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HEADSTART CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON

MENT, MANAGEMENT, AND POVERTY

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 2060

TO PROVIDE FOR AN EXPANDED HEADSTART CHILD
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM WITHIN THE OFFICE OF
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

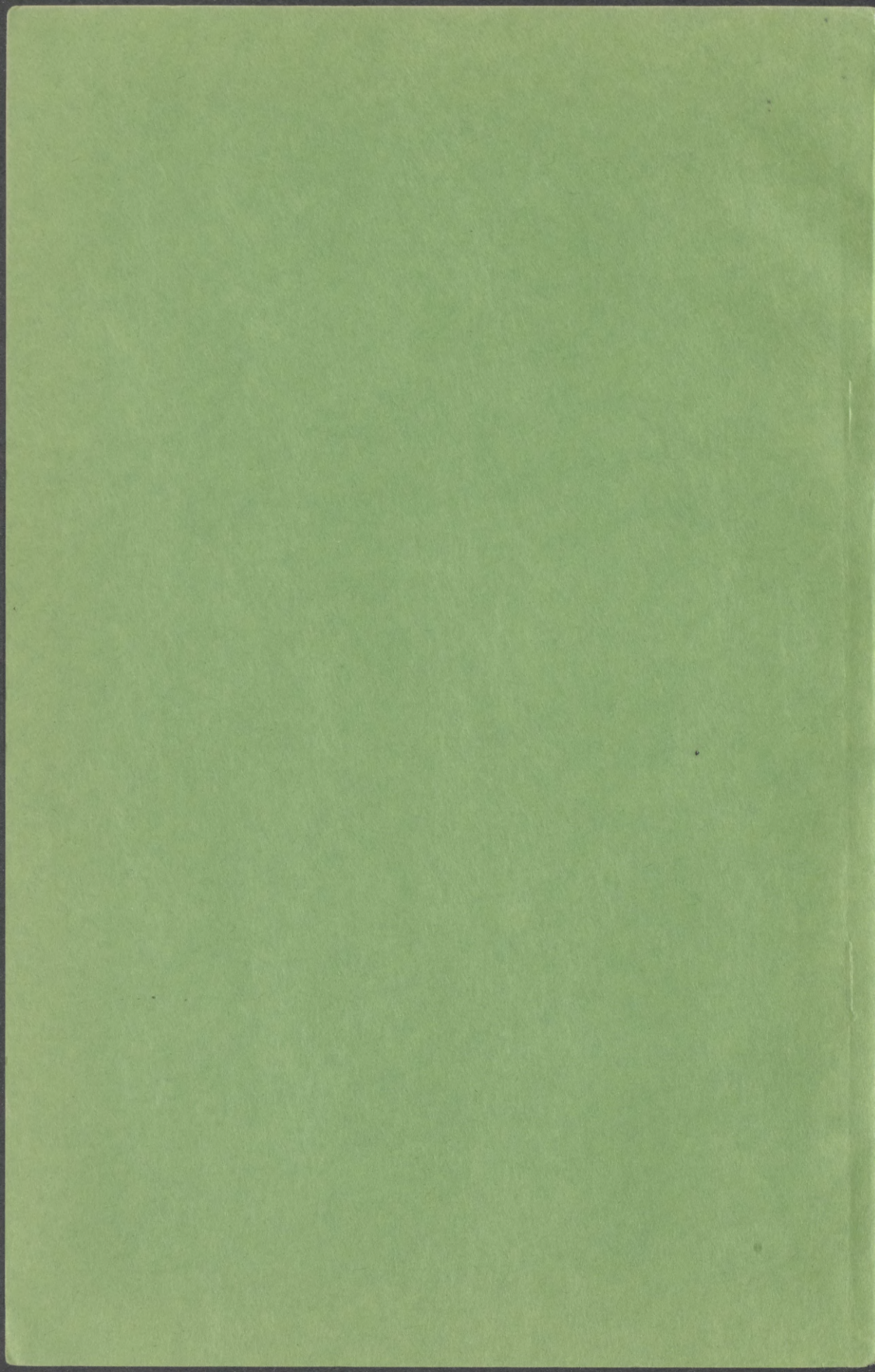
AND RELATED BILLS

FEBRUARY 10, 1970

PART 2

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare





HEADSTART CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE
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WASHINGTON : 1970

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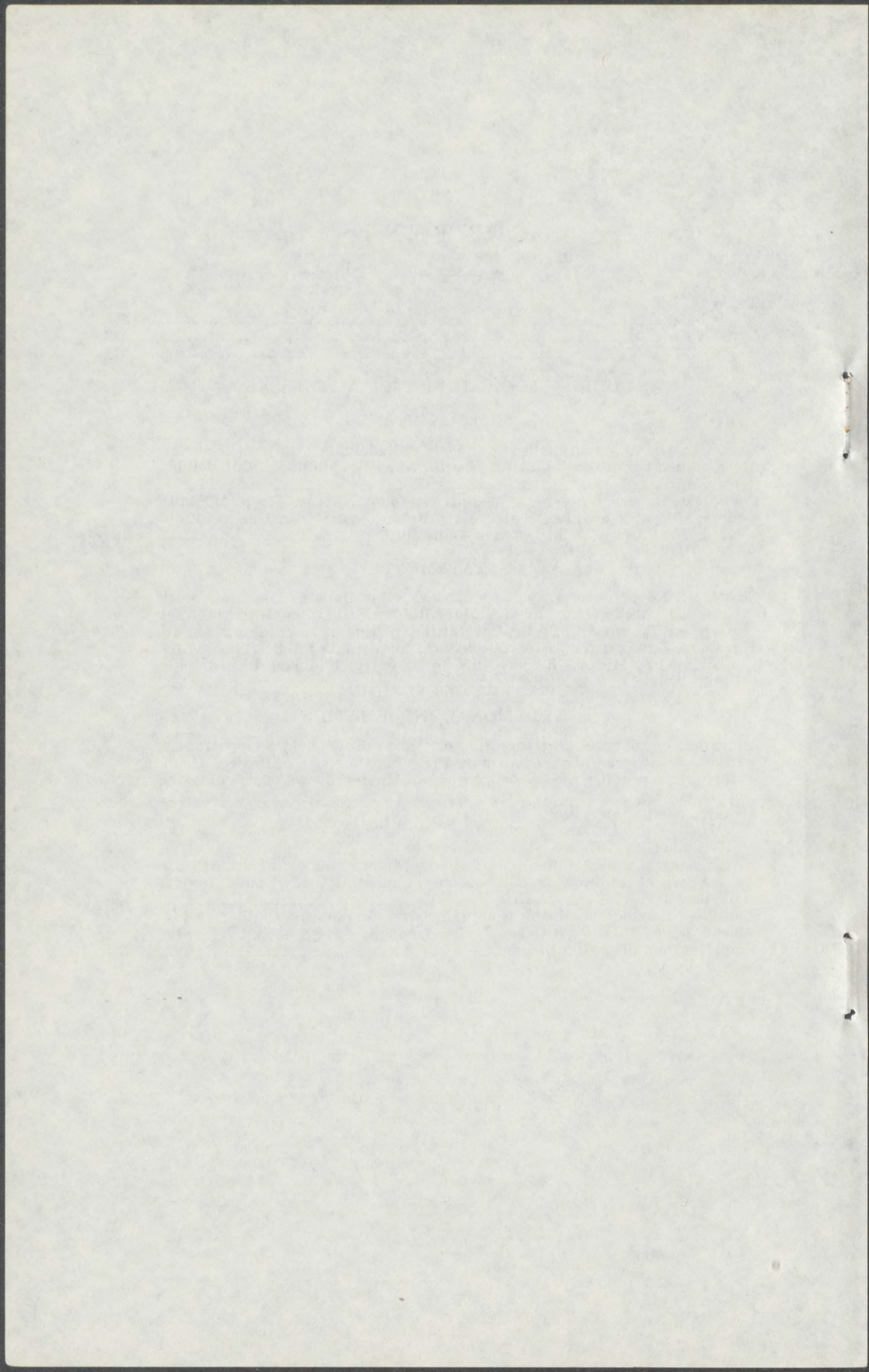
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HEADSTART CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1970

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Hon. Gaylord Nelson (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding,

Present: Senators Nelson (presiding) and Mondale.

Also present: Senator Schweiker.

Staff members present: Robert O. Harris, staff director; William R. Bechtel, professional staff member; and John K. Scales, minority counsel.

Senator NELSON. The subcommittee will reopen its hearings on Senate bill 2060, the Headstart and Child Development Act, authored by Senator Mondale of Minnesota. I understand Senator Mondale has an opening statement he would like to make.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am very pleased that you have agreed to resume hearings today on the Headstart Child Development Act of 1969, introduced last May with 23 cosponsors.

This bill would greatly strengthen and improve programs of early childhood development. By providing impoverished children with needed health care, nutritional aid, educational and motivational assistance—and by making these services available where needed to middle-class children on a tuition or part-tuition basis—this bill would attack the conditions that can stunt a child's intellect for life.

We know how deprivation and hunger in the first few years of life can cripple a child's potential. Witnesses at the subcommittee hearing last August described how the IQ's of poor children tested in Mississippi, and the District of Columbia, fell 15 to 30 points between infancy and age 3; and how substantive child development programs prevented this decline for other poor children.

While few would contend that we have discovered the solution to every early childhood handicap, results from these and hundreds of other projects prove that we know how to prevent a great deal of nutritional, health, and intellectual damage from occurring.

I think that all of us interested in early childhood development were encouraged to hear the President call for a new national commitment to the crucial early years of life in his economic opportunity message to Congress last year at this time. I regret that this commitment is not

reflected in the 1971 budget requests which were recently submitted to the Congress. For while Headstart is described as "a major element of the administration's emphasis on child development during the first 5 years of life" in the budget, the administration recommends an increase of less than 1 percent over last year's inadequate funding level.

As a result, this very promising program will continue to reach less than 5 percent of the poverty stricken children who need it.

I hope that as hearings progress this session, and as the subcommittee learns more about the problems and potentials of early childhood development efforts from persons experienced in the field—such as the distinguished witnesses who will testify today—that the Congress and the country will respond with the urgency and resources that this problem deserves.

If I may make one other comment, Mr. Chairman, the President has recommended what he calls the family assistance plan program. There are problems in it but the President is to be commended for opening up this discussion. The key to it is that mothers will be encouraged—I am afraid in some cases forced—to leave their families during the day and find employment. If this approach is adopted then decent developmental kinds of day-care centers are needed. I would hope that maybe as part of our efforts here we would consider the possibility of developing a thorough and balanced day-care amendment that we could add on to the welfare reform program that will be reported out of the Finance Committee.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much, Senator Mondale.

Our first witnesses are Mr. David Horowitz, deputy superintendent of Philadelphia public schools; and Mr. Milton Goldberg, director of early childhood of the Philadelphia public schools.

Senator Schweiker, of Pennsylvania, a member of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, wishes to introduce the witnesses from his State.

Senator SCHWEIKER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Senator Mondale.

It is a distinct privilege to have the opportunity to present two very competent and qualified men in the area relating to the committee's interest today. Mr. David Horowitz, deputy superintendent of public schools, and Mr. Milton Goldberg of the early childhood program of the Philadelphia public schools.

I am sure they will very ably tell you some of the problems we have had in funding the situations as far as the Headstart and early childhood programs are concerned.

I would like to add for the record that Philadelphia is facing a very serious school funding crisis and it is complicated by a number of factors. It is a very severe situation, probably one of the most severe funding crises in the entire country. The Headstart or early childhood program is pretty essential in my judgment if we are going to really get to the grassroots of our problems in our urban areas, and I think it is commendable that Mr. Horowitz and Mr. Goldberg are doing as well as they are under very adverse conditions.

All I can say is encourage them to keep up the effort and the program, and I hope that we can be of help to you in some way because I realize the city very badly needs some outside effort.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Senator Schweiker.

The committee is very pleased that you two gentlemen are willing to take the time to come here today and testify on Senator Mondale's bill, which I think is a very useful and creative piece of legislation.

Do you both have prepared texts?

**STATEMENT OF DAVID HOROWITZ, DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT,
PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS; ACCOMPANIED BY MILTON
GOLDBERG, DIRECTOR OF EARLY CHILDHOOD, PHILADELPHIA
PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

Mr. HOROWITZ. Yes, we have, sir.

Senator NELSON. Would you identify yourselves for the record so as you respond to questions the record will be accurate and then you may present your statements in any fashion you desire. They will be printed in full in the record, and if you wish to elaborate on anything you have said or extemporize in any way just feel free to do so.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Thank you, Senator.

My name is David Horowitz, and I am the deputy superintendent for instruction for the Philadelphia public schools.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am Milton Goldberg, director of early childhood programs for the Philadelphia public schools.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Senator, we would prefer to read our statement, if that is all right with the committee.

Senator NELSON. Fine.

I assume if some questions occur as you go along you have no objection to it.

Mr. HOROWITZ. We would be very happy to answer your questions.

Senator NELSON. Thank you.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Senator Schweiker, and Senator Nelson, and Senator Mondale, we would like to express our appreciation to the committee for this opportunity to present our views on the significant legislation now before you. The importance of the early years has been stressed by many, including President Nixon and Commissioner Allen; and was most effectively underscored by Senator Mondale in his introduction to this bill—as reported in the Congressional Record: May 5, 1969. Educators, sociologists, and urban planners agree on the need for early, viable intervention. The early years provide the crucial time for fostering the social, emotional, physical, and intellectual development of children as well as the nurturing soil for creative imagination. Dr. Benjamin Bloom's research indicates that in terms of intelligence measured at age 17 on the Thorndike absolute scale, about 50 percent of intellectual development takes place between conception and age 4. This and other studies support the conclusion that the critical period for language acquisition is between the ages of 1½ and 4 years. Finally, one's concept of self, the motivational image which is essential to productivity and contribution, takes root and shape at this time of life.

But educational studies do not provide the sole justification for new efforts in early childhood education. The deprivation reflected in the cities need not be recounted here. Poverty, illiteracy, crime, and broken families are threads in an expanding web which chokes the city and

its people. The talents of millions of Americans are inextricably caught up in a cycle which must be broken and redirected if our Nation's principles are to have meaning for all its citizens. We are convinced that it is in the best tradition of this country's ideals and history that we commit ourselves to this end by providing dramatically increased services and educational opportunities for our very young children. Indeed, the complex social and economic dilemmas which involve us all today demand and applaud this legislative effort.

The school district of Philadelphia has recognized the importance of increased efforts in early childhood education and has established such efforts as a top priority. In spite of severe fiscal restraints we are making a substantial attempt to support this priority through program development, budget allocations and staff deployment. In 1968-69 opportunity for kindergarten experience was available to all Philadelphia children. Increased enrollments from 20,000 in 1965-66 to 25,500 in 1968-69 reflects our willingness to meet growing demands as well as the increased involvement of indigenous school-community coordinators working in poverty areas. There is presently at least one kindergarten in each of Philadelphia's 200 elementary schools with some schools having as many as 10 kindergarten classes and we are renting facilities outside of school buildings to accommodate additional children. Four hundred and eighty kindergarten teachers and half as many kindergarten aides staff these classes. Our kindergarten expenditures during the 1968-69 year amounted to \$4½ million despite the schools' budget crises and the fact that kindergarten is not mandated by the State department of education.

One of the most exciting developments in federally funded programs was the last minute rescue of Operation Get Set, the Philadelphia Headstart effort for 3 and 4 year olds. Office of Economic Opportunity funds ran out at the end of December 1968, and the entire community rallied to the support of the program. Within 3 months, Get Set had become the Get Set day care program, funded for calendar year 1969 by the State department of welfare under the social security acts with 25-percent matching funds from the School District of Philadelphia. This prekindergarten program is now providing more than 3,800 poverty area children with a well-rounded educational experience, including medical, social, and nutritional services. We presently have 100 Get Set day care centers, 96 of which are housed in community facilities, including churches and housing authority projects, recreation centers, and hospitals.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I wonder if I might just interrupt at that point?

I think this is one extremely unusual example of how the Federal bureaucracy can respond to a crisis. I have been down here 10 years and I don't think I have ever seen a crisis like this where the Federal bureaucracy had filled in to meet a need and moved to do it and also it had the initiative. I think we ought to compliment the leadership of the responsible people in the executive branch for doing it because we were in a crisis state and there weren't many other answers. I think it was an unusual display of Federal Government's interest at its very best.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Yes, sir; if it weren't for that action, the entire program would have gone down the drain.

Senator MONDALE. Would you yield

Senator SCHWEIKER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Do you know how much this program costs per child? Do you have a rule of thumb of what an adequate developmental program is?

Mr. HOROWITZ. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. This is one of the real issues in our country now. What is good day care? What kinds of health, nutrition, emotional support, and education, are really needed to give a child a chance?

How much does your program cost?

Mr. HOROWITZ. This program costs approximately \$40 per week per child, and it is a 12-month program.

Senator MONDALE (presiding pro tempore). It is year around?

Mr. HOROWITZ. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. That works out to what?

Mr. HOROWITZ. About \$2,000 a year.

Senator MONDALE. \$2,000 a year. Does that include a lunch?

Mr. HOROWITZ. That includes a hot lunch. It includes feeding mid-morning time and mid-afternoon time. It includes medical services, dental services, and actual delivery of service, not only inspection and diagnosis.

Senator MONDALE. What about educational and motivational help?

Mr. HOROWITZ. There is a well organized educational program. It is not merely a babysitting operation, sir. There is a well organized program that attempts to broaden the experience of the poor children and they are almost entirely so, broaden their concepts, their views of life around them, the world around them, the environment in which they live, and the broader city in which they will become citizens.

Senator MONDALE. These children, I gather, are almost all from poverty-stricken families?

Mr. HOROWITZ. These children are almost all poverty stricken and about 90 percent black children, and most of them come out of the black ghetto of Philadelphia.

Mr. GOLDBERG. There is a good size group of Puerto Rican children, also, in the program and certain of the Get Set day care centers in fact have been established as bilingual centers for the Puerto Rican and black children in the community.

Senator MONDALE. Where a language problem exists, do you have a bilingual program, too?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes; we attempt to as much as possible relate the Get Set day care program to the Headstart followthrough program and in those communities where followthrough exists as a bilingual program we relate the day care center to the followthrough program and, in fact, have an articulated bilingual model.

Senator MONDALE. I ask about the cost because there has been a lot of interest in the private sector to franchise day care centers. Some claim they can do it for \$20-\$25 a week per child and make a profit on it. Have you had any experience with those in your area?

Mr. HOROWITZ. No, sir; we have not had that kind of experience.

Senator MONDALE. I have to go make a quorum. Can you chair, and I will be right back?

Senator SCHWEIKER (presiding pro tempore). Yes.

Unfortunately, we have a live quorum call at the moment so it sort of suspends operations. We came in at 9 o'clock this morning.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Would you want me to answer Senator Mondale's question?

Senator SCHWEIKER. Yes, if you would, for the record. The staff will relay the information.

Mr. HOROWITZ. I would challenge the possibility of offering educational service, medical, dental, and nutritional service to a child at the rate of \$20 a week in a facility that meets license and inspection standards for educational programs.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I hate to do this, but I think we will probably just have to interrupt the proceedings a minute until we can get to the quorum call and come back, because it is over the segregation issue. It is a pretty critical phase. Would you mind just waiting a minute or two? I apologize for it but it seems to be the only course we have at this point.

Mr. HOROWITZ. We are at your service.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I think we all want to indicate that we are interested in the debate that is going on and there will be a vote a little bit later on so we will just suspend for a few minutes if that is all right.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Certainly.

(Brief recess.)

Senator MONDALE (presiding pro tempore). If you don't mind, let's proceed. I apologize. The Senate is in session. We have a Banking Committee meeting. I had to make a quorum. I think we might just as well start again.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Yes, sir.

Our child care service, however, extends much further back in time than Get Set. Twenty-five years ago, the Philadelphia City government asked the board of education to administer their child care program with Lanham Act and city council funding. After the war, the city assumed total fiscal responsibility and today supports approximately two-thirds of the center's operation with the rest coming from parents' fees. The school district administers 15 such centers, including two centers recently funded under title I of the ESEA, and the Social Security Act. A 16th center will open in 1970 housed as part of a city recreation department multifunctional facility—1,325 children from ages 3 to 11 are enrolled in these programs.

Early in 1969 the school district appointed a task force on day care to evaluate and make recommendations for coordination of day care programs in Philadelphia. In June the task force issued its report, and in August the board of education approved the principle of community coordinated child care. The task force is now serving as an interim steering committee, and expanded membership should help to make it an important voice in the development of comprehensive planning for day care in Philadelphia.

This attempt to coordinate programs and maximize service is one of our major concerns. The diversity of early childhood programs sponsored by the school district emphasizes this need. We now have 14 parent-cooperative nurseries in which teachers and parents together share responsibility for program planning and implementation. A summer Headstart program for children entering first grade without preschool experience served 1,175 children in 1969. The Philadelphia

Headstart Follow Through program involves 18 schools and communities, 3,400 kindergarten and first grade children, and seven early childhood curriculum models.

In 10 schools title I funds learning centers, where primary grade children are encouraged to explore a variety of materials, to use experiences in problemsolving, to speak in an organized way about these experiences, and to generally extend their ability to conceptualize and learn. As an indication of the board of education's commitment to early childhood education and the importance of program coordination, Mr. Milton Goldberg, at my left, has been assigned as director of early childhood programs from prekindergarten through year 4 to help effect articulation and new program development. We are convinced that activities from infancy through age 5 must be related to and help influence the regular school so that a viable continuum of experience is established for each child.

We noted earlier our belief that the kind of effort this bill proposes must be supported not only in terms of impact on children and their families but also in terms of amelioration of problems of the city. It costs the taxpayer about \$28 a day to maintain a boy at Glen Mills, a correctional institution near Philadelphia, or a little more than \$10,000 a year. Get Set day care provides a balanced program of prevention for each child for \$40 per week, about one-fifth the cost of Glen Mills. Philadelphia was terrorized during this past year by 41 gang-related killings. As of July 15, 1969, 33 boys were being held for murder, 27 of these boys come from broken homes. County costs for dependent children in 1968-69 amounted to \$13,198,000. Five years ago the cost was 25 percent less. Straightforward, damaging statistics about the plight of the city—to see them as separate from the need for comprehensive preschool education is shortsighted and even irresponsible. For as this bill proposes, the best educational programming is truly comprehensive in its involvement of varied community resources to provide a multiplicity of services.

Senator MONDALE. There is another figure that came up the other day. We had quite a fight here over whether we should reduce the Job Corps training program. One of the arguments was that it costs about \$9,000 a year to help a young boy in his teens. They said, "Well, we have cheaper ways of doing it," we will develop minicenters around the country which will cost only \$5,000 per enrollee. We now have four of them, but they are running at a cost of \$15,000 a year per enrollee. In other words, I think we are discovering that if you wait until a child is older to provide the assistance he needs the costs escalate fantastically because the child becomes more deeply set in his problems.

Mr. HOROWITZ. This is so true.

The Philadelphia programs described earlier all emphasize significant parent and community participation. Through this catalytic amalgamation of forces around a common concern, our young children, we may yet develop the sense of community that can renew the city.

This bill's potential impact must also be measured in terms of Dr. Allen's recent commitment to literacy for all Americans. Philadelphia, like big cities across the country, is faced with severe reading deficits among its children. From second grade on our students score below national norms, and the children in the inner city, black, white, and

bilingual score lowest of all. Economic and social disadvantages are clearly major factors. Judge Juanite Kidd Stout of the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia has long been troubled by the relationship between reading achievement and delinquency. She admits to the complexity of the problem but is convinced that helping young children to read successfully would go a long way to preventing some of the bitterness and frustrations of the city adolescents. Many studies support this thesis. One such report indicates that 75 percent of delinquents screened for educational problems were at least 2 years or more retarded in reading. School people can attest to developing patterns of disinterest, truancy, and dropout among poor readers. These realities cannot be separated from the conditions of life in the city which have too often in the past been seen as merely social or economic or political issues.

They are all of these, and they are also educational issues. The lives of our people insist that we see them as such. Programs for young children must be provided in this context so that the ability to read becomes a basic commodity rather than an esoteric privilege.

It is to the resolution of this complex of issues that we must address ourselves. And we see this bill as an effective and dramatic step in this effort. Present figures indicate that about 6,500 additional young children between the ages of three and five need day care immediately in Philadelphia. This increase alone would cost over \$10 million. It does not begin to deal with the more general need for preschool programing reflected in the bill. It is highly unlikely that the present school district budget will permit expansion of the Get Set Day Care program, thus forcing us to fall further behind in our attempts to meet even limited community needs. While our school district strives to secure minimal funding for its operating budget, thousands of young children in the inner city suffer from poverty and deprivation. Without meaningful intervention, their lives have already begun to spin predictable threads of malnutrition, instability and impaired language development. We applaud this bill's direct assault on these problems.

If the Headstart experience comes too late for many children, one crucial element in new programing must be availability of significant services to expectant and new mothers. We can all agree on the importance of medical and social service for this group, but increasing evidence indicates that the mother plays the key role in a young child's mental development. Research projects conducted by David Weikart in Ypsilanti, Mich., Dr. Robert Hess at the University of Chicago, and Dr. Ira Gordon at the University of Florida all strongly support this thesis. Dr. Gordon's efforts in Philadelphia as part of the Follow Through program underscore the depth and breadth of learning that can be accomplished in the home with effective parental leadership. Harvard University preschool project has found that in homes where mothers were obviously attentive to children's concerns and needs and specifically encouraged children's reasoning and speech development, the children naturally achieved a high level of social and intellectual skills. The winter 1969 issue of the Carnegie Quarterly discusses such programing under the title, "The First, and Possibly Best, Teachers: Mothers in the Home."

As part of this kind of service, we must not overlook the needs of school age pregnant girls. Prior to 1968-69 approximately 1,000 girls,

16 or under, left Philadelphia public schools each year because of pregnancy. If girls 17 or 18 were included, the total is estimated to be about 3,000. Fortunately, during the last 2 years significant changes have been effected in Philadelphia in policies and practices. The school district and community agencies have collaborated in developing continuing educational centers where individualized instructional programs and medical and social care combine to set new patterns of service. Girls participating in these programs have shown an increased interest in school, often achieving at higher levels after return. They are more able to express their need for infant day care, additional education for themselves, help in career planning, and part-time employment.

The progress made in the last 2 years is all the more remarkable in light of limited funding. Our gains have been made possible because individuals and agencies have given generously of services. This broad based participation and cooperation reveals the extent of concern and need. It is quite clear that with adequate additional funding we could expand and build our services far beyond the limited population now involved.

We also warmly support the references to research, demonstration, and training. Unless we learn more effectively from our experiences, we will continue to fall short of our goals. We have seen in Philadelphia the value of smaller pilot programs like the learning centers as their influence spreads far beyond the measure of program costs. The Headstart Follow Through program is now making basic contributions to institutional changes in 18 school and six school districts and this influence will be felt by other schools and programs. The Walnut Street Center, one of our child care facilities, is an experimental demonstration school for children from 3 to 8 years old. A number of other schools have already learned much from the program about individualization of instruction and parental involvement. These programs are examples of federally supported efforts which are having important innovating effects on schools in Philadelphia. We, therefore, applaud emphasis on demonstration and pilot projects, staff and parent training, and new curricula development.

Much of what we have supported in this testimony will cost money and school systems have, admittedly, reaped inadequate dividends. We have cited evidence of reading disabilities among our children. The current financial problems of the Philadelphia schools are similar to those faced by other big city school systems and revenue sources are very limited. Yet we submit that infusion of Federal money has begun to make positive differences in our schools. Some of the programs described earlier are increasingly responsive to the needs of our children and community. We learn from these efforts that solutions to urban problems are clearly the responsibility of the whole network of elements which comprise the city. We have sufficient evidence to show that investments in the lives of young children and their families can be most rewarding, beneficial, and lasting.

Perhaps around this concern for young children that all of us share, we can mount that effort which does more than sloganize about the "whole" child. For just as we cannot separate the child's cognitive development from his social and emotional being, we must recognize that educational endeavor reflects the priorities of our society. This

bill speaks of assisting children to attain their full potential. Dare we do any less for them or for the future of America?

Senator MONDALE. Mr. HOROWITZ, let me say how much I appreciate your most useful testimony and how impressed I am by what you are doing in Philadelphia under the constraints of a very tight budget.

Can you perhaps dwell a moment on any data or observations you might have on the success of these quality early childhood efforts? You referred to some in your statement, but do you have any more?

Mr. HOROWITZ. Senator, we have data, and just off the top of my head the children who have experienced the Get Set day care program we find are much more ready for education beginning in grade 1, are quicker to learn how to read, and make faster progress in the initial stages of learning how to read. One of the difficulties here, again, is that the kind of service that is supplied in the Get Set day care programs, unless continued in the same measure the losses begin to set in very, very quickly and there begins to develop a reduction in strength, in adjustment, and in the ability to learn. It is really for that reason that Philadelphia is engaged, once again with the aid of Federal funds, in the largest Follow Through program in the country and we are experimenting in seven different ways, in what we call models, and we find here, too, that the gains that are being made by the kindergarten and first grade children as compared with similar children coming out of similar circumstances are quite remarkable.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I think one thing that might be added is that even though the seven models are different from one another in terms of the curriculum implemented in the school, the support of the community in every case is of the highest order and the kinds of relationships that have developed between community and school in the 18 Follow Through schools is, we think, most powerful and can make a big difference in the continued functioning of those schools.

Senator MONDALE. You refer to the effort to work not alone with the child but with his parents. Could you dwell on that a little bit? What kind of values flow from that, what you have been able to achieve?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Well, there are various levels, of course, to which we refer. For example, in the Follow Through program there is a parent education component in every one of the models in which the parents are actually given training in learning how to support their child, not only in school as part of a teacher aid program or a paraprofessional program, but also in the home as an extension of the school experience.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have workers go into the homes?

Mr. GOLDBERG. That is right. Specifically in the parent educator model, Dr. Gordon's model, there are workers who go into the home on a regular basis to train parents in the use of the home as an educational environment. Regardless of the poverty in the home, we are convinced that there is possibility to create educational experience in the home environment.

In addition to that, every one of the Follow Through schools and the Get Set day care program centers has policy advisory committees in which the parents serve in the crucial role of making budget decisions, developing program policy and plans, and playing an important part in the total functioning of the program, getting some sense not

only of commitment but of realization that in fact the program is as much their program as it is a school program.

We think that the kinds of relationships that are developing at that level are going to make a big difference to these parents as their children move up in school.

Senator MONDALE. Returning to my earlier question, would you say, Doctor, that if you had, say, 2 years of quality year around preschool education, the kind we are talking about, the kind of experiment you have in Philadelphia, but then those children went into a regular second-rate ghetto school that all of that progress could be lost within a year or two as a result of the depressing environment in school?

Mr. HOROWITZ. Senator, I would say this: That what is being accomplished in the Get Set day care programs, Follow Through programs, for the very poor child in the big city—unless these models can be extended and really become the model for the total program of education, we are going to lose all the way along the line. Really, if we as educators had the wherewithal, the kinds of things that we are doing in Get Set day care and Follow Through, should become the pattern of the educational program all the way through for the poor urban child. It would be good for all other children as well.

Senator MONDALE. These are bad times to be talking that way because if you are talking about helping the poor it is a very unpopular subject. Everybody is against spending the money that is needed to give the kind of quality education you are talking about.

