of a Youth Conservation Corps, the second was Title I in the Youth Employment Act, and finally the present Job Corps Conservation Centers.

We desire to make it clear at the outset that it is not within our full field of competence to comment on all of the extensive and varied programs, which are the responsibility of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This is not to say that our general attitude is adverse but rather to suggest that our investigations, observations and professional backgrounds relate primarily to the conservation centers of the Job Corps.

If I may be pardoned a personal commentary to the effect that for 20 years I was involved in classroom teaching at the University level. I would not suggest that this experience qualifies me as a professional educator with knowledge of the detailed techniques of educational methods. By the same token it would be impossible for one to serve as a teacher in any capacity or level without developing some sensitivity to educational procedures.

Many professional conservationists, serving the large national organizations, as well as some at state and local levels, have observed the Job Corps Conservation Centers from their inception. Almost all of these organizations and individuals supported the concept because of the outstanding record made by the Civil Conservation Corps in the 1930's. We realized that neither the conditions nor composition of youth to be served, were the same in the late 50's and 60's as existed in the 30's. There were, however, certain basic similarities. The conservation work that needed to be done in regard to our national resources was far greater than existed in the 30's. There was also a considerable number of youth without meaningful and productive activity and without educational accomplishment. It appeared to us at the time that two important social purposes could be achieved. First the training and partial employment of youth and second, the improvement of our natural resource base.

It is impossible for anyone to say that all of the objectives of the program have been realized. There have been problems, many of which have been overcome and some of which have yet to be dealt with effectively. Statistical studies abound and in evaluating the program to date, are used by protagonist and critic alike. In terms of the volume of testimony taken by this Committee on the sample and statistics gleaned, it is doubtful if any additional observations I might make can be too useful. My own commentary will not deal primarily with this material, both for the reasons just mentioned and for the reason that the problems found and the solutions applied that are most crucial in evaluating such a program, are not amenable to such quantification.

The most heartening and important argument for the continuation of the Job Corps Conservation Centers and hopefully their expansion, is to me, the change of attitude of the individual volunteer. The desire to learn is the most important change of attitude. I am not going to suggest that it is possible to reach such a generalized conclusion by the observation of a few cases. Despite our efforts to spend as much time as possible with the individual enrollees in a number of different camps, such experience by necessity had to be limited. But when one's own observation is confirmed again and again by colleagues, such experiences began to have meaning. Also, one cannot spend very much time in these Conservation Centers without being aware of the spirit among the Job Corps volunteers.

This attitude on the part of the Job Corps members has changed significantly from our observations of the first established camps. It is a change that was predictable. Oddly enough most of the serious criticism relates to the very early experiences and is not applicable in the same sense due to the evolution of the program. It should not have been expected for the Job Corps enrollees to have had an attitude of eagerness for learning and expectancy of great accomplishment, when they first came to the Job Corps Center. Both of these concepts could be improved only by hard work, trial and error, and general perseverance. The improvement is perhaps greater than we have had any right to expect. When boys come to the camp 35-40% functionally illiterate and 80% in need of dental and medical care with a great number of cases requiring intensive treatment, one begins to appreciate the dimensions of the task.

The record of replacements and graduates of the Job Corps has been better in its short existence than I had anticipated. The basic problem however, is not learning the skills, which would enable the graduate to be employed at a good wage level, as desirable as this is, but rather to inculcate an attitude of wanting to learn such skills and to function as a productive member of society. In short, this is not teaching a boy to read, it is the far more complicated matter of stimulating him to want to read. To cause him to appreciate the necessity and importance of learning to read. If this problem is surmounted, then the task can be begun in earnest.

Most of the first Job Corps entrants that I interviewed were hostile, highly anti-social, suspicious, and looked upon the Job Corps as an aggrandized penal institution or reform school. Even one having made his recovery from a most debilitating case of malnutrition, viewed the entire matter as being—"fattened up for the kill." Hence, for whatever the reason, these young men had little hope of being effective citizens. As a consequence, the vast turnover established in the early days should not have been a surprise. In fact the number that were retained and the length of that retention was a significant accomplishment.

It is hard to arrive at a judgment that this effort should be abandoned, that all the experience should somehow be transferred to another procedure or to other programs. We are well aware that any program, which is potentially to touch so many lives must be weighed carefully by those responsible for it and to make sure that the public funds are being invested in an appropriate and prudent manner. We feel the initial agonies would be repeated, at least in part, with no real assurance that the results would be improved. Also, from the extensive testimony received by the Committee, it may be that the real problems of this entire undertaking have not been fully appreciated and that the criteria for judgment are not realistic relative to the problems themselves.

It has been the contention of many conservationists, that conservation activities taking place in such natural settings is an ideal place for aiding young people in their overall rehabilitation and learning. We feel strongly that this judgment has been vindicated. The Job Corps volunteers are developing effective work habits and achieving a social adjustment to a degree that no-one had a right to expect. There are a variety of skills in which training has been accomplished, carpentry, masonry, welding, culinary, mechanical as well as others. These skills have been applied in effecting conservation work the product of which has been valued at \$20-\$30 million thru this last year. Those associated with conservation programs for some time are aware of the importance of this net increase to the value of our natural resources. The application of these skills have resulted in a considerable pride of accomplishments on the part of the volunteers themselves.

Young men can be far more convinced if they understand the need for their labors and are able to visualize the product therefrom. In many instances it has been through this process that resistance to the fundamental educating procedures have been broken down. A good example was one young man who expressed an interest in food preparation. He was encouraged to follow this interest. Shortly, it was discovered, however, that the full knowledge of such activities could not be acquired unless one was able to read and unless one had mastered rudimentary arithmetic. This then became the motivating force for the basic educative effort. Planting of trees, protection of water sheds and the protection of wild life, have generated interest and appreciation in the Job Corps enrollees.

It would be our plea to the Members of this Committee not to overlook the magnitude and importance of the basic problems these young men face or to fail to appreciate the difficulties of effecting solutions by the personnel in charge of administering this program. We feel the program is making progress. We feel that its experience to date justifies not only its existence but its continuance. We



do not think alternative efforts to solve these problems are as effective as a combination of relatively small units in outdoor settings that constitute most conservation centers.

It is not our suggestion that all Job Corps enrollees be sent to conservation centers and by the same token it is not our suggestion that all the enrollees of the conservation center be sent elsewhere to other programs. The attack on the problems of these young people who terminate their education but do not qualify for a productive role in our society, is a challenge that is not going to be met by one program or one part of any program. The problem is multifaceted and solutions will have to be varied and experimental.

Former President Truman said, "I hope all the mistakes of my administration will be those of commission and not of omission". Such an admonition should serve us well in this instance and we hope sincerely that it will be the judgment of this Committee to give a strong endorsement to the Job Corps Conservation Centers.

---

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION,  
Washington, D.C., July 18, 1967.

HON. CARL D. PERKINS,  
*Chairman, House Committee on Education and Labor, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The National Wildlife Federation welcomes the invitation to comment upon H.R. 8311, "to provide an improved charter for Economic Opportunity Act programs, to authorize funds for their continued operation, to expand summer camp opportunities for disadvantaged children, and for other purposes."

The National Wildlife Federation is a private non-profit organization which seeks to attain conservation objectives through educational means. The Federation has affiliates in 49 States. These affiliates, in turn, are composed of local clubs and individuals who, when combined with associate members and other supporters of the Federation, number an estimated 2,000,000 persons.

Our organization long has appreciated the many values of conservation camp programs. Many of the State forests, State parks, State lakes, and other valuable properties first were established by the old Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Like the Job Corps of today, the CCC was the butt of derision and jokes in its day. Yet, the value of these conservation efforts are becoming more and more apparent each year. Other contributions of the Corps were highlighted by the outstanding military and civilian records of its members during and after World War II.

There is ample reason to believe the Job Corps conservation camps will make comparable contributions. Quite naturally, some time was necessary to get the program started. For example, the National Wildlife Federation served in a role to bring conservation educators together for the purpose of developing basic "learn-to-read" materials, something heretofore unknown for young people in the Job Corps age groups.

In short, the camps just now are reaching their peaks of effectiveness, both in rehabilitating young people and in giving them basic skills and knowledge for a better future, and in performing valuable conservation functions. Our people have visited many of the camps and are enthused over their quality and effectiveness.

Of course, the program has not been without some difficulties. However, when disadvantaged young people of varying races and backgrounds are brought together under unfamiliar circumstances and surroundings, some friction and problems might be expected. On the whole, though, we think the program is off to a splendid start. We would regret it if the program is curtailed or eliminated, as apparently would be the case under the program envisioned by H.R. 10682.

Thank you for the opportunity of expressing these views.

Sincerely,

LOUIS S. CLAPPER,  
*Chief, Division of Conservation Education.*

Mr. HAWKINS. You may proceed as you see fit, either to summarize the statement or to read the statement.

Dr. SMITH. I shall try and be brief. If it serves the convenience of the committee, I will be very pleased to summarize my statement, Mr. Chairman.

I am Dr. Spencer M. Smith, Jr., secretary of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, which is a national conservation organization with offices in Washington, D.C.

We are very pleased to have on our board of directors some of the country's outstanding conservationists, and the chairman of our organization is Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, a very well known conservationist.

I should preface my comments, Mr. Chairman, by stating that the conservation groups have long been interested in the young conservation corps concept. In fact, I think that was the name of the first bill that was introduced by the distinguished chairman of this committee, Congressman Perkins, Congressman Blatnik, and then Senator now Vice President Humphrey. Our interest continued when it became title I of the Youth Employment Act, and later when the Job Corps was created.

I do want to say one thing at the very outset. Certain comments, partly by implication, both in the press and by word of mouth have charged conservation organizations with supporting Job Corps conservation centers because of the need for cheap or slave labor. I not only reject this charge out of hand, but I think it is unfortunate that such an observation or commentary should be made by anyone.

Of course we have an interest in natural resources, both on Federal, private, State, and local. Anyone who has been involved in the policy determination of this legislation would realize that the principal reason for our support has been the young people who would benefit from conservation work. Whatever would result in the way of aiding and abetting our natural resource base would be a byproduct, rather than a primary emphasis.

I can say, Mr. Chairman, that I have never, in all the years that I have been connected with many conservation programs seen such an attack mounted against a particular program, as has been mounted on the Job Corps conservation center.

We have been involved in many controversies, such as the location of dams and the establishment of parks but none have been the equal of this.

People say, "How come? How can you explain the community hostility to a proposed conservation center?" It is very simple. Before the act was ever implemented, before there was ever a decision to establish a particular conservation center the press and the general commentary was so hostile that the people were in a state of panic at the mere thought that some of these centers might be located near their community. This situation occurred again and again. Two centers that I visited recently, Arrowood Camp in North Carolina and the Schenck Job Corps Center, both faced community opposition at the outset. Now both are supported strongly by the community.

The same situation occurred in Montana, and I can cite many more instances. One newspaper editor said, "I must confess, our minds were made up about this program, before there was ever a dollar spent or a boy enrolled."

About a year ago, I read a newspaper story regarding the same issue that was discussed this morning. The newspaper story said 40 percent of the Jobs Corps members at Camp Catoctin in Maryland came directly from school, and 32 percent of them came directly from jobs.

Now I have heard this commentary time and time again; that is, that a competition exists with the school system. Hence, these people can be handled very simply in a school, or that jobs did exist for a number of Job Corps volunteers. Though we don't have a lot of funds to make surveys, I determined to try and make a personal one. I went up to Catocin, and at that time there were 119 boys enrolled in this camp. I interviewed every one of them, and I made my own survey. One hundred and four of these boys had been out of school for more than two terms. At no time had they indicated that they were going to return to school. Seven had been out for one term, and eight could not return because of long periods of truancy, and in effect, were not to be allowed back in the school system. Had they not come to the Job Corps, they would have gone to a reformatory.

Now where the newspaper accounts got 40 percent coming directly from school to the Job Corps, I don't know. I can't run down each one of these stories, but this one, I did.

The allegation that 32 percent came from jobs, also was a part of my inquiry. I found that only eight of the 119 had any compensation from 6 months prior to the enlistments. Of the eight, one did work at a full-time job for which he got a return of \$6.40 a week, which constituted the maximum earnings of the eight that had any employment at all.

When a newspaper account is 100 percent wrong, you begin to wonder exactly the nature of the criticisms that have been leveled against these Job Corps conservation centers.

Another instance that I think is important, and part of the burden of my prepared remarks, is the statistics seeking to explain the Job Corps. Interestingly enough, having done some of my own statistical work, which has been better than some I have paid for, I find that apparently I didn't train my students in statistics any better than some of my colleagues. Many of the statistical analyses I have seen view the achievements as not having sufficient hard facts in order to make a determination. The same statistics are used repeatedly, however, as a basis of criticism that they are a failure.

The Harris study was based to a very great extent on the interview technique. I can tell you that I have been in touch with a number of these boys, it would be difficult to rely strongly upon their statements, especially when they first enter the program.

Second, there is an assumption, too, that every child or person that drops out of the Job Corps Center, shows a program failure. Statistics have not explained the dropouts. In Catocin, 25 were separated because the counselors urged their return to school. No statistical study to my knowledge reflects their situation.

Another problem I don't feel is fully appreciated by critic or supporter alike is the tragic physical and mental state of some of the enrollees coming into Conservation Corps Centers. The complete nature of this problem is not quantifiable.

In the first place, while 63 percent of all of Job Corps enrollees do not have police or criminal records of any type, over 50 percent of those that come to the Conservation Centers do have such records. Also, fourth or fifth grade educational levels represent the Corps as a whole. Those coming to the Job Corps Conservation Centers are from 35 to

40 percent genuinely illiterate. Relating again to the 119 boys in Maryland, 21 could not write their name legibly. Fifteen could read a second grade reader with great difficulty. One of the reasons, and I don't object to this, for taking some of the most disadvantaged students and placing them in these Conservation Corps Centers, was to try and provide a framework where rehabilitation had a good chance of success.

Criticizing these centers for not providing the kinds of vocational training that would suit these students to go immediately out into the world and get high-paying jobs is like criticizing this camp for not teaching them how to swim, when they first have to try and save them from drowning. This is the real and critical problem that these Conservation Corps Centers have had.

The Conservation Corps is not a substitute for education. I am perfectly aware that society may have failed very badly both in vocational education and across the board. I gave whatever was left of my youth to the whole idea of education, as a professional, as a citizen, and as a parent. I am perfectly aware of the continuing problems as far as funding properly our educational system. I have said all my life that education is the greatest return on investment that the American people receive. Hence, because a system can't do everything, it is not right to criticize it. I would be perfectly willing if we could expand existing educational systems to go down far enough to take care of these most disadvantaged children. I would be very much for it. I don't think it is going to happen, and I don't want to sit around and wait for nirvana or the millennium. I would prefer to do something about it.

Former President Harry S. Truman said, "I hope that all my errors and sins will be those of commission and not of omission." Well, I hope that all the errors we make in this educational process will be from commission and not from omission.

I think the conservation centers have a viable program. When I saw the first 115 kids come to Catoctin, Md., I was so distraught that I told my wife that retaining 10 percent of these enrollees in camp for 2 weeks, would be a miracle. They were hostile. They were antisocial. Over 80 percent of them needed extensive medical treatment, and one young man, even after he was again on his feet from a serious malnutrition debility, hostility hadn't been exorcised at all. He said, "I wonder if they are fattening me up for the kill."

This difficult group of young people, had lost hope, and couldn't care less about learning. The problem in the conservation center is not teaching somebody how to read, it is teaching them to want to learn how to read—which is a far more difficult task. If you can't motivate someone in an interest in education, you can't teach him. And therefore, I don't think that the basic problem has had a thorough delineation in order that a full appreciation of the state of young men who come to the Conservation Job Corps.

The statistics, that talk of dropouts, mask the real miracle, that is, the miracle of retention. I would have assumed far more would have dropped out, in terms of the nature of the problems. Despite such problems, however, I think the Conservation Job Corps can provide most, and I emphasize most, disadvantaged children with an opportunity.

I know that this may sound trite, in the world in which we live, but most of us have had a long time feeling that national forest and national park areas and environment, are good places to start this rehabilitation.

We think in terms of the problem they have been a success, a tremendous success. Far more than one should have anticipated. We feel that, in many instances, these children have found some challenges to which they can respond. If there has been one and only one accomplishment—worth every dime that has been spent—it has been the gift of hope.

Another part of the followup procedure, I am very pleased that the Congress is investigating prudent spending and appropriations and are so concerned about costs, for which they want a better and perhaps cheaper, if possible, program. I must say as a taxpaying citizen, I wish that extended to all fields.

I see our missiles blow up for \$2 or \$3 million, and we say, "Well, you have to expect that, that is an experimentation." If the agency downtown involved in such activity makes a mistake of a decimal point, the Congress puts forth an amiable admonition to them, and tells them to go and sin no more, and the budgets keep growing. If we have to experiment with boys and girls, however, we have to be right the first time, and presumably there is no margin for error. Well, there is a lot of margin for error. We are going to continue to have dropouts. We are going to continue to have problems, because these children have problems, and these problems aren't the result of one single cause. They are caused by the very multifaceted aspects of society, which is as complicated as there is in the world: a highly dynamic industrial machine, which we have going with all of the social implications. To assume that we can solve any of these problems by one simple program or by a hundred simple programs, probably, is not going to be close to the truth. We are going to have to have some patience in solving them. These kids have to have something to believe in. They have got to have some hope, and they have to have an appreciation for their fellow citizens. They have to have some idea of the society in which they live before we can even begin talking about skills.

It doesn't do anybody any good to be a skilled bulldozer operator if he can't read or write, and one of the charms, I think, of the Corps which we have seen is the way in which the motivation for reading and writing comes about.

I recall one little boy in the camp area in North Carolina who was highly resistant. He wouldn't communicate. He didn't want to read. His father hadn't read, he saw no reason for him to. He didn't want to write. He didn't care about it. He didn't want to socialize with anybody, but he had one curiosity. He wanted to cook. He liked the preparation of food. Within 4 months, after showing the boy the culinary arts, it was also pointed out, that if he really wanted to go ahead with this vocation he had to learn to read, so he learned to read. Also, if you are going to succeed in cooking you have to have some rudimentary mathematics, so he learned rudimentary mathematics. I think this is a notable education achievement. I pretend no great skills in educative techniques, but I say that there are situations where if the boys and girls do not adapt well to the books,

we have got to find some way to adapt the books to them. I think the Job Corps conservation centers are doing this. I think they are doing an effective job, and I call your attention to the fact that if the results may not be as dramatic, as we would all hope, I urge that these results be judged in terms of the difficulty of the problems.

I don't say that Job Corps has solved all of these problems. I do say, however, that they are on the road to finding solutions but I wouldn't want to suggest to anyone here that all of the solutions are in sight. The problems are so numerous and complicated we don't even know the origin of many of them. I think we have to continue to try for solutions and I think the Conservation Job Corps Centers are a significant part of that effort.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me first thank you for your appearance. You have been around here working for the Job Corps many years, and I can appreciate that fact, and the fact that numerous years ago, you were representing, when I recall we met at the Congressional Hotel, long before we ever enacted, and we were moving around, trying to get the Youth Opportunities Act through the Congress, and we failed on several occasions, for several years.

Dr. SMITH. Yes; we did.

Chairman PERKINS. Until we were lucky enough to get it into one package, we were able to enact the bill. But I agree with you that if we can imbue in these youngsters motivation, that our accomplishments are worthy ones, that the funds we would spend will not be lost.

Dr. SMITH. A lot of them, Mr. Chairman, have not only no hope, I don't even think they know what the word means. They have never heard it any time in their life—never been exposed to it.

Chairman PERKINS. Now you made mention of one factor here that I would like for you to dwell on. It has been insinuated that we are taking the youngsters out of school to place them in the Job Corps and if you recall the Youth Opportunities Act, we specifically prohibited the enrollees from this. Youngsters to enroll had to be drop-outs. But you touched on that here, and as I think we ought to get it over, if you have made the study, the type of youngster that is usually enrolled in the Job Corps, in many instances, the majority of them are juvenile offenders.

Dr. SMITH. Yes; they are.

Chairman PERKINS. Have been dropped out of school for many months, some for many years.

Dr. SMITH. I don't say a lot of them have had records of felonies, but records of misdemeanors.

Chairman PERKINS. Some of them have records of felonies.

Dr. SMITH. Yes; they do.

Chairman PERKINS. Some of them have records of felonies. But you have made mention of the fact that we were not taking the youngsters from the school. Would you care to develop that idea a little?

Dr. SMITH. Well—

Chairman PERKINS. Since it has been hinted that we were taking youngsters from school.

Dr. SMITH. I know there is an appeal. I don't know whether you were in the Chamber or not, when I mentioned the story that I read.

Chairman PERKINS. I was not.

Dr. SMITH. I will repeat it briefly. I read a story in the Washington Star about a year ago, regarding the Catoctin Job Corps Camp in Maryland which stated that 40 percent of the enrollees came directly from schools, and 32 percent directly from jobs. The story's conclusion asked, "What on earth are we doing putting up all this money? Taking boys away from a situation where they are already in adjustment and for the small number remaining the cost was exorbitant."

This upset me since I knew that camp pretty well and was not aware of such conditions.

Chairman PERKINS. Did you check that?

Dr. SMITH. I went up there and I interviewed 119 kids, and I took four and a half days to do it.

Chairman PERKINS. That is wonderful.

Dr. SMITH. And out of the 119, here are some of the statistics. They are already in the record but I want you to hear them; 104 had been out of school for more than two terms, seven for one term, and eight had truancy records and couldn't return. Now that is 119. There wasn't one child of the group enrolled directly from school.

Chairman PERKINS. I would hope that you picked up that propaganda that was put into print, because that is the type of propaganda that is taking place today, to try to do damage to a most worthy program.

Dr. SMITH. Again, in the Schenck Job Corps Center in North Carolina, received a variety of criticism both in the press and word of mouth. When accomplishments were evident the critics said, "Well, you have a unique group down there, of course, everything just went just fine."

As a matter of fact, Schenck didn't have a unique group at all. The myth indicated that a great number of them had come directly from school so the administrators could make a real case for the Job Corps Center. This was complete tommyrot. Absolutely ridiculous. There wasn't a child, not a boy enrolled in that camp that had come direct from school. There hadn't been one in there that hadn't been out of school for 6 months to a year.

Now those are the two stories, and two accounts, which I ran down. We don't have the money to start any aggrandized survey, but I did go out in these two cases, I ran the one down in Catoctin, a great deal, boy by boy; the other one I ran down by record and not by interview. If some of the right information could be published it would be helpful. Because we have more people willing to believe the worst of these situations rather than attempting to understand, the situation would be helped.

Chairman PERKINS. Now the quality of training that is taking place in the camps operated by the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the training aspects, how does it differ? You are old enough, I believe, to know something about the old Civilian Conservation Corps.

Dr. SMITH. Well, in the first place, Mr. Chairman, the composition of the boys of the present Job Corps conservation center are quite different from the old CCC.

Chairman PERKINS. Yes, quite different.

Dr. SMITH. So we have to start from there. I do say, though, that——

Chairman PERKINS. We stressed work program back in those days.

Dr. SMITH. That is right.

Chairman PERKINS. To a degree, but the emphasis has entirely shifted.

Dr. SMITH. That is right. These boys, I can name you five by name that literally were challenged enough to get through elementary arithmetic because of some of their activities in the field. Tree planting, watershed control, and the like. They have made great contributions. The results of their work are valued between \$20 and \$30 million. More important than the work is convincing a boy that this is important work to do, and after he does it, to help him find a sense of pride in the accomplishment. Also, the Forest Service hadn't started out with the intention of using these boys as firefighters at all. They are very willing to respond, however, and were most helpful in protecting forests from fire. Literally, the Forest Service has had to restrain these young men for their own protection. The experiences I have had, you can't write it down, and you can't communicate the full aspects of it. The thrill comes when some kid comes up to you and takes you by the hand, and can hardly wait until you go out and look at a particular project that he has accomplished. When you have that kind of enthusiasm from some boy working in the woods, whether it is a watershed project, or the construction of habitat for wildlife, or planting trees, the real importance is what it means to the boy.

Chairman PERKINS. Have you been able to follow through on it or make any study of the youngsters that have been able to obtain employment when they have completed their course of training in a job in Conservation Job Corps.

Dr. SMITH. Once again, we do not have hard figures. I am sure that you may be aware of the fact that these Job Corps conservation centers have been utilized in some instances as starters to further vocational education. With an improved attitude and rudimentary skills to put them on their feet, quite often, they are sent to other vocational centers for more extensive training in a vocation of their choice. This has complicated our picture, to try and really find out what happens to these young men, but I can say those that have graduated often have done well. The statistics are not definitive in all respects. This is a dynamic program and statistical studies reason from a particular point of time.

Chairman PERKINS. This point of view is not too pertinent, inasmuch as the emphasis at this day and time is on the training, and not on the work, but the value of the work alone in the conservative camps, the national parks, the national forests, would the value of that work exceed the cost of the operation of those camps?

Dr. SMITH. Yes. Yes, I would think so. In most instances. I could, once again, I will try and detail that for you, as I go along, but I am sure that in most instances, this is true.

Chairman PERKINS. And you are getting work that otherwise would not be performed.

Dr. SMITH. That is right. I don't think a lot of people realize how very difficult it is to obtain appropriations for the creation of certain recreation centers.



Chairman PERKINS. The quality of the work. Are the conservation people all satisfied with it?

Dr. SMITH. I think that you can, without exception, receive testimony from the Park Service and Forest Service rangers, and the BLM managers that the quality of work is excellent. I was with a group working on watershed management, which was fairly technical, and I said, "You mean to tell me you are going to let these boys go out by themselves and do that?" The ranger said "Yes."

Usually five or six of these units per day is considered average but the boys consistently put in eight a day, with excellent quality of work. We haven't had any serious complaints on the caliber of the work these boys are doing.

Chairman PERKINS. If you can obtain any further data bearing on the enrollees not being selected or coming into the Job Corps from schools, other than the two instances that you personally checked out, if you could make a further study, and give me that study, and I will give a copy of your study to the minority before we insert it in the record, and if there is no objection, you can come up with some further statistics along that line, we will appreciate it.

I am of the same opinion that you are, that the insinuations and the statements that were made about these youngsters, enrollees coming into the Job Corps cannot be supported by the actual fact. In fact I think that we have tightly written into the law prohibitions against this sort of thing.

Dr. SMITH. That is right.

Chairman PERKINS. And if it is not in the law now, we can certainly put it in the law. At least, I would be willing to support it, but I think it is there. I am not certain.

Dr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this is one of the things that I don't feel we are communicating properly. We don't have the devices, the procedures to do it as it should be done.

Chairman PERKINS. My point is that we can't let the Job Corps—I have never known of an instance in my experience, and I think I have tried to be as close to it as anybody, where the Job Corps was the incentive to pull a youngster out of high school.

Dr. SMITH. Absolutely not.

Chairman PERKINS. I have never seen that, and I just don't think that the record will disclose any instances of it.

Dr. SMITH. One of the best ways to show the people responsible is to have them in camp and watch the new enrollees come in.

Chairman PERKINS. But the type of youngster that is enrolled, that is an enrollee, that has never been successful in elementary and secondary schools?

Dr. SMITH. I don't think people realize, but we have children in the Job Corps that have never been inside a school.

Chairman PERKINS. Is it a problem child that the schools just do not have the answers for, or have not been successful with, but it is a different type of youngster from the one who ordinarily goes to school and is successful?

Dr. SMITH. This is true.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Dr. Smith, I was interested in the comments you made on the Harris polls, which were introduced in the record some time ago by Mr. Shriver.

Dr. SMITH. Yes, I know.

Mr. DELLENBACK. They used them to indicate certain things that are of a beneficial nature. And some of your remarks would look in the direction of discrediting some of the approaches you have indicated. As I read you, as saying that you didn't like the interviewer approach. I am not quite sure that I understand what it is you are criticizing, or whether you are really feeling that the Harris polls are invalid.

Dr. SMITH. No; I don't mean to suggest that the Harris polls are completely invalid, but what I am suggesting is that it seems to me that critic and protagonist alike are using these statistical procedures as definitive rather than an indication. The statistics show some of the mistakes made in the early days of the program but are not as relevant today. The use of the statistics, also, seek to prove things which I do not think are provable from the statistics. The Harris group went too far.

I think the interview technique for the boys that had just entered the Corps was faulty.

If you interview them, they will tell you. "Oh, yes, I had a job, and I was paid so much," but if you investigate further such is not the case. The Harris survey states in their fourth volume that they had not taken this fully into account.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Are you saying that the interview technique is invalid, then? Or that they did not follow through on the polls accurately?

Dr. SMITH. No, I think that the interview technique is invalid if you stop there. If you don't do spot checking of what you get when you interview these kids. Most interviews were taken of the enrollees that were just coming into the camp. They hadn't been there over a period of time. There were the so-called entrance class, which the Harris poll picked up, for the most part. This was an effort to keep current, and try to find out whether they came from, such as a job opportunity. I think that is very inaccurate.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Well, but the thing that I don't really still quite understand as to what you are saying is do you feel the interview technique is an improper technique? Do you feel that they did not use the technique properly, and didn't ask the right questions, or didn't follow through, or do you feel that the sample that they were attempting to interview was poorly chosen?

Dr. SMITH. No; I think as I understood their sample, it seems to be as reasonable as any series of alternatives.

Mr. DELLENBACK. It isn't the latter, it is the sample?

Dr. SMITH. I would say it is doubtful whether you should use interview technique on boys just coming into the camp, because in many instances the problem of communication is great. In the second instance, there has not been a "civilization process," and they are as apt to tell the polltaker one thing as they are another.

Mr. DELLENBACK. What techniques should you use with them?

Dr. SMITH. I don't think you can get at this kind of problem through an interview technique.

Mr. DELLENBACK. What should you use?

Dr. SMITH. Well, there is the assumption here that you have to use a technique involved. I think you have to find out at the time of the screening operation the background of these boys, and I think you

have to let this record stay. Now most of the screening operations, of course, are quite different than the previous screening operations, and I think that information that the Harris poll was seeking is now available.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Wasn't the technique that is used, though, also essentially an interview technique?

Dr. SMITH. No. First, I looked at the records.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But you also said that you interviewed.

Dr. SMITH. After I looked at the records I talked to the boys. But I didn't ask the question, "Did you have a job?" and after they said yes go right on to the next question, such as, "How much did your job pay?" and so on. This was the interview technique that was used. When they told me they had a job, I said "Where? Who did you work for?" And after a series of inquiries, like an adversary proceeding, I would look at them and say, "Now did you really have a job?" They responded, "Well, no, I guess not."

Mr. DELLENBACK. Well, what you are saying is that you really did discredit the polls across the line, because you feel the interviewers evidently failed to elicit accurate answers.

Dr. SMITH. I have said that to the extent that the polls depend on the interview technique of the boys just coming into the camp, they are a failure, in my judgment. To the extent that the polls used the interview technique with boys that had been in the camp for a period of time, and therefore, were most generally far better able to communicate with the pollster, then I think there is some creditability in the polls.

The other thing that I discredit is we—well, it is not discreditation as much as it is not following up. The point was made this morning that a colloquy, "So many people drop out. What happens to the dropouts? Where do they go? What did they do?" The commentary is, "Well, we found they had one job, but then they leave. They don't stay in that job very long." This may be true, they don't stay on the first job very long, but therefore, are they unemployed, or on another job? How far do you follow up the experience of these kids is one thing. Another thing, what is the reason they dropped out?

We assume automatically that they failed and just walked out of the camp and said, "We will have no more of it." This just isn't true.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Have you conducted any further surveys along this very line? I think this is excellent. This followup idea. Have you conducted surveys of your own?

Dr. SMITH. Not only—as I say, we simply haven't the funds to do it, but what we have done is we have made some eclectic observations. One example, as I pointed out, the Catoctin Camp, in Maryland. We had 25 boys leave with 2 weeks experience. What really happened was probably a failure of the screening operation at this point. It was determined that with some heavy remedial work, these boys could reenter the educational system. It was the educators at the camp that made this recommendation. Now, statistically, they show up as a drop-out.

Mr. DELLENBACK. At this camp that you know particularly well, do you have any statistics we can use to supplement the Harris results as to what has happened to the young people, how many dropped out after the first 3 months, or attend the first 3 months?

Dr. SMITH. I have some. I don't know whether I can. I will try very hard to see if we can relate these, and make them available, and in a sense where they are meaningful.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I think we are very much interested in what the facts really are. I gather that really what you say is that you think most of the Harris poll results are inclined to be accurate, or you would be inclined to accept them as accurate. On this particular one, you question its accuracy.

Dr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I therefore suppose you would question the accuracy of all the answers they gave in that particular interview, whatever they were looking for in that, so we move on to the other type of questions that they asked, relative to when there were dropouts, and at what stage, and how many, and what they did. If you have some other statistics of your own that you would set up against what Harris has done, I would be very interested in seeing them.

Dr. SMITH. Well, of course, the difficulty we have, as I say, their survey was made on the complete operation, and ours is here and there. But—

Mr. DELLENBACK. Are you suggesting that theirs is inclined to be more accurate, then?

Dr. SMITH. No. I am simply saying that this sample is considerably larger in terms of the population than what we would have an opportunity to do, so it isn't a question of whether ours could possibly be more accurate in terms of the whole. The conservation centers are only a part of the Job Corps. I would simply say that they are not comparable. All I am saying is that some of the material we have are so far at variance with what some of the other observations, that this causes us to be greatly suspicious. Not suspicious in any unsavory sense, but suspicious as to accuracy.

Mr. DELLENBACK. One or the other of them is certainly wrong.

Dr. SMITH. Yes, that is right.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But you don't have any other figures of your own?

Dr. SMITH. Pardon?

Mr. DELLENBACK. You don't have any figures of your own?

Dr. SMITH. I do have some figures that I would have to look at in this sense, and reexamine to see whether they would be usable for any helpful observations.

Congressman, I think the thing that disturbs me more than anything else is the utilization of the statistics. In reality, we are trying to quantify some of the things that just aren't quantifiable.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I recognize that these are difficulties always, but if you do have figures that are at variance with the Harris polls as to results, I would be very interested because you are aware that so far as the history of the Job Corps across the board is concerned, there are statistics which have been made available to us which indicate that across the board a third of the enrollees drop out within the first 3 months, a third drop out within the second 3 months, and only the remaining third have been there beyond the first 6 months. Now if you have something that contradicts this, I would be very interested in getting it.

Dr. SMITH. No; I have been shocked at those statistics, because I couldn't conceive of them being that good.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Well—being that good?

Dr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You mean you think that to have a third stay after 6 months is better than you think it would be?

Dr. SMITH. Oh, absolutely.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Great. Now so far as followup on graduates are concerned, do you have any statistics here on those who have remained more than the 6 months? Do you have any statistics of your own which are either supplemental to, or contradictory of, or in accordance with, the results of the statistics that have been given to us as to where these young people have gone and whether they have used the skills they have gotten, and so on?

Dr. SMITH. Now our statistics are not going to be much help here for two reasons. I don't now when the decision was to place the more disadvantaged children in the Job Corps conservation centers. Whether it was a conscious decision or not, and I am inclined to think that it was a conscious decision, that is the way it turned out. As a result, a boy's separation has not been documented carefully. What separation pattern does he follow? Does he go back to school? We are now sending some of these boys who have a certain efficiency and interest, to industrial or urban Job Corps that have a higher degree of skill and a better program for particular vocations.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Again, this all should be shown by the proper record and proper statistics, and certainly a youngster who goes from this into an advanced training or back to school is in one sense a very real success.

Dr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And I don't care to predict what the results show, but if you have any results of this nature, we will be very interested in getting them.

Dr. SMITH. We will be very happy to do that. We have had some, and—I wish I could give you a definitive figure—some boys have gone into vocations associated with natural resources.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Fine.

Again, it is not isolated cases I am interested in.

Dr. SMITH. I appreciate that.

Mr. DELLENBACK. If you have any statistically valid, actuarial valid statistics, if you will, this I would be very interested in getting.

Dr. SMITH. Fine.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So far as regionalization is concerned, has Catoc-tin been regionalized?

Dr. SMITH. I don't quite know what that means, Congressman.

Mr. DELLENBACK. There have been two different procedures that have been intended to be followed in these centers. One, to take them from all over the Nation, and put them in a center. They have one run by the Forest Service in my district, and one run by the Bureau of Land Management in my district.

Then there is also ostensibly a change in pattern, that they were not going to bring them from New York to put them in Oregon; they were going to bring them from somewhere on the west coast, to keep them in the region. Now what about Catoc-tin?

Dr. SMITH. If memory serves me correctly, we still have a number of boys at Catoclin, at least we did in May, that were from areas distributed over the country, not just from the region.

Mr. DELLENBACK. How long has this particular center been in operation?

Dr. SMITH. Oh, I should be able to give you the date.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Approximately.

Dr. SMITH. It was one of the first ones that were opened up after the passage of the act. I would say within 6 to 7 months after the act was passed that this camp was opened.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Do you know how many young people have been through the center?

Dr. SMITH. Have been through it totally since the outset?

Mr. DELLENBACK. You have given us a few isolated examples, which are excellent. I am wondering—

Dr. SMITH. My guess would be there would be somewhere between 750 and 1,000. But I am guessing.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Have you made any other interview analyses besides this one that you have testified to and the 119 boys you have talked about?

Dr. SMITH. Yes, we have done that. Others in Catoclin. At Schenck and Arrowood—both of the latter two in North Carolina.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Again, complete surveys of all those in the camp?

Dr. SMITH. No, I thought you meant interviews.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I don't mean the isolated interview.

Dr. SMITH. Not on the majority or taking the whole population into account.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You see, part of the problem that we face as your servants in the Congress is this thing to which you alluded earlier. It is our function to use the dollars which come from you and your people and my people through taxes, and try not just to use them to put any person in a specially advantaged position, but to try to make them go across the board as far and as effectively as we possibly can. Anybody who has come from either a governmental background or a working with united funds, or anything of that nature, realizes that as you analyze any program, you can come up with one or two, or a half dozen or a dozen cases of great advantage, but when we face a problem, which deals literally with thousands and hundreds of thousands of young people, what we must be concerned about is not the isolated case or the isolated dozen cases, but across the board, what has been the result of this program, and is there a better across the board program that we can use these dollars on to create even more beneficial results.

Dr. SMITH. I think that obviously is the function. I suffer from parochial frustrations, as you would expect. In our programs we get to the place where we practically hate politicians. The Democrats spend reluctantly in our areas, the Republicans don't want to spend at all, and we get very upset.

Mr. DELLENBACK. If you didn't really find yourself so wrapped up in the program that you are working on that you would feel some of this frustration with others of us who work outside, you probably wouldn't really be doing your task well.

Dr. SMITH. I hope that is right. We get pretty frustrated.

Mr. DELLENBACK. On the other hand, if you sat in my chair, and I sat in your chair, you would also have to be concerned about the other aspects of things, with which we must be concerned here.

Dr. SMITH. I appreciate that, and I am aware of the difficulty of trying to generalize from too few cases.

I do want to say one thing, however. Conservation organizations are not noted for general agreement, even among themselves. This is one and, however, that we have probably the fewest complaints about. We have urged our people and our associates and our colleagues all over the country to get out and see these Job Corps camps. They have. In your own State, for example, and I don't think there is a one of the number of camps that we have had reports on that recommended against them. There are 47 Forest Service centers, and 39 Interior camps, and people have visited practically all of them.

We are still trying to put all of the pieces together. Maybe it is because I was a statistician for too long that I am not inclined to reject the subjective evaluation of people, who are skilled professionals. Therefore, I have put a considerable amount of credence in the kind of reports that we have received from these people, who are highly reputed in their own field. I don't want to give you the impression that we haven't fought with Job Corps; we have. We have had some—I guess we would say in the Halls of Congress—very spirited exchanges, in which we had very contrary points of view to the Job Corps. When one reflects upon it, however, these differences were born out of the agony of not knowing how to handle these problems. Employing educators was accomplished from the beginning. You had educators and educators looking at the problem, "What do you do?" "Let's try this." This has been experimentation. It has been trial and error. In your task of trying to evaluate this, one of the considerations I am pleading for, is to allow the program some greater experience. Allow the program some continuance, until we do have an opportunity.

