

**IMPACT OF ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC PROPOSALS
ON PROGRAMS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE
EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE**

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

**HEARINGS HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON
MARCH 24-26, 31; APRIL 1, 2, 6, 29; MAY 19, 20, 1981**

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor



**U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON: 1981**

81-871 O

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

CARL D. PERKINS, Kentucky, *Chairman*

AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, California
WILLIAM D. FORD, Michigan
PHILLIP BURTON, California
JOSEPH M. GAYDOS, Pennsylvania
WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY, Missouri
MARIO BIAGGI, New York
IKE ANDREWS, North Carolina
PAUL SIMON, Illinois
GEORGE MILLER, California
AUSTIN J. MURPHY, Pennsylvania
TED WEISS, New York
BALTASAR CORRADA, Puerto Rico
DALE E. KILDEE, Michigan
PETER A. PEYSER, New York
PAT WILLIAMS, Montana
WILLIAM R. RATCHFORD, Connecticut
RAY KOGOVSEK, Colorado
HAROLD WASHINGTON, Illinois
DENNIS E. ECKART, Ohio

JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Ohio
JOHN N. ERLBORN, Illinois
JAMES M. JEFFORDS, Vermont
WILLIAM F. GOODLING, Pennsylvania
E. THOMAS COLEMAN, Missouri
KEN KRAMER, Colorado
ARLEN ERDAHL, Minnesota
THOMAS E. PETRI, Wisconsin
MILLICENT FENWICK, New Jersey
MARGE ROUKEMA, New Jersey
EUGENE JOHNSTON, North Carolina
LAWRENCE J. DeNARDIS, Connecticut
LARRY E. CRAIG, Idaho
WENDELL BAILEY, Missouri

CONTENTS

Hearings held in Washington, D.C., on:	Page
March 24, 1981	1
March 25, 1981	239
March 26, 1981	405
March 31, 1981	575
April 1, 1981	749
April 2, 1981	935
April 6, 1981	1057
April 29, 1981	1197
May 19, 1981	1243
May 20, 1981	1287
Statement of—	
Adams, Nancy, title I parent, Fairfax, Va	384
Akerley, Ed, Silver Spring, Md.....	580
Akerley, Mary S., Silver Spring, Md	578
Augykin, Letitia, school lunch mother, Oxon Hill, Md	385
Bell, Hon. Terrel H., Secretary of Education, accompanied by Sally H. Christensen, Acting Assistant Secretary for Planning and Budget; Albert L. Alford, Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislation; William Dingeldein, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Program Planning and Budget Analysis, Office of Planning and Budget; Thomas P. Skelly, Acting Director, Division of Budget Review; and James W. Moore, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Student Financial Assistance.....	1288
Benson-Walker, Gwen, student, Montgomery College, Montgomery County, Md	703
Berger, David, executive director, Rehab Project, Neighborhood Revitalization Through Home Ownership, Lima, Ohio.....	717
Berner, Dr. Richard, director, Washington office, Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, Inc.....	408
Bowe, Frank, former chief executive officer of the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities	31
Brophy, Susan, executive director, Women-in-Construction Project, Boston, Mass.....	862
Brown, Lee P., commissioner of public safety, city of Atlanta, Ga	868
Burrell, Claydee, working mother, Baltimore, Md	906
Carr, John L., community affairs specialist, Center for Community Change.....	802
Castro, Anita, former CETA youth program participant, representing Aunt Martha's Youth Service Center, Inc., Park Forest, Ill.....	709
Cherry, Richard M., cochairperson, National Alliance of Community-Based Organizations.....	844
Chisholm, Hon. Shirley, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York	240
Clay, Karen, Washington, D.C.....	373
Clayton, Tony, Cathodic Electrocoating, Ecorse, Mich	460
Clyburn, James, commissioner, South Carolina Human Affairs Commission, Coca, S.C	365
Collins, Renee, Baltimore County, Md.....	377
Conner, Oliver, graduate, CBO/CETA Public Service Employment Program.....	845
Cook, Gary	460
Corker, John, parent, Carbondale, Ill.....	750
Degonia, Mary, policy analyst, National Youth Work Alliance, Washington, D.C.....	707

IV

Statement of—Continued		Page
Denny, Carl, president, Association of Personnel Consultants of New York State.....		851
Donovan, Hon. Raymond, Secretary of Labor, accompanied by Al Angrisani, Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training, Thorne Auchter, Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health, and Craig Berrington, Acting Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.....		936
Doss, Debra Dixon, food service director, Burlington City Schools, Burlington, N.C.		387
Duncan, Cheryl, Parents Anonymous parent, Madisonville, Ky.....		878
Dunn, William J., general manager, Nassau-Suffolk Lumber & Supply Corp., Suffolk County, N.Y.		889
Edelman, Marian Wright, president, Children's Defense Fund.....		677
Ellis, Phyllis, title I parent, Springfield, Va., accompanied by Bill Alexander, Wilmington, Del., and Nancy Adams, title I parent, Fairfax, Va.		382
Estrada, Mel, director, Vocational Education, Campbell Union High School District, San Jose, Calif.....		895
Fisher, Joseph, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, State of Illinois; David Randall, director, Migrant Education Center, Sunnyside, Wash.		1140
Friedman, Howard.....		904
Galbraith, Dr. John Kenneth, economist, Harvard University; and Dr. Robert Eisner, economist, Northwestern University.....		1010
Gallooly, Edward P., presiding judge, Family Court, State of Rhode Island.....		669
Garvey, Ed, executive director, National Football League Players Association, accompanied by Brig Owens, director, Community Services Department and Beverly Watson, graduate, Youth Development Program .		695
Gawron, Janice.....		459
Geiger, Keith, president, Michigan Education Association.....		540
Goldberg, Marshall, Deputy Director for Employment and Training, Wyandotte, Mich.		462
Graham, Beverly K., Ohio Valley Educational Cooperative, coordinator, CETA youth programs.....		1074
Green, Frederick, associate director, Children's Hospital National Medical Center, Washington, D.C.		842
Griffin, James D., mayor, city of Buffalo, N.Y., accompanied by David Eckles, commissioner of human resources, Buffalo, N.Y.....		834
Harding, Virginia, Altoona, Pa.		375
Hardman, William E., National Tooling & Machining Association.....		43
Harvey, Stefan, director, WIC advocacy project, the Children's Foundation, Lexington, Ky.		114
Herring, Bettie, ED.D, director, Occupational & Continuing Education and Guidance, Fort Worth Independent School District, Fort Worth, Tex.....		890
Hervey, Patricia A., parent, Washington, D.C.		751
Hildebrant, Mike, youth employment and training coordinator, Greenup County School System, Greenup, Ky.....		1058
Hoagland, G. William, Administrator, Food and Nutrition Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, accompanied by Margaret Glavin, Deputy Administrator, Special Nutrition Programs; George Braley, Deputy Director, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation; Barry White, Director, Office of Policy Planning and Evaluation.....		1244
Hoak, Donald R., director of occupational education, Board of Cooperative Educational Services, Third Supervisory District, Suffolk County, N.Y. .		885
Hopman, Dennis R., businessman and director, Detroit Lakes, Minnesota Area Vocational Technical School, and vice chairman, Rural Minnesota CEP Private Industry Council.....		1075
Hurley, Neil, staff assistant, division of employment security, Lowell, Mass.		454
Irons, Hattie, carpentry trainee, CETA program, Lima, Ohio.....		715
Jackson, Andrew, Washington, D.C.....		373
Jarvis, Esther, cafeteria manager, Lodi Elementary School, Lodi, Ohio.....		388
Jelacic, Mary, parent from Maryland.....		397
Jordan, Harold Elton, on behalf of R. Sargent Shriver, former Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, and partner, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, attorneys at law, Washington, D.C.....		1030
Kleeh, Mary, title I parent, Wheeling, W. Va.....		382