The President's budget requests adds \$75 million to title I nationally. Philadelphia's share would be about \$3.50, I suppose. And it seems like everywhere we go now there is no receptivity for the kind of substantial and increased national commitments to education which your testimony says is essential.

Do you believe the results of good early childhood programs are lost unless we can infuse our regular school structure with quality developmental work?

Mr. HOROWITZ. Senator, what you say, of course, is so true and it presents a very tragic picture that we are going to pay for many, many times over in years to come.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I think one of our hopes, maybe a long-range one, is that in developing the kind of parent support and education and level of accomplishment that is developing now in programs like Get Set and Follow Through, we hope we are developing a nucleus of parents that will demand new kinds of support for the schools because they actually see the kind of development that takes place for their children.

Senator MONDALE. There is some evidence that really what you have done in your Get Set program results in this quick acceptance.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Absolutely.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, you have developed a constituency.

Mr. HOROWITZ. This is so true.

When I look back in 1968, when it looked as if the Get Set program was going to dissolve on just a few days notice, about 5,000 parents got together in mass meetings all over the city and created a tremendous amount of public interest and pressure for the survival of the program.

Senator MONDALE. One can't help but be struck by the strength of your testimony. As the head of a school system you are conducting important early childhood programs and getting exciting results. But there is a general feeling in the public that nothing is working; that the whole school system is dead and flat and hopeless; we have to think of something new before we spend any more money or contribute any more resources. Here are some early childhood programs that are working. They are reaching for far fewer than the numbers who need it. You probably could benefit by starting even earlier than age 3 in some of these areas, I would guess. I am sure you could do far more in working with the parents if you had the resources.

If you only had enough resources you could give all these kids a chance.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Very true.

Senator MONDALE. Well, thank you very much for your most useful testimony.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Dr. Cooke and Mrs. Robinson.

This is a rerun, I think. We tried this before. We are most grateful to you for coming back again. As I recall last time, you arrived and we had to adjourn the hearing because of a debate on the ABM.

Doctor, you may proceed, as you wish.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT COOKE, PROFESSOR OF PEDIATRICS,
JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL, BALTIMORE, MD.; ACCOMPANIED BY
MRS. MARY ROBINSON, DIRECTOR, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
PARENT & CHILD CENTER, BALTIMORE, MD.**

Dr. COOKE. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure and privilege to appear before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the U.S. Senate to testify in behalf of the Headstart Child Development Act of 1969 introduced by Senator Mondale and a prominent group of Democratic and Republican Senators.

I am the pediatrician in chief of the Johns Hopkins Hospital; professor of pediatrics, the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine; a former member of President John F. Kennedy's Panel on Mental Retardation; a present member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation; chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation; and chairman of the original Planning and Steering Committee of Project Headstart in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As director of the Children's Medical and Surgical Center of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, I am responsible for the care of approximately 40,000 children of the poor of East Baltimore, and am physician in chief of an outpatient care program that provides services for approximately 120,000 patient visits each year. I have had first-hand opportunities to observe the operation of Headstart centers in various parts of this Nation. I have also had the good fortune of developing, in a cooperative venture with the poor of East Baltimore and the Johns Hopkins Hospital, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Parent and Child Center.

These practical experiences have convinced me, as they would convince every member of this committee and Congress, that feasible, workable, effective programs can be carried out in early childhood development with enormous impact on the well being of our society both from an economic as well as social standpoint.

It is not necessary for me to detail the evidence supporting the importance of early childhood in determining the future characteristics of the individual. I am sure that adequate evidence has been presented by other witnesses as well as by members of the Senate including Senator Mondale in his introductory speech in the Senate.

The work of J. Piaget in Europe, of J. McV. Hunt in the United States, of Susan Gray, Benjamin Bloom, and many others including Bruner and Kagan at Harvard, Eisenberg at Massachusetts General, formerly at Hopkins, as well as others, is well known to students in the field. The enormous effect of experiences in early childhood can be best appreciated by brief reference to less known work carried out a number of years ago by Hampson, Hampson, and Money in our department at Johns Hopkins. The psychologists and psychiatrists studied children with abnormalities of external sex organs caused by chemical changes during pregnancy. Their studies clearly showed that the way in which these children were handled by parents established the concept the child had of himself as a male or female, independently of his genetic sex or even of his physical appearance.

This concept was established within the first 2 years of life and the individual is fixed in this pattern for the balance of his life regardless of efforts later even though these may be extremely intensive. It is not surprising, therefore, that less fundamental characteristics such as attitudes toward success, ability to concentrate, to abstract, and to verbalize may be impaired even more by inadequate experiences in the early months and years of life.

It was this concern with the enormous influence of environment which led me to organize the planning and initiation of Headstart under Mr. Sargent Shriver's direction in December 1964. I should like to read from the initial letter of our group which was composed of some of this country's most outstanding action-oriented people in the fields of pediatrics, child development, education, social service, psychology and psychiatry:

To: Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.

From: Dr. Robert Cooke, Chairman, Planning Committee, Project Headstart.

Subject: Improving the Opportunities and Achievements of the Children of the Poor.

Several weeks ago you asked me to assemble a panel of experts to consider the kinds of programs which might be most effective in increasing achievement and opportunities for the children of the poor. Our panel has held a number of meetings and through its members has consulted with numerous other experts in search of ideas and programs. The attached report, which has the endorsement of all committee members, represents our best judgment on the ways in which the Office of Economic Opportunity might most effectively support programs for children.

I believe several points deserve particular emphasis in your consideration of this report:

1. The overriding goal of each program should be to create an environment in which every child has the maximum opportunity and support in developing his full potential.

2. Programs must be comprehensive in nature in order to achieve maximum effectiveness. This requires extensive activities in the fields of health, social services and education.

3. Careful attention must be given both to the evaluation of the child's abilities and deficiencies and to the correction of deficiencies and strengthening of abilities.

4. Programs should focus on the parent as well as the child.

5. There should be support for a variety of programs tailored to fit local community conditions. OEO should specifically encourage innovative and experimental ideas. There should, of course, be adequate evaluation and research to accompany these programs.

6. These programs can and should be initiated very quickly. There already exists adequate understanding of the problems and processes involved to permit an immediate and massive intervention in the poverty cycle.

The panel is enthusiastic about prospects for extensive OEO support of these programs. It stands ready to work with you and your organization in the implementation of these proposals.

The report referred to in the letter I just read is attached as an addendum to this statement.

I wish to emphasize that the major concept underlying Headstart was that this approach to the child and his family had to be a comprehensive one. Headstart was not simply an educational program—it was a medical care program, a nutritional support program, a social rehabilitation effort, a family involvement effort, indeed, an employment and career development activity.

Criticisms of Headstart have been leveled only at the educational component and this, as I will discuss at the end of my presentation, cannot be interpreted in the way that it has been so frequently by the rather shallow analysis which came forth with the Westinghouse Learning Corp. study.

The importance of this comprehensive child development approach can be adequately documented in many ways and the great strength of the proposed legislation exists in the provision of funding for all aspects of child development, not simply education, social, or medical.

Let me tell you our experiences with the comprehensive medical care of 20,000 children of low-income families in East Baltimore. This program which is designed to cover a series of census tracts, termed the "Hopkins corridor of East Baltimore," has been funded as part of the most progressive health care legislation yet enacted, entitled the "Children and Youth Projects of the Children's Bureau," which has been almost forgotten by various organized critics of Government medicine. This program, which demands 25 percent local funding and 75 percent Federal funding, has been actively developed for the past 3 years at Johns Hopkins and in a number of other communities throughout the Nation. Our own experience has shown several remarkable developments.

First of all, it provides a program of active recruitment, what I have termed "hot pursuit," to permit the examination, treatment, and screening of children who, because of parent apathy or serious deficiencies within the family, have been totally neglected by the essentially passive medical care systems which have characterized traditional American medicine. In addition, it provides a continuity of care which gives dignity to the care of children and their parents and a feeling of responsibility of these families for themselves.

Children with minor visual defects have been discovered and remedied so that more serious deficiencies did not result. Hearing defects in large numbers have been found and appropriate remediation carried out to prevent future handicap. In our project alone, over

500 cases of tuberculosis of an active type have been detected and active treatment initiated that will prevent future serious disability and spread of the disease. Literally hundreds of cases of iron deficiency anemia have been detected early or prevented by the use of early iron fortification of feeding to prevent the vicious cycle of deprivation which results from an infant whose strength is sapped by anemia, who becomes, therefore, less responsive to his environment, particularly his mother, thereby evoking less attention, less stimulation from the mother, less dialog, with an inevitable consequence of reduction in the eventually capability of the child.

There is an advantage to the organization of care in a comprehensive manner for a geographic area. This may not be obvious to the average onlooker or even the professional in the field. This advantage which is of critical importance in any economic system which is closed and does not have an unlimited source of funds is that of the ability to control cost, and, indeed, to reduce cost without reduction of quality.

In contrast with the problems of ever-escalating cost in the existing care systems as supported under medicaid and medicare, as worth while as those programs may be, the difference is essentially that the provision of, in a sense, a prepayment program permits cost reductions by reduction in usage of expensive components of the system, such as inpatient hospital care. With each reduction, funds are "freed up" to permit further extensions of this cost reduction to other individuals in the system. For instance, if the hospitalization of one child with serious iron deficiency anemia can be prevented by early detection or even completely prevented by adequate nutritional means, then approximately \$100 a day per child, times approximately 10 days, can be effected. This saving of \$1,000 can then be applied to the further prevention of other cases of iron deficiency anemia or other analogous conditions, thereby, reducing the cost care of the whole system. This orientation from the high cost components of medical care, particularly inpatient care, is essential in any national program of health care, if such a program is to be economically feasible.

I might interject here, for example, that the cost of care at the present time for very adequate medical care, of preventive as well as screening nature, of very extensive dental care, runs \$132 per child in the Hopkins program per year.

Senator MONDALE. This is the health program?

Dr. COOKE. This is the health component of the comprehensive care program. That is really a strikingly low figure when you consider that this includes hospitalization, preventive services, dental services, and the like. So it can be done economically as well, I think, as efficiently and effectively.

Of equally great importance as the health component of Headstart, was the social rehabilitation activity. These at the beginning, without question, were inadequately executed; but, over the subsequent years greater and greater improvement was affected even though much room for improvement still exists.

It was clearly shown by early experiences in Headstart that the child could serve as a handle by which the family might be grasped. Indeed, it was striking to see how parents made efforts on behalf of their children that they would not make on behalf of themselves.

Let no one believe that the parent of the disadvantaged child has less concern for the well being of that child, even though the ability to verbalize this concern may be less well developed.

I would not wish to imply that Headstart had met the needs of children as adequately as all of us might have hoped. In the planning of Headstart, we realized full well that there were many questions which could only be answered by practical experience; but, if we had waited to get these answers, this country would still not have taken the necessary steps to begin an active program in the improvement of child development.

From the beginning, all of us on the Headstart planning committee were convinced that earlier intervention would have to occur for maximum yield; but, considerations of cost, of personnel shortage, of organization difficulties with a younger age group impelled us to begin first with the immediate group who were entering school.

I agree completely with the evidence that the later the intervention, the more solidified the defects and deficiencies, and the more difficult to effect rehabilitation of the child.

What practical experience can I present in this regard? As one of the people instrumental in the development of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Parent and Child Center at Johns Hopkins, I have had an opportunity over the last year to observe infants and children, ages 9 months to 3 years, from a serious poverty group.

This is a poverty group in which 85 percent of the children have only one parent in the home; a poverty group in which the vast majority of mothers were on welfare; a group where 30 percent of the older children are two grades below level in school; where prematurity rates run three times the rates for the middle class; where more tuberculosis exists than in any other city in the Nation; where as many as 15 percent of the teenagers would be classified as mentally retarded on the basis of conventional IQ tests. What deficiencies do we see in these children at so early an age, 9 months to 3 years? Surprisingly, motor progress is good. Not surprising is the fact that language development and emotional development are severely inhibited even at the age of 2 years. To understand how we can make this assertion and explain why this may occur, it is worth spending a few minutes to describe the activities of this parent and child center.

This center was planned completely by the parents of the Lafayette-Douglas housing project in East Baltimore. The planners were parents working with the local Community Action Agency, and other interested agencies, including our own department of pediatrics in the Johns Hopkins Hospital. It is important to emphasize that the vast majority of planners in the parents group had less than an eighth-grade education. Despite this, the vast majority of planning was done by these people, not by professionals.

This center has two components. One is a training center in child development with a small nursery school setting that provides experiences in child development and parenthood for 20 children and their mothers who receive 3 months of intensive training in early childhood rearing. They are taught how children learn, how children develop, how children are motivated, with particular emphasis on the development of successful experiences to encourage striving. In addition, there

are 80 other children who are cared for in an outreach program by our teachers who have themselves received training in the center and who were formerly on welfare, unemployed, and uninformed to a large degree.

What we have learned about these children is that because of many difficult life experiences, the press of crowding and of confusion, these young children have been actively inhibited in their language experimentation. They have been actively repressed in their efforts to learn for themselves. They have been punished with rather striking violence, not because of cruelty but because this has been the tradition handed down from years and years of punishment practices, probably going back into the slave period. It is not surprising, then, that when these children approach maturity, violence is a way which they understand: it is a method of achieving. It is also not surprising that they have little motivation to succeed, they have little ambition in academic affairs, and that they have serious deficiencies that involve the use of language and language concepts.

Senator MONDALE. Can you give me an example of the kind of repression and violence in early childhood to which you make reference?

Dr. COOKE. Well, Mrs. Robinson, who is director of the center, can give you some examples. The typical reaction which many people from middle-class society do not quite understand and shudder at is a child who begins to say something and who is slapped across the mouth and told to "shut up."

Senator MONDALE. Why does that happen?

Dr. COOKE. Well, can I take a try at it, Mary?

These families live in very crowded circumstances. They frequently have a number of children. The mother in a small middle-class family, for example, is very actively interested in each word her child speaks because this is a great accomplishment. But in a large poor family setting a noise becomes an enormous distraction, and it is very difficult for the mother to take the time to encourage the child to use language. It is much easier to tell the child to "shut up" because it is another distraction. This, I think, is the cultural pattern that is passed on from generation to generation that is very difficult to overcome.

Mary, you may have some other observation.

Mrs. ROBINSON. Not only that, but I think we need to recognize the fact that with 85 percent, let us say, of the mummies in our area in one-parent homes, where money is just almost nonexistent, when there is overcrowding, when there are younger girls 14 and 15 having their babies, mummies having babies at the same time that the daughter is having babies, so you can see with the overcrowding the problem of economics, you don't have the patience and the time to give to youngsters. It is a kind of cultural pattern, as Dr. Cooke has said before, that you are a good child when you sit still without any kind of verbalization. Not only that, but coupled with all of the economic problems, et cetera, I think these things cause mummies and daddies to beat children.

Senator MONDALE. Is there any evidence that, say, a mother with a large family, perhaps without the father, resents the children? Is there any evidence that she may see them as part of her anchor, keep-

ing her in her tough difficulties, and there may develop hostilities between her and the kids that might result in some of this violence?

Mrs. ROBINSON. That is exactly right.

Dr. COOKE. I am sure that must play a large role. I think that we can't underestimate the importance of cultural heritages. From a scientist's point of view, I am convinced that these are much stronger influences even than genetic heritage because they come into the environment of an individual without his realization. Much of this impulsive behavior, the slapping, the rather violent behavior, is not at a verbal level. It is at a subconscious level in which these people are reacting out of their early experiences. This perpetuates itself from one generation to the next just as much as genetic heritage. Where a small child has been slapped and handled violently, he will very frequently be exactly that same kind of parent later in life. So this passes from generation to generation.

Senator MONDALE. You had two kinds of approaches. One was a training center. The other was the outreach program. Maybe later on in your testimony you are going to draw conclusions, observations, about—

Dr. COOKE. I won't be able to—I don't think Mary can, either—simply because we have not been in operation long enough to draw conclusions, except to say that the two components are absolutely essential in order to show these mothers how to work with small children. Doing this in a training center setting is undoubtedly more effective than if we tried to go out and train each person in their own homes. Once these people have received training, however, they can extend this to other areas and, obviously, at a somewhat lower cost. One of the features of this legislation which I think is extraordinarily good is the fact that it calls for both in-home, as well as in-the-day-center kind of experience.

Senator MONDALE. And both assume the importance not just of the child but also of the parent?

Dr. COOKE. Right.

Senator MONDALE. There is a lot of talk, you know, about the only way you can save a ghetto child is to get him away from the parent. Some call it parentectomy.

Would you respond to that?

Dr. COOKE. Yes. I do not agree with this. I think that, unquestionably, there are unusual examples of situations in which a child may be better away from the family, but I think those are very much the exception.

Senator MONDALE. You made a point in your testimony that even though the deprived parent may have trouble verbalizing, it has been your observation—I would like you to comment on this, too, Mrs. Robinson—that they are deeply concerned about that child.

Mrs. ROBINSON. It is a matter of training mothers in positive child growth and development practices that we have found in our center to be important.

The mothers that we have trained know that something has happened along the line with their youngsters. For instance, when they get to school they aren't able to read, the attention is bad, very limited, et cetera. They know that something is wrong with their own practices, so they are willing to learn about positive practices.

We have found that these mothers have gone back into the community and are now training other mothers in their homes with their youngsters right there on the floor next to them. These mothers are now coming to the center wanting a more structured kind of training that the mothers who are employed are getting, so you can see they are very concerned about their youngsters.

They know that they need a kind of training that has not been afforded to them in previous years.

Senator MONDALE. What sorts of things do you teach the mothers at this center?

Mrs. ROBINSON. We teach mothers that, first of all, you must take time with your youngsters. There are an awful lot of little things around the house that you can help children with. As we have mentioned before, the thing to do is to do your work. Put your child over in the crib with a bottle and say nothing to the child, the child has to be retarded because there is no limitation, no motivation. We have to make mothers aware that there are an awful lot of things on the outside, nature, in the home, that can stimulate a child. These are some of the positive homemaking practices that we help mothers with, so that it is just a natural kind of environment that we try to set.

Senator MONDALE. Do you give the mothers books or musical instruments or playthings?

Mrs. ROBINSON. The whole gamut.

Senator MONDALE. Playthings, toys? You try to provide them with materials like that?

Mrs. ROBINSON. Right.

Senator MONDALE. Do some of these homes have absolutely nothing?

Mrs. ROBINSON. Sometimes we can't say absolutely nothing, but they are not the kinds of things that would help a child grow optimally, I would say. Educational toys that we know are important for youngsters later on in life are not there in the homes. We try to point up to mothers that there are an awful lot of things that you can use that can stimulate a child just as well going to creative playthings or some big toy factory. We can use all kinds of things to help youngsters and this is what mothers are learning and they are training other mothers to do.

Dr. COOKE. One example of this, Senator, is in my testimony. I refer to the fact that this parent group about 6 months after the center's formation had a theater benefit completely on their own. They hired a theater in Baltimore, and the performance netted about \$1,500. That, in itself, was quite an accomplishment for people who had very little education; but the way they used their money was extraordinarily interesting. They financed a scholarship for one of the parents to go to a design school. She is an extremely accomplished person. So this person with some professional training can come back and assist in the redecoration of the housing project homes so that the interiors will provide an environment which will not only be uplifting to the parent but to the children as well. I think this is the kind of accomplishment which these people can do if someone gives them a chance; and I think, as I indicated, the best way for them is to have the motivation to do something for their own children.

This is an enormous motivator.

Senator MONDALE. I realize this is somewhat off the point and yet it is going to be a key part of this long overdue debate, over welfare. I think the President is to be commended for opening up that subject.

I think one part of his program which has to be carefully examined is the assumption that a lot of people on welfare can work and that is better that they do work. Since most of the people on welfare are children, persons in retirement, or totally disabled individuals, the target group that he wants to put to work is primarily the mothers with families. That is the only group that is available. His program says that the welfare worker can tell the mother, "You must work or starve," that the worker can cut them off completely from assistance if they don't work.

Not cut the children off. Just cut the mother off. The assumption being that this will reduce welfare costs, that the mother will go out and work or be trained to be employable. The assumption is also that this policy will not hurt the family, that the mother really isn't that important to the family during the working hours.

We have had some experience with the WIN program which tries to do this sort of thing. I think central to this whole debate is the worth and the importance of the mother to the family. In other words, if we were able for a few years to reduce welfare costs but by so doing we deprive the family of the mother we may be creating social problems, emotional problems, that are far worse and for which we will pay an enormous price later.

Maybe we would be winning a shortrun victory for which we will pay an enormous cost.

I don't know. Would you respond to that?

Dr. COOKE. I would think if one looks at one of the problems we struggle with a good deal—the drug addiction problem, hard drugs, heroin—you can't help but be impressed that the young addicts are coming from the most disorganized families you can possibly find. There is just no family organization whatsoever. It isn't just poverty. I think that it has to be somewhat true even in the middle-income levels. Active efforts that lead to family disorganization, which, I think, probably early employment of the mother cannot help but do, particularly in one-parent homes, as we have indicated, will have a disastrous effect.

I think what we are trying to achieve actually with the parent and child centers, and I would hope that the administration would look at this in an enlightened way, is that this does represent a significant employment opportunity for mothers. It is a very extensive employment opportunity. These women have come off welfare. There is no question about that. A number of them who have been trained are now child care workers, and there will be in the population, I think, a significant number of people who for one reason or another wish to work. There will be need for good care of their children, so that by the expansion of the parent and child programs I believe that work opportunities can be found and in a way where there will be people coming off welfare and in that sense favorable from the administration's point of view. At the same time, I think there will be an opportunity to learn about how to take care of your child and assist other mothers in the care of their children.

This is a good feature of this particular approach. It is too bad Headstart didn't have very much of it.

Mrs. ROBINSON. Not only that, but I think we have to realize that some mothers, many mothers, do want to come off of welfare. It is a kind of degrading thing to receive a check every month, you see. Our mothers have said, "We have a certain amount of self-confidence, self-esteem, about ourselves," and I think this social rehabilitation is equally as important as child health care work or whatever you want to call it.

Many mothers do not want that welfare check given to them. They want a kind of job situation where they can feel successful experiences themselves.

Senator MONDALE. What about the problem? They want jobs but take the single-parent family with only a mother, large family. Can she do both adequately, get a job, earn money, and take care of the family?

Mrs. ROBINSON. She can do it if we have more day care centers or Headstart programs.

I think it is very important that the mother is satisfied when she goes out to work to know that someone is adequately caring for her child.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have day-care centers in Baltimore which provide for children while the mothers are working under the WIN program?

Mrs. ROBINSON. We do. We have, oh, in our area about five such day-care centers.

Senator MONDALE. In your impression, are they all good and adequate, developmental, and so on?

Mrs. ROBINSON. We think the ones in our area are very good. We are phasing our youngsters at the age of 3 into these day-care centers.

Dr. COOKE. I think there is another issue here, though, that is important. I think it is the importance of training mothers in the care of children, not simply dumping the children in some kind of a day-care facility. Again, I would like to emphasize that it seems to me a very reasonable approach, if there is a matter of employment, that every effort be made to provide employment in the child care area for these mothers rather than simply turning them out to work in factories. The impact of these experiences which the mother learns in caring for one child carries over, obviously, into the care of the rest of the family.

If one, for example, were to cost out these programs, they are relatively high. This runs about \$2,000 per child in the program. If you take the impact on the mother, it is \$2,000 per year. If one takes the impact on other members of the family—and I would think one would make a guess that there are probably three to four children per family; is that about right?

Mrs. ROBINSON. Yes.

Dr. COOKE. This means that there are a number of other children who are getting a very considerable spinoff from the training the mother receives.

Now, one of the programs which the department of welfare in Baltimore actually had for a number of years were small family day care centers where there were two or three children that came and were

cared for by one mother who had a child of her own who may have been cared for at the same time. These very small group units needed mothers who had experience and training and child development know-how so that they could provide the kind of environment that would, I think, lead to optimal development of each child. That kind of family day care center needs many trained workers. It does provide job opportunities for these mothers in their own home setting, and I think it is a very good activity if the people have proper training and, in a sense, it keeps the mother in the home. At the same time it provides some income so she can get off welfare.

Senator MONDALE. Maybe, Mrs. Robinson, you can respond to this. We now have a Nation in which practically every State has a child labor law, most of them passed in the 1920's and early 1930's, because children were being hired to take the jobs adults needed. It was a form of exploitation.

Today we have, we hope, a full labor market, but we still have these child labor laws. Yet we have a lot of teenagers floating around with no employment. We were just out in Watts the other day, where 43 percent of the 19-year-old males are unemployed. What do you think about a program to hire those kinds to work in the community, to work in these child centers and elsewhere? It would be expensive. That is really the trouble with the NYC program, it is so tragically underfunded.

Mrs. ROBINSON. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. We keep saying the work ethic is great, and I think there is a lot of validity to work ethic, but we don't give those kids work.

Mrs. ROBINSON. We work cooperatively with NYC and we have four training classes for our teenagers before they can come aboard and work. During the summer we had them work both in the center and in the outreach program. We serviced 12 in the summer and now in the winter program we have eight of them working with us. There is not nearly enough money. We are grasping every day for more of the NYC workers to come aboard and work with us.

You see, it is so important for these youngsters of that age to be involved because so many of them are caring for these youngsters, anyway, in their home. When we pick up youngsters in the morning time the 8-, 9-, and 10-year-old children in the family are the ones who are getting breakfast, getting the children ready for the bus, or getting them ready for public schools, so if they have the proper training in positive childhood and development practices they certainly would be better parents themselves.

Of course, I am getting off just a little bit, but I think if we did have more money to support the youngsters, lets us say, from 14 or 13 to 19 or 20 it would be a valuable service to us in this area.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, you think we need programs so the kids could, say, work part-time when they are going to school and get jobs during the summer.

Mrs. ROBINSON. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. So they could help in the community, help at these centers, help at home.

Mrs. ROBINSON. That is true.

For instance, in our outreach program our youngsters worked with the 4-, 5-, 6-, and 7-year olds this summer while our assistant teachers, who are the mothers, were concentrating on the infants. The mothers had all these children around and very little activity for them, so that we can use them in this manner, and they worked out very well during the summer with us.

Now, of course, they are in the center in the after-school program working with our infants.

Dr. COOKE. I think the only suggestion I would make on this legislation, Senator, would be that you would get rid of the word "pre-school" because I think there are older children in these poverty areas that need assistance very much. One of the greatest needs, and the group from Philadelphia alluded to it a little bit, is a program for the child who is inadequate in school, not because of mental deficiency but, as they pointed out, frequently because of severe reading disorders which are extraordinarily common, particularly in males, and probably run as high as 12 percent in males in this population. Those boys, when they are in school, fall behind because of these difficulties. They become behavior problems in the lower classes and pretty soon the school bounces them out. We have been studying the expelled child, for example, in Baltimore. There are a very large number of these children who are not in the school system any more because they have been expelled and we followed up with these.

About 85 to 90 percent end up in the Maryland State Training School, the reformatory for the State. One of the big needs is some kind of a program, for these boys. We have been actually working on this for about 2 years in an attempt to get support for a program that we call "father and son centers" that are going to work with these boys. I bring it up in regard to the employment opportunities for these young blacks, particularly in regard to those who have no job opportunities, have a good deal of physical ability, and can be trained as physical education workers and work with these boys in school settings where they cannot be expelled. Our own belief is that this can do a great deal to not only give employment and training as we are doing to the black women in the community, but, also, to these young black men who can become, I think, valuable parts of the school system. These younger children who have reading difficulties can go back into the school system if they can be kept out of trouble for a period of time.

After awhile, the reading disability is relatively less of a problem when they get into more operational kinds of things that don't depend quite as much on book learning.

There is a need for work with the older child, and particularly the older boy, and I think this is good job opportunity; so the one suggestion I have would be hopefully that there would be an opportunity to extend this to somewhat older children.

Dr. COOKE. Should I continue my testimony?

Senator MONDALE. If you would.

Dr. COOKE. Thank you, sir.

One of our psychologists has presented the following concept of how the development of intelligent behavior can be inhibited. It is a well-known observation that young children use language to present ideas to themselves, that they carry out conversations or dialog.

Dialog is essentially the presentation of a number of small problem-solving situations. A conversation is really an endless series of problems that are presented which must be solved.

In this process of dialog, each one of us solves a number of problems. The young child develops his problem-solving ability and problem-solving adaptability, which is what intelligent behavior really is, by carrying on these conversations which later become internalized. This is what we call abstract reasoning, which is essentially a silent language within the brain.

The great deficiency of these poor children, in our experience, has been the utter absence of dialog. They are told what to do. They are told to shut up. They are told things with no response and no encouragement of experimentations with language. Language, then, simply becomes noise.

I think this concept is extremely important if we are to avoid the development of school programs like those in France which begin at the age of three in public education.

That is a large experiment that has been going on in France for a number of years. Eighty percent of the children go essentially to Head-start in France, but it is organized in a way which I think is utterly destructive of these children.

Essentially, discipline is the order of the day, and the child is told things, words are drummed in, things are memorized, and the opportunity for discussion, for dialogue, which leads to intelligence, is not encouraged. This speaks equally well to the later school period when large classes are lectured at rather than opportunities given to develop this all-critical dialog which leads to practice in abstract reasoning. It is not surprising then that we see falling IQ's with age in this population.

What else can be carried out in the setting of a parent and child center? The opportunities are almost limitless. The director of our parent and child center, Mrs. Mary Robinson, may speak more about this in a few minutes.

Mrs. Robinson has engaged a group of lawyers, on a volunteer basis, who come to the assistance of our center's parents who may be taken advantage of by the community. Nutritional support is given the families. Volunteers from Morgan State College come to work with these families on practical buying, on meal planning, on how they can best use their money. An example of the self-improvement is that only a few weeks ago these parents, most of whom have less than a high school education, organized a benefit performance involving a considerable commitment of money with a realization of over \$1,500 in profit. How was this money to be used? It was to be used to extend the services to other children; to provide opportunities for self-improvement; to provide the opportunity for a talented young parent to develop skills in home design so that homes of the other parents might be improved to provide a more worthwhile environment for the child and for the parents themselves in this low-cost housing project.

I think I have probably benefited more than anyone else associated with this project in having the opportunity to see firsthand how accomplished people can be despite limitations in formal education. But it increases my concern that unless their children are given an early start, we will be trying again to lift up an adult generation which is

an enormously costly and difficult process. The great advantage of the parent and child center is that the lessons learned by the parents can be exported not only to other children in the family who may not be enrolled in the center directly, and to the subsequent children who may be born, but, also, to other families in the environment who try to emulate these people in their own child-rearing practices.

Dr. Susan Gray showed this some time ago in an interesting study in Nashville where actually there was a spinoff from the individuals in their early training program so that the whole environment improved despite the fact that the money just went into a certain part of the population.

I am sure it will be of interest to several members of the committee to learn that one of the major concerns that these people present for themselves—this was not imposed on them by outsiders—is the need for better family planning services. These people realize that every child has the right to be born well and that every effort should be taken to reduce the chances for handicap for their child and their future children, prenatally and postnatally.

