

frequently see the social security system advertising on TV and the radio to inform the broad American public of their rights and entitlements under this program. But you have never seen an advertisement for public welfare. I doubt that you ever will, unless this Congress or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare requires States and localities to carry on some form of public-information campaign so the poor people can know their rights.

People cannot assert rights of which they are not aware. When a welfare applicant goes to a department of welfare and is told that he is ineligible and is denied access to the manual, and has no other source of information about the very complex laws and statutes, he has no choice but to accept that decision. Lawyers who have studied welfare practices will tell you that a very substantial portion of those eligibility decisions are of doubtful legality. But there is no means of recourse, for applicants cannot obtain information about the rules.

One of the things the National Welfare Rights movement has been trying to do is get manuals for the people in cities like Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit; welfare officials just will not release them. They give all manner of reasons for the denial: the manuals are too complicated for poor people to understand; the regulations keep changing so the manuals become obsolete; and so on. But where these manuals have been obtained—and they have been obtained in many places—often, I regret to say, only by finding a sympathetic welfare worker who will steal a copy—but where they have been obtained, they have been boiled down, simplified, put into understandable language, and run off at a settlement house or a church, and distributed to thousands of the poor so that they can know their rights and act on them.

So I think secrecy about eligibility means that all the cards are in the hands of the system.

Representative BOLLING. I do not want to interrupt you, but I want to deal with another subject which is rather vague and I think it is important that there be something in the record about this. Would you care, at some point in your answer to my rather broad question, to deal with a specific intent—the reasons why this particular attitude is taken through the process that starts, perhaps, at a State legislature, and works its way down to a local administration? Why is it that people behave this way, the administrators?

I would like to get back to what I believe to be the answer. I am curious as to whether mine and yours are the same.

Mr. CLOWARD. My complaint is not for the most part with administrators of welfare departments. In a certain sense I think they, too, are victims of the same public attitudes which victimize the poor. It seems to me the answer is not so difficult to define. Americans, by and large, believe that work is the source of all good—character and morality. So we as a people tend to denigrate anyone who either cannot or should not work—the aged, the children, the disabled, or mothers with small children. It has only been in recent years that we have gotten children out of the fields, the mines, the mills. Americans also believe, as a corollary of the work notion, that anybody who receives money he did not earn is corrupted by that act.

Thus one of the common allegations of our public welfare is that people are demoralized and debilitated because they are taking money which they did not earn. If that proposition is true, all of us in Amer-