Statement of—Continued	Page
Langland, Doris, member, Legislative Service Committee, National Parent Teachers Association, Falls Church, Va.....	725
Lash, William, student, Yale University and chairman, Connecticut Independent Student Coalition, affiliate of COPUS.....	703
Leveridge, May Ann, member, Texas Parent Teachers Association; member, Texas State Board of Education.....	722
Lewis, Isabel, school food service director, Bloomington School District, Bloomington, Minn.....	5
Linnehan, William, employment counselor, State Division of Employment Security, Lowell, Mass.....	465
Lohn, Gary, vice president, strategy and business development, Human Services Division, Control Data Corp.....	671
Lyte, Alice, Semi Quois Neighborhood Association, Detroit, Mich.....	847
Maltz, Pat, Quality Day Care, Mound, Minn., accompanied by Flora Wheeler, nutritionist.....	904
Marvel, Sandra, Wichita Falls Independent School District, Wichita Falls, Tex.....	87
Massingail, Debbie, Parents Anonymous parent, Ashland, Ky.....	881
McLaughlin, Diana, Baltimore, Md.....	372
Miles, Hortense J., project director, community food and nutrition program, Central Piedmont Action Council, Inc., Cumberland, Va.....	906
Mitchell, Rev. James F., senior citizen, CBO/CETA public service employment recipient, Canton, Ohio.....	846
Moore, Aaron, Anacostia, Washington, D.C.....	340
Morlock, Laura, Johns Hopkins University.....	472
Morris, Stanley E., Associate Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice.....	656
Mueller, Van, parent, member of the Parent Teachers Association, teacher, University of Minnesota.....	739
Mundell, David, administrator for employment and economic policy, city of Boston, Mass.....	859
Murph, Barbara, College for Human Services, New York, N.Y.....	370
Murray, Archie, title I student, New Castle, Del.....	381
Murray, Catherine, title I parent, New Castle, Del., accompanied by Archie Murray, title I student.....	379
Nero, Frank R., assistant commissioner for human resources, New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry; Mark Sanders, deputy director for operations, California Department of Employment Development; and Alal Aubuchon, assistant director, employment service, Missouri Division of Employment Security.....	526
Newport, Eugene, mayor, city of Berkeley, Calif.....	809
Nogueira, Robert M., director of vocational education, Red Bank Regional High School District, Little Silver, N.J.....	95
O'Connor, Daniel, regional WIN coordinator, State department of welfare, Lowell, Mass.....	465
O'Keefe, Kathy, youth specialist, Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Association, Inc.....	712
Pines, Marion.....	473
Pope, Arthur, Paintsville, Ky.....	270
Pyle, James T., director emeritus, Aviation Development Council, New York, N.Y.....	904
Reuss, Hon. Henry S., a Representative in Congress from the State of Wisconsin, and chairman, Joint Economic Committee.....	440
Ridley, Katie, Anacostia, Washington, D.C.....	341
Rivlin, Alice, Director, Congressional Budget Office, accompanied by Nancy Gordon, Assistant Director, Human Resources and Community Development Division and David Longanecker, Chief, Education and Training Unit.....	766
Sample, Sharon, L.P.N., former CETA youth program participant, Onancock, Va.....	713
Sanders, Mary, Lawrence, Ohio.....	338
Sarbanes, Hon. Paul, a U.S. Senator from the State of Maryland.....	471
Schaefer, William D., mayor, city of Baltimore.....	467
Schweiker, Hon. Richard S., Secretary, Department of Health & Human Services.....	617
Shiffman, Ron, New York City Housing and Community Development Corp., New York, N.Y.....	342

VI

Statement of—Continued	Page
Smith, Joshua, president, Manhattan Community College, New York City.....	543
Smouse, Ralph, assistant superintendent, Vocational Technology and Adult Education, Hillsborough County, Tampa, Fla.....	85
Solari, Dawn, New York University, New York	701
Specter, Hon. Arlen, a U.S. Senator from the State of Pennsylvania	585
Spicer, Shirley, WIC participant, Lexington, Ky	112
Stockman, David, Director, Office of Management and Budget	1198
Strauman, Kenneth, businessman and vice chairman, Douglas County, Wisconsin Board of Supervisors	1104
Streuver, William, businessman.....	519
Tice, Walter, president, Yonkers Federation of Teachers, Yonkers, N.Y.	550
Voss, John, president, Wyoming Chamber of Commerce, Wyoming, Mich. ..	40
Wallendorff, Susan, reading tutor, Omega Cosmetology School, Ann Arbor, Mich	107
Watson, Bob, Jr., manager for plant training programs, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Tampa, Fla.....	39
Wedewer, Donald, director, Florida Blind Services.....	33
Wendell, James P., personnel manager, Tri-State Homes, Mercer, Wis., and Northern Wisconsin CEP private industry council member	1131
Wilbor, Garry O., president, Livingston-Wilbor Corp., Fanwood, N.J.	72
Williams, Robert R., student, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.....	583
Wilson, Charlie Mae, Houston, Del.....	270
Wisotzkey, Daniel G., director, School Food Services and Supportive Services, Colorado State Department of Education	10
Yelencsics, Anthony M., mayor, Edison Township, N.J	841
Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—	
Akerley, Edward M. and Mary S., Silver Spring, Md., prepared statement of.....	576
Alfano, Mario A., Associate Secretary for Manpower Development, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, letter to Chairman Hawkins enclosing a statement, dated April 27, 1981.....	1043
Ambach, Gordon M., the University of the State of New York, memo to members of the New York State congressional delegation, with attachment, dated March 19, 1981	553
Angrisani, Al, assistant secretary for employment and training, U.S. Department of Labor:	
Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS) information requested.....	953
"Johns-Hopkins Study," information requested.....	953
Letter to Congressman Pat Williams enclosing information requested.....	979
Aubuchon, Alan J., assistant director, Missouri Division of Employment Security, prepared statement of.....	533
Bell, Hon. Terrel H., Secretary of Education, budget authority (table).....	1295
Berner, Richard, director, Washington office, Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, Inc.:	
Employment impacts of the administration's proposed budget reductions.....	410
Letter to Congressman Hawkins, dated March 25, 1981.....	406
Prepared statement of.....	408
Brophy, Susan A., director, Women in Construction Project, Boston, Mass., prepared statement of.....	865
Bowe, Frank, former chief executive officer, American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, prepared statement of.....	29
Brown, Lee P., public safety commissioner, city of Atlanta, prepared statement of.....	873
Carnevale, Anthony P., consulting economist, prepared statement of.....	1233
Carr, John L., community affairs specialist, Center for Community Change, prepared testimony of.....	793
Castro, Anita, former CETA youth program participant, representing Aunt Martha's Youth Service Center, Inc., Park Forest, Ill., program description.....	711
Cherry, Richard M., cochairman, National Alliance of Community Based Organizations, director of employment programs, New York Urban Coalition, prepared testimony of	848