In thinking about this presentation, I was impelled to consider what the impact of these activities that I have observed firsthand will have on the present generation of parents, the present generation of infants and children, and the generation yet to be born. This generation of parents is learning, in the parent and child centers, to be self-sufficient, productive members of society, with careers that extend beyond the narrow horizons of a housing project; with opportunities actively taken in community colleges, for high school degrees, and beyond; for careers in the medical care system, and in the educational system itself. They are learning the importance of a stable family, with a greater effort for involvement of the male as well as the female in this family rehabilitation effort. It is important to note that the fathers are becoming involved. It is essential that parallel programs be developed which are like the parent and child center, but which exploit the unique contributions of the fathers, so that adequate male models may exist for these young children.

Senator MONDALE. We keep hearing that that is so terribly important because so many of these families are without fathers. How important is the so-called male model? What do you do for a male model if the family doesn't have a father?

Dr. COOKE. Well, I think that the absence of a model is not as bad as having bad models. I think this is one of the problems that people don't realize. There are male models around. I don't think anyone can go through the ghetto areas without seeing a lot of male blacks, for example, in East Baltimore, who aren't employed, who hang around on the streets, who are anything but good models for these children. I think it is essential that we get programs that can allow many of these males, who I believe are just as accomplished as the women, to have an opportunity to show what they can do.

Most of the programs, Headstart, parent and child centers, as I indicated before, are naturally concerned with the mothers because even in upper economic levels and middle class most of the early part of life is heavily dependent upon the activities of the mothers.

We have been told, for example, we ought to have more fathers come in and help with the children who are 1, 1½ years old.

Well, that is not a very masculine activity in our society, and I think this would be as degrading to a lower income person as to a middle-income person, that their major responsibility is a baby care-taker, so I think we have to have activities for some of these men with the older children.

This doesn't mean that they can't be brought into the parent and child center as a middle-class parent would be in a nursery school. They would learn something about what the mother is doing, and how she can help the child, et cetera, et cetera; but the major responsibility for child care in this younger age group is the mother.

So I think it is very important again to have activities for the father.

Do you have anything to add?

Mrs. ROBINSON. No; just to emphasize that the fathers that we do have involved in the program are doing something. There are about 12 of them that we have in a group now that do things for the children in the center and the mothers are completely divorced from directly working with the child. Some of them have gone out to the cleaners and gathered clothes that have been left over and brought them to the center.

You know, they got together and gave about 40 baskets to mothers with very large families in the area—this kind of thing. This is the kind of thing that the males in our center are doing.

Dr. COOKE. The breadth of the legislation proposed should permit such innovations in this way, as well as the existing parent and child center approaches.

I have alluded to the benefits for the present generation of children. We have already seen, in our own parent and child center, enormous gains in language development of our young children. This has not come, I wish to emphasize, by formal speech therapy or by formal educational approaches; but, rather, by the provision of opportunities and encouragement for simple dialog, by the removal of serious inhibitions that have resulted from punishment for speaking. At times, it has taken weeks to break down the barrier between the child and mother so that language can be encouraged rather than discouraged.

We had one extremely bright child, as an example, who a number of my medical team felt suffered from aphasia. Aphasia is a brain defect which involves the areas of the brain concerned with speech. The child, despite being obviously an extremely bright young child of about 3, had no language at all, and they thought this was an aphasic. After weeks and weeks of working with this child in a very difficult family situation, this child began to use language. Now, if you visit the center, this child is talking just as well or more than any other child in the place. But it really took weeks to break down what had undoubtedly been built up as an extreme inhibition of speech in this particular child.

Do you want to speak about Kim?

Mrs. ROBINSON. Yes, Kim. It was amazing. It was just like a rose opening up. And the grandmother, who was relating to the child more than the 15-year-old daughter whose child it was, and we worked with both the grandmother and the child and tried to give them some examples of the kinds of things they need to do with this child, and after

about, oh, 5 or 6 weeks, the child began to talk and, of course in just words, and then she moved on to phrases and now this child is speaking in sentences and the child has only been in the center, I think, just about a year now and the child, of course, is free there but just the fact of a normal natural environment where you insist that the child feels free and you take time to talk with the child pointing out certain things that are valuable experiences for the child, has just helped the child and we found that there was absolutely nothing wrong with her.

Senator MONDALE. You are saying that if this child had not received this commonsense help she could very well have gone through the course of life with severe disability.

Dr. COOKE. I can tell you the cost of training an aphasic at the age of 12 is absolutely enormous. It would have ended up, I think, as a seriously neurologically damaged child, with speech therapy which is extraordinarily expensive. You end up with a child that is seriously handicapped even with the most expensive efforts, and I think this is just an extreme example of what we see in almost every one of these children. I think the reason I spend some of this time talking about abstract reasoning and where it comes from, is the same thing that has been so discouraging to many people working in early childhood development in the ghetto areas. That is the frustration to see these children go on in school later or follow their IQ's and see them fall with time. If anybody knows anything about IQ testing and when you test in the higher age levels, one is testing more and more abstract reasoning and abstract reasoning depends enormously in its development upon this internalized language.

You don't have to say anything, but when you solve problems you, basically, put silent sentences through your brain, and this is how you get practice in problem solving and how you get intelligent behavior or abstract reasoning.

If you inhibit this kind of thing a great deal, then the only thing one can expect is that as you get older your IQ will fall off.

That is exactly what I referred to earlier. Because you haven't had the kind of practice in internal thinking—because your whole use of language has been discouraged very markedly, this has a profound impact on the eventual performance of individuals.

Senator MONDALE. Do you find that mothers, once you point out to them that they shouldn't punish dialog or discussion, that most of them are responsive to that?

Mrs. ROBINSON. They are responsive, but I won't sit here and say to you that they have completely changed over. You can see that some of the practices that they had before are still carried on but when you find that maybe three-fourths of the time they are spending on the kinds of things that are being taught in the center or practiced, then that is a plus for us, it is a plus for the child and the family, and this is what is happening.

Dr. COOKE. It would be my expectation that these children would be far more exploratory, far more creative in abstract reasoning, and, therefore, exhibiting far more intelligent behavior as a result of this kind of intervention.

The nutritional and medical support of the child alone in this parent and child center will assure that these children will develop

physically to their fullest potential and that no physical disability will impair intellectual development. I would also expect these children to have a far different attitude toward violence than exists at the present time. By the development of self-control measures which do not involve violence and punishment, I would expect a far greater sensitivity to some of the control measures and discipline which exist in other parts of our society.

In no way, do I want to imply that we are attempting to make these children docile, but these are children that we hope will have impulse control, which is important in any ordered society whether it be one of poverty or one of affluence.

I would also expect that these children would exhibit far more striving in academic success than in the past because they have had successful experiences which have been rewarded with affection and because they have been encouraged to succeed.

The evidence is just overwhelming that motivation, striving, comes from having successful experience which is recognized and rewarding. I think this goes through animal work, it goes through all of human studies.

The benefits for future generations from such a comprehensive child-development program may be less obvious. I think the chances are excellent that factors, such as prematurity, which are destructive to the intellectual and physical development of the population, can best be prevented by intensive programs of nutrition and adequate health care, long before the individual is even in the child-rearing period. By the provision of adequate health and nutritional care at the present time, these children should become parents of a far healthier generation than the present poor child who so frequently is born with handicaps that are, at times, irreversible.

In a study of the prematurity of infants, for example, of the causes of prematurity which, as you know, are associated with a very high frequency of various kinds of handicaps, mental handicaps particularly, the evidence is overwhelming that the best correlation with high prematurity rates is poor nutrition before the childbearing period—before the childbearing period—so that what is done for the children now I believe will have very serious, very important implications for prematurity rates in the poor black child in the future.

As you know, prematurity rates run as high as 15, 16, 17 percent in poor black populations and will run 4 percent or so in middle-class whites, and the evidence is best that this is the result of nutritional practices, nutritional development, before the childbearing period, which means some time before the age of 15, probably, so I think you are going to get a payoff from these things that are much greater than what you would expect.

I am sure that some of you—and certainly rightfully so—will question whether or not this is another burst of enthusiasm from ivory tower planners who do not deal with the day-to-day problems and realities of life and economics. I am sure doubters will say that the Westinghouse Learning Corp. study shows the lack of value of these Headstart programs; that the people are in some way inferior because of genes or race; that there will always be the poor.

To me, the Westinghouse study, as I testified before a committee of the House hometime ago, could not have come out in any other way. The design could not reflect a great difference after a period of years because what was measured was, essentially, achievement, not potential, not capacity. Children exiting from the second grade are expected to have certain achievement levels, and what they enter with is not taken into account in terms of the planning of how far that individual can go. By the measurement of achievement levels, almost everyone leaving the second grade, achieves approximately the same, regardless of how he starts. But the opportunity for limit testing should have been provided to see how far the Headstart children could have gone; how many could have entered the second grade rather than the first, for example, in comparison with children without that experience. This is the type of test which, unfortunately, was not done.

Senator MONDALE. One of the things that always strikes me about Westinghouse type studies is that their results so often conflict with the judgment of people experienced in the program. I have rarely talked to educators or Headstart teachers or parents of children in Headstart who weren't delighted. They think it is working, they think it is helpful. The child is doing better. But then these studies come up and say, "We don't see any progress."

I was up in a remote village of Alaska with Athabaskan Indians, the principal of the school said that the kids were working their way up through the school now. He said that the children in the first and second and third grades, who had Headstart training, were all doing impressively better than the children that they had before because they had this preschool language help, emotional help, and the rest. Wherever you go you get the same reaction except from reports like Westinghouse. It always surprises me that almost everybody connected with Headstart are all excited about it. But the professionals, come in with these discouraging reports. Of course, you know in town today the big story is nothing works, nothing works.

Mrs. ROBINSON. I just want to point up an experience that I had with 2 years of Headstart and I went to visit some of my Headstart children in the public schools and you would not have known they were the same children. They were stifled. Some of the experiences that they had in Headstart they were being given over again at the same level. I think that experiences can be increased in terms of some kind of increased sequence. I am trying to say. You can have the same experience but give it to them in a greater degree, and these children were having the same things that they had in Headstart on the same level which meant that they were not being challenged in terms of what they had had previously.

Dr. COOKE. This is what I mean by limit testing. You have achievements. For example, everybody that leaves the first grade ought to know how to tie his shoes. The fact that you enter the first grade knowing how to tie your shoes doesn't count when you are measuring achievement level, and so if you take all the kids that went to Headstart and all the kids that didn't, my guess would be they all would know how to tie their shoes at the end of the first grade. In that sense, they have the same achievement level, but this has absolutely nothing

to do with what the capability of that child may be when he graduates from the second grade. Unless one can take that approach—and that is why I say the way the Westinghouse study was planned it could not have come out any other way, that is, that there are not very big differences at 3 years.

If one actually takes that report, Senator, however, and dissects it carefully, and, unfortunately, the people that publicized the report, I think, had other motives in mind, you find many, many examples of statistically significant differences even after the third grade in performances in children who were really deficient when they went into the Headstart programs. This has been hidden away from the public a good deal.

In other words, if you take a look at the detailed analysis, you see that the Westinghouse summary indicates that for children in general at the end of the third grade, there were certain performances that couldn't be distinguished. If you look at children from, let's say, the very severely impoverished group, from the big urban centers, you see significant differences persisting in the third grade and these are, unfortunately, are never referred to.

I think Mary is right that the school system in its approaches at times can stifle development of a child who has some potential.

We see, for example, in Baltimore City, children come out of Headstart where there are two or three adults for each 15 children and they go into a class where there is one adult for 35 children. What can that one adult do but tell them, and again there is no dialog, there is no chance for development of intellect.

The financial commitment which this legislation makes may seem large. I have no exact figures on the cost of the many special education programs throughout the United States which are, to a large extent, directed at this population. I have no idea of the exact cost of the destructive effects of riots and violence; but, my guess would be that these are several times the cost of the programs presented here. When one considers that the cost of care of the mentally retarded alone, the majority of whom come from this low-income population, is close to \$1 billion a year, it is not difficult to justify these significant expenditures. If one adds to this the cost of preventable disease in the health area, the expenditures again seem very economical.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize certain strong features of this legislation which can only be appreciated from practical efforts to initiate such comprehensive care activities. The provision of funds for physical plant development is extremely important. One of the limitations to the early deployment of Headstart as a year-round program was the absence of physical facilities to carry this out, whereas, the summer programs could take advantage of the empty schools. We have struggled for the last 3½ years to raise funds with, essentially, very little Federal support for a comprehensive care center for this kind of social rehabilitation effort. Finally, through private foundations, we have been able to do this; but, without the prestige of Johns Hopkins this would have been extremely difficult. I am sure that many other places, equally deserving, will be unable to provide this kind of care without Federal support.

Finally, and again, the training support is critical. There are manpower shortages; there are needs for trainers and trainees. In the training area alone, I can substantiate the fact that there is far more student interest. My own belief is that opportunities for

participation in centers like the parent and child center will provide this sort of social relevance—the kind of social involvement which students, both ultra-liberal and more conservative, are demanding in their university experiences. The outlet for our own medical students in these kinds of activities is extremely important in the development of a generation of educated people who are concerned with the poor and exhibit this concern by constructive action. To me, this represents the most important effort: to constructively guide the social revolution which has begun, to a necessary compromise. It means an upgrading of the poor in our society and an increasing awareness in the well-to-do, for the economic benefits, as well as the social benefits, of concern and participation. This legislation, to my mind, reaches out for the benefit of all citizens, rich and poor, and it is a privilege to support it.

I thank you again for the privilege of testifying before your committee.

(The addendum referred to follows:)

ADDENDUM

To: Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.

From: Dr. Robert Cooke, Chairman, Planning Committee, Project Headstart.

Subject: Improving the opportunities and achievements of the children of the poor.

Several weeks ago you asked me to assemble a panel of experts to consider the kinds of programs which might be most effective in increasing achievement and opportunities for the children of the poor. Our panel has held a number of meetings and through its members has consulted with numerous other experts in search of ideas and programs. The attached report, which has the endorsement of all committee members, represents our best judgment on the ways in which the Office of Economic Opportunity might most effectively support programs for children.

I believe several points deserve particular emphasis in your consideration of this report:

1. The overriding goal of each program should be to create an environment in which every child has the maximum opportunity and support in developing his full potential.

2. Programs must be comprehensive in nature in order to achieve maximum effectiveness. This requires extensive activities in the fields of health, social services and education.

3. Careful attention must be given both to the evaluation of the child's abilities and deficiencies and to the correction of deficiencies and strengthening of abilities.

4. Programs should focus on the parent as well as the child.

5. There should be support for a variety of programs tailored to fit local community conditions. OEO should specifically encourage innovative and experimental ideas. There should, of course, be adequate evaluation and research to accompany these programs.

6. These programs can and should be initiated very quickly. There already exists adequate understanding of the problems and processes involved to permit an immediate and massive intervention in the poverty cycle.

The panel is enthusiastic about prospects for extensive OEO support of these programs. It stands ready to work with you and your organization in the implementation of these proposals.

IMPROVING THE OPPORTUNITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR*

1. There is considerable evidence that the early years of childhood are the most critical point in the poverty cycle. During these years the creation of learning patterns, emotional development and the formation of individual expectations

*Report prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity by a panel of authorities on child development.

and aspirations take place at a very rapid pace. For the child of poverty there are clearly observable deficiencies in the processes which lay the foundation for a pattern of failure—and thus a pattern of poverty—throughout the child's entire life.

2. Within recent years there has been experimentation and research designed to improve opportunities for the child of poverty. While much of this work is not yet complete there is adequate evidence to support the view that special programs can be devised for these four and five year olds which will improve both the child's opportunities and achievements.

It is clear that successful programs of this type must be comprehensive, involving activities generally associated with the fields of health, social services, and education. Similarly it is clear that the program must focus on the problems of child and parent and that these activities need to be carefully integrated with programs for the school years. During the early stages of any programs assisted by the Office of Economic Opportunity, it would be preferable to encourage comprehensive programs for fewer children than to attempt to reach vast numbers of children with limited programs. The Office of Economic Opportunity should generally avoid financing programs which do not have at least a minimum level and quality of activities from each of the three fields of effort.

4. The need for and urgency of these programs is such that they should be initiated immediately. Many programs could begin in the summer of 1965. These would help provide a more complete picture of national needs for use in future planning.

5. The objectives of a comprehensive program should include :

A. Improving the child's physical health and physical abilities.

B. Helping the emotional and social development of the child by encouraging self-confidence, spontaneity, curiosity, and self-discipline.

C. Improving the child's mental processes and skills with particular attention to conceptual and verbal skills.

D. Establishing patterns and expectations of success for the child which will create a climate of confidence for his future learning efforts.

E. Increasing the child's capacity to relate positively to family members and others while at the same time strengthening the family's ability to relate positively to the child and his problems.

F. Developing in the child and his family a responsible attitude toward society, and fostering constructive opportunities for society to work together with the poor in solving their problems.

G. Increasing the sense of dignity and self-worth within the child and his family.

6. The comprehensive program should be tailored to the needs of the individual community and the individual child. It should embrace activities designed both to evaluate the child's problems and to provide remedial and developmental services.

A. Evaluation of the child.—Many of these children have been totally neglected in terms of health evaluation and services since infancy. The listing below indicates highly desirable evaluation elements, but inclusion of particular elements should generally be at the option of the community. The Office of Economic Opportunity should request some common types of data as a result of evaluations for the purpose of assessing general problems among the poor.

(1) Medical assessment: Pediatric and neurologic physical measurements, assessment of nutrition, vision, hearing and speech, and selected tests for TB, anemia and kidney disease.

(2) Dental examination.

(3) Screening for special problems and special strengths in intellectual functioning, social and emotional development and family organization so that programs may be designed and adapted to the needs of the individual child.

It is anticipated that both professional and non-professional personnel can be mobilized to assist in the carrying out of evaluations.

B. Remedial and Developmental Health Programs should be designed to—

(1) include immunization for polio, diphtheria, tetanus, measles, and smallpox whenever necessary.

(2) correct disorders through the use of existing health facilities in the medical, psychiatric, psychological, and dental fields. Assist the provision of required appliances such as eyeglasses and hearing aids.

(3) establish continuity of health services to meet the child's needs.

(4) develop family awareness of community health resources and the need for their use.

(5) establish sound nutritional practices by providing food to program participants as well as educating families in the selection and preparation of foods in the home.

(6) transmit pertinent health information to school systems.

C. Social service programs should be designed so as to—

(1) identify social service needs of children and their parents including such physical items as housing, clothing and food as well as emotional needs that must be met to help children and families get involved in and make appropriate use of these programs.

(2) make known existing social service resources and encourage families to make use of them.

(3) provide at least a minimum of individual and group counseling and advisory services for children and adults where these are not available.

(4) insure that services are available on a continuing basis so that individuals and families can continue to get help as needed.

D. It should be recognized that children of the poor do not represent a homogenous group. Rather these children differ greatly in the diverse patterns of strengths and weaknesses which characterize their behavior. In general, however, they have not had the kinds of experiences and opportunities which are available to more economically advantaged families. Consequently many of these children enter school disadvantaged in their ability to utilize the typical school setting. In order to overcome the disadvantages from which any child may suffer, it is important to identify the child's special needs. Individual children may have needs which can be dealt with in these programs such as—

(1) more adequate and varied world experiences in order to develop conceptual and language competence.

(2) far more life experiences of success to supplant the frequent unsatisfying and unrewarding patterns of failure or the avoidance of failure.

(3) far more positive experiences with authority figures such as policemen, teachers, health and welfare workers.

(4) a daily living environment which will help them to develop a positive concept of self and to reduce the strong feeling of alienation from groups other than their own.

(5) a consistent warm relationship with people in many areas of their lives.

(6) opportunity to identify with preadolescent and adolescent "models" as well as adult "models."

Based on these needs it is clear that programs should be designed so as to—

(1) provide for activities to be carried out in small groups (e.g. four or five children) and, as seems desirable, on an individual basis.

(2) provide a flexible schedule and program oriented to the needs of the individual child.

(3) maximize the opportunities for the child to *succeed* in what he is doing.

(4) utilize all available techniques and devices to increase the child's knowledge of self and encourage general exploration and manipulation of the environment. Develop such imaginative techniques as role playing, doll play, puppetry and dramatic activities. Use both common materials such as sand, water and wood and devices such as records, tapes and films to carry out the program.

(5) provide maximum variety of and opportunities for communication with special emphasis on conversation to strengthen verbal skills.

(6) encourage the use of selected volunteers as aides and assistants in certain activities. These volunteers could be as young as ten years old and should include teenagers and college students as well as adults. There should be persons from circumstances similar to the child's, as well as from differing socio-economic, racial and ethnic groups. Volunteers should find participation a wholesome outlet for realizing their social and ethical values.

(7) introduce a variety of adult figures of different races and socio-economic groups, including authority figures, so that the children can learn to understand and appreciate the variety of roles in our society.

(8) provide maximum flexibility in time scheduling so as to adapt to the circumstances of individual children and parents. Thus, some programs may

be part-day, part-week; others full day, full week. Some may concentrate activities in morning or afternoon; others disperse them throughout the day; some may use evening periods for more parent participation.

(9) acquaint the child with aspects of the world of work and play such as parks, zoos, libraries, stores, farms, and factories.

Parents should be involved both for their own and their children's benefit. Many of them have deep feelings of love and aspiration for their children which can be capitalized upon in this program. These parents—

- have many of the same feelings and attitudes as their children
- need individualized attention
- need success experiences along with their children

Parent participation programs should be designed so as to—

(1) assist in planning the program of the center; its hours, location, program, etc.

(2) help in acquainting the neighborhood with the services for children offered by the center.

(3) deepen understanding on the part of the center's professional staff of the life of the neighborhood.

(4) participate in the parent education program of the center which should, in part, help parents deal with general and specific problems of child-rearing and home-making.

(5) provide supervision for other children of parents who are assisting in the center or are visiting the center as part of a parent education program.

(6) fill many of the non-professional, sub-professional, and semi-professional roles necessary for accomplishing the above purposes and for the general conduct of the program such as

- (a) teacher aides for
 - 1. liaison with parents
 - 2. escorting children to and from the center
 - 3. conducting small groups of three to five children on trips
 - 4. adding specialized skills like singing, playing musical instruments, painting
 - 5. general assistance
- (b) constructing and repairing equipment, toys, etc.
- (c) maintenance
- (d) cooking and serving food

7. There are a number of substantial logistical problems which will have to be met rapidly:

A. Space must be provided which can meet standards of health and safety. Schools, churches, community rooms and settlement houses offer possibilities.

B. Equipment, including furniture, toys, play equipment, learning devices, and books are essential to successful programs. There is a need for the development of new types of materials adapted to the special needs of these children. Similarly there is a real need to find ways of reducing the cost of materials from their present high levels.

Complementing local programs should be a national program of research and development for the continuing development of an appropriate, well-planned educational program that involves and stimulates children with real things. An effort must be made to attach first-rate people to the initial effort of developing new materials for these programs. Research and development groups could use child development centers as laboratories for a continuing study and production of new materials for pre-school teaching.

C. Personnel recruitment and training represents perhaps the most difficult logistical need. The numbers of health, social services, and educational personnel trained to work with young children are relatively small. The numbers trained to work with *disadvantaged* young children are only a fraction of the total. It is apparent, therefore, that heavy reliance must be placed on specially designed training programs which can be developed and implemented by early summer. Additional programs should be developed for subsequent training. Consultant supervision should be used to further training on the job. These programs should be individually adapted to the needs of—

- professional personnel
- volunteers
- paid neighborhood personnel

D. Many communities do not have the technical competence necessary to develop programs. The Office of Economic Opportunity should—
 arrange for the publication of informational materials
 arrange for universities, medical centers, or other qualified organizations to provide assistance to communities which need help

Special efforts should be made to reach out to communities which have traditionally shown the least capacity to create programs and where the need is often great.

E. Research and evaluation should be a key part of both local and national efforts. The Office of Economic Opportunity should arrange for independent assessment of local programs for purposes of identifying successful techniques and programs. Such information should be widely and quickly disseminated to help other local communities improve their programs.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Dr. Cooke.

Mrs. Robinson, do you have anything to add?

Mrs. ROBINSON. No.

Senator MONDALE. First of all, let me say how much I appreciate your willingness to come again and testify. I am terribly impressed by the work that is going on in Baltimore, particularly your role in the development of Headstart program, and your continuing effort to try to make visible to the American public both the problem and the potential of this kind of meaningful intervention in the earlier years of life of those who suffer such deprivation. I think it is fair to say that most of the people who involve themselves in this field in a sophisticated way agree with most everything you have said, that children if assisted in this balanced and total way in the early years of life they can achieve impressively, can learn, can develop, and that if this kind of assistance is made available there is no reason why we can't over the next generation or two remove this blight of poverty from American life.

I think that is a fair conclusion that is pretty well agreed to by those who have been active in this field in the United States and foreign countries.

Yet it doesn't seem that these findings and the work that you have done all these years has made much of an impression. The excitement of the early Headstart period has now seemed to become stalled. We are having an awful fight just to keep funding at a level that will just maintain the status quo.

The President proposed only a \$2.3 million of increase for Headstart—an increase of less than 1 percent over last year's funding. With inflation, that is probably a cut of something like \$15 to \$20 million in the program. So we are actually slipping back. Our rhetoric is improving while the substance is deteriorating.

What can we do? This is a political question. What can we do to generate the kind of public understanding which might help us to get the kind of support we need for a national effective early childhood program of the kind you have in Baltimore?

Dr. COOKE. Well, that is a tough question.

Senator MONDALE. If you can answer it, this will be a very worth while hearing.

Dr. COOKE. Yes, then there wouldn't be any problems. I hate to give a political answer, but that is the only obvious one I know. I think that the present administration is preoccupied with the present. It is an paradoxical that an administration which has supposedly been sup-

ported by business has not used reasonable business approaches to commit sizable resources to development rather than preoccupation with the present. No modern business could survive with such management practices.

I was involved with some of the early planning of the Office of Child Development. I was impressed in February with statements about the new thrust of the administration in early childhood development. As a professional, I can tell you that this is extremely discouraging to see nothing more than token action—cutbacks rather than increases. We were told that parent child centers were to be increased by, I think, some \$10 million and that \$10 million has been withheld even though it already had been authorized and appropriated.

I do not see where there is very much evidence that there is real commitment. Unfortunately, the leadtime is a long one in child development, and every day one waits, the tougher the problem is going to be.

So I think it is really just plain poor business as I see the problem.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your most useful contribution.

At this point I order printed all pertinent material submitted for the record:

(The information referred to follows:)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 19, 1970

MR. PROUTY (for himself, MR. DOMINICK, MR. HATFIELD, MR. MURPHY, and MR. PERCY) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To provide a consolidated, comprehensive child development program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Comprehensive Head-
4 start Child Development Act of 1970".

5 STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

6 SEC. 2. The Congress recognizes the national need for
7 child development programs for millions of children of
8 working mothers and the importance of providing child
9 development services essential to the healthy physical, social,

1 emotional, and cognitive development of children who would
2 not otherwise receive them. Congress further recognizes the
3 need to gain a better understanding of the child development
4 process and to develop effective programs which enhance
5 this process. Finally, Congress notes the capacity of private
6 enterprise to assume a significant part of the burden of
7 providing high quality programs for young children. It is
8 the purpose of this Act to assure sound development of all
9 children during the first five years of life and to provide
10 comprehensive early childhood development programs suited
11 to meet the needs of children of working mothers and chil-
12 dren younger than compulsory school attendance age; it is
13 further the purpose of this Act to enhance the economic self-
14 sufficiency of families by making child development services
15 available for children of employed parents and parents who
16 are not but who want to become employed; and to make
17 Federal assistance in providing these services more effective
18 and to use available resources more efficiently.

19 TITLE I—COMPREHENSIVE HEADSTART CHILD
20 DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

21 DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

22 SEC. 101. It is the purpose of this title to authorize
23 Federal grants to States to assist them to maintain, extend,
24 and improve existing child development programs; to de-
25 velop new child development programs; to achieve maximum

1 benefit from existing and new funds for the purpose of child
2 development through better utilization of resources, planning,
3 and coordination among programs; and to provide such
4 educational, health, nutritional, and social services as a part
5 of child development programs as may be required to enable
6 every child to attain his full potential.

7 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

8 SEC. 102. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated
9 \$500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972,
10 \$600,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and
11 \$750,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and
12 each succeeding fiscal year, for the purpose of providing
13 assistance under this title.

14 (b) There are also authorized to be appropriated \$10,-
15 000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for
16 each succeeding fiscal year, for the purposes of making
17 grants to State commissions.

18 ALLOTMENTS AMONG STATES

19 SEC. 103. (a) Sums appropriated under subsection (a)
20 of section 102 and sums appropriated under subsection (b)
21 of section 102 shall, subject to the provisions of subsections
22 (d) and (e), each be allotted as follows:

23 (1) First, the Secretary shall reserve from each
24 such appropriation such amount as he may determine,
25 but not in excess of 3 per centum thereof, and shall allot

1 such amount among Puerto Rico, Guam, American
2 Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of
3 the Pacific Islands, according to their respective needs
4 for assistance.

5 (2) The Secretary shall allot 30 per centum of the
6 remainder of each such appropriation among the States
7 so that the amount allotted to each State bears the same
8 ratio to such 30 per centum as the number of families
9 having an annual income of less than \$3,600 in the
10 State bears to the number of such families in all the
11 States.

12 (3) The Secretary shall allot 30 per centum of
13 the remainder of each such appropriation among the
14 States so that the amount allotted to each State bears
15 the same ratio to such 30 per centum as the number
16 of children with mothers who are regularly employed
17 outside home in the State as reported by the Depart-
18 ment of Labor bears to the total number of such children
19 in all the States.

20 (4) The Secretary shall allot 40 per centum of
21 the remainder of each such appropriation among the
22 States so that the amount allotted to each State bears
23 the same ratio to such 40 per centum as the number
24 of children younger than age six in the State bears to
25 the number of such children in all the States.

1 (b) The number of children younger than age six, the
2 number of children younger than age fourteen with mothers
3 who are regularly employed outside the home, and the num-
4 ber of families having an annual income of less than \$3,600,
5 in a State and in all the States, shall be determined by the
6 Secretary on the basis of the most recent satisfactory data
7 available to him.

8 (c) For purposes of subsection (a), the term "State"
9 does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the
10 Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

11 (d) If the allotment to any State under subsection (a)
12 for any fiscal year from the amount appropriated under sec-
13 tion 102 (a) is less than the aggregate amount received by
14 it, and by public and private agencies in the State, during
15 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, under the Economic
16 Opportunity Act of 1964 (other than section 221 thereof),
17 title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of
18 1965, and title IV of the Social Security Act for purposes for
19 which assistance may be provided under this title (as deter-
20 mined by the Secretary), then the amount so allotted to it
21 shall be increased to an amount equal to such aggregate
22 amount, and the allotment to each State whose allotment
23 is not increased shall be reduced pro rata (but not below
24 such aggregate amount for such State) in the amount neces-
25 sary to permit the making of such increases.

1 (e) No State shall receive an amount less than \$50,000
2 of the funds authorized under section 102 (b).

3 (f) Not later than March 31 of each year, the Secretary
4 shall reallocate such funds among the States as he estimates will
5 not be required by a State under the existing allotment.

6 (g) The Director (Office of Economic Opportunity)
7 may modify the allotment formula under title II-A of the
8 Economic Opportunity Act to the extent made necessary by
9 the fact that Headstart funds will no longer be a part of each
10 State's allotment.

11 AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE

12 SEC. 104. From the sums appropriated under section
13 102 (a), the Secretary shall provide assistance for child de-
14 velopment programs approved by State commissions pur-
15 suant to State plans approved by him under section 106.