I think that we have enough fragmentary information that is hopeful. I am not trying to come before this committee and say "This is absolutely an unqualified success; there is no question about it going onward and upward." There are lots of questions about it, but the evidence to date does warrant a continuance.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I gather from the chairman that right from the beginning you have been one of the backers.

Dr. SMITH. Absolutely.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And you have helped—were you involved in the creation of the law that created these?

Dr. SMITH. Oh, very much. Yes. We had some strong differences when the bill was debated. We didn't feel that there were sufficient opportunities in conservation areas, and one of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives took our cause to his heart and helped us in this matter.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I don't think this is a partisan thing.

Dr. SMITH. No, I really don't. I haven't seen it as such.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Even though the administration is of one party and put forward one bill, and my colleagues Goodell and Quie are the primary backers who put forward the other, this doesn't narrow the problem down to partisanship, and it doesn't really narrow the solu-

tion down. We are reaching in the same direction of how best to solve, not whether to solve.

Dr. SMITH. Oddly enough, we took the position that we didn't think it would be helpful to have a separate Office of Economic Opportunity originally. Now that we have it, however, we don't want to go through this agony again. We would rather keep it for a while, and give it an opportunity to function.

Mr. DELLENBACK. With all its imperfections.

Dr. SMITH. With all its imperfections.

Mr. DELLENBACK. And there are imperfections.

Dr. SMITH. I am ready to accept almost anything, rather than go through the terrors of reorganization. We have just begun to understand what we have got.

Mr. DELLENBACK. May I then interpret your remarks that the Office of Economic Opportunity is this "almost anything" that you are willing to accept rather than abandon it at this stage?

Dr. SMITH. Well, I would say that that is almost a lawyer's observation of a client, but I would say that we would be willing to accept the continuance of the Office of Economic Opportunity with its difficulties and imperfections known, and even yet to be established, rather than changing the operation at this juncture.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Partly because of uncertainty, really, as to what would follow.

Dr. SMITH. It is not only the uncertainty; but one of certainty. I am just as sure as I am sitting here as to what will happen. Part —

Mr. DELLENBACK. Of course, we speculate as to what will happen. This is a difficult one.

Dr. Smith, we do have one more witness who has sat patiently with us.

Dr. SMITH. He is a great friend and a colleague, and I have probably knocked him out of a cab now, so I had better leave.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Dr. Smith, we thank you very much.

Dr. SMITH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I do personally appreciate this type of contribution. As you know, my area is deeply involved in problems of the outdoors, and I welcome this sort of testimony.

Dr. SMITH. Congressman, I wonder, a number of conservation organizations have asked me if they could submit articles that would be included in the record, close to where our discussion with Mr. Pomeroy and myself. Mr. Brandorg of the Wilderness Society, and Mr. Pool and others.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I am sure if you submit these statements the chairman will have no objection to their being entered in the record.

Dr. SMITH. Thank you.

(The information referred to follows:)

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY,  
Washington, D.C., July 20, 1967.

HON. CARL B. PERKINS,  
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor,  
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PERKINS: The Wilderness Society, a national non-profit conservation organization, is broadly interested in increasing public appreciation of the value of wilderness preservation and conservation of our natural environment for the benefit of future generations. The Society is actively supporting the efforts of the Federal natural-resources management agencies to implement



the Wilderness Act of 1964 and apply its protective policies on wild lands under public ownership.

These agencies—particularly the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the Fish and Wildlife Service—have participated with good effect in the training of young people in Job Corps Conservation Centers. We consider this task as having tremendous future potential in terms of influencing—for the better—attitudes of our citizens toward their natural environment. We believe that outdoor work experience in settings such as the Conservation Center camps provide is beneficial to youth, particularly to those who have grown up in urban centers without any meaningful contact with nature. From such training and experience the nation can expect to gain a nucleus of workers comparable to those who were educated in part by the Civilian Conservation Corps from 1933 to 1941. Many of the former CCC trainees are found today in managerial positions in the natural resources field.

Conservationists within both agencies and citizen groups have observed a present need for a new group of such personnel, having practical, on-the-ground training in the wide variety of skills used in the management of our parks, forests, recreation areas, and wildlife refuges. In the interest of sound wilderness management we strongly urge that the woodsman skills utilizing non-motorized equipment and primitive materials be taught these men as well as the handling of bulldozers, roadbuilding machinery and the like. Recruits with such skills will be needed by the agencies which administer units of the Wilderness System, where motorized equipment is generally not permitted.

The Wilderness Society considers that the provisions of H.R. 8311 continuing the Job Corps Conservation Centers program are desirable and reasonable in cost, particularly in view of the long-range public benefits to be gained both from the improved health of body and mind in its participants and from the contribution they can make to the preservation of our natural-area resource.

Therefore The Wilderness Society joins with other national conservation organizations in supporting the continuation of the Job Corps Conservation Centers program in legislation pending before your Committee.

We would appreciate having this letter made a part of the hearing record.

Sincerely,

STEWART M. BRANDBOG,  
*Executive Director.*

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION,  
*Washington D.C., July 18, 1967.*

HON. CARL D. PERKINS,  
*Chairman, House Committee on Education and Labor,  
Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The National Wildlife Federation welcomes the invitation to comment upon H.R. 8311, "to provide an improved charter for Economic Opportunity Act programs, to authorize funds for their continued operation, to expand summer camp opportunities for disadvantaged children, and for other purposes."

The National Wildlife Federation is a private non-profit organization which seeks to attain conservation objectives through educational means. The Federation has affiliates in 49 States. These affiliates, in turn, are composed of local clubs and individuals who, when combined with associate members and other supporters of the Federation, number an estimated 2,000,000 persons.

Our organization long has appreciated the many values of conservation camp programs. Many of the State forests, State parks, State lakes, and other valuable properties first were established by the old Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Like the Job Corps of today, the CCC was the butt of derision and jokes in its day. Yet, the value of these conservation efforts are becoming more and more apparent each year. Other contributions of the Corps were highlighted by the outstanding military and civilian records of its members during and after World War II.

There is ample reason to believe the Job Corps conservation camps will make comparable contributions. Quite naturally, some time was necessary to get the program started. For example, the National Wildlife Federation served in a role to bring conservation educators together for the purpose of developing basic "learn-to-read" materials, something heretofore unknown for young people in the Job Corps age groups.

In short, the camps just now are reaching their peaks of effectiveness, both in rehabilitating young people and in giving them basic skills and knowledge for a better future, and in performing valuable conservation functions. Our people have visited many of the camps and are enthused over their quality and effectiveness.

Of course, the program has not been without some difficulties. However, when disadvantaged young people of varying races and backgrounds are brought together under unfamiliar circumstances and surroundings, some friction and problems might be expected. On the whole, though, we think the program is off to a splendid start. We would regret it if the program is curtailed or eliminated, as apparently would be the case under the program envisioned by H.R. 10682.

Thank you for the opportunity of expressing these views.

Sincerely,

LOUIS S. CLAPPER,  
*Chief, Division of Conservation Education.*

WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE,  
*Washington, D.C., July 18, 1967.*

HON. CARL D. PERKINS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PERKINS: The Institute, a national conservation organization interested in the improved management and restoration of natural resources, is concerned about two proposals, H.R. 8311 and H.R. 10682, pending before the committee. Both deal in part with the Job Corps Conservation Centers now in operation on lands of the U.S. Forest Service, National Park Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, and other natural resources agencies.

H.R. 8311 would continue the constructive Job Corps Conservation Centers program; H.R. 10682 would let it expire by default.

Members of our staff have visited a number of the Job Corps Camps and have seen the good work that is being done, both in education and rehabilitation of deserving young men whose future status as productive citizens is clouded by the home and community conditions to which they are exposed, and in the actual on-the-ground conservation projects in which they are engaged.

It is our sincere hope that the Job Corps Conservation Centers program will be continued in whatever legislation is approved. The costs of the program are modest compared to the results that are being achieved.

I would appreciate having this letter made a part of the hearing record.

Sincerely,

C. R. GUTERMUTH, *Vice President.*

MR. DELLENBACK. Now we do have Mr. Pomeroy with us. Mr. Pomeroy, we are apologetic for having gone this late in the day, and you have been with us very patiently. We would like very much to have your testimony for the record, and even though the number of members of the committee who are in attendance is reduced to a bare minimum, I would welcome this chance to have you with us and to listen to your testimony so that it is part of our record.

You may go at it either way. If you want to go over the testimony you have put in formal information directly, and then go into it, or summarize it, whichever way you prefer.

#### STATEMENT OF KENNETH B. POMEROY, CHIEF FORESTER, AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION

MR. POMEROY. Mr. Chairman, you have had a long and trying day, and I will only keep you a very few moments.

MR. DELLENBACK. May I say seriously at this point, Mr. Pomeroy, I don't think in any wise you ought to feel rushed because of the hour.

I think that we Members of the Congress are sometimes trespassing on the patience of those of you who are concerned enough to come and appear before us as witnesses, and I don't think you ought to feel rushed at this stage of the game. I am prepared to remain here and to listen, and be sure that there goes into the record what you feel should go in.

Mr. POMEROY. That is very kind of you, but I usually get to the point in a hurry.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Please lead off.

Mr. POMEROY. I am Kenneth B. Pomeroy, chief forester of the American Forestry Association.

It might be helpful to you to say just a word about the association. It is the oldest national forestry organization in the United States, organized in 1875. We have some 50,000 lay members. Our primary objective is conservation through wise use, and in this instance we are talking about human resources as well as other national forests.

In May of 1967, I had an opportunity to see Job Corps enrollees at work in the Pisgah National Forest of North Carolina. A few days later Mr. James B. Craig, the editor of our official publication, American Forests, visited the Arrowood and Schenck Job Corps Camps in the same vicinity.

Mr. Craig expressed his impressions in an editorial, "How Much Is A Boy Worth" I wish now to offer this editorial for inclusion in the record of this hearing.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Without objection, we will receive the editorial for inclusion in the record.

(The editorial referred to follows:)

[From American Forests, July 1967]

#### HOW MUCH IS A BOY WORTH?

When they report in these boys are at a major crossroads in their lives. Many of them are uneasy. A few are relieved of switchblades and other "equalizers." While the forest rangers seem friendly, and the forest inviting, a few speculate on whether this isn't just another kind of cop in another kind of jungle. Soon they are issued new outfits including fatigue of forest green. The rooms in the barracks to which they are assigned are not unlike school dormitories. Many are labeled with such signs as "The All Stars," "The Leaders" and "The Challengers." One labeled "The Playboys" boasts a second sign designating it as the "Dorm of the Week." A quick inspection inside reveals that it is neat and well-scrubbed with everything tucked out of sight, just like the Army. The pinups are first rate too.

This is a Job Corps Camp as run by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Forest Service at the Arrowood Job Corps Conservation Camp at Franklin, North Carolina, hard by the Nantahala National Forest. It presently houses 112 boys. Another a few miles away in the Pisgah National Forest is the Schenck Job Corps Conservation Center with a complement of 204 boys. Both camps are in one of the most picturesque regions in the nation. All told, 8,000 Corpsmen are now being trained at 47 Forest Service centers in the United States. The Interior Department runs 39 more with an enrollment of 6,000. Purpose of the camps is to teach boys to function as useful citizens. Maximum training period is two years. While in the Corps they go to school a week and then work a week. They are paid \$30 a month and on separation receive \$50 for each month of service as a readjustment allowance.

When they arrive, these boys are unemployable and many are Army rejects. Others arrive underweight. Dental work costing as much as \$500 per boy is not uncommon for many of these boys have never been to a dentist in their lives. Other medical repairs are often required and former Marine and Army medics in camp sick bays, and contract physicians and dentists in nearby towns, are

kept busy. When necessary physical corrections are made, underweight boys start to muscle up. Both their physical and mental tone improves. But that is only part of the rehabilitation story. These boys are behind in their school work too. Twenty-one year olds tell you they went through the 11th or 12th grades but one finds them enrolled in the equivalent of third-grade classes reading books with pictures of Peter Rabbit on the cover. One third of the boys can neither read nor write when they arrive. That's not all, either. Many of these boys lack moral discipline and home training. Some have been in scrapes before they arrive and a few get in scrapes after they arrive. Mostly, these are boys that never had much of a chance and some never had any chance at all.

I welcomed a recent invitation to visit the North Carolina camps. One of my hosts was Vern Hamre, Director, Division of Job Corps Administration, U.S. Forest Service. A career professional, he doesn't preach or theorize about his current assignment. "These kids need help," he told me. "We intend to help them as well as we know how." He and some of the other rangers and instructors helped me to obtain at least some of the answers readers of American Forests have been asking. These include "How can rangers be expected to do what the home has failed to do in the first place?," "Will society be the gainer or the loser in this program?," How many of the boys actually find jobs or go on to school?," and "I'm told it costs in excess of \$5,000 a year to send one of these boys to camp; is it worth it?"

"At the Center, it cost a total of \$6,576 per boy per year in 1966," Hamre said, "but we expect to reduce that to \$5,700 this year." Subsistence and medical-dental expenses are the biggest single items with the exception of staff salaries which average out to \$2,170 per boy. School materials is a hefty item too.

At the end of April, 1967, there were 75,410 young men and women who had left all Job Corps Centers. The Job Corps' best estimate, based on both verified reports and sample surveys, is that 40,269 found jobs, 7,418 returned to school, 5,298 entered the military and 22,415 were either unemployed or not in the labor force through marriage or other causes. The arrest rate in 1966 was 3.18 per 100 youths whereas the FBI Uniform Crime Report for 1967 shows the national average for the same age youth to be 6.5.

I welcomed the complete freedom to talk to camp personnel including the boys. I sought out Joe Medford, an instructor at Schenck Center, from Heywood County, and who has taught in both elementary and high schools. At Schenck, he is teaching a course on "Life and Work." The day I was there the boys were talking about the responsibilities of marriage. What qualities should the right Wife and Mother have, was the question. Some of the answers as recorded on the blackboard included, "She should be clean," "a good sport," "respectable" and "have a nice personality." One boy had noted that she should be "religious."

"Don't think these boys are stupid," Medford told me. "For the most part they have intelligence ratings that are average and even above in a few cases. Sure, there have been some discipline problems but the older boys often settle them for you. Sometimes new boys think they have to sound off and disrupt the class and the older boys shut them up in a hurry. Most of them want to learn."

Almost too good to be true, one thinks to himself. And yet, these boys ring true when you talk to them individually. "Sure, I've been in scrapes" a boy from Alabama told me. "Then I got this girl in trouble. It caused a lot of discussion. you know what I mean. But if I can keep my mind on this (with a motion toward the lathe he was working) I'll be all right." He said he planned to be a long-distance trucker.

One quickly senses that the backgrounds of these boys are different from the youngsters one sees across his own dinner table every night. But if their background is different from your own children their response to good stimuli is not. They watch the rangers. Some ape their walks. They like to fight forest fires, I learned, in eating lunch one day with Venton Honeycup, of Washington; Fred Murphy of Baltimore; and Clinton Wills, of Mosspoint, Mississippi. All three boys are negroes and all three are in the fire crew. In a drought year, the rangers admit they did "well." Murphy was more enthusiastic. "The last time, they *asked* for us, man" he told me. Willis was consigned to "mop-up" the last time and he didn't like it. "Important? I guess so," he said. "But a fireman wants to be where the action is."

The fact that some of the boys have stepped into permanent Forest Service jobs has not been lost on the others. The day I was at Arrowood the Franklin Press front-paged a story: "Nathan Dean Lands Forest Service Job" and gave Nathan a two-column picture on the front page. The story mentioned that when

Nathan arrived at Arrowood from Virginia he was regarded as "flighty and unstable." But not anymore. Bob Sloan, the editor of the *Press* has taken some flak for his consistent support of the Job Corps. He is one of many unsung heroes in this regard.

I talked to Richard Kruger, white, of Garrison, North Dakota, at Standing Indian Campground where he was laying pipe. He wanted to get into the Army and was rejected. Physically he was O.K. but he couldn't read. He felt bad "They told me to go into the back room and be a man," he told me. "And here I am." He is still aiming for an Army career and intends to get it.

Harold Hughes, white, of California, has been in North Carolina 19 months. "I intend to stay here," he told me. "I like the country and the people. I aim to be the best plumber in western North Carolina." He was working on a campground lavatory the day I talked to him.

They have desire. But it has to be kindled and nourished. One boy told us he hopes to graduate to another Camp near a big city in New Jersey. Their machinist training and equipment are more sophisticated than in North Carolina, he said. Rangers admitted that specialized vocational training is better at some of the big city camps than in the forest-oriented camps. They quickly add that Conservation Centers teach better work habits and better social adjustment. At the same time I couldn't help thinking our forests are serving one of their highest uses as their subtle influences help to remold some of these boys. And as Honeycup, Murphy and Wills told us, "You don't get to fight forest fires in no big city, man!"

Wherever possible, effort is made to have the boys' school schedules dovetail with their work schedules. National Forests are big farms in many ways and practically all kinds of work has to be done. The boys take well to their conservation assignments. All told, a total of 7,120 acres of trees have been planted. They are carrying on range improvement, fence construction, improvement of fish and game habitat, construction of fire breaks, streambank stabilization and watershed restoration. There is more than enough to be done on the National Forests for many years to come, the rangers say. When job crews encounter old C.C.C. camp construction or tree planting projects the rangers make sure the boys are told that story.

Hamre told me the Forest Service is "well pleased with the community relations climate at the majority of Job Corps Centers." A visitor comes to the conclusion that people of western North Carolina deserve a lot of credit. True, they occasionally gripe about the ratio of white and negro boys at the camps. They had been told the ratio would be the same as in their own communities, or about 70 percent white and 30 percent negro. The opposite has proven true. Negro boys seem to thrive in the camps in the main. Fewer white boys from the poverty pockets in rural areas come and those who do are often the first to leave.

At the same time, the griping impresses one as more academic than real. The truth is the North Carolina people work well with the boys and encourage them. One can't escape the conclusion they really understand negroes better than northerners. Their fairness impresses a person. "Sure, there have been some fusses" one Asheville citizen told me. "But at least one of them was started by our own Asheville boys." Another Asheville citizen volunteered the information that the boys had cleaned up three decrepit cemeteries on their own time.

No one would deny the Job Corps costs money. Our professionals have failed with some of the boys. They have succeeded with more. In the main, the boys look up to the rangers and they like the woods. It boils down to the question—what is a boy worth? Most members of The American Forestry Association would say he is worth a lot and deserves his chance. On a dollar and cents basis it probably costs society less to train boys in a Job Corps camp than risk having them run wild in their ghettos. While Job Corps camps cost plenty, crime costs even more. Then too, there's the other side of it. Week after week in our church pews we are all told that Christians should help the unfortunate and particularly unfortunate negroes. We are told we should tear down the Iron Curtains that separate our suburbs and the cities proper and really practice what we profess to believe. From the standpoint of society, the Job Corps approach and similar approaches are probably the most economical approaches viewed on the long term. We *know* it is the *right* approach as viewed from the pulpit and in terms of "Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

All Americans of course, reserve the right to criticize. They reserve the right to ask questions that deserve sober answers. Most Americans also like to see youth programs succeed and in their hearts they know the Job Corps is one of the best things the Administration has done. The Job Corps *is* succeeding, on a

limited basis—perhaps imperfectly—but it *is* succeeding. The placements and the jobs held tell the story. Meanwhile the public owes the forest rangers, the instructors, the nearby citizens and even the forests a vote of thanks for the task they are carrying out. It is not an easy task at best. And no camp, no matter how good, can do the work of a well-adjusted home. But for these Job Corps boys, who have never known the home your children know, this is the next best thing. (J. B. C.)

Mr. POMEROY. I would like to continue by telling you of my own personal observations. And please note that these observations pertain only to the conservation camp. I have no background in other phases of the Job Corps. I am speaking only of the conservation camps.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Incidentally, may I break in so we will turn this into a colloquy, instead of just one-sided. Have you had a chance to visit a great many of the conservation camps?

Mr. POMEROY. No; I have not. I have picked up many opinions as I travel around the country, but I have only been to two camps personally.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Arrowwood and Schenck?

Mr. POMEROY. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Fine.

Mr. POMEROY. I was most interested in another camp at Blackwell, Wis., because that was part of my old ranger district, but I didn't actually visit the boys in the camp and talk with them myself, so anything I know about it is hearsay, and I would rather not repeat it.

At the Cradle of Forestry I saw a dozen or so young men reconstructing the first school of forestry. Under the direction of skilled foremen they were rebuilding fireplaces, doing carpentry work, building roads, and transplanting trees. The finished product had a workmanlike appearance.

A few miles away other youths were constructing a camp ground, complete with driveways, trailer sites and sanitary facilities.

At the Schenck Camp some boys were receiving basic instruction in the three R's, reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic. Other boys were learning how to repair automotive vehicles, use welding equipment and make wooden cabinets. Still others operated the mess hall and serviced the camp.

And, incidentally, their work in automotive repair impressed me quite a little, because the Chrysler Corp. had given them a new Plymouth, and these boys had taken that thing apart completely, and then put it back together with loving care, and they were getting ready to enter a contest up in Kentucky, where two boys from each camp would go to this contest, and some way or another, the company would do something to a car, and then the group who put it back together best would win a prize. I thought this was a very worthwhile thing.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Do you know how they placed in that?

Mr. POMEROY. No, I don't. This happened after I had left the camp, and I didn't follow up to see just what happened. It was the interest that the boys had in doing it that impressed me. This was the thing that attracted me.

Mr. DELLENBACK. The thing you are really commenting on was the developed interest, rather than capacity. Whether the capacity was high or low, you are not certain but their interest was very definitely impressive.

Mr. POMEROY. Yes, this is the point that I am trying to make.

I talked with the enrollees. A few had been in camp almost two years. Others only a few weeks. All of them took pride in their work and looked forward to the day when they would be self-sufficient. They seemed to be especially proud of their achievements as fire-fighters. It gave them a sense of being needed.

I would like to stress that again. The people in the community had asked for them to help fight their fires, and this made a big impression on the boys. They felt that they were doing something. Their attitude of alert confidence impressed me most.

I left the camp with a firm conviction that the Nation is doing something very worthwhile. In fact several important goals are being achieved. Young men, future heads of families, are acquiring skills that will enable them to make their own way in the world. More importantly these young men are being imbued with a desire to be self-sufficient. And in this process of "learning by doing" the forest resources of the Nation are being improved significantly.

Mentally I compared the Job Corps conservation camp with the Civilian Conservation Corps that I knew 30 years ago, and I spent some 7 years in close contact with the CCC program.

It was a favorable comparison. In the tests of time the CCC program has been rated a success. I think history will accord a similar rating to the Job Corps conservation camps.

I recommend that the Job Corps program in conservation work be continued.

Thank you.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Thank you.

Congressman PERKINS, do you have any questions?

Chairman PERKINS. I will ask a few questions.

I want to join with my colleague here in welcoming you as a representative from our forestry association.

Mr. POMEROY. Thank you, sir.

Chairman PERKINS. I was interested in your statement that you were acquainted with the old Civilian Conservation Corps and spent 7 years with it.

Mr. POMEROY. Yes, sir.

Chairman PERKINS. Were you involved as instructor in the camp?

Mr. POMEROY. I was a foreman in several camps, a camp superintendent, a district ranger—

Chairman PERKINS. Working for the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. POMEROY. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture.

Chairman PERKINS. How do you contrast the present operation with the old operation?

Mr. POMEROY. The basic objectives were slightly different.

Chairman PERKINS. You emphasized the Corps—

Mr. POMEROY. In the beginning part of the CCC program, it was all work. As the program went forward, there became more instruction available, and of course as the program went on, the enrollees were at a younger level, too. In the first days we had boys who were 19, 20, and 21, farm boys, boys from the mining areas, boys who knew how to work and to enjoy their work.

Chairman PERKINS. Just to get a little money in those times?

Mr. POMEROY. That is right. We have a little different group this time that we worked with. But what I was interested in was going to

this camp and seeing the boys themselves and trying to get some feel about how they felt about it. As far as the actual conservation work being accomplished, I think it is at about the same level as in the CCC work.

Chairman PERKINS. The quality is about the same level?

Mr. POMEROY. Because the same caliber of foreman and technician is being used to guide the boys and help them to meet standards, certain standards.

Chairman PERKINS. But you were impressed with the attitudes of the enrollees that you visited in camps recently?

Mr. POMEROY. I might tell you a conversation with a boy named Fred Reynolds from Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Fred was reputting some windows. This building was originally an old log frame place put up in the 1890's, and it had the old-style handblown glass in it, the kind you can see the water ripples in and the leaden color and so on, and he was being careful with it and stressed to us that this was something of antique value, and he said, "You know the panes cost \$50 apiece, too," just to make sure we were properly impressed.

I know he took pride in what he was doing, and this is what I was trying to see.

I think the whole purpose of the program, from our point of view, is giving the boy the incentive to do something.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead, Mr. Dellenback.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POMEROY, just a few questions, if I may.

Have you made any attempt in either the Arrowood or Schenck camps to make any studies in depth of how many boys there were or what their backgrounds were or how many have dropped out or how long they stayed or what happened to them afterward, any of this sort of thing?

Mr. POMEROY. No organized study. We did ask a lot of questions.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But they were questions aimed at the isolated boy here, there, and somewhere else, rather than across the board that would yield any statistics?

Mr. POMEROY. They were just random questions for our own information. I might tell you how this interest started in the first place.

Our organization played a key role in the initiation of the CCC program in the beginning, the legislation in back of it, and when the proposal first came up for Job Corps conservation camp, we had one of our assistant editors make a study in depth on what it was like, what they expected to do, and published it in our magazine to see what reaction we were going to get from the members.

The reaction was favorable. Well, as time wore on, we wanted to know from firsthand observation what are the camps like, what are they doing, what do these boys think about it, and for this reason our editor and myself on separate occasions visited camps and interviewed boys personally, just for our own information and that of our membership, but we did not make an organized study.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I see.

So what you are giving us is your impression of these visits based on isolated discussions that took place?

Mr. POMEROY. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is the Arrowood camp run by the Forest Service, and the Schenck camp?



Mr. POMEROY. Yes. The Arrowood camp had about 140 boys when I was there, and the Schenck camp had 114.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is it the American Forest Industry Association that Mr. Hagenstein is with?

Mr. POMEROY. No. He is with the Industrial Forestry Association.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is he a member of the Society of American Foresters?

Mr. SCHENCK. Yes. Our own organization is the lay group with quite similar interests, but there is no connection between organizations.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I think we have in this gentleman a very able forester, and a man we are delighted to have.

Mr. POMEROY. Very capable.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is the testimony you bring before us today, so we can be sure of its background, your individual testimony, or has the American Forestry Association formally taken any action with respect to Job Corps camps?

Mr. POMEROY. Our board has not.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Neither the board or membership has acted for or against any part of this?

Mr. POMEROY. Well, this perhaps needs a little explanation, too, as to how we arrive at our policies and programs. About every decade we hold a forest congress, and the last such congress was held here in Washington in 1963, and out of that we developed a program for American forestry which was endorsed by more than 90 percent of our members.

Within the general framework of that program, I am at liberty to go ahead on whatever issue may come before the Congress. If it is something I have any question about, then I bring it before our board of directors and they act formally on it.

We didn't have any questions on the Job Corps.

Mr. DELLENBACK. This is your thinking, your personal reaction.

Mr. POMEROY. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You indicated that you don't have any analyses or statistics on a broad scale, basically. So far as these two camps are concerned, or either one of these camps, is concerned, do you know what courses are taught?

Again, is it a random reaction or have you had a chance to sit down and see analytically what courses are being taught there?

Mr. POMEROY. Not analytically. I spent about 2 hours in the educational center going from class to class and seeing exactly what type of instruction the boys were receiving and how they progressed individually, what kinds of educational tools were used to do it; and I saw their progress charts and such things, but here, again, it was casual questioning on my part and not an effort to do something in depth.

I was trying to gain an impression and I got a favorable impression.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I understand.

Mr. POMEROY. Just off the record, you might be interested in something that happened.

My wife was with me, and the educator thought she was the one he was supposed to show around, so she got a full treatment while I was out somewhere else.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You were sort of along for the trip.

Do you know for what jobs either of these camps was attempting to train these boys?

Mr. POMEROY. Well, at the Schenck camp, there were boys receiving instruction in welding, in the uses of tools in cabinetmaking. They were making some cabinets.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Excuse my breaking in.

When they took this type of course, were they just looking for a background course as fundamental knowledge, or, for example, were the boys who took the welding courses intended to be qualified to hold jobs as welders when they came out, and the boys taking courses in carpentry being prepared to—

Mr. POMEROY. It is my understanding that they had a choice of instruction, and being prepared to do this work when they got out.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Having chosen a field, they were supposedly to be proficient in that field, but do you have any statistics, sir, as to how many of these boys were placed or not placed—again, I suspect that from your prior answer—

Mr. POMEROY. 152 had been placed in the last year. I have a note someplace, but that is just a recollection.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But you don't know what percentage that is, or how long they kept their jobs, or whether they used the skill for which they had been trained?

Mr. POMEROY. I could not give you information in the overall context.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Were any of these boys being trained for occupations that had to do with the woods. Were they being trained as workers in the forests?

Mr. POMEROY. I would say their training was in the phase of learning by doing. Some of them might not continue afterward, but I don't think that was the specific purpose of it.

Mr. DELLENBACK. These boys came from urban backgrounds, didn't they?

Mr. POMEROY. Those I spoke with did.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Again, I regret the fact we are not able to follow it through, because the question would be in my mind, did most of them go back to their urban backgrounds, or did this time in the camp lead them into forestry. This again we don't know.

Mr. POMEROY. No.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Thank you very much for being here. I appreciate this chance of talking with you.

Chairman PERKINS. I likewise appreciate your being here, Mr. Pomeroy, and I would like to ask you a couple of questions, sir.

First, let me ask you, have you been down in Kentucky, as a ranger and a foreman?

Mr. POMEROY. I was the assistant supervisor with headquarters at Winchester, and I worked in the forest program in the timber production. As a part of this, I visited all the sawmills and lumber camps in the States.

Chairman PERKINS. That was when?

Mr. POMEROY. Back in World War II. In the 40's. Drew Evans was one of the gentleman I called on.

Chairman PERKINS. I was through there last weekend. I noted the conservation corps working there, the trails and the picnic areas, and the roads leading to the picnic areas, and they were making new tables and carpentry work and masonry work, and rebuilt and renovated

what had taken place in the 1930's, in the days of the old Civilian Conservation Corps. They were doing work of that type in the national forest down there in the Pine Ridge area.

Mr. POMEROY. Yes.

Chairman PERKINS. Did you feel that the training and the experience that these youngsters are getting from a conservation corps setup is satisfactory at the present time, or do you feel it just presages a way for a youngster to go on to some Job Corps residential center when they have better equipment?

Mr. POMEROY. Well, I don't know that I am qualified to answer the question for you, because I don't know anything about the urban part of it. The only part of the Job Corps I have seen has been the conservation camp, and I am favorably impressed with that part.

Chairman PERKINS. Do you feel that the training and experience they obtain in the conservation camp is adequate to prepare that youngster from the standpoint of job orientation, for employment?

Mr. POMEROY. I think one of the most important parts of it is teaching the boy how to work and giving him confidence that he can do something on his own, and once he has achieved this confidence and a will to go ahead, then other things become easy for him.

Chairman PERKINS. You are a conservation expert, to my mind. Do you know whether the Job Corps located in the National Forest Service and the national parks, whether any part of the training and education is being contracted to either agencies, or subcontracted to some private concern, or do the departments perform those services themselves?

Mr. POMEROY. I am not aware of that.

Chairman PERKINS. You are not aware of any contracts?

Mr. POMEROY. I haven't heard of any.

Chairman PERKINS. Did you observe the education and training aspects of the programs in the conservation camps?

Mr. POMEROY. I visited each one of the classes in session.

Chairman PERKINS. Would you describe each one of those classes, and whether that was the uniform pattern in the conservation camps you visited?

Go ahead and tell us something about the education and training that the youngsters received, and the type of education and training.

Mr. POMEROY. Well, in one of the classes I visited, the young man, who I presumed to be probably about 17 or 18, was learning how to read at a very elementary level.

Chairman PERKINS. 17 or 18 years of age?

Mr. POMEROY. Yes. And I don't think he had any previous knowledge whatever of reading and in other classes in the same building, I saw boys starting in with 1 and 1 make 2, and 2 and 2 make 4—I mean right at the very beginning of learning their RRR's, and in one class the instructor had a large chart on which he showed by colors the progress of each boy, so that each boy could see where he stood in the class with respect to all of his friends, and there was a testing technique so that the boy could test himself, and if he failed some particular question, this automatically routed him around through another training session until he became proficient and came up to the level of the other boy.

It was all quite elementary, in my view, and I thought they were making good progress, and they were probably—oh, it varied from five to 10 boys in each one of the sessions that I attended.

Chairman PERKINS. Under a single instructor, five to 10 boys?

Mr. POMEROY. No, wait a minute. I wouldn't want to say that, because some of the boys I viewed were receiving individual instruction.

Chairman PERKINS. You saw some receiving individual instruction?

Mr. POMEROY. That is correct. I wouldn't want to say there are so many under a single instructor. I am not sure that is right.

Chairman PERKINS. I just wanted you to describe the situation as best you recall it sir, as you saw it.

Mr. POMEROY. The boy was learning to read, with a teacher sitting at his elbow, and with her lips she formed the vowels and he followed her, just like in the first grade. This is about as individual as you can get.

Chairman PERKINS. Any further questions, Mr. Dellenback?

Mr. DELLENBACK. No, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much for your appearance here.

Mr. POMEROY. It has been a pleasure.

Chairman PERKINS. We will have you back sometime. Goodbye.

Mr. POMEROY. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will recess until 9:30 in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene Friday, July 21, 1967, at 9:30 a.m.)

## ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met at 9:55 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the committee), presiding.

Present: Representatives Perkins, Green, Meeds, Quie, Goodell, Bell, Erlenborn, and Dellenback.

Also present: H. D. Reed, Jr., general counsel; Robert E. McCord, senior specialist; Louise Maxienne Dargans, research assistant; Benjamin Reeves, editor of committee publications; Austin Sullivan, investigator; Marian Wyman, special assistant; Charles W. Radcliffe, minority counsel for education; John Buckley, minority investigator; Dixie Barger, minority research assistant; and W. Phillips Rockefeller, minority research specialist.

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will be in order. A quorum is present. Let me first welcome you here this morning, Mr. Rockefeller. I am delighted that you are my neighbor. I feel that you are a neighbor because our chief television station in the area is WSAZ-TV which serves your area and likewise serves the area which I am privileged to represent. We have many problems in common in our two States.

I am glad to welcome you here today. I would appreciate your giving the committee your views. Especially I am interested in your viewpoint as to the present operation of the local Community Action programs.

I am especially interested in knowing your reaction to the proposals now before the committee, whether you feel that OEO should be retained in the Office of Economic Opportunity as presently constituted or whether you feel that the Office of Economic Opportunity should be transferred as proposed in the so-called Opportunity Crusade as a part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I understand you have made a study in this area. Will you give us your views? We are delighted to welcome you. Go ahead.

### STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN ROCKEFELLER, MEMBER OF THE WEST VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE, CHARLESTON, W. VA.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Thank you, sir. If I may I would like to impose a severe limitation on myself. I have not been a statewide worker, poverty worker, and I have not been involved statewide in the poverty program.

My work has been absolutely limited to one small rural community. Whereas I think I can give you views on the OEO as a large part—

Chairman PERKINS. You do have poverty in that community there?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir, we do.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. If I may, I want to give an orientation of some of the conditions in this sort of community and the way they respond to a Community Action program. Will that be all right?

Chairman PERKINS. Yes, go ahead.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. You know very well, sir, that the people of our area have very severe problems. You know very well how they came about. The particular community worked in, I think, has suffered in the same way that many that you know have suffered.

We have far from any sort of urban center. The people have a most remarkable degree of isolation. In fact one of the real problems in rural poverty which is what we know in parts of the Appalachia area, is that there is not a clearly visible alternative to poverty, to the people who are affected.

In the cities I think you have a very clear situation, for example, in New York, 96th Street, you stand on 96th Street and look one way, you have the problems of Harlem; look the other way and you have the very clear alternative to Park Avenue.

This creates a desire for change.

Chairman PERKINS. From your analysis, give us your view as to whether you feel we have done enough in the area of rural poverty?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. No, sir; I don't. I can say that in the beginning. There are thousands of communities all across Appalachia very isolated which are not receiving attention.

I know in my own county there are probably 300 or 400 rural communities which suffer from isolation and poverty. Yet, I think, at the present time there are only about 18 or 19 of these communities serviced.

Now this is Capitol County of West Virginia and where part of the brunt of the focus of the poverty work has been. Where I have worked frankly, sir, there still remains in the community a one-room school with 24 students, seven grades, and one teacher.

I would say that approximately 70 percent of the people in the community where I work are on some form of welfare and there are probably only four or five houses out of the 60 that have plumbing of any sort.

There is one newspaper each day that comes into that community. There are only 30 or 40 cars that pass by that community, and none of them stop. It is a community with really tremendous isolation, tremendous sadness, and with tremendous lack of job potential.

I worked there for 2 years. I can say that after that 2 years most of the basic problems remain. I think this would lead me and many others to be discouraged but I do not think that this is the route that we can take.

The one thing I have learned from working in the war on poverty, especially in a rural area where you do not have the instinct for change, in the rural poverty area you do not have a sense of what life could be like.

Generations of people have lived there, life has always been the same, they have not seen the alternatives, there is not necessarily satisfaction but there is not a real discontent. It is a sense of alternative, the sense of the better life, a sense of the route to better life that I think is the only way that people can be motivated to change.

This is the fundamental problem, to my way of thinking, that the OEO has to face in rural poverty in this country. The sufficient emphasis is probably being made in cities, not in terms of results but in terms of manpower and the ideas.

The rural areas since they do not represent a threat, there will not be any riots where I have worked, there will not be any social action which is going to go and threaten the State or the Nation.

Chairman PERKINS. I will interrupt your statement to say I feel you are stating all together the facts. You and I both know there will not be any riots in the rural areas even though they are in much worse condition than the condition that presently exists in many of the cities of the Nation.

I wholeheartedly agree with your statement that not only are we failing to make an adequate contribution to the rural areas but in most of the rural areas we have not even touched with programs so far.

Am I correct?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. It is true; that is right, Sir. It is more serious because of the fact that since each of these areas, as you know so well, is isolated from the next similar area it is very difficult to develop, as is done in the cities, a community service area which reaches out and touches thousands and thousands. Each individual hollow which contains anywhere from 250 to 1,000 people, each of those is surrounded by hills, each is cut off from the next hollow.

If it is to be affected by a community action program it must have its own. What does this mean? It means in order to get results, then, it must have its own community action worker. Now you describe here an almost impossible situation. In Appalachia you know very well, Mr. Chairman, there must be literally tens of thousands of hollows of this sort.

Chairman PERKINS. I envisioned VISTA as being constituted to provide the technical assistance and knowhow to get programs started in many of these rural areas, but we have never found, except in a very few instances, enough highly-trained people to provide needed technical assistance.

I know that in my area of Kentucky we were fortunate to have one lady who came in and really performed such outstanding service everybody regretted to see that lady leave. But by and large we have not been able to get assistance for these rural areas except in a community of maybe 5 to 6 thousand or a county of 30 to 40 thousand. In a small rural county of 8 or 10 thousand we just have not touched the surface.

I am delighted that you have so accurately described the situation in pointing up the need of why we have to have so many separate programs and services.

Go ahead now and give us your views.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Many people I know feel that because of the difficulties of rural poverty that really in the long run nothing can be done. In your State and in mine there is a very sharp difference between the powerful and rich cities and these isolated areas.

The people in the cities have not had the chance to see and be affected by this rural poverty which most of them have never seen.

Chairman PERKINS. We have stressed the city problems to such an extent, that we have failed to see the present urban problem results from a neglect of rural areas. Practically all the young people on the farm or in rural communities are leaving for the growing areas of the country.

If we do not commence to do more of that at home these problems in the cities are going to get worse.

Do you agree?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I agree very much. Very often the city people tell—they feel there can be no change in the rural people.

Very frankly my experience has shown that where there is a relationship, where a community action worker will go into a community and will be willing to spend time, in other words not just 1 year but 2 years or more, where he can work with those people, that the prediction of the people from the Appalachia city is that these so called welfare people will not work or cannot be brought from welfare is not an accurate one.