VII

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued	Page
Clayton, Tony, resident, Wyandotte, Mich., prepared statement of.....	461
Cox, James Allen, Jr., executive director, National Association of Rehabilitation Facilities, prepared statement of.....	1186
Denny, Carl, president, Association of Personnel Consultants of New York State, prepared statement of.....	853
Dixon-Doss, Debra, director, school food service, Burlington city schools, Burlington, N.C., prepared testimony of.....	394
Donnelly, Thomas R., Jr., Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health & Human Services, letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing responses to questions, dated June 30, 1981.....	740
Donovan, Raymond, Secretary, U.S. Department of Labor:	
Letter from Chairman Hawkins requesting information on several issues, dated April 17, 1981.....	1034
Letter to Chairman Hawkins enclosing answers to issues referred to in April 2, hearing.....	1036
Duncan, Cheryl, Parents Anonymous parent, prepared statement of.....	880
"Early Remedial Teaching Cited as a Success," article from the New York Times, May 19, 1981.....	1290
Eastburn, Harry, executive director, Big Sandy Area community action program, letter to Chairman Perkins, with enclosures, dated July 10, 1981.....	272
Edelman, Marian Wright, president, Children's Defense Fund, prepared testimony of.....	681
Estrada, Mel, director, Vocational Education, Campbell Union High School District, San Jose, Calif., prepared statement of.....	896
Fisher, Joseph, assistant superintendent for special education, Illinois State Department of Education and member, board of directors, National Association of State Directors of Special Education:	
Prepared statement with appendix.....	1145
Responses to question, submitted to Congressman Paul Simon.....	1190
Foley, John J., county legislator, Suffolk County Legislature, Patchogue, N.Y.:	
Letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated April 1, 1981.....	931
Letter to Congressman Hawkins, with enclosures, dated April 1981.....	930
Ford, Hon. William D., a Representative in Congress from the State of Michigan:	
"Lunch Fees to Rise," article entitled.....	16
"Suburban Poor Students to Lose Most Heavily in Lunch Cutbacks," article entitled.....	17
Gallooly, Edward P., presiding judge, Family Court, State of Rhode Island, on behalf of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, prepared testimony of.....	665
Garvey, Ed, executive director, National Football League Players Association, prepared statement of.....	693
Greer, Tee S., Jr., Assistant Superintendent, Office of Federal Projects Administration, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Fla., prepared testimony of.....	1175
Griffin, James D., mayor, city of Buffalo, N.Y.:	
"Effects of Reductions in Federal CETA Funding in Buffalo," special report.....	816
Prepared statement of.....	813
Hardman, William E., executive vice president, National Tooling & Machining Association:	
Additional comments from NTMA member companies.....	50
"America Is Running Out of Manufacturing People," production, article entitled.....	60
"Contract Plants Suffer Skilled Labor Shortage," American Metal Market, Metalworking News, article entitled.....	67
"Doubt Cast on U.S. Ability to Arm in Crisis," Los Angeles Times, article entitled.....	69
"Figure Confirm That Skilled Workers Needed To Build More Arms Are Scarce," from Wall Street Journal.....	58
Letter to National Tooling & Machining Association, from Stephen R. Fogler, president, Stevens Manufacturing Co., Inc., dated June 12, 1980.....	49

VIII

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued	Page
Hardman, William E., executive vice president, National Tooling & Machining Association—Continued	
Letter to National Tool Die & Precision Machining Association, from T. P. Swain, president, Precision Products Inc., dated June 10, 1980.....	47
Letter to William E. Ruxton, technical coordinator, National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, from Alfred F. DuPaul, president, A & A Tool Co., Inc., dated June 6, 1980.....	46
Letter to William Ruxton, National Tooling & Machining Association, from William Lyons, president, Connecticut Chapter of National Tooling & Machining Association, dated June 5, 1980.....	48
"Past-Depreciation Bills Stir Much Criticism," Wall Street Journal, article entitled.....	68
Prepared remarks by.....	42
"Why the U.S. Can't Rearm Fast," Business Week, article entitled.....	52
Harvey, Stefan, WIC advocacy director, the Children's Foundation, Washington, D.C., letter to Beattie Clay, with enclosures, dated March 27, 1981.....	118
Hawkins, Hon. Augustus F., a Representative in Congress from the State of California, "PSE layoffs resulting from freeze on titles II-D and VI" (table).....	939
Herring, Bettie, Ed. D., director, Occupational and Continuing Education and Guidance, Fort Worth Independent School District, Fort Worth, Tex., prepared statement of.....	893
Hildebrandt, Mike, Youth Employment and Training Coordinator, Greenup County School System, Greenup, Ky.; "Awarding Academic Credit to Y.E.T.P. Participants—1981-82," with several enclosures.....	1063
Hoagland, G. William, Administrator, Food and Nutrition Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, accompanied by Margaret Glavin, Deputy Administrator, Special Nutrition Programs; George Braley, Deputy Director, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation; Barry White, Director, Office of Policy Planning and Evaluation:	
Advance funding option.....	1267
Impact of proposed legislative changes on the agricultural community.....	1265
Letter to Chairman Perkins, with enclosures, dated May 26, 1981.....	1276
Prepared statement of.....	1282
Hoak, Donald R., director of occupational education, Board of Cooperative Educational Services, third supervisory district, Suffolk County, N.Y., prepared statement of.....	887
Hopman, Dennis R., businessman, vocational education director, vice chair of the Private Industry Council, prepared statement of.....	1080
Hurley, Neil, director of CETA program, Lowell, Mass., Consortium, prepared statement of.....	456
Jarvis, Esther, manager, Lodi Elementary School Cafeteria, Lodi, Ohio: April report.....	391
Prepared statement of.....	389
Joe, Tom, director, Center for the Study of Welfare Policy, prepared testimony of.....	399
Langland, Doris, member, Legislative Service Committee, National Parent Teachers Association, Falls Church, Va., "Juvenile Justice in the 1980's, Bench Sense, Commentary of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges," publication entitled.....	727
Leveridge, Mary Ann, Texas PTA member; member, Texas State Board of Education, prepared statement of.....	723
Lewis, Isabel C., director of food services, School District No. 271, Bloomington, Minn., and member, American School Food Service Association, Legislation and Legislative Policy Development Committee, prepared statement of.....	8
Lohn, Gary, vice president, strategy and business development, Human Resources Division, Control Data Corp., examples of local partnerships involved in delivering Fair Break services.....	675
Marvel, Sandra, vocational director, Wichita Falls Independent School District, Wichita Falls, Tex., position statement by.....	90

