

Representative RYAN. Not this year, but it is coming.

Representative GRIFFITHS. I would like to ask a couple more questions, and then the Members of the House, I am afraid, will have to go and we will leave this to the Senate.

I would like to say that I think many people feel that this is a program, if such a program were set up, to help black people. As a matter of fact, how many white people would gain income from this as opposed to blacks?

Mrs. BURNS. They are certainly in the majority among the poor, far in the majority.

Senator PROXMIRE. You say white people are in the majority?

Mrs. BURNS. Yes.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Would it be something like 20 million whites, as opposed to 10 million blacks?

Mr. DUMPSON. Over half of the poor in the United States are non-black.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Of course, the largest number of the poor are white. Would you mind saying, what do you think is the reason that white people simply accept the situation and raise little or no objection?

Mr. DUMPSON. Madam Chairman, I really do not know, except that I suppose it is impossible for a person who is white to really know the experience of being nonwhite in America, like what it means and feels like to be considered as less entitled, less an individual.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Of course, is not one of the answers that they have accepted the theory that it must be that they are personally wrong?

Mr. DUMPSON. Yes.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Whereas black people realize that there has been discrimination against them.

Mr. DUMPSON. Yes; and I think this is what the Kerner report was getting at when it used the term, "racism," which too many people associated with the more bizarre aspects of racism that we used to think of in the 1930's. Racism to me now means a mentality that says that the black man is an inferior being and moves from that orientation in all relations with him and all perceptions about him. This is, I think, the definition of "racism" that the Kerner report advanced.

I think this is part of what you are getting at when you ask why. It is almost an unconscious, subtle kind of self-image of self as white that says other than white is inferior, second class, and then all these other things pertain therefore to that status.

Representative GRIFFITHS. But black people have not really totally bought that, whereas poor white people apparently have bought the idea that if you are poor, it must be something you yourself are responsible for.

Mr. DUMPSON. That is right, and that is why I would like to come back to something the Senator said about separation of services from income maintenance.

One of the dangers of associating, of interlocking services with income maintenance, whether it is children's allowances or whatnot, is that it carries with it the idea that if you are in need of money from a source other than your own, the reasons for your need are your own personal inadequacy. Frequently, as I know as a former commissioner