I have seen too many examples in our own community where attention, where care and encouragement but most of all time spent, a community action worker or some sort of VISTA or associate VISTA or community action worker must be there.

There must be a man in the community who is willing to be there a long enough time to reach these youth. It will take much longer, as you know very well, in a rural area to reach the youth.

It will take much longer to convince them that there is need for change. It will take much longer to teach them the ways of change. It will take much longer then for them to feel hope that really there can be a further life.

In my own case, for example, the community went to, 250 people, there had never been once, ever, in that community a meeting of any sort for any reason except in church.

So the relationship was between a man talking to the people but no response. So there was no history of organization. There was no history of the democratic process. There was no history of taking the responsibility.

So the work of the rural community action worker has to start from the very beginning. For example, when we elected our officers after 6 months of my trying to prove that I was there to help them, not to hinder them—

Chairman PERKINS. I want to ask you a question along that line. The rural people that you have observed and worked with are very similar to the rural people that I represent.

You have observed these people who resent some outside worker coming in and trying to make a Buffalo, N.Y., out of the Cabin Creek River, in there or the Kanawaha River in West Virginia. But they will listen to any constructive ideas and will cooperate with any individual who is there for a good purpose and interested in improving their standard of living and willing to work with them on ways and means to bring it about.

Have you observed that and have you convinced the workers in your area who are there in a good faith effort, have you experienced the utmost cooperation from those people?



Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir. I can answer yes to the first and increasingly yes to the second. Being a Community Action worker does not make you necessarily popular.

Anybody who goes into a community with the idea of encouraging change which involves a very basic moral decision in the first place, whether I have that right to go into a community and suggest that things could be better.

I think the answer to the moral question is a simple one, Yes, you do because then where there are children who do not brush teeth; children who are not inoculated; there has to be a better life.

But you are not necessarily popular. For example, one of the problems with a poor community is that there is never such a thing as a totally poor community. There is always what I would call a middle class and that are five or six individuals again in that hollow who have jobs or who come out and commute to a city.

Now those people instinctively take leadership because they feel they have the education, they have the articulation. They will always take leadership which shoves your poor into a completely differential and nonleadership role.

I found when I went there I had to go through a deliberate process of personal alienation of the job holding people in order that because of their dislike of me they would stay away from the community meetings thus giving the maximum poor who tended not to speak at all an opportunity, and even that opportunity when given took a very, very long time.

But a Community Action worker cannot judge his success by either his popularity or total cooperation but all of those elements of the community which want change and are willing to seek it on the terms of the poor who are trying to be reached will eventually cooperate.

They will hesitate at first because they have never put their head on a leadership chopping block before and they are scared to do it. But with time, with the friendship that will encourage them they will give you total cooperation.

As a matter of fact, I think some of the very firmest friends I have in West Virginia and anywhere in my life are from this hollow because we have been through it together, they have gone to take these risks, suffering the humiliation of standing up in front of a meeting and suddenly discovering they could not articulate, or my suggesting that is something that was wrong and my humiliation, that the bond of trying and suggesting and failing is an enormously strong on which develops a cooperation you speak of.

But it does take time.

Chairman PERKINS. Now, in rural areas that you are serving, will you tell the committee in your own words according to priority the greatest needs of your area where you feel we can do something about it in connection with this legislation?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. There are two things that are going to make a difference, primarily, from my thinking. First, I put a very heavy emphasis on Operation Headstart. You know very well, sir, the disadvantages that a rural disadvantaged child in a consolidated school system, the child when he arrives at the urban school after having been through a one-room school or having been through a slow early educational period, has disadvantages which are sometimes so severe that he can never overcome them.

For example the matter of pride. There is one boy in a community I know who dropped out of school because of the sheer reason he had only one pair of pants and the more middle class urban children teased him.

That is a perfectly dreadful reason for dropping out of school, but it does not make any difference, this was the real one for that boy. If that boy through a Headstart program at a young age can be taught how to see and get along with other children, the education that he will be able to absorb I think can be enormously increased.

I would say that getting the children at that young age when they are so totally scared, we did not have an Operation Headstart program in part of our county, in one county on one side of the river in our county. In our program we started one of our own. The road commission blamed it on the board of education, the board of education again blamed it on the road commission. In other words we did not get an Operation Headstart program.

On the self-help program the people started their own. We found, for example, a 5-year-old girl when she came to school—

Chairman PERKINS. In other words, you had considerable parental involvement, in your Headstart?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Tremendously. And the mothers themselves volunteered to help. We found if a 5-year-old girl came to school she often came holding the leg of her 10-year-old sister because she had never been with other children before.

She might spend a first 2 weeks holding on the leg of her sister because she was so scared. If we don't have a chance to break her of that early, when she goes to a consolidated, more urban school she is not going to be able to hear any of her class much less absorb because she will be so afraid.

So I again say, as I guess most of the people do, an effective Operation Headstart program, call it what you will, at an early age is of a priority nature as far as my experience is concerned.

Chairman PERKINS. You, with your educational background, are quite aware that it would be impossible to have all of the parental involvement if Headstart was transferred under the so-called Opportunity Crusade to HEW.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Sir, I am not an expert on the bills, but I certainly would question whether an Operation Headstart could have come from HEW, had it not had special emphasis.

Chairman PERKINS. You feel, in other words, there has been so much come out of this demonstration on Community Action Headstart, that we should continue it the way it is now operated?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, I strongly believe that where you have a board of education and, say, Headstart, there will be a regional conflict but that conflict will resolve itself into better programs. I personally would be very much against having Operation Headstart cut off or absorbed into another entity, because I think part of its special nature and success—

Chairman PERKINS. You think part of the great gains you are now receiving would be lost if it is ever transferred; we ought to at least let it get through a demonstration period and get off the ground, so that we can see some of the real conditions?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think timing is the key there. I don't think that it is at this point ready to be absorbed. I think it could be in some years, after this demonstration program has proved something. I would be against that now.

Chairman PERKINS. Now concerning the Community Action program, Opportunity Crusade proposes to transfer that from the Office of Economic Opportunity to HEW. Do you envision that much delay and hamstringing of Community Action programs would take place if that occurred?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am hesitant to range beyond my experience, sir, in talking in a general way like that. I do know that a community action program has its force and its appeal to the sort of people it attracts on the basis of the focus that it has. I think you can make this argument—I worked for 2 years for the Peace Corps. I would wonder very definitely whether I had been attracted to the Peace Corps or whether there would have been a Peace Corps, for example, if it had been up to AID or the State Department to suggest it.

Chairman PERKINS. I wonder very much if there would have been a community action program if it had been left up to various traditional departments.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I cannot answer that, but I can say the way it did evolve attracted me.

Chairman PERKINS. You are quite aware of the fact that we are zeroing in on the areas that have never received consideration before?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I must say, Mr. Chairman, that I feel very strongly about the value of an entity, whether it is Community Action program, or whether it is in OEO. I am just 30, and I know that the way you attract young people who are idealistic and who want to be in public service and who are also realistic, is to set a focus, is to make the war on poverty, or whatever it should be called, something which stands out very clearly.

It is to this, for example, that the Vista volunteers want to go. They see it as a specific organization trying to do something specifically about a problem. They can identify with that problem and with that organization. I myself, for example, could never have wanted to join HEW because, you know, it does not work that way. The war on poverty has a specific focus, it is something which attracts the sort of people that I think will be necessary to solve this type of problem, in the numbers that are necessary to solve the problem.

Chairman PERKINS. Have you observed the Job Corps in that area?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir. Not closely, but I have observed it.

Chairman PERKINS. What is your observation about the women's Job Corps in the area?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am impressed. The newspapers really are—some girl will throw a small pill bottle out of the window, and suddenly it becomes a whiskey bottle and then there is a tremendous scare. What I liked in the Job Corps that I saw, there is something I wish would take place all over West Virginia. We are taking young people with minimum education, high school dropouts, with problems, rural background, urban background. They are giving these people computer training. They are taking, for example, a 17- or 18-year-old girl with these problems and they give her 6, 7, 8 months of training.

Within that period, at the end of that period, this girl is qualified to go out and seek work which will pay her \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year.

What I do not like in training programs is where you take, say, a rural boy and you teach him how to be just a garage mechanic.

Chairman PERKINS. In most of these that you observed, the type of young girl in this particular Job Corps has been a dropout and has very little basic education, and the training that the youngster is receiving is building them up and giving them ideas so that they can be on their own sometime in the future and get by in the world?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. In order to do that, you have to have a job which you hold with pride.

Chairman PERKINS. Describe the type of training that the youngsters are receiving in that Job Corps.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I know it has been suggested that girls should be mixed; in other words, advantaged girls, disadvantaged girls. I think it is very important, especially for a rural girl, that when she is going through this training program she be with girls of similar problems, not necessarily the same background, not necessarily all urban or rural, but girls with the same sorts of problems, or boys, be together.

If you take a rural girl and put her in with a middle-class girl in a group situation, the rural girl will not open her mouth and will not respond to training, Mr. Chairman, because the rural girl and boy is peculiarly conditioned that whenever there is a more urbanized or better off person with them, they completely fold.

Chairman PERKINS. At any rate, we are dealing with a problem child here.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That is right. A problem child becomes more of a problem child, in my experience, when she is put in close quarters with an advantaged girl that she cannot feel in communion with.

Now the training that goes on in the Job Corps is a very simple thing, like how to get along with people. Many of the people in my area, Mr. Chairman, have never used a telephone before. I have been with a boy who had never been in an elevator before.

Chairman PERKINS. How do you view the Opportunity Crusade proposal to cut back, over a period of 3 to 4 years, to phase out the Job Corps?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the bill, Mr. Chairman, to know what is going to be substituted.

Chairman PERKINS. Just assume the facts I am stating are true. Assuming that there is a proposal pending to phase out the Job Corps in 3 or 4 years and cut back the funds, do you feel that would be a mistake, or should we expand the Job Corps?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Of course, I feel it would be a very serious mistake in that I do not know another way to reach these young people and give them training for jobs. To cut back—I can't understand what the substitute could be. Already we are not reaching enough with the Job Corps that we have. There are hundreds of thousands more. In my own community, out of, let us say, 25 boys of that age level there were only four that could get into the Job Corps. This leaves me with 21.

Chairman PERKINS. In other words, you have a backlog of kids that cannot even get in the Job Corps down your way?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir. In the meantime, they stay in the hollow, without work, on welfare, with no sense of hope.

Mr. ERLBORN. Supposing there was a proposition not to phase out the Job Corps, but to make it available to more disadvantaged youths under a different type of program that might involve the private sector as well as the public funds, how would you react to that sort of problem?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think that is one of the most exciting things about the Job Corps.

Our Job Corps in Charleston is run by industry, by Packard Bell of California. Wherever you get industry running a job corps, I think you have a pretty well run job corps. This is exactly what we have now in Charleston. So I thoroughly approve of Government working with industry in this type of program. What we have down there, I think, is a good example of it. Packard-Bell is training girls to do the sort of things that Packard-Bell knows it needs to get done. They can do it better than a Government or a university.

Mr. ERLBORN. I would like to inquire of the witness, I noticed your comment earlier about the mixture of the disadvantaged with the advantaged, either boys or girls, with different problems and different backgrounds.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ERLBORN. Your reaction was that those who were disadvantaged would sort of close up. You said you should not mix those who have different problems and different backgrounds. Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir; that is what I said.

Mr. ERLBORN. I wondered, with this feeling about the Job Corps, how you react to the educational proposals now that you say you can't get a good education unless you put the disadvantaged in with the advantaged.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. This is correct, if you start at an age where it is going to be meaningful. What we are dealing with here is 16-, 17-, 18-, 19-year-old boys and girls who have already missed their education. With them, it is a different matter. That part has already been dropped.

I am 100 percent for school consolidation, where you take a rural child with severe disadvantage and bring him together with a middle-class child with a good deal of sophistication. But I want to see it happen where it should be happening, and that is back from the elementary school life. The problem is that you can really see a physical change in a 16- or 17-year-old boy. When he gets to 18 he can legally drop out of school, he does. He tries to get a job, he can't. He tries to find something to do, he can't. Literally, a physical change will come over him. There is a depression. The clothes he begins to wear may revert suddenly to archaetype coalmining clothes to sort of seek out new identity. The boy feels he is losing grip. Since he is losing grip, he had better not pretend he can do something, because he knows he can't in this process.

It builds on itself. Within 2 or 3 years, you literally have a different physical boy or girl before you. Past 16, if you don't get to them then, it is going to be very, very hard. I have seen this happen in my own community time and time again. I am for the mixing, but it has to take place when it can do some good.

Mr. ERLBORN. In your opinion, even in the school system would it be good to start, let us say, at the junior or senior level in high school? If that change is to be made, should it be made gradually, starting with the lower grades?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. The sooner, the better. I am for school consolidation, because it forces this joining, whereas now it is on a mutually exclusive basis too much.

Mr. ERLBORN. Thank you for yielding.

Chairman PERKINS. Congressman Erlenborn has witnessed some of the similar schools that we have in Kentucky. I know you have observed that the school systems cannot handle these youngsters for several reasons. Of course, we need more adequate funding and better school facilities. I hope to see that day come about. It will take millions of dollars. I think you will agree with me that in our neck of the woods and in several areas of the country that the schools are just not presently set up to handle this problem child, the type of youngster that we are talking about.

From the experience that we are having in the Job Corps and the know-how that we are applying, that period lies ahead and it would not do to weaken the Job Corps at this time. Would you agree with that, sir?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir. I would never make the statement that, I am sure none here would, that the Job Corps is without its problems, and it will continue to have its problems. I believe very, very fundamentally that the boys and girls that I have been working with, there is no other way for them to receive training and to receive the sort of social orientation, unless it comes through something like the Job Corps.

I am personally satisfied and highly satisfied with what the Job Corps is doing in West Virginia, in Charleston. I am not acquainted with it widely. From my experience, I think it does an excellent job.

Chairman PERKINS. All those vocational schools have a long waiting list. Because of the great demand on the vocational schools, they are presently taking the cream of the crop. Only recently they commenced to take in some of the hard core adults. Is that your experience in the area? Until the Job Corps came along, these youngsters were just not being salvaged. Is that correct?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir. I would not say that now the Job Corps is here the problem is solved. As I said, there is a tremendous amount.

Chairman PERKINS. The value of the know-how that they are receiving from the Job Corps operation will be fed into the school systems, vocational educational school systems, and everybody is going to benefit. Industry is going to benefit. Do you agree with that?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir; I would. Let me put it this way. Industry in West Virginia, when it looks to technical skills, has to too often look outside the State. They have to hire their technically able people from other places. Yet back through the hills of these thousands of communities where there are able, good young people who could be trained. And it bothers me enormously, a West Virginian, to see industry having to go outside the State, when there remains this enormous pool of people who are available.

The bringing together of the jobs which are available and the people who are available to be trained for those jobs, to me, is a paramount problem for that State.

Chairman PERKINS. You and I both know that there has been much progress and the cost of the Job Corps has come down tremendously in the last year, and the Office of Economic Opportunity has benefitted from the brief experience of two years operation. Do you see tremendous improvement in the operation of the Job Corps in the past years?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Sir, I cannot say that I know the history of the development of the Job Corps well enough to talk about its cost, its relative cost.

Chairman PERKINS. If I understood you correctly, you believe that the Office of Economic Opportunity should remain as presently constituted, that it will be more effective in reaching the poor that we are trying to reach and should not be transferred.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. From the view of one Community Action worker in a rural community in West Virginia, yes, sir.

Chairman PERKINS. Do you have any other suggestions that you would care to give the committee?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, I certainly do.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I want to make this point very strongly. First of all, that the rural poor of Appalachia will not, and cannot, be reached through programs which do not send workers out into those communities. My salary for 2 years was \$6,400. There was not another nickel of Federal, State money or county money spent in that community in 2 years. Not one nickel except \$6,450. But that \$6,450 which paid my salary was essential for any sort of change to take place in that community. Had there not been that change, we would be paying an economic price I think.

Chairman PERKINS. How are we going to reach the rural poor that we are not now reaching?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Sir, this is a problem that I leave to wiser heads. All I know is that it takes a worker to reach people. That means a lot of people who are prepared to spend a lot of time. Rural change is enormously slow. It is at times enormously discouraging. At times you are convinced it can never happen, and yet it continues to happen. These people can be reached, they are being reached, and they can learn to solve their problems. I am convinced of that after my own experience.

Mrs. GREEN (presiding). Have you completed your statement?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes. Actually, I don't think I have made a statement. I was just responding to questions.

Mrs. GREEN. Congressman Goodell, do you have any questions?

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Thank you for your statement, Mr. Rockefeller. I welcome you to our committee. Let me say at the outset that the questions Mr. Perkins asked you about the Job Corps were in the hands of a master in terms of questioning. "Do you want to weaken the Job Corps?" "Would you want to dismantle the Job Corps?" "Would you want to cut it back at this point?"

Those are all very loaded questions. Nobody proposes that we weaken the concept of residential training of a specialized nature for those who cannot respond to education and training in their environment. There are many of us, however, who are just a little disappointed with some of the aspects of the Job Corps and would like to improve it. When only one out of ten of the youngsters gets a job which the Job Corps helped him get, when one third drop out in the first 3

months, another third in the next 3 months, and only a third go over 6 months, and the evidence is that if you stay less than 6 months you are worse off than you were before in terms of the number who have jobs or are in school—when only 50 percent of those who do stay more than 6 months have jobs, all these things make us wonder if there are not ways that we can improve this operation.

I say that with great sincerity and with respect for your sincerity, that there are a great many needs here that must be met. I have been advocating this kind of approach since 1961. That does not mean I think that the Job Corps, as it is presently constituted, is the best answer that we can find. We are concerned about the costs. There is some indication by a new accounting system that we might cut costs down to \$6,500 or \$6,900 per year per enrollee. The latest studies, however, which went into this and looked into the accounting found that it now costs between \$12,000 and \$13,000 in most urban camps per enrollee per year. This compares to the community training centers which run anywhere from a third to half of that cost. This means you can take in two or three more enrollees than the Job Corps can take for the same cost.

We are in agreement on private corporations. I do not agree with your generalization that where private corporations have been involved they have done a good job. There are some examples where they have difficulty with the private corporation. Nevertheless, they have done a better job than the others. We are all in favor of letting these people know that we care and are trying to help them.

Let me ask you a couple of questions along these lines. I am not going to load the questions and ask you to give a final conclusion without having heard all the testimony as to who should administer the Job Corps or whether you are for keeping Job Corps stagnant and in a status quo, or want to improve it at this point. Basically let me ask you, what is your view of the transporting of youngsters, particularly from Appalachia where you have your greatest experience, to Job Corps camps some distance away?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think it can make a very good difference for this reason. I know of a lot of men who are good workers who have grown up in hollows of West Virginia. They have had educational disadvantages. Maybe they don't have sufficient qualifications to get good jobs, but in any case they go to Cleveland or they go to Cincinnati, because to West Virginia this is a job Mecca. They get a job which pays \$2.85 an hour. It is a good job. All of a sudden, three months later, there they are back in West Virginia for the only reason that they were homesick.

Now this is a very poor reason to give up a job that pays that well. It is an even poorer reason for going back to a welfare roll. The point is, that it is a peculiar nature, I am convinced, of people from the rural areas of Appalachia that since life is so tentative, so insecure for them, that the one thing they have absolutely and can always come back to is the hills. There is a degree of contact or loyalty between a West Virginian, I say, and the hills of West Virginia, which to me is completely extraordinary and remarkable. It means that wherever there is the alternative, and let us say the boy comes from West Virginia and he goes to a Job Corps just 20 or 30 miles away, just across the border, he may very well at the first sign of discouragement come back.

I have several boys in my own community who started out in the



Job Corps who came back. They were near. The reason was not that they were unhappy, but in one case the boy got into a fistfight. He suddenly felt his own total social disorientation. He didn't know the urban ways. He didn't know the sophistication that you need. He felt an insecurity and the instinct, which is so deep, is to come back, come back to the hills. Therefore, I think there is something to be said—I am not sure it is the total picture, but there is something to be said for taking a youngster from that specific area and sending him rather far away. It is a lot more expensive. If he runs away, it will be a lot bigger problem because he may not get back. But I think there can be a case made for it.

Mr. GOODELL. My biggest concern is not expense. But the evidence we have is that 85 percent of the Job Corps youngsters go back to their original area when they finish. The evidence also is that among the highest dropouts in the Job Corps enrollees today are the Appalachian white youngster.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOODELL. It would appear that somehow we are failing with them in this respect to a large degree now, to a larger degree than we are with some of the others. It is also a matter of great concern to many of us that when you send youngsters out of the community to which they are going to return—when you send them a large distance away—the evidence is that the problem of carrying through the continuum, after graduation to placement is infinitely greater.

They graduate from a Job Corps camp in Montana to go back to Appalachia. Now who is going to help them? The way we originally did it, was totally inadequate. They were in effect dropped. They were told to go to the local employment office. We didn't have the capability of giving them the specialized help they needed. Many of them were frustrated and discouraged. The centers notified the regional OEO that these youngsters were going back to Appalachia, to please help them. Now they are notifying and trying to get some private volunteer groups to help place them. Now they are notifying Community Action boards to try to help them in one way or another.

But there is this tremendous gap between termination or graduation, and placement which has doubtless accounted for a great deal of the failure which has been occurring in terms of getting these youngsters jobs. It is quite conceivable that they would have to go further away than 20 or 30 miles. Perhaps there could be a happy compromise, if they went far enough away that the home community would not be readily accessible and yet would be close enough so there could be some tie-in and placement when they get out.

You interested me very much when you talked about the dynamics of involving people, particularly people who are isolated. If I understood you correctly, you were talking about the dynamics of group meetings at which there were some assertive people who took over and those from whom you really should hear and wanted to hear from would sit back quietly and not come forward; is that correct?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That is correct.

Mr. GOODELL. You said that rather than be popular at times it was incumbent on you to alienate the assertive in order to discourage them from coming to the meeting and dominating it, and to get the others to come to the meeting and come out of their shell and speak up.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes.

Mr. GOODELL. Have you been active in organizing meetings to get the investment of these people in the rural areas of Appalachia in selecting representatives?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. When you talk about these assertive people I am talking about people in that community.

Mr. GOODELL. I understand. I will give you an example. Your observations are in accord with my own based on my travel in the Waynesville area of Western North Carolina and some other areas. Some of the community action workers found they could not get true representatives of those people without having at least two or three meetings.

The first meeting was completely dominated by some who were very vocal and assertive. Subsequently at the second or third meeting they could begin to induce the others to speak up.

The result was, as he put it in one case, that inevitably the person who was elected the representative in the first meeting was completely set aside at the second or third meeting and they elected somebody else.

That is just a parallel example of what I think you were talking about. Would you comment further on that?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. If it can happen in two or three meetings that is extraordinary. It took me close to a year. Then you see here what happens is when I went into the community I hoped to make it very clear why I was there, to help people with particular problems. Your middle class takes over automatically.

Then there is a period of alienation, which is usually personal. They withdraw. Then in the meantime the action is going on.

In other words, the community meetings are being held, progress is being made, some of the others are speaking up.

What has happened is that for the most part that middle class has come back into the community organization on the terms of the community action which is then oriented towards the people you are really trying to reach.

Now some will not come back in. Either their personal dislike of me is so intense that they won't but usually they will come back in on the terms that you want them to.

Mr. GOODELL. I take it that you believe very much that this is perhaps, the critical element for success is involving them in their own decision-making.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I certainly do.

Mr. GOODELL. In this respect, are you aware of the way the present poverty law is written, in respect to the community action phase of earmarking funds for different types of programs?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I stressed then at the beginning of this that I am not thoroughly acquainted with the broad OEO picture or the alternatives presented. I am speaking from a very small one community rural point of view.

Generally I understand the position about the number of poor who should be represented on the board.

I understand it very well.

Mr. GOODELL. Actually at this stage there is very little difference in the alternatives that involve the poor. This was put in as the Quie amendment last year requiring at least one-third of the poor to be represented on the board, but that would not be changed by any of the

proposals. Actually it would be expanded somewhat, in that area groups would have to be primarily represented under the proposal which Mr. Quie and I have made.

I won't question you further on them except to say that there is a problem when representatives get together, have their discussions, thinking they are there to make meaningful decisions, decide what they want to spend the money on and then find there is no money in that particular category because none has been earmarked, or that all the money earmarked for that particular category is used up.

There might not be an interest in Appalachia in a narcotics rehabilitation program or even a Legal Service program or some other phase of community action.

They have perhaps great interest in the health services program or the basic education program, or something of this nature. They find the ability to set priorities taken away from them.

This has happened very frequently. Let me ask you to comment on one phase of the overall aspect of the development in Appalachia.

Recently the Associated Press did a study in which they indicated that a total of \$6½ billion had been spent in Appalachia in 373 Appalachian counties in the past 2 years. The head of the Council for Appalachia Development was recently quoted as saying this is not a development program at all.

They want to depopulate the region. They want the people to get out so that the great absentee corps can buy in without interference. Do you have any comment on this?

MR. ROCKEFELLER. Well, I am not in favor of depopulation. This has been the trend and West Virginia is one of the very few States that has been steadily losing population. There are a number of reasons for this. Our industrial basis, too, is too narrow.

The number of jobs available are not readily gettable by the people in West Virginia. I don't think that depopulation should be or as far as I have seen, an objective or necessarily a result.

I maintain any boy from the community where I work if he is trained to do a job he will prefer to do it if he can get it in West Virginia and if not he will go elsewhere and will be happy.

I think the jobs have to be the basis of that and that the boy will go or the man will go where the job is. So long as the jobs are elsewhere that is exactly where he will go or he will remain in default on welfare in his own state.

I do not think that you can—for example, the Appalachia Regional Commission is trying to develop natural growth areas in West Virginia. I think this is an excellent approach to this in that then it identifies what sort of areas have an economic future based on topography, resources, and other things and then sets about to try to develop those areas.

This I think is what is going to become—to make people stay in West Virginia and help them find jobs in West Virginia. I don't know whether I have answered you clearly but I don't really see depopulation as a specific course here.

I think it has happened but I think there are very clear reasons for it.

MR. GOODELL. Of course I presume that nobody will ever state that their objective is to just move people out of an area. I agree with you

that in some areas of Appalachia, at least this has been the net effect.

There are other reasons for that. We have a general trend of migration from the rural areas to urban areas and obviously those factors apply to the Appalachia area as well as to other areas of the country.

I am interested in your comment about the so-called separation of individuals who have different problems. You pointed out that in rural Appalachia a youngster 17 or 18 years old—I think you used the example of girls—should not be mixed too quickly with those who have different backgrounds and more advanced backgrounds, is that right?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. It depends on how you define backgrounds. What I am saying is in a particular case of rural disadvantaged in the area where I am, which is the only qualified contribution I can make, if you take a rural disadvantaged, advanced teenage boy or girl and in the expectation of having social sophistication and abilities rub off on them through contact with girls who have already acquired that sophistication and orientation, I do not think that the effect on the disadvantaged girl will be what we again want.

I think rather it will be to drive her further in a corner through a sense of—a constantly reinforced sense of her own inadequacy.

It is a very special problem I think to have rural disadvantaged children. They are constantly awaiting for their sense of inadequacy again to be fulfilled. Anything which hints in that direction drives them further back. I think in principle any time you can mix different orientations that is much better if the result will be good.

Mr. GOODELL. What you are arguing for, in effect, is certainly a modified track system in the Job Corps. The evidence thus far would confirm your comment that we are having particular difficulty in keeping the female Appalachian Job Corps enrollees in the Job Corps.

This is apparently aggravated by the fact that in a Job Corps camp, you tend to get establishment of what the sociologists call the sub-culture. This in itself alienates the rural Job Corps enrollee.

This is why many of us feel that at the earliest opportunity we must move away from centers and camps that are collections of only those people classified by society as "rejects." There should be a community approach to this, using community facilities, enlisting all community agencies—business, labor, charitable—in this effort, and there should be facilities that combine technical institutes for fairly high skills and training, with specialized training for the Job Corps type of youngster.

I say this only to try to clear the picture a bit on what may have been conveyed to you by our chairman with his description of the alternatives that are available. This is the direction that many of us on this committee want to take and we are not satisfied to stand still with the Job Corps concept as it is at the moment.

If you have any further comment on anything I have said, or expansion on what you have said earlier, I will be glad to have you do it now.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. No, sir.

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you.

Mrs. GREEN. Congressman Meeds.

Mr. MEEDS. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

First of all let me express my gratitude and I am sure the gratitude of all members of the committee for your appearance here and communicate to you my agreement and good feeling that a person of your

stature has come here, and to compliment you on your obvious communication and articulate presentation on the problem of the world poor.

It is a real privilege to get someone like you to come here and articulate as you have on the problems. I think this is one of the bigger problems we in Congress have to get witnesses who have really been on the firing lines as obviously you have.

So my congratulations to you on your dedication and secondly on your testimony. I would like to just go into very briefly the type of programs that you are operating, the type of community action you are doing. What are some of the projects you are carrying out under your program?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. From the OEO point of view, the only program is me, so to speak. In other words, that represents a person in this particular locale, this hollow.

They sat down about 6 months ago and figured out everything they had done to help their community the last 2 years. They came up with a list of 71 things. The first thing they started off with was obviously recreation because recreation is one where you can get parents who are not accustomed to dealing together to deal together.

So they have something like three baseball teams.

They have their own library now. They have their own operation headstart which is their own and nobody else's, according to their own interpretation of their needs.

There was a chance to have Federal help in this program and they turned it down because they felt under their own ideas, their own work, they could do it better. They have a music program, they have a very extensive community center area where there are all kinds of activities. They built the building themselves.

They made a recreation area, for example, with their swings. They had not been able to afford to buy a swing or a seesaw. So they will go out and get individual pieces of pipe and wait until there is a sufficient accumulation in order to solder them together and then they will get a board or a piece of rubber to put over the board to sit on and gradually get their chains.

I think our swings took four or five months to accumulate, much less build. But it is all their own work.

Nothing given.

Mrs. GREEN. How does this impetus to do these things which they obviously have not been doing come about? Do you go into these meetings which you described earlier and stir people up?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Let me give an example of one boy. Let us call him Henry, who, when this work started, was from a welfare family with very severe problems. He was a school dropout and one reason he was a school dropout was that at that time there was not a bus to take him to school and the school was 30 miles away.

In any case he was a dropout and depressed and had more or less given up. He was 17, which is in that swing stage. We began to work with this boy. In the first place before I even talked personally about change or program I spent 6 months there every day, all day, just being there, becoming an object which they became accustomed to, who was not only there before elections but after elections, and who obviously did not take anything away from them and who, in fact, was

interested, playing football, talking, walking, eating with them, everything.

I came to this boy first of all as a friend, not a case. Nobody out there has ever been a case, a problem to me. They have first of all been individuals and friends.

Gradually through knowing this boy, through asking him questions about what he had done in school, I began to awaken a sense in him a little bit. He needed help in tutoring. It is fairly easy to get. You get friends from Charleston who will come out and help. Other older boys there will help. He began to have a sense he could do something. The short part of the story is that he want back to school and he is now in college in West Virginia.

Now the boy is the same, the parents are the same, poverty is the same, the clothes are the same but he had motivation. There was nothing other than self concept.

Mrs. GREEN. This is precisely what I am trying to get at, the structuring of programs that ought to go on within these communities. From what you have said this morning, it appears to me that this is primarily a people structuring and a dedicated people structuring from the initial stages where the first basic thing that has to be established is rather important, a communication and an understanding of those specific problems.

Now my question is, can this best be done in this type of operation with the community action program or are VISTA volunteers the answer to this?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think they both are. They are both in some ways the same thing. The community action work—I thought I could do the job in a year when I first went there. At the end of a year we only had had two or three meetings. Two years has not even done the job. This community still is an impoverished community. There are still men, the majority of the men, who need jobs.

It is nice to have a community center and have a prettier community but the point is, what are the jobs available. You cannot change, in my interpretation, you cannot get motivation in these young people in this rural condition unless you make the personal contact. You can talk about centers and programs all you want but unless somebody is there to gain the confidence of that boy, not because that boy was a case or because his parents were on welfare but somebody who is there to help that boy because he believed in the boy, you are not going to get a change.

A program will not change the person unless the person has reason to believe in the person describing the program to him or offering the program. These people are in a position to reject what is coming from the outside. It is a very long and very deep condition.

Mrs. GREEN. That leads me to another point. I don't think there is any responsible disagreement on this that the rural programs, programs serving the rural poor, have been slower in getting off the ground and actually accomplishing things than some of the urban programs.

I also think there are some very good reasons for this, and it seems to me that one of them is that the rural poor, because of the lack of structuring, are slower in responding to these programs, in other words, slower in carrying out programs that are available.

Could this perhaps be attacked better from the standpoint which you have taken, of personalities going in and beginning this foment that ultimately will, I hope, call for programing and structuring.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. To my way of thinking the person has to begin but the boy will not be satisfied by a person, there does have to be a program that follows up the person.

Mrs. GREEN. There has to be something that is offered.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes. I can offer the boy a reason to be motivated but there is only really a job or specific opportunity to really get him going. I am just temporary.

Mrs. GREEN. Would this indicate to you, and I am just asking you, that perhaps this is a two-stage procedure, at least a two-stage procedure. People go in and strike up the community and again begin the motivation, and then programs that come in following this, more community action type programs after the VISTA volunteer type program, would take advantage of the rapport which has been established.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Or provide continuity. Yes. A VISTA volunteer will stay a year. Somebody may supplant him but he will stay a year. There has to be more time than that. There has to be a continuity as you suggest.

Mrs. GREEN. One of the things we have noticed and perhaps insisted on throughout all of these hearings, in our consideration of this bill for a number of years, has been some place to go. When I speak of some place to go I mean offering some jobs.

If you get a person working it certainly carries out the concept of belief in himself and of getting some self prestige. What kind of program do you have for following up with jobs?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. This is where your community, in my case Charleston, the capital, has to become a part of this. We have a job training program as part of our community action program, but this is where involvement of the community becomes essential.

To me, what I would like to see, since I have a tremendous amount of respect in the way industry trains people, knowing exactly what it wants from them, I would love to see, and this has not yet come about sufficiently, industry in West Virginia take on the job through incentive, one way or another, of training people.

One of them has. The MFC Corp. has taken all people that have a ninth-grade education, which is not ordinarily enough to get a job. It will train them and help them become adjusted. If you talk about people with not a ninth-grade education you are eliminating almost 90 percent of the people in my community.

This is a step in the right direction. It has to be a lot more. I like the idea of having industry to train these people. They live near. They love the hills. They all—they will always be there. It is a very ideal relationship, but it has not come about yet.

This can only come about through industrial participation and community participation.

The private sector.

Mrs. GREEN. So you would be in favor of more involvement in the on-the-job training type of program which would result in some partnership between these programs and industry?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes; very much so.

Mrs. GREEN. I was interested in your comment that there were not many riots. I agree with you; I believe that is correct. Isn't there, however, a quiet change going on?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. There is a quiet change and a very good one. What I am saying is that it does not, rural poverty and its problems do not present the threat to, so to speak, that gains the attention that I think it deserves.

Mrs. GREEN. Does this necessarily mean that things are not changing?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Things are changing.

Mrs. GREEN. How would you describe this change as opposed to riots and other overt revolutions?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. In our community there are no more school drop-outs. I think there may be one. That is a tremendous change. It is quiet one but it is the kind that counts.

Mrs. GREEN. I think that is all. Thank you very much.

I note that you said you felt the most exciting thing was the entry of private industry into the Job Corps program. Did I understand you correctly to say Packard-Bell runs the center at Charleston?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. GREEN. Have you ever had a chance to study it closely?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. No, I have not.

Mrs. GREEN. But you do think that this is a very good program?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. At the time I have been there I have been impressed with what they are doing; yes.

Mrs. GREEN. I have a little concern. I have a great deal of concern about statements that are made that those who would question the present Job Corps want to do away with it. It seems to me that we are insisting that the people must love God, mother, and country, and on the same basis they must love every program that is designed for the poor without examining what is in the program.

The legislation says the people who will go to the Job Corps will participate in an intensive program of education, vocational training, work experience, counseling, and other activities. Then later it says that the purpose is in order to secure and hold meaningful employment and to assist them in school work and to qualify for other training programs.

I have before me the actual class schedules of girls in a center that is also run by Packard-Bell. I say to you that I have not examined the schedules, but I am interested in a meaningful program.

May I have your judgment as to whether or not Packard-Bell is doing one of the most exciting things, and whether or not those of us who examine the Job Corps a little more critically are doing harm to it? I have the class schedules before me.

One girl during the entire week has a total of 6 hours of classes. One of those 6 hours is physical education. These are taken at random. I can provide a couple hundred more. Another girl, and I am told she has the heaviest load of any, has, during the week, a total of 12½ hours of classes and training, and this includes the laboratory as well as the actual school work and the other things they are required to do.

Another girl has 11 hours during the week and 2 hours in P.E. Another girl has 6 hours of classwork. However, she does work as an aide in child care, so her class schedule would be beyond 6 hours.



Another girl has 2 hours total during the week. She works as an aide. Her classes are 2 hours, but she has 20 hours during the week as an aide. Another girl has 6 hours total for the week. This includes, I believe, driver education.

Another girl has 12 hours. Another girl has 9 hours during the entire week. Another girl has 6 hours during the entire week.

Another has 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  hours. Another one has 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  hours if we include the P.E.

Now we have paid at this center approximately \$9,000 per enrollee per year for this intensified training program that will help the individual to get a job. I say to the credit of the Job Corps, that when I called some of these things to their attention, they did move in and try to correct the—however, before I called it to their attention, they had a study team who went out for 3 days and reported it as one of the best, if not the best Job Corps Center, of the entire county.

With this in mind, do you think it would be wise for the committee to follow your advice, if I understood it—and I did not hear all of it—that the Job Corps is a tremendous program, that private enterprise is the most exciting thing that has happened and that really we should not, this committee should not, examine alternative ways in which we might be able to provide better training for more youngsters at no larger cost and perhaps at a reduced cost.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Was this Job Corps you described the one in Charleston?

Mrs. GREEN. No. I said it was not the one in Charleston. No, I want to make it clear it is not Charleston, but it is one run by Packard Bell.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. As I said at the beginning, I feel it is wise only for me to comment on what has been my actual experience. I have no idea what the perspective of the figures you have given are, what lies behind them.

I think it would be unwise for me to draw conclusions from that. I am very much for experimentation. One of the things that I felt worked most for me in my work in my community was my lack of preconceived ideas. I walked in there really open.

My whole existence there was one experiment after another. I learned much more than I ever taught or suggested. I am very much for experimentation in the contribution of any ideas in job training. I would never take the position that what is must continue always to be.

What I do think is possibly—there may be a good deal of experimentation going on, but I cannot draw conclusions from what you have told me.

Mrs. GREEN. By the same token, neither could the conclusion be drawn that the Job Corps is the best way and that we must not in any way criticize it or take a good look at it and perhaps suggest alternative proposals at the same time that we do a better job?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think all and every alternative suggestion is good. I think the question is not whether the Job Corps is a solid status thing, whether it never changes. The question is whether the changes take place in the framework of the Job Corps or whether there is quite another framework.

There again I suggest strongly I am not qualified to give testimony because my experience has only been briefly with one Job Corps.

Mrs. GREEN. I am glad to have that clarification. I came in at the time the chairman was questioning you. I had thought that you were saying that this must not be changed and that it must go on.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think the idea behind the Job Corps and that is training is essential. I am satisfied by the vehicle of the Charleston Job Corps. That is the only one I know. I did say that I felt that one is doing a good job. But that is the entire range of my statement.

Mrs. GREEN. Thank you.

Mr. GOODELL. Will the gentlelady yield?

Mrs. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. GOODELL. In that connection, you have indicated you have a backlog of applicants for the Job Corps?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. My reading says that there are thousands and thousands all across the country.

Mr. GOODELL. Yes, that is wonderful reading, but the testimony and the facts that we have are that they have been sending out special recruitment teams to get enough to come to the Job Corps. I am interested in your personal experience.

You said something to the effect that only two of 23 or 24 in a group were able to get into the Job Corps; is that correct?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. We have some that went to the Job Corps who had to return because there was this problem of insecurity.