IX

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued	Page
Maxson, John H., executive director, AAWB and Robert R. Humphreys, counsel, AAWB and NCSAB on behalf of the American Association of Workers for the Blind and the National Council of State Agencies for the Blind, prepared statement submitted by	932
McLaughlin, Diana H., Baltimore, Md., prepared statement of	370
Miles, Hortense J., project director, Community Food and Nutrition Program, Central Piedmont Action Council, Inc., Cumberland, Va., prepared statement of	907
Milliken, William G., Governor, State of Michigan, letter to Hon. Raymond Donovan, dated March 16, 1981	940
Morlock, Laura L., Ph. D., the Johns Hopkins Health Services Research and Development Center, report submitted by	477
Morris, Stanley E., Associate Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice, prepared statement of	653
Murph, Barbara, Brooklyn, N.Y., prepared statement of	368
NEA legislative report, dated March 12, 1981	568
Nero, Frank, assistant commissioner, Human Resources, New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, prepared testimony of	536
Newport, Eugene "Gus," mayor, city of Berkeley, Calif., prepared testimony of	805
Nogueira, Dr. Robert M., director of vocational education, Red Bank Regional High School District, Little Silver, N.J., prepared statement of	97
Northwest Wisconsin CEP, Inc., "Progress 1980," publication entitled	1106
Perkins, Hon. Carl D., a Representative in Congress from the State of Kentucky:	
"Early Remedial Teaching Cited as a Success," newspaper article	1290
"School Lunch Prices Here May Double," newspaper article	1246
Pyle, James T., director emeritus, Aviation Development Council, New York, N.Y., prepared statement of	896
Randall, David, director, Migrant Education Center, Sunnyside, Wash.: Migrant education factsheet, program information	1171
Prepared statement of	1168
Reuss, Hon. Henry S., a Representative in Congress from the State of Wisconsin, and chairman, Joint Economic Committee, prepared statement of	438
Rivlin, Alice M., Director, Congressional Budget Office:	
Letter to Chairman Perkins, with attachments, dated May 15, 1981	909
Letter to Congressman Murphy, with attachment, dated May 8, 1981..	908
Prepared statement of	762
Sanders, Mark, deputy director, Operations Branch, representing Douglas X. Patino, director, Employment Development Department, State of California, prepared statement by	528
Sayler, Betty, president, Arizona Education Association, prepared statement by	573
Schaefer, William Donald, mayor, city of Baltimore, prepared testimony of	475
Schweiker, Hon. Richard S., Secretary, Department of Health & Human Services, prepared statement of	602
Shiffman, Ronald, director, Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development and chairperson, New York City Housing and Community Development Coalition:	
"Costs of Job Creation," table	350
Prepared statement of	343
"The Impact of the Reagan Administration's Budget Cuts on Federal Aid to New York City in Fiscal Year 1982," a preliminary assessment of the White House proposals	351
Smith, Joshua L., president, Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York:	
Addendum to the testimony of	549
Prepared testimony of	546
Specter, Hon. Arlen, a U.S. Senator from the State of Pennsylvania, prepared statement of	584
Stockman, David, Director, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, D.C.:	
Letter from T. H. Bell	261
Prepared statement of	1203

X

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued	Page
Taylor, Dr. Charles E., president, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing a prepared testimony.....	1183
Tice, Walter, president, Yonkers Federation of Teachers, AFT, AFL-CIO, prepared testimony of.....	563
Wendell, James P., and Kenneth W., Strauman, representatives of private business in northwest Wisconsin, prepared statement of.....	1132
Wilbor, Garry O., president, Livingston-Wilbor Corp., Fanwood, N.J., prepared statement of.....	74
Williams, Robert R., student, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., prepared statement of.....	581
Yelencsics, Anthony M., mayor, Edison Township, N.J., prepared testimony of.....	838

APPENDIX

Almodovar, Ismael, president, University of Puerto Rico, prepared statement of.....	1414
"A Perilous Beginning: The Impact on Women of Cutbacks in Public Service Jobs," article entitled.....	1375
Bannister, Robert D., senior staff vice president, governmental affairs division, National Association of Home Builders, Washington, D.C., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated March 10, 1981.....	1405
Bennett, Elizabeth, facilitator for the Coalition, Indian and Native American CETA Coalition, letter to Chairman Perkins enclosing a statement.....	1427
Bigpond, Phyllis, president, board of directors, Affiliation of Arizona Indian Centers, Inc., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated April 30, 1981.....	1425
Brown, Roscoe C., president, the Bronx Community College, chairman, New York City Employment and Training Planning Council, testimony presented by.....	1397
Campbell, Eileen M., letter to Chairman Perkins on behalf of Commissioner Fred G. Burke, New Jersey Department of Education, enclosing a statement.....	1481
Carnevale, Anthony P., statement by.....	1342
Chamberlin, Burton F., executive vice president, Cities in Schools, Inc., Atlanta, Ga., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated April 3, 1981.....	1494
Clark, Steve, International Justice, Phi Alpha Delta Law Fraternity International, Washington, D.C., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated April 10, 1981...	1372
Coleman, James and Sally Kilgore, "NCES Review of Greeley Report and Coleman-Kilgore Report," dated April 1, 1981.....	1532
Coyne, Hon. William J., a Representative in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing a letter from Joan Baugh, Wilkinsburg School District.....	1393
Doherty, Carol A., president, Massachusetts Teachers Association, prepared statement of.....	1378
Dotter, Henry A., Jr., Re Mgr. Coquille Division, Roseburg Lumber Co., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated March 18, 1981.....	1493
Ford, Hon. William D., a Representative in Congress from the State of Michigan, letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing a letter from Charles W. Skala, dated April 29, 1981.....	1390
Friedman, Charlotte, American Association of School Administrators, Office of Governmental Relations, Arlington, Va., letter to Chairman Perkins enclosing several statements, dated April 9, 1981.....	1498
Gallogly, Edward P., chief judge of family court of Rhode Island, letter to Gordon Raley, Human Resources Subcommittee, enclosing a statement, dated March 25, 1981.....	1477
Heartwell, William L., Jr., executive vice president, Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, Inc., letter to Susan D. Grayson, director, Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities, dated May 1, 1981.....	1381
International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, statement of.....	1321
Matsui, Hon. Robert T., a Representative in Congress from the State of California, letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing a statement.....	1537
McCall, Billy, Economic Opportunity Legislative Action Committee, Hempstead, N.Y., letter to Lelia Beall, Education and Labor Committee, enclosing a statement.....	1440