16 ELIGIBLE CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

17 SEC. 105. Assistance under this title may be provided
18 for programs for—

19 (1) planning and developing child development
20 programs, including carrying on of pilot programs to
21 test the effectiveness of plans which have been de-
22 veloped,

23 (2) the establishment, maintenance, and opera-
24 tion (including the acquisition through lease, rental, re-
25 modeling, renovation, or construction of necessary facili-

1 ties and the acquisition of necessary equipment and sup-
2 plies) of child development programs, including both
3 Headstart programs and day care programs for children
4 younger than age 14 to be carried on in group centers,
5 family day-care homes, or in children's homes, or
6 through other arrangements, and which may include
7 activities such as—

8 (A) comprehensive health, social, emotional,
9 and cognitive development programs for children
10 needing such assistance in order to profit fully from
11 their educational opportunities and to attain their
12 maximum potential;

13 (B) food and nutritional services, including
14 family consultation to improve nutrition in the home
15 environment;

16 (C) specialized social services designed to
17 improve the home environments of children and to
18 involve the parents in the child's development;

19 (D) a program of daily activities designed to
20 develop fully each child's potential;

21 (E) other specially designed health, social, and
22 educational programs for these children (including
23 after school, summer, weekend, vacation, and over-
24 night programs) which meet the purposes of this
25 Act;

1 (F) direct parent participation in the develop-
2 ment, conduct, and overall program direction as
3 well as participation in activities designed to assist
4 parents in meeting their family responsibilities;

5 (G) participation in program operation, where
6 feasible, by paid para-professional aides and by un-
7 paid volunteers, persons preparing for employment
8 in child development programs, older Americans,
9 and high school students and older children, pro-
10 vided that such participation be under the full
11 supervision of professional staff personnel; and

12 (H) identification of physical, mental, and
13 emotional handicaps, referral of children with such
14 handicaps for appropriate treatment, and incorpora-
15 tion within the program of daily activities of any
16 special activities designed to ameliorate such handi-
17 caps, provided that separate programs are not or-
18 ganized solely for handicapped children; and

19 (3) the establishment, maintenance, and operation
20 of programs to teach the fundamentals of child develop-
21 ment to economically deprived adolescent girls and eco-
22 nomically deprived expectant mothers (including the
23 lease or rental of necessary facilities and renovation or
24 alteration of such facilities where necessary, and the
25 acquisition of necessary equipment and supplies for such
26 programs).

1 STATE COMMISSIONS AND STATE PLANS

2 SEC. 106. (a) Any State which wishes to participate in
3 the program of assistance provided for in this title shall
4 create for that purpose a State commission, and submit to the
5 Secretary through the State commission a State plan for such
6 participation. The membership of the State commission shall
7 be broadly representative of the public and private educa-
8 tion, health, and child welfare agencies, including the State
9 educational and welfare agency, community action agencies
10 established under title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
11 1964, and organizations or persons interested in the commit-
12 tees established under section 522 (d) of such Act. In addi-
13 tion, not less than one-third of the membership shall consist
14 of parents appointed from time to time (but not more often
15 than annually) from among nominees selected in accordance
16 with democratic selection procedures adequate to assure that
17 they are parents of children who will be served by programs
18 assisted under this title. For the purposes of the initial
19 creation of a State commission, such parent representatives
20 may, in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, be
21 chosen from nominees selected by parents of children served
22 under the Project Headstart program, title IV of the Social
23 Security Act, or serving on a committee established under
24 section 522 (d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
25 (if any).

1 (b) The Secretary shall approve a State plan which—

2 (1) provides that it will be administered by or
3 under the direction of the State commission, and that
4 such commission will, through the selection of programs
5 for approval, effectively implement the State program
6 required by paragraph (2),

7 (2) sets forth a comprehensive State program for
8 providing child development services in a manner
9 which—

10 (A) will recognize the relative needs of urban
11 and rural areas in the State, and will insure that
12 no area in the State which has high concentrations
13 of economically disadvantaged children will receive
14 less assistance for programs for such children than
15 such area received for preschool and day care pro-
16 grams in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971,
17 under the Project Headstart program, title I of the
18 Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965,
19 and programs assisted under title IV of the Social
20 Security Act,

21 (B) will give the greatest emphasis to pro-
22 grams to provide child development services to
23 economically disadvantaged young children, give
24 special emphasis to programs to provide child de-
25 velopment services for children younger than age

1 fourteen who are in need of day care, give emphasis
2 to programs to educate economically disadvantaged
3 adolescent girls and economically disadvantaged ex-
4 pectant mothers in the rudiments of sound child
5 development practices so that they can provide
6 healthful environments and care for their children,
7 and consider programs to give child development
8 services to other young children,

9 (C) provides, subject to subparagraph (B),
10 for assigning priorities among programs according
11 to objective standards and methods which will as-
12 sure that the highest priority is given to programs
13 in areas having the highest concentrations of eco-
14 nomically deprived young children and of children
15 in need of day-care, except that this subparagraph
16 and subparagraph (B) may be disregarded to the
17 extent necessary to assure that Project Headstart
18 programs, preschool and day care programs assisted
19 under title I of the Elementary and Secondary
20 Education Act of 1965, and programs under title
21 IV of the Social Security Act which were assisted
22 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, may
23 continue to receive assistance under this title for
24 two years after the date of enactment of this Act,
25 (3) provides that, in the case of programs which

1 include the construction of facilities (A) such a pro-
2 gram will be approved only upon a showing that con-
3 struction of such facilities will be more economically ad-
4 vantageous to the government than the rental, reno-
5 vation, remodeling, or lease of facilities, and that a
6 variety of building designs and techniques utilizing both
7 new and conventional technologies have been considered
8 in an attempt to provide the most economical and use-
9 ful facility possible for the intended purposes, (B) the
10 Federal assistance may be in the form of grants or loans
11 and total Federal funds to be paid will not exceed 50
12 per centum cost of the construction cost, and repayment
13 of loans shall, to the extent required by the Secretary,
14 be returned to the Treasury or used for additional loans
15 or grants under this Act, and (C) not more than 15 per
16 centum of the State's allotment from funds appropriated
17 under section 102 (a) for a fiscal year shall be used for
18 construction of facilities, and not more than 2 per centum
19 thereof shall be used for grants for construction,

20 (4) provides that, insofar as feasible, programs will
21 be approved only if there is participation of children
22 from both advantaged and disadvantaged homes, and
23 the priority of programs shall not be affected by the
24 participation of advantaged children in programs in-
25 tended primarily for the benefit of the disadvantaged,

1 (5) provides an opportunity for a hearing for every
2 applicant which has submitted a program before the
3 State commission makes a final determination adversely
4 affecting it, and further provides for an appeal to the
5 Secretary when an organization or individual asserts a
6 failure to comply with a Federal law or regulation. The
7 Secretary may direct the State commission to reserve
8 funds pending the completion of an appeal and may di-
9 rect the State commission to reverse or revise its action
10 if he finds there has been a violation of Federal law or
11 regulation.

12 (6) provides that children in an area served by a
13 program carried out by a local educational agency will in
14 no case be denied the benefits of the program because of
15 their attendance in nonpublic preschool programs or
16 because of the intention of their parents to enroll them in
17 nonpublic schools when they attain school age,

18 (7) provides that, equal consideration will be given
19 to applications submitted by public, private, nonprofit
20 (including parent-owned or parent-managed) and profit-
21 making organizations and (a) that alternative costs of
22 providing services shall be a major factor in choosing
23 among applicants and (b) such organizations must meet
24 the standards for service under authority of this title.

25 (8) provides assurances satisfactory to the Secre-

1 tary that the non-Federal share requirements will be
2 met and sets forth the criteria to be used in fixing the
3 Federal share in programs to which section 108 (b)
4 applies,

5 (9) provides for such fiscal control and fund ac-
6 counting procedures as may be necessary to assure
7 proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds
8 paid to the State commission from sums appropriated
9 under section 102 (b),

10 (10) provides for making such evaluations, assess-
11 ments, and reports in such form and containing such in-
12 formation as may be reasonably necessary to enable the
13 Secretary to perform his functions and enable the Con-
14 gress to ascertain the effectiveness of this title,

15 (11) assures adequate linkage, coordination, and
16 continuity between preschool and elementary school pro-
17 grams,

18 (12) provides that an application for assistance will
19 be approved only if—

20 (A) the program meets the requirements of
21 section 105,

22 (B) sufficient trained personnel will be avail-
23 able to assure attention to the needs of each child
24 who is participating,

25 (C) no person will be denied employment in

1 the program solely on the ground that he fails to
2 meet State certification standards,

3 (D) the program will provide adequately for
4 the physical, social, emotional, and cognitive de-
5 velopment of the children who are participating,

6 (E) the applicant meets the day care require-
7 ments developed under this Act.

8 (13) provides for the collection of fees to cover the
9 costs of services in whole or in part, to the extent that
10 parents are able to pay such fees,

11 (14) provides equal consideration for the needs of
12 migrant, Indian, or bilingual children present in the
13 State.

14 (c) The Secretary shall not finally disapprove any
15 State plan submitted under this title, or any modification
16 thereof, without first affording the State commission submit-
17 ting the plan reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

18 (d) Whenever the Secretary, after reasonable notice
19 and opportunity for hearing to the State commission admin-
20 istering a State plan approved under subsection (b), finds
21 that—

22 (1) the State plan has been so changed that it no
23 longer complies with the provisions of such subsection,
24 or

1 may modify his previous action, and shall certify to the
2 court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or
3 modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if sup-
4 ported by substantial evidence.

5 (c) The court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action
6 of the Secretary or to set it aside, in whole or in part.
7 The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the
8 Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certi-
9 fication as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States
10 Code.

11 MATCHING REQUIREMENTS

12 SEC. 108. (a) Not more than 80 per centum of the cost
13 of providing services for economically deprived children
14 or adolescents or expectant mothers under this title may be
15 paid from Federal funds.

16 (b) The percentage of the cost of providing services for
17 children other than economically deprived children or adoles-
18 cents or expectant mothers under this title which is paid from
19 Federal funds shall be determined under the State plan, but
20 in no event shall more than 80 per centum of the cost of such
21 be paid from Federal funds.

22 (c) The non-Federal share of the costs of programs
23 assisted under this Act may be provided through public or

1 private funds and may be in the form of cash, goods, serv-
2 ices, or facilities reasonably evaluated, fees collected from
3 parents, or from union or employer contributions.

4 (d) If in any fiscal year, a program in a State provides
5 non-Federal contributions exceeding its requirements under
6 this section, such excess may be used to meet the require-
7 ments for such contributions of other programs in the same
8 State for the same fiscal year.

9 **APPLICATIONS**

10 SEC. 109. (a) Assistance under this Act shall be pro-
11 vided on the basis of applications submitted to the State
12 commission and approved by it under the State plan and
13 also approved by the Secretary.

14 (b) An application under this title may be made by
15 any public or private profit or nonprofit agency, or by any
16 labor union or employer of fifteen or more working mothers
17 of young children.

18 (c) The Secretary shall approve an application sub-
19 mitted by a State commission if it has been approved by the
20 State commission and if the funds available in the State's
21 allotment from funds appropriated under section 102 (a) are
22 sufficient to cover the costs of the program, unless specifically
23 disapproved by the Secretary for noncompliance with other
24 Federal laws or regulations.

PAYMENTS

1
2 SEC. 110. (a) The Secretary shall pay from the ap-
3 plicable State allotment the Federal share of the cost of
4 programs which he has approved. Such payments may be
5 made in installments, and in advance or by way of reim-
6 bursement, with necessary adjustments on account of over-
7 payments or underpayments.

8 (b) From each State's allotment under section 102 (b),
9 the Secretary may make grants of up to 100 per centum
10 of costs to State commissions to enable them to develop
11 and administer State plans.

12 (c) The Secretary shall make technical assistance avail-
13 able on a continuing basis to assist States to develop and
14 carry out State plans under this Act.

CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

16 SEC. 111. (a) If within ten years after completion of
17 any construction for which Federal funds have been paid
18 under this title the facility shall cease to be used for the pur-
19 poses for which it was constructed, unless the Commissioner
20 determines in accordance with regulations that there is good
21 cause for releasing the applicant or other owner from the
22 obligation to do so, the United States shall be entitled to re-
23 cover from the applicant or other owner of the facility an
24 amount which bears to the then value of the facility (or so
25 much thereof as constituted an approved project or projects)
26 the same ratio as the amount of such Federal funds bore to

1 the cost of the facility financed with the aid of such funds.
2 Such value shall be determined by agreement of the parties
3 or by action brought in the United States district court for
4 the district in which the facility is situated.

5 (b) All laborers and mechanics employed by contrac-
6 tors or subcontractors on all construction projects assisted
7 under this title shall be paid wages at rates not less than
8 those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as de-
9 termined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the
10 Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5).

11 The Secretary of Labor shall have with respect to the labor
12 standards specified in this section the authority and functions
13 set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15
14 F.R. 3176) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as
15 amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

16 DIRECT FEDERAL FUNDING

17 SEC. 112. Where a State has not submitted a State
18 plan under section 106, or the Secretary has failed to ap-
19 prove a State plan so submitted, the Secretary may act as
20 the State commission for such State, and use State allotment
21 to provide assistance in accordance with the provisions of
22 this title.

23 REPEAL AND CONSOLIDATION

24 SEC. 113. (a) The purpose of this section is to con-
25 solidate early childhood, day care, child service, and pre-

1 school programs authorized by the existing laws referred to
2 in subsection (b), so as to form a single coordinated Com-
3 prehensive Headstart Child Development Program in the
4 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The provi-
5 sions of law described (below) in section 113 shall be
6 amended as described effective July 1, 1971.

7 (b) (1) Section 222 (a) (1) of the Economic Opportu-
8 nity Act of 1964 is repealed.

9 (2) Part B of title V of the Economic Opportunity
10 Act of 1964, is repealed.

11 (3) Section 162 (b) of the Economic Opportunity
12 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "day care for chil-
13 dren" and inserting in lieu thereof "assistance in securing
14 day care services for children," but not operation of day
15 care programs for children".

16 (4) Section 123 (a) (6) of the Economic Opportunity
17 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "day care for chil-
18 dren" and inserting in lieu thereof "assistance in securing
19 day care services for children", and adding after the word
20 "employment" the phrase ", but not including the direct
21 operation of day care programs for children".

22 (5) Section 101 of the Elementary and Secondary Edu-
23 cation Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "(including
24 preschool programs)", and by inserting "aged five to seven-
25 teen" before the end of the sentence.

1 (6) Section 105 (a) (1) (A) of the Elementary and
2 Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by inserting
3 “aged five or older” after the phrase “which are designed
4 to meet the special educational needs of educationally de-
5 prived children”.

6 (7) Section 312 (b) (1) of the Economic Opportunity
7 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “day care for
8 children”.

9 (8) Neither the child-care services furnished under a
10 State plan approved under part A of title IV of the Social
11 Security Act nor the child-welfare services furnished under
12 a State plan developed as provided in part B of such title
13 shall include day-care services or any other organized child
14 development program within the meaning of this Act, and
15 section 422 (a) (1) (C) of such Act shall not apply. The
16 Secretary shall prescribe such regulations and make such
17 arrangements as may be necessary or appropriate to ensure
18 that suitable child development programs under this Act
19 are available for children receiving aid or services under
20 State plans approved under part A of title IV of the Social
21 Security Act and State plans developed as provided in part
22 B of such title to the extent that such programs are required
23 for the administration of such plans and the achievement of
24 their objectives, and that there is effective coordination
25 between the child development programs under this Act
26 and the programs of aid and services under such title IV.

1 TITLE II--NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR EARLY
2 CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

3 DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

4 SEC. 201. It is the purpose of this title to focus national
5 efforts to attain a fuller understanding of the processes of
6 early childhood development and the effects of organized
7 programs upon these processes; to develop from this research
8 programs to enhance child development; to do so as rapidly
9 as possible with the most effective use of available resources;
10 and to assure that the results of such research and develop-
11 ment are reflected in the conduct of program affecting young
12 children.

13 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

14 SEC. 202. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated
15 \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$15,-
16 000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for
17 each succeeding fiscal year, for the purposes of section 203
18 below.

19 (b) There are also authorized to be appropriated \$3,-
20 000,000 for the construction of a facility for the National
21 Institute for Early Childhood Development and Education.

22 NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOP-
23 MENT AND EDUCATION

24 SEC. 203. (a) There is established in the executive
25 branch of the Government, an independent agency to be

1 known as the National Institute for Early Childhood De-
2 velopment and Education (hereinafter referred to as the
3 "Institute").

4 (b) The activities of the Institute shall include, but not
5 necessarily be limited to:

6 (1) research to determine the nature of child de-
7 velopment processes and the impact of various influ-
8 ences and interventions upon them; research to develop
9 techniques to evaluate and diagnose child development;
10 and research to determine how child development pro-
11 grams conducted in either home or institutional settings
12 might positively affect child development processes;

13 (2) evaluation of research findings and the develop-
14 ment of these findings into effective products for appli-
15 cation;

16 (3) diffusion of research and development efforts
17 into the general practice of early childhood programs,
18 using regional teacher demonstration centers and ad-
19 visory services where feasible;

20 (4) production of informational systems and other
21 resources necessary to support the activities of the
22 Institute; and

23 (5) integration of national early childhood research
24 efforts into a focused national early childhood research
25 program, including the coordination of research and

1 development conducted by the Institute and similar re-
2 search and development conducted by other agencies,
3 organizations and individuals.

4 GENERAL AUTHORITY OF THE INSTITUTE

5 SEC. 204. The Institute shall have the authority, within
6 the limits of available appropriations, to do all things neces-
7 sary to carry out the provisions of this title, including, but
8 not limited to, the authority—

9 (1) to prescribe such rules and regulations as it
10 deems necessary governing the manner of its operations
11 and its organization and personnel;

12 (2) to make such expenditures as may be necessary
13 for administering the provisions of this title;

14 (3) to enter into contracts or other arrangements or
15 modifications thereof, for the carrying on, by organiza-
16 tions or individuals in the United States, including other
17 Government agencies, of such research, development dis-
18 semination or evaluation efforts as the Institute deems
19 necessary to carry out the purposes of this title and also
20 to make grants for such purposes to individuals, univer-
21 sities, colleges, and other public or private nonprofit
22 organizations or institutions;

23 (4) to acquire by purchase, lease, loan, or gift and
24 to hold and dispose of by grants, sale, lease, or loan, real
25 and personal property of all kinds necessary for, or re-

1 sulting from, the exercise of authority granted by this
2 title;

3 (5) to receive and use funds donated by others, if
4 such funds are donated without restriction other than
5 that they be used in furtherance of one or more of the
6 general purposes of the Institute as stated in section 201;

7 (6) to accept and utilize the services of voluntary
8 and uncompensated personnel and to provide travel ex-
9 penses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as au-
10 thorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code
11 for persons in the Government service employed
12 intermittently.

13 OFFICERS AND ORGANIZATION

14 SEC. 205. (a) BOARD OF GOVERNORS.—(1) The
15 Board of Governors shall consist of twenty-five members to
16 be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and
17 consent of the Senate, and of the Director ex officio, and
18 shall, except as otherwise provided in this title, exercise the
19 authority granted to the Institute. The persons nominated for
20 appointment as members shall be—

21 (i) eminent in the fields of education, psychology,
22 the social sciences, basic science, medicine, or public
23 affairs;

24 (ii) selected solely on the basis of established rec-
25 ords of distinguished service; and

1 (iii) selected so as to provide representation of
2 major points of view of child development leaders in all
3 areas of the Nation.

4 In making nominations of persons for appointment as mem-
5 bers of the Board of Governors, due consideration will be
6 given to the recommendations for nomination which may be
7 submitted to the President by professional, scientific, or other
8 organizations.

9 (2) The term of office of each voting member of the
10 Board of Governors shall be three years, except that

11 (i) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occur-
12 ing prior to the expiration of the term for which his
13 predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the
14 remainder of such term; and

15 (ii) the terms of office of the members first taking
16 office after June 30, 1970, shall expire, as designated
17 by the President at the time of appointment, eight at
18 the end of one year, eight at the end of two years, and
19 nine at the end of three years after June 30, 1970.

20 Any person who has been a member of the Board of Gover-
21 nors for six consecutive years shall thereafter be ineligible for
22 appointment during the two-year period following the expira-
23 tion of such sixth year.

24 (3) The Board of Governors shall meet at least once an-
25 nually and at such other times as the Chairman may deter-

1 mine, but he shall also call a meeting whenever six or more
2 of the members so request in writing. A majority of the
3 voting members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.
4 Each member shall be given notice, by registered mail or
5 by certified mail, mailed to his last known address of record
6 not less than ten days prior to any meeting, of the call of
7 such meeting.

8 (4) The Board of Governors shall establish the basic
9 policies governing the activities of the Institute and shall
10 modify such policies from time to time as it may deem
11 appropriate.

12 (b) CHAIRMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN.—An election
13 of the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board of Gov-
14 ernors shall take place at the first meeting of the Board
15 of Governors following enactment of this legislation. There-
16 after such election shall take place at the second annual meet-
17 ing occurring after each such election. The Vice Chairman
18 shall perform the duties of the Chairman in his absence. In
19 case a vacancy occurs in the chairmanship or vice chairman-
20 ship, the Board shall elect a member to fill such vacancy.

21 (c) DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE.—There shall be
22 a Director of the Institute (hereinafter referred to as the
23 “Director”) who shall be appointed by the President, by
24 and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from a panel
25 of at least three persons nominated by the Board of Gov-

1 ernors. He shall serve as a nonvoting ex officio member of
2 the Board. In addition thereto he shall be the chief execu-
3 tive officer of the Institute. The Director shall serve for a
4 term of three years unless sooner removed by the President.
5 In addition to the powers and duties specifically vested in
6 him by this title, the Director shall, in accordance with the
7 policies established by the Board, exercise the powers granted
8 by section 204 of this title, together with such other powers
9 and duties as may be delegated to him by the Board of
10 Governors; but no final action shall be taken by the Director
11 in the exercise of any power granted by section 204 of this
12 title unless in each instance the Board has reviewed and
13 approved the action proposed to be taken, or such action is
14 taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from
15 the Board or the Executive Committee to the Director.

16 (d) POWER OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS TO CREATE
17 COMMITTEES.—(1) The Board of Governors is authorized
18 to appoint from among its members an Executive Committee,
19 and to assign to the Executive Committee such of the powers
20 and functions granted to the Board by this title as it deems
21 appropriate; except that the Board may not assign to the
22 Executive Committee the function of establishing policies:

23 (2) If an Executive Committee is established by the
24 Board of Governors, it shall consist of the Director, as a
25 nonvoting ex officio member, the Chairman of the Board of

1 Governors, and not less than five nor more than nine other
2 members elected by the Board of Governors from among
3 their number. Any person who has been a member of such
4 Committee for six consecutive years shall be ineligible for
5 reelection during the two-year period following the expira-
6 tion of such sixth year. Such Committee shall render an
7 annual report to the Board of Governors and such other re-
8 ports as it may deem appropriate. Supplemental or dissenting
9 views and recommendations, if any, of members of the Ex-
10 ecutive Committee shall be included in such reports.

11 (3) The Board of Governors is authorized to appoint
12 from among its members and others such committees as it
13 deems necessary, and to assign to committees so appointed
14 such functions as the Board of Governors deems appropriate
15 for the purposes of this title.

16 (e) DIVISIONS WITHIN THE INSTITUTE.—(1) Until
17 otherwise provided by the Board of Governors there shall be
18 within the Institute the following divisions:

19 (i) A Division of Research.

20 (ii) A Division of Program Planning and Evalua-
21 tion.

22 (iii) A Division of Development and Demonstra-
23 tion.

24 (iv) A Division of Resource Production.

25 (2) There shall also be within the Institute such other

1 divisions as the Board of Governors may, from time to time,
2 deem necessary.

3

ANNUAL REPORT

4 SEC. 206. The Institute shall make an annual report to
5 Congress, summarizing its activities and accomplishments
6 during the preceding year; reviewing the financial condition
7 of the Institute and the grants, contracts, or other arrange-
8 ments entered into during the preceding year, and make such
9 recommendations as it may deem appropriate. Supplemental
10 or dissenting views and recommendations, if any, shall be in-
11 cluded in this report.

12

TRANSFER OF NATIONAL LABORATORY ON EARLY

13

CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

14 SEC. 207. The National Laboratory on Early Child-
15 hood Education, established under the authority of the Co-
16 operative Research Act, as amended (Public Law 83-531),
17 shall be incorporated into the Institute as its substantive core;
18 and funds equivalent to the amount allotted to the National
19 Laboratory on Early Childhood Education during the fiscal
20 year ending June 30, 1970, shall be transferred annually to
21 the Institute, pursuant to section 2 (c) of the Cooperative
22 Research Act, for the five fiscal years following enactment
23 of this legislation.

24

EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONNEL

25

SEC. 208. (a) The Director shall, in accordance with

1 such policies as the Board shall from time to time prescribe,
2 appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may
3 be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title. This
4 authority shall include the power to appoint and pay foreign
5 scholars for limited periods of time.

6 (b) The Director may appoint, with the approval of
7 the Board of Governors, a Deputy Director who shall per-
8 form such functions as the Director, with the approval of the
9 Board, may prescribe and shall be Acting Director during
10 the absence or disability of the Director or in the event of a
11 vacancy in the Office of the Director.

12 (c) The members of the Board shall receive compensa-
13 tion at rates not exceeding \$100 per day for each day en-
14 gaged in the business of the Institute, and shall be allowed
15 travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as
16 authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code
17 for persons in the Government service employed intermit-
18 tently.

19 COORDINATION OF RESEARCH

20 SEC. 209. (a) Funds available to any department or
21 agency of the Government for the purposes stated in section
22 201 or the activities specified in section 203 shall be avail-
23 able for transfer, with the approval of the head of the de-
24 partment or agency involved, in whole or in part, to the In-
25 stitute for such use as is consistent with the purposes for

1 which such funds were provided, and the funds so transferred
2 shall be expendable by the Institute for the purposes for
3 which the transfer was made.

4 (b) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
5 shall inform the Institute of plans for future grants, con-
6 tracts, projects, and other activities authorized under this
7 Act; section 426 of the Social Security Act; title IV of the
8 Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; the
9 National Institute of Mental Health established pursuant to
10 the National Mental Health Act of 1946 (Public Law 79-
11 487); and the National Institute of Child Health and Human
12 Development established pursuant to Public Law 87-838,
13 at least thirty days prior to the execution of such plans and
14 shall inform the Institute of the results or findings resulting
15 from the execution of such plans.

16 (c) The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity
17 shall inform the Institute of plans for future grants, contracts,
18 projects, or other activities pertaining to research or experi-
19 mentation involving the enhancement of early childhood
20 development or the establishment of programs to care for
21 or to nurture young children, at least thirty days prior
22 to the execution of such plans and shall inform the Institute
23 of the results or findings resulting from the execution of
24 such plans.

25 (d) Activities conducted by the Office of Economic

1 Opportunity, by the National Institute of Mental Health,
2 the National Institute of Child Health and Human Develop-
3 ment, and activities authorized by this Act, title IV of the
4 Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and
5 section 426 of the Social Security Act which pertain to
6 research or experimentation involving the development of
7 programs to enhance the development of young children
8 shall be coordinated with the activities of the Institute in
9 a manner to assure—

10 (1) maximum utilization of available resources
11 through the prevention of duplication of activities;

12 (2) a division of labor, insofar as is compatible
13 with the purposes of each of the agencies or authorities
14 specified in this paragraph, to assure maximum progress
15 toward the purposes of this title.

16 (e) An Early Childhood Research Council consisting of
17 the Chairman of the Board of Governors and the Director of
18 the Institute, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel-
19 fare, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and
20 such other officials as they may designate, shall meet annually
21 and from time to time as they may deem necessary in order
22 to assure coordination of activities under their jurisdictions
23 and to carry out the provisions of subsection (d) above.

1 TITLE III—FACILITIES FOR CHILD DEVELOP-
2 MENT PROGRAMS

3 PART A—MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR CHILD DEVELOP-
4 MENT FACILITIES

5 SEC. 301. Title II of the National Housing Act is
6 amended by adding after section 242 the following new
7 section:

8 “MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT
9 FACILITIES

10 “SEC. 243. (a) It is the purpose of this section to assist
11 and encourage the provision of urgently needed facilities for
12 child care and child development programs.

13 “(b) For the purposes of this section—

14 “(1) The term ‘child development facility’ means
15 a facility of a private profit or nonprofit corporation or
16 organization, licensed or regulated by the State (or, if
17 there is no State law providing for such licensing and
18 regulation by the State, by the municipality or other
19 political subdivision in which the facility is located), for
20 the provision of child care or child development programs
21 for one hundred or more children younger than compul-
22 sory school attendance age as determined by State or
23 local regulations or younger than age six in the absence

1 of such regulations, or in conjunction with such pro-
2 grams for the provision of child care programs during
3 nonschool hours for school-age children.

4 “(2) The terms ‘mortgage’, ‘mortgagor’, ‘mort-
5 gagee’, ‘maturity date’, and ‘State’ shall have the mean-
6 ings respectively set forth in section 207 of this Act.

7 “(c) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
8 (hereinafter referred to as the ‘Secretary’) is authorized
9 to insure any mortgage (including advances on such mort-
10 gage during construction) in accordance with the provisions
11 of this section upon such terms and conditions as he may
12 prescribe and to make commitments for insurance of such
13 mortgage prior to the date of its execution or disbursement
14 thereon.

15 “(d) In order to carry out the purpose of this section,
16 the Secretary is authorized to insure any mortgage which
17 covers a new child development facility, including equip-
18 ment to be used in its operation, subject to the following
19 conditions:

20 “(1) The mortgage shall be executed by a mortgagor,
21 approved by the Secretary, who shall demonstrate ability
22 successfully to operate one or more child care or child de-
23 velopment programs. The Secretary may in his discretion
24 require any such mortgagor to be regulated or restricted as
25 to minimum charges and methods of financing, and, in
26 addition thereto, if the mortgagor is a corporate entity, as

1 to capital structure and rate of return. As an aid to the
2 regulation or restriction of any mortgagor with respect to
3 any of the foregoing matters, the Secretary may make such
4 contracts with and acquire for not to exceed \$100 such
5 stock or interest in such mortgagor as he may deem neces-
6 sary. Any stock or interest so purchased shall be paid for
7 out of the general insurance fund, and shall be redeemed by
8 the mortgagor at par upon the termination of all obligations
9 of the Secretary under the insurance.

10 “(2) The mortgage shall involve a principal obligation
11 in an amount not to exceed an amount specified by the
12 Secretary in regulations and not to exceed 90 per centum
13 of the estimated replacement cost of the property or project,
14 including equipment to be used in the operation of the child
15 development facility, when the proposed improvements are
16 completed and the equipment is installed.

17 “(3) The mortgage shall—

18 “(A) provide for complete amortization by periodic
19 payments within such term as the Secretary shall pre-
20 scribe, and

21 “(B) bear interest (exclusive of premium charges
22 for insurance and service charges, if any) at not to
23 exceed such per centum per annum on the principal
24 obligation outstanding at any time as the Secretary finds
25 necessary to meet the mortgage market.