Mr. GOODELL. When did that happen?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That was about a year and a half ago.

Mr. GOODELL. I am not referring to the ones who dropped out because of problems of insecurity. Do you have a group there which has been making application to the Job Corps and has not been able to get in?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. No, because the route we have been taking there, I have been trying to work with some of the boys to get them into jobs in the Charleston area. In other words, rather than working through the Job Corps, because I knew the pressure there. I thought I knew the pressure.

I have been working more directly with industry. We have been able to get some of them jobs, but not all of them by a long shot.

Mr. GOODELL. I was not speaking about the on-going program. I was speaking about those who were interested in getting into the Job Corps. Am I correct in my understanding, that of the group that you were referring to, only two of 20 were able to get into the Job Corps?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That's right. That was a condition a year and a half ago. As far as I know, there are no more applicants from that area to the Job Corps, but there are a lot of unemployed people.

Mrs. GREEN. Mr. Erlernborn?

Mr. ERLERNBORN. I am interested in your comment about the involvement of private enterprise. Some of us feel that the present structure in the Neighborhood Youth Corps which allows Youth Corps enrollees to work only in public works projects is somewhat restrictive.

What would you think about expanding this to make it possible for those in the Neighborhood Youth Corps to be employed by private enterprise, profit-making companies, and get their training this way?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Again, our experience—the only way I am willing to comment is on the basis of my own experience. Our experience

with the Neighborhood Youth Corps has been fairly limited in our community. We have had up to three or four boys who have had their income supplemented in a very good way by it. It has not been a consistent experience and it has not been a deep experience with the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Again, I don't have the total picture of the Neighborhood Youth Corps involvement across the nation, so I would hesitate to comment.

Mr. ERLBORN. If however we are going to train these youths to have skills that are needed by industry, don't you think we need to involve industry as the employing agent at the end of the line so that the skills that are needed are taught?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes. I am strongly in favor of involving industry in any phase of this program.

Mr. ERLBORN. If we limit job training of either the Job Corps or Neighborhood Youth Corps, to the expenditure of public funds and employment by public agencies, public works projects, aren't we leaving out of this total picture a great resource—private industry?

Now I have reference, for instance, to the so-called Human Investment Act. We gave tax incentives to industry to invest in capital goods, to get new plant and facilities. Some of us feel that the same principle is valid in the area of getting industry to invest in people, in training people, so that they can be useful for that industry through what we call the Human Investment Act tax credit to encourage industry to do this.

I have reference to your statement about what your experience has been with one industry doing this sort of thing that you think should be expanded. Are you familiar with the Human Investment Act or if you are not, what do you think of the principle of giving tax incentives to industry to get into this training project?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I have already said I am for the industry getting into the business of dealing with job training. What that form is to be and what its range shall be is another matter. But the principle of industry being involved in this, I think, is desirable.

Mr. ERLBORN. As long as we don't have industry involved, wouldn't you agree with the statement that we are leaving out one of the greatest resources that we have available to us?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That is one of those questions one hesitates to answer clearly and directly, but again I would say where industry has not been used and where it could effectively be used in partnership or more than that, I think that would be to the good.

Mr. ERLBORN. Thank you.

Mrs. GREEN. Congressman Dellenback?

Mr. DELLENBACK. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

It is nice to see you, Mr. Rockefeller, again. We were together very briefly at the time of a recent visit with Mr. Shriver to Charleston and Huntington. The involvement was too brief then. I welcome the chance to take a few more minutes now to speak to you. There are too many things, really, that I would like to talk about, but let me be sure that we do read you correctly as to what you are testifying to before us today.

I say this against the background of the chairman's questions earlier. I wish that he were here so that we could be sure that we are paraphrasing him correctly.

I think you have made an excellent self-limitation, Mr. Rockefeller, when you have said several times that you don't mean to be straying beyond your own experience and knowledge in the comments you make against this background. I am sure that experience and knowledge are very material and very substantial, but you are pinning them down to that particular area and the experiences that you have had there. Am I correct in that?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. As much as I am able to; yes, sir.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I read you really as favoring certain concepts that you see come alive through your own experience rather than as favoring certain administrative bodies. For example, I heard you say that you favor active participation in the program planning and implementation by the poor. Is that correct?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes. I am saying that again it is a question to what limit you want to put that.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Yes. I am not talking about degree. I am not talking about form. What I am saying is that it is this policy, this concept of participation of which you speak strongly in favor.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes.

Mr. DELLENBACK. It is the concept or policy of involvement of private industry. I am not saying the form it ought to take or degree, but it is this concept you have seen come alive and you think this is an excellent concept. Am I correct?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But you have limited yourself. For example, you haven't read 10682 versus 8311, the two bills that we are studying formally. You are not balancing one bill off against the other?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am doing my very best not to comment on the structure and form.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You are not talking about saying that it is necessary to have OEO to make the program come alive? You are talking of concepts and ideas that you have seen produce results and you are staying clear of endorsing OEO as it has been, or endorsing any structure?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. What I am saying is that I am doing my best to stay out of the particular issue that you are trying to decide, that is, which is the better form? What I am saying is that I am reporting from my point of view, which has not been structurally oriented about what I see. I am not saying what you say there.

Mr. DELLENBACK. This is exactly what I want to have clear, because I don't seek to lead you into favoring one form of organization against another, one bill against another. But I was afraid that some of the questions that Mr. Perkins had asked earlier were susceptible to the interpretation that you were saying you favor OEO as it exists, that you favor certain structures as they existed, that you favor Job Corps in its present form.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I very much do favor the continuation of the Job Corps. I have said that and I would say that constantly.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Let me push this a little bit further. Are you favoring the Job Corps as an administrative group, as a structure, or are you favoring the concept of taking young people who badly need training, who badly need the bringing out of their economic capacities, the bringing out of their social capacities, and giving them the sort of training and experience they need? Which of these do you favor?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. It is impossible to pick one or the other.

Mr. DELLENBACK. But it is, you see. If it were possible not through Job Corps but through another organization, name it anything you want, to achieve these goals, would you then say you favor the Job Corps against the other organization?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. What I am saying is that I am highly in favor of the concept which you state, and that I am in the case of Charleston, W. Va., Job Corps satisfied to the extent that I know it by what they are doing, period.

And from that I favor the Job Corps on the basis of my experience.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Let me push a little bit here what your experience has been with Charleston.

Now you visited it at least once, I know, because I was there when you were there. How many young people have gone through the Charleston center?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am not aware of the statistics involved, nor the costs.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Are you aware how many dropouts there have been?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Not in number, no.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Are you aware of how many have dropped out at any stage of the program?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. No. I am very well aware of the dropouts that have come about as a result of my own work.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I do not mean to push this unduly. I was going to leave this line completely alone, except now I read you as saying a little bit about the Job Corps as opposed to the concept of what is sought to be achieved through the Job Corps.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am not sure that it is useful to try to make that distinction. I think you know very well what I am saying. I am trying to limit my comments to the basis of my experience.

I am satisfied to the extent that I know what Job Corps is doing. The extent I know the best is in Charleston, W. Va. I refuse to range beyond that.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I hope this does not prove to be the case, you see, but what I am a little bit afraid of is, in view of the Chairman's earlier questioning, that at some stage of the game we are going to hear somewhere that there appeared before our committee Mr. Jay Rockefeller, who went on record as saying so and so; he favors the Job Corps; he feels that the Job Corps in Charleston has done an exceptionally good job and he feels that this is the administrative organization through which we ought to push ahead.

All I want to be sure is that is not what you are saying.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am saying exactly what I now will repeat for the third time to you, if you wish me to.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I apologize for being so slow. Please do.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am saying that on the basis of my experience in Charleston, W. Va., with the Job Corps, that I am impressed by what they are doing and would continue to be impressed and would hope that their work is continued and strongly emphasized in the bill.

I am also saying that within that organization in Charleston, I am sure there has been much experimentation, and I am sure there will be much more and that they will modify and improve and build upon what they have been doing as the years go by.

I am indeed satisfied by what they are doing.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Since you have used, if you will, as a qualification for all that followed thereafter the basis of your experience, let me just be a little bit clearer in my own mind as to what that is in depth so far as Charleston is concerned.

You have indicated to me that you do not have any statistics on enrollees, on dropouts, the placements afterward and this type of thing. So that what you are saying, and please contradict me if I am in error at any stage of this, so what you are saying that on the basis of your observation in Charleston, which is not really a statistical analysis, which is not really a study in depth of that program, but on the basis of certain isolated cases that you have seen, on the basis of certain visits that you have made, that this is what you are using as the basis for your statements.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I acknowledge that has been the fundamental of my entire testimony, everything rests on the basis of my experience.

Mr. DELLENBACK. This is the limitation of your experience as far as Charleston is concerned?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That is therefore why I am not sure that your interests are served by trying to draw general conclusions about the Job Corps and its administration from me.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Exactly. I appreciate your putting it this way. I am really preparing under the circumstances the rebuttal that may be necessary at some time in the future in the event that you are quoted, I think, out of context.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Let me say one thing more, too, and that is that everybody makes his assumptions and judgments on the basis of what he knows.

If you are trying to limit me to say that therefore any other Job Corps outside Charleston, W. Va., is something that I can have no feelings on, then I am not willing to say that either.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I do not seek to have you say that. Please understand, nor am I seeking in any wise to discredit. I have extreme admiration for you.

As I told you in Charleston, there is only one aspect of your career about what I have any regret.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think I am aware of that aspect.

Mr. DELLENBACK. We need not go further with that. So far as the involvement of private industry is concerned, which I think is one of the concepts you favor, and an excellent concept, I think one of the great weaknesses of program after program in the present administration has been the evident underlying concept that Government can pretty well do it alone. The present administration has taken this tremendous tool of the private sector of the economy which is here and which has had such a vital part in making America what it is and largely ignored it or left it aside instead of somehow channeling it into the middle of the program.

You are even more intimately familiar than I am with the proposal which has been made in the other body for channeling the private sector of the economy into the housing field, which I think is a tremendous idea. We are here talking now about taking the private sector of the economy and channeling it into the war on poverty. You have gone on record as favoring this concept to the degree it can be implemented.

In the situation where Packard-Bell is involved, I would urge that we all understand at least one level of distinction between the type of involvement by private enterprise, which is their effort and another type of involvement by private enterprise. Now I think the private sector belongs in doing what it is doing in Charleston, but I think we both realize that this is a way station on the road that it ought to be walking.

The way station, you see it in Charleston, the private enterprise economy, and this is but one example of a series throughout the country, has taken as a profitmaking task the running of a Job Corps, not to train its own workers but to train people for work for somebody else.

There is another level of involvement by private enterprise which ought to be developed in the future where private enterprise takes young people, or older people that it can use, itself, and somehow cooperates with Government to train these people to work in private enterprise. Private enterprise will do its own training, with assistance, with tax incentive, to train these people to work. So when Company A says, "I have a job that needs somebody to do it" and here is a young person who is not quite ready to do it, but I can get some cooperation in the way of tax incentive, in the way of a little subsidy, to bring this person into my company and there I train him so that at the end of 1 or 6 or 12 months he will be a fully participating and self-sustaining employee, this is another level of involvement by private enterprise that goes a step beyond what is happening in Charleston, Huntington, and a series of places throughout the country.

Are you with me on this line of distinction?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am not aware that this is not happening to some degree in those places and I am sure it could be a development that came from that.

Mr. DELLENBACK. I have checked with some of the people who have run some of these Job Corps Centers, representatives of private industry, and find that only in very few cases do the young people who come out of those centers go to work for the company that is training them.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. But it is at least happening in some cases.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Yes.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think it is a very possible development from that situation there. This is something that could evolve from the content of the Packard-Bell relationship right there.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Certainly the level of involvement is not exclusive.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. One easily develops from the first. This is a matter of refinement. This is something which can evolve in that situation.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Does Packard-Bell have any industrial plants in West Virginia?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Not that I am aware of.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Do you feel that the people who come from West Virginia essentially will be happiest if they are trained to carry out employment that will keep them close to their own area?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes, but I have also said that I think there is a good deal of merit in taking people and training them and sending them to an entirely new orientation, entirely new area. I think they could often be happier in West Virginia because that is what they

know. But these same people working in California could be extremely happy, too.

I think it depends on the job situation, particularly the job situation. Certainly a West Virginian can be very happy in California and he can be happy in West Virginia.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Some of us have some real concern about the whole Appalachian situation so far as the efforts which have been devoted to date. A recent A.P. story dealt essentially in terms of \$6.5 billion so far having been used in the Appalachian area in the war on poverty.

Our concern is that the tangible measurable results of that expenditure are not related in proper degree to the measure of the expenditure. By your own testimony you have indicated you don't feel the war is won after 2 years there. Nor, I suppose, would we be able to say that it will be won in another 1 or 2 or  $x$  years.

Am I correct in that?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. The work that is being done in education in the community where I have worked will take its effect as late as 10 or 15 years off, so the war on poverty is a long and very slow affair, especially in the rural area.

Mr. DELLENBACK. The comment that my friend from Washington made earlier, I am convinced, is present in all of life. He used the term "people orientation."

I just wish there were a way at the expenditure of \$3,225 a year to get 10,000 Jay Rockefellers to go to work in their own respective communities throughout the Nation. I think this would be priceless money that, unfortunately, we are not going to be able to spend for this particular purpose.

Let me ask you one more question, if I may. Viewed against the background of what you have seen and what you have experienced in the area in which you have worked, what would you say to us who are on this side of the problem, charged with the responsibility of creating tools that will help achieve results? What would you say to us that we ought to do that we are not doing? What are you saying we should pass in the way of legislation?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I would hesitate to say exactly what should be increased and in what amount. I do feel very strongly, however, as I have said repeatedly this morning, that the rural problem of poverty is a very, very slow one and that it is going to take, I think, more of concentration in funds and people and ideas on that problem.

I am, therefore, hopeful in my small way that I can convince you to strengthen the effort being made in rural poverty.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Primarily dollar-wise?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. No. The dollars are a part of it, but is also a matter of freeing people, making people available. Dollars ought to create people. You ought to get more VISTA volunteers. VISTA has been an enormous success so far, I understand, and the volunteers I have seen.

Mr. DELLENBACK. So you suggest we expand the VISTA program?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I am not going to range beyond that. I am saying that I think rural poverty is a serious and slow problem which is not sufficiently recognized in this country because of the more immediate threat of urban poverty.



I would hope that the efforts in that direction would be made even stronger.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You recognize, as do we, the difficulty under which we labor dollar-wise. This is a part of what is involved in the discussion of 8311 which is, in effect, an expansion and slight modification of the present situation, versus 10682, which has some departures and attempts to wrap certain changes into the program. However large the number of dollars the Federal Government is involved with may look to be from the outside, when you get close to the inside and see the dollars measured against the great crying needs in this field and a lot of other fields, we find we don't have enough dollars.

So, it is a case of where those dollars can best be used. We can apply them in this situation and yield so much in the way of result. There is a lot more there that needs to be done.

If we use some of those dollars in this field or in other fields, we may be able to get two or three or  $x$  times results that we would achieve in the first place. This is the struggle we have.

Any time you have specific suggestions that arise from your experience or knowledge, I think we would be delighted to hear from you at a later time.

Thank you.

Mrs. GREEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Rockefeller. If I had my way, I would change parts of this program; but I am in complete agreement with you, if we are going to be successful in the war on poverty, we are going to have to bring to it more money, more people, and more ideas.

I thank you for your appearance here. The aspect that brings pain to the heart of my colleague from Oregon and greatest joy to my heart, and it confirms what I have read about you, is that you are a man of extremely good judgment.

Thank you.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Thank you.

Mr. GREEN. I turn to my colleague from New York to introduce our next witness.

Mr. GOODELL. I am very proud to present to the committee Sister Marie Baptista who is director of the Boorady Reading Center in Dunkirk, N.Y., which is in my district. She is here to give us a description of her program, a description of the problems which she sees in dealing with educational deficiencies of children.

She speaks from a vast reservoir of experience and wisdom in this area. Being a very strong advocate of the program, I am particularly pleased to see the dramatic results that have been produced under the direction of Sister Baptista.

We welcome you to our committee, Sister.

#### **STATEMENT OF SISTER MARIE BAPTISTA, DIRECTOR, BOORADY READING CENTER, DUNKIRK, N.Y.**

Sister BAPTISTA. Thank you, Congressman Goodell. Madam Chairman, members of the committee, I certainly thank you very much for inviting me here and giving me the opportunity to express some ideas that I have on the importance of education for all children.

I could not be in more agreement, let me say at the outset here, than

I am with Mr. Rockefeller. I was talking to myself back there in the second or third row. First, education is of paramount importance, we cannot start it early enough. My contention is that we don't continue this compensatory type of education which we should continue beyond Headstart.

Speaking of Headstart, before I go into my paper here which I have just pulled together, so that I won't go off on a tangent, may I tell you that I taught at Fordham for eight summers, and I taught child development and also the problems of the individual youngster.

The first year that Headstart opened was in the summer of—if you recall. I took my class down to the 138th Street Headstart program. I sat down with a little child. I said to the youngster, what do you want me to make?

I had some clay and he had some clay. He said make me a chicken. It was in very broken English. I made him a little chicken. I went over to another little child. He said make me a police car. Again the teacher had to interpret for me. I did not know what he was trying to say. This is the first week of Headstart.

These are all 4- and 5-year-old children. I went to another youngster. He said make me some alka seltzer. By this time I did not know just what to think.

I finally went to the teacher a little later and I said, "why would these children all say the same thing?" "Sister, look out the window." I looked out into the narrow street. Here were police cars, five or six of them. She said, "The only food these children have pretty much of is chicken which is a favorite meat of theirs. Sometimes their parents overindulge so they have the alka seltzer."

The interesting thing was, after 6 or 8 weeks, toward the end of summer school I returned to that same Headstart program. I am telling you this only because you all have read of the astounding results of Headstart.

There is no doubt about it. I have not been fortunate enough to carry on a Headstart program, but at the end of that summer I returned with the same group of teachers. Unless I would have known it was the same children in the same setup I would never have believed it.

It was a little short of miraculous. These same children were using the telephone, dialing perfectly, placing orders in a restaurant, of course pretending, telling stories to each other, playing games in perfect accord with everything that we hear about in psychological adjustment with others.

They knew the five boroughs in New York. They could tell you they had been around the island. I think something like this, when you have personally visited a project like this, might give you some idea of how I feel about many of these programs I have seen.

Now I have not seen too many, that is true. But this is just one isolated instance I want to bring in because we all are in love with this very young child, but I am very much concerned about the growing developing youngster as he goes, particularly, goes through the elementary school.

In 1964, Edgar May wrote a clear-thinking study of a key American problem entitled "The Wasted Americans."

In the near future are we going to call them the "used Americans"? This concerns me very much. The scramble for funds and for power in

the name of helping the poor could cause such a thing. If funds are going to be used to help the poor of America, if power is going to be exerted to break down causes and produce working, then the overall goal has to be defined and never lost sight of.

Defined achievable goals must be permitted to have a functioning vehicle free to do the job. I would like to make this practically my theme throughout this whole paper. I really feel very strongly about the independence of these programs so that the structures that are using so much pressure on them, something can be done either legislatively or somehow to prevent this interference with a program that is really good and accomplishing its purpose.

The Federal Government does and should have the national interest of all its citizens as its concern. The concerned should cross party lines, economic lines, racial lines, and religious lines.

The Economic Opportunity Act emphasizes the Government concern for the national welfare and specific national problem, of course, which is poverty. This may not—this national problem of the poor American is getting bigger rapidly and producing newer and even more vicious related problems.

Here I mean the crime that we are hearing about constantly, rising crime throughout the country. As the population and wealth of the Nation increases so do the problems. Giving money to the poor is not the answer. Established institutions and bureaus have failed or we would not be concerned today.

Here is where education and freedom enter. In improving the economic status of a large segment of the country is heavily dependent on education.

I think we all will agree that illiteracy begets poverty. Education of the poor family and the children, education of the community in which the middle class live, education of the industries dependent upon them for labor and above all education in the various local, State, and Federal agencies to achieve the goal in helping the wasted Americans of today and in the future to become independent and productive Americans that they can and should be.

The vehicle devised to combat any aspect of this problem must be free of outside political and self-interest pressures to work successfully. Otherwise the poor and the weak for whom the programs are set up lose out to the interests of the strong.

The poor of our country experience constant failures, failures breed further failures. This pattern can be reversed because we are dealing with individuals. If a power failure happens of course we are completely paralyzed, we don't know what to do. If power fails with a child we can do something. If power within the person is cut off or stymied or interfered with we can do something.

He is a growing, developing person. He can be taught to make choices. He can be taught to think clearly. This is why I hope I am here this morning. When we are talking about—let me deviate for one second—Job Corps and the importance of some big organizations and labor, I don't know anything about labor, you put me in the corner on this, or legislate about this, but with—when you say—when I hear of some big organization taking over anything it makes me wonder, are we putting these people in little pigeon holes and saying we will train you for this job and you must go out into this job and fulfill it.

This youngster might try the job and not like it. What is wrong with that? We are training him to make choices. This is a mark of maturity. You know a number of people today who began and did not like it and turned to something else.

One of the greatest reasons for our adults today going to psychologists is because they are unhappy in their work. If we can find this out when a youngster is in his late teens or early twenties this is fine.

We know today, they tell us, a man makes his choice and changes jobs at least three times. I don't believe in preparing a person for one job.

As an educator I am interested in success and I am particularly interested in success now and for the child now. Of course in this Nation the average ADC child is accumulating the same characteristics that shaped the dependency of his parents.

School drop outs among ADC children between the ages of 14 and 17 are more than twice as high as for other children in this age group. Inability to read is the largest single cause of failure during the elementary school years. A low level of reading ability has been accurately defined as one of the basic causes of chronic unemployment and underemployment. Many of you fine people here know how hard we had to work to give reading a high priority.

It really seems almost ridiculous to say but a few years ago when I talked about starting a reading center because I knew from testing many of these children psychologically that they were being put in class for the retarded so called or the socially maladjusted or the, I think various names of the special classes and so on, these were the children who could not read in many cases.

They were children with high IQ's anywhere from 115 to 140. It does not necessarily mean if he has a high IQ he will learn to read faster and he will become a seriously maladjusted youngster if he does not have the opportunity to learn.

These are the youngsters we are particularly interested in.

Now I am saying I had a difficult time convincing people that reading is a higher priority. They said it was a lower priority. Can you imagine that? Don't ask me who.

There were several people when we were trying to set up a reading class.

Now the young child, the headstart youngster, we will say, the pre-school child, is learning concepts. He is learning to express himself, he is learning to talk.

Finally when he gets into primary grades, and here I am very much concerned, here is where he needs the compensatory type of education that he can not get in a large school set up, and I am talking primarily of course of the disadvantaged child.

Teachers will tell you this far better than I can, the bright child, the average child, the youngster will learn in spite of the teacher. The teacher will say they have done everything at the same time we know the youngster will be best helped by a good home.

These disadvantaged children, children who cannot speak English well for instance, are completely lost in a situation. I have documents to prove that this can happen not only where I come from but this happens all over the country.

I have been in teacher training a long time. I have heard individual teachers tell me from both the parochial schools, and the public schools

and the large private schools, that this does happen, unless there is some independent group that will take enough interest in these youngsters to help them.

I am not skipping over the primary grades but if any of you have youngsters between the ages of 9 and 12 I think you will know what I am trying to get at.

To me this is the youngster that is half way up the stairs. He is a youngster who has learned to read and now he learns to contradict to add to, to try to learn more about what he has just learned to read.

He wants to know everything about everything he can possibly learn about. He wants to reach out to the whole world. If this youngster in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades as they are set up now is frustrated in his learning ability—all reading is learning—he is going to be a dropout in the seventh grade.

We can put our fingers on him. We know. This is why it can be predicted so clearly. You can predict a dropout in the second or third grade but very accurately in the fourth or fifth.

If any of you have been reading anything about the reading clinic set up throughout our country you know that the greatest number of children who are being tutored in our clinics today are from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

This 9- to 12-year-old youngster, this is a crucial age when poor reading ability can spell success or failure in his life.

Wouldn't an extra class in reading take care of this problem? Absolutely not. Home environment, attitudes, hope, nutrition, medical problems and abnormalities, these are some of the aspects of the whole problem.

This child is a complex thing, not just a body and mind relationship. This youngster for instance at this time and he is starting to learn something about social studies, something about how his country was built, something about how a bill becomes a law, something about the United Nations.

Believe me when I tell you that the disadvantaged homes of these children turn their radios off just as soon as the news comes on. They want to be entertained. They don't realize the importance of it because they feel completely cut off from anything that has happened.

They blame everyone else, it is true in many instances. These children are becoming completely frustrated in the fact that they have been learning one thing at school and it does not mean too much to them because they cannot conceive of it.

A little Puerto Rican boy came in one day. He had some homework assigned. It was to draw the three Pacific States and tell something about them. We told him "Do you know what the three Pacific States are."

He said "Washington, Oregon, and California." I said "Where are the Pacific States." He found them. "Why are they called Pacific States." "I don't know." I said "Did you know there was an ocean out there." "Oh, no, there is only one ocean."

So we took a 5-minute trip from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific seaboard. He found out that there is a Pacific Ocean.

Now we are not criticizing any school system here. We realize only too well that a teacher teaching 30 or 35 children cannot positively

give all of the experiences, all of the knowledges, all of the attitudes about life and about curriculum that he would like to give this young child, particularly if this youngster is someone who cannot read well and consequently then cannot think.

Now, what are the handicaps of a large school system in attacking the problem of education? And believe me, I don't think I have to sell this to any of you. One, the school is geared particularly for curriculum, not for the total environment. It is amazing when someone takes an interest in a youngster and sits down and explains the mistakes to him or explains what is going on in our country. It is amazing the change in attitude of this youngster.

As someone said so well—I think it was Mr. Rockefeller pointed out here—that a youngster when he becomes a young man even changes in his personal experience. You know how true this is of children. Teachers of necessity have to have a timed curriculum. In the first 6 weeks they must cover thus and so.

In the next 12 weeks what happens to the youngster who cannot read this material, who cannot think it through, who has no idea of a cause and effect relationship?

In other words, he has only learned to memorize material. This is sad. It is dreadfully sad because later on anyone can sell this young adult a bill of goods. If he has not been taught to think clearly, to decide for himself whether this concept is correct or not, to do a little bit of investigation, we call it research, it is a sad state of affairs because I think you can readily make the adjustments yourself, the relationship here to a life outside, when this youngster will only learn to memorize an answer.

All our school systems are forced to deal in numbers. They teach many children, not the individual child. Of course this is what we are constantly saying to our teachers, you do not teach children, you teach a child.

Very often in opening up a new avenue, whether it is social studies or science or whatever happens to be in the subject matter area, you have opened up a whole new world for this youngster. We used to say in school you learn to read in the first three grades and then you read to learn. That is not correct of course. You do learn to read and then to learn how to learn because in this changing society of ours which is changing so rapidly our youngsters must constantly be forging ahead.

Every new idea, every new concept that comes up, every new invention brings a whole new vocabulary. So that the curriculum cannot be the paramount interest of a teacher. It must be this individual youngster who is struggling along. I realize we talk about track plans, we talk about team teaching and program learning.

We discussed homogeneous grouping. There is only one homogeneous type of grouping. That is the individual child. As every thumbprint is different certainly every youngster is different. This is where we must do our best work.

Three, the pressures that exist and they are present. I have taught principals, I have been discussing various jobs of superintendents in various parts of the country.

I know how harrassed they are by outside pressures. They cannot be flexible and independent in their approach to the problems that

exist in the schools. We know this. They are pressured by parents, by school boards, by civic leaders in the community.

There are many, many things they would like to do and they will never be able to do them. We all know this. Now, to get into our little tiny reading center. The Boorady Reading Center was set up with the idea of attacking the failure pattern from every aspect possible. It does not mean we don't have failures. We most certainly do. It must provide an atmosphere we feel of achievement. Could I say just one word about this.

It is a basic need for all of us, isn't it? If you have children in your family I am sure you have heard them say "I did it all myself. Let me do it myself. Look what I did."

What they are doing is spelling out "I can achieve." Achievement, success, and hope. This could only be done by providing a facility with complete freedom from outside pressures and money to operate such a facility.

It must not be dictated to by the public schools, the parochial schools, civic government, or any other group. At the same time close cooperation with the local school is necessary since compensatory education should bolster the existing curriculum.

In other words, we work as an auxiliary of all of the large school systems, not as something opposed to them. I think I should make clear here that all the times I have set up reading centers, and this is my third one, I have found that these are the places where most teachers will want to come because they are having maybe a little difficulty with this youngster or that child. They say how do you do it in a small group set-up, a sort of demonstration type of thing.

At the same time you are not only helping the teacher but you are helping the youngster. Compensatory education or any education of a special service should be outside the institution where the child has experienced academic and social failure. I will refer later to the report that was made by the National Education Association to President Johnson last year and the fact that they had gone to various school systems throughout the country and they had found many of the programs, so-called compensatory programs, were not successful for three reasons.

First, these children were being taught in the same place where they had met failure.

Second, they were taught by teachers many times who had no faith in them.

Third, the teachers themselves in some instances did not know the material, that is the best material, for the youngster who needed the most help.

This, I think, is very interesting. So it is very simple, I should think, to set up a compensatory type of program where you would have multi-ethnic types of books, you would hire the best teachers you could find and you would change their environment to that of a warm, attractive home.

The teacher could provide a sort of father or mother figure with each child to identify himself with.

He should here encounter acceptance, trust and confidence. He should be provided with new experience, and attention here then can be given to his medical, nutrition, and psychological need.

Above all, his education should be individual, of the highest quality, and geared to his ability so that he might progress at his own speed. This spells the beginning of success and independence.

Now the economic opportunity act provided the opportunity for the Boorady center to expand and operate in this unique manner. I invite questions here. It has been even more successful than we had hoped. Our original idea was to prevent future dropouts.

We are encouraged to see yesterday's dropout beginning to voluntarily ring our doorbell and ask for the opportunity to try again. Now, this is very interesting. Just the other evening a young boy stood around the house. He looked in the front window, saw the kids working.

He finally rang the bell. He said, as many young kids will say, "May I join up?" "Where are your friends?" "They are all in there reading." Needless to say, he "joined up."

We are encouraged to see yesterday's dropouts now begin to voluntarily ring and ask for the opportunity to try. These boys are the hard core unemployables. We call them the dropins. No one ever uses the term dropout around our house. I have to be very personal about this because we are like one huge family. We all say so and so dropped in. That is a sort of key word around the house. Everyone knows he is a potential dropout or he has just dropped out of school.

This summer, of 1967, we had six Indian children from the nearby Cattaraugus reservation, 12 dropins, five mothers in addition to the 28 elementary and junior high school students. May I add here not one youngster has ever been forced to come. It is voluntary. The teachers recommend it very often that they come.

Parents urge them to come sometimes. But the child himself only comes because he wants to. We hold a little interview with each child before he is registered. We ask him why he wants to come. I wish I could have made a tape of what some of the answers have been.

Some of them have said something like, "I want to learn to read so that I will know the answer for a change." "I would like to be able to hold my hand up when the teacher asks a question." "I would like to be able to write a letter to my friend when he goes away." "I would like to be able to write a letter to my grandmother who can't write."

These are all various reasons they give. I would say for young children in the elementary school these are very sound reasons for asking for help. An important point I think is the followup we do when a student is absent and I expect you are going to ask a lot of questions here. One of the things we have found particularly about our Puerto Rican and colored children is their lack of sense of scheduling or of time. Now we live in a world of time, don't we. We know how important it is to keep an appointment; if we have an appointment for 3 o'clock, it does not mean 3:30.

We try to get these youngsters to come at the time assigned. In September we will say to the youngster, "Your appointment is for Monday and Wednesday at 3:30 p.m. We give them the little card, as you would any clinic, Monday and Thursday at 3:30. What happens? In various instances he lost it, the dog chewed it up, dozens of things happen.

Instead of coming Monday and Wednesday, he came Tuesday. We would say, "Your appointment is for Monday and Wednesday." Finally we came to the point where the youngsters are definitely coming, keeping their appointment.



When they can't come they are calling up and saying, "I have a sore throat" or "I have to stay home and watch the baby." It may be a very little thing to you but to those of us who know that they have a very poor concept of time it is an extremely important step.

In the beginning the family is called upon as soon as the child misses a class. The parents learn we care. Prompt attendance and family responsibility on the part of the parent and child letting us know when a child cannot attend are all part of our program. Now, under the OEO we have completed one summer program and one school year program. You will find the results of these programs on pages 7, 8, and 9. Can I take just a moment now or would you like to ask some questions before I go into the evaluation, the little evaluation we made of the results of the test.

Mrs. GREEN. Thank you very much. I have a 12:30 appointment. I have to leave in just a minute. Let me ask you about the Headstart program. Have you had any experience with it?

Sister BAPTISTA. In our own city, no; I have not because I am involved with this program. The only experience I have had with it are assignment I have given teachers when I am teaching in an area where there are several Headstart programs going on.

Mrs. GREEN. You personally have not been involved in it?

Sister BAPTISTA. I have not.

Mrs. GREEN. As an educator, may I ask you, without the experience in the program itself, from the standpoint of the child and a good education, do you think that it makes better sense to have two different agencies directing the education, one directing it with different rules and regulations and salaries and everything else when the child is 4 and then another agency directing it when the child is 5, the education of the child again with different arrangements, different salaries, different teachers, different rules and regulations? Do you have any judgment?

Sister BAPTISTA. That is something I have thought about very often. I don't think as far as the salary is concerned it would make a lot of difference. I would not be affected by it if that is what you mean?

Mrs. GREEN. I will use a case I have used before as an example. In a city school system where a teacher is employed and paid with funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which would be 90 percent Federal funds, and has 20 youngsters in Headstart and has two aides helping her; and another teacher in the same building with youngsters from the same families, the same social economic level, is a kindergarten teacher and is paid by the school district fund.

Because of the ceiling put on by the voters her salary is less than the Headstart teacher who has 20 youngsters during the entire period, whatever hours in the day she is there, plus two aides.

The kindergarten teacher has 30 youngsters in the morning and 30 youngsters in the afternoon with no teacher aides. This is a specific example of two agencies, one an agency directing the education program when the child is four and another agency directing the program when the child is five. From an educators standpoint does this make good sense?

Sister BAPTISTA. Let me tell you this, please. I happen to be a great advocate of young children's education and how important it is. I really feel very strongly about this particular matter.

I think the younger the child the more the teacher should be paid. I would tell you why I feel this way. I think the responsibility of a teacher to a very young growing developing child is extremely important. She is not just a teacher to this 4-year-old.

Mrs. GREEN. Yes. I completely agree with you. I would certainly not differentiate between what the teacher of the 4-year-olds should be paid and what the teacher of the 5-year-olds should be paid.

I understand what you are saying. We, for a number of years in this country, have been under the false assumption that if they teach the youngsters we pay them the least. I disagree with that entirely too. I am talking about a program that makes sense from an educational standpoint. The question here, one of the main questions, that this committee has to decide on Headstart is not at all whether we should do away with Headstart. I don't know anybody who suggests this.

The question is whether we would have a better program if it were under the same supervision and direction and agency that the kindergarten program is, and that the Followthrough program is, and that the first grade program is.

Would it make better sense from an educational standpoint?

Sister BAPTISTA. I really don't know. I am not sure about that. I am sure about one point here though. I think again that the individual choice of a teacher has to be so important.

You might have a poor Headstart teacher, this is perfectly possible, who is playing with children and not teaching them and you may have an excellent kindergarten teacher. You may have an excellent Headstart teacher and poor kindergarten teacher.

I don't know about the salary level.

Mrs. GREEN. Have you been the principal or administrator of a school?

Sister BAPTISTA. No, I am not.

Mrs. GREEN. If you were the principal of a school, and let us say that two teachers were equal, would you assign one teacher 20 youngsters and two aides? Suppose she has equal ability. Then would you assign another teacher 60 youngsters during the day?

Sister BAPTISTA. Of course not. This would not make sense to me.

Mrs. GREEN. With Headstart under two different agencies, this is what is happening.

Sister BAPTISTA. May I ask you this? Aren't the Headstart children from the poverty group, the group which is disadvantaged, and the kindergarten youngsters are all of mixed economic groups. Don't they have to have a line there?

Mrs. GREEN. No. The youngsters could come from the same socioeconomic group. They might have \$200 more income in the family, but they are of the same level and supposedly of the same means.

Some of those youngsters may well have been kids in the Headstart program the year before.

I am sorry, Sister, I appreciate your being here but I am going to have to leave. I will turn it over to my two colleagues to my right.

Mr. QUIN. Let me make a few comments, myself. I appreciate the testimony you have given us this morning, Sister, especially with regard to the area in which you are working. I have been appalled at the lack of research on reading, research into what makes a youngster read.

I became involved in the work of the young people in my own district and their inability to read. We have estimates that suggest that 10 percent of the children are experiencing a severe hardship in that they are not able to read adequately.

As you mentioned in your testimony, when individuals have a high IQ, higher than average, and still are unable to read, then there isn't a sufficient interest given them in the schools to afford them additional training. It surely is deplorable. I also appreciate the point you have raised that it is not only a matter of an additional remedial teacher being placed in the classroom. We recognize fully that many schools are doing an inadequate job. If this were not the case it would be unnecessary for you to operate a separate school. I am glad that you have this facility in operation and are given a chance to some children.

Sister BAPTISTA. We feel very strongly about this. We could use a reading center on every corner in America. I don't think any of us are in opposition to this program at all. I think there are many children who need to be better understood.

If a youngster has a serious reading problem and he is a normal child, possessing normal intelligence, he has several psychological problems involved. He has to have. Talking moneywise, the cost to the taxpayers of putting a child through a school for the retarded and when he is not retarded, putting him in a class for disturbed youngsters, mostly disturbed because that is what happens in these youngsters, is \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year.

Yet sometimes we hesitate to spend money for books and teachers and for all the necessary things. I was going to proceed here with the results of the tests.

Mr. QUIN. I think you should. I think they ought to be placed in the record. If you want to summarize and place them in the record it probably would be helpful. I think we need it.

Sister BAPTISTA. I think this would be interesting. I took it from 1 year's work, 6 months of last year. The number of children tested were 326. You will find this on page 7. The number of the below grade level of these youngsters was 75 percent of 249 children. The number who were reading only at grade level, and this is only statistics again but these represent individual people, individual children, was 26 children.

The number who were above grade level but were classified as remedial readers, strange as it may seem, were 51 youngsters. At the end of the 6 month's period with excellent teaching, individual one to one approach, we had 184 or 56 percent of the children now were below grade level as compared to 75 percent 6 months previous.

There were now 8 percent of the children at grade level. It is interesting because you go back over the 26 children, they were not the same children. The 26 who were at grade level in September had to be above grade level. They were in the 115 children you see in March. This is the March results we were testing.

Now the number above grade level is 115 children compared with September of 51 children. I read through statistics very quickly here because I have little respect for just numbers but we do have these tests available to anyone who would like to see them.

We have the children's writing for anyone to see the way they answered the questions in September and the way they answered them 6 months later.

I have included purposely the drafts so you could see the youngsters who were more than 2 years below grade level in reading. It is a sad thing to see a seventh or eighth grade youngster coming in reading on a second or third grade level.

He is embarrassed. It is a shame. You have to do a good job psychologically before you can even attempt to teach this child to read because he feels he is a failure. The quick facts on 10 and 11 you may like to go over yourselves.

In January 1967 we had 45 percent of our children Puerto Ricans, 10 percent were Negro and 45 percent other. You see we had a mixed group here. I will summarize very quickly here. We had the underachiever whom many of you probably have had in your own families. He is getting into a lot of families today. Personally, I don't like the word underachiever.

We know we can identify these youngsters today. He is a new serious hazard to effective teaching and composes a badly neglected educational problem and as a consequence we have a wasted human resource.

I don't know. As teachers we all think the youngster is the most important human resource we have in the world today. A study just made in the New Jersey school system shows that about two-thirds of all the children have average or better than average intelligence who are being classified as reading retardates if you want to call them that.