XI

	Page
Mizell, M. Hayes, chairman, National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Washington, D.C., letter to Chairman Perkins enclosing several statements, dated April 17, 1981	1446
Randall, David W., director, Migrant Education Center, State of Washington, migrant education program, letter to Isbell Hornsby, enclosing requested information.....	1334
Richardson, Archie G., Jr., president, Automobile Owners Action Council, Washington, D.C., letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing an affidavit	1408
Richardson, (Mrs.) Elliot L., chairman, Reading Is Fundamental, Inc., statement of	1387
Rivlin, Alice M., Director, Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., letter to Chairman Perkins, dated June 10, 1981	1520
Roe, Hon. Robert A., a Representative in Congress from the State of New Jersey, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated March 17, 1981	1492
Savage, Hon. Gus, a Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois, statement of	1383
Sporar, Alice, president, National Spinal Cord Injury Foundation, Mayfield Heights, Ohio, letter to Chairman Perkins, enclosing a statement, dated April 24, 1981	1475
Sprattling, Willis, member, New York Employment and Training Council, prepared statement of.....	1335
Troy, Jane L., RRT, Instructor, respiratory therapy program, Des Moines Area Community College, Ankeny, Iowa, letter to Chairman Perkins, dated April 7, 1981	1518

**STATEMENT OF HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much.

I am very glad to be here. Gentlemen, I am particularly glad to be here this morning to offer this testimony which is based on 20 years of experience as an educator, as a person who was director of one of the largest child-care centers in New York, and as a person who was an educational consultant for 7 years in New York City. During this time I worked at developing, evaluating and assessing programs for preschool children between the ages 3 and 5. This experience made me feel and realize that one of the things that we are not really doing in our Nation is really meeting the needs of the workingwomen of this country.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the day-care disaster we face in the United States is the result of America's tradition of discrimination against women. Even such liberal zealots as Dr. Spock believe the woman's "place" is in the home. The prevailing attitude is—if women "choose" to work, then they shall just have to make "arrangements."

Women don't choose to work. They have to, and "arrangements" don't exist. Three million mothers are rearing their children in fatherless homes. Two out of three—64 percent or 1,920,000—of these mothers are the sole providers for their children. The rest of the women in our 32-million-strong female work brigade are supporting themselves or together with their husbands are supporting their families.

Poor, working poor, lower middle class, middle class—they are all in the same boat. They are, like their husbands, breadwinners. In nearly one-third of our families where both parents work, the husband's income is less than \$5,000. As for "arrangements," only 2 percent of our women use group day-care facilities. The rest face a nightmare hodge-podge of "arrangements" with elderly relatives, a rapid turnover of sitters, and bleak custodial parking lots euphemistically called family-care centers.

If you're lucky, a family-care center means that the child will be safe, clean, fed, and lovingly cared for by a gentle soul who likes children. More likely than not, you won't be lucky, and the person in

charge may be emotionally disturbed, uneducated, alcoholic, so old that they need help themselves, or all of the above.

During World War II, when we were fighting for freedom from tyranny and injustice, the Government pushed day care and care was provided for some 1,600,000 children. But after the war, "Rosie the Riveter" was expected to go back home. Nearly all of the Government day-care centers were shut down. Today when the number of working-women exceeds the World War II total by 6 million, licensed day-care centers have shrunk to one-sixth their wartime capacity.

It's all part of a pattern. Look around you. Out of 435 Members of the House, 10 are women. Women make up a majority of our population, constitute nearly half of our labor force, but earn only \$3,773—Department of Labor Statistics, 1966—a year. Right now we have 5 million preschool children whose mothers have to work. Day care is currently available for only 641,000, and that happens to be the highest of figures I secured, of the number of spaces available for these children.

Our male-dominated Government has been rather irresponsible but then male irresponsibility and female responsibility for children is the traditional pattern. It takes two people—one male and one female—to make a baby. But after birth and sometimes even before birth, it's "her baby." It is a rare occasion when a woman deserts her husband and children; but the reverse is traditional enough to have become a subculture all its own. We call it an AFDC family.

There is no question that male prejudice and the male fear of competition in the marketplace has produced our present situation. We make it just as difficult as possible for women to work: rotten wages, poor day-care services, limits on training programs, and little opportunity for advancement.

White males earn an average of \$7,179 a year.

Black males, \$4,508.

White women, \$4,142.

Black women, \$2,934.

The Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc. and the AFL-CIO Executive Council report that the estimated cost of day care per child is \$2,000 a year. If you are a black female head of a household, \$2,000 for day care leaves \$934 to live on for the rest of the year and God help you if you have more than one child. Of course, if one uses the administration's conservative estimate of \$1,600 per year, you would have \$1,334 left to live on after day-care expenses. Or, if you were a maid working in the congressional fiefdom of Capitol Hill, you would be earning \$3,484 per year. Then you would have the handsome sum of \$1,484 left to live on or, using the administration's figure, \$1,884. Really high living, isn't it? That is less than the amount many of the members of this House pay for travel expenses to and from their district.

In an excellent article from last Sunday's Washington Post, Philip E. Slater pointed out that the Dr. Spock attitude is pervasive in the United States. To quote:

Spock makes quite explicit, even in his latest edition, his belief that a woman's place is in the home. He lays great emphasis on the importance and the difficulty of the task of child bearing and gives it priority over all other possible activities. He suggests government allowances for mothers otherwise compelled to work, on

the grounds that it "would save money in the end." Thus implying that only a full-time mother can avoid bringing up a child who is a social problem. He allows reluctantly that "a few mothers, particularly those with professional training" might be so unhappy if they did not work that it would affect the children. The understanding here is, that the professional training was a kind of unfortunate accident, the effects of which can no longer be undone.

Russia, Scandinavia, Israel, and many other countries have comprehensive day care. We do not. During the war, the U.S. daycare centers were open to all; now they are available only to those with serious emotional and financial needs—and not all those are served.

Existing programs and most proposed programs emphasize service for the poor.

We justify our focus on the poor because of our "concern" and our "limited" funds. For goodness sake, our funds aren't limited. We are the richest nation in the world. We scrimp on programs for people because we choose to spend our money on tanks, guns, missiles, and bombs.

The Honorable Mr. Dellenbeck of this committee, in testimony inserted in the Congressional Record on February 9, 1970, estimated that the cost of his proposed comprehensive Headstart Child Development Act would be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$16.5 to \$22.75 billion in the year 1975. Aghast at the cost, he indicated that the government couldn't possibly foot this kind of bill and proposed that the private sector should help out.

I believe that the private sector should help out and should be encouraged to do more, but the primary responsibility will have to be from the public sector. We shall have to spend \$16 to \$22 billion—starting right now. That is what the oft-heard phrase "reordering our national priorities" is all about.

If we can afford planes that cost \$46 billion each, the current figure for the C-5A, we can afford daycare services for our 32 million working women.

Why do you think there has been such a response to Ralph Nader? Why do you think you are all running around making speeches about ecology, pollution, and the quality of our environment? The people want a change in national priorities.

May I remind you, gentlemen, that women form the majority in our population. Not only are increased services for women needed, they are politically expedient.

There are other reasons day care should not be limited to the poor. First, income limitation and means tests are demeaning.

Second, because those just over the line, the working poor, those with a toe-hold in the middle class and those in the middle class need this resource and service as well as the poor.