1 “(4) The Secretary shall not insure any mortgage under
2 this section unless he has received, from the State or local
3 agency designated by State law to license and regulate child
4 day care facilities for the State or the political subdivision of
5 the State in which the child development facility covered
6 by the mortgage is located, a certificate that (A) there is
7 a need for such facility, and (B) there are in force in such
8 State or the political subdivision of the State in which the
9 proposed facility would be located reasonable minimum stand-
10 ards of licensure and methods of operation of child develop-
11 ment facilities. No such mortgage shall be insured under this
12 section unless the Secretary has received such assurance as
13 he may deem satisfactory from the State or local agency that
14 such standards will be applied or enforced with respect to any
15 child development facility located in the State or locality
16 for which mortgage insurance is provided under this section.

17 “(5) The Secretary shall not insure any mortgage under
18 this section unless he has also received from the State com-
19 mission authorized in title I of the Comprehensive Head-
20 start Child Development Act of 1970 a certificate that the
21 facility is consistent with and will not hinder the execution
22 of the State plan.

23 “(e) The Secretary may consent to the release of a
24 part or parts of the mortgaged property or project from the

1 lien of any mortgage insured under this section upon such
2 terms and conditions as he may prescribe.

3 “(f) (1) The Secretary shall have the same functions,
4 powers, and duties (insofar as applicable) with respect to
5 the insurance of mortgages under this section as the Secre-
6 tary of Housing and Urban Development has with respect
7 to the insurance of mortgages under other provisions of this
8 title.

9 “(2) The provisions of subsections (d), (e), (g),
10 (h), (i), (k), (l), and (n) of section 207 shall apply to
11 mortgages insured under this section; and, with respect to
12 such mortgages, all references in such provisions to section
13 207 shall be deemed to refer to this section, and all references
14 in such provisions (and in section 519) to ‘Secretary’ shall
15 be deemed to refer to the Secretary of Health, Education,
16 and Welfare.”

17 PART B—NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES

18 SEC. 321. Section 703 (c) (1) of the Housing and Urban
19 Development Act of 1965 is amended by inserting “child
20 care,” after “social,”.

21 SEC. 322. Section 708 (a) of the Housing and Urban
22 Development Act of 1965 is amended by striking out “(2)
23 \$50,000,000 for grants under section 703,” and inserting in
24 lieu thereof “(2) \$100,000,000 for grants under section
25 703,”.

1 TITLE IV—TRAINING OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT
2 PERSONNEL

3 SEC. 401. Section 532 of the Higher Education Act of
4 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following
5 sentence: "There is additionally authorized to be appropri-
6 ated the sum of \$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending
7 June 30, 1971, for programs and projects under this part to
8 train or retrain professional personnel for preschool or early
9 childhood programs, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for the
10 fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for programs and projects
11 under this part to train or retrain nonprofessional personnel
12 for preschool or early childhood programs."

13 SEC. 402. Section 205 (b) (3) of the National Defense
14 Education Act is amended as follows, by adding after the
15 word "nonprofit" the phrase "early childhood program," by
16 striking out "and (C)" and inserting in lieu thereof the fol-
17 lowing: "(C) such rate shall be 15 per centum for each
18 complete academic year or its equivalent (as so determined
19 by regulations) of service as a full-time teacher in public or
20 private nonprofit child development programs or in any such
21 programs operating under authority of title I of the Com-
22 prehensive Headstart Child Development Act of 1970,
23 and (D)".

24 SEC. 403. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel-
25 fare is authorized to award grants to individuals employed in

1 child development programs operating under the authority of
2 title I of this Act and to such programs for the purposes of
3 meeting the costs of inservice training for professional and
4 nonprofessional personnel to be conducted by the child devel-
5 opment program, by a community or higher education insti-
6 tution, or by a combination thereof.

7 SEC. 404. There is authorized to be appropriated for the
8 purposes of section 403 the sum of \$5,000,000 for the fiscal
9 year ending June 30, 1971, and for each succeeding fiscal
10 year.

11 TITLE V—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CHILD
12 DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

13 SEC. 501. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make
14 grants for the purpose of establishing and operating child
15 development programs (including the lease, rental, or con-
16 struction of necessary facilities and the acquisition of neces-
17 sary equipment and supplies) for the children of employees
18 of the Federal Government.

19 (b) Employees of any Federal agency or group of such
20 agencies employing one hundred and twenty or more work-
21 ing mothers of young children who desire to participate in
22 the grant program under this title shall:

23 (1) designate or create for the purpose an agency
24 commission, the membership of which shall be broadly

1 representative of the working mothers employed by the
2 agency or agencies, and

3 (2) submit to the Secretary a plan approved by
4 the official in charge of such agency or agencies, which:

5 (A) provides that the child development pro-
6 gram shall be administered under the direction of
7 the agency commission;

8 (B) provides that the program will meet the
9 Federal Interagency Day-Care Requirements;

10 (C) provides a means of determining priority
11 of eligibility among parents wishing to use the
12 services of the program;

13 (D) provides for a scale of fees based upon
14 the parents' financial status; and

15 (E) provides for competent management,
16 staffing, and facilities for such program.

17 (c) The Secretary shall not grant funds under this sec-
18 tion unless he has received approval of the plan from the
19 official or officials in charge of the agency or agencies whose
20 employees will be served by the child development program.

21 SEC. 502. (a) No more than 50 per centum of the
22 total cost of a child development program under this title
23 during the first two years of such programs' operation, and
24 no more than 40 per centum of the total cost of such pro-
25 grams in succeeding years shall be paid from Federal funds.

26 (b) The non-Federal share of the total cost may be

1 provided through public or private funds and may be in the
2 form of cash, goods, services, facilities reasonably evaluated,
3 fees collected from parents, union and employer contribu-
4 tions.

5 (c) If in any fiscal year, a program under this title
6 provides non-Federal contributions exceeding its require-
7 ments under this section, such excess may be used to meet
8 the requirements for such contributions of other programs ap-
9 plying for grants under the same title, for the same fiscal
10 year.

11 (d) In making grants under this title, the Secretary
12 shall, insofar as is feasible, distribute funds among the States
13 according to the same ratio as the number of Federal em-
14 ployees in that State bears to the total number of Federal
15 employees in the United States.

16 SEC. 503. There is authorized to be appropriated for
17 carrying out this title during the fiscal year ending June 30,
18 1971, and each succeeding fiscal year, the sum of \$5,000,-
19 000.

20 TITLE VI—GENERAL PROVISIONS

21 PART A—EVALUATION OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR 22 EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT

23 SEC. 601. (a) The Secretary shall make an evaluation
24 of Federal involvement in child development which shall
25 include—

1 (1) enumeration and description of all Federal
2 activities which affect child development;

3 (2) analysis of expenditures of Federal funds for
4 such activities;

5 (3) determination of efficiency, effectiveness, and
6 results of such expenditures and activities; and

7 (4) such recommendations to Congress as the Sec-
8 retary may deem appropriate.

9 (b) The results of this evaluation shall be reported to
10 Congress no later than eighteen months after enactment of
11 this legislation.

12 (c) The Secretary may enter into contracts with public
13 or private agencies, organizations, groups, or individuals to
14 carry out the provisions of this part.

15 SEC. 602. The Secretary shall establish such procedures
16 as may be necessary to conduct such an annual evaluation of
17 Federal involvement in child development, and shall re-
18 port the results of such annual evaluation to Congress.

19 SEC. 603. Such information as the Secretary may deem
20 necessary for purposes of the annual evaluation shall be made
21 available to him, upon request, by the agencies of the execu-
22 tive branch.

23 SEC. 604. There are authorized to be appropriated for the
24 fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and each succeeding fiscal
25 year, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the pro-
26 visions of this part.

1 PART B—OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

2 SEC. 621. The Secretary shall establish in the Depart-
3 ment of Health, Education, and Welfare an Office of Child
4 Development which shall be the principal agency in that De-
5 partment for programs and activities relating to child de-
6 velopment and which shall, unless otherwise specified, carry
7 out the provisions of this Act.

8 PART C—FEDERAL INTERAGENCY DAY-CARE

9 REQUIREMENTS

10 SEC. 631. The Secretary is authorized, after consultation
11 with interested Federal agencies, to establish standards for
12 the provision of Headstart and child care or child develop-
13 ment programs consistent with this Act. In establishing
14 standards for day care, the Secretary shall provide that the
15 existing Federal interagency day care requirements pre-
16 scribed under section 522 (d) of the Economic Opportunity
17 Act shall be modified to provide that:

18 (a) The total ratio of children to adults in day care
19 centers may not exceed seven to one for children aged two
20 to three years old; ten to one for children aged three to four
21 years old; and fourteen to one for five-year olds.

22 (b) Where day care is being provided for children who
23 are not from low-income families, the requirements regarding
24 social services, arrangements for medical and dental care may
25 be waived for such children.

1 (c) Where the administering agency contracts for serv-
2 ices with private proprietary organizations, "assisting in the
3 development of the programs and approving applications for
4 funding" may be changed to "advising in the development
5 of programs and applications for funding."

6 (d) The requirement providing "for priority in employ-
7 ment to welfare recipients and other low-income people"
8 may be changed to provide "for equal opportunity for wel-
9 fare recipients and other low-income people for employment".

10 PART D—FEDERAL CONTROL NOT AUTHORIZED

11 SEC. 641. No department, agency, officer, or employee
12 of the United States shall, under authority of this Act, exer-
13 cise any direction, supervision, or control over, or impose any
14 requirements or conditions with respect to, the personnel,
15 curriculum, methods of instruction or administration of any
16 educational institution.

17 PART D—DEFINITIONS

18 SEC. 651. As used in this Act—

19 (a) "early childhood" and "young children" shall
20 refer to children younger than six years of age or to
21 children who have not entered public school, whichever
22 is older.

23 (b) "child development programs" shall be those
24 programs which provide the educational, nutritional,

1 social, medical, and physical services needed for children
2 to attain their full potential.

3 (c) "economically disadvantaged children" means
4 children of families having an annual income (as deter-
5 mined by the State commission pursuant to criteria estab-
6 lished by the Secretary) insufficient to provide a home
7 environment conducive to learning, or who are recipients
8 of aid to families with dependent children under a State
9 plan approved under title IV of the Social Security Act.

10 (d) "programs" means full- or part-day or night
11 programs conducted in child development facilities, in
12 schools, in neighborhood centers, or in homes. It also
13 includes other special arrangements under which early
14 childhood child development or child care activities may
15 be provided.

16 (e) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health,
17 Education, and Welfare.

18 (f) "State" includes the District of Columbia, Puerto
19 Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and
20 the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

21 (g) "construction" includes construction of new
22 buildings and acquisition, expansion, remodeling, and
23 alteration of existing buildings, and includes site grading
24 and improvement and architect fees.

91ST CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2060

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 5, 1969

Mr. MONDALE (for himself, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. DODD, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HART, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. INOUE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To provide for an expanded Headstart child development program within the Office of Economic Opportunity.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That this Act may be cited as the "Headstart Child Develop-
4 ment Act of 1969."

5 SEC. 2. Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of
6 1964 is amended to read as follows:

1 "TITLE V—HEADSTART CHILD DEVELOPMENT
2 PROGRAM

3 "STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

4 "SEC. 501. It is the purpose of this title to provide a
5 comprehensive child development program which will (1)
6 assist children of preschool age from low-income families or
7 from poverty areas to attain their full potential, and (2)
8 provide needed care to expectant or nursing mothers in low-
9 income families. It is further the purpose of this title in pro-
10 viding this program to enhance the probability that families
11 and relatives of the persons it serves will become or remain
12 self-sufficient or otherwise obtain objectives related to the
13 purposes of this Act, including their being enabled to choose
14 to undertake or to continue basic education, vocational train-
15 ing, or gainful employment.

16 "FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT
17 PROJECTS

18 "SEC. 502. (a) The Director is authorized to make
19 grants to, or to contract with, public or private agencies or
20 organizations to pay all or part of the costs of planning,
21 developing, and carrying out child development projects
22 both on an in-the-home basis and in child development cen-
23 ters which are focused upon children who have not reached
24 the age of compulsory school attendance and who are from
25 low-income families or from urban and rural areas with high

1 concentrations or proportions of low-income persons. Finan-
2 cial assistance under this section may also be provided to
3 employers, labor unions, or to joint employer-union orga-
4 nizations for child development projects established at or in
5 association with a place of employment or training where
6 such projects are financed in major part by the project
7 sponsor.

8 “(b) Projects assisted under this section will (A)
9 provide such comprehensive health, nutritional, education,
10 social, and other services as the Director finds will aid
11 children to attain their full potential, (B) provide for direct
12 participation of the parents of such children in the develop-
13 ment, conduct, and overall direction of the program at the
14 local level, and (C) provide for the utilization of personnel
15 adequate to meet the specialized needs of children, particu-
16 larly those who are disadvantaged, including nonprofessional
17 and volunteer personnel. Such projects may also provide
18 such services to expectant or nursing mothers in low-income
19 families as the Director finds will help to reduce malnutri-
20 tion, infant and maternal mortality, and the incidence of
21 mental retardation and other handicapping conditions. Fi-
22 nancial assistance under this section may be provided in
23 conjunction with or to supplement child development or day
24 care projects under the Social Security Act or other relevant

1 statutes, utilizing to the extent practicable the joint funding
2 authorities provided in section 612 of this Act.

3 “(c) Pursuant to such regulations as he may prescribe,
4 the Director may permit persons who are not members of
5 low-income families to receive child development services
6 under projects provided for in this section. The Director
7 may require a family which is not low-income to make pay-
8 ment in whole or in part for such services where the family’s
9 income is, or becomes through employment or otherwise,
10 such as to make such payment appropriate.

11 “(d) Children and expectant or nursing mothers who
12 are members of low-income families and who are served by
13 any project assisted under this section shall be deemed eligi-
14 ble for certification to receive food assistance under the sup-
15 plemental food program for low-income vulnerable groups
16 administered by the Department of Agriculture pursuant to
17 the authorities of section 32 of the Act of August 24, 1935
18 (7 U.S.C. 612c), and Public Law 90-463 (82 Stat. 645,
19 646), August 8, 1968.

20 “(e) In carrying out projects assisted under this section,
21 emphasis shall be placed on providing unemployed or low-
22 income persons residing in communities served by such proj-
23 ects with jobs providing career ladder opportunities, and such
24 persons, to the extent feasible, shall be provided opportunities

1 for occupational training in programs authorized under sec-
2 tion 504 of this Act for the purpose of facilitating career
3 advancement.

4 “(f) The Director shall assure that of the total number
5 of children served by projects assisted under this section in
6 each State the number of children served who have special
7 education and other needs because of coming from environ-
8 ments in which the dominant language is other than English
9 or is an identifiable dialect or vernacular of English, will be
10 reasonably proportionate to the percentage such children con-
11 stitute of the total population of children in the State who are
12 eligible to be served by such projects.

13 “(g) In providing assistance under this section, the
14 Director shall give preference to applications therefor sub-
15 mitted by community action agencies established pursuant to
16 title II of this Act.

17 “(h) Project costs under this section may include costs
18 of rental or lease of suitable physical facilities.

19 “ASSISTANCE IN PROVIDING PHYSICAL FACILITIES

20 “SEC. 503. (a) The Director is authorized to make
21 grants to, contract with, or provide other assistance to agen-
22 cies and organizations assisted under section 502 for the pur-
23 chase of land and the purchase, construction, renovation, and

1 alteration of physical facilities to be used in carrying out the
2 projects authorized by this title. No assistance shall be pro-
3 vided under this subsection unless the Director finds that—

4 (1) suitable facilities cannot be rented or leased in
5 the community to be served by the project; or

6 (2) purchase, construction, renovation, or altera-
7 tion will be economically more advantageous to the
8 Government than rental or lease of facilities.

9 No agency or organization may receive assistance under this
10 subsection unless it agrees that the assisted facilities shall be
11 available for public purposes for a period not less than ten
12 years from the date of purchase or completion of construction,
13 alteration, or renovation.

14 “(b) The Director is authorized to make separate con-
15 tracts for annual grants to organizations receiving assistance
16 under section 502 to reduce the cost of borrowing funds for
17 the purposes enumerated in section 503 (a). Annual grants
18 to reduce such borrowing costs shall be made over a fixed
19 period not exceeding forty years, and provision for such
20 grants shall be embodied in a contract guaranteeing their
21 payment over such period so long as the facilities are used
22 for public purposes. Each such grant shall be in an amount
23 equal to the difference between (1) the average annual debt
24 service required to be paid, during the life of the loan, on
25 the amount borrowed, and (2) the average annual debt

1 service which would be required to be paid, during the life
2 of the loan, with respect to such amount if the applicable
3 interest rate were 3 per centum per annum. The Director
4 shall not enter into a contract for grants under this subsec-
5 tion unless he determines that the amount borrowed does
6 not exceed the total amount necessary to carry out the above
7 purposes in an economical manner. Contracts for annual
8 grants under this section shall not be entered into for an
9 aggregate amount greater than is authorized in appropria-
10 tion Acts; and in any event the total amount of annual
11 grants which may be paid in any year pursuant to contracts
12 entered into under this section shall not exceed \$15,000,000,
13 which amount shall be increased by \$20,000,000 on July 1,
14 1971, and by \$30,000,000 on July 1, 1973.

15 "TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING

16 "SEC. 504. (a) The Director may provide directly or
17 through grants, contracts, or other arrangements, such tech-
18 nical assistance or training of personnel as may be required
19 to implement effectively the purposes of this title.

20 "(b) For the purpose of increasing the supply of spe-
21 cially qualified persons available to work in child develop-
22 ment programs serving disadvantaged children, the Director
23 may, pursuant to such regulations as he may prescribe, lend
24 to any person desiring to pursue a career in child develop-
25 ment work, especially one who intends to work with dis-

1 advantaged children, sufficient funds to enable such persons
2 to take suitable courses at an institution of higher learning
3 to prepare for such a career. The Director shall pay the por-
4 tion of the funds lent for tuition and other academic fees
5 directly to the institution, and may pay directly to the
6 student funds lent to meet such other costs as are reasonably
7 necessary for the student to complete his training, including
8 subsistence expenses, up to a maximum of \$3,000 a year.
9 The period of training provided to any person under this
10 subsection shall not exceed two academic years.

11 Loans shall bear interest at 3 per centum per annum,
12 and shall be repayable by the person thus assisted over a
13 ten-year period, beginning on the date of his completion of
14 or withdrawal from the course of instruction in which he is
15 enrolled, excluding any period, not in excess of three years,
16 in which such person is a member of the Armed Forces of
17 the United States, the Peace Corps, or such other periods as
18 may be specified in regulations prescribed by the Director.
19 Collections of principal and interest on student loans shall be
20 deposited in the miscellaneous receipts account of the
21 Treasury.

22 Not to exceed 30 per centum of the amount loaned to
23 an individual, plus accrued interest, shall be waived in each
24 year following completion of the training in which he engages
25 full-time in child development work in a project, determined

1 by the Director, to be serving substantially children from
2 low-income families.

3 "PILOT PROGRAMS AND RESEARCH, AND EVALUATION

4 "SEC. 505. (a) The Director may contract or provide
5 financial assistance to public or private agencies for pilot
6 or demonstration projects which are designed to test or as-
7 sist in the development of new approaches or methods that
8 will aid in overcoming special child development problems,
9 with particular attention to those referred to in section 502
10 (f) or otherwise furthering the purposes of this title. He
11 may also contract or provide financial assistance for re-
12 search pertaining to the purposes of this title.

13 "(b) The Director shall provide for the careful and
14 systematic evaluation of the program authorized under this
15 title, directly or by contracting for independent evaluations,
16 with a view to measuring specific benefits, so far as prac-
17 ticable, and providing information needed to assess the
18 effectiveness of program procedures, policies, and methods
19 of operation.

20 "FEDERAL SHARE

21 "SEC. 506. Unless otherwise provided in this title,
22 financial assistance extended to a public or private agency
23 or organization pursuant to section 502 of this title shall
24 not exceed 90 per centum of the approved cost of the

1 assisted programs or activities. The Director may, how-
2 ever, approve assistance in excess of such percentage if he
3 determines, in accordance with regulations establishing ob-
4 jective criteria, that such action is required in furtherance of
5 the purposes of this title. Non-Federal contributions may be
6 in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited
7 to plant, equipment, or services.

8 "COORDINATION OF PROGRAMS

9 "SEC. 507. The Director and the Secretary of Health,
10 Education, and Welfare shall take all necessary steps to
11 coordinate programs under their jurisdictions which provide
12 day care or child development services, with a view to estab-
13 lishing, insofar as possible, a common set of program stand-
14 ards and regulations, and mechanisms for coordination at the
15 State and local levels. In approving applications for assist-
16 ance under this part, the Director shall take into considera-
17 tion (1) the extent to which applicants show evidence of
18 coordination and cooperation between their projects and
19 other child development programs in the areas which they
20 will serve, and (2) the extent to which unemployed or low-
21 income individuals are to be employed, including individuals
22 receiving or eligible to receive assistance under the Social
23 Security Act.

1 "APPLICABILITY OF OTHER PROVISIONS OF FEDERAL LAW

2 "SEC. 508. The provisions of title II of this Act with
3 respect to fiscal responsibility, accounting, and audit (section
4 243) and personnel standards for assisted projects (section
5 244 (2)) shall be applicable to the comprehensive child
6 development program authorized by this title to the extent
7 not inconsistent with the provisions of this title.

8 "DURATION OF THE PROGRAM

9 "SEC. 509. The Director shall carry out the provisions
10 of this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970,
11 and the five succeeding fiscal years."

12 ALLOTMENT OF FUNDS

13 SEC. 3. (a) Section 225 (a) of the Economic Opportu-
14 nity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the word "and"
15 immediately following "section 221," and by inserting "and
16 for assisting child development projects provided for in title
17 V of this Act," immediately following "section 222 (a) ,".

18 (b) Section 225 (b) of such Act is amended by insert-
19 ing "and for the child development program provided for in
20 title V of this Act" immediately following "section 222 (a) ".

21 TECHNICAL AMENDMENT

22 SEC. 4. Section 222 (a) of the Economic Opportunity
23 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out paragraph (1) of

1 that section and by renumbering its subsequent paragraphs
2 accordingly.

3 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

4 SEC. 5. For the purpose of carrying out the programs
5 under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,
6 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal
7 year ending June 30, 1970, the sum of \$1,200,000,000, for
8 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, the sum of \$2,100,-
9 000,000, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, the sum
10 of \$3,000,000,000, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973,
11 the sum of \$4,000,000,000, and for the fiscal year ending
12 June 30, 1974, the sum of \$5,000,000,000.

[From the Congressional Record—Senate, Dec. 9, 1970]

JUSTICE FOR CHILDREN

I. WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, next week, a few thousand Americans, some famous, some just interested citizens—but all sharing a deep concern for their subject—will meet in Washington for the 1970 White House Conference on Children. Many of us are wondering just how helpful this conference is going to be.

Yesterday, the administrators of the conference released a series of preliminary forum reports which contain a number of constructive recommendations, as well as a trenchant, critical analysis of present programs and institutions affecting children.

Mr. President, I hope the delegates will also consider some of the issues overlooked by these reports, and above all, focus on the question of how to insure that immediate implementation of the Conference's recommendations will follow. Certainly the past history of the White House Conferences and President's Commissions is that they make strong, sweeping, perceptive reports which ultimately do nothing but gather dust. President Hoover's President's Conference 40 years ago produced a children's charter comprehensive enough and still unfulfilled enough to be a fine agenda for action today. Since I believe that charter would be of interest to the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. Mr. President, there is recent experience, too. A reading of the Panel reports which preceded last year's White House Conference on Nutrition reveals a clear and forceful agenda for action, including hundreds of constructive recommendations. That agenda was followed by promises of action. A year later these promises remain unfulfilled. The followup to that Conference has been dismally weak.

So as the delegates prepare to come to Washington, I think it would be appropriate to convey some suggestions to them about what they might try to accomplish. I say to the delegates: Bear in mind the shelves of reports which already exist. Bear in mind what has happened in the past. Specifically, insist that a representative group from the Conference be formed to call on the President personally while the Conference is still in session and seek his public support for implementation. Abjure abstract discussion of new programs, new offices, new commissions, new agencies, new councils. Get an agreement from the administration, now, for immediate funding of an action committee, with an office here in Washington and staff picked by this Conference, to speak up for implementation of its findings; get a Children's Advocacy Center created now, with money, before you leave town; let this be the first White House Conference ever to focus on creating a legislative strategy for implementing its findings.

This will do more to make the recommendations of this Conference come to life than any other step. Take it from one who is personally and painfully familiar with what happened after last year's White House Conference on Hunger. Do not leave town without establishing a concrete action mechanism.

I make a commitment to the delegates as well. Regardless of what the administration does—although I would prefer to work in coop-

eration with it—I will join with other Senators to introduce the constructive proposals of the Conference in legislative form. And I will work to organize a bipartisan group of Members of the Congress to work on behalf of the children of America. If we can have Members of Congress for world peace through law, as we should and do, we can have Members of Congress for justice to children.

My advice to the delegates is not confined to the question of followup.

A study of the forum reports, as constructive as they are, reveals a certain lack of immediacy.

Nowhere in the reports do I find any real discussion of school desegregation. Yet this is an issue which has the gravest implications for the life chances of millions of American children—an issue where the direction of national policy is in heated debate every day, an issue where there is urgent need for public attention and response to the mounting evidence that the problems only begin for the black child when he is placed in a theoretically desegregated school. I find no mention of this in the forum reports. I hope the delegates will see that it is discussed.

And if there is little reference to school desegregation generally, there is no hint that this administration is at this moment spending millions of Federal dollars to support continued racist practices in schools in the name of aiding desegregation.

Reference to continued Federal inaction to solve the simplest and most inexcusable American problem—hunger—is confined to two paragraphs in one of the reports on health. I hope the delegates will raise that issue to a greater level of priority.

There are other omissions.

The forum reports are permeated with expressions of the need to protect children. But there is no attention to the fact that the President's Family Assistance Plan, pending in Congress right now, would force mothers of school age children to work even during hours when the children are not in school—a development which could hurt children further just as the Conference seeks new ways to protect them.

The forum reports repeatedly stress the need for more child advocacy, but there is no mention that this administration has been moving in the other direction. The Community Action program, which created some local advocacy for children, is currently being emasculated and dismantled. The neighborhood Legal Services program, which created another effective means of advocacy for children, is in political difficulty within the administration. And there are elements in the administration who would curtail the activities of public interest law firms, still another source of effective advocacy for children.

The forum reports stress the need for expanded child welfare and child development programs, and do not mention that this is the first administration which sought a ceiling on funds for social services including day care. It is also the administration which opposed the expansion of Headstart, after its grand promises about the first 5 years of life.

So I urge the delegates to bring some immediacy to the deliberations of the Conference.

There is one further gaping omission in the forum reports—a consideration of basic power relationships in America. The reports

rightly criticize the lack of accountability and the bureaucratic empire building in many programs for children. But their major recommendation to deal with these failures is advocacy, rather than greater participation in governance.

Advocacy is good, and the system of child advocacy proposed in the reports is both interesting and promising. But the fundamental question is power and powerlessness. The basic underlying reason, more important than any other, why millions of American children are victimized, is powerlessness—the lack of power which their parents and they have to affect the Government, the programs and the institutions which are supposed to serve them. Advocacy on behalf of the child to sue the system and otherwise demand that it operate properly will help. But what will help more is if parents and children—families—can participate in the decisions before they are made. What will help more is if the power is shared—if the composition and geographic reach of school boards are changed to be more reflective of the community; if the administration of welfare policy is changed so that recipients have a formal voice in making it; if the control of health policy decisions is changed so that the lay community has a direct voice in it.

Indeed, because the talk is more, far more, about what we are going to do better for and to children, than about increasing the share of power which they and their parents have, the net effect of the forum reports has a faint ring of the brave new world where the State knows what is best for everyone.

The suggestions in the reports, taken one by one, each have their merits. But taken with the realization that there is no extensive consideration of powerlessness and how to alleviate it, the total impression created by the reports is more than slightly paternalistic.

Of course the Conference has not yet convened. My purpose is to urge the delegates to make this 1970 Conference what many past conferences have not been—a continuing lever for real, fundamental social change in America in the immediate future.

For we are failing our children. Erik Erikson has said:

The most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit.

This sin is being committed every day, all over America. Our national myth is that we love children. Yet, we are starving thousands. Other thousands die because decent medical care is unavailable to them. The lives of still other thousands are stifled by poor schools and some never have the chance to go to school at all. Millions live in substandard and unfit housing in neighborhoods which mangle the human spirit. Many suffer all of these mutilations simultaneously.

In every society some people are consigned to the scrap heap—the irretrievably handicapped, the incurably ill, the incorrigibly criminal, the hopelessly uneducable.

But, in America we have needlessly allowed the scrap heap to pile up and up.

The most obvious victims of course are the 10 million children living in poverty and the untold millions maimed by racism.

But the scrap heap is not outsized merely because of poverty and racism.

Have we reduced the victims of physical handicaps to the irreducible minimum? Not when 45 percent of the children born in U.S. hospitals

do not receive the prenatal care which could prevent some of the handicaps in the first place. Not when there are 3.7 million handicapped children who are not receiving the special educational services they require.

Have we reduced the victims of mental illness to the irreducible minimum? Not when there are 1.3 million children who need mental health services but are not getting them.

Have we reduced the victims of mental retardation to the irreducible minimum? Not when there are 1 million educable mentally retarded children who will never get the help they need to reach their full potential.

The victims are most emphatically not just the poor and the minorities.

Consider the victims of bad health care. It is not surprising, perhaps that the infant mortality rate in Coahoma County, Miss., which is nearly two-thirds poor, is over twice the national average. But it may give pause to realize that the infant mortality rate in Westchester County, N. Y.—one of the wealthiest counties in America—is just about equal to the national average, a national average which is higher than at least a dozen other countries. No, the victims of bad health care are not just the poor.

Consider the victims of the tremendous shortage of preschool child development programs. Research shows that approximately 50 percent of a person's intellectual development takes place before he is 5 years old. Headstart and day care reach only one child in 10 among the poor, and the figures for children in other income groups are not much different. It is not just the poor who are missing out on crucial stimulation during the preschool years.

Consider the victims of our schools. The child of the ghetto may attend a school without textbooks, where the teacher thinks he is incapable of learning, where the paint peels and the plaster cracks, but the child of the suburbs finds less and less to engage him in school as well. Of 17 million school age children identified as "educationally deprived" by HEW, less than a third come from poverty families. "You have to have grown up in Scarsdale, to know how bad things really are," one observer says. It is not just the poor who are the victims of our school systems.

Consider the victims of drug abuse. Millions of children—not just the poor—are having their lives twisted by the pandemic spread of drug abuse. Recent studies in suburban schools reveal that up to 75 percent of high school students have experimented with marijuana. Last year in Fairfax County, Va., there were more heroin cases discovered among young people than in the previous 5 years combined. The users come from among the highest income families in the county, including the sons and daughters of doctors and colonels. It is not just the poor who are the victims of drug abuse.

The children whom we are daily consigning to the scrap heap come from every income group, every racial group, every geographical area in our Nation. And every child consigned to the scrap heap is a useful life lost to the country, and indeed a lifetime of costs to the taxpayers in welfare, prison, or other expense.

The fact is that this is a problem in which the "real majority" has a deep and vital stake. It has become fashionable to suggest that the

“real majority” somehow has concerns and views which are different from the poor, I disagree.