This is sad. Would you look over to page 14. We had a pediatrician on our staff to whom we sent many of these children. Naturally we have blocked out the names of these children. If you will read through here I think it will sound like something you would probably pick up in India. It is not. These children are in Dunkirk, N.Y. When we see some of these very serious physical handicaps in the children it is no wonder they cannot learn.

It is no wonder they are indifferent to learning or listless in school. Many of these children had pneumonia two or three times this year. Page 15 pretty well sums up what I feel we should think about when we are discussing or thinking about compensatory programs for deprived children.

This was taken from an address by Alan Cohen, now director of the reading center at Yshiva University. Dr. Cohen has done much of the research in the whole field of compensatory education.

No doubt about it he is one of the best in the country. He goes on to talk about the culturally deprived children and saying that the ISEA title I projects attack quantity rather than quality. More service, longer hours, more basal readers, more of the same will not change the youngster.

One particular approach to teaching reading to a culturally deprived child is not the answer to their reading retardation. Culturally deprived children are human beings. They are the members of a species made up of individuals with different learning styles.

That means they must be taught as individuals and only through a thorough continuous quality instruction will culturally deprived children ever learn to read.

I think it is most important here that down on No. 6, Dr. Cohen says "Most Puerto Rican, Negro, Mexican-American and Appalachian white children are retarded in reading. Not many, but most."

I could not agree with him more thoroughly. I think if we want to just sum up here we might turn to the "Report Bleak on Aiding Disadvantaged Children" on page 18:

President Johnson received a generally gloomy report on the first efforts to reach poor children through Federal Education funds.

This is why we feel we must set up something that is separate but certainly cooperating with.

The "crucial ingredient" in improving education of the disadvantaged, the report says, is changing "the attitude of teachers". Yet in most communities studies of the special projects for the poor were alarmingly deficient in facing up to this need. The report was made to the President by the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children. The Council report concentrated on a \$250 million, one quarter of the total, spent this year on special summer education projects for disadvantaged children.

Let us go over and find out the reason.

It found "most disappointing" the failure of schools "to identify and attract the most seriously disadvantaged children" to the special program. It also concluded "frequently heavy purchases of educational equipment are made without examining the educational practices that underlie their use".

Now I am going to ask you to read that and ask me any questions you want to about it because this is the one thing we feel we are accomplishing in almost all of the small compensatory education programs. This is not just true of my area. I have taught teachers from various States and they all ask the same question.

Why aren't we having more programs that will help the individual youngster who cannot be helped in a large school system. If you have children and you have the money, you can afford to have tutors, can't you? A youngster having trouble in Spanish and geometry and you have college in mind you will spend money on tutoring the youngster.

I know because I taught in a demonstration school for years and I taught in a college prep school. I know that parents have spent a great deal of money on private tutoring for these youngsters. Certainly the poor deserve the same attention.

Mr. QUITE. I would ask unanimous consent and I know my colleagues will not object that all the material you have given us be placed in the record. I will yield to my colleague from New York for further questions.

(The information follows:)

THE AMERICAN POTENTIAL—REPORT FROM BOORADY READING CENTER,  
DUNKIRK, N.Y.

In 1964, Edgar May wrote a clear-thinking study of a key American problem and entitled it "The Wasted Americans". In the near future are we going to call them the "Used" Americans? The scramble for funds and power in the name of helping the poor could cause such a thing. If funds are going to be used to help the poor of America, if power is going to be exerted to break down causes and produce working answers, then the overall goal has to be clearly defined and *never lost sight of*; defined, achievable goals must be permitted to have a *functioning vehicle free* to do the job.

The federal government does, and should have, the national interest of all citizens as its concern. Its concern should cross *party lines, economic lines, racial lines and religious lines*. The Economic Opportunity Act emphasizes the government's concern for the national welfare and a specific national problem. This national problem of the poor American is getting bigger rapidly and producing newer and ever more vicious related problems as the population and wealth of

the nation increases. Giving money to the poor is not the answer. Established institutions and bureaus have failed or we wouldn't be concerned today. Here is where education and freedom enter.

Improving the economic status of a large segment of the country is heavily dependent upon education—education of the poor families and their children; education of the community in which they live; education of the industries dependent upon them for their labor; and above all, education of the various local, state and federal agencies to achieve the goal of helping the Wasted Americans of today and the future become the independent, productive Americans they can and should be. And freedom? The vehicle devised to combat any aspect of this problem must be free of outside political and self-interest pressures to work successfully. Otherwise the poor, the weak for whom the programs are set up, lose out to the interests of the strong.

The poor of our country experience constant failures. Failure breeds further failure. This pattern *can* be reversed. As an educator, I am interested in success and I am particularly interested in success *now*, for the child *now*. Across the nation, the average ADC child is accumulating the same characteristics that shaped the dependency of his parents. School dropouts among ADC children between the ages of 14 and 17 are more than twice as high as for other children in this age group. Inability to read is the largest single cause of failure during the elementary school years. A low level of reading ability has been accurately identified as one of the basic causes of chronic unemployment and under-employment. The 9- to 12-year old child has an eager, open mind. This is a crucial age when poor reading ability can spell success or failure in life. Then wouldn't an extra class in reading in school take care of this problem? Absolutely not. Home environment, attitudes, hope, nutrition, medical problems and abnormalities—these are some of the aspects of the problem.

What are the handicaps of the public school in attacking this problem?

1. The school is geared particularly for curriculum, not the total environment.
2. Size—they are forced to deal in numbers. They teach many children, not the individual child.
3. Pressures exist—a principal or superintendent is constantly harassed by outside pressures—cannot be flexible and independent in his approach to the problems that exist in his area.

The Boorady Reading Center was set up with the idea of *attacking the failure pattern from every aspect possible*. It must provide an atmosphere of *achievement, success, hope*. This could only be done by providing a facility with complete freedom from outside pressures and the money to operate such a facility. It must not be dictated to by the public schools, parochial schools, civic government or any other group. At the same time, close cooperation with the local school is necessary since compensatory education should bolster the existing curriculum. This compensatory education or special service should be outside of the institution where he had experienced academic and social failure. The physical plant should approximate a warm, attractive home; his teachers should provide a mother or father figure with whom each child can identify; he should encounter acceptance, trust and confidence; he should be provided with new experiences; attention should be given to his medical, nutritional and psychological needs; *above all*, his education should be *individual, of the highest quality, and geared to his ability* so that he might *progress at his own speed*. This spells the beginning of *success and independence*.

The Economic Opportunity Act provided the opportunity for the Boorady program to expand and operate in this manner. It has been even more successful than we dared hope. Our original idea was to prevent future dropouts. We are encouraged to see yesterday's dropouts beginning to voluntarily ring our doorbell and ask for the opportunity to try again. These boys are the hard-core unemployed now. We call them our "Drop-Ins."

This summer, 1967, we have 6 Indian children from the Cattaraugus Reservation. 12 "Drop-Ins", 5 mothers in addition to 289 elementary and junior high students. An important point I think is the follow-up we do when a student is absent. The family is called upon as soon as a child misses a class. The parents learn that we care, prompt attendance and family responsibility on the part of the parent and child in letting us know when a child cannot attend are all a part of the program.

Under the OEO, we have completed one summer program and one full year program. You will find the results of those programs on pages 7 and 8 and 9. Also, on pages 10 to 12 you will find "Quick Facts" drawn up last January in response to questions.

We would refer you further to page 13 with an excerpt from an article in the *National Observer* on the Bright Underachiever. This is the child who has a normal or above normal IQ but is scoring low on the standard achievements tests administered in the local school. These tests are almost always geared to a middle-class culture, and the results are most unrealistic. Subsequently, the child is taught as though he has a low intelligence level, and thus falls further behind "normal" students.

Page 14 is a copy of a doctor's report. The medical ills described are typical of the children of our area. Among our students we have an occasional brain-damaged child as well.

An important inclusion is page 15, an excerpt from a paper presented by Alan Cohen, Director of the Reading Center at Yeshiva University, to a New York State English Teachers Council in 1966.

To sum up, what is the Boorady Program under OEO? It is:

*Total Education.*—It provides a variety of services aimed at attacking the causes of failure.

*Excellence.*—a. Teachers must be well qualified in their education, personality, and psychological orientation to the disadvantaged child.

b. High quality materials including multi-ethnic texts related to the lives of these children.

c. Chartered under the NYS Bd. of Regents knowing that they would demand maintenance of quality.

*Flexible.*—Programs can be devised for the needs of the area.

*Geared to the individual.*—Not stereotyped, but adjusted to the needs and capabilities of each child. This is only possible with small groups. We reject the acceptance of the position "that most of these children have limited capabilities and that not much can be done as a result".

*Neighborhood Youth Corps.*—Our six young people have had a marvelous impact on the Center. They have served us and we have served them.

Two Vista Volunteers last year made tremendous contributions to our program. Four Vistas this year give promise for greater community involvement.

*Handicap.*—Lack of funds for expansion and future planning.

#### READING TESTS ADMINISTERED TO 326 CHILDREN

##### September 1966, Results:

Number Below Grade Level: 75.0%; 249 Children.

Number at Grade Level: 7.9%; 26 Children.

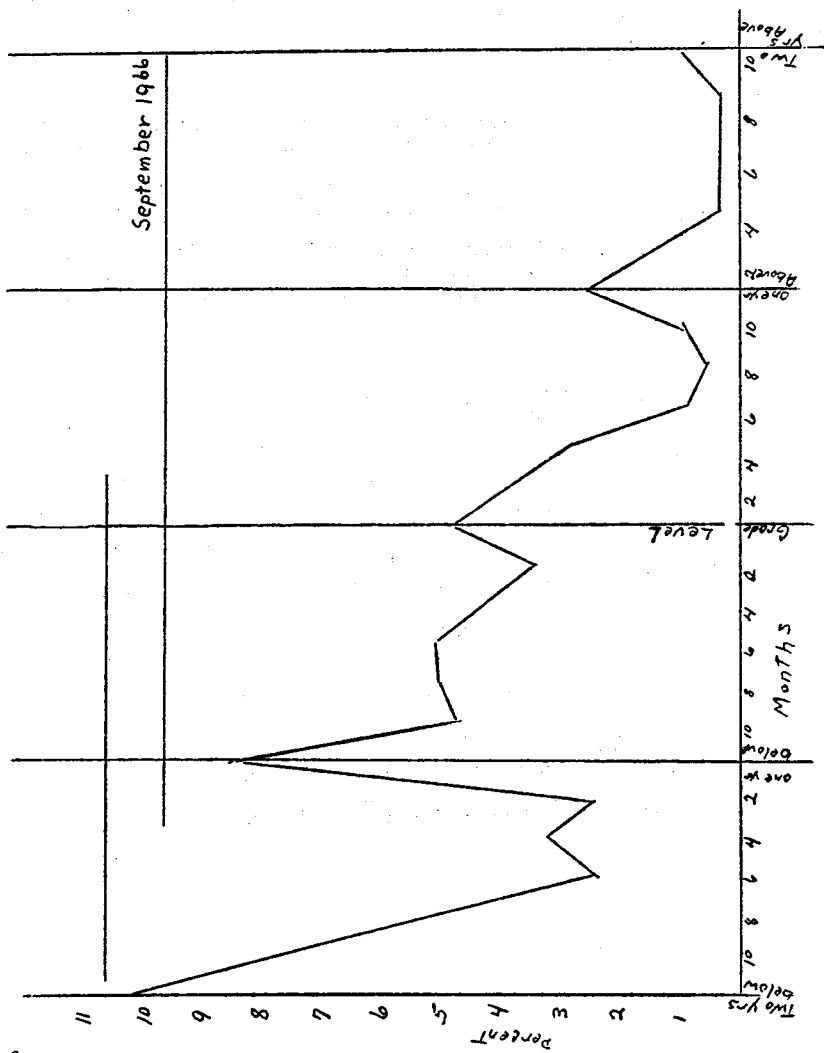
Number Above Grade Level: 17.1%; 51 Children.

##### March 1967, Results:

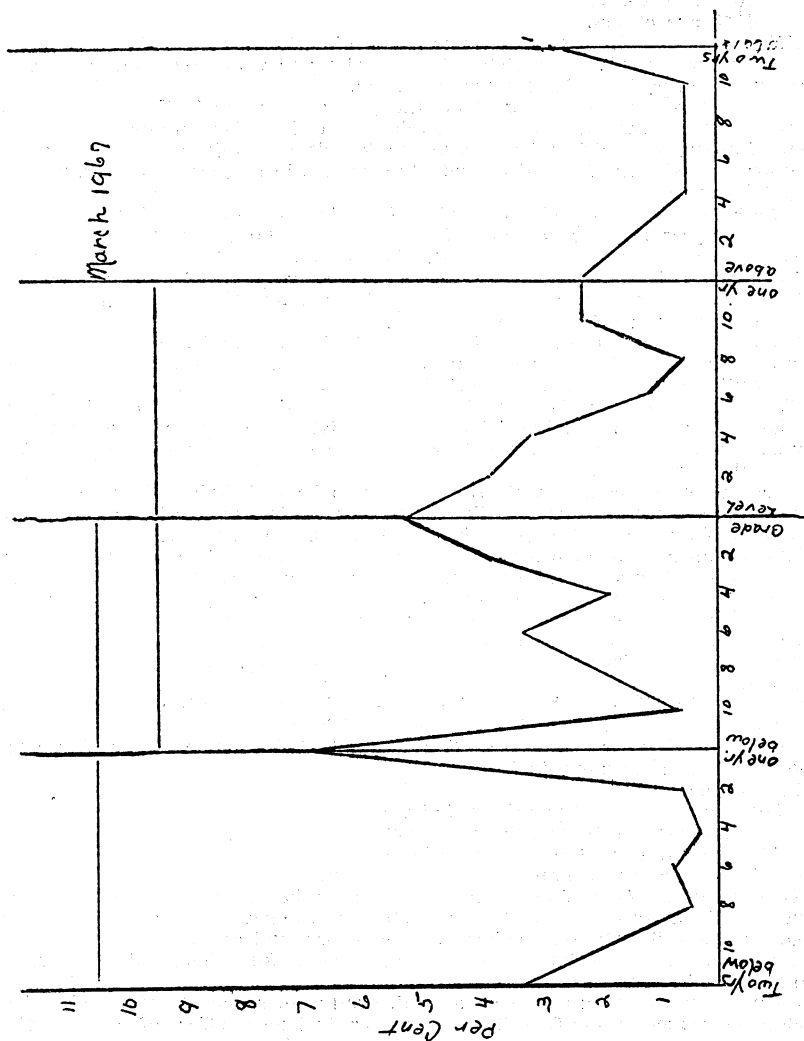
Number Below Grade Level: 56.0%; 184 Children.

Number at Grade Level: 8.3%; 27 Children.

Number Above Grade Level: 35.7%; 115 Children.







## QUICK FACTS ABOUT THE BOORADY MEMORIAL READING CENTER

In Chautauqua County there are approximately 2,040 economically and educationally deprived children who qualify for remedial reading assistance, since it is the only center of its kind in Chautauqua County.

As of January, 1967, there are 260 Durkirk children at the Center under the OEO program:

45% are Puerto Rican.

10% are Negro.

45% are others.

All students are in classes that purposely mix all economic and ethnic groups. Teachers are not advised which children belong to which economic group. All are given the very best of individual attention.

The most remarkable thing about the program so far is the continued enthusiasm of teachers and students. To date there have been no dropouts of students. Rather, the waiting list of students doesn't wait quietly in the files; little brothers and sisters of enrolled students come again and again saying, "Please, may I join up?"

Why does the center insist on having students of all economic levels? Because more than just reading is taught here—attitudes, love, initiative, intellectual curiosity, pride and confidence in self. The combination of the planned program, skilled and dedicated teachers, bright and attractive physical plant is only part. Without realizing it, the less fortunate children are learning from the more fortunate. Prejudice simply does not exist.

They all take great pride in themselves, their work and the facilities at the Center. With 350 children attending classes twice a week, there is no defacement of the building or educational materials.

The need in Durkirk is great. This program is designed to prevent dropouts at the Junior High and High School level by giving the younger children a good foundation and enthusiasm for learning. If we had the facilities, we could double the enrollment.

A child's needs cannot wait three years to be met. When they reach high school age a failure pattern is difficult to reverse. Hence, the large numbers of dropouts of Junior High and High School age in the city now.

Ideally, an additional program designed to the needs of these boys and girls should be considered now. Again and again we hear pleas from distressed parents of Puerto Rican and Negro origin for help with these dropouts. It is wrong to dismiss these young people with the attitude that their parents don't care and are to blame. They do care. They don't know how to go about it.

The hope of the future is in the young people of today. Children cannot be kept waiting.

*Bi-Lingual Children.*—A particular program is set up for the children who do not yet read and speak English. It is meeting with great success.

*Improvement after summer session of 1966.*—100 predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican children enrolled.

Improvement:

50% improved a 3-4 month grade level.

25% improved a 6-8 month grade level.

15% improved a 10 month grade level.

10% practically no change.

*Teamwork and love of children* have been the key to success here. The staff consists of Director, Social Worker, Master teacher, 2 speech therapists, 4 Vista workers, 6 qualified teachers, a bookkeeper, and an office clerk. All work at less than standard salaries. In addition, there are 8 teachers' aides, 6 of whom are Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Community volunteers help as needed. Contractors (construction, electrical, architect) reduced their fees. There are more and more offers of personal time and effort by citizens. Local Union #266 is preparing a benefit day with a goal of furnishing a bus for the Center.

Center is chartered by the New York State Board of Regents. It is non-profit and operated by a Board of Trustees.

Services:

Developmental Reading.

Remedial Reading.

Study Skills.

Psychological Services.

Parent Education.

In-Service Courses for Teachers and

Aides.

Experience Room.

*Emphasis is on quality of teaching, love of the child, and involvement of parents and community.*

*The remedial reading course aims to help those with reading disabilities of various kinds: language, psychological, emotional, and/or social deprivation. The end result of this program is diagnosis of problems, concentrated individual tutoring, team evaluation by experts, and most important, rapid improvement in reading, confidence and initiative in the pupil.*

*Value received from tax dollar.*—Comparing the quality and cost of this program with others, quality is superior and per pupil cost less. *The purpose of much anti-poverty legislation is to change an existing condition of failure and dependence in one segment of society.* Such a program as this strikes a strong blow at some of the causes.

[Excerpt from the National Observer, June 5, 1967]

#### THE BRIGHT UNDERACHIEVER

1. Most school authorities argue that such students are a new, serious hazard to effective teaching and compose a badly neglected educational problem and a wasted human resource.

2. A study made of the New Jersey School system between 1960 and 1964 showed almost two-thirds has average or better than average intelligence.

The bright underachiever has intelligence, guile and sophistication. This is what we have found in our "dropins".

DUNKIRK, N.Y., January 18, 1967.

Sister MARY BAPTISTA,  
Boorady Memorial Center,  
Dunkirk, N.Y.

DEAR SISTER BAPTISTA: This is a report on the first six children that have come in for their physical examinations:

They all had complete physical examinations which included blood pressure, rectal examination, audiometry, vision testing, complete blood count, complete urinalysis and a tuberculin test. The families have been instructed to notify us on the results of the skin testing.

Individually, the findings were:

Mild anemia; round worm infestation, mild hearing loss: Vision:—right 20:30, left 20:40; mild hypoglycemia and a possible urinary tract infection. She was given treatment for the worms and should have a further workup by her own physician if she continues to have a poor appetite or other complaints.

At the time we saw him he had a high fever, pharyngitis, and bronchitis. He was treated for this and laboratory testing was deferred until he was well.

Chronic sinusitis; enuresis and chronic urinary tract infection and pin worms. Tuberculin test was negative even though she had had previous findings on chest x-ray at Mayville.

Moderate hearing loss; epilepsy; possible mental retardation; flat feet and pin worms.

All findings within normal limits.

Hypertension; obesity; general ichthyosis (severe); probable intestinal parasitosis. Further workup is indicated by his own physician for diet, immunization, skin care and the strong possibility of parasites.

Yours Very Truly,

ARNOLD B. VICTOR, M.D., F.A.A.P.

EXCERPT FROM ADDRESS OF ALAN COHEN, DIRECTOR, READING CENTER AT YESHIVA UNIVERSITY, TO THE NEW YORK STATE ENGLISH TEACHERS COUNCIL, 1966

1. Compensatory programs for culturally deprived children are usually more of the same. Most ESEA Title I projects attack quantity rather than quality. More services, longer hours devoted to reading instruction, more basal readers, more time with the teacher will not solve the problem of reading retardation in socially disadvantaged children. *New programs utilizing new methods and materials geared to changing quality rather than quantity are needed.*

2. One particular approach to teaching reading to all culturally deprived children is not the answer to their reading retardation. Culturally deprived children

are human beings. They are members of a species made up of individuals with different learning styles. That means they must be taught as individuals.

3. *Thorough, continuous, quality instruction* will teach culturally deprived children to read. A high intensity learning program in which content, level, and rate are adjusted to individual needs has worked every time this author has tried it with socially disadvantaged children youth.

4. Most teachers do not know what materials and methods are available for teaching socially disadvantaged children. In addition, they do not read journals and are unaware of research and programs conducted in many sections of the country. Like lawyers and physicians, teachers blame (with good reason) their poor professional training for their deficiencies. But unlike most lawyers and physicians, teachers often do not make up these deficiencies once they enter the field.

5. The culturally deprived child depends more upon the school for language development and general verbal intelligence than does the middle class child. In fact, the latter learns most of his verbal behavior, including reading, informally through his home environment. Thus the school has never really had to teach reading and language development. A sort of quick and dirty glossing over has been enough to get middle class children 'on grade level'. Now the culturally deprived child has been discovered and we educators are on the spot.

6. Most Puerto Rican, Negro, Mexican-American and Appalachian white children are retarded in reading. Not *many*, but most. Many educational administrators that I have talked with are not just kidding visitors to their schools; this is understandable if not defensible. More seriously they are kidding *themselves* by not recognizing and accepting the magnitude of the problem. When they kid themselves, there is little chance of effecting significant change in reading instruction for these unfortunate children.

For example, one superintendent of a city slum school system conceded that four or five children at the end of grade one in a particular school might be below grade level in reading in June. When we administered the entire Durrell analysis of Reading Difficulty battery individually to all first graders in this school, we found only two or three children per classroom reading on grade level. Every other child was already retarded in reading.

I hope we can deliver. Right now I have my doubts. If we do not deliver, we will be replaced, and by "we" I mean the public schools. Perhaps that gradual replacement has already started under the aegis of the War on Poverty. Look closely and you will see what I mean.

---

[From the Evening Observer, Dunkirk-Fredonia, N.Y., Wednesday, Jan. 25, 1967]

#### EDITORIALS—READING CENTER NEEDS HELP

After proving to be one of the best investments ever made by the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide needed help to underprivileged children, Dunkirk's Boorady Reading Center now faces a financial crisis. A change in the distribution pattern of federal aid funds for next year will result in a severe cut-back to the local reading center. At this point, the fate of the institution is uncertain.

The Center, under the dynamic direction of Sister Marie Baptista, started its program in September funded for 100 students. Within a short time, 260 young people of all nationalities and faiths were enrolled, swamping the facilities and the staff. Brothers returned with sisters, non-readers with their friends. No one who needed help was refused. Offices and libraries became classrooms. The basement was refurbished by the local Rotary club for still another classroom. Each child progressed as fast as he was able. *Many experiences the first real sense of accomplishment in their lives.* Each became a person instead of a "nothing." *These results are particularly significant in children of second and third generation welfare families.*

*Here is really the heart of what our aid programs should be designed to do. If a sense of pride can be instilled where there was only despair, a spirit of accomplishment where there was only defeat, a feeling of belonging where there was only resentment, then that individual is well on his way to take a responsible place in society. The Center is doing this every day where it counts the most for the future . . . in the children of today.*

Now it needs the help of the community to see that funds are provided to assure its continued services. Officers of the Center have suggested a letter writing campaign to public officials. We might also suggest that the local public school officials be approached to put in for a federal grant since the Center is now a licensed educational institution. There are many ways to help. See what YOU can do!

---

[From the Buffalo News, Dec. 5, 1966]

#### STATE OEO AIDES INSPECT DUNKIRK READING CENTER

DUNKIRK, December 5.—Present and future programs of the Boorady Memorial Reading Center were reviewed by state and regional personnel of the Office of Economic Opportunity Saturday.

After a four-hour conference with Sister Marie Baptista, SSJ, director of the center, Miss Astrid Gray, executive assistant to the New York State director of OEO, and Albert J. Petrella, field consultant, and Gene Seymour, task force consultant of Buffalo, said the center is "one of the best in the state, if not the nation."

The center is giving 356 youngsters individual attention in both remedial and developmental reading and has a waiting list of more than 200, Sister Marie Baptista said.

OEO staff members learned that the social and cultural needs of the students are considered, as well as the lack of reading skills. They were also told of the community endorsement of the program—volunteer workers, renovation of the basement into additional classrooms by the Dunkirk Rotary Club and several special events underwritten by local citizens.

After the conference, Miss Gray observed that "Boorady appears to be achieving all of the aims of OEO—education, integration and motivation."

---

[From the Evening Observer, Dunkirk-Fredonia, N.Y., Monday, Dec. 5, 1966]

#### OEO OFFICIALS VISIT BOORADY READING CENTER

Three officials of the New York State Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) made a brief visit to the Boorady Reading center Saturday afternoon to obtain information for the annual OEO report to Gov. Rockefeller.

Albert J. Petrella, OEO field consultant, praised Sister Marie Baptista for the work that she and her staff are doing in the field of reading programs with children of the area.

Accompanying Mr. Petrella was Miss Astrid Gray, executive assistant to Mrs. Ersi H. Poston, state OEO director, and Gene Seymour, rural consultant for the OEO. Also taking part in the afternoon conference was Russell Profit; recently appointed executive director of the Chautauqua Opportunities Inc., and Mrs. C. B. Mosher, president of the board of directors of the center.

The visit to Dunkirk was part of a three-day tour of western New York to view projects financed in part by funds from the OEO.

Sister Marie Baptista outlined her past as an educator and explained the goals and hopes of the reading center. She further explained how OEO aid was obtained to help partially finance the program and outlined the reading program available.

Mr. Petrella commented that he was happy to see a community where a need was recognized and then definite action taken locally to solve the problem. He said that OEO wants the community to help itself and start with a good program and then ask for federal aid in further financing it.

The future plans of the center were discussed along with various recommendations which could be made to other areas wishing to start a center such as the one in Dunkirk.

It was pointed out that the Boorady Reading Center was started through the efforts of Sister Baptista and other interested citizens of the area and expanded to such a point as to have a waiting list. OEO funds were then obtained to help finance the reading program and make possible the further expansion, and continuation of the work.

Mr. Petrella said that the state OEO will help officials of the center continue their work and that the staff will offer all possible assistance.

[From the Buffalo Courier Express, Thursday, Mar. 30, 1967]

## READING CENTER'S DIRECTOR UPSET BY FUND CUTBACK

(By Lucian C. Warren)

The plight of the Boorady Memorial Reading Center in Dunkirk was described here a few weeks ago. This is the project which has had outstanding success in training underprivileged children in northern Chautauqua County to become good English readers.

The results have been dramatic, with some of the children rising rapidly from the bottom to the top of their classes as the result of the improved reading facility.

Sister Marie Baptista Pollard, director of the center, informs us that she has just been told by Chautauqua Opportunities Inc., that the program must be sharply cut back.

A directive from the New York City regional office of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) that after today funds will be supplied from the federal antipoverty program to provide classes for only 100 out of 250 children now enrolled at the Dunkirk center.

Sister Baptista outlines the nature of the problem with great clarity as follows:

"Here we are in the United States of America, fighting the drop-out problem by setting up job corps, neighborhood youth corps and various other 'stay-in-school' projects.

"At the same time officials are telling me to 'drop out' children who could be taught to speak, read and write English and become some of the best citizens this country has ever known.

"In the field of medicine and mental health, emphasis is on prevention, while in education of the disadvantaged, we wait until a crisis occurs and then rally our forces at an astronomical cost in time, effort and money."

Representative Charles E. Goodell and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy have gone to bat for the program.

Congressman Goodell only two weeks ago had OEO director Sargent Shriver in his office for a conference on the matter. Shriver promised he would see what he could do to obtain sufficient funds for the Dunkirk project to keep it going at full strength.

Apparently he has either done nothing or not succeeded in finding funds for 150 of the students. It is difficult to believe the latter premise.

Sister Baptista says she has been reading about conditions in New York City public schools, where the number of youngsters who can't learn their school lessons because of a poor command of English is astronomically high.

"This could soon become nation-wide," says the nun, "if nothing is done to help these youngsters.

"The cities can hire all the police force available, preach, 'yak' at the children, but until they offer help when help is most needed and appreciated, there will be no cessation in acts of delinquency which usually begin with defiance.

"Several educational studies point out that when children are tutored in the same building where they already met failure, with the same textbooks they failed with, taught by the same teachers who have no faith in them, the result is that the program—any program—'falls on its face.'

"It has been my experience that a separate educational center is in great part the answer to many questions concerning compensatory education.

"I honestly do not know how we can continue to operate after today. We have teachers, children willing to learn, but no money."

Though the hour is late, it is earnestly hoped that somehow the prayers of Sister Baptista and the hopes of her students and the families can be answered.

[From the Buffalo Express, Dec. 1, 1966]

## REPORT BLEAK ON AIDING DISADVANTAGED PUPILS

AUSTIN, Tex.—President Johnson received Wednesday a generally gloomy report on the first efforts to reach poor children through federal education funds.

The "crucial ingredient" in improving education of the disadvantaged, the report said, is changing "the attitude of teachers." Yet in most communities studied the special projects for the poor "were alarmingly deficient in facing up to this need," it said.

The report was made to the President by the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, created in 1965 by the legislation providing the first federal aid for elementary and secondary education.

The council report concentrated on the \$250-million, one quarter of the total, spent this year on special summer education projects for disadvantaged children.

It found much to commend in some of the 86 school districts studied, but concluded: "For the most part, projects are piecemeal, fragmented efforts at remediation or vaguely directed enrichment. It is extremely rare to find strategically planned, comprehensive programs for change."

#### PURCHASING PRACTICES HIT

It found "most disappointing" the failure of schools "to identify and attract the most seriously disadvantaged children" to the special programs. It also concluded that frequently, heavy purchases of educational equipment are made without examining the educational practices that underlie their use."

The report was based on the personal observations of 27 consultants. They found that most of the summer programs "took place in ordinary schoolhouse classrooms and were at best, mild variations on ordinary classroom work."

One consultant reported: "The program was as uncreative and unimaginative as I have ever seen. Pupils dropped out in large numbers. Several teachers indicated they felt that any kind of help which might be offered would not significantly change most of these kids. The head of guidance and counseling told me that he was reasonably certain that most of the cause of people being in the deprived category was biological, a result of poor genetic endowment."

#### 17 PROJECTS

##### DUNKIRK, NEW YORK

Take a 10-room, small-town mansion, once elegant with gables and gingerbread, lately faded to peeling paint and flaking plaster, add youngsters from a small manufacturing town, the children of once-migrant grape pickers and semi-skilled factory workers—and what do you get? Nothing more than an empty house filled with kids who read poorly or not at all.

When you add to these the unobtrusive talents of two dedicated nuns, one of whom just happens to be an author, a Doctor of Philosophy, and a child psychologist; the other a trained social worker, whose professional competence is exceeded only by her love for children, possibilities begin to emerge.

When the talented nuns convince a public-spirited businessman that he should make the once elegant residence available to them so that they can convert it into a reading center for needy children, good things begin to happen.

And, when the United States Office of Economic Opportunity learns about the quiet nuns and the businessman, and observes the initiative that they have already taken to help children with their speaking, their reading, and perhaps far deeper problems, you have the potential for a project to be supported by Federal funding under the Community Action section of the Economic Opportunity Act.

The faded mansion is in Dunkirk, New York, where, during the past 40 years, population has slipped from a 1920 all-time high of 19,336 to a declining 18,000.

The children come to the Center from all economic levels in a community where median family income is less than \$6,000. The nuns are Sister Marie Baptista and Sister Theresa of the Teaching Order of St. Joseph. The public spirited businessman is Mr. Norman Boorady, who made the residence available as a memorial to his mother and who cooperated in its initial modernization.

Prior to their hearing rumors that assistance from Federal sources might be available, the two Sisters operated the Reading Center alone and without outside help. The Center was open to any child who needed help in reading. The fee was \$1.00 per lesson. Parents who could pay did. The children of those who could not pay were welcome. In either case, no questions were asked and no child knew who paid for what.

Under OEO funding, the same policy applies. Thus, the Boorady Center has now achieved an integrated mix which represents a cross-section of all children in the community. The basic qualification for attendance is under-achievement in reading.

Plans to request OEO assistance for the Center were drawn up by Sister Baptista, Sister Theresa, and the Board of Directors of the Boorady Memorial Reading Center, which is chartered as a non-profit corporation under the laws of the State of New York. The first draft of the project proposal was begun in September 1965. Five months later the application for funds went forward to Chautauqua Opportunities Agency, the OEO agency responsible for Community Action Programs in Chautauqua County, New York.

Endorsements for the project came from several responsible persons in the Chautauqua County area. The Department of Public Welfare commented that "the Center is providing a most helpful service, one which is not available through public and private schools." A public school official testified to the "invaluable educational service which the Center has afforded to many of our children who experience reading difficulty." A local school administrator reported that he did not have within his system "reading specialists who can provide the program in reading to correct reading deficiencies."

In the face of such documented evidence of need, the application of the Boorady Memorial Reading Center was approved as part of the Chautauqua County Community Action Program. The Office of Economic Opportunity share, under Grant No. CG-1088, is \$54,548. The money is authorized to staff, equip, and operate a Tutorial Reading Center in Dunkirk, New York, between June 1, 1966 and April 30, 1967.

Staff, equip, and operate—truly formidable sounding words. First—staffing. Sister Baptista's competence as a child psychologist was well recognized. Superior teachers of the public schools in the Dunkirk-Fredonia area were most anxious to make their services available for the 1966 Summer Sessions. Mrs. Kathryn Bullock, who had recently resigned as bookkeeper at the Brooks County Hospital, agreed to maintain the financial records. A member of the Fredonia Presbyterian Church, a certified speech therapist, welcomed the opportunity to lend her talents. Two VISTA volunteers, mature, dedicated, and competent, were added. One of these, Mrs. Muriel McCutchen, brings to the Puerto Rican children of Dunkirk her years of experience with Mexican-American children on the West Coast, plus her fascinating competence in designing life-like puppets and marionettes. English or Spanish, it makes little difference when a child pours his heart out to a rag doll that bobs, nods, and dances at the end of a set of strings.

Today, the Boorady Reading Center faces no staffing problem. In addition to Mrs. McCutchen and the second VISTA volunteer, Mrs. Elsie Keller, who maintains all student records, there are seven specially trained reading teachers, two speech therapists, a secretary, a bookkeeper, two volunteer librarians, and four Youth Corps teacher aides. All are of different denominations, and all work together, as a large and happy family, helping the two nuns to provide the reading training, speech therapy, and tender, loving care which these children so desperately require when they come to the door of the Reading Center. Eleven other teachers, each with an advanced degree, stand in line waiting for a vacancy on the teaching staff.

"Equip." This was a real challenge. The Center could not be like a school. It must be like a fine home. Many of the children who might come wouldn't know about fine homes with book shelves, books they could take away and read, and quiet carpets. It must be an exciting place with machines that would let the children hear how their voices sound, and instruments that would flash words on the wall. The Center staff knew about these things, but they knew that wonderful as OEO help was, it wouldn't stretch quite far enough.

So Sister Baptista decided she had to get a job. She made commitments for what she needed. She stretched each OEO dime until it looked like a pre-war dollar. She persuaded carpenters, carpeters, and educational suppliers to give her credit. Then she delegated administration of the Reading Center to Sister Theresa, and with the permission of her superiors, she taught, for a salary, at the State University College at Fredonia. She took the salary with one hand. With the other, she turned it over to the carpenters, the carpeters, and the educational suppliers.

When July 1966 rolled around, the Reading Center was ready and the staff was ready. As to the children, some were recommended by the Welfare Agency; others were sent in by their public school teachers. Still others were solicited by such volunteers as Mrs. Adelfa Perez, who knocked on sagging doors and persuaded reluctant parents to enroll their children. By opening day 197 were registered. Of these, 102 were sustained under OEO funding. Others, whose parents could pay the \$1.00 per hour fee, were tuition students. The rest were "on the house."



For each child who enrolled, Sister Baptista selected from her inventory of reading measures those individual test instruments which her experience told her would best diagnose the reading disabilities of that child. In addition, she administered and interpreted psychological tests for some of the children whose behavior indicated a need to go beyond the diagnosis of reading difficulties. After the performance of each child had been interpreted and after his score had been recorded as a pre-test, each child was assigned to his teacher and his instruction was started, one level below his performance score. Each teacher worked with six children.

Thus, for five days a week, five hours a day, from July 5, to August 15, the 197 children—little ones, pre-adolescents, and early teen-agers—were given "Therapeutic Tutoring" in reading and study skills, in listening, thinking, speaking, and learning that they could learn. At the end of the summer session, the pre-test was administered as a post-test and compared with earlier performance.

Sister Baptista and Sister Theresa are far too professional to tub thump the differences between a July pre-test and an August post-test as a statistically significant measure of a child's reading gains over a brief six-week period. The results are available and the Sisters are pleased to share them with anyone who cares to look.

However, they prefer to seat their visitors at their kitchen table over a cup of coffee and a sweet roll and let them read the uninhibited answers that the children gave when they were asked to write down what they really thought of their summer school experience. At first, the visitor will be amused; then he will stop, think, and understand what too many of the children are really saying. Each says it differently, but the same theme appears, again and again. "They gave me love here. I want to come back."

The summer of 1966 is history in Dunkirk, on the shores of Lake Erie, in Chautauqua County, New York. The grapes have been picked. The twisted arm-thick vines, which once bore the purple fruit, stand brown and naked, impaled on their props of wood and stranded barbed wire, like skeletons stapled to crosses in the No Man's Land of another country.

But the children have come alive. The word is out for Puerto Rican, white, and Negro alike. The first elementary school children tumble in at 8:30 in the morning; the last high school boys now leave at 9 in the evening.

At the beginning of the September session, 352 had applied for admission. Although OEO funding only made provision for 100 children, 251 of the applicants were from economically disadvantaged families and had been referred by Welfare services.

Somehow, the burden is being carried. Not a single child has been turned away. A new teacher has been hired, the Rotary Club has installed a ceiling, painted walls and a basement floor, put up a partition, and donated materials and labor. A private donor has given \$500 for new eaves and new drains to assure a dry basement. Six classroom lighting fixtures were donated and installed by a local electrical contractor. The Fredonia Presbyterian Women's Group has supplied arts and crafts material. The Fredonia Presbyterian Youth Group has worked at cleaning, clearing, and painting. To take care of increased enrollment, the basement has now been converted into a classroom.

As they review the progress that has been made in a few short months, Sister Baptista and Sister Theresa are thankful. They are also troubled. They know that chautauqua-type training has no place in the 20th Century. They also know that their OEO authorization will expire in April. But they are not idle. They have drawn up an application for re-funding. They are working 16 hours a day to prove their entitlement to each frugally administered OEO dollar.

It is also rumored that they find the time to speak their needs silently to a higher power. To one who might understand, they privately admit that it is much wiser to get on with the most urgent needs of today and let that higher power decide what is best for tomorrow.

Perhaps it was this philosophy which prompted one hesitant little boy to tell the Director of the Center when she asked him if he knew her, "Oh, yes, Sister, I know you. I saw you in the 'Sound of Music.'"

Mr. GOODELL. Sister, I am very proud to have you here as a spokesman from our district, as well as a very articulate spokesman for the concept you are advancing and the program in which you have done so well.

Will you just give us the various age groups which your program covers?

Sister BAPTISTA. We made a sort of regulation that we would not take children from the first and second grade. I felt if these youngsters were immature and they were not learning well they should probably repeat the grade. We do not have an ungraded system in our part of the country.

However we found that this was happening. A little second or third grader would come in and say, "I flunked last year and I flunked the year before." This is almost getting to be a pattern of talk for these youngsters. So that now we have gone to take the second grade children if they have repeated a grade.

This year we had about 15 little first graders come to the center. Now these youngsters had had Headstart 2 years ago. But again there was not the followup because they had not been—well, language was poor, all of the rest of it was first grade.

