ica are corrupted, for the inventory of subsidies which this Congress allocates to other people is very long. I mentioned agriculture, urban renewal, transportation, and housing subsidies earlier.

Representative Bolling. Can you in fact think of any segment of

society that is not in some fashion subsidized?

Mr. Cloward. That is my point. We all benefit from subsidies. But then we say only the poor are corrupted. And it is precisely this double standard in our thinking about subsidies which strangles public welfare departments. It ties the hands of the most altruistic-minded public welfare administrators, puts them under unbearable pressure to keep costs down, to keep constantly on their guard that some applicant is not going to get away with a bit of money that he was not actually eligible for, or something of that kind. So my complaint is not so much with welfare departments as with American attitudes.

Representative Bolling. Basically, you are referring to a public attitude that is based in ignorance and lack of awareness of all the other subsidies that are involved. That is pretty well depicted by the very high executive of one of the railroads that has its headquarters in my town of Kansas City, who told me that the railroads had never received a subsidy, which is one of the more fantastic statements that I have heard. But the point, basically, is that this is public ignorance translated into political action at the legislative level and imposed on the administrator.

Mr. Cloward. Yes.

Representative Bolling. Thank you.

Representative Griffiths. Thank you both.

I am fascinated with the 45 razor blades. I did not know that they operated this way until a year ago. Will you tell me, supposing a person had used the 45 razor blades. Are there provisions in the New York law wherein additional razor blades could be issued? If the need was proved?

Mr. Cloward. Well, I do not think this is a law: I think this is a

regulation and policy.

Representative Griffiths. But under the law they could issue addi-

tional ones, could they not?

Mr. Cloward. They have the power to issue emergency grants.

Representative Griffiths. Would this not involve something, some sort of interview or possibly a visit to the person's house, so that in reality this adds to the cost, does it not, of running the system? You might as well have given the money to the person in place of having this in the system.

Mr. Cloward. Yes. We estimate that for every dollar that is disbursed by local departments, it costs them 25 cents because of the enormous paperwork and investigatory procedures, the enormous

pressure they are under to detect cheating.

Representative Griffiths. Sometimes I wonder if this really is the problem, to prevent cheating. We, after all, have so many categories, and the question becomes one of whether you are in the right category and are you getting the right amount, and we ask in such endless detail that we defeat the whole system.

In your judgment, how many people are there in New York who really are entitled to welfare that are not getting it?