Fifty-five percent of Americans live in families with incomes of less than \$10,000 a year. Whether the problem is schools or health care or preschool programs of what happens when a child is physically handicapped or mentally disturbed, all Americans share the same problems. And the sooner we can come to the shared realization that this is in fact the case, the sooner we shall create in America the atmosphere which our children need and deserve in which to grow up.

There is no one who perceives the gap between the need for change and the lack of will to act better than our children. Perhaps it is partly because they suffer its consequences most acutely, whether in the physical consequences of hunger and poor medical care, the psychic and intellectual consequences of bad schools, or the total consequences of being the drafted foot soldiers in a war they do not support.

We need no social scientists, no child psychologists or experts in human development, to tell us that a growing boy or girl, whatever his or her background, takes notice of the world, comes to see the way things work. Our American children, all of them, are every single day learning things about this Government and what it does or does not do. They are learning, wherever they live and whatever schools they attend, that the world's richest and strongest nation seems powerless when it comes to cleaning up its air and its water; seems willing to let its countryside become cluttered and ravaged; seems compliant before the selfish demands of billboard advertisers who would assault our eyes; seems attuned to the ideas of airplane enthusiasts who do not care what all of our ears have to suffer, so long as a relative handful of people can go faster and faster in planes that require longer and longer runways, which take up more and more of our wealth, while all the time we must hear that there is a limit to what can be made available to medical scientists working on diseases like leukemia, diseases that strike at and kill thousands of children every year.

I know that talking of priorities goes on and on all over the country. But for all the talk, what chance is there that the year 1970, with its White House Conference on Children, will see any change in those priorities? Again, our children will be watching and taking note. They will see whether in the next months and years they can swim here or play there. They will see whether the schools they go to are half-way decent or not. They will, if taken ill, learn what kind of help they get, if any, from what kind of medical institutions. They will observe the way our land is preserved, or greedily and wantonly ruined. They will take note of the kind of fare they are offered on television programs. Their minds are no less capable than a grownup's of coming to the appropriate conclusions—of deciding whether or not this Nation is concerned with its future as well as its present, its long-term growth as well as its immediate appetites.

It is easy for us to deny children such vision and social intelligence; that way, we are let off the hook—and free to go about our business, paying lipservice to various humanitarian causes, while all the while ignoring the very real legislative and institutional backing those causes require. But the fact is, our children know what is going on. They have our number.

VICTIMS

Who are the victims of our neglect?

First. The migrant child. Nearly a million are children who live in families which subsist primarily by doing migrant or seasonal farm-work. There is no child in America more powerless to change his future, more powerless to escape the cycle of poverty into which he has been born.

In addition to the problems which confront every poor child, the migrant child suffers the consequence of constant rootlessness. The image of traveling together as a family is perhaps one of the most cherished of the American culture. But for the migrant child, travel only means a new shack, a new field to work in, and a new school, if any. Travel only increases the pace with which his life is destroyed. The very rootlessness of his life is a monstrous curse.

Born into extreme poverty—the average earnings of each farm-worker from farm labor are less than \$1,000 a year—the child not only is physically unable to attend school regularly, but he begins working at a very early age to supplement meager family earnings. He not only suffers from malnutrition, but his learning perspective is geared to a never-ending cycle of backbreaking work—bending, lifting, and carrying. By the time he is 10 or 11 he has stopped going to school and is beginning to have to cope with life as an adult.

By the time he is 14 or 15 he is often married. Soon his health deteriorates—his teeth and skin begin to rot and his back shows the damaging effects of stoop labor. His ability to earn is permanently impaired. He is in constant debt, getting in deeper and deeper as life goes on. The grower and the crew leader advance him groceries and other necessities against his wages, and he never comes out ahead. He is powerless—both politically and economically—to affect his situation. The cycle is well on its way again.

Migrants are the poorest paid, the most underfed, the least healthy, the worst housed, the most undereducated, and perhaps the most abused human beings in our society today. What goes on from generation to generation is the awful wholesale destruction, physically and psychologically, of hundreds of thousands of American children—migrant children.

What is especially discouraging is that these remarks of mine are obviously not the first time, or the hundredth or the thousandth, that this tragedy has been brought to public attention. A half century of rhetoric—of books, poetry, song, presidential reports, congressional hearings, and television documentaries—has documented this modern day slave system again and again.

To say that nothing has been done to help the migrant child would be unfair. A Migrant Health Act was passed about 10 years ago, which now provides a very limited \$36 a year for the health of each migrant child, as opposed to the \$96 which the average middle income family spends annually on each of its children's health. The poverty program, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and other Federal programs have titles or special provisions providing funds for migrant children, but these funds are very meager.

The most important hope for the migrant child of the future has been the rising of a great movement among the farmworkers—the

movement to organize for the improvement of wages and working conditions through collective bargaining. After a half century of broken strikes and failed efforts, Cesar Chavez has molded a union which is surviving. But if Chavez has succeeded to some extent in California, there are still thousands of migrant children in Texas and Florida, and, indeed, New York and New Jersey and Michigan, for that matter, whose life is essentially unchanged. There are still horrendous gaps in coverage by Federal labor law and social programs, including—of special significance to the migrant child—child labor laws.

The generational trap of poverty, the slave labor, the premature deterioration of health, the inevitable destruction of life—all these things remain essentially as they have perennially been for nearly a million migrant children in America.

"The Grapes of Wrath" was written almost 40 years ago, and John Steinbeck is dead, but the conditions continue.

If we are going to have White House Conferences on Children, let us put as much passion into the implementation as we do into the parlor discussion. Otherwise, 10 more years will pass. A few million more migrant children will go down the drain. And another conference will surely convene to talk about new directions for the future.

The black child in the rural South. Here we are on more familiar ground for the Nation. This child has been the subject of court suits, street demonstrations, and congressional debate which have commanded national attention.

For those of us so disposed, we might congratulate ourselves just a bit. The black child in the rural South is not everywhere so trapped as he was a generation ago. Desegregation has produced broadened horizons for some, and more insistent demands for change from the current generation of young blacks in the South.

The Voting Rights Act has helped create an image of political possibility, resulting as it has in the election of 665 black officials in the Southern States and in the forced moderation of scores of white officials. Federal food programs reach some additional thousands of black children throughout the South, assuring that at least some children will not be irretrievably brain damaged in their infancy, and that others will be able to stay awake in school in order to learn. Headstart has helped open new worlds to thousands of children, and given their parents a stake in the improvement of the educational process.

But again, there is little reason for satisfaction, and even less for complacency. Regardless of what Mr. Moynihan and others say, the problems remain—educationally, politically, or economically.

Let the complacent one visit the black communities of Bolivar County, Miss.; Lowndes County, Ala.; Dorchester County, S.C.; or Terrell County, Ga. Or let him, for that matter, visit the Harlems and the Houghs, the Anacostias and the Roxburys, where thousands of blacks thought they would find the promised land after fleeing the depredations of plantation life.

It was Michael Harrington who told us 10 years ago, in revealing "The Other America" to his fellow citizens, that while we had a poverty problem in this country, it did not exist on a scale or in an intensity comparable to other nations. We learned during the 1960's that he was wrong. We found that there were families in Mississippi

and elsewhere who literally had no cash income. We saw, because a few Senators and some media people cared, that there are children in America who have bloated bellies and running sores that will not heal.

There still are. It is not so fashionable in 1970 to talk about them. Hunger, it seems, was last year's issue. The other day someone remembered that President Nixon promised a free school lunch for every poor child by this Thanksgiving. It has not happened. Urgently needed reforms in the food stamp program have been in controversy for more than three and a half years and have still not been enacted. And all the while, there are still not been enacted. And all the while, there are still bloated bellies in Mississippi. I know it is hard to remember that every day. It is an uncomfortable thought, but in these days of our senses being assaulted with so many outrages, we have acquired an incapacity for further shock. That is too bad. Andrew Jackson's children in Winstonville, Miss., do not find it so easy to forget.

Nor are the problems of the black child growing up in the South just the same old ones—hunger, bad housing, no medical care, substandard jobs or no jobs at all, although these problems are all still with us.

Our achievements have produced new problems. Segregated classrooms are replacing segregated schools. Many black school principals are now in white schools in demoted positions. Thousands of black teachers have lost their jobs. The black child has been brought across town to the white school, but his athletic trophies have been left behind, and often he or she cannot play in the band or be a cheerleader or run for homecoming queen. Violence and intimidation are still problems—Lamar, S.C., was nationally publicized, but fear still stalks the dark black roads of hundreds of communities.

These things have not happened everywhere, of course. But they have happened in a shocking number of places. And the present administration has not only shut its eyes to these events but has even rewarded hundreds of offending school districts throughout the South. The \$75 million appropriated under the emergency school assistance program has cheerfully and unashamedly been distributed to districts which are in clear violation of Federal civil rights laws, and for such racist purposes as improving the hygiene of black children so they do not contaminate the white children whom they may now chance to encounter in the hall between classes.

We have begun to tear down the outward manifestations of legal segregation. But we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a relationship of equality and respect. That is the challenge of the seventies. It has taken us 16 years to dismantle rural southern dual school systems. I am not sure we have 16 years to build a new structure. Black children are not nearly so patient as they once were.

In all of this, fortunately, there is some hope for further change, even accelerated change. This hope comes not from any new outpouring of conscience or commitment in white America, but from the very fact that the black community itself in the South, as well as elsewhere in the Nation, has achieved a new level of awareness and organization. Beginning with the civil rights movement, and undoubtedly assisted by Federal legislation, a new generation of black leadership has arisen

which, like Cesar Chavez among the migrants, will insist on change. This is the best hope we have for the future.

If the White House Conference on Children were more possessed of a sense of urgency, it would have a forum taking a very hard and tough look at the results of school desegregation and where we go now, and another examining the continued ravages of hunger and malnutrition. Thousands of black children have undoubtedly escaped from the trap in recent years, but make no mistake about it—there are millions of more black children in the South who, as things are now, will find it impossible to get out of the complex trap of powerlessness and poverty and racism.

The Indian child. Perhaps the greatest poverty in America exists among American Indians. Add to this the welfare dependency and hopelessness which generations of paternalistic Federal trusteeship have brought, and the trap which confronts the Indian child is at least as dangerous and powerful as that which ensnares the migrant child.

We have heard it before, but we forget that annual Indian per capita income is only \$1,500, less than half of the national average, that infant mortality is almost twice the national average, that 90 percent of Indian housing is substandard, and that suicide rates on the typical Indian reservation are more than double the national average.

As in other areas, the situation is not quite as bad as it was 10 years ago. The major reason is a rising generation of Indian young people of greater awareness and competency, who are not only committed to improving life in their communities, but are acquiring some of the skill and political sophistication that is necessary to bring change.

But the American Indian is still governed by a Congress which too often is more interested in protecting the land and water interests of the white man than in making a better life for the Indian. And power, relationships at the local level are still not significantly different.

Three out of five Indian children attend local public schools—schools which are funded by Federal funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act and the impacted school areas legislation. But this money is often spent for purposes which do not benefit Indian children, and the Indian child is more often than not assumed by the school system to be slow, lazy, or dumb. Indian students on the Muckleshoot reservation in Washington are automatically retained an extra year in the first grade of their public schools, and the Nook-Sack Indians of western Washington are automatically placed in a class of slow learners without achievement testing. No wonder massive early dropouts from school occur, and high rates of suicide and alcoholism ensue.

A third of the Indian children are in schools run by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. Some of these are in boarding schools, including some 7,000 Navajo children under the age of 9, some of whom have frozen to death trying to escape and get home during the winter. About 1,200 Alaskan natives presently go to Federal boarding schools in Oregon and Oklahoma, thousands of miles from home. Two-thirds of the Indian children entering BIA schools have little or no skill in English, but less than 5 percent of the teachers in BIA schools are native to the culture and the language of the children they teach. Only 773 Indian children in the entire country were reached by the Federal bilingual education program in a recent year.

It has been our national assumption that Indians do not know how to do anything for themselves. Reservations are in general managed by white employees of the BIA, and Indian young people everywhere are indoctrinated with the idea of their incompetency.

The Indian child is also victimized by one of America's most dangerous and mean assumptions—that there is only one language in America, and that others are not worth while and will not be countenanced. Courses on Indian heritage and culture are nonexistent in both Federal and local public schools, and children are in every way made to feel that their own heritage and culture is inferior and worthless.

The rising young Indian leadership now beginning to develop gives some hope for change. But here, as with black children and others who are different, the Nation needs to learn a simple but profound lesson: If this country is to become what we have long claimed it to be, every citizen needs a full and free set of options for his life. It should be possible for the American Indian to live a life of fulfillment within his traditional family and tribal structure on the reservation, if he chooses to, but it should also be possible for the Indian child to go to the city and join the mainstream of American life if that is his wish. The assumption was made less than a generation ago that all Indians would be better off if forced away from the reservation. We have at least learned that that was wrong. Now we must make the choice of life styles more than a choice between two lives of enforced deprivation—not paternalistically, not because we are generous, but out of a realization that there should be in America the capacity to celebrate diversity and to find new strength for our country in that fact.

I come back again, as I think about the White House Conference, to the matter of urgency. The forum reports make the salutary suggestion that control of Johnson-O'Malley and impacted area funds be turned over to local Indian communities. But I do not see enough of the sense that every day of delay in reforming the educational process for the Indian child is a day in which more suicides will occur and more alcoholics will be created.

The Chicano child and the Puerto Rican child. The list of victims proliferates. There are nearly 10 million Americans whose first language is Spanish, and whose heritage is a Spanish language culture. There are many who have Portuguese, Chinese, French, Japanese, and other culture and language heritages. Like the Indian child, the Chicano or Puerto Rican child or other linguistically and culturally different child is daily penalized by the forced application of homogeneity, the assumption that diversity is intolerable.

Until recent years the Chicano—or Mexican American, as the Anglo culture dominated him—was a forgotten minority of huge proportions. Politicians sought his vote, but after the election things went back to business as usual. Nationally, he was eclipsed by the greater numbers and earlier political awareness of the black community. He was thought to be submissive and unquestioning of authority. His child was among the more invisible of our victims.

Now we know a little more about how things are. We have had some national attention to the Chicano as a farmworker, through the organizing efforts of Cesar Chavez with the help of the media. The growing

Puerto Rican minority in New York City and elsewhere has begun to surface. The barrio of East Los Angeles has erupted in violence. A network television documentary has shown a newly born Chicano child dying of prenatal starvation within a stone's throw of the multimillion-dollar HemisFair entertainment complex in San Antonio.

The Nation has begun to hear some tales from the victims who survived. We now know that 50 to 90 percent of Chicano and Puerto Rican children, depending on the area, come to school speaking only Spanish. Many of them, we find, are put in classes for the mentally retarded simply because they cannot cope with standardized English language intelligence tests.

The Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity which I chair has heard some extraordinary personal testimony: A near Ph.D. Puerto Rican in educational administration at Harvard who was classified as retarded in elementary school; a Chicano Ph. D. in clinical psychology who spent several years in mentally retarded classes as a child; and a Puerto Rican woman lawyer who was told she has an IQ of 20 in elementary school. These are among the handful of victims who survived.

Others are not so fortunate. As many as one out of five Chicano children never go to school. Of those who do, one out of four drop out by the eighth grade. Less than half graduate from high school. In one school district in California 99 percent of the children in kindergarten are Chicano but only 30 percent of the graduating seniors are Chicano. Of 7,000 school-age Puerto Rican children in Boston, seven graduated from high school this past June.

Why? Not only are intelligent children treated as uneducable, but Spanish-speaking children are often forbidden to speak their native language in school and in many cases are even punished for doing so. In a south Texas school, children are forced to kneel on the playground and beg forgiveness if they are caught talking to each other in Spanish. In an Arizona elementary school, children who answer a question in Spanish are required to come up to the teacher's desk and drop pennies in a bowl—one penny for each Spanish word spoken. "It works," the teacher boasts. "They come from poor families, you know."

Of course, the ways in which the Chicano and Puerto Rican children are victimized go on and on—the poor health care, the poor housing, the lack of job opportunities, and there is again the all-pervasive powerlessness. When Cesar Chavez began to organize, he found the law enforcement officials of the communities in California where he was working squarely on the side of the growers. When Chicano high school students in a small town in Texas demonstrated against school conditions, some were beaten by Texas Rangers, and those who were old enough were reclassified 1-A by the local selective service board. The sense of hopelessness, of inability to change conditions, is a major barrier to change. But again, if there is any basis for hope, it comes not alone from any increased commitment among Anglo politicians, but also from a rising generation of dedicated and able Chicano and Puerto Rican leaders. In Texas the Mexican-American Youth Organization, denounced as "militant" a year ago, helped form a new political party and elected a member to the school board in Crystal City. In New York Herman Badillo has been elected to

Congress. All over the country Chicano and Puerto Rican young people are on the move, sometimes with tactics which cooler heads deem unacceptable or unwise, but always with a commitment and perseverance which are profoundly admirable.

As with Indian children, if the White House Conference were to be fully relevant, one would have expected to find more extended and specific reference to the daily damage we are doing to the children of Spanish-speaking Americans.

The poor white child. Two-thirds of the poor children in America are white. This is a fact which should have great political implications, but it is too often ignored or forgotten.

The greatest concentration of white poverty is, of course, in Appalachia. Things have not changed very much since the days when John Kennedy campaigned in West Virginia and was so deeply moved by what he saw there. In Appalachia today more than three-quarters of a million young people sit in the hollows and hills facing lifelong unemployment if they remain at home, and lacking the skills to do much of consequence they leave. Over 900,000 children under 6—nearly half of the preschool children in the region—are poor. Less than one of 20 of Appalachia's poor children is in Headstart. Only 6 percent of Appalachia's children receive welfare assistance.

The way things work is quite simple, though perhaps the truth is a bit hard to face. The outside economic interests which control the region no longer have any need for the labor of the men who live there. Coal mining is gone or largely automated. Children are neglected because social services are not thought to be important for people of no economic value. There are no jobs for the fathers, either privately or governmentally created. There is no welfare if the man is living at home with his family. And the schools for the children are badly underfunded. Local authorities remain unwilling or unable to tax the outside large corporations. So the school construction needs of the 13 Appalachian States represented 42 percent of the total school construction needs in the entire country in a recent year.

The power structure would just as soon that the former coal miners and former dirt farmers leave the region.

This approach ignores two problems: First, some people who live in a place call it home. They want to live there. They do not accept the idea that someone wants to force them to move elsewhere. Second, it is hard to go elsewhere when one lacks the skills to do much once one is there.

Thus, again, the trap. And as surely as the black child is still oppressed by the white power structure in the South, the white child of Appalachia is also oppressed by the white power structure. Racism in America is not all racial.

If the White House Conference had a deeper sense of immediacy, the children of Appalachia and the economic interests which oppress them would be the subject for a forum in themselves.

THE URBAN-SLUM CHILD

Some of the victims whom I have mentioned live in cities. But any child who lives in one of the large central cities of America is a victim in ways which transcend his race and even his economic status.

The air he breathes—polluted by automobiles, powerplants, industrial plants, and home heating—makes him far more subject to disease than his suburban or rural counterpart.

The congestion in which he lives has clinically observable effects on his mental state. It is not surprising, for example, that studies find an astonishing incidence of mental illness in New York City, where the population density is almost 1,000 times that of the country generally, and an even greater incidence in central Harlem, where density is near 10,000 times the national average.

But that is only the beginning. In most instances, the urban child must face and deal with the worst aspects of America's institutions. The child attending school in one of the 20 largest school systems in the country is almost a year behind the national norm for the rest of the country. The health problems faced by the urban child are equally as horrifying.

Veneral disease has gone beyond the epidemic stage. Infant mortality in the ghettos and barrios is often four times the national average. And drug addiction is now rampant in all parts of every major city. For a child of the city, his powerlessness and isolation from the mainstream of America are more obvious at an early age; his disconnection from society's major institutions, schools, police, religious institutions, business and industry is more blatant. Lack of space, poor housing, density, and inadequate opportunities strain family relationships even further.

Every institution which confronts the urban child is the biggest, most unresponsive form of that institution our country has to offer.

The schools are dropout factories. In the ghetto schools, children as they get older fall further and further behind national norms in every skill.

The city hospital is totally dehumanizing. The patient waits 2 to 4 hours in a clinic to see a doctor he has never seen before and is likely never to see again.

The welfare is at its most bureaucratic and degrading. The landlord is an absentee or a public housing authority as bureaucratic as the slumlord is neglectful. The credit merchant overreaches and repossesses the moment payments fall behind.

We are coming to the point in America where the sheer fact of urban life, and particularly ghetto life, is a process of victimization in itself. People laughed nervously a couple of years ago when Jules Feiffer wrote a play called "Little Murders" in which urban life disintegrated into a sniper war. The play is no longer funny. It is coming true.

Our response so far is repression. Arresting the perpetrators of violence is right, as far as it goes. But if that is all we do, if we do not seek the causes and try to eliminate them, we are asking for a generation of urban guerrilla warfare.

The danger is not that there will be a successful revolution. We have in this technological society all the forces and power and weapons necessary for effective repression. The only catch is that we will have a different sort of country when we are through. A better course would be to stop now, reexamine national priorities, and commit the resources necessary to bring about the climate of justice and equality of opportunity within which guerrilla warfare will not arise and flourish. I

do not see that question on the agenda of the White House Conference.

The handicapped child. There are more than 7 million handicapped children in America—emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, physically handicapped in one of the variety of ways, or suffering from special learning difficulties. Nearly 5 million of these children are receiving no special educational services or other help.

Some are poor, but most are not. Most are children whose problem is not irremediable enough to cause them to be discarded into a public residential institution, but for who the public schools have no appropriate programs and private services are either unavailable or too expensive.

We have, plainly and simply, failed these children. They are the victims of our neglect.

Consider the child who is in a residential institution either for the mentally retarded or the mentally ill. Typically, it is old, crowded, understaffed, filthy, sterile, strewn with feces, devoid of hope, filled with blank faces. There are retarded children there who are educable if the special education services are available. There are disturbed children who are curable if the psychiatric services were available. There are neglected and abandoned children who are there simply because there is no other place to put them, and who will remain there until they are 16 and then be dumped on the street, propelled to the scrap heap by a society which did not care enough to make life possible for them.

Here again, our treatment is both inhumane, and senseless. It would save money to save lives. The annual cost of foster care is about one-eighth the cost of institutionalization. The lifetime cost of educating an educable handicapped or retarded child is about \$20,000. Institutionalizing him will cost well over \$200,000. And the Nation's handicapped children have potential earning power of \$15 billion if they receive the special education and services necessary for them to realize their personal and economic potential.

We are not going in that direction. In a recent year the Federal Government appropriated, over \$1 billion for cotton price support and one-twentieth that amount for child mental health services conceived in the broadest possible terms.

The 1930 White House Conference said :

The emotionally disturbed child has a right to grow up in a world which does not set him apart, which looks at him not with scorn or piety or ridicule—but which welcomes him exactly as it welcomes every child, which offers him identical privileges and identical responsibilities.

Where are we now ?

The child and the law. The child's life—rich or poor—can become entwined with the State in a variety of ways. He may be a neglected or abandoned child. He may be born out of wedlock or be the victim of a divorce where his future is determined without any legal protection for him. He may be deemed incorrigible by his parents or his teacher, or alleged to be a law violator of some kind.

The paradox of our national behavior is that we do both too much and too little. Too many children are swept off the streets for one reason or another. In various States, a child can end up in court and then in reform school or training school for such dangerous behavior

as violating a curfew, hanging around a poolroom wandering around a railroad track, swearing in public, sleeping in an alley, drinking, or smoking in public. He can be taken away from his parents, with or without their consent.

Once in the hands of the State, he is not all certain of being any better off. Milton Luger, a nationally known expert on juvenile delinquency, has made the following extraordinary statement:

It would be better for all concerned if young delinquents were not detected, apprehended, or institutionalized. Too many of them get worse in our care.

First, the child gets a juvenile or family court hearing which is likely to be as short as 10 or 15 minutes in length. Before that hearing ever occurs he may be kept in a juvenile detention facility, perhaps in solitary confinement, for weeks on end or, even worse, his "pretrial" detention may have been in a county jail where he is mixed with adult prisoners, subject to homosexual abuse and the influence of hardened criminals. Adults are constitutionally entitled to bail under these circumstances. Children are not.

His court hearing may well be conducted without any legal representation, despite the Supreme Court's 1967 Gault decision requiring otherwise.

Having engaged in behavior which would not be a crime if he were an adult, he may nonetheless be adjudged a delinquent and sent away. Worse still, a judge not wanting to stigmatize him as a delinquent may send him away, noting on his record that he awaits "further orders of the court." This may be enough to keep him locked up a year or two, or even more.

The institution to which he is sent is seldom more than a crime factory. Educational programs are weak, psychological counseling infrequent or nonexistent, guards are frequently brutal, conditions are overcrowded, and stimulating activities scarce. Children with widely divergent problems are mixed together. Some are retarded. Some are disturbed. Too often, no sorting process exists.

As Howard James says in the subtitle of his shocking recent book, "Children in Trouble," the situation is a national scandal.

Less than a year ago, the New York Times reported the death of a 12-year-old heroin addict in Harlem—Walter Vandermeer. Charlayne Hunter and Joseph Lelyveld of the Times reconstructed his life. Public school gave up on him in the third grade, without trying to get him any psychological counseling from the school system's bureau of child guidance. Instead, it referred his case to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children which brought him to family court on a neglect petition. He was put in a children's shelter run by the society, and shortly moved to another public children's shelter. Shortly thereafter, the court released him, but he was back within 6 months, and was assigned first to a halfway house in Harlem and then to the Wiltwyck School in upstate New York—the fifth institutional setting in which he had been locked in 15 months. Wiltwyck gave up on him in 6 months and sent him back to family court, which let him back on the street again. The court, though finding him too disturbed for Wiltwyck, found, for reasons known only to itself, that he was not disturbed enough to be sent to a State training school. A year later he was dead. Most appalling, one school official told reporters that Walter's case

was mishandled so badly, not because of incompetency, but because of overwhelming numbers. As he put it, "There are thousands of Walter Vandermeers out there."

Walter Vandermeer was a spectacular kind of victim. But the fact is there are 100,000 children in America in correctional-type institutions on any given day; the courts handle a million nontraffic juvenile cases a year—the children who drift in and out of the world of courts, social agencies, and special schools; and there are still thousands more out on the street where Walter Vandermeer eventually died, who have no hope at all of getting any help. The paradox is that no matter what happens as things are, no matter whether the neglected or disturbed or difficult child gets involved with the State or stays on the street—either way, he is a victim.

Institutions. I have listed a number of kinds of victims. Some are poor and some are racial minorities. Some are children with special problems. But they are not alone.

The fact is, all of our children are victims. The neglect, the mutilation affect the vast majority of our children—in certain respects all of them. Middleclass as well as poor children watch television commercials that are vulgar, insulting, misleading, and frivolous, and television programs saturated with mindless violence, historical distortions, or rudely condescending remarks—programs which in sum treat American citizens as if they are infinitely exploitable. All children live and play and grow up in a world whose air is thick with smoke and dust and dirt, thick with obnoxious, foul-smelling, irritating substances whose potential hurtfulness we are only beginning to look at any study and estimate. Any child, rich or poor, can fall sick and find out that, yes, progress is being made on this or that disease—but only some progress, because we have set limits on how many doctors we turn out, and the money we need for various kinds of medical research is building huge, outmoded technological equipment.

What the list of victims does not adequately underscore is that the institutions and programs and structures which were created when things were simpler are simply not working now.

Education. Some of the questions about our schools are monetary; and I mean not only our ghetto schools or the schools on our Indian reservations or up our Appalachian hollows, but the schools most American children attend, the schools in Sacramento, Calif., and Boston, Mass., and in the cities and towns of the Midwest and the Prairie States, as well as the South. Do those schools have the books and other materials they need, the equipment they need? Are those schools new enough and pleasant to be in and well heated and airy and spacious and provided with good lighting? Do those schools have the services of school nurses and school doctors? Do they have adequate cafeterias and adequate playgrounds and adequate laboratories? Are the buses that bring those children to school safe? For that matter, are the school buildings themselves safe—and as well, not overcrowded, not understaffed, not old and dingy and depressing, a constant sign to children of what their Nation is and is not willing to do for its children?

Have we taken pains to document how many American workingmen have children at school in buildings labeled even by school author-

ities "inadequate" or "temporary structure"? Have we tried to find out what kind of educational services children get—not on paper, but in fact—if they are retarded or handicapped or plagued by one or another psychological problem that affects their ability to concentrate and learn? Have we gathered information, city by city, State by State, region by region, as to what deaf children, blind children, brain injured children, children with speech learning difficulties, gifted children, get in the way of the special teaching they need? Have we studied our schools of education, which supply us with teachers—obtained from them a comprehensive estimate, national in its scope, of their needs? How many men and women who already are teachers become understandably tired and weary and frustrated and bitter—as they are asked to do their work under discouraging—if not impossible—circumstances and for wages that are an insult to them as citizens of this Nation? And finally, what does it all mean to our children—that teachers are treated as they are, that so many school buildings and classrooms are left as they are rather than torn down and replaced by what is minimally acceptable, let alone optimally desirable?

But money is far from the only problem. The more basic question is what goes on in the schools, how the money they do get is spent. Listen to the remarks of a student evaluator of the very affluent Montgomery County school system in suburban Maryland just outside of Washington:

From what we know to be true, as fulltime students and researchers of the County School System (as well as from every attempt we know of to survey student attitudes in the County), it is quite safe to say that the public schools have critically negative and absolutely destructive effects on human beings and their curiosity, natural desire to learn, confidence as individuals, creative freedom of thought and self respect.

Listen to the words of another Montgomery County student:

Fear—the school system is based upon fear. Students are taught from the outset that they should be afraid of having certain things happen to them: bad grades, punishment from authorities, humiliation, ostracism, "failure," antagonizing teachers and administrators—are all things that terrify students as they enter first grade. These fears, which school officials use as a lever from elementary school through high school to establish and maintain order and obedience, have horribly destructive effects: they may be reflected in extreme nervousness, terror, paranoia, resentment, withdrawal, alienation; they may be visible, they may be submerged, but in either case these effects should be of utmost concern to those who value the human mind and spirit.

Montgomery County is one of the most respected, most affluent school systems in America. It stands to reason that these observations are not unique. Student dissatisfaction is widespread throughout the country. Eighty-five percent of the schools responding to a Syracuse University questionnaire this year said they had had some type of disruption within the last 3 years. Fifty-nine percent of the high schools and 56 percent of the junior high schools studied by the National Association of secondary school principals in 1969 experienced some form of protest.

Obviously there is a mixture of failures. There is a failure to impart basic skills—one out of four students in the public schools of New York State cannot pass even minimal tests of competency in reading and mathematics.

But the failure goes far deeper. What the students in Montgomery County are talking about, and what many protesters in other affluent systems throughout the country are rebelling against, is an attitude which places conformity above individuality, discipline above creativity, which above all conducts education as though the concept of an education person were a constant, the same in 1970 as, say, in 1950. Young people mature earlier than they have at any time in our history, or at any time in recent history—since young people assumed adult responsibilities in pioneer days far earlier than they do now. They have serious questions about the way our Government and our society operate. These questions are not answered by courses which teach that America has never been the aggressor or never lost a war.