These youngsters came in and we did not have room for them. We turned our library over into a classroom and an office over into a classroom. We said "You have to come back after Christmas." I really hoped they would forget and not come back because we didn't have room. The week following Christmas vacation there were nine Puerto Rican and colored youngsters sitting in the library. "You said after Christmas and us is here." So of course we hired a teacher and got some books and started in. We still have them.

Our grades usually run from about the third grade right through the junior high. In the evenings we do give classes for our high school youngsters. We have had to cut that repeatedly. I don't dare think of the number of high school youngsters who have asked to have help.

This is interesting. Many disadvantaged children go to a high school, and this is true throughout the country, and they are put into business education, we will say, which is all very fine but there are many youngsters who don't want business, they would like to go to college or they would like to continue their education.

They are completely stymied because they do not have the required subjects to get into the colleges. These youngsters are coming now and asking, "Will you help me with biology," "Will you help me with chemistry so that I can go into that program in my senior or junior year." They are readers and they would like to be helped guidancewise and every other way.

I really feel strong about the guidance program that should parallel a reading program, particularly for our junior high and our high school youngsters.

Mr. GOODELL. Basically your program is aimed primarily at the fourth grade up through the secondary level?

Sister BAPTISTA. That is correct.

Mr. GOODELL. Would you tell us just briefly how the program was started at the Boorady reading center?

Sister BAPTISTA. Yes. I started a private reading center on wheels. I went around in a broken down car from school to school to help these children. I was of course just going to the parochial schools at that time because I had been asked to come into the area.

In a very short while many of the teachers from the public schools were asking me if I would take some of the youngsters from their grades.

So we expanded a bit. Finally I was able to get a house in the middle of the city. We started with 30 youngsters. After one semester we had 94. The following year we had 115. We now have 307 in the last 3 years.

Mr. GOODELL. The house you refer to is the Boorady house from which the names comes?

Sister BAPTISTA. That is right.

Mr. GOODELL. This was donated, was it, at that time?

Sister BAPTISTA. The use of it was donated for the youngsters, in other words, set up a reading center there. This is again nonsectarian in every respect and most people I think realize that now. We have more youngsters from the public school right now simply because—I have been in the parochial schools previously to this, you see, and have taken many of those children—and there are more children in the public schools in our area than in the private schools.

Mr. GOODELL. I have been through a rather torturous maze with you in reference to our attempts to get this funding program started as a private program which was run without any Federal funding whatsoever.

Will you tell us when the decision was made to try to obtain some of the poverty money for an expanding program?

Sister BAPTISTA. I was down at New York at the time. I was looking at various grants knowing that many of the children who were coming never could afford private tutoring. I went from place to place. Everywhere I would go they said, "You have to have matching funds." Since I didn't have funds we had to start somewhere else. This is at the time of the birth of the Office of Economic Opportunity. They were just moving in their desks up there.

I knew nothing about it. I went to a young lawyer and said "Can you do a little research for me and find out what this is all about." He came back and said "If I were you I would go up and get an application." I went up. They laughed at me, "An application", they said, "you have to go back and work through your county." I went back and contacted Chautauqua County.

They had just applied for funds through the Office of Economic Opportunity. We were one of the first groups that were funded there. This was a year ago June 13.

Mr. GOODELL. Now, you have received initial grants. How much was involved?

Sister BAPTISTA. We received \$54,000 for 100 children and 250 children showed up. So we kept spending the money until it was almost gone. We asked for additional funds of \$10,000 to take care of two teachers and more material that we needed. We were granted this \$10,000 extra. This year we asked for \$91,000 to run our program and received a promise of \$75,000 to run our program for a full 12-month year, all through summer up to next May.

Mr. GOODELL. The problems we went through were rather difficult in terms of the delay in getting the funds allocated. They largely resulted from the fact that the funds of the Chautauqua County community action agency were cut back due primarily to the earmarking of funds last year.

There was a supplemental grant approved attempting to bring this up to a level at which you could operate reasonably close to what you had projected. Is that not correct?

Sister BAPTISTA. That is correct, Mr. Goodell.

Mr. GOODELL. Can you give us an estimate of the number of youngsters that you could effectively serve in this area with this type of program if there were adequate funding available?

Sister BAPTISTA. Yes. I have asked the board of occupational services in the county about the number of economically deprived and educationally deprived children who need remedial reading. It is somewhere around 2,000 or 3,000 children. They say it is much greater than this. But they have earmarked that number of children at least.

Mr. GOODELL. That is in the county?

Sister BAPTISTA. That is right. I think myself it is much greater than this. This is about the number they have come up with at this time and it is growing constantly.

Mr. GOODELL. This is a county of approximately 150,000 people?

Sister BAPTISTA. Yes.

Mr. GOODELL. Would you give us your observation, and I understand you don't want to be critical of others, but would you tell us your problems concerning the lack of coordination of various programs and funding of programs in the area?

Sister BAPTISTA. First of all, may I say we are very grateful to Congressman Goodell for all the help he gave us. Chautauqua Opportunities, a group of men who represented them, went down to Washington several times to help to get more funds. These funds were earmarked for various objects as Congressman Goodell so well told you.

I believe he himself went to the Office of Economic Opportunity to plead for us to get more funds. There was a delay, there is no doubt about it. However, we were finally funded. Because I was quite sure that Congressman Goodell would do something we proceeded as if we had been funded.

Mr. GOODELL. It is a good thing you had faith.

Sister BAPTISTA. We hired teachers. We ordered books. We didn't pay for anything for a long time. I would have had to leave the county if we had not been funded—probably leave the country.

Mr. QUIE. You and Congressman Goodell both.

Mr. GOODELL. Sister, the lack of coordination of the different programs that have gone on there, and I was referring to such things as the problem of getting State funds and poverty funds and elementary and secondary funds working here in a coordinated way; could you make a little comment on that?

Sister BAPTISTA. I would like to comment but I am on very thin ice when it comes to organization. When I came into Dunkirk, I was so stupid I did not know that Dunkirk has a school system and all the others have central school systems. You can imagine how all superintendents felt about me for awhile because I was calling it the general school system and they said this is a city school system.

The board of cooperative educational services that worked throughout the county and handled all of the curriculum and hiring of teachers and so on for the whole county certainly is tremendous. There are 17 school districts in that area. I am under contract to them. I give workshops for the board of occupational services. I gave it to Jamestown in November.

I have gone up to Mayville and various places for workshops and worked very closely with these teachers. I have given workshops to

the public school teachers of Dunkirk, in reading, remedial reading and developmental psychology to these teachers.

I have gone to all the public schools and talked to the parents and teachers. I feel that the coordination and cooperation has been good.

Did you have anything else in mind?

Mr. GOODELL. I think both these programs are relatively new in getting underway and we have some interesting projections on how we are going to move into this area. Any lack of coordination at the moment is probably a problem of getting started.

I have one other question that I think is relative as far as this committee is concerned. The youngsters that you come in contact with are largely youngsters whom the existing school system has failed in one way or another. I am not blaming the school system alone. It is society that has failed.

You have made it dramatically clear that you cannot bring them back simply with additional teachers or the remedial school approach. Their problems are broader in scope; family, nutrition, health, attitude, all of this.

Can you give us just a brief description of how you go about attacking the more subtle problem of these youngsters? You do not have a large amount of money to give them nutritional help, you don't have a large amount of money to meet their family problems or do things meaningful that can begin to change their attitude.

How do you go about this?

Sister BAPTISTA. I think you have an important point that concerns the motivation of these youngsters later on. First of all we do have four wonderful VISTA volunteers this year. We had two last year who did a tremendous job in our area, they developed what they call an experience room.

The Rotary built the room, equipped the room. These VISTA volunteers came in. This is something that is not connected with reading. It definitely is connected with all learning. It takes care of the subtle things that underlie a child being happy or unhappy in a learning situation.

They built a marionette stage, a puppet stage. Here were little youngsters who had never spoken English before, learning to work these little puppets where they did not have to be concerned how they sounded because they were behind the stage. These puppets were being worked on. They were putting on the shows for them. Thus, youngsters who had never before been selected to be in a show other than opening or closing the doors or pulling down the shades, as one youngster told me. This youngster was permitted to have a vital part in the community. He went around to the various church organizations and he put on a show with the VISTA volunteers. This was a tremendous thing for the youngsters.

Secondly, with these particular children we did do, I feel, a great deal of writing. This is where it really wears you out. I think any teacher will tell you this. We saw these children two and three and four times outside their reading classes to ask them what they were having trouble with.

Sometimes they would come in and they would not have any reading at all. We would just talk with them. It was a type of therapy with these youngsters that they needed far more than the "Textbook open

at page 17." They needed somebody to sit down and talk with them. We also installed a one-way vision mirror which we questioned at great length because it cost \$400 or \$500.

It has paid for itself a million times. The child is not aware it is there. A good teacher can carry on a testing program and tutoring program, the mother sits back and hears how the teacher comes to the child. She does not say "Stop, don't you know better." But the teacher says "I think you can do the job. That is not too difficult. Remember we did this yesterday. This is just a little harder. That is all."

She hears this conversational tone with which the teacher handles this child. She observes it all. She can ask questions about it.

We hope to install some kind of recording system where the parents will hear everything that is said but up to this point we haven't.

We never use the one-way vision mirror with the teenager without telling them because they would never trust us. We usually say, "We have visitors, would you mind if they observed." They say, "If they are not going to be in here looking at me, OK." But we never use it without telling the children.

I think children cannot learn anything unless they are content and comfortable. This is again where not only our volunteers but our fine neighborhood youth corps come in.

We have six neighborhood youth corps girls. Four are colored girls, two are Puerto Rican youngsters who have done a tremendous job with our youngsters.

They help to interpret many of the problems for us because they are the big sisters of these children or they live in the same block with them. I think we very often overlook the good that another youngster from that same area can do. In fact I brought a tape with me. All we did was ask a VISTA volunteer to go up and talk with them.

We taped it. "How do you feel about the school system? How do you feel about your work here at Boorady?" We did not mean for them to talk about the school system. It was interesting to hear these youngsters say, "We like to watch good teachers teach. We like to know that these youngsters are having their questions answered."

You might be interested in this, talking about the little subtle things that happen. Last year we asked for evaluation from the children. The questions, maybe were loaded, I don't know, because I really wanted to know how the kids felt about it. We said, "How is this school different from any other school you have ever been to?" We had 189 reports. Not one single child misspelled the word teacher.

They misspelled a lot of other words. They liked it because somebody does not yell at them or something. You know if you talk cross, they think it is yelling. Not one child misspelled that word. To me this is very significant. You won't misspell or mispronounce a name of someone that you have confidence in. Here were third grade children spelling the name teacher correctly when they could not spell "can" correctly.

Mr. GOODELL. I wish we could go on all day with this. Your testimony is extremely helpful and impressive. Let me congratulate you on your presentation and the work you are doing.

For the record I will ask you how much we are going to commit ourselves beyond what we have this year. Are you and I in danger of being run out again?

Sister BAPTISTA. What are we going to do? Our children have learned to write letters to their Congressman, believe me. They know where Washington is. One of the youngsters came in with a little letter from some Congressman. You know children, there is no gray, just black and white. He came in, "I have a letter from the Government, you are going to get your money. It is all settled."

"Who wrote the letter?"

"His name was written so badly I could not tell but the Secretary typed it underneath."

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you, Sister. I hope that was not my signature.

Sister BAPTISTA. I am sure it wasn't.

Mr. GOODELL. Thank you very, very much. I don't know what we are going to do next year.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you, Sister. We appreciate your testimony. Mr. Bell, do you have any questions?

Mr. BELL. No questions, but it is a pleasure to welcome you here. I am sorry I was not able to hear your complete testimony.

Sister BAPTISTA. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Holmes, If you will take a chair and bring anybody up to the table that you would like to have with you to testify.

Mr. Holmes, will you identify yourself and introduce the other members of the panel and move right ahead with your testimony.

**STATEMENT OF K. DAVID HOLMES, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT POVERTY COUNCIL, WATERBURY, CONN.; ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM HARRIS, WATERBURY, CONN.; SAMUEL RUSSELL, HARTFORD, CONN.; AND MRS. JACKIE SHAFFER, HARTFORD, CONN.**

Mr. HOLMES. I am David Holmes from Waterbury, Conn. On my right is Anthony Carter from Waterbury, Mr. William Harris from Waterbury, Conn. They represent various councils which are inactive of the target area.

Chairman PERKINS. They are on the community action board?

Mr. HOLMES. Yes, councils of neighborhood organizations.

On my left, Samuel Russell from Hartford, Conn., also from the target areas of Hartford, Conn.

Chairman PERKINS. Would you like to introduce the young lady, too?

Mr. HOLMES. In the rear is Mrs. Jackie Shaffer, also from Hartford, Conn., also from one of the target areas in Hartford.

My name is K. David Holmes and I live at 17 Newall Place, Waterbury, Conn.

I am the elected president of Action Council, one of five neighborhood organizations representing sections of Waterbury designated as poverty areas. I also represent my neighborhood on the board of directors of the local antipoverty agency, New Opportunities for Waterbury, Inc.

Last year the neighborhood councils of Waterbury joined with similar neighborhood groups in other Connecticut cities to form the Connecticut Poverty Council.

It is this group I speak for today; an organization of the once invisible poor of one of the most affluent States of this most affluent country.

Three years ago it would probably have been impossible for a delegation representing the poor of any State to come to Washington at the invitation of such a distinguished committee. The fact that we are here today is significant testimony to an initial area of success of anti-poverty efforts in Connecticut.

After decades of well-intentioned, but in too many cases largely ineffective, social welfare efforts, Congress, with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, at last promised the poor a voice in the decisions which would hopefully lead them out of the ghettos and their poverty. But what has happened since 1964?

Just as the impact of the war on poverty was beginning to be felt, Congress cut 1967 appropriations to less than half of the \$3.39 billion which the Office of Economic Opportunity felt was necessary to continue the momentum of the program. Congress then compounded the damage by earmarking large shares of the fiscal 1967 appropriations, thus limiting the voice of the poor in determining their own local needs. This earmarking was in direct conflict with the intent of the original legislation.

As one result of this congressional action, Waterbury had to cut back its antipoverty program by about 30 percent, and a pending application for a day care facility, the top priority item sought by the poor of Waterbury, was never funded. Agencies in other Connecticut cities suffered similar experiences.

This year the House is considering a bill which would authorize \$2.06 billion for economic opportunity amendments, still \$1 $\frac{1}{3}$  billion less than the amount OEO said was needed 2 years ago to continue the momentum of the program.

There are those who will try to reduce the \$2.06 billion authorization and to them we of the Connecticut Poverty Council say there is need in our State to spend three, four, and five times present allocations to fight a winning fight against poverty.

There are those who will say that the financial demands of the war in Vietnam, the space program and other Federal responsibilities limit the resources we can devote to the war on poverty. To them we say that if the Federal Government does not have the resources, the State and city governments and the poor themselves certainly don't have them and the only alternative is to leave for our children as a harder task that part of the job which we do not face today.

There are those who advocate the elimination of the OEO and splitting up of its programs among other old line agencies as an economy and efficiency measure. To them we say that we are convinced that the innovations of OEO have been the stimuli which are beginning to make old line agencies produce. Without OEO and its built-in resident participation, programs run by old line agencies do not and will not reach the poor.

This past June, with the strong support of the Connecticut Poverty Council, the Connecticut General Assembly passed a Community Development Act which will provide State financial assistance to communities for a wide variety of community development programs including those of Community Action agencies. The cities of Connecticut themselves are devoting new energy and financing to solving the problems of urban blight and poverty. The city of Waterbury, for example, recently created the new position of development co-



ordinator and private citizens contributed \$427,000 toward the creation of a private nonprofit development corporation to provide the city with the resources which would enable it to wisely utilize federally assisted programs of community development, including those aimed at elimination of slums and poverty. Much of the stimulus for this type of self-help activity can be traced directly to the existence of the various antipoverty agencies throughout the State and the new voice they have given to the poor.

In conclusion, we of the Connecticut Poverty Council feel that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was sound and needed legislation and that its intent is being met in Connecticut. We feel that the OEO should be retained with maximum flexibility in its funding powers so individual communities can determine the priorities of their own needs. And finally, we strongly urge that the authorization figures listed in H.R. 8311 be considered as minimums and be increased substantially wherever possible.

Thank you.

Mr. QUIE. Thank you, Mr. Holmes. Do any of the people with you now wish to make a statement before we begin to ask questions?

Mr. HARRIS. I do have one statement to make that I think is not getting across to the neighborhood. We, as the poverty people in the community, do not have enough representation on the poverty board of directors.

So far, I think we only have one who has been selected from our entire poverty area. Most of the representatives on the board come from maybe the city, itself, city hall, appointed by the mayor. The controlling interest of the poverty programs is not in behalf of the poor people.

I don't think it is fair to the people. I think that the poor people should have the controlling board members to represent them from their own poverty area.

Mr. QUIE. Along that line, may I ask a question? How big is the Community Action board?

Mr. HOLMES. Locally, helping my colleague, we have an 18-member board. As presently constituted, one-third comes from the poverty area.

Mr. QUIE. You have six from the poverty area. Does that mean six neighborhood centers from which they drew?

Mr. HOLMES. Technically, that is true.

Mr. QUIE. Is it far from reality? It would be interesting to have a comment on that point.

Mr. CARTER. Actually we have our large councils. The committee will have one representative. We feel that in order to get the most out of these programs that we should have the representation from the people of the area.

I think you have to live in the area to know the people. You can't come from management living out in the aristocrat neighborhood and come and tell the poor people how to run the program. You don't know anything about the poor people, how to contact them, what are their problems.

You can read newspapers, but that is not the hard core. In order to get the hard core people out and interested in these various programs you have to be able to mingle and socialize with them. Let

them understand what we have to present to them. We felt that if we had more representation from the poverty area, say two delegates from each council, that would give us nice representation on the board.

I am almost sure that we would get all the mileage out of each program.

Mr. QUIE. You have four councils and six members on four. Does that mean that two of them have two members on the board?

Mr. HOLMES. I think we take one from each other agency like the united council fund. We have one representative from each council.

Mr. QUIE. You have one representative from each council. That accounts for four. Where are the other representatives?

Mr. HOLMES. We have one from a committee, from committees like small different areas combined into one. The rest come from like united council.

Mr. QUIE. They pick the representative for you?

Mr. HOLMES. They pick them. We don't.

Mr. QUIE. The representatives of the mayor, of those agencies?

Mr. HOLMES. Yes. They are from management, labor and what-have-you, and they rule. They have the power. We feel in the council we should protest and fight, the only way we can get across our point. We have talked to people in the programs and we have told them, like in manpower and different other programs, it is not getting to the people. We felt that if we had the representation we would see that the program would be fully used.

Mr. QUIE. As you know, the law provides that you must have one-third from the poor. From your definition, I don't believe that you have more than five who are truly representative of the poor.

Mr. HOLMES. That is right.

Mr. QUIE. I don't know whether Mr. Holmes agrees with that or not.

Mr. HOLMES. We have discussed this with the regional office. We have been assured that our agency does come within the lines of what is currently on the books.

Mr. QUIE. You are not one of the eight who does not qualify?

Mr. HOLMES. We have looked into this. We feel that the manner in which the board was selected should have been more profoundly discussed. You have fragmented areas of poverty, as Mr. Carter has said. It is our feeling perhaps that they should have two along with the concentrated areas of poverty which would more or less put the programs in a position, since we are dealing with the board of directors of a policymaking body.

Mr. QUIE. Your suggestion is that it would work best if the two members of the board came from each council which would make eight and then one from at large, making nine, having half of the members of the board.

Mr. CARTER. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. I know that there is great objection to permitting the poor to have a majority voice on the board. I personally feel very strongly that we must reach that point in community agencies where we accept that 50 or 51 percent of the boards be representative of the poor, I mean truly representative of the poor, and not somebody that the mayor appoints and someone who is selected and changed when he wants to.

I tried to offer an amendment requiring 51 percent of the board be representative of the poor with no chance at all. The best I could do was the amendment adopted last year requiring one-third of the poor on the board.

I appreciate your comments. I will venture that this is the key to the typical war on poverty. The people who are going to get out of the ghettos and poverty must be involved in their improvement.

Now, from your statement, I gather the people with the middle class concept, people like myself, have no way to truly understand the problems of poverty because I don't live there. I can visit there but the fact I know a week later I can leave means I don't understand it. As I read it, the only way you understand it is if you know you can't get out. As much as I try to read about it, I do not fully understand it. Yet, we need to involve people with the middle-class concept, the businessmen, because it is by working with them, also, that you will come out of poverty.

Once you are out of poverty, then you will start thinking like them. They have to be included, don't you agree, but yet the majority voice eventually needs to be with the poor people.

Mr. HOLMES. Changing the attitudes along this line. We have felt that with any program, particularly in the area of employment, it was almost essential that you have representatives of labor and management.

I state again when you are dealing with a board of directors, when you vote you have to have the strength to say, well, let us move this program. If you are in a minority some programs become stagnated and one has to have a little muscle if the true intent of the act is there.

How we resolve this on a democratic basis I don't know but on any board there has to be a majority.

Mr. HARRIS. We have this consumers' ed program. I don't know that it has served a useful purpose in our particular part of the the program.

It has not served any purpose.

Mr. QUIE. In other words, the people from your council did not ask for a consumers' education program? Who asked for it?

Mr. HARRIS. It was not asked for. It was put on us. It has not produced anything as far as poverty is concerned.

I don't see it.

Mr. HOLMES. We strongly documented day care and these are some of the problems you run up against. We realize you are dealing with money and you never have enough. You go out and get community participation, say find out what you want. This is fairly well documented.

I think Mrs. Shaffer can testify not only about Waterbury but most of the cities in the State of Connecticut, it would mean on ADCH skills that were off the labor market and jobs that were advertised, if they had some where they could leave their children they could be gainfully employed and off the welfare rolls.

Mr. QUIE. Mrs. Shaffer, do you wish to make any comment about the make-up of the Company Action Agency in Hartford or about the representation of the poor?

Mrs. SHAFFER. We don't have the same problems they have in Waterbury. We have eight councils and I am chairman of one. We have two representatives from each council on our board of directors.

Mr. QUIE. Making 16.

Mrs. SHAFFER. Sixteen.

Mr. QUIE. How big a board?

Mrs. SHAFFER. Thirty-two. So it is half and half.

Mr. QUIE. You have made it?

Mrs. SHAFFER. We really fought for it too. As Mr. Holmes said, the problems that we really need to reach we are not reaching because day care is a main problem in Connecticut. We have one day care center in Hartford sponsored by the women's league. We have one by the city. They are not even tapping the resources of the people that they could because they don't have the facilities.

As he spoke, the welfare women would like to get off welfare if we could have day care but nobody has the money to fund the day care program.

Mr. HOLMES. We have a \$2 million program.

Mrs. SHAFFER. That is true, but we don't get that much out of it for day care. I don't know exactly what was allocated for day care out of \$2 million, some of it was, but we are not going to be able to do anything with it. Day care is a big problem in Connecticut. I know this because I have been fighting for it for over a year.

I have gotten nowhere. We have in Hartford a church that was offered to us. We had to fight the code inspectors, the fire inspectors and everybody else. It was used as a church but it could not be used as day care.

We finally got that passed. Then we had to have money for the director. Mr. Vanderbilt who runs the league day care offered to train a director, to get one. Nobody has the money for day care. But everything else you get.

Mr. QUIE. Would you like to make a comment about Hartford?

Mr. RUSSELL. My name is Samuel Russell. I am from Hartford. We have two problems. One is houses. The other is day care. Speaking about day care, I have been living in this one particular area for a period of 10 years. We have, I would say, about 600 kids in this area. We have a lot of mothers who like to work, they ask to work, they are willing to work. They are getting assistance from welfare. But they don't have any place to put the kids, no one to keep the kids. They have been writing letters to Congress, one thing or another and they still don't seem to get any place.

They have a small day care center in the area where I live but it does not help the situation too much. Now we could have, as I say, a day care center in Hartford. If we could get one in South Arsenal it would actually cut down on some of your tax funds. You would have more people that could work and it would cut down on the tax problem.

Mr. QUIE. There is more and more a realization in Congress of the need of day care centers.

Now, Mr. Holmes said in his testimony that there was a damage to the poverty program by earmarking a large share of the fiscal 1967 appropriation. I thought there would be. I thought it would be unwise last year. I didn't make as big a fuss last year as I will this year, because I think it is proven now that the best way we can distribute the money is through versatile programs—through decisions that can be made, so that the programs that you need at Hartford are the ones you utilize, the ones you need in Waterbury are the ones you utilize.

Again, there is nobody in Congress or in OEO who knows exactly what you need or how to standardize the regulations along these lines.

But my question to you is do you want an earmarked day care program to make sure it goes to day care or should we provide additional money for community action?

Would you prefer that that be expanded and therefore you could utilize versatile community action money for day care if you felt that was the greatest need?

Mr. HOLMES. In order to give each city its choice upon documentation I don't think I can come out and take it off the top of my head and say I want this. I think there has been some demonstrated evidence to prove this is the area where the city wants to gear itself.

I think there should be ability in flexibility with the local cap agencies for the board to resolve and say, "Well, this is where it goes."

Mr. QUIE. I gather what you are saying is that if we expand the versatile program you would use it for day care because this is needed more than anything else.

Mr. HOLMES. Some other city might say legal services or community action.

Mr. QUIE. If the Congress were unwilling to increase community action versatile money but was willing to give day care money earmarked, would you prefer to have earmarked day care money rather than none at all?

Mr. HOLMES. Definitely.

Mr. CARTER. I would like to still dwell on the board of directors. I know you understand but still I felt—

Mr. QUIE. I might say that OEO is going to hear from us on that.

Mr. CARTER. I talked to Mrs. Goldstein, the OEO director in the New England area. We were trying to get her to go along with us to get us representation. Also we are having problems as far as preprimary, especially in my council area, because we have preprimary in all different areas of the city except what I call the need council which we have discussed with the board of health and even with the director of preprimary.

There seems to be some conflict as far as the building. In order to have preprimary you have to have so much space. We also talked to Mrs. Goldstein from OEO. She said if you don't have certain facilities as long as the fire martial—we have to make allowance but in our city we don't get preprimary unless the whole city is qualified to have preprimary.

The only point that the council and the mothers in the petition—I would like to read what I have—it is very short. It says, "Operation of Pre-Primary."

They say, "What preprimary," "when, now". "Our children have been neglected in this area because of the inability of preprimary and health department to find a building suitable for preschool. The money is available. It has been for at least 2 years. Our children deserve an opportunity to become acquainted with the things that will give them a headstart in school." I have a few signatures of people who have signed. We have met with the health department. We have a meeting next week with the mayor. In certain areas, in all the areas none of the preprimary schools come up to the qualification of what OEO designates.

Yet still they seem to neglect us. They have money enough for two preprimaries in the area because there are so many children.

Yet the director of the health department here seems to object. As I talked to Mrs. Goldstein, the parents felt in that area if we cannot have preprimary we think nobody in the city should have it.

That is a little outrageous but this is the kind of threats we have to make in order to get the things that we actually need. That is why I asked that the board of directors should actually be two from each council.

As far as jobs, like manpower, we have labor liaison, he is supposed to get the manpower director to meet with management and try to set up programs. Then we have three people on the manpower that were presidents of unions. What do you need a liaison for. That money could be used for something else. Here is a liaison getting \$9,000 or \$10,000 a year. It does not make sense. We feel that the people who are training are training in small factories. We have one of the three largest brass industry in the world, American Brass and Chains. They have programs for training skilled jobs, youngsters who drop out but the manpower has not hit them. That is why we expressed these sentiments to Mrs. Goldstein.

We will make sure that we check to broaden the training programs in the large industries so that dropouts and what-have-you will get an opportunity to train.

Mr. HARRIS. I would just like to say about these neighborhood council presidents. We are elected from the neighborhood, from the poor areas by the poor people. We don't get a salary of any kind.

Ours is strictly charity. We are not asking for anything. As you can see, we are not out trying to make a buck for ourselves. We weren't interested in the thing from the beginning of it. We all want to see that the thing is done right. Sending the money into the city as I said awhile ago for day care, unless we get representatives on the board from these poverty areas actually the board can use the money for what they want it for unless we have representatives there, unless it is designated for day care.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Holmes, you serve on the Connecticut Poverty Council. As I understand you, this is made up of the councils, not the umbrella community action boards, but councils. Is that right?

Mr. HOLMES. Let me explain CPC to you. Last December when the alarm came out there was a possibility of a cutback, we were cut back 30 percent. Using community action involvement of the people we called a statewide conference of all these councils. This is the culmination of our efforts by my being here to testify.

We filed a brief. We thought that the 1964 act was well intentioned. As I said in my testimony, I think in large measure the act of 1964 was one of the reasons why Connecticut responded with this human development commission.

We represent eight cities in the State of Connecticut.

Mr. QUIE. One of the purposes in coming to Washington and in testifying before the committee is trying to scare money from the State?

Mr. HOLMES. We did. We were instrumental. We were instrumental in getting the State to set up this human development commission.

Mr. QUIE. Are you getting money from them?

Mr. HOLMES. To assist in this war on poverty. We were instrumental. We lobbied in Hartford and joined forces with other groups who were interested in getting the State of Connecticut to commit itself to the eradication of poverty.

Mr. QUIE. Has it had any effect on improving some community action boards to involve more people from the council? Have you done any work on this?

Mr. HOLMES. The fact that we are here, the agencies are not scattered around. We hope to continue our effort as an organization.

Mr. QUIE. Let me point out a comment on the reduction in money, that \$3.39 billion evidently was what the Office of Economic Opportunity felt was needed but the Bureau of the Budget or Executive Branch scaled that down to \$1,750 million. This is what the Congress was requested to appropriate. Then Congress scaled that down by another \$130 million to \$1,062 million. So the Bureau of the Budget knocked out \$1,640 million while the Congress knocked out \$130 million. So I would say that the greatest blame is on the Bureau of the Budget and not on the Congress for the reduction.

I yield to my colleague from California.

Mr. BELL. I have just a couple of questions. Mr. Holmes, I note that on page 3 of your statement you refer to the fact that you believe the OEO should be retained. Then you go on to discuss the maximum flexibility in funding and so forth. But you do believe OEO should be retained; is that correct?

Mr. HOLMES. That is correct.

Mr. BELL. On page 2 you state that there are those who will try to reduce the \$2.06 billion authorization. My question is really twofold. I assume by your statement that you think that amount should be retained and that you have feeling there are some who want to get rid of OEO; is that right?

Mr. HOLMES. That is correct.

Mr. BELL. Do you feel that those are the same people who you mentioned will try to reduce the amount to OEO?

Mr. HOLMES. No, that is not the intention.

Mr. BELL. It has no connection?

Mr. HOLMES. No.

Mr. BELL. The reason I brought that question up, Mr. Holmes, is that I am sure you have heard of the Opportunity Crusade, whose authors are Mr. Quie, and Mr. Goodell. I want to make it clear that there is no dollar reduction in that substitute amendment.

As a matter of fact, if anything it would increase the amount. If the OEO should be abolished by an amendment, it would be for the purpose of making the poverty program more efficient.

I wanted to clarify that because I feel some people think that this amendment is an attempt to kill or hurt the poverty program. It is not at all. I note that there has been some publicity about your committee, the political activities of your staff and the fact that some of you became worried about it and passed a ruling as to the political rights of poverty program staff members.

Was there any particular experience you might have had that caused you to take that action?

Mr. HOLMES. No personal experience. I have a strong feeling from the personal standpoint, a true fight on poverty should be strictly on

a nonpartisan basis. Where you have a change in the administration that would not be helpful to the program, itself.

Of course, in community action there are political needs and there are community needs. I think you have to make the evaluation and distinction, yourself.

Mr. BELL. Yes. I can see from reading the article a certain amount of dynamite in staff members getting active in one way or another in a political matter.

Mr. QUIE. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. Would it not be true that as a community gains in economic strength, economic muscle, and pride itself, it then gains a political voice that it never would have gained if it had engaged in partisan politics initially?

Mr. HOLMES. That is true. I state again there are political needs and there are community needs.

Mr. QUIE. If you resolve your community needs it gives you political muscles to develop—

Mr. HOLMES. Political means are used to solve political needs.

Mr. BELL. From your statement I assume you generally agree that earmarking is in direct conflict with the intent of the legislation. I would be inclined to agree with that. I assume that you agree with Mr. Quie that earmarking is not in the best interest of the poverty program.

It would inhibit the flexibility to innovate. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. QUIE. I have one other area I would like to pursue. Your comment on page 3 about OEO being the stimuli of old-line agencies. As we talked earlier the real genesis of the war on poverty and the people coming out of poverty eventually is their becoming involved in this program.

Don't you feel that the other programs where the largest amount of Federal help comes from, something like \$30 billion, comes from a genesis other than OEO, something less than \$2 billion from OEO, that that same principle needs to eventually be a part of their program through community action, through involvement of the poor, with the poor having a voice in the operation of the programs?

Mr. HOLMES. That is true. I would go along with that.

Mr. QUIE. I will refer specifically to housing. We have spent some time now with urban renewal and public housing. Don't you feel that all of these programs would have been much more effective if the people in the neighborhood and the ghetto which was to be torn down and improved, if the people who left there would have had a dominant voice in deciding their future?

Mr. HOLMES. Yes. I strongly believe in that.

Mr. QUIE. And the same thing would be true of manpower programs, training skills. It would also be a significant factor in improving the effectiveness of these programs.

Mr. HOLMES. Manpower also?

Mr. QUIE. Yes.

Mr. HOLMES. Manpower, you have to have a combination of ingredients. You have to have a partnership here. In a ghetto you don't employ. And you have labor unions and you have the right of co-operation. I go along with the idea on the board you have to have a



good cross-section, particularly with some programs, in order to have the necessary ingredients to effectuate particularly a manpower program.

You must have management, corporations, labor and you must have the one who wants a job.

Mr. QUIE. You notice so often that the manpower board is made up of the employer and labor, organized labor, but usually the people who are to be helped are not represented on those boards.

Mr. HOLMES. This is where the muscle from the board will give direction. You have to make reports. If you don't have the power on the board, so to speak, nothing will be done.

Mr. QUIE. Also, the same would be true in the health field and the welfare field—the same kind of strength in improving the effectiveness of the program—Community Action operation could be affected there, would that not be true?

Mr. HOLMES. Yes.

Mr. QUIE. I want you to know as this is written up in the paper our proposal would eliminate OEO. The intent is not to remove the stimuli but to find a means of increasing it, of extending it to the other \$30 billion of Federal, not just the \$2 billion. This is the suggestion we have made to be considered during the hearings.

Whether that is the approach we will take in the final legislation is hard to tell but we are looking for a way. It may be a different way than has been brought about. I agree with you that some way must be found to stimulate the involvement of the poor.

Before yielding to my colleague from California, I would like at this point to insert a statement from Dr. Arthur B. Shostak, associate professor, Department of Social Sciences, Drexel Institute of Science and Technology, Philadelphia, Pa., relative to his observations and recommendations concerning the Community Action Program and related matters, which I believe will be of interest to the committee. I now yield to Mr. Bell.

(The statement of Dr. Arthur B. Shostak follows:)

STATEMENT OF DR. ARTHUR B. SHOSTAK, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, DREXEL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Gentlemen, I appreciate this opportunity to have my observations and reform recommendations entered into the Record. As a professional researcher and writer, I have spent the last three years examining the anti-poverty problem and the various reform efforts addressed to this problem. I have done field research in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Boston, Wilmington, Trenton, New York and, most especially, Philadelphia. I have published on the subject in *American Child*, *Social Work*, *Social Forces*, and *The Annals*; I have co-edited the first paperback anthology on poverty, *New Perspectives on Poverty* (Spectrum, 1964) and have edited a rare anthology of first-person accounts of efforts to use sociology to alleviate human suffering (*Sociology in Action*—Dorsey, 1966). In the Fall, and again in the Winter of 1967, two new anthologies will appear containing lengthy essays of mine evaluating the progress thus far made—or missed—in the War on Poverty.

I propose in this brief statement to focus on recommendations, and only the key among these, in several vital areas:

#### I. INVOLVEMENT OF THE POOR

Experience makes plain the need for OEO-sponsored and joint OEO-local CAP rule over compulsory staff training for all non-professional elected representatives of the poor. Philadelphia, to cite just one of several possible examples, has failed thusfar to secure OEO approval for a Training Institute—and this has cost dearly in the skills of the 144 elected spokesmen for the poor.

Second, I urge OEO to require all CAP Boards to include the manpower specialists of the city—and two or three professors representing the major local institutions of higher-learning. This is not true in Philadelphia, but is true of New Haven, where it has long established its worth.

Third, I urge OEO to use its power to fund 20 per cent of CAP funds outside the Umbrella Agency's approval in such a way as to keep local CAP attentive to grass-roots ideas and needs. That is, OEO should not hesitate to fund a proposal sent directly to it by a CAP or public group angered by a local CAP rejection—if the proposal has real merit, and its passage will force the local CAP to evaluate its position anew.

## II. COORDINATION

OEO should urge all mayors to establish a special cabinet meeting on a bi-weekly schedule to focus on the city's anti-poverty effort and insure communication and coordination among all the various relevant branches of city government. By pre-arrangement state and federal officials might be invited to participate.

OEO should also undertake the publication and circulation of a newsletter proposal sent directly to it by a CAP or public group angered by a local CAP people now operate in isolation, and would profit much from national news of the new.

## III. MISCELLANEOUS

OEO should insist that a non-voting ex-officio member of its organization be seated on all local CAP Boards—so as to reduce confusion over OEO positions and provide instant answers to questions Board members raise about OEO.

Academicians in every city with a CAP program should be employed by OEO to undertake long-term evaluations of the local CAP program.

OEO should lobby in Congress for the inclusion of a provision guaranteeing the development of non-professional careers as part of all new social welfare legislation (e.g., education, medical, etc.).

OEO—or some other national body—should publicize the activities of Philadelphia's Maximum Participation Movement, and urge its replication elsewhere in the nation. Maximum Participation Movement is a citizen group dedicated to helping the poor help themselves out of poverty. Maximum Participation Movement evaluates all CAP programs in Philadelphia, compares them to the needs of the poor and the achievements of other cities, and reports twice a month to over 400 Philadelphians on local anti-poverty scene.

Should these recommendations merit further clarification and possibly even enactment, I stand ready to assist the Committee in any possible way. Again, please accept my appreciation for this opportunity and my compliments for your earnest concern with helping America soon win its War against Poverty.

Mr. BELL. Mrs. Shaffer, go ahead.

Mrs. SHAFFER. You may have read last week about the unrest in Hartford. Out of this unrest we have talked communitywise, neighborhoodwise, everything. This seems to be the biggest problem. The neighborhood people are not represented on boards and commissions other than OEO projects.

They do not have a voice. Communications between these boards and commissions seem to be the biggest problem. This is one of the biggest problems that came out of that unrest up there.

Mr. QUITE. You read in the paper about Minneapolis?

Mrs. SHAFFER. Yes.

Mr. QUITE. That is my State, although I don't represent Minneapolis. I noted earlier that welfare recipients had been to the welfare offices indicating that they had no voice and even though they are on welfare they were human beings and therefore ought to be respected and should have a voice.

Mrs. SHAFFER. The same thing in Hartford.

Mr. BELL. I would like to clarify what I think the gentleman from Minnesota has been talking about. If, for example, some of the functions of OEO were transferred to the Department of Health, Educa-

tion, and Welfare, there would not be any change insofar as representation of the poor is concerned in any particular operation. The representation would be the same.

Am I right?

Mr. QUIE. There would be no reduction. There would be improvement by way of requiring a neighborhood council, which is not in the law now, a neighborhood council that would have to be all representative of the poor.

Mrs. SHAFFER. If OEO money was transferred to Health and Welfare we wouldn't have representation because we don't have any representation in Health and Welfare.

Mr. QUIE. Under our proposal you would. We pick up community action as it is now, bodily, and place it over there. The only difference would be that John Gardner would be the boss of Ted Berry instead of Sargent Shriver.

From all he says he is totally committed to Sargent Shriver. If he appoints Sargent Shriver as his Under Secretary, you would operate exactly the same. But the transfer would then give this person the overall responsibility that Wilbur Cohen has now in HEW, with the muscle that the poor would have a voice in the program, in health, welfare, and education.