Third, we know from our experience with the poverty program that programs exclusively for the poor—no matter how well justified—are not popular. We have seen time and time again how popular resentment has generated enough political pressure so that poverty appropriations are hacked to smithereens on the floor of this House.

All of us are vividly aware of the splits and tensions in this country between the poor and the working class. The lazy bums on the welfare dole versus us middle Americans of the silent majority is the jargon this battle is currently cast in.

Let's not aggravate those tensions. The poor and the working class have the same needs and the same problems. Low wages, inflation, lack of job opportunities, poor educational resources, frustration with the impersonal bureaucracy, and the lack of day-care facilities—they are the same problems. Do not pit these people against each other like starving packs of dogs fighting over the same meager scraps.

Too much of our current legislation and new legislative proposals presume that day-care facilities exist. There are stipends from welfare to pay for day-care expenses, proposals for increased tax reductions for day care and the like. But these cannot even be used if the facilities are not available.

Currently, the only Federal construction money available is through two SBA programs and they are for profit making institutions only. Under one of the programs there is a \$25,000 statutory limitation on loans. In New York City, that will buy you the front hall.

Existing Headstart day-care and nursery school programs have snapped up all but a tiny fraction of the church and community center space available. As an old day-care hand and one who gets called upon frequently for help now, I know that in New York at least, the much talked about "renovation" is often more expensive per square foot than new construction. If you talk to the people in OEO's comprehensive health program, you will find they have discovered the same thing.

I applaud the fact that the Brademas and Dellenback legislative proposals include money for leasing, renovation and construction, but I submit that the 25 percent support formula is not enough. We need massive construction funds now, and planning grants so that local groups can hire attorneys, architects, and people to help locate sites rapidly.

The administration's proposal to provide day-care funds for people in training programs but nothing for the woman and her children after she finishes training and finds a job, is ludicrous. What is she supposed to do with the kids after her training period is over?

Another problem with the WIN day-care program is that the States have failed to appropriate their 25-percent share of the funding and have been unwilling or sluggish in changing existing laws which hamper the program. You will recall that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had estimated that more than 1 million children would receive day care by 1972. The Bureau of the Budget called for \$35 million for day care during WIN's first year. Congress appropriated exactly one-half that amount. Because of the problems referred to above, only 85,000 children received care in WIN's first 12 months at a cost of less than \$11 million.

According to the testimony of Elizabeth Koontz, Director of the Women's Bureau, before this committee: "The lack of child-care services has been the most serious single barrier to the success of the work incentive, WIN, program. Care in centers for eligible children is rare and most mothers in the program have been forced to make their own arrangements. These have proved to be haphazard and subject to frequent changes, interruptions and breakdowns."

I am also concerned that the Brademas bill addresses itself only to the 3- to 5-year-olds. In view of what we know about the impact of the formative years between birth and the third birthday, I think

this is a serious omission. I believe that the Mondale bill, S. 2060's attention not only to the child development centers but also to child development projects on an in-the-home basis starting from birth are important and necessary inclusions.

As Polly Greenberg and Ira J. Gordon have both pointed out, we need such programs in the home, both at birth and after the children are old enough to be enrolled in a day-care center. Compensatory education programs frequently fail because they are too school oriented and do not involve the home. The parents are still the prime influence on the child. We want to provide assistance to mothers to help them to be better parents.

Many parents don't play or talk with their children except to shout at them. Assistance in these areas, the use of simple things such as teaching children to learn the difference in textures of fabrics, colors, sounds can be done at home. We could follow up the extremely successful Sesame Street television program with a program aimed at mothers of small children.

The question of the involvement of the parents brings us to the whole question of community participation and community control. I favor both of these concepts. I believe parents should dominate the day-care center boards and should be intimately involved but I do not feel that this should mean we should lower the academic and professional standards of the employees of day-care centers. It is not enough just to offer love and attention in clean, pleasant surroundings.

We need paraprofessionals, friendly, familiar neighborhood figures and professionals as well.

Let me illustrate. We all know one of the chief problems which minority children face is the difficulty they have in using standard English as is required by the school and the society at large. Some children hear only a foreign language at home—Spanish, French, Eskimo—others, primarily black children, have learned a dialect we refer to as nonstandard English. Professional teachers can help youngsters overcome that hurdle by providing a model and by providing assistance. The paraprofessionals, because of their own language problems, cannot help the child in this area.

I am afraid that in some of the poverty program experiments the zealous concern for providing jobs for nonprofessionals led to an overemphasis on the parents to the neglect of the children's educational experience. We have to be concerned about both.

In my mind, we would provide better long-term assistance to the parents who are hired, if we made a serious effort to provide them with real educational training in early childhood education. Let's set up programs which provide credits for high school equivalency and college level training. The parent would then share with the child in the program and would have a marketable skill when finished. Not only that, but it would be an important and necessary skill, because there are not enough trained people in the field. Half of our present day-care centers are private. Most people got into the private day-care field because they saw the need. Most started out as small "Mom and Pop" day-care centers, and most of the people running them, although they may have a college education, have no formal training in early childhood development. We need training not only for paraprofessionals

but for those professionals whose expertise is based solely on the number of years in the business. This is a serious problem and yet to my knowledge no one has ever dealt with it.

Mr. Dellenback's proposal is notable for its attention to the problem of the need for immediate training of more early childhood education professionals and nonprofessionals.

I would like to point out, however, that I suspect that the child welfare training programs listed in Mr. Dellenback's compilation of 61 Federal programs dealing with day care—Congressional Record, February 9, 1970—have been little utilized for day-care training. The notation next to the listing for Manpower Development and Training Act indicates that the number of training slots cannot be broken out. Roughly translated from bureaucratese that stands for "the number is too small to be of note." What we need from the agencies are hard facts about the exact number of people trained in child development, what kind of training was received, and for how long.

Work-located day-care centers are the most convenient and allow the most parent-child contact, but they are the scarcest form in this country. There are a handful of showcase programs in industry and a sprinkling of day-care demonstration projects around the country.

Although last session the Congress authorized \$25 million under title V-B of the Economic Opportunity Act to pay qualified public or nonprofit agencies, including trade unions, 90 percent of the costs, including alteration, renovation and operational costs, of a community day-care facility, as yet no funds have been appropriated for this purpose.

Further, the recently passed amendment to section 302 of the Taft-Hartley Act to permit unions and employees to bargain collectively to set aside funds jointly administered for the setting up of day-care centers is not mandatory, and therefore is unlikely to be wholeheartedly accepted by employers.

The leaders in the work-site day-care center field are hospitals and the Labor Department says that there are only about 100 of them.

Worst of all is the Federal Government. After a lot of nudging from Esther Peterson, the Department of Labor set up the first Federal day-care center as a demonstration project. It shouldn't be a demonstration project. Day-care centers should be as permanent as a cafeteria in every Federal Government office building.

We ought to have them here, in regional office buildings, in post offices, and in every new public housing project, as Representative Patsy Mink has indicated is required in Hawaii. She also notes that Hawaii is able to keep down the costs of the children's toys and furniture by having the prisoners in the penal system make them. Things for children are surely as useful as license plates.

We could require that any hospital built with Hill-Burton money would have to have a day-care center in the plant.

There are so many, many things which can be done and which ought to be done. What we need now is the will to carry them out.

In closing I want to say that I think that one of the basic things that our Nation really has to face is, not the question as to whether or not a woman's place is in the home, but the point that the increase in the labor force in the United States is due to the fact that there

are more and more women workers. This is the actuality. This is a fact. So, going over attitudes and preconceived ideas about the place of women in the America of today is not a solution to the problem. All over this Nation we have thousands of children needing the kind of care that would give to them the proper educational, intellectual, physical, and emotional development necessary if they are to be healthy adults leading this Nation in the future.

I thank you for giving me an opportunity to testify.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Thank you very much, Mrs. Chisholm.

I take it that it is a fair reading of what you have said that we are not doing enough at the Federal level in the preschool field and you would not quarrel with the proposition that we do know enough now, speaking from a scientific viewpoint, to be able to conclude that we ought to invest more funds in preschool programs and not simply hide behind the judgment that we don't know enough about what works and therefore we should not be doing very much.

Would you agree with that?

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Yes, I would definitely agree. Because I really feel that when we talk, for example, about the AFD program in the Department of Welfare program, we know that there are thousands of children in this particular program. We also know that there are many, many mothers who would want to get off the AFDC benefits if they had some place to put their children. I am very much aware of that because, having been a director of a large child care center in New York City for several years, I can personally tell you that many of these women really do make a contribution. But there is just not enough space for the care of their young children.

I think we have enough information. The important thing now is to be able to do something about the problem.

Mr. BRADEMAS. One reason I asked you that question is, that the message of the President yesterday on education seems to me to be directly relevant to the response that you have just made in respect to my question. You know, the President yesterday in effect gave us four different proposals. He said he wanted Congress to create a new National Institute of Education as a focus for educational research and experimentation. I certainly am openminded on that. Indeed, yesterday I introduced the administration's bill, along with the ranking minority member of this subcommittee, Mr. Reid, because I do think that we should have an open mind on any suggestions that would enable us more intelligently to understand the problems that face our country in the field of education, and develop effective methods of meeting those problems.

But I have been struck by the repeated statement by nearly every witness before this subcommittee during the months of hearings we have had on this bill to the effect that we should not postpone putting adequate moneys into programs in the child development field on the pretext that we do not know all we should like to know about what happens, but that rather, as Sam Messick, the distinguished vice president of Educational Testing Service, told us yesterday, we should put money into programing and then intelligently evaluate those programs, for effective evaluation of programs is an essential method of conducting research. And I have been predicting for the last year that the Nixon

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I would like to say I become more perturbed over the fact that, as you say, we do not orally want to get to the cancer of a particular problem. We come up with another commission for further study. In this country we have more studies and surveys and graphs and charts on just about every kind of problem piling up on shelves of every kind of government agency. We already have enough material to know that the child care situation in America is a very serious one.

I happen to feel that the women of America have not really mobilized around us yet. But they are beginning to because of the need for child care centers for those mothers who are already working. As our female working force grows so will the demand for day care. As I said earlier, there seems to be a kind of antiwoman attitude in terms of legislation that definitely has to do with programs that will help women deal with their specific problems in the American society.

We don't like to talk about these things overtly, but I think it is very necessary that this country begin to change its general attitude toward women. Women are now making up a larger part of the labor force in this country, and therefore we have to make some kind of adequate provisions for the care of their youngsters. Israel, Russia, all of the countries do it. What is the matter with the United States, which is supposed to be so progressive in many of these areas? This is my question.

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mrs. Chisholm, two other points. I am very sympathetic with your suggestion that we lower the age in the bill, and this has also been a theme that has run through the testimony of nearly every witness. I was also impressed by your suggestion that we not limit day care to the poor. This was also Dr. Bettelheim's view.

I am also struck by your contention, if I read you right, as you in effect were making a judgment on the day care provisions of the administration family assistance program, where apparently day care is regarded principally as a kind of byproduct of an income-maintenance program, and the provisions of the bill which Mr. Reid, Mrs. Mink and I introduced and the bill which Mr. Hansen and Mr. Dellenback and his colleagues have introduced, and I think on both of them the emphasis on the child and his development.

I make one other point for you, Mr. Hansen, in respect of the President's message, because I think this is also relevant to our discussion of the preschool programs. That is, that one has the impression in reading the President's message—and I speak not only of the President, but others who have made a similar point—when they say that, "We pour all of these Federal funds into these educational programs and nothing has happened, we haven't really seen an enormous increase in student achievement."

We really haven't poured these monies into these Federal programs. Congress has voted very substantial authorizations. The administration then—and this is true of the last administration also, I don't think Mr. Johnson asked for money for these programs either and I think Mr. Nixon is even less interested, so in their budget requests they savagely cut the appropriations request and then they complain because the programs don't produce.

The other point, of course, is that we seem somehow to have this

administration would hide behind the pretext that we do not know enough about what works in education and use this as a pretext for a policy of refusal to invest adequate monies in education all along the line. And that is, of course, precisely what the President's message represents yesterday. Indeed, I would say that the Nixon administration's message on education represents an attitude of neglect toward education that can in no way be described as benign.

I call your attention, secondly, to the President's announcement that he will establish a President's Commission on School Finance to help States and communities analyze the fiscal plight of their schools. I think we are all interested in getting more information, but in Indiana we know what the fiscal plight of our schools is. We know one of the reasons we are not getting enough money for our schools is, that the Governor of our State refuses to champion reform of the tax laws to provide more State aid to public schools.

Here again I fear that Mr. Nixon may be resorting to strategem which has been used, I confess, by both Presidents, both Democratic and Republican, when they do not wish to face up to a tough problem, especially when they do not wish to authorize adequate funds to meet an obvious need, then they retreat to a commission to study the matter.

Third, the President said he wants \$2 million to help States and communities carry out his Right to Read program. I find this extraordinary, Mrs. Chisholm, in view of the fact that Mr. Nixon did not ask for one penny in his budget for title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act programs which are, as you are aware, aimed at providing funds for elementary and secondary school libraries.

I am told, though it is not clear from the President's message, that the two places from which he is going to get \$200 million that he will request for fiscal year 1971 for his Right to Read program, are from the title II ESEA monies that Congress voted that the President said he didn't want, and from additional title III ESEA monies that we voted that the President said he didn't want.

I must say I am mystified by this. The final point I would make, which is directly relevant to our discussion here this morning, is that he is going to propose that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity begin now to establish a network of child development projects, and he is going to ask for a minimum of \$52 million. Where is that money coming from? I can flatly say that it is my own judgment that he is not likely to be asking for any new money, but he is going to be robbing school children at one level in order to make himself appear to be interested in children at the preschool level.

So I must say I am very much concerned about the President's message here. As I say, I am all for innovation. That is why I was a strong champion of title III ESEA and helped write that title. I am profoundly distressed that the President has not asked for enough monies to fund that title of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which is chiefly targeted on stimulating innovation and new ideas in education, if he is really serious about it. That is just a question on my part, Mrs. Chisholm.

You may have some comment on my question.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I would like to say I become more perturbed over the fact that, as you say, we do not orally want to get to the cancer of a particular problem. We come up with another commission for further study. In this country we have more studies and surveys and graphs and charts on just about every kind of problem piling up on shelves of every kind of government agency. We already have enough material to know that the child care situation in America is a very serious one.

I happen to feel that the women of America have not really mobilized around us yet. But they are beginning to because of the need for child care centers for those mothers who are already working. As our female working force grows so will the demand for day care. As I said earlier, there seems to be a kind of antiwoman attitude in terms of legislation that definitely has to do with programs that will help women deal with their specific problems in the American society.

We don't like to talk about these things overtly, but I think it is very necessary that this country begin to change its general attitude toward women. Women are now making up a larger part of the labor force in this country, and therefore we have to make some kind of adequate provisions for the care of their youngsters. Israel, Russia, all of the countries do it. What is the matter with the United States, which is supposed to be so progressive in many of these areas? This is my question.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mrs. Chisholm, two other points. I am very sympathetic with your suggestion that we lower the age in the bill, and this has also been a theme that has run through the testimony of nearly every witness. I was also impressed by your suggestion that we not limit day care to the poor. This was also Dr. Bettelheim's view.

I am also struck by your contention, if I read you right, as you in effect were making a judgment on the day care provisions of the administration family assistance program, where apparently day care is regarded principally as a kind of byproduct of an income-maintenance program, and the provisions of the bill which Mr. Reid, Mrs. Mink and I introduced and the bill which Mr. Hansen and Mr. Dellenback and his colleagues have introduced, and I think on both of them the emphasis on the child and his development.

I make one other point for you, Mr. Hansen, in respect of the President's message, because I think this is also relevant to our discussion of the preschool programs. That is, that one has the impression in reading the President's message—and I speak not only of the President, but others who have made a similar point—when they say that, "We pour all of these Federal funds into these educational programs and nothing has happened, we haven't really seen an enormous increase in student achievement."

We really haven't poured these monies into these Federal programs. Congress has voted very substantial authorizations. The administration then—and this is true of the last administration also, I don't think Mr. Johnson asked for money for these programs either and I think Mr. Nixon is even less interested, so in their budget requests they savagely cut the appropriations request and then they complain because the programs don't produce.

The other point, of course, is that we seem somehow to have this

slot-machine mentality in the United States as we look at the education of human beings. We seem to think that if you stick a Federal dollar into the slot, 3 or 4 years later somebody is going to come out on the other end with enormously increased IQ. It takes time for these programs. This is March 1970. We have signed that bill into law, or Congress passed it in April 1965, and then it took a long time for appropriations to catch up with that authorization. So we really have not provided you enough funds for elementary and secondary school education. We have not had enough time to see if they have been working effectively. The President ignored this fact in his message of yesterday.

The State and local school authorities have ignored, in many cases, the intents of Congress to target title I ESEA funds at disadvantaged school districts. They have instead spread the money out and used it generally rather than targeting it.

Considering those three very important shortcomings in the way in which the program has been carried out, I think it is a little meretricious to suggest that we haven't produced a generation of geniuses in the last 3 years with this program.

Well, that is the end of my sermon.

Mr. Hansen?

Mr. HANSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate our chairman's inclusion in his rather harsh judgment the prior administration in attempting to fix the responsibility for the lack of progress in this area. It seems to me that many other might also be included, and that the blame for what now appears to be a lack of progress that many of us are concerned with can be rather widely shared.

As you, Mrs. Chisholm, indicated in your statement, State governments have not responded. State governments also have a responsibility. Local governments have a responsibility. Schools, local institutions, parents themselves have a responsibility. The Congress has a responsibility, because it is Congress that does, in the final analysis, make judgment on the allocation of our resources to these various programs. And we have, I think, followed the practice of assigning very large authorizations to programs that may truly reflect our judgment of the needs, while at the same time we have known that the appropriations will fall far short of those authorizations.

The one administration witness who testified before this subcommittee did, in response to my question, acknowledge that we cannot wait until we learn all there is to be learned before we move ahead with programs of action. That attitude has been supported by other witnesses before this committee, and it reflects my own attitude.

At the same time, there is much to learn, and we should be willing in the Congress to admit that all programs that are in the nature of innovative programs, that are experiments, do not succeed. And we should be willing to recognize those that fail or fall short of their goal and terminate or alter or otherwise change programs, based on experience, so we can accomplish the objectives.

I am hopeful that the legislation that will emerge from these hearings will indeed establish the foundation for one of the most important, far-reaching programs that has ever come from this Congress; and it

will be the product of leadership within the Congress and that which has come from across the country. And even, while our distinguished chairman, for whom I have the greatest respect, may interpret Administration statements a little differently than I do, I will predict that when the 4 years of the first of the two terms of President Nixon has been completed, that there will have been more progress in the area of providing needed services for young children than any comparable 4-year period in our history. Probably not as much progress as many of us would like to see, but still more than we have seen; and it won't come entirely from any initiative or leadership from the Administration, but it will be a combining of the concerns within the Administration, within the Congress, within the country. And if we approach it on that basis and attempt, without pointing the finger of blame, to try to fashion the kinds of programs that will help small children and mobilize our collective concerns and energies, then I have confidence that we can in this Congress in this period make a lasting contribution to the improvement of the quality of life in this country.

I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, I have used my 5 minutes. Let me just express by great appreciation to you, Mrs. Chisholm, for your important contribution to these hearings.

Mr. BRADEMAs. I just want to add, I share the hope of Mr. Hansen that we will make that progress. And I am especially hopeful that the Administration will indicate some greater interest than it has shown in this matter. I am a Methodist and was brought up to believe that it is never too late to be saved.

Mrs. Mink?

Mrs. MINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am so pleased that I was able to get back from my other committee where I had to go briefly to make a quorum because I wanted to express my own appreciation to my colleague for her magnificent and eloquent statement in support of what I believe is an absolutely urgently needed program under the sponsorship of the Federal Government.

I agree with you completely, Mrs. Chisholm, that this has been a totally neglected area. It is not only necessary to have programs in early education for those who are on welfare and those who meet the poverty criteria, as we now have in Head Start; but even more critical is the need that we presently have to provide these services for working mothers, which number into the millions and many of whose children, as you so well put, have absolutely no adequate care.

So, I want to add my personal appreciation for your endorsement of our efforts. And I am confident that this committee will report out a bill which you can support.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much. There is one final thing which I must say, and I must leave with the committee, and that is in our desire to really help the children of America we have to be very, very sure in terms of whatever legislation that is proposed to help these children that the educational aspects are given a great deal of consideration. We have had too much custodial babysitting.

Mrs. MINK. Absolutely. I agree with you, Mrs. Chisholm.

Mr. BRADEMAs. Thank you, Mrs. Chisholm.