Partly the attitude is the attitude of the parents and the adult generation generally. Two-thirds of a group of high school parents surveyed in 1969 said that they believe "maintaining discipline is more important than student self-inquiry." To be young is to be by definition untrustworthy. In one New York suburb a new middle school has been badly needed for years. The school board repeatedly refused to approve its construction until recently when the superintendent explained publicly that the new school was essential in order to remove the 10 to 13 year olds from the bad influence of the high school kids with their drugs, their "experimentation," and their "radical politics." It is no wonder that recent years have seen books with titles like "Death at an Early Age," "Our Children Are Dying," and "Crisis in the Classroom."

There is no doubt of it—our schools are failing millions of our children.

Corporations. The question of the social responsibility of the corporation is, of course, far broader than its responsibility to the child, but a few examples will illustrate how the child is particularly victimized by corporate irresponsibility or plain failure to take the child's interests into account.

A committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics recently concluded that air pollution is more dangerous to children in some respects than it is to adults, in terms of greater susceptibility to respiratory infections, which can lead in turn to permanent lung damage. What corporate consideration is given to children when it is decided that an industrial plan will use one type of fuel rather than another, or one grade of oil rather than another, thereby polluting the air more rather than less? What type of consideration is given to children when the automobile industry mindlessly pours more exhaust-spewing cars onto urban roads sending air pollution counters off their dials? What kind of consideration are children given when a large public utility decides to build another fossil fuel power generating plant in the middle of a large city, thereby polluting the air further? Perhaps if children were kept explicitly in mind when these decisions are being made, urban life generally would be less oppressive and less dangerous.

The food industry is another example. Here the responsibility is more direct.

What kind of food do we think we are buying for our children, and what do we actually get? How are we to make sense of some of the things we read on packages of food destined to be put before our children?

Every mother who has warmed a jar of baby food has tested the temperature with her finger—which she usually licks. Baby food companies know that and they flavor and salt the baby food to suit the mother's tastes. Lost in this consideration is the fact that babies need less salt than mothers and children who are taught to crave salt risk hypertension in old age.

There are other problems. The family accustomed to eating large quantities of rice was better nourished before the advent of polished rice. The mother who buys concentrated fruit juice to give her family vitamins and citric acid really gives her family flavored water if the concentrate was sold in a cardboard container. Cardboard, unlike the old tin cans, is porous and air produces a chemical reaction which can weaken or eliminate the vitamin content of the drink.

During World War II we had State laws requiring that commercial bread be made with fortified flour but they have been allowed to fall into disuse. Commercial bread—despite sweeping advances in food fortification—no longer contains fully fortified flour. Consider how much bread our children eat.

Anemia is a public health problem. It is widespread. It is particularly common in teenage girls, pregnant women, and young children. It has, depending upon the severity, a variety of debilitating effects. It could easily be eliminated. Iron fortification is a relatively simple process which is known not to affect food composition and consistency in most cases, and could be introduced with sufficient control to virtually wipe out anemia. That alone would eliminate nutritional anemia in pregnancy and improve the chances for normalcy for many of our children.

What people need, rich and poor, is nutritious food. If teenagers want to eat french fries and hamburgers, then we should use enriched flour in the hamburger bun and enrich the soft drinks that go with it. If a family wants to eat pasta, then we should make available the nutritious, enriched macaroni already developed.

Then there is the responsibility of television as a corporate entity. Study after study has shown the deleterious effects of violence on television, but it still saturates the airwaves. "Sesame Street" is widely heralded, but it, or anything like it, is seldom seen on commercial television. And television is still saturated as well with commercials which calculatingly and often misleadingly play on the emotions and desires of children. Saturday morning children's television has 50 percent more commercial messages than adult television. If a child watches children's television half the time it is on, and pays attention to only a half again of the blandishments of Tony the Tiger, Cap'n Crunch, and Fred Flintstone for various edibles, he gets twice as many messages from them as from his mother who tells him every day at breakfast to eat nutritious food.

Finally, toy manufacturers have a tremendous responsibility to the health and well-being of American children. When an arm of a toy doll is pulled off leaving a sharp prong uncovered, when the eye on a baby's toy can be detached and swallowed, when an electric toy reaches heat that can burn, when games are covered with glass that shatters on impact, or when sharply pointed, heavily weighted darts are sold—children's lives are threatened.

Toys like these may be profitable, but they injure 700,000 children a year. Almost one out of five eye injuries to children involves a toy.

The children of America have a right to better protection from both the corporations that manufacture toys and the Government agencies that are responsible for making sure these toys are safe. That right is being ignored. Despite authority to ban new toys found hazardous to children, HEW acted in only three cases, and only after the Secretary was sued by the Consumers Union. And HEW still refuses to ban further sales of a heavily weighted, sharply pointed lawn dart that has already killed two children and wounded 14 others. Every American child and every American parent has a right to expect more.

Health care for children. I have already alluded to the failure of performance in child health care as measured by a classic indication like infant mortality. There are a million children born every year without adequate prenatal care, and 21 million children who see a physician less often than once a year.

Look at it from the doctor's side—there are only 12,000 pediatricians in the United States, about a third of what we need. Or from the money side—only 10 percent of the Federal health research dollar is spent on children.

Look at it from the family's point of view—how hard it is to get a doctor to make a house call, how long the wait is in the doctor's office, let alone the public clinic or emergency room.

And of course there is the financial side of it—only 10 percent of child health care is covered by health insurance.

It is not easy to talk about such matters. It is not easy to remind factory workers and white-collar workers and small businessmen that a sudden medical emergency which afflicts one of their children is an emergency which also can all too quickly be a financial disaster. It is not easy to remind those same working people, hard-working people, that no matter how long and earnestly they work, at no matter how many jobs, their children might one day suffer because we as a Nation haven't supported the medical research we might, haven't trained the doctors we might, have not built the hospitals we might—or equipped them as we might.

Let us try to relate this situation to the typical American workingman—the so-called middle American. Even before his child is born there are risks and dangers that are avoidable, yet permitted by us in America. I refer to the illness pregnant women can get—illnesses that cost money only the rich can put their hands on, illnesses that require medical care and medical equipment simply not available in many cities and towns and whole counties and entire States of these United States. And likewise at birth or after birth, the child as well as his or her mother can require prolonged and delicate attention from skilled physicians and those who work alongside them—all of whom are in short supply in many parts of this country. What is a working man to do? He cannot rent planes and fly his family half way across the country and check into a hotel and stay there while his wife and child are treated. Nor can he pay the thousands and thousands of dollars that hospitals and doctors and "services" cost. His child may have some bone trouble, a particularly difficult club foot, cerebral palsy, a congenital heart defect or another "problem" that we lump together under categorical, descriptive terms like "congenital disorder" or

“mental retardation” or “physically handicapped.” He may live in a large- or medium-sized city, let alone in rural areas—and be told there is a waiting list for this, there are no facilities for that, and so it goes and so it has to be. Our Government takes a census every 10 years, and is always coming up with facts or figures about the economy, the war, the state of our defenses.

I wonder why we do not try to find out and report upon how many children are born with or succumb to severe and crippling illnesses, injuries to their bodies and brains, diseases that affect their growth and development—and then go on to get thoroughly inadequate treatment for such afflictions. Perhaps if we knew how many children need pediatricians, need surgeons, need physical therapists, need child psychiatrists, need one or another kind of machine or instrument or mode of therapy—and do not get what they need, then we would be in a position to weigh our priorities, so that when generals and admirals, already in control of enough military hardware to destroy the entire planet, tell us they have needs, they want another kind of plane or ship or gun, we can say to them yes, we want to protect this country, and protect it not only from outside enemies but from diseases that every single day unnecessarily kill and maim and stunt and cause pain and suffering to American children.

The whole system is a nonsystem.

The hospital is the costliest way to dispense medical care, and it has become nearly 100 percent more costly in just the last 5 years. Yet, we still continue to put children in hospitals who do not have to be there, who could be taken care of in a doctor's office or a neighborhood clinical setting. Blue Cross and other hospital insurances still require that children be put in hospitals if they are to be reimbursed for procedures which could be performed outside the hospital. The Government reimburses hospitals under medicare and medicaid without asking any greater efficiency in return. In short, no leverage whatsoever is exercised to require the development of a system of neighborhood clinics which could dispense preventive care and keep children out of hospitals instead of forcing them in.

The same situation exists regarding medical manpower. There are dozens of tasks which could be performed by physicians' assistants and other paraprofessional manpower. The doctor is the costliest form of medical manpower. The cost of care and the scarcity of personnel could be greatly alleviated if we were to change the mix of medical manpower. It has not happened.

These faults of organization have caused medical costs to skyrocket. The situation is intolerable. Not only is medical care less available than it should be, but it is too often provided in the least efficient possible way, and it is too often financially out of the reach of the typical family.

As a consequence, millions of our children are victims.

The welfare system. Here we have another nonsystem which has grown up over the years—which destroys children, breaks up families, perpetuates dependency, robs people of dignity, and leaves them in poverty—and infuriates giver and recipient alike.

The visible, highly debated problem is, of course, financial assistance to poor children.

But we do a poor job with other welfare problems as well—notably adoption and foster care. Adoption is limited in many places by out-moded laws restricting racial and religious mixing of children and parents, and by the fact that adoption policies are controlled by traditional private welfare agencies whose good intentions are matched only by their “welfarist” orientation.

Foster care is limited by lack of funds as well as by traditionalist attitudes, like the idea that a single person cannot be an adopting or foster parent. There are perhaps three times as many children in need of foster care as actually get it.

Lost, too, in the debate over the administration’s family assistance plan is its unprecedented proposal to limit funds for social services including day care to 110 percent of last year’s appropriation—a dangerous precedent indeed in an area where we have at least had the advantage of open-ended appropriation.

And the FAP itself is bad for children. For who is more the victim of the President’s “work fare” than the child whose mother is forced to work?

FAP is perplexing to those of us who want to support real welfare reform. In return for a national minimum floor for benefits and for extending aid to the working poor—both highly desirable reforms—we are being asked to accept a new system which will force mothers to work, with consequent risk to their children.

Secretary Richardson’s proposals the other day improve the bill somewhat, but it remains to be seen whether the final version of the bill will be an improvement over the present system, bad as that is.

It may be said that the discussion of welfare, unlike the other institutions I have described, relates uniquely to the poor. It does not.

Who pays for welfare? One of the great sources of anger on the part of the industrial worker taking home \$58 a week after taxes in New York is that his taxes are helping to give tax-free support of \$64 a week to a welfare mother and her three children. True welfare reform—a negative income tax or a justly conceived family income supplement plan—would provide assistance to that angry industrial worker who needs and deserves it just as much, and would ultimately alleviate his sense that his tax dollars are not being spent for broad social purposes.

There are other institutions which fit into the pattern of failure—failure through being oversized, overbureaucratic, overly impersonal, and overly insensitive. There are the courts and residential institutions for children, which I have discussed earlier. There is the role of the university and of the church. There is the pervasive effect of racism, hostility to diversity, and callousness to powerlessness which cuts across the functioning of all of our institutions.

Perhaps above all, the institution which is failing our children is Government. Government is the ultimate source of funds for programs. Government is a major source of regulations to make institutions respond to children’s needs. But Government in this country has allowed itself to become enmeshed in one of the greatest situations of distorted priorities in the history of a democratic government.

Government in this country seems incapable of extricating itself from unpopular wars which still cost money and lives. Government seems incapable of stopping the flow of dollars into useless weaponry

and high-flying elephants. And all the while children suffer and the institutions which are supposed to serve them are subjected to no searching inquiry, no serious push for reform. Yes, if we are looking at the institutions which have failed our children, let us look first and foremost at ourselves here in the U.S. Senate.

Recommendations. It is neither practicable nor feasible to set forth a total program for reform and change. The length of such a program would be a book or a set of volumes in itself. Its total cost would be staggering. Among other things, those who would criticize this speech for political reasons—and there will be those—would have a field day with the supposed impracticality of it all.

But any program for reform must begin with a cry for recalculation of our national priorities. The refrain is familiar by now. I need not go through it again. But if the White House Conference is to contribute anything, that is where it should begin. For, apart from the immorality of spending money on unneeded weaponry while children go hungry, the sad fact is that in this great, affluent nation, we will never have enough resources to solve our problems unless we begin to exercise wisdom and good sense in the way in which we spend our national funds.

We need far more resources devoted to the solution of domestic problems. With proper priorities and a healthy, growing economy, I believe we could begin to do what has to be done.

The other day it was decided that it was more important to fully fund a \$110 million authorization for a space station than it was to more adequately fund public housing. Every day we reenact another example of our present set of priorities, in which usually the child is the loser. He has lost over and over again during the past decade, and unless we can reorder priorities, he will continue to lose.

Had we the resources, the agenda is not difficult to see: It must include a guaranteed decent job for everyone; income maintenance for all; national health insurance; an adequate program of early childhood development; sufficient funds to extend service to all the handicapped children who need it; and so on down the list.

But what is needed is far more than just money. For, apart from the scarcity of funds, our institutions are simply not working very well.

It is not just that we cannot run a welfare system. We cannot get our hospitals to dispense decent, efficient medical care, either. It is not just that we cannot seem to get enough food to hungry children. Our schools cannot seem to interest or really educate our children either.

The question is not just one of a need for urgent attention to pressing problems. It is also one of philosophy and approach.

I have been for all the old programs. But even where we have spent a lot of money, things are often worse than they were before.

Because we did not listen. We bulldozed whole neighborhoods and called it urban renewal, over the anguished cries of those who told us it was Negro removal. We stacked people together in public housing and wondered what they were trying to tell us when they defaced walls and broke windows.

We built huge universities and wondered what the kids were talking about when they cried out about the impersonality of everything. We spent some Federal money—not nearly what was needed—on the pub-

lic schools without asking how it was being spent or whether we were getting any results; then we acted surprised when citizen's groups told us that some of the money had been diverted to illegal purposes and was not helping poor children. We poured money into the welfare system without reform, long after recipients and welfare workers alike were telling us of its disastrous effects. The BIA did not listen to the cries of the Indians it was supposed to be helping, and now the first Americans are very nearly the last Americans.

It is time for us, as liberals, to face the fact that our approach has too often been self-satisfied, Washington-centered, insensitive, and conformist. We thought we knew best, and in so thinking, we robbed people of their pride and their sense of involvement in themselves and in their communities. Albeit unwittingly, we have often done as much damage as good.

In some ways the old political machines were more responsible than we are. At least people got some assistance in return for serving up their freedom. Now the bureaucrat whom they have to go to for help does not live in their neighborhood, does not speak their language, has no reason to deliver and often risks his career if he does.

Any nation which discovers in 1967 that it has 15 million hungry citizens in its midst cannot be very confident that it is doing things right. Any nation which discovers in 1970 that it has thousands of teachers in its schools who literally does not speak the same language as their students must doubt whether it is pursuing the right course.

If our national approach has been bulldozer solutions coupled with bureaucracy, this has been just as true of State government and local housing and redevelopment authorities and other agencies. Many have failed in the fundamental task of listening to and showing some understanding of those whom they are supposed to serve.

We need, first, a total reexamination of all of our institutions and programs in this country. What are we getting for our money? What are our children getting for our money? We are creaking along in 1970, trying to run a government and schools and social services through institutions which were created tens of decades and even centuries ago, and in many cases have not been reexamined since.

The changes in size alone are staggering. The United States Steel Corp. which the Government broke up under the antitrust laws more than a half a century ago was smaller than the typical medium size corporation today. Before World War I, no university in the Western World had more than 5,000 students. Now 30,000 students is only a moderate-sized student body. Hospitals which had one employee for every three patients a half century ago now have three employees for every one patient. Some foundations have international operations and offices which are larger than most foreign governments.

The impersonality and unresponsiveness which comes along with the size is understandable. I have discussed some of it in these remarks. So the answer to our problems is far more than just money, although we certainly need more money as well.

One key matter to focus on is size. All the evidence suggests that adults and children feel more involved and are served better by small institutions. We can get smaller institutions by breaking up bigger ones and by creating new, smaller ones.

We can emphasize the building of neighborhood health clinics instead of concentrating almost exclusively on hospitals—clinics to serve target populations of 30,000 instead of 300,000. We can make sure that our new college campuses are smaller in size and just build more of them. When we build new correctional facilities, we can insure that they are small enough to allow the kind of group interaction which benefits the children whom we put in them.

And we can decrease the size of existing facilities. We can create colleges within colleges, campuses within campuses, no matter what the institution.

Above all, we can and must do something about the size of government. Many functions which are performed on the citywide level could be handled at the neighborhood level far more responsively and far more effectively. Much of what goes on in the Federal Government could be given over to the local government with strong Federal supervision and strong Federal standards. That is not the old liberal philosophy, but it is one which just might work better.

Attention to the size of institutions—reducing them to the smallest viable size—is one key element in making them work.

Another key element is regulation. Ralph Nader, with all that he has done, has reminded us that the regulatory agencies which we created with such fanfare a generation ago and earlier, have more and more come to be just captives of those whom they are supposed to regulate. Regulation can help with the size of institutions. It is certainly not shocking to begin thinking of breaking up corporate units into smaller entities. That, after all, was done at the turn of the century. And regulation can help with the quality of life. It is not shocking to think that, had we the will, government regulation could result in the cleansing of air and water. Nor do children's toys have to be dangerous.

So regulation is one key word which has been lost from our vocabulary to the great detriment of our children and all of us.

Another key word, related to regulation, is accountability. As the institutions and programs which I have discussed have grown and proliferated, they have become sovereignties unto themselves, accountable to no one, proceeding along from day to day without supervision or question from the outside. Some of the accountability can be built internally. Agencies can begin to evaluate their own programs and release those evaluations to the public.

Perhaps a more important aspect of accountability is using money as leverage—the demanding by the Federal Government of accountability on the part of those to whom it gives money.

For years the Federal Johnson-O'Malley and impacted areas money has flowed to local public schools for the education of Indian children with no questions asked. We could begin to demand the hiring of Indian teachers, parental and community involvement in schools, the institution of bilingual programs, the institution of Indian history and cultural classes, and above all, a measure of dignity for the Indian child in return for the Federal flow of dollars.

We could begin to ask what local school districts are doing with the money under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act and to demand results.

The disaster which masquerades for our health care system in this country could be turned around very quickly if the Government were to seriously get about the business of demanding performance for the billions of dollars it pours into the health care field. If the Government began to say that hospitals had to reorganize, that medical schools had to turn out students other than doctors as a condition of receiving Government research and other funds, if all of these things were done, the cost of health care would go down and quality would go up.

Accountability can also be stimulated from the outside, and here we come to another key word—advocacy. The Government never got serious about monitoring where its funds under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act had gone until a group on the outside did its own evaluation, and came up with the conclusion that title I was not really helping poor children. Some would say HEW is not doing much better now, but at least it is aware of the problems. And if you go and talk to the auditors who work at HEW, they are jubilant. The outside advocates have put them on the map. They have more staff than they ever had. They are delighted that outside advocacy has come along and given them a job. They are delighted at the idea that someone wants their help, wants their contribution in keeping the Government honest. So outside advocacy has a great role to play in assuring accountability.

One of the most exciting developments in our society right now is the outside advocacy—both through the legal services program and through public interest law firms, as well as the young professionals in other fields who have taken it upon themselves to try to bring accountability to their professions. It is in this area that there is both great hope for change and great need for vigilance. For when these young professionals are successful, they get into political trouble—witness this week's Finance Committee vote to prohibit legal services lawyers from suing to challenge welfare policies.

A fifth key word—far more fundamental than advocacy, as important as that is—is participation: the sharing of power and the alleviation of powerlessness. One facet of the lack of accountability is that bureaucrats have come to believe that bureaucracy exists for their internal benefit. They forget their mandate, which is to see that services are delivered to the people.

No one really knows more about whether a program is working or not, and whether it is being properly administered than those whom it is supposed to benefit. More important, the only way to eliminate paternalism, laziness and unresponsiveness is to share power. If we do nothing else in the 1970's we must make it our goal to achieve participation programs by those who are supposed to benefit from them and by the community generally. Such participation, such sharing of power, should become a familiar aspect of our national life.

Fortunately, the political and other struggles of the past decade have given us some models for participation.

The Headstart program at its best has shown us what a marvelously rich experience parent involvement can be—both in terms of the parents coming to understand what quality education is and also in terms of the enhanced learning experience of a child. The extension of that kind of parent involvement throughout all preschool education

and indeed throughout the elementary and secondary schools as well, would be a great boon in our society.

It is critical that the method of participation that we adopt be one in which real power is shared. There is always the bureaucratic temptation to try to coopt—to try and create nice-sounding advisory boards which have no power, are convened once or twice a year in a fancy board room or hotel and are then ignored. The struggle to create the proper mix for participation will not be easy. There is an appropriate role for professionals in both administration and policy, and citizen participation must include both those who are served by the program and representatives of the community generally.

Welfare need not be controlled by welfare recipients, but they must be represented in a real way in the making and application of policy. The university need not be turned over to the students and faculty, but they should be represented on the board of trustees. The doctors and the hospital administrators should still have something to say about the way a hospital is run, but the community should be directly represented on the board as well.

There is one aspect of participation which I want to emphasize particularly. That is the idea of having children themselves participate in the process of their institutions. I do not wish to overstate this concept—I am not suggesting that 5-year-olds need to sit on the boards of kindergartens; but high school students can participate very actively in decisionmaking in their institutions and in teaching younger students, as well.

Ghetto youths in St. Louis have done a fine job of running a rat control program. Youngsters would make the most effective nucleus of a preventive drug education program, because peer group testimony is what would be most influential. Instead of mistrusting one generation of young people to have any constructive influence on those just below them—which is what we seem to do now—I think it is crucially important that we involve young people in working with children.

Another key word is “innovation.” We just have to be prepared to try new approaches. Whether schools without walls or magnet schools, or open classrooms or individualized instruction, or new forms of early childhood development, or new approaches to juvenile delinquency, the subject does not matter. The point is that the way we are doing things now is not working. We simply have to have new approaches.

Another important need is to find new ways of getting Federal money out to the communities for the benefit of children. The goal should be to encourage initiative at the local level while requiring adherence to strong national standards and requirements of accountability. Here I part most emphatically from those who would simply use revenue sharing or block grants as a means of handing out money to States and localities without any strings attached. But I also depart from some of my liberal brethren who are still enthralled with the categorical grant-in-aid approach that has a large Federal bureaucracy at the top handing out money to the States, which in turn give it to localities. This has resulted in the worst kind of bureaucratic delay and diffusion of purpose. We simply have to find new ways of getting the money directly to communities and even to neighborhoods for broad social purposes—but without giving up the idea of strong Federal standards.

The concept of national standards is extremely important. We are quite familiar with the patchwork of programs which passes for a welfare system, and the patchwork of local fiefdoms which passes for health care system. It is time we set national standards for performance as a country and stuck to them, through the processes of regulation and accountability which I have already described.

Another key idea is rights—legal rights. This has two aspects. First, for too long we have regarded various social programs and services as a matter of largess dispensed by the State. It is time we began to think in terms of creating legally enforceable obligations for our children, on which they can sue if the obligation goes unfulfilled either in dollar terms or, for that matter, in quality. If we are ever to have any kind of national standards which really works to deliver service to people, we are going to have to create legally enforceable rights to go with it. This will be a massive job, and will require careful study, but I believe it is a major matter on the agenda.

The second aspect of the idea of legal rights has to do with rights of children vis-a-vis institutions—rights of children in school to engage in free expression and not to be subjected to discipline without due process, rights of children in court not to be subject to being disposed of without adequate counsel or real rules of law. The development of a body of children's law is also an important matter on the agenda.

A final key word is options, protected by national standards. A child and his family should have a full range of options as to where they want to live. The child should have a choice of educational experiences, a full choice of possible lifestyles and professions. We shut off the choices both ways sometimes. We do not integrate the schools and we deny ghetto schools the power and the funds they need to improve. We keep the suburbs lily-white as a practical matter and we keep the ghetto a slum. We make life for the Indian an impossibility both on the reservation and in the city. "Options" is a very important word.

I call now for a national re-examination of all of our institutions by reference to these 10 criteria—size, regulations, accountability, advocacy, participation, innovation, new avenues of money flow, national standards, legal rights and options.

Let us see how some of these ideas might work in relation to a matter of which I have not discussed in any detail, a timely subject on which public debate is going on—the question of day care, or more properly, early childhood development programs.

For various reasons, it appears that a good deal of new Federal money is about to be poured into the early childhood development field. I favor putting more money into this area. But let us be sure we do not make the same old mistakes all over again.

Some say that the present Federal day care guidelines are too stringent, that, if they are kept as they are, no project will be able to get started. No doubt there are ways in which these guidelines can be improved, but there is in my judgment one nonnegotiable criterion for whether an early childhood development program is an acceptable recipient of Federal money; not whether it enables the mother to work, but whether the program enhances the child's development. There is no point in pouring Federal money into a program that amounts to

the warehousing of children, to a federally subsidized baby-sitting service. If we are going to provide money for early childhood development, let us do it correctly.

This means community participation in the planning and administration of the program; it means appropriate professional participation in the teaching or care at the program; and it means health care and nutritional value in the program.

There are those whose express interest in day care is to make it possible for mothers to work. They are applying growing pressure to provide 5-day-a-week, 10-hour-a-day child care for preschool children whose mothers work, or would work if these services were available. In some cases, this would be an improvement. There are thousands of young children—latchkey children—who are left at home to care for themselves, or are looked after by brothers or sisters barely older than they are. Unquestionably, a program with adult supervision and hot meals would be an improvement for them. But the creation of institutions with warm rooms, several adults, and breakfast, lunch, and dinner does not necessarily add up to child development.

I wonder whether many preschoolers—especially the very young—would not be served better by programs lasting several hours, rather than all day, or by programs that send tutors into their homes to work with them and their mothers. I know of one program here in the district that sent tutors to the homes of ghetto youngsters aged 1½ to 3 years, several hours a week, and was extremely successful in preventing IQ declines of 15 to 20 points that other ghetto youngsters were experiencing. That was not a day care program. It did not make it possible for the mothers to work. But it was a tremendously impressive child development. And that is what the criterion should be.

There is also a question about the funding channels for these new programs. I see that some of my colleagues are proposing day care programs which go exclusively through the States. I think it is time we learned that money sent out from the Federal Government by way of the States, through the State bureaucracy, to the localities gets to be pretty thin by the time it reaches the end of the pipeline. It is terribly important that we make money available directly to community groups and directly to local governments. Otherwise, the kind of early childhood development program we want will simply not be forthcoming. It is equally important for us to make sure that any private enterprise involvement in the provision of day care is subject not only to very careful standards, but to full community participation in the planning of the administration of whatever centers a franchise operation or a corporation becomes involved in.

The essential point here is that it will not do, in 1970, to simply write a blank check—pour a whole lot of money into something, anything, called “daycare” and then forget about the matter. We must do more than spend the money. After we authorize and appropriate the money, we must engage in appropriate oversight proceedings to see that the money is properly spent. We have gone on for too long just pouring out what little money we do appropriate without finding out where and how and to what end it is spent.

What I have been saying today comes down to a few simple sentences. We have to place a higher priority on our children and their

families than we do on expensive military gadgetry or expensive space extravaganzas. And we desperately need to instill some understanding, humanness and sensitivity into the existing institutions which are supposed to serve our children. We need to instill an attitude of respect for a child's heritage, for his family, for his language, and for his individuality, and his potential. We need to involve children themselves and their parents in a significant decision making role in these institutions. We need to recognize that we can and must provide far greater life chances for our children than we do now. Our children are our chance for change. They are our bridge to a better world. They are our only hope. Let us begin to act like we understand this.

If that recognition, coupled with a sense of urgency and a concrete implementation mechanism, can emerge from the forthcoming White House conference, I will count the conference a success.

Mr. President (Mr. Stevenson), over the past nearly 6 years, I have probably served on as many human-problem committees and sub-committees as any of my colleagues. I have been all over this country—its ghettos, its Indian reservations, migrant labor camps, among the Eskimos and the Athabascans, and in the pockets of white poverty—and I am unable to express the profound frustration that I feel at knowing that we are such a powerful and wealthy society and at the same time seem to so tragically fail thousands and millions of our children. It is not only immoral. It is not only unnecessary. I think this failure tampers with the very existence and future of a vital democratic society.

If in our generation we could shift these priorities and make these institutional changes and, above all, commit ourselves to a full and effective reordering of society, so that every child had a chance—a full and a fair chance, which is what I understand to be the promise of America—I think our generation will have done more than any other to strengthen and revitalize our society and to assure a bright and a secure future.

EXHIBIT 1

THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER

President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, recognizing the rights of the child as the first rights of citizenship, pledges itself to these aims for the Children of America.

I. For every child spiritual and moral training to help him to stand firm under the pressure of life.

II. For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right.

III. For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides; and for the child who must receive foster care, the nearest substitute for his own home.

IV. For every child full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving prenatal, natal, and postnatal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make childbearing safer.

V. For every child health protection from birth through adolescence, including: periodical examinations and, where, needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment

VI. For every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health, including health instruction and a health program, wholesome physical and mental recreation, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.

VII. For every child a dwelling place safe, sanitary, and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy, free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching.

VIII. For every child a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted, and ventilated. For younger children nursery schools and kindergartens to supplement home care.

IX. For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards, and disease . . . and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.

X. For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life; and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction.

XI. For every child such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, homemaking, and the rights of citizenship; and, for parents, supplementary training to fit them to deal wisely with the problems of parenthood.

XII. For every child education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him

XIII. For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability

XIV. For every child who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently as society's charge, not society's outcast

XV. For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps.

XVI. For every child protection against labor that stunts growth, either physical or mental that limits education, that deprives children of the rights of comradeship, of play, and of joy.

XVII. For every rural child as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child, and an extension . . . of social, recreational, and cultural facilities.

XVIII. To supplement the home and the school in the training of youth . . . every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organizations.

XIX. To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county, or community organization for health, education, and welfare

For every child these rights, regardless of race, or color, or situation, wherever he may live under the protection of the American flag.

[From the Congressional Record—Senate, Dec. 10, 1970]

S. 4577—INTRODUCTION OF THE COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the White House Conference on Children will convene in Washington this Sunday, December 13 through December 18, bringing together individuals and organizations of all disciplines interested in child welfare to consider the means of advancing the development of all children regardless of environmental conditions or circumstances of birth.

The purpose of my speaking this morning is to introduce a measure which I believe urgently deserves consideration not only by the Congress but also by the White House Conference. It is the Comprehensive Community Child Development Act of 1971. I send the bill to the desk, for appropriate reference, together with a section-by-section analysis, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. Eagleton). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the section-by-section analysis will be printed in the Record.

(See exhibit 1, p. 463.)

The bill (S. 4577), to provide for a comprehensive program of community-based and coordinated child development programs, introduced by Mr. Javits, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the conference is charged under the call by its chairman with the responsibility of establishing priorities and issues relating to child development and formulating effective procedures for implementation and administration of child development programs:

By which all available or committed resources can be identified, coordinated and harmonized into a National effort, having as its goal the enhanced development of the American child through the remaining years of the Twentieth Century.

Mr. President, I share the commitment to that goal and to its implementation, and accordingly I introduce this measure at this time.

The proposed act is designed to provide a framework and substantial funding for the coordinated evolution of child development programs with the objective of eventually making such programs universally available throughout the Nation. The basic principles on which I have drafted this bill are the following:

First, there should be provided a full range of activities designed to promote the intellectual, emotional, social and physical growth of children through age 13, with a strong priority for the needs of preschool children, particularly children or low-income families.