This is not completely satisfactory to me because there are some other areas too. That is in the manpower training and housing areas. I wouldn't be satisfied until the poor have a voice in the programs all the way down the line at the Federal level.

Mr. BELL. If I may continue to elaborate further on some of the advantage to this.

Mrs. Shaffer, you probably have in your organization a Headstart program, do you not?

Mrs. SHAFFER. Yes, we have.

Mr. BELL. Sometimes in some places you may have a Headstart program to get the children started and then they go into a school which is not a very good school.

The children lose what they have gained by Headstart. If Headstart, for example, were under Health, Education, and Welfare where the school system was all closely allied and connected, something could be done to be sure the carrythrough would be accomplished. There is an example of a greater efficiency.

Mrs. SHAFFER. You have a followup?

Mr. BELL. Opportunity Crusade is a more efficient method of doing the same thing. OEO has done a good job in getting things started, but the breakdown in efficiency has been rampant throughout the country. My district is somewhat close to the Watts area of Los Angeles. It is not a part of it but it is close to it.

I know that just about 4 days before the Watts riot we had been testifying there in Will Rogers Park auditorium. The place was filled with people, all complaining about the promises that had been made through the OEO on which there had been no delivery.

This was a partial cause of the unrest.

Mrs. SHAFFER. This is true. We found out in Hartford when they had the cutback that a lot of these programs they had started and were working effectively on, they had to drop when the cutback came. This is when all this unrest started. It did not just start last week. They

didn't have the money to do as they were promising the people they were going to try to do. This is one of the main causes of that unrest. We got some money for the summer program. To give you an illustration. We had about 700 teenagers from the ages of 16 to 19 apply for these jobs. We only had 400 jobs to give these kids. Now we have 300 kids who are trying to find something to do for the rest of the summer.

Even with all the money we had here earmarked for summer programs it is not going to help.

Mr. BELL. Those are all the questions I have.

Chairman PERKINS. We want to thank you for coming.

Mr. QUIE. You have been most helpful. I had intended to do this rather quickly since I talked to Mr. Holmes, but your testimony was so interesting that I have gone beyond the time that I have to be at another meeting.

Mr. BELL. I would like to second Mr. Quie's statement. Your testimony has been excellent.

Mr. HOLMES. Thank you for listening to us.

(Mr. Goldberg's prepared statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF MR. NED GOLDBERG, CONSULTANT, ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS,  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

We welcome this opportunity to present the views of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Inc., on H.R. 8311, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. In the past, our agency has supported before this Committee a wide range of anti-poverty measures and, in 1964, President Johnson's proposal for an Economic Opportunity Act.

We support the major proposals and intent of H.R. 8311, but are opposed specifically to some of the amendments proposed as we shall indicate below. Further, we are opposed to any Bill which would, at this time, eliminate the Office of Economic Opportunity and distribute its programs to other Federal agencies.

The National Federation of Settlements has 246 member agencies and services 16 more, operating 399 neighborhood centers in 94 cities, 30 states and the District of Columbia. 22 metropolitan or regional federations of neighborhood centers are affiliates, too. In addition, NFS operates a National Training Center, based in Chicago. NFS works nationally for neighborhood conditions favorable to family life and helps its member centers to serve their neighborhoods effectively through a wide range of direct and advisory services. Most of our member centers are engaged in anti-poverty programs and have been over many years. Currently, in addition to their voluntarily funded efforts, they administer some \$40 million in OEO funds. The National Federation of Settlements reaffirms its continuing support of an effective Economic Opportunity Act, in the full context of the Declaration of Purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It advanced as the goal of our nation the elimination of "the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty—by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

We submit that the bill now before you, while incorporating some excellent amendments, falls too far short of this ideal. It seems to us to be more oriented toward quieting some of the critics of this essential federal program than toward improving the charter for the programs it will help fund.

We endorse the evident intent of the bill that there be no dismantlement of the Office of Economic Opportunity and no further delegations of programs, at this time, to other federal departments for administration. We support the concept of OEO as an arm of the Executive Office of the President.

We shall limit our testimony, in the main, to those titles and sections of the bill which, we believe, need revision.

*Authorization of Appropriation*

We endorse an increase in OEO funding, but believe the amount proposed, \$2.06 billion, still falls far short of adequate funding.

The field investigations of this Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty have served to underscore the crisis confronting poor people

in Mississippi. But there are crises resulting from poverty in all parts of our country, North, South, East and West, rural, urban and suburban.

The Administration request for federal FY 1967 does not measure up to these critical needs, nor does it measure up to the conservative projections of expansion originally outlined by the Office of Economic Opportunity. OEO said, in 1964, that overall expenditures in its third year of operation would be at least \$3.5 billion. And this was said before the adoption, in subsequent years, of such worthwhile provisions as the Nelson, Scheuer, Kennedy and Javits amendments.

Further, the 1967 amendments provide for a justifiable expansion of attacks on rural poverty. To fund these adequately within the limits of a \$2.06 billion authorization, and with earmarking of a significant proportion of Title II funds, would most likely result in a freeze or further cuts in versatile urban CAP funding beyond those occasioned by inadequate funding in FY 1966.

NFS therefore urges a doubling of OEO authorization and appropriation from \$2.06 billion to \$4 billion for federal FY 1967.

#### *Job Corps*

*T.H. 1A, Section 105, Screening and Selection (of applicants)*—*Special Limitations*, tampers with, if it does not completely destroy the original intent of the Job Corps, a service for youth handicapped in their own community by reason of previous behavior or "label." These are youth who are most in need of a properly conducted residential setting if they are to have any chance of "making it."

Further, this Section is well nigh impossible to administer. It asks that the screening agent make projections as to future behavior of all individual applicants as well as ruling out all youth with a record of "behavioral aberrations." Those of us who have worked with delinquent youth know that motivation for change in behavior comes at different periods for each youth. We have found many a "late bloomer," who despite a record of repetitive delinquent acts is indeed ready for rehabilitative help. Section 105 would deny such youth the Job Corps as a new opportunity for breaking away from the delinquent behavior pattern.

Criteria for screening out so-called undesirable Job Corps applicants can only result in "creaming" the best of the youth and refusing service to many who are most in need of a residential service outside their own neighborhood. We therefore recommend that Section 105, Title I, be deleted.

#### *Governor's Veto*

Title I—Section 115(c) provides for the governor of any state the power of absolute veto over the establishment of a Job Corps center or similar facility within it. We would recommend that the provisions of this part and that of similar sections under other titles of the bill (e.g. Vista, Title VIII, Section 810(b)) be made consistent with that of *Title II, Section 242*, which authorizes reconsideration by the Director of OEO and the overriding by him of any such veto. In the interest of effective programming, the resources of the Federal government and its anti-poverty programs should be made equally available to all citizens and in all states as a matter of right.

#### *Political Activity*

Title I, Section 118(b), Title II, Section 214(a) and (b), and Title VIII, Section 810(b) seek to extend the application of the Hatch Act and other limitations on citizen action to enrollees and to employees of agencies, institutions and organizations engaged in the War on Poverty.

Much of the direction of the bill under these Sections seems to be toward precluding the participation of individual enrollees, CAP organizations, grantee and delegate agencies in continuing efforts for community and institutional change. Indications of this intent are found in the language proscribing picketing and protest and, under Title II, authorizing the Director of OEO to promulgate rules or regulations "which shall be binding on all agencies carrying on community action activities with financial assistance (from OEO) . . . governing conflicts of interest, use of position of authority for partisan political purposes or participation in direct action, regardless of customary practices or rules among agencies in the community."

NFS is strongly opposed to these Sections of the bill as an invasion of the rights of individuals and autonomous organizations, and asks that they be deleted.

*Personnel Standards*

The bill authorizes each community CAP (Title II, Section 214(a)) to adopt for itself and other agencies using funds or exercising authority for which it is responsible, rules designed to establish specific standards governing salary, salary increases, travel and per diem allowances and other employee benefits. While NFS supports the efforts of OEO to establish decent standards for personnel employed under Title II, CAP grants, it is opposed to this section in the bill. NFS believes that any code promulgated nationally by the Director of OEO or by a local CAP should serve as a floor and not as a ceiling. Many agencies serving as local CAP delegate agencies already have extant local civil service or other merit systems, union contracts or voluntary agency board-approved personnel practices codes.

All these Sections subvert the principle of local autonomy and can but have the effect of destroying the enthusiastic participation of many agencies, including our 399 affiliates, in the War on Poverty.

*Financial Assistance*

The language of the bill, in a number of Sections dealing with financing programs, has been changed significantly. Under the current law, the Director of OEO is authorized *to make grants, or to contract with* appropriate Grantee and Delegate agencies.

The new language states that the *Director may provide financial assistance* for programs and projects. Title VI, Section 609(2), defines "financial assistance" as "assistance advanced by grant, agreement or contract . . ."

Inherent in this language change, despite the definition cited above, we believe, is a further assault on the autonomy of agencies willing and equipped to participate effectively in the War on Poverty, but as independent contractors or grantees, prepared to have the quality of their work in carrying out their contracts fairly and equitably assessed by the granting agency.

NFS is therefore opposed both to this language change and to the inherent change in status of delegate and grantee agencies. We ask for a return to the original language. Further clarification is needed to assure the autonomy of the agency which sells its services and skills to the OEO. It is neighborhood residents who are in need of assistance from the federal government, and not the helping agency.

*Limitations on Salary*

The bill places an overall limitation of \$15,000 on salaries to be paid to persons in community action programs out of federal funds and precludes inclusion of any additional salary from local sources as a part of local matching contributions.

NFS is opposed both to the salary limitation and the exclusion of sums above the \$15,000 ceiling from matching funding, if such a ceiling is legislated.

The question of high salaries paid to agencies receiving funds under the Act is a false issue. It is necessary to pay a "market price" for persons with the talents needed in local community action programs. Imaginative and creative persons with administrative abilities will not be attracted by modest salaries; and since the programs are new, these abilities are essential to their success. There is no logical reason for paying lower salaries to people in the human service field than to those in the business world. The coordination of resources, the complicated nature of financial arrangements, and the exploratory nature of the programs, all require a high level of professional competence. Necessarily, the salary levels will vary from locality to locality and should be left to the market and local discretion.

In the event, however, that the Congress insists on maintaining the salary ceiling, we would strongly urge that any additional salary paid such employees be included in matching funding. This is particularly important in light of the requirement for an increase in local matching contributions proposed in these amendments.

*Increase in Local Matching Funding*

Title II, Section 223C, requires as of July 1, 1967, an increase in local matching funding from 10% to 20% of the cost of these CAP programs. Local voluntary organizations, and particularly neighborhood groups, already experience great difficulty in raising the currently required local contribution, particularly as the costs of their non-OEO funded programs and services continue to mount. Passage of this amendment would cause an added hardship to existing programs,

particularly those privately operated. It would tend to discourage the initiation of new programs, increase dependence on local public agencies, and generally delay the expansion of the War on Poverty.

NFS believes that public agencies must carry certain basic responsibilities, but that in serving the total needs of our society, the concerted and collaborative efforts of both public and voluntary sources are needed. This is particularly true in the War on Poverty.

#### *Basic Conditions*

NFS believes, further, that the following basic conditions are essential to assure maximum effectiveness of voluntary agencies in a free society:

(a) The acceptance of federal funds should in no way inhibit the freedom of the voluntary agency to engage in social education and action programs, with and on the behalf of its neighbors.

(b) The voluntary agency must receive adequate federal funds to provide administrative, supervisory, and other supportive services necessary to the conduct and administration of these projects.

#### *Revisions of Poverty Criteria*

NFS recommends that the definition of poverty under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 be increased from the present figure of \$3130 for an urban family of four persons to \$4000 for such a family. The \$4000 figure would also apply to definitions of target areas in the Anti-Poverty program. Any variations in the minimum poverty level should be in line with costs of living in different areas. Further, we support the new definition of eligibility for enrollees, under Title Ib, Section 125 (a).

#### *Grievance and Appeals*

NFS subscribes to the concept that the local CAP, as the broadly representative body of governmental institutions, voluntary agencies, and the anti-poverty target population, should be the principal instrument for review and approval of anti-poverty programs to be funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Implicit in this, however, is the possibility that proposals submitted for review may be rejected by the local Poverty Board. Such rejection may not be justified. NFS, therefore, endorses an effective grievance and appeals machinery which permits and encourages the applicant to submit its rejected proposal directly to the regional and finally to the National OEO for review.

Projects so approved by regional or national OEO should not be subject to local veto.

#### *Role of the Local CAP*

NFS believes that the local CAP should receive and assess applications from delegate agencies. It should make sure that such plans include:

(a) Effective organization of the residents of the target neighborhood.

(b) On-site availability in that neighborhood of the wide range of education, employment, legal aid, health and welfare services.

Both of these are interrelated and each is essential to the success of the other. A key instrument for establishing these functions is the neighborhood service center, a replication of the relevant, vibrant settlement house and neighborhood center.

However, NFS believes that the local CAP should not, itself, ordinarily undertake to administer and operate anti-poverty services. Its most effective role is in negotiating and facilitating the development of community instruments involving the residents of the target areas and existing agencies. For the long haul, it destroys its own effectiveness in this role if it becomes a competitor for the new resources available through federal funding. It should, instead, serve as a "third force."

There exist in many local communities voluntary agencies, including settlements and neighborhood centers, which are equipped to serve as the appropriate delegate agency for the conduct of neighborhood service centers.

Such agencies are often already established in target neighborhoods and have skill in establishing outpost and satellite operations. They are equipped to help residents achieve maximum feasible participation. Such voluntary agencies also have a better chance of achieving the kind of agency cooperation and inter-program coordination needed for multi-discipline, multi-agency, neighborhood operations.

There exist many examples of effective use of existing voluntary agencies by the local CAP. In Cincinnati, the Greater Cincinnati Federation of Settlements

and Neighborhood Centers develops and operates, through its existing member houses and through newly established neighborhood councils in heretofore unserved neighborhoods, a network of multi-service neighborhood centers in three counties in two states. These programs are under constant review and assessment by the local CAP staff. Voluntary agencies have long since demonstrated a high capacity to perform these functions well. Further, they have assured meaningful participation by residents of the target neighborhoods, consumers of these anti-poverty services, both as employees and volunteers as well as in policy-making bodies such as Boards of Directors and committees.

This experience of successful delegation to our member houses and other voluntary agencies is replicated in New Orleans, Houston, Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago, New York City, Los Angeles and many another.

Such continued involvement of local voluntary agencies, as autonomous contractors responsible to CAP and OEO for executing their contracts in good faith would help to assure the effective utilization of all local resources in the War on Poverty.

The reasonableness of this approach has been demonstrated by OEO itself, in its contracts with the YWCA for Job Corps centers for girls, with universities and our NFS Training Center for research and for the training of VISTA enrollees.

It may be necessary for the CAP to undertake responsibility for direct operations in certain areas where voluntary and public agencies are not available, such as in some rural counties. But even here, we suggest, past experience dictates the creation by it of new corporate bodies, independent from the CAP, for the administration and operation of programs and services.

This would preserve for the CAP its principal roles as described above.

#### *OEO in Perspective*

During its relatively short life, and despite its handicaps of inadequate financial resources and constant harassment, the OEO has made a tremendous impact on our communities, its institutions and the life chances of the poor citizen.

The history of our country since pre-revolutionary days, is in real part, a history of the struggles and conflicts in which we have been engaged as we have striven to translate the American creed, "All men are born free and equal," into American reality.

The forms which these strivings have taken have changed from time to time, but the goals are constant.

In the first half of this century, the great domestic issue was the establishment of decent and dignified standards for working men. Here at home, as in some other countries, the result was the emergence of a trade-union movement and a revolution in our thinking on the relations between management and labor.

The great issues of these latter years of the century, other than the overriding issue of survival under the threat of nuclear holocaust, are (1) the waging of a successful war on poverty and, (2) the peaceful resolution of the revolution for civil rights.

Just as with nuclear war, these are not merely domestic problems, but confront every nation and the total world society. All human strivings for freedom, decency, personal dignity and justice depend now on our desire and ability to resolve these issues.

In the North, both require for their success the extending and translation into reality of a whole series of guarantees of equality in education, employment, housing and the command of sufficient goods and services for participation in the main stream of American life. Targets are school desegregation and enriched educational opportunity, not only for reasons of racial pride but also, in the long run, economic survival; an increase in job opportunities not only at the entry level in low pay-low status jobs, but in management and the executive suite, and a drastic change in the image of the black ghetto. In the South, in addition to all these and perhaps of prime importance is the dismantling of a complete system of color castes which has too long enslaved Negro and Caucasian poor alike. In the South, the Negro wants and needs his "courtesy" title—(Mr., Mrs., etc.). At the heart of this is the problem of stigma, or as Richard M. Titmuss put it at the recent NCSW Forum, (Social Policy and Economic Progress—R.M.T.—Professor Social Administration, London School of Economics, May 30 1966), "of felt and experienced discrimination and disapproval on grounds of moral behavior, ethnic group, class, age, measured intelligence, mental fitness and other criteria of selection rejections. The problem then," says Mr. Titmuss, "is



not whether to differentiate in access, treatment, giving and outcome, but *how* to differentiate . . . We cannot now disengage ourselves from the challenge of distributing social rights without stigma; too many *unfulfilled expectations* have been created, and we can no longer fall back on the rationale that our economics are too poor to avoid hurting people."

Towards the end of his brilliant analysis of significant factors for social policy which we have too long neglected, Mr. Titmuss listed these:

1. "We overestimated the potentialities of economic growth by itself alone to solve the problems of poverty—economic, educational and social.
2. "We exaggerated the trend towards equality during the Second World War in respect to income, employment and other factors.
3. "We overestimated the potentialities of the poor without help, to understand and manipulate an increasingly complex *ad hoc* society, and we failed to understand the indignities of expecting the poor to identify themselves as poor people and to declare, in effect, 'I am an unequal person.'
4. "Lastly, and perhaps most significant of all, we have sought too diligently to find the causes of poverty among the poor and not in ourselves. Poverty, we seem to have been saying, has its origins in *either* social pathology and a lack of self-determination or in agency delinquency and a failure in coordination *or* in the shortage of social workers and psychiatrists. Now, in the poverty program, the United States appears to be discovering a new set of casual explanations: the lack of political power among the poor themselves.
5. "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings," he concluded.

The Declaration of Purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act is most revolutionary. For the first time in the history of man, a government has declared that it is its policy and intent to eliminate poverty—"to open to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

These revolutionary concepts are directed at submerged classes who constitute about 20% of our nation, over 30 million souls. Numerically, under our democratic system, they ought to be able to exert enormous power. In truth, despite the revolution in their expectations, their influence has been negligible.

The many causes of his impotence are rooted sometimes in diverse and conflicting aims; in our heritage of deep suspicion of strong central government as against States' rights; or our preference for individual as against common effort; or the imbalance in our state and federal legislative bodies in favor of rural as against urban areas.

As a result, the poor are caught up and held to their lot by a complacent, prosperous overwhelming majority enjoying the goods and services of the most affluent society of all times.

This leads us, then, to revolutionary evolution in response to rising expectations, both in the War on Poverty and in race relations. Inevitably, one small part of this is uncoordinated violence in scattered communities. To some Negro teenagers, even the Black Muslims seem conservative. To many of them the Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights bill are meaningless. Some would move toward partition rather than equal rights.

But for the largest number neither violence nor partition are the means and goals. Instead, they choose the following:

1. *Social mobility*.—moving up and out of lower class life. The physical movement away from the port of entry slum is one measure of social mobility.

The availability of jobs and of training opportunities to qualify for them is essential. A major concern for us, then, is a rational approach to the development of entry-level jobs, for sub and non-professionals, in all the service occupations in industry and commerce and, finally, through a major component of public works.

2. *Political and Social Action*.—participation of citizens, including the disadvantaged, in efforts to change the society and its institutions.

Perhaps the largest thrust of the War on Poverty is in these areas. It is a means for people to enter the mainstream of society. It is a tool for reducing detachment and alienation of poor people. Psychologically, it is a part of their attaining a new sense of self worth as a part of a healthy, democratic community.

It is expressed in a variety of forms in the War on Poverty, and this goes back 80 years for those of us in Settlements. It includes organizing local residents for self-help, through Kitchen Clubs, Block Clubs and Councils of Organizations.

It includes training of local residents for positions of leadership and responsibility as volunteers, in direct service and on policy-making bodies. It includes the development of ad hoc organizations to identify and then attack local social problems—alone and with allies. It includes the establishment of new coalitions for pressure for institutional change.

If this revolutionary evolution is to succeed, we must lend our full help. In doing this, of course, we cannot afford to be apologetic about our own value and services.

*In Conclusion*

We reaffirm our continuing support for an effective Economic Opportunity Act and, with the revisions suggested above, urge the early approval by this Congress of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967.

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will recess until Monday morning at 9:45 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 1:55 p.m. the committee recessed, to reconvene at 9:45 a.m., Monday, July 24, 1967.)

# ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

MONDAY, JULY 24, 1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met at 9:50 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Perkins, Green, Hawkins, Quie, Erlenborn, Dellenback, and Steiger.

Also present: H. D. Reed, Jr., general counsel; Robert E. McCord, senior specialist; Louise Maxienne Dargans, research assistant; Benjamin Reeves, editor of committee publications; Austin Sullivan, investigator; Marian Wyman, special assistant; Charles W. Radcliffe, minority counsel for education; John Buckley, minority investigator; Dixie Barger, minority research assistant; and W. Phillips Rockefeller, minority research specialist.

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will come to order. I am delighted to welcome one of my colleagues this morning, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Rogers. Will you come around, Mr. Rogers and make any statement you wish to make?

## STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL C. ROGERS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. ROGERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will make a short statement and then file a statement for the record if I may.

Thank you for this opportunity to appear to express some reflections on the poverty program as it has existed in the Ninth District of Florida.

I have a report made at my request by the General Accounting Office which I would like to submit to the committee, along with my own report prepared after personally looking into the administration of some of the programs in my area.

These two reports speak for themselves but I would like to add some additional thoughts.

There is no question about the existence of serious poverty in the ninth district. It exists throughout the area, in or close to places of great prosperity. It is a serious problem in the migrant farmworker areas.

Some good has resulted from the various programs, especially in education. Of particular note have been Headstart and day care programs, and self-help housing.

The Adult and Family Education program administered by Marymount College, and the new adult program to be run by the State department of education offer signs of encouragement. The Foster-Grandparent project with retarded children at the Sunland Training Center at Fort Myers is particularly outstanding.

Far too much effort, however, has been wasted. This not only angers taxpayers who see their money being spent for questionable projects and salaries, but deprives the poor themselves of the very limited resources which are supposedly being provided for their betterment.

The real needs of the poor are in housing, education, and health. All three are within the established competency of local and State governmental units which too often have been bypassed by OEO in my district.

These points of concern are outlined in more detail in my report given to the committee today. We have been given assurances by OEO that many of the past mistakes have been corrected, and the procedures and administrative shortcomings have been identified.

A better spirit of cooperation now seems to exist.

I am concerned, however, that these mistakes could have occurred under a watchful OEO administration. The committee may wish to discuss these matters with OEO. Not only did a few individuals receive millions of dollars in grants, but they were apparently successful in avoiding a day of reckoning in spite of expressions of concern by all members of the Florida congressional delegation whose districts were affected.

OEO has been cooperative this year in seeing to needed reorganizations of various projects in my area. Now we are hopeful that the errors of the past will not be repeated. Only time, and continued close attention will prove out the assurances received. This committee can help.

Now if I may proceed off the record for an additional minute. The General Accounting Office and OEO have provided me with additional information regarding one of the Florida operations which should be brought to the attention of the committee.

OEO has requested that this information not be generally released at this time and I want to cooperate. Members of the committee, however, should be aware of this in consideration of this legislation.

I have made a few copies to leave with you. OEO and GAO can no doubt provide additional copies or further information should the committee find it necessary.

Thank you very much.

Chairman PERKINS. I would appreciate your leaving a copy with me. Let me compliment you, Mr. Rogers, on bringing this to the attention of the committee and deciding to come before the committee to make your observations.

Not only does it show that you are a great Congressman but one conscious of trying to improve the so-called poverty program in your area. There is no doubt in my mind that your appearance here today will work toward that end.

If we do not point up these discrepancies and shortcomings and let the responsible authorities know about them there is no way to make the corrections.

I personally appreciate your appearance this morning. It shows that you want to see the program move in a more constructive way than it has moved in the past.

Now do you feel that we are moving in that direction at the present time and has it been your observation that the Director has taken steps to correct these mistakes?

Mr. ROGERS. Let me say this, Mr. Chairman, as I have said in my report, I do think that we have the experience now when we have been

bringing what we feel are improper action and errors in the administration of the program to the attention of OEO.

We have had good cooperation to date. I think a number of programs have been improved. There are still some areas that certainly need a great deal of improvement. I do think where we have been able to bring these problems to OEO that they have been responding quite well in trying to correct them.

Chairman PERKINS. In other words, the director of OEO has cooperated with you to make these corrections?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, I think he has. He has tried very hard. We still have a number to go but they have been doing very well.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much, Mr. Rogers.

(The documents referred to follow:)

REPORT ON INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED POLITICAL AND UNION ACTIVITIES BY CERTAIN GRANTEES UNDER GRANTS BY OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, MAY 1967

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

Washington, D.C., May 19, 1967.

HON. PAUL ROGERS,  
House of Representatives,

DEAR MR. ROGERS: Pursuant to your telegram of December 23, 1966, and later meetings with you, we have made an investigation of alleged participation in political and union activities by employees of the Community Action Fund, Inc., and the American Friends Service Committee—organizations conducting programs for migrant workers in Florida with grant funds provided by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The accompanying report presents the results of our investigation.

Our review includes information on references indicated in your letter dated February 8, 1967, addressed to Mr. Alfred C. Krumlauf, an investigator for the Office of Economic Opportunity, regarding the alleged attendance of American Friends Service Committee employees at certain meetings held in Belle Glade, Florida. A copy of your letter was furnished to us on February 9, 1967.

On the basis of our review of available records and discussions with officials and individuals connected with the above grantees and other individuals involved in the allegations, it appears that certain employees of these grantees engaged in what may be considered political and union activities and that Federal funds were used to reimburse some of those employees for certain travel expenses incurred while carrying out such activities. Because all but two employees who engaged in these activities were employees of the Community Action Fund, we confined our review to that grantee's records.

It was not feasible, however, for us to determine the costs incurred for these purposes because time records of the Fund generally did not show specific day-to-day activities of employees, travel vouchers did not always contain information on the purposes of employees travel, and records concerning rented automobiles did not show the purposes for which the automobiles were used.

As to the legality of using Federal grant funds for union organizing activities, a responsible official of the Office of Economic Opportunity has taken the position that such use of grant funds by the Community Action Fund was not permitted under the terms of the grant. It appears that, under the terms of the grants to the American Friends Service Committee, the same position would be applicable. We therefore believe that the Office of Economic Opportunity should take action to identify, and obtain refunds from both grantees for, any expenditures made under their respective grants for those activities described in this report which, in our opinion, represented union organizing activities.

Regarding political activities, on the basis of the grant proposal submitted by the Community Action Fund, the lack of restrictions in the grant on such activities, and the position taken by the Agency's Office of General Counsel, we would not question the use of Federal grant funds for nonpartisan political activities of the type described in this report. However, any further transportation of individuals to the polls on election day by a grantee would be in violation of the agency's Community Action Memo No. 50-A issued December 1966 in implementation of the provisions of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act as amended by the Public Law 89-794, approved November 8, 1966.

Your attention is invited to the fact that officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the grantees, and other individuals mentioned in this report, have not been given the opportunity to formally examine and comment on its contents. Also, as will be noted in the body of the report, there are certain inconsistencies in the information obtained. You may wish to consider these facts, therefore, in whatever use you decide to make of the results of our investigation.

We plan to make no further distribution of the information presented herein unless copies are specifically requested, and then copies will be distributed only after your approval has been obtained or public announcement of this information has been made by you.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK H. WEITZEL,  
*Assistant Comptroller General of the United States.*

#### BACKGROUND

By telegram dated December 23, 1966, and in a meeting with our representative on December 27, 1966, Congressman Paul G. Rogers requested us to investigate certain allegations concerning participation in political and union activities by employees of the Community Action Fund, Inc. (CAF), and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which were conducting programs under grants by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for assistance to migrants. Mr. Rogers furnished the names of a number of individuals to whom he thought we should speak in order to obtain information relating to the allegations.

In addition, Mr. Rogers furnished us a copy of his letter dated February 8, 1967, to Mr. Alfred C. Krumlauf, an employee of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which alleged that employees of the American Friends Service Committee, participated in certain meetings held in Belle Glade, Florida.

During a meeting with Mr. Rogers on March 6, 1967, he expressed concern over the effectiveness of the migrant program as conducted by the CAF. We agreed to review available information at OEO headquarters in Washington relating to the administration and evaluation by OEO of this program.

Our investigation consisted of discussions with various individuals associated with the Community Service Foundation; the Community Action Fund, Inc.; the American Friends Service Committee; Florida State and county officials; newspapermen; and other individuals associated with the alleged activities or believed to have had information pertaining to the allegations and of an examination of pertinent financial and other records of the Community Service Foundation and the Community Action Fund and related documents of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The results of our investigation are summarized herein under the following main captions.

Allegations of political activities.

Allegations of union organizing activities.

Legal status of political and union activities.

Administration and evaluation of the Florida CAF migrant program by OEO.

The grants and contracts made by OEO through February 28, 1967, to the CAF and its associated organizations are listed below:

| Date          | Grant or contract number                                               | Grantee or contractor organization              | Estimated amount |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Dec. 31, 1964 | Contract OEO-23 (expired Mar. 20, 1965).                               | Community Service Foundation <sup>1</sup> ...   | \$6,083          |
| Apr. 28, 1965 | Grant FLA-771 (III-B) (expired Apr. 30, 1966).                         | ...do <sup>2</sup> .....                        | 626,410          |
| June 7, 1965  | Contract OEO-404 (expired Oct. 11, 1965).                              | ...do.....                                      | 102,560          |
| Nov. 2, 1965  | Contract OEO-709 (expired Sept. 8, 1966).                              | ...do.....                                      | 293,300          |
| Dec. 7, 1965  | Contract OEO-777 (expired Dec. 12, 1966).                              | Community Action Fund, Inc. ....                | 5,039            |
| May 28, 1966  | Grant CG-0771 B/O (expires Apr. 30, 1967) (includes Project Upstream). | ...do.....                                      | 610,708          |
| June 13, 1966 | Grant CG-66-9676.....                                                  | Migrant Legal Services, Inc. <sup>3</sup> ..... | 806,099          |
|               | Total estimated amount.....                                            | .....                                           | 2,450,199        |

<sup>1</sup> Community Service Foundation served as a subcontractor to the Florida Institute of Continuing University Studies which held a prime contract with OEO in the amount of \$32,394.

<sup>2</sup> Grant was made to the Community Service Foundation, but the Community Action Fund, Inc., assumed responsibility for this project in October 1965, when it was founded.

<sup>3</sup> As of February 1967, no Federal funds had been made available to Migrant Legal Services, Inc.

The Community Service Foundation was founded in 1940 by Mr. Willis T. Spivey as a philanthropic organization devoted to helping underprivileged people. The Community Action Fund and the Migrant Legal Services were established with OEO concurrence, apparently for the purpose of engaging in the antipoverty program.

The American Friends Service Committee received two grants from OEO—one in October 1965 for \$98,685 and the other in November 1966 for \$133,985. Both grants were for 1 year and were for assistance to migrants in 10 east coast States including Florida.

#### ALLEGATIONS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The allegations of political activities are to the effect that CAF, using Federal funds, conducted voter registration drives in the spring and fall of 1966, and two CAF employees acted as deputy voting registrars in Palm Beach County; that the number of Democratic voters registered by these CAF employees was out of proportion to the number of Republican voters registered; and that CAF employees transported voters to the polls.

The allegations, in general, are contained in three articles in the Fort Lauderdale News (December 21, 22, 23, 1966) by Howard Van Smith, whom Mr. Rogers suggested that we interview to obtain information in support of the allegations.

We interviewed Mr. Smith on January 6 and 9, 1967. In support of his statement concerning political activities by CAF employees, Mr. Smith gave us copies of the three articles which he had written, but he had no further documentary evidence. He furnished us the names of persons, as indicated below, who were said to have personal knowledge of political activities of CAF employees.

Specific allegations made by Mr. Smith and the results of our investigation of these allegations are summarized below.

#### *CAF employees acted as deputy voting registrars*

Mr. Smith said that two CAF employees—Mr. Leonard Smith and Miss Margaret Taylor—were appointed as deputy voting registrars in Palm Beach County and thus were able to go into the fields, clinics, and camps and register migrant workers "on the spot" and that no other Florida county had appointed CAF employees as deputy voting registrars.

Horace Beasley, Supervisor of Elections for Palm Beach County, confirmed that two CAF employees were appointed as deputy voting registrars, but he identified them as Leonard Smith appointed in September 1966 and Mrs. Myrtle Walker appointed in February 1966 (rather than Margaret Taylor). Mr. Beasley said that the only specific requirement that a person must meet to serve as a deputy is to be a resident of the county and that he determines by interview whether a person is qualified to serve in this capacity.

#### *Number of Democratic voters registered by CAF employees was out of proportion to number of Republican voters registered*

One of the newspaper articles written by Howard Van Smith stated that Leonard Smith of CAF registered 1,700 voters with a ratio of 44 Democrats to 1 Republican. During our interview, Mr. Van Smith said that he had been told by Mr. "Red" Simon, an employee of the Florida State Employment Service, that Leonard Smith of CAF had explained his disproportionate registration of Democrats to Republicans by saying that the CAF employees explained to the registrants what the Democrats had done for them and what the Republicans had done. Mr. Van Smith also said that Mrs. Frances Harper, a nurse employed by the Palm Beach County Welfare Department, and another nurse who preferred not to be identified had heard Leonard Smith of CAF discussing politics with migrant workers to an excessive degree.

In an interview on January 31, 1967, "Red" Simon corroborated the statement attributed to him by Mr. Smith, but said that he had not heard CAF employees advise farm workers to register as Democrats.

Mrs. Frances Harper told us that she had worked in the same room at Belle Glade in which Leonard Smith of CAF had registered voters but that she had not heard Leonard Smith or anyone else attempting to influence the party selection of registrants. Mrs. Harper told us also that she had been called by Howard Van Smith but that she had declined to talk to him.

Both Dr. Thomas P. Hardeman and Richard F. Wiggins, then president (since resigned) and program director, respectively, of CAF, stated that they had no knowledge that CAF employees attempted to influence migrant workers to register as Democrats.

Leonard Smith, who held the position of Citizenship Educator, at the CAF Regional Office, Delray Beach, categorically denied that he had attempted to influence the party affiliation of persons whom he registered. Mr. Smith said that, when the migrants asked a question about the differences in the parties, he told them "Johnson is a Democrat, Kennedy was a Democrat, Goldwater is a Republican, and Eisenhower is a Republican." He noted that by his reference to Goldwater as a Republican "the deck may be stacked" in favor of the Democrats, but that in his opinion his explanation of the differences in the parties was not contrary to the law.

Mrs. Walker, employed by CAF as a Community Development Aide, told us that she had been appointed as a deputy voting registrar and that she had registered voters in the Belle Glade area, but denied that she had attempted to influence the party choice of those whom she registered. She said further that most of the registrants knew the party with which they wished to register, but when she was asked to explain the differences in the parties she did so by stating that Johnson is a Democrat and Goldwater is a Republican.

Horace Beasley expressed the opinion that it was proper for a voting registrar to use the names of individuals such as President Johnson and Mr. Goldwater for party identification, so long as the registrar did not attempt to tell the applicant how to register or how to vote. Mr. Beasley remarked that he cautioned all deputy registrars not to direct registrants to either party and that he had no knowledge that Leonard Smith had attempted to do so.

Miss Margaret Taylor, CAF Regional Director, Delray Beach, said that she had assisted Leonard Smith in registering voters in the Delray Beach area and that she had no knowledge that any member of her staff had attempted to influence the party affiliation of registrants. She said that she thought the newspaper allegations of improper influence of registrants came about as the result of comments made in jest in a conversation she and Leonard Smith had had with "Red" Simon and Tom Easterling of the Florida State Employment Service.

Concerning the number of voters registered by Leonard Smith and Myrtle Walker, our examination of records maintained by Mr. Beasley showed that Mr. Smith had registered 491 voters and that Mrs. Walker had registered 195 voters. Mr. Beasley explained the difference between the numbers and the 1,700 registrations attributed in the newspapers to Leonard Smith by saying that district registration offices are prone to exaggeration and that many of the reported registrations represented persons who were already registered.

Concerning the ratio of Democrats to Republicans among the persons registered by Leonard Smith, Mr. Beasley said that the registration in Palm Beach County is predominantly Democrat. Leonard Smith gave us two reports issued by Mr. Beasley which showed the following information concerning the party affiliation of registered Negro voters in the county.

| Registration as of— | Number of registered— |             | Ratio      |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|
|                     | Democrats             | Republicans |            |
| Apr. 2, 1966.....   | 15,583                | 1,225       | 12.7 to 1. |
| Oct. 8, 1966.....   | 17,332                | 1,227       | 14.1 to 1. |

Mr. Smith expressed the opinion that these figures show that CAF's voter registration activities did not result in any significant change in the proportion of Democrat to Republican registration in the Negro population of the county.

Our examination of registration records in Palm Beach County showed that, of the 686 voters registered by Leonard Smith and Myrtle Walker, 1 registered Independent, 5 registered Republican, and 680 registered Democrat.

#### *CAF employees transported voters to the polls*

Mr. Van Smith stated to us that he had been told by Leonard Smith of CAF that on November 8, 1966, he and other CAF employees and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) had driven between 700 and 800 migrants to the polls. According to Howard Van Smith this transportation was accomplished through use of both Government-owned automobiles and privately owned vehicles, the owners of which were reimbursed from Federal funds. Mr. Van Smith suggested that we contact Mr. Tom Easterling of the Florida State Employment Service in Delray Beach for information concerning CAF's use of Government automobiles for political purposes.



Mr. Easterling told us that he had seen one to three Government-owned automobiles at the Palm Beach County Welfare Department Clinic located west of Delray Beach—where Leonard Smith of CAF had registered voters—but that he could not say that these vehicles were being used for political purposes, inasmuch as they could have been there on official CAF business.

Dr. Hardeman gave us a copy of a letter dated May 12, 1966, that he had received from the Assistant General Counsel of OEO which stated, in effect, that (1) privately owned vehicles could be used to transport workers to register and to vote, provided transportation was furnished on a nonpartisan basis and the cost could be reimbursed from Federal grant funds if it was reasonable and (2) Government-owned vehicles assigned to VISTA volunteers could be used to transport workers to register, provided transportation was furnished on a nonpartisan basis, but that these cars could not be used to transport workers to the polls.

The OEO Assistant General Counsel informed us on March 29, 1967, that he believed that the use of vehicles for transporting workers to register or to vote, as stated in his letter in May 1966 to Dr. Hardeman, was not in violation of CAF's grant. He stated also that OEO was still working on the problem but he believed that any community action agency, including grantees under title III B, which would now transport workers to the polls to vote would be in violation of Community Action Memo No. 50-A, dated December 1, 1966, which states in pertinent part:

"\* \* \* an employee of a public agency or a CAA [Community Action Agency] may not:—solicit votes, or help to get out votes on election day. \* \* \*

We reviewed CAF's proposal for which OEO grant CG-0771 B/O was approved on May 28, 1966, and noted the following statements indicating CAF's concern with political action by migrant workers.