Second, the essential decisions with respect to child development programs should be made at the community level where comprehensive services can be provided, parents and other members of the family can participate fully in determining the direction as well as the conduct of programs, and where existing programs can be consolidated, integrated, and coordinated.

Third, those on the community level, who are operating programs according to the way I envisage them, should have the benefit of technical assistance from State agencies in identifying goals and needs, effecting coordination between programs within the State, strengthening health, educational, child welfare, and other essential components of community programs and providing supportive research, development, and evaluation.

Fourth, the proper role of the Federal Government is in maintaining a strong oversight to focus on children of low-income families, and that programmatic quality is advanced throughout the Nation through research, demonstration, and evaluative activities.

As I shall outline later, the Federal Government can serve another special function—by becoming a model employer insofar as child development programs are concerned, in dealing with the children of its own employees.

Fifth, relating to the programs which are on-going now, we should not only maintain, but expand the role of community action, single-purpose Headstart agencies, and other community-based and parent-formed organizations, as well as educational and child welfare agencies, which have brought child development to the threshold of universal expansion.

Finally, business, industry, labor, employee, and labor-management organizations should be encouraged to contribute funds of community programs and provide facilities at or near a place of business in the context of total community plans.

To carry out these principles the proposed act consists of three titles: Under title I, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to fund child programs pursuant to community child care plans developed by broadly representative councils at the community level, with technical assistance provided from a State Child Care Council pursuant to a State child care assistance plan. The following amounts are authorized for such purposes: \$900,000,000 for fiscal year 1973; \$1,800,000,000 for fiscal year 1974; and \$2,800,000,000 for fiscal year 1975. In round figures, this represents an aggregate of about \$5 billion. Title II authorizes additional amounts for Federal activities such as research, demonstration, and evaluation, and for special programs for children of Federal employees. Under this title, the following amounts are authorized: \$125,000,000 for fiscal year 1973, \$175,000,000 for fiscal year 1974, and \$175,000,000 for fiscal year 1975, making a total of \$475 million. Title III contains general authorities with respect to the operation of the provisions of the act, but titles I and II are the main components.

With this general background, I shall now indicate the manner in which each of the objectives and principles is met in terms of specific provisions of the proposal which I submit today.

A FULL RANGE OF PROGRAMS TO ASSIST ALL CHILDREN TO REACH THEIR FULL POTENTIAL

Mr. President, I share and endorse the dual objective of the women's liberation movement for universal child care and the insistence, very importantly, that it be quality care—having in mind that the needs of the child as well as the needs of the parent should be held before us.

There are more than 26,129,000 preschool children in the Nation, including 3,997,737 preschool children of low-income families. Yet Headstart and other preschool programs are reaching less than a tenth of the latter number—approximately 400,000 in this current fiscal year.

While there are 4 million children under six whose mothers work, there are less than 700,000 licensed day care center slots in the Nation.

We need additional Federal funding to support the provision of a wide range of child care services and facilities—ranging from full-time, part-time, family, day, night, intermittent and other services, but all on the basis of quality and all available as a right of the family, not merely as a singular educational right of the child or merely as an economic right or need of the parents. Accordingly, child development activities must go beyond the limited custodial concept to provide families with comprehensive services.

Mr. President, the amounts authorized under the proposed act, to provide both preschool and afterschool opportunities, are by no means out of line. For the purpose of indicating that they are not, I wish to point out that even taking the most conservative estimate of cost for a preschool opportunity—\$1,700—the proposed act would provide only

527,400 slots in fiscal year 1973, 1,058,800 in fiscal year 1974, and 1,647,060 in fiscal year 1975. Thus, even in the third year, we would reach a level of coverage representing only approximately a third of the 3,997,737 preschool children of low-income families and less than one-tenth of the total number of preschool children in the Nation.

DECISIONMAKING AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Mr. President, the right of the family to child care can be effectively exercised only by direction at the community level where comprehensive services can be provided, parents can be totally involved, and programs can be consolidated, integrated, and coordinated.

Under title I of the act, 90 percent of the funds apportioned to the States would be available to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the designation of community child care councils and for the conduct of programs pursuant to a community child care plan prepared by the council.

The act provides that the Secretary may designate community child care councils to be responsible for the planning, coordination, and monitoring of child development programs for each area of a State which he determines to be a suitable area for the conduct of such programs and which comprises either, a city, county, or other unit of general local government determined to have general governmental powers substantially similar to those of a city; a combination of such units; a neighborhood or other portion of a city; or an Indian reservation.

I have prescribed specific factors to be taken into account in determining whether an area is "suitable." The Secretary is directed to take into account such factors as he shall prescribe, including the number of children of low-income families in the area, as well as the relationship of such area to those previously established for the administration of child development programs and those established for the administration of education, manpower, training, and health programs.

The council would be designated upon consideration of an application for designation submitted by an public agency or nonprofit organization within the suitable area.

Mr. President, flexibility of the kind authorized in the proposed act is necessary if we are to provide a structure tailored to individual needs. We must recognize that a neighborhood or other portion of a city—such as that which may exist in my own city of New York, may be the most suitable unit for decisionmaking in respect to child care programs. Indeed, at the present time, New York City has taken the initiative in proposing that planning of programs be accomplished essentially on a neighborhood basis.

The application must provide for the establishment of a community child care council which is broadly representative of community action agencies, single-purpose Headstart agencies, community corporations, parent cooperatives, public and private educational agencies and institutions in the area to be served, parents and other concerned individuals, agencies, and organizations interested in child development.

The council is to be responsible for the planning, coordination, and monitoring of child development programs and for the submission of child care plans governing programs to be conducted in the area.

The child care plan would be prepared by the council after considering project applications from the various agencies and organizations in the community, subject to certain procedures and conditions.

Within this general community context, various provisions of title I of the act emphasize comprehensive services, parental involvement and the integration, coordination and consolidation of programs.

The comprehensiveness of services is insured by:

Requirements that all programs to be funded under the community child care plan provide educational, nutritional, health, and related services necessary to provide each child with an opportunity to meet his full potential; and

Special provisions for the establishment of diagnostic and assessment services to deal with the special needs of children who have particular psychological, educational, or other barriers.

The proposed act emphasizes parental involvement and linkage between the home and the programmatic environment in the following ways:

Not less than one-half of the membership of the community councils responsible for planning program and activities must consist of parents of children enrolled in programs under the act;

Parent cooperatives are among the organizations which must be represented on the council and which are eligible for financial and technical assistance as project applicants. Special provisions insure that the child care councils give due consideration to applications from such sources;

To the fullest extent possible, each program to be conducted under a community child care plan must be subject to the direction of a governing board of parents and the program must itself include extensive parental participation;

Provision is made for programs to train parents and older members of the family as well as youths, in child development;

Programs must be conducted in such a manner as to provide "meaningful" environmental linkage between the home and the environment in which programs are to be conducted;

Funds are authorized for child development information centers in the community, to increase parental awareness and support.

Mr. President, Federal expenditures for child care have increased from less than \$1 million in fiscal year 1962 to approximately \$600 million in fiscal year 1971. With that increase we have proliferated a variety of child care programs, each having its own objective—and in many cases its own disciplinary bias: Programs established with the objective of getting parents off of relief rolls run the risk of ignoring the needs of the child and merely perpetuating the cycle of poverty; educational programs are run with little relationship to preschool efforts; and "industrial" child care efforts often starve for lack of supportive services to complement the need for facilities.

The proposed act would repeal only the basic authorities under the Economic Opportunity Act—Headstart, title IV-B day care, and other references under that act. It would not repeal what is done under the Social Security Act.

However, building on the Headstart base, the bill would attempt to channel new funds into a community-operated plan on terms that

would encourage the coordination and integration with other existing programs and bridge the disciplinary gap at the local level.

In addition to the composition of the child care council, the act seeks to effect a concentration of effort at the local level by requirements that the community child care plans set forth:

Arrangements in the area served for the integration into the plan of child development facilities and services for which financial assistance is provided by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. This would include child care programs under the proposed Family Assistance Act, and under title IV-A of the Social Security Act. The section is not intended to include programs conducted by educational or health agencies under other authorities;

Arrangements between project sponsors and administrators of local school systems, both public and nonpublic, to effect coordination between programs conducted under this and other acts;

Arrangements in the area served for the integration of programs conducted with the support of business, industry, labor, employee, and labor-management organizations;

Arrangements for program coordination between approved project sponsors through joint program services, purchasing arrangements, common business services, and other arrangements.

Moreover, the act makes available to the Secretary 2 percent of all funds under title I to be used as an incentive for a linkage between preschool and educational programs, and an additional 2 percent would be available for programs to provide linkage to manpower training programs.

ROLE OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

While the major focus of the proposed act is on decisionmaking on the community level, the proposed act charts out a substantial role for State government.

As I noted, the proposed act retains the existing authorities for programs financed through the States under title IV-A and other sections of the Social Security Act, requiring only that there be coordination and integration at the community level.

The proposed act also authorizes the Secretary to designate State comprehensive child care councils for each State upon approval of an application for designation submitted by the chief executive of the State.

The key requirement for the State council is that it be broadly representative of educational, welfare, health, manpower training, and other State agencies interested in child development in the State, as well as other individuals and public and private organizations interested in child development. As in the case of the community child care council, not less than one-half of the membership of the State council must consist of parents of children enrolled in child development programs under the act, chosen by democratic selection procedures with the initial designation made on the basis of those children enrolled in Project Headstart programs. The chief executive of the State is to serve as the chairman of the council.

The State child care council is responsible for the submission of "State child care assistance plans" and the review of applications for designation of child care councils as well as for the review of community child care plans.

In reviewing the applications for designation and in reviewing the child care plans, the council is authorized to comment thereon and recommend to the Secretary any proposed changes deemed to be in the interest of maintaining the quality of programs and assuring an equitable distribution of programs within the State, insuring cooperation and coordination, and encouraging the maximum utilization of available services and facilities within the State.

The act reserves 10 percent of the funds allocated to each State under title I for any of the following activities under "State child care assistance plans:"

Identifying child development goals and needs within the State;
 Providing technical assistance through State agencies and other organizations to assist in the establishment of community child care councils, encourage the effective coordination between programs within the State, and strengthen the educational, health, child welfare and related components of programs to be conducted in the State, and assist in the acquisition or improvement of facilities for child development programs;

Conducting child development personnel training and exchange programs;

Assessing the effect of research programs and State and local licensing codes;

Making recommendations in respect to the conduct of programs generally.

Mr. President, in this way we should encourage the full utilization of State expertise in the child development area which has been exemplified in New York and other States.

FEDERAL ROLE

Mr. President, with a shift of decisionmaking to the community and State levels, it is essential that the Federal Government retain sufficient authority and funding to insure a continued focus on children of low-income families, maintain programmatic quality and advance new approaches and knowledge. While the impetus will come from the communities and the States, the Federal Government must maintain a strong oversight. A number of provisions have been included for this purpose:

Although plans are formulated at the community level, and commented upon at the State level, the final decision with respect to funding lies with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare;

The Secretary retains power to withdraw assistance in whole or in part in the event that the requirements for plans are not being met;

Direct funding provisions authorize the Secretary to provide direct financial assistance to agencies and organizations, irrespective of whether a State or community child care plan has been designated, if he determines that children of low-income families will not otherwise be served effectively or that the provision of such assistance is otherwise necessary to effect the purposes of the act.

The proposed act contains also a reservation of 6 percent of the total funds under the act to insure equitable coverage of children of migrants and Indians and children whose functional language is other than English.

Title II of the act provides for a strong Federal supportive role. Among its provisions are:

Expanded authority for research, demonstration, information, and evaluation;

Special resources for training and for studies to determine the need for additional personnel;

Federal standards for child development services and a procedure to encourage the development of a model code for uniform State and local standards relating to child development facilities;

A requirement that the Secretary conduct studies on the extent to which Federal, State or local facilities might be used as child development facilities; and

Establishment of a special "National Child Development Advisory Committee" to guarantee an interdisciplinary oversight of child care programs at the Federal level.

ROLE OF AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS CURRENTLY CONDUCTING PROGRAMS

Mr. President, as I indicated, we do not approach the field of child development without previous commitment. It is often said that we must "build on" past efforts. I agree. But we must not enact legislation that would merely pile a superstructure for the advantaged over the House that community action, educational and welfare agencies have built. The proposed act has been designed to insure not only that previous involvement is maintained but that such organizations participate in future growth.

Among the proposed act's requirements that provide this assurance are the following:

Community and State councils must consist of not less than 50 percent of parents of children enrolled in programs with initial designation made from parents of children in the Headstart programs;

Agencies administering Headstart programs have the first opportunity to initiate formation of the community council, and are given special consideration on the community level to be appointed as the administering agency;

Plans cannot be approved without the comments of the Headstart agency as well as of educational agencies in the community;

A plan must include arrangements to insure that funds are allocated among project applicants in such a way as to insure special consideration to the needs of children of low-income families.

A plan must include arrangements for the utilization of services and facilities which are available from Federal, State, and local agencies, child welfare agencies, and educational agencies;

The Secretary is directed to adjust allocations to States in order to maintain funding for community action and other Headstart agencies;

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity must concur as to all rules, regulations, and the approval of plans as they may affect community action agencies and single-purpose Headstart agencies;

The Commissioner of Education must concur with respect to programs and program components to be conducted by educational agencies and institutions.

INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Mr. President, despite the rhetoric about the involvement of the private sector in child care efforts and legislation to that end—including title VB of the Economic Opportunity Act, which I authored and 1969 legislation authorizing the establishment of joint labor-management trust funds—there are less than 200 industry or union related child care centers in the country today attributed to this movement.

We should be aware of the intrinsic limitations of the private sector which arise from the mobility of employees and the need for more than custodial care—but we should not hesitate to involve the private sector in the context of total community-wide efforts.

I have therefore included various provisions in the bill to enable the private sector to cooperate infinitely better than it has so far in respect of these child care programs. To that end, the bill contains the following provisions:

Business, industry, employee, and labor-management representatives are to be included on the child care councils at the community, State, and Federal levels;

A requirement of each community child care plan is that it include arrangements for the participation of business, industry, labor, employee, and labor-management resources and assistance within the community, including programs to encourage the provision of child development facilities and services at or in association with a place of employment;

The requirements for matching authorize the Secretary to provide special incentives for private contributions;

The demonstration authority includes projects to test out programs providing child development services by business, industry, labor, employee, and labor-management organizations;

Information and technical assistance provisions at the community, State, and Federal levels emphasize availability of services to the private sector; and

Among the specific assignments of the National Advisory Committee on Child Development is the assessment of the private role.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS MODEL EMPLOYER

Mr. President, as President Johnson instituted efforts to make the Federal Government a “model employer” for equal employment policies, so I suggest to President Nixon that he make the Federal Government a “model employer” insofar as child development is concerned. Such an action would evidence the commitment of the administration to the concept of the universality of child care and provide an example for private employee child care programs as to the proper blending of services that can put equal priority on the parent and the child’s needs. To that end, part B of title II would authorize special sums for programs for Federal employees which meet the same sub-

stantive requirements as are set forth under title I and certain other requirements. For fiscal year 1973, the sum of \$50 million would be provided, with an authorization of \$75 million for fiscal year 1974, and \$100 million for fiscal year 1975.

At present the effort for Federal employees is limited. In 1968, the Department of Labor opened a child care center for 30 preschool children of its employees, with half of the children selected from new employees who could not accept employment unless low-cost child care were available, and half selected from other Department employees in all grade levels. There have been similar activities in the Department of Agriculture, and other agencies of the Federal Government are considering such programs.

Mr. President, the Federal Government, as we know, has great potentials with regard to this matter. It has millions of employees, most of whom have children and many of those children could be subject to this act.

Mr. President, I hope that the introduction of this bill will encourage further consideration of how we can have a melding of the interests of those currently involved in child development so as to avoid a proliferation of programs which would diminish the expected returns for those who participate.

Mr. President, I hope to learn a lot about the situation, even more than we know now, from the reaction to the introduction of this bill. I will reintroduce it when Congress reconvenes in January, taking account of what may be done in the family assistance and welfare plan in the remainder of this session as well as in the new knowledge we will acquire from the White House conference and in many other ways.

I hope that we will have comprehensive action on this critical matter which has had the attention of other Senators. The Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Mondale) spoke on this matter this very week. I am honored to join with him and with the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Prouty) in a collaborative effort to produce the best results possible.

We are dealing with a problem which has had some attention, but not nearly enough and not really in a coordinated way in the local communities with the State and Federal Government assistance which is required.

To do our job on child development will take a full commitment by the administration, comprehensive action by the Congress and a willingness on the part of those who represent particular client groups in the current splintered structure to accept a place in an interrelated community system.

EXHIBIT 1

SECTION-BY SECTION DESCRIPTION OF THE COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971

Section 2: *Statement of Findings and Purpose.* This section expresses the principle purpose of the Act—to provide a framework and authorize additional funds for the meaningful and coordinated evolution of child development programs at the community level so as eventually to make such programs, universally available to every family in the Nation.

TITLE I. COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Section 101: *Direction to Establish Program.* This section directs and authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") to establish comprehensive community child development programs through the support of activities in accordance with the provisions of title I.

Section 102: *Authorization of Appropriations.* This section authorizes the following amounts for programs under title I: \$900,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; \$1,800,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974; and \$2,800,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975.

Section 103: *Application for Designation of Community Child Councils.* This section authorizes the Secretary to designate Community Child Care Councils to be responsible for the planning, coordination, and monitoring of child development programs in each area in a State which he determines to be suitable area for the conduct of such programs and which is the area of (i) a city, (ii) a county or other unit of general local government determined to have general governmental powers substantially similar to those of a city, (iii) a combination of such units, (iv) a neighborhood or other portion of a city or (v) an Indian reservation.

In determining whether an area is "suitable" for the conduct of child development programs, the Secretary is directed to take into account such factors as he shall prescribe, including the number of children of low income families in the area and the extent to which such children and other children will be served effectively, as well as the relationship of such areas to those previously established under Child Development programs and areas established for education, manpower training and health programs. (subsection a)

An application for designation may be submitted on behalf of such council by any public agency or non-profit organization or combination of such agencies or organizations within the area.

The application must provide for the establishment of a Community Child Care Council which is broadly representative of community action agencies, single-purpose Head Start agencies, community corporations, parent cooperatives, representatives of public and private educational agencies and institutions in the area to be served and certain other agencies, institutions and organizations interested in child development programs, as well as public officials for the area to be served. Not less than one-half of the membership of the Council must consist of parents of children enrolled in child development programs under the title (or for the purpose of initial designation, parents of children representative of those previously enrolled in project Head Start programs), chosen by democratic selection procedures established by the Secretary with prior concurrence of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Chairman of the Council shall be elected by its members.

In addition, the application must describe the geographical area to be served, evidence capability of the Council for effective planning, coordination, and monitoring of programs in the area to be served and designate an agency to be responsible for disbursing funds and effecting coordination. The agency may be an existing agency or one newly created. Wherever feasible, any community action or other agency previously conducting project Head Start programs shall be designated.

In the case of two or more applications covering a common or overlapping geographical area, the Secretary shall determine the one which will most effectively carry out the purposes of the title, with special consideration for initial designation given to applications submitted by community action and other agencies previously conducting Project Head Start programs. (subsection c)

The application must be submitted in accordance with certain procedures, with an opportunity to comment accorded to any state Child Care Council (or chief executive of the State if no State Council has been approved), and by other applicants to serve a common or overlapping area. (subsection d)

Provisions govern the disapproval or withdrawal of an application (subsection e).

Section 104: *Responsibilities of Community Child Care Councils.* This section outlines the principal responsibilities of the Child Community Child Council to the Secretary—the planning, coordination and monitoring of child development programs and the submission of Community Child Care Plans for such

programs in the area to be served—as well as its responsibilities to project applicants. The latter include the provision of a hearing before the Council in case of adverse determination, and the provision of technical assistance to individuals, agencies, and organizations interested in the establishment of programs in the area to be served. (Subsection a.) In order to carry out these responsibilities, the Council is authorized to obtain the services of staff, consult with other federal and state authorities, and utilize the services and facilities of other agencies. (subsection b). The Secretary is directed to reserve not less than 2% of Title I funds for the purposes of the section. (subsection c).

Section 105: *Community Child Care Plans*: This section sets forth the requirements for Community Child Care Plans submitted by the Councils. Each plan must include (i) a description of the purposes for which financial assistance will be used; (ii) programs to ensure assistance on an equitable basis for children of migrants and other low-income families; (iii) appropriate arrangements to ensure that Community action and other Head Start agencies receive an allocation not less than that received the previous year and such additional allocations as may be necessary to insure special consideration to the needs of children of low-income families; (iv) arrangements for the integration and coordination of other programs funded by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, such as child development activities under the Family Assistance Act; (v) arrangements for the utilization of federal, state, and local agencies; (vi) arrangements for program coordination between approved project applicants; (vii) arrangements for linkage between pre-school and public school programs; and (viii) arrangements for the integration of programs conducted under the auspices or with the support of business, industry, labor, employee and labor-management organizations.

No plan may be approved by the Secretary unless any State Child Care Council (or if no such Council has been designated, then the Chief Executive of the State) has had an opportunity to submit comments to the Community Child Care Council and to the Secretary, and a similar opportunity has been extended to community action and other Head Start agencies, and educational agencies responsible for the Follow-Through program, as well as to any Community Child Care Council designated to serve a city, where the plan is for only a part of a City. (subsection b).

Other general provisions govern the procedures regarding approval and disapproval of plans. (subsection c).

Section 106: *Project Applications*. This section provides that any public or private agency or organization, including community action agencies, single-purpose Head Start agencies, community corporations, parent cooperatives, public and private educational agencies and institutions, and public agencies shall be eligible to apply to the Community Child Care Council for financial assistance to be provided pursuant to a Community Child Care plan. (subsection a).

Subsection (b) sets forth a broad range of services and activities for which funds may be made available including: (i) planning, developing, establishing, monitoring, and operating child development programs; (ii) the design, acquisition, construction, alteration, renovation, or remodeling of facilities for such programs; (iii) the development and conduct of a wide range of training programs; (iv) programs to teach the fundamentals of child development to parents, and other members of the family, as well as to youth and parents; (v) the establishment of child development information centers in the community; (vi) the provisions of necessary diagnostic and assessment services, as well as remedial programs to deal with medical, psychological, educational or other barriers; (vii) programs to strengthen the planning capability of agencies and organizations in the community including programs to assist in the establishment of organizations providing technical assistance including architectural design to help agencies and others interested in starting child development programs; (viii) transportation arrangements or expenses where necessary to make it possible for children of low-income families to participate in programs; (ix) monitoring and evaluation activities and such other activities as the Secretary deems appropriate. The Secretary is directed to promulgate regulations to ensure that full and impartial consideration is given to all project applications.

Section 107: *Applications for Designation of State Child Care Councils*. This section authorizes the Secretary to designate a State Comprehensive Child Care Council for each State, upon approval of an application, for designation submitted by the Chief Executive of the state.

The key requirement for the State Council is that it be broadly representative of educational, welfare, health, manpower training and other State agencies interested in child development in the state, as well as other individuals, public and private organizations interested in child development. As in the case of the Community Child Care Council, not less than one-half of the membership of the Council must consist of parents of children enrolled in child development programs under the Act, chosen by democratic selection procedures, with the initial designation made on the basis of those children enrolled in Project Head Start programs. The Chief Executive of the State shall serve as the Chairman of the Council.

In addition, the application must evidence capacity of the Council to carry out responsibilities and designate an agency (which may be an existing agency or newly created) to implement State Child Care Assistance Plans under Section 109 and reviewing applications for designation and Child Care Plans on behalf of such council and making recommendations to the Council in respect thereto.

Section 108: *Responsibilities of State Councils*. This section outlines the principal responsibilities of the State Council: the preparation and submission of "State Child Care Assistance Plans" under section 109, the review of applications for designation of Child Care Councils and the review of Community Child Care Plans. Upon such reviews, the State Child Care Council is authorized to recommend to the Secretary any proposed changes deemed to be in the interest of maintaining the quality of programs and an equitable distribution of programs within the state, insuring cooperation and coordination, and encouraging the maximum utilization of available services and facilities within the State. (subsection a).

In order to carry out these responsibilities, the Council is authorized to obtain the services of staff, consult with other federal and state agencies, and utilize the facilities and services of such agencies (subsection b). The Secretary is directed to reserve not less than 1 percent of the amount available for title I for the purposes of the section.

Section 109: *State Child Care Assistance Plans*. This section authorizes the Secretary to provide financial assistance under a "State Comprehensive Child Care Assistance Plan." The plan must set forth a description of purposes for which financial assistance will be used, and assures that assistance will be provided equitably within the State. (subsection a).

Under subsection (b) the services and activities for which financial assistance may be available shall include: (i) identifying child development goals and needs within the State; (ii) providing technical assistance (through State agencies and other organizations) to assist in the establishment of Community Child Care Councils, encourage the effective coordination between programs within the State, strengthen the educational, health, welfare and related components of programs to be conducted in the State; and assist in the acquisition or improvement of facilities for child development programs; (iii) conducting programs to train child development personnel; (iv) conducting programs providing for exchange of personnel between Community Child Care Councils and other agencies and organizations conducting programs in the state; (v) assessing the effect of research on programs; (vi) assessing the effect of state and local licensing codes on programs; (vii) conducting experimental, developmental, demonstration and pilot projects; and (viii) making recommendations to the Secretary, Community Child Care Councils and other agencies with respect to programs conducted under Title I.

Under Section 116(b), not less than ten percent of all funds allocated to the States for title I programs are reserved for services and activities under State Child Care Assistance Plan.

Section 111: *Direct Federal Funding*. This section authorizes the Secretary to provide financial assistance directly to any public or private agency or organization for the purposes set forth in Section 106, irrespective of whether a State or Community Child Care Council is serving such area, if he determines (in consultation with the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity) that children of low-income families will not otherwise be equitably served or that the provision of such direct financial assistance is otherwise necessary to effect the purposes of the Act. (subsection a). Subsection (b) directs the Secretary to establish procedures to govern his receipt of information which may be the basis for a determination under subsection (a).

Section 112: *Special Conditions*. This section provides that no assistance is to be provided under the title unless the Secretary determines that (i) children

participating in the programs will receive such educational, food, nutritional, health and related services as are necessary to provide each child with the opportunity to reach his full potential; (ii) to the fullest extent possible programs shall be subject to the direction of a governing board of parents and that provision has been made for extensive parental participation; (iii) priority has been given to the provision of services to children of low-income families from birth through the age of five; (iv) programs will be conducted with linkage between the home and the environment in which conducted; (v) in the case of programs carried out by a local educational agency, children will not be denied the benefits because of their attendance in private preschool programs; (vi) programs will provide for the participation of families who are not low-income families, wherever possible; (vii) programs shall meet federal standards promulgated under Section 208; (viii) special requirements shall apply as to construction; and (ix) special requirements as to training programs are met.

Section 113: *Non-Compliance or Absence of an Approved Plan.* This section defines the circumstances in which the Secretary may determine that a State or Community Child Care Council, or project sponsor is no longer complying with the requirements of the Act. (subsection a). No determination of non-compliance can be made without the concurrence of the Commissioner of Education or the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity with respect to matters as to which concurrence was required under Section 201.

Section 114: *Federal Control Prohibited.* This section prohibits federal control over the personnel curriculum, method of instruction or administration of any educational agency or institution.

Section 115: *Matching Requirements.* This section provides for 80 percent sharing in the programs for any State or Community Child Care Council or agency, but permits greater sharing in the case of Community Councils where needed to insure equitable coverage of children of low-income families and authorizes varying sharing families to encourage contributions from private organizations. The non-federal share may be provided through public or private funds. Provision is made for application of non-federal contributions exceeding requirements to other programs.

Section 116: *Allocations.* This section allocates the funds appropriated under Title I as follows:

(a) 75 percent of funds are allocated among the states as follows: 30 percent (of the 75% based upon the number of families having an annual income below the poverty level; 30 percent on the number of children under fourteen years of age of working mothers; and 40 percent on the number of children who have not attained six years of age. (Sec. 116(a)(2)).

(b) 6 percent of funds are to be available for financial assistance under the direct funding provisions of Section 111 of supplement programs conducted under other provisions of Title I for children of migrants, Indians, or children whose functional language is other than English. (Section 116(a)(1)(A) and (c)).

(c) 2 percent of funds are to be available for providing financial assistance as an incentive for the establishment by Community Child Care Councils of appropriate procedures for coordination and cooperation at the community level between agencies conducting child care programs and those conducting manpower employment and training programs assisted under other Federal laws. (Sec. 116(a)(1)(B) and (d)).

(d) 2 percent of funds are to be available for providing financial assistance as an incentive for the establishment by Community Child Care Councils of appropriate procedures for coordination and cooperation and continuity between preschool programs and educational and related programs conducted by Administrators of school systems at the community level. (Sec. 115(a)(1)(c) and (e)).

(e) 15 percent of funds are to be available to the Secretary for assistance under Title I without regard to apportionment.

The Section also provides for reallocations to ensure that funds available to Community action and other Head Start agencies are maintained (subsection f) and for other purposes (subsection d). Provisions for the publication of apportionment criteria (subsection h) and for maintenance of effort by States and units of general local government are included. (subsection i).

TITLE II—SPECIAL FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Part A—Research, evaluation, training, and special provisions

Section 201: *Administration of Programs.* This section directs the Secretary to establish in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an Office of Child Development as the principal agency for programs and activities relating to child development and for the carrying out of the provisions of the Act. (subsection a). The concurrence of the Commissioner of Education and of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity must be obtained with respect to programs or program components to be conducted by educational agencies and institutions and by community action and other Head Start agencies respectively.

Section 202: *Research.* This section directs the Secretary to establish a comprehensive program of research in the field of child development and to establish a program for the continuing dissemination of results of such research to State and Community Child Care Councils and other organizations to insure effective programmatic use of knowledge.

Section 203: *Demonstration.* This section directs the Secretary to establish a program of experimental, developmental and similar projects to evaluate the effectiveness of specialized methods in meeting the Nation's needs for child development programs, including the testing of programs involving tuition assistance, purchase, voucher or similar plans and to encourage the development of child development services and facilities at a near places of business.

Section 204: *Information and Personnel Exchanges.* This section directs the Secretary to develop jointly with State and Community Child Care Councils a comprehensive program for the exchange of personnel and of information regarding programs in various communities.

Section 205: *Evaluation.* This section directs the Secretary to develop new and improved methods of evaluation of programs under the Act and to insure that evaluations are conducted by agencies and organizations independent of agencies participating in such programs at the community level.

Section 206: *Training of Child Development Personnel.* This section amends section 531(b) and 532 of the Higher Education Act of 1962 to provide greater funds for personnel for child development programs and Section 205(b)(3) of the National Defense Education Act, to make scholarships available for that purpose. The section is designed to supplement training activities pursuant to Child Care Assistance Plans and Community Child Care Plans under Title I.

Section 207: *Special Studies.* This section directs the Secretary (in consultation with the Secretary of Labor and Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity) to make continuing studies to determine the need for and availability of child development personnel, to make recommendations to the President and the Congress in respect thereto, and to promulgate guidelines for task and skill requirements for specific jobs and recommended job descriptions in the child development field.

Section 208: *Federal Standards for Child Development Programs.* This section establishes the authority for the promulgation of federal standards for child development programs.

Section 209: *Development of Uniform Code for Facilities.* This section directs the appointment of a special