"The Citizenship Educators shall give primary concern to enabling the migrant to participate fully as a citizen within the society. He will encourage the adults in the families to become fully aware of the rights and duties of citizenship, both national and state, and help the migrants to see their own needs and problems and the ways in which they themselves can work effectively to bring about a resolution to these problems. He will give special attention to the areas of Social Security, wage and work conditions, *voter registration*, health welfare, rights and opportunities, educational rights, residency and other appropriate areas of concern.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Participation in democratic processes involves more than *registering and voting in elections of public officials*. This is certainly important. *Our staff has been responsible for over a thousand Mig-Migrants [sic] registering to vote.* The formation of neighborhood councils, clubs and other types of indigenous groups has been and will continue to be a significant part of the program. Organizations composed of farm workers have sprung up in each of the six regions and have taken action appropriate to their purposes. The Free Will Neighborhood Council in Belle Glade, for example, has worked on a project to secure a tract of land to be the site for homes financed through the Farmers Home Administration. They also conducted a *voter registration drive*, a cleanup campaign, and have promoted participation in home management and literacy classes by holding neighborhood meetings on these subjects featuring speakers with professional expertise. Speakers have come from the Social Security Office, Welfare Departments and local private agencies to this and other such groups and will continue to do so. The Carver Homes Improvement Association, established with the help of the Migrant Program staff and VISTA Volunteers, in the Pompano area has invited gubernatorial candidates to its meetings to hear presentations of their platforms and to discuss them with the candidates.

"One of the most significant instances of establishing indigenous groups was the formation of the United Agricultural Workers of America for purposes of collective bargaining and other protections to the workers. *This group has had the advice and counsel of our staff*, but is now proceeding under its own power.

"Programs aimed at community involvement in such democratic processes currently in evidence in scores of locations will be intensified and multiplied throughout the southern half of the state.

"Each Regional Director and Citizenship Educator will devise a program for training migrants as Aides in citizenship education. This will include *presentations on voter registrations*, social security, organizational techniques, parliamentary procedure, and various facets of community leadership. \* \* \* [Italic supplied.]

Leonard Smith, CAF, said that Government-owned vehicles were used to transport farm workers to registration places but that CAF was not authorized to use Government-owned vehicles to transport voters to the polls. He said that a bus, borrowed from Marymount College, and personal vehicles of CAF staff members were used for this purpose.

Our examination of CAF financial records showed that CAF employees were extensively engaged in transporting farm workers to voter registration places over a period of several months and in transporting voters to the polls on November 8, 1966, and that grant funds were used for these purposes.

It was not feasible for us to determine the costs incurred for these purposes because CAF's time records generally did not show specific day-to-day activities of employees; and, as a result, salary costs could not be allocated to specific activities, travel vouchers did not always contain information on the purposes of employee travel or show a breakdown of the cost applicable to each of several travel purposes, and records on rented automobiles did not show the purposes for which the automobiles were used. We were able, however, to identify travel costs of \$899.68 incurred to transport farm workers to voter registration places and \$28.96 to transport voters to the polls. In addition, we noted travel costs of \$327.62 which involved voter registration along with other activities, but we could not determine the amount of these costs applicable specifically to voter registration.

#### ALLEGATIONS OF UNION ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

The allegations regarding union organizing activities on the part of employees of OEO, CAF, and AFSC were that the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers (CCFW)—a group in which CAF and AFSC were active—had sponsored a rally of migrant farm workers in Belle Glade on December 11, 1966; that at this rally the president of CAF and representatives of AFSC had exhorted the workers to express their dissatisfaction with their economic and social status and with their local, State, and national governments; that following the rally there was an organizational meeting of the United Agricultural Workers of America to which all the workers were invited; and that the union meeting was presided over by the Regional Director of OEO until the taking of a vote on whether to join the union, at which time a representative of AFSC assumed the chair. Mr. Rogers gave us the names of a number of persons who, he said, would be able to give us specific information concerning these allegations.

In our investigation of these allegations, we found fairly extensive evidence that CAF and AFSC employees participated in efforts to unionize farm workers in Florida. The information developed on this subject was obtained from many and diverse sources, and its development was quite time consuming. For that reason, we did not attempt to establish the full extent of participation by CAF and AFSC employees in unionization activities, but limited our examination to the extent that we believed necessary to demonstrate the nature of these activities and to learn whether Federal grant funds awarded to CAF had been expended in connection with these activities.

#### *Early organizational activities*

The earliest indication that we found of unionization activities on the part of CAF and AFSC employees involved efforts, in the March to May 1966 period, to organize migrant crew leaders.

We interviewed three persons who said that they had attended meetings of crew leaders in March or April 1966 at which CAF and AFSC employees and representatives of AFL-CIO were attempting to organize a union of crew leaders and migrant workers. The three persons interviewed were Calvin Clay and Walter Kates, employees of the Florida State Employment Service in Belle Glade, and Loren Meredith, crew leader and farmer, of Boynton. The CAF and AFSC employees identified as taking part in unionization efforts were William H. Johnson, CAF Regional Director for Broward County; Roscoe Webb, CAF Regional Director for Dade County; Leonard Smith, CAF Citizenship Educator, Delray Beach; and Hank Mayer, AFSC.

Messrs. Clay, Kates, and Meredith generally agreed (although Meredith said that he attended only one meeting) that, at these meetings, Johnson, Webb, and Mayer encouraged the crew leaders to form a union by pointing out to them the advances that the union had brought to agricultural workers in California; the advantages, such as insurance and bulk buying, which they could obtain by organizing; and that, if they were organized, they could "make the farmers come to them." Mr. Meredith said that a representative of AFL-CIO offered the crew leaders union financing, lawyers, and labor to help them organize.

Messrs. Clay and Kates said that, at the second meeting of the group, which also included representatives of AFL-CIO, they selected a name for their organization. They said that the crew leaders wanted a name such as "United Crew-Leaders" but Johnson objected to that name because it was desired to bring in the workers as well as the crew leaders, that to satisfy Johnson's objection the name "United Farm Workers" was suggested but Webb objected because he said the union should be national in character and should obtain a national charter, and that the name finally chosen was "United Agricultural Workers of America" (UAWA).

We were informed by Mr. Allison T. French of the Management Research Institute, West Palm Beach, that UAWA voted to affiliate with the Industrial Union Department (IUD), AFL-CIO, on May 10, 1966, and that on May 24, 1966, UAWA was granted a charter as local 1131 of the Laborers International Union of North America, AFL-CIO.

We discussed these early organizational meetings with Messrs. Johnson and Webb of CAF and with Messrs. Mayer and William Channel of AFSC. Johnson and Webb acknowledged that they had attended several meetings of UAWA, always at the invitation of the crew leaders, but denied that they had directed any of these meetings or that they had ever encouraged the crew leaders to join any particular union.

Mr. Mayer also acknowledged that he had attended the organizational meetings of UAWA, but denied that he had directed these meetings. He said that he had advised the crew leaders on the advantages of organization in their dealings with the farmers and on the advantages and disadvantages of affiliating with the laborers union but that he had emphasized that the crew leaders would have to decide for themselves the course of action to be taken.

Mr. Channel, who is director of the AFSC migrant program operating under an OEO grant, stated that UAWA had been chartered under Florida law as an agricultural cooperative, under the same provision of law as the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association—an association of growers—and not under the Florida labor laws.

#### *CAF and AFSC participation in preparation of UAWA newsletter*

A UAWA newsletter dated April 25, 1966, listed Bill Johnson, CAF, and Hank Mayer, AFSC, as Editors, and Roscoe Wbb, CAF, as Special Consultant to UAWA. This newsletter also contained the following statement, which is quoted herein in its entirety:

**"ATTENTION ALL CREW LEADERS ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !**

**Keep this phone number—it's a MUST**

**LAKE WORTH 965-6991. Call STOOP**

**"STOOP will be a code name for any emergency you have while you are away from Florida up North. Put in a person-to-person call for STOOP when you have an emergency problem and he will help solve it, whatever it is. After 5 P.M. call STOOP at West Palm Beach 585-5152.**

**"This service will be available only to crew leaders who are members of UAWA."**

The telephone numbers shown are those of the AFSC office in Lake Worth and the home of William Channel, Program Director for AFSC in Lake Worth.

Mr. Channel advised us that it was "unfortunate" that the newsletter stated that the services referred to would be available only to crew leaders who were members of UAWA, that it should have shown that these services were available to all crew leaders and farm workers. Mr. Channel also said that the newsletter was put out by Johnson and Mayer over a weekend on their own time and that the cost of the newsletter had been borne by the crew leaders.

Mr. Johnson denied that he was ever Editor of the UAWA newsletter, but he did acknowledge that he had helped to prepare one issue.

Mr. Webb said that, when he was listed as Special Consultant in the UAWA newsletter, the UAWA was not union affiliated.

Mr. Mayer acknowledged that he and Johnson had put out one issue of the UAWA newsletter, but he asserted that this was before UAWA was affiliated with the union. Mr. Mayer said that he and Johnson were responsible for listing the AFSC telephone number in the newsletter and for the statement that

the services available to those calling that number would be limited to crew leaders who were members of UAWA but that this restricting of service was for the purpose of getting more crew leaders to join UAWA.

Dr. Hardeman and Richard Wiggins, of CAF, stated that in their opinion Johnson and Webb had used poor judgment in acting as Editor and Special Consultant for the UAWA newsletter and that Johnson and Webb had been told to disassociate themselves from UAWA in these capacities.

*Meeting between officials of CAF and AFL-CIO*

Mr. Walter Neiger, formerly employed by CAF as an accountant, advised us that on June 18, 1966, he attended a dinner meeting in the conference room of a Tampa hotel between officials of CAF and AFL-CIO at which there was a discussion of AFL-CIO plans to organize the farm workers and of the role that CAF was to play in these organizing activities. Mr. Neiger said that the AFL-CIO plan was to sign up 10,000 migrant workers by July 4, 1966, and that CAF's role was to furnish information to union organizers as to where migrant workers could be located.

We ascertained that the hotel conference room in which the meeting was held was rented for dinner on the night of June 18, 1966, by IUD, AFL-CIO, and that the bill for the hotel's service was paid by IUD, AFL-CIO, Charlotte, North Carolina.

We questioned William H. Johnson, CAF Regional Director for Broward County, about the meeting, and he acknowledged being there. He said that the meeting had been called for the specific purpose of acquainting the CAF regional directors and staff about plans to organize migrant workers during their trip "upstream" and to obtain CAF assistance in these organizing efforts.

Mr. Johnson identified the following persons as being in attendance at the June meeting: Thomas P. Hardeman, then President of CAF, and Mrs. Hardeman; Jack Mansfield, Vice President, CAF; Richard Wiggins, Program Director, CAF; William Blakely, Deputy Program Director, CAF; Walter Neiger, accountant, CAF; all CAF regional directors except Roscoe Webb; Peter Kramer, CAF; Father Martin Walsh, Human Relations Board of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Miami; Nicholas Zonarich, IUD, AFL-CIO; James Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO, Pat Burke, Regional Director, United Steel Workers; Estes Riffe, United Steel Workers; and Willie Payne, Newlin Lloyd, Carrol Lewis, and Chuck Todd, organizers for IUD, AFL-CIO.

Mr. Johnson said that the union officials present outlined plans for their "Project Upstream" (see p. 21) in which they proposed to employ college students and professional organizers under the supervision of IUD to contact crew leaders during their trip "upstream." According to Mr. Johnson, Jack Mansfield stated at this meeting that the union was the answer to the farm workers' problems, that CAF personnel could tell the union organizers where the crew leaders could be located "upstream," and that CAF employees should cooperate with union officials and help get the farm workers organized; also, according to Mr. Johnson, Dr. Hardeman stated that CAF regional directors should assist the union organizers in any way they could to get farm workers to sign union cards.

Mr. Johnson said that after the June 18 meeting he had furnished information related to "upstream" crew leaders to Eleanor Constable, VISTA Support Officer, but that he had not furnished such information directly to union representatives. Mr. Johnson also said that the CAF regional directors were supposed to get some money from the union to defray the extra cost incurred in these union activities but that he had not received any such funds.

Mr. Johnson's Comments concerning the June 18 meeting were substantially corroborated by Margaret Taylor, CAF Regional Director for Palm Beach County, except that she remembered no discussion of the union's financing any CAF efforts to assist in organizing the farm workers.

Richard Wiggins, Program Director, CAF, confirmed that information furnished by Mr. Johnson, in general, except that (1) he was sure that either Dr. Hardeman or Mr. Mansfield had made the point that CAF would cooperate with the union but that there were limitations in the OEO grant and (2) he did not recall that there was any discussion of the Union's paying CAF for any assistance which CAF might give in the organizing campaign. Mr. Wiggins said that he assumed that some or all of the regional directors supplied the requested information to the union.

A memorandum dated June 21, 1966, from Mr. Wiggins to the CAF staff concerning "Role in Unionization of Farm Workers" seems somewhat inconsistent with the spirit of cooperation apparently expressed at the June 18 meeting. This memorandum is quoted in its entirety as follows:

"There have been questions raised as to the role of Staff Personnel, including Volunteers, in the recruiting of farm workers for unions. We must emphasize to each one of you that there are provisions within our O.E.O. grant that prohibit active participation on the part of C.A.F. Migrant staff, including Volunteers, in such recruitment. There may well be persons, including college students, in your area this summer involved in the signing up of farm workers for unions, but, we must refrain from this activity."

We note that this memorandum does not define either "active participation" or the acceptable role, if any, which CAF employees might assume in the unionization of farm workers.

We were unable to identify any costs incurred by CAF in assisting the union as agreed at the June 18 meeting except those related to attendance at the meeting itself. Travel costs related to attendance at the June 18 meeting and at a regional directors' meeting held on June 19 at the same location totaled \$255.04.

#### *"Project Upstream"—summer 1966*

The stated purpose of CAF's "project Upstream" was to assist migrant workers during their northern migration and to further the work begun in the migrant program in Florida. To accomplish this work, CAF was to have a supervisor and 14 VISTA volunteers accompany the crews "upstream" and work with the same migrant children and adults with whom they had worked in Florida.

Our examination of CAF records disclosed that during the period June 19 to 21, 1966, Messrs. Jack Mansfield and William Blakely, Vice President and Deputy Program Director, respectively, of CAF, traveled to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Trenton, New Jersey; and Bridgeton, New Jersey, to prepare for the arrival of the "Project Upstream" staff later that month.

William H. Anderson, Jr., Assistant General Manager, Labor Division, Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, furnished us with a copy of a document which he said was a report from an official of the State of New Jersey to an official of the State of Florida, which stated in part:

"Early in July the IUD, Washington, D.C. notified the Business Agent of the Amalgamated Food and Allied Workers Union, AFL-CIO, Seabrook Farms, that the men listed below would spend some time in the Bridgeton, New Jersey area to explore the possibilities of organizing farm workers in South Jersey.

- \* \* \* \* \*
- "Nick Zonarich—Organizational Director, IUD, Washington, D.C.
  - "Bill Layman—Riverdale, Md. IUD.
  - "Russell Galloway—Conshohocken, Pa., AFL-CIO.
  - "James Pierce—Charlotte, N.C.
  - "Jack Mansfield—Florida \* \* \*."

The report also stated that Mr. Mansfield denied any direct connection with the union.

Our examination of CAF records showed that, immediately after arrival of the "Project Upstream" VISTA volunteers in New Jersey, CAF begin to receive criticism from growers and processors in the area, the main complaint being that the VISTA volunteers were helping the IUD, AFL-CIO, to organize the farm workers. The correspondence also indicated that meetings were held between the CAF staff and representatives of IUD, AFL-CIO.

#### *CAF participation in UAWA meeting*

Our examination of travel vouchers and other documents of CAF disclosed that William Johnson, CAF Regional Director for Broward County, traveled from Pompano Beach to Belle Glade on November 10, 1966, "to attend meeting of U.A.W. as per request of Pat Hardeman." Mr. Johnson advised us that the "U.A.W." shown on his travel authorization should have been "UAWA."

Mr. Johnson told us he was not sure of the purpose of this meeting but that this could have been the meeting at which the UAWA returned its charter to the laborers' union. In discussing the meeting at which the charter was returned, Mr. Johnson said that 75 to 100 crew leaders had returned from "upstream" and were trying to reorganize and that they had found their union office in Belle Glade closed, the telephone disconnected, and all utilities discontinued. According to Mr. Johnson, "the boys were peeved" and called in Jerome Loberg of the laborers' union and James Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO, for an explanation as to why their union office had been closed. He said that, after explanations by Messrs. Loberg and Pierce, he (Johnson) advised the crew leaders to get out of the laborers' union.

*Rally and union meetings at Belle Glade*

We obtained information from several sources concerning activities in Belle Glade on December 11, 1966. In general, the information obtained from these various sources is in agreement as to the nature of the activities, although there is some inconsistency in details. The essence of the pertinent information obtained and the inconsistencies are summarized below.

*Permit for rally*

Mr. Howard Gorham, a staff writer for the Tampa Tribune stated to us that he had been told by James Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO, that (1) he (Pierce) had applied for a permit to hold a union rally in Belle Glade but was rejected because he did not have a local office, (2) at that time Father Martin Walsh, President of the Coordinating Committee of Farm Workers (CCFW), "went down the line" of CCFW affiliates until he found one (CAF) who had a local office, and (3) CAF applied for and obtained the permit.

We examined a copy of the application for the permit for the rally and found that it was signed by Margaret Taylor, CAF Regional Director for Palm Beach County, and that the purpose of the rally was stated to be "to provide farm workers the opportunity of discussing mutual social and economic problems." The application showed that Ed King, a crew leader and President of UAWA, and Father Walsh, President of CCFW, would be in charge of the rally.

We were advised by Dr. Hardeman that the December 11, 1966, rally was not a union rally but, rather, a farm workers' rally, sponsored by CCFW, to provide farm workers an opportunity to discuss mutual social and economic problems. Richard Wiggins, CAF Program Director, said that CAF obtained the permit for the rally after CCFW's application for a permit was rejected because CCFW did not have a local office.

*Nature of rally*

Don Hoffman, Executive Director of the Management Research Institute, West Palm Beach, said that he was present at the rally; that there were a number of speakers, including Dr. Hardeman and Mr. Nicholas Zonarich, AFL-CIO; that all of the speeches had the same theme—organization; and that the principal speaker was Mr. Zonarich. Mr. Hoffman said that the speeches generally were to the effect that, if there was unity, there would be hope for the farm workers—better pay, better housing, better education, better sanitation, and better health facilities. Mr. Hoffman also said that in his speech Dr. Hardeman told the workers that the people on the platform, including Zonarich, could "do the job for you."

Mr. Charles Schiele, a field representative of the Management Research Institute, told us that he was present at the rally and that it was his conclusion that its sole purpose was to unite the farm workers through the union. Another observation by Mr. Schiele, with which Mr. Hoffman concurred, was that the general feeling among farm workers was that the whole attempt at union organizing had the approval and backing of Washington—meaning the Government poverty program. Mr. Schiele also said that the farm workers refer to CAF and AFSC employees and to VISTA volunteers as "people from Washington."

Howard Gorham said that he was present at the rally and that it was not entirely pitched to union organizing. He referred us to the following statement from an article which he wrote for the Tampa Tribune of December 12, 1966, and which he said was his recollection of the statement made at the rally by the President of CAF.

"Dr. Thomas P. Hardeman, director of the Community Action Fund and a member of the CCFW told the group it must seek its goals and, 'if there be farm work, you have got to have these things before the farm work is done. If your voice is not loud enough, it still won't be done—we have eight groups here (in the CCFW) and if all work together, we'll get it.'"

Mr. Gorham said that Dr. Hardeman's talk followed a talk by Father Walsh in which Father Walsh spoke of inadequate living conditions, lack of schooling for children, filth and lack of sanitation in the camps, and the unavailability of workmen's compensation. Mr. Gorham said that Dr. Hardeman's reference to eight groups in CCFW included IUD, AFL-CIO.

Mr. Calvin Clay, an employee of the Florida State Employment Service, Belle Glade, told us that he was present at the rally, that he had heard Dr. Hardeman tell the assemblage that the people on the platform could get them better housing and so forth, and that Father Walsh made this same statement several times during his talk.

Dr. Hardeman told us that his speech at the rally was directed toward telling the farm workers that there is strength in unity and that they should seek legislation to better themselves; that he told the workers that America expects certain things of them and they should expect certain things in America and that they would have to be the ones to seek such goals as better pay and better housing; but he said that he did not mention any union, although there were union representatives at the rally who did.

Mr. Channel, AFSC, told us that he had sent Hank Mayer to the December 11, 1966, rally to observe the activities but not to participate. Mr. Mayer confirmed to us that he had attended the December 11 rally as an observer and that he did not participate in it.

*Union meetings before and after the rally*

Mr. Howard Gorham told us that he was present at a meeting of crew leaders which was held in the union hall in Belle Glade before the rally on December 11, 1966. Mr. Gorham said that those in attendance at this meeting included about 25 crew leaders; James Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO; and Roscoe Webb and William Johnson, CAF, and that at this meeting the crew leaders voted unanimously to affiliate with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee—a unit formed by AFL-CIO by combining two California unions.

Mr. Gorham said that this meeting was presided over by Roscoe Webb up to the point of taking the vote, but that Webb had not conducted the vote; also, that after the vote both Webb and Johnson spoke to the crew leaders in support of the union. Mr. Gorham referred us to the following statements from his article in the Tampa Tribune of December 12, 1966:

"One crew leader spoke of threats against him for attending the union meeting and Webb told him, 'I work for Uncle Sam. We're here to see your interests are taken care of.'"

"Johnson said, 'The growers are organized and they are organized to the teeth. You men in citrus know this.'"

"Johnson also told the group, 'It has to start with you. If one of you gets pressured by a farmer, then don't go to his place. Let him suffer. Don't go in and help the man. If you don't go, he will come back to you on his hands and knees.'"

We interviewed W.H. Anderson, Jr., Assistant General Manager, Labor Division, Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, concerning the activities in Belle Glade on December 11, 1966. He said that he was not present at these activities but that he had a representative who was.

Mr. Anderson gave us a copy of a letter which he wrote to the President of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, which he said summarized the activities surrounding the rally. This letter contained the following statement concerning the union meeting before the rally:

"The actual rally by CCFW was preceded by a meeting of crew leaders, union officials, poverty program people—including Roscoe Webb, Director of the Community Action Fund in Dade County and his assistant, Bill Johnson, and the Reverend Winton Ward. The union meeting was chaired by Roscoe Webb and the vote was conducted by Reverend Ward, assisted by James Pearce [sic], organizer for the AFL-CIO."

Mr. Anderson declined to identify his representative.

The basic allegation by Congressman Rogers included a statement that the rally on December 11, 1966, was followed by a union meeting to which those attending the rally were invited.

Dr. Hardeman stated that a note was passed to the platform during the rally by Ed King, President of UAWA, requesting that an announcement be made that there would be a meeting of crew leaders after the rally and that Father Walsh made the announcement as requested. Dr. Hardeman said that no one on the platform knew of this meeting until the announcement was made. Dr. Hardeman objected to reference to this meeting as a "union meeting"; he said that it was a crew leaders' meeting held to consider seeking affiliation with Chavez's union—the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC).

Messrs. Roscoe Webb and William Johnson, CAF, and Hank Mayer, AFSC, said that they attended the crew leaders' meeting after the rally. According to Mr. Johnson the purpose of this meeting was to vote on whether to seek affiliation with Chavez's group and that the crew leaders voted to seek such affiliation. Webb and Johnson denied that they supported the union in either of the meetings which preceded and followed the rally or that Webb had presided

over either of these meetings. Mr. Webb said that he did not attend the meeting before the rally—that he was in the meeting hall at the time but was being interviewed by a Columbia Broadcasting System news reporter; that, at the meeting which followed the rally, he was asked to read the minutes of a prior meeting and some letters related to UAWA's seeking affiliation with UFWOC; and that he did read these documents.

Dr. Hardeman and Mr. Wiggins said that in their opinion attendance by Webb and Johnson at the UAWA meeting before the rally was poor judgment on their part because the CAF staff had been authorized and encouraged to attend the rally and to bring farm workers with them and the action by Webb and Johnson might put CAF in a bad light. Dr. Hardeman asserted, however, that Webb and Johnson had come to the rally early and had attended the meeting before the rally on their own time and that, in his opinion, activities of CAF employees on their own time could not constitute a violation of the OEO grant.

Our examination of CAF records showed that neither Roscoe Webb nor William Johnson claimed mileage or per diem for December 11, 1966, but that 12 other CAF employees were paid travel cost totaling \$152.64 for attendance at the rally. In addition, an undeterminable amount of travel costs were incurred by a number of CAF employees in notifying farm workers of the rally and in urging attendance at the rally. We noted that 19 CAF employees claimed a total of 140 hours of work on December 11, for which they may be granted compensatory time, but the records do not show the nature of the duty performed.

In a memorandum dated December 20, 1966, addressed to all CAF regional directors and the CAF State office, Dr. Hardeman stated regarding the charge by Congressman Rogers that the CAF staff had used Federal funds for union organization:

"If our staff has done this it is contrary to the policy of CAF, Inc. As you know, the policy of this organization is that staff members, paid by OEO funds, are not to do the work of union organizers. This specifically forbids (1) inducing workers to sign union cards; (2) collecting dues from workers for any union; (3) recruiting workers for membership in a particular union. This does not mean that union organizers are our enemies or that because some reactionary Congressman does not like them; that we must treat them as pariahs in the land.

"And, of course, it does not mean that you are to stop your very valuable work of organizing farm workers into neighborhood groups, improvement association, or any kind of honorable group effort enabling them to assert their own aspirations and desires for protection of their own interest. It is important that the farm workers make their own decisions and express their own interests, and that we do not manipulate them into joining a particular political party or labor union.

"However, it is a part of our citizenship education program to inform the workers of the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship, to assist them in registering to vote and to inform them of all the resources that communities—local, state and national—have to offer for their benefit. This can include instruction in the possible benefits from Social Security, various welfare programs, and also from unionization as long as we do not recruit for a particular union or in any way work to get them to join one."

Frank R. Sloan, Regional Director, OEO, Atlanta, Georgia, told us that he did not attend the rally or meetings in Belle Glade on December 11, 1966. We examined travel vouchers and authorizations for members of the OEO regional office staff and did not find any claims for expenses for, or authorizations to attend, the rally or meetings in Belle Glade on that date.

*Other information possibly related to union organizing activities of CAF and AFSC*

*Employment of Mrs. Thomas P. Hardeman by AFL-CIO*

Mr. Wiggins, CAF Program Director, and Mr. Johnson and Miss Taylor, CAF Regional Directors, each informed us that during the summer of 1966 Mrs. Thomas P. Hardeman, wife of the then President of CAF, had been employed by IUD, AFL-CIO, under her maiden name—Sara Cunningham.

Mr. Johnson said that during the summer of 1966 he received calls from workers in the field concerning Mrs. Hardeman's activities on behalf of the union. Miss Taylor said that on one occasion Mrs. Hardeman had come to her office to obtain names and locations of certain people and that Mrs. Hardeman used her maiden name at that time. Miss Taylor also said that Mrs. Hardeman had introduced herself as a union representative at a meeting held by Father Walsh at Miami in the summer of 1966.



Mr. Wiggins said that Mrs. Hardeman's employment by IUD, AFL-CIO, caused confusion among CAF field people and could have led them to believe that Messrs. Hardeman and Mansfield were behind the union. Mr. Wiggins expressed the opinion that knowledge that Mrs. Hardeman worked for the union could have been a form of pressure on CAF employees to work with the union and could have clouded the issue of union involvement for field workers.

We asked Dr. and Mrs. Hardeman to discuss whether Mrs. Hardeman had been employed by AFL-CIO; if so, the nature of her duties in such employment; and if Mrs. Hardeman did work for AFL-CIO, why she worked under her maiden name. Dr. and Mrs. Haredman declined to answer these questions on the ground that we could not show any connection between Mrs. Hardeman's employment and the expenditure of Federal funds and that our asking these questions was an unwarranted invasion of Mrs. Hardeman's privacy.

*Union connection of CAF and AFSC employees*

We were told by Mr. Johnson that he had been contacted at his home on March 2, 1967, by James Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO; Hank Mayer, AFSC; and a representative of a packing house workers' union and that at that time he (Mr. Johnson) was offered \$15,000 a year plus expenses to work for the union.

Mr. Johnson also told us that Hank Mayer was leaving AFSC as of March 17, 1967, to work for the union. According to information furnished to us by Dan Hoffman, Executive Director of the Management Research Institute, West Palm Beach, Hank Mayer was a labor organizer for the United Furniture Workers of America in Sumter, South Carolina, from 1961 to 1965, and before that he was business agent for Local 17 of the International Hod Carriers in Newburgh, New York.

*Distribution of "flyer" linking support of CCFW with support of IUD, AFL-CIO*

A "flyer" which was distributed at one or more CCFW rallies contained bold marginal headlines which read "SUPPORT CCFW—JOIN IUD." Both CAF and AFSC are members of CCFW.

Both William Channel, Program Director for AFSC, and Dr. Hardeman told us that this "flyer" was printed by IUD, AFL-CIO, and was distributed by union employees at CCFW rallies. Mr. Channnel told us that he had written in November 1966 to Father Walsh, President, CCFW, objecting to the distribution of this "flyer" at CCFW rallies because he (Channel) did not see it to be a function of the CCFW to organize or recruit for the IUD and that he was prohibited from such actions specifically by the terms of the OEO grant under which the AFSC program was operating. Mr. Channel's letter to Father Walsh further stated that he " \* \* \* had attended the meetings of the Coordinating Committee as a single staff member of the American Friends Service Committee and my organization has not authorized nor been requested to authorize such action."

*Meeting in Belle Blade—January 1967*

Congressman Rogers, in a letter dated February 8, 1967, to Alfred C. Krumlauf, OEO Inspector, Atlanta, Georgia, a copy of which was furnished to the Comptroller General, alleged that (1) Mr. Hank Mayer, an employee of AFSC, was a speaker at a meeting of crew leaders which was held in Belle Glade on January 18, 1967, for the purpose of promoting a farm workers' union and (2) Mr. Mayer and Mr. William Channel, also of AFSC, were at another meeting in the Belle Glade union hall and were accompanied at both meetings by representatives of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Rogers expressed his understanding that the Palm Beach County Sheriffs' Department had full details on the two meetings.

On March 1, 1967, we met with Sheriff Martin Kellenberger and members of his staff and were informed that they had no first-hand information concerning a meeting on January 18. Information furnished to us by the Sheriff's office, which we understand had been obtained from Al French of the Management Research Institute, contained broad statements concerning alleged union organization activities of CAF and AFSC employees. We were shown two motion picture films taken in Belle Glade at the union hall on January 19 and 20, 1967. However, neither we nor employees of the Sheriff's office were able to identify CAF or AFSC employees in the January 19, 1967, film.

In the January 20, 1967, film we were able to identify Hank Mayer entering the union hall and Hank Mayer, William Channel and a man identified by Sheriff's office employees as Tommy Martin, AFL-CIO, leaving the hall and

having a short conversation outside the union hall. We were told that these individuals were in the union hall for about 55 minutes but that the Sheriff's office personnel did not know what went on at the meeting.

#### LEGAL STATUS OF POLITICAL AND UNION ACTIVITIES

The Economic Opportunity Act does not specifically refer to the use of grant funds for nonpartisan political or union organizing activities, nor does OEO grant CG-0771 B/O, which was awarded to CAF and approved on May 28, 1966. However, in a memorandum to Congressman Rogers dated April 28, 1967, the Director, Office of Special Field Programs, Community Action Program, OEO, has advised that the grantee agrees to carry out a program that follows both the grantee's proposal and OEO's revisions of that proposal. The Director stated that, under the terms of the grant, the grantee agreed to carry out a program in the areas of migrant education, housing, sanitation, and day care, but that nowhere in the grantee's proposal or in OEO's revision was there any mention made of union organizing activities. The Director further stated in the memorandum that:

"Since the proposal did not contain provisions in the work program to carry on labor union organizing activities the grantee could not perform these activities without express written approval from OEO. This approval was neither requested nor given. *The conclusion must therefore be that labor union organizing activities were not permitted under this grant.*" [Emphasis added.]

In light of the foregoing information, the use of grant funds for union organizing activities by CAF under OEO grant CG-0771 B/O would not be authorized. OEO should therefore take action to identify, and obtain refunds from CAF for, expenditures made under the grant for those activities described in this report which, in our opinion, represented union organizing activities.

As to nonpartisan political activities, the CAF proposal, which served as a basis for the award of the 1966 grant, contained information (see pp. 10 and 11) which could be considered as an indication that the CAF would carry out nonpartisan political activities, and the CAF grant approved in May 1966 contained no restrictions on such activities. Further, an Assistant General Counsel, OEO, in a letter dated May 12, 1966, indicated, in effect, that strictly nonpartisan political activities of the type described in this report may be said to be within the general community organization and advancement objectives of CAF's grant program. Therefore, we would not question the use of the grant funds by CAF for nonpartisan political activities.

Regarding AFSC activities, the grantee's proposals which served as a basis for the awards of the grants in 1965 and 1966 contained no information that would indicate intended involvement in political or union organizing activities. The AFSC grant award approved in October 1966, however, contained a special provision which stated:

"It shall be a condition of this grant that all funds are to be used exclusively for the work program and no personnel, material, or facilities may be used for any other purpose, including involvement in political, fraternal, or labor organizations."

The AFSC grant awarded in October 1965 did not contain the above special provision.

In light of the position taken by OEO with respect to union organizing activities by CAF and the special condition in the grant awarded to AFSC in October 1966, it appears that the union organizing activities by AFSC employees, as described above, were similarly unauthorized and that OEO should take action to identify and recover from AFSC any expenditures made under the grants for such activities.

In regard to future political activity, section 603 of the act, as amended by Public Law 89-794, approved November 8, 1966, states:

"(a) For purposes of chapter 15 of title 5 of the United States Code [formerly called the Hatch Act] any overall community action agency which assumes responsibility for planning, developing, and coordinating community-wide anti-poverty programs and receives assistance under this Act shall be deemed to be a State or local agency; and for purposes of clauses (1) and (2) of section 1502(a) of such title any agency receiving assistance under this Act (other than part C of title I) shall be deemed to be a State or local agency.

"(b) The Director, after consultation with the Civil Service Commission, is authorized to issue such regulations or impose such requirements as may be necessary or appropriate to supplement the provisions of subsection (a) of this

section or otherwise to insure that programs assisted under this Act are not carried on in a manner involving the use of program funds, the provision of services, or the employment or assignment of personnel in a manner supporting, or resulting in the identification of such program with, any partisan political activity or any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office."

In implementing this amendment, the agency issued Community Action Memo No. 50-A, dated December 1, 1966, which superseded Community Action Memo No. 50 and which states in part: "\* \* \* an employee of a public agency or a CAA *may not*:—solicit votes, or help to get out votes on election day. \* \* \*"

These restrictions are applicable to grantees funded under titles II-A and III-B of the act.

In addition, an Assistant General Council, OEO, has informed us that any community action program grantee, including grantees funded under title III-B, which now transports individuals to the polls to vote will be in violation of Community Action Memo No. 50-A.

#### OEO ADMINISTRATION AND EVALUATION OF THE FLORIDA CAF MIGRANT PROGRAM

As a result of our March 3, 1967, meeting with Mr. Rogers, we agreed to examine into the extent of surveillance exercised by the Office of Economic Opportunity over the grants awarded to the Community Action Fund and the Community Service Foundation (CSF). Our review of available records and discussions with OEO officials elicited the following information:

The Director, Office of Special Field Programs, Community Action Program, OEO, is responsible for administering migrant grants which are funded under title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act as well as for monitoring and evaluating the programs conducted by grant recipients.

We were informed that the proposal for the first grant, awarded in April 1965, was actually prepared with the personal assistance of the Director, Office of Special Field Programs.

In March 1966 a program analyst from the Office of Special Field Programs visited Florida to evaluate the operations of the Community Action Fund. This evaluation, in general, identified several weaknesses in the administration of the grant; and, as a result, the OEO Audit Division was requested to make an audit of the program. The Audit Division subsequently issued audit reports in January, July, and August 1966 and in January 1967 pertaining to CAF's programs.

The first three OEO audit reports were critical of the adequacy of the accounting system and listed many transactions as being indicative of inadequate control of and accounting for funds, questionable billings, and unauthorized deviations from the approved budgets. A summary of these audit reports was prepared by us at the request of Congressman William C. Cramer and was submitted to him on October 10, 1966.

The fourth report, issued in January 1967, contained in part the results of a review of actions taken by CAF and CSF to comply with recommendations made in the August 1966 audit report. The report reflected those deficiencies and related questionable expenditures that had not been resolved.

While the four audit reports were critical of certain transactions and questioned areas indicating inadequate control over funds, the reports made no mention of the effectiveness of the programs being carried out under the OEO grants and contracts.

We reviewed a report, dated April 15, 1966, prepared by International Research Associates, New York City, a research firm under contract to OEO to evaluate about 50 of the programs for migrants funded in fiscal year 1965. The report stated that the reviewer was impressed with the advantages of private sponsorship of the program for migrants, independent of the local power structure and county or State community action programs. The report indicated that the program being conducted by CAF was accomplishing a great deal by assisting migrants in the areas of housing, education, sanitation, and day care and that the high caliber staff in its employ was a major factor in the success of the program.

An analyst of the Office of Special Field Programs conducted an evaluation of program activities of CAF in November 1966. The resulting report, dated November 10, 1966, pointed out that, at the centers visited and reviewed, (1) complete records were not being maintained on program participants but records on numbers of participants served were being maintained, (2) program attendance was as outlined in the approved grant, (3) employees appeared to be performing

duties outlined in their job descriptions, and (4) the program was being operated efficiently and purposefully. The report also noted that at the program level the number of participants and minority group members who were supposed to be served were being served and that a daily average of about 1,000 migrants were participating in program activities.

The report also stated that the program was accomplishing its task of removing the migrants from poverty and was, in fact, more than a welfare program. The voter registration program was especially commended in this evaluation report as a most effective weapon for bringing about social change.

In May 1966, CAF was awarded a second grant which provided, in general, for carrying out the same objectives as those proposed in the first grant. Educational Projects, Inc., as part of a title III-B technical assistance grant awarded by OEO, reviewed operations of the grantee at the program site in the early part of 1967, but the report on this review has not yet been submitted to OEO.

In addition, we were informed that representatives of the Office of Special Field Programs had been in communication by telephone with officials of CAF or CSF on an average of at least once a week since April 1965 when the CSF was first funded by the OEO and that they had been aware of the activities and programs conducted by the grantee. Further, we were informed that the analysts assigned to assist this grantee had made several supervisory visits to Florida to discuss problems and advise remedies regarding problems encountered in carrying out the program.

In addition, it appears that officials of the grantee have visited Washington a number of times to discuss matters regarding the activities being conducted with grant funds. Also, four progress reports have been submitted by the Board of Directors of CAF since the second grant was awarded. These reports, although not submitted at regular intervals, described program activities and relayed statistics on the number of people served by the program. The most recent progress report, covering the period May 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, indicated that 33,389 persons had been served by the Community Action Fund program. In May 1966, when the current grant was approved, it was estimated that about 35,000 people would benefit from the grant. According to the Director, Office of Special Field Programs, the actual participation figures have not been reviewed or tested on a systematic basis in any of the evaluations performed to date and have not been questioned by OEO officials.

The Director referred us to several letters of commendation that various public and private organizations and participating migrants had written to CAF in the early part of calendar year 1967. These letters were included in CAF's proposal for another grant to begin on May 1, 1967. Among the organizations commending the Fund were the Florida Industrial Commission; the Social Security Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the American National Red Cross; the Tampa Economic Opportunity Council, Inc.; the Sarasota County Health Department; and the Housing Authority, City of Pompano Beach. Generally the letters indicated that CAF was effective in assisting the migrants of Florida in the areas of housing, sanitation, education, and day care.

[News release, May 31, 1967]

#### REPORT ON OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS WITHIN THE NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF FLORIDA

The Federal Government, through the Office of Economic Opportunity, has committed over \$57 million to the State of Florida in the "War on Poverty," and of this, over \$6½ million directly affects the 10 counties making up the 9th District.

The figures which follow are from O.E.O. reports for Fiscal years 1965 and 1966, and the first half of FY 1967, but do not include calendar year 1967 grants which had not been made at the time of the field tour of projects in Florida.

The main categories for funding within district counties are as follows:

|                                 |           |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Rural loans.....                | \$475,870 |
| Small business loans.....       | 208,650   |
| Summer Headstart education..... | 2,049,483 |
| Migrant children education..... | 1,124,425 |
| Adult basic education.....      | 376,132   |
| Seminole tribal council.....    | 151,290   |
| Neighborhood Youth Corps.....   | 109,156   |
| Community action programs.....  | 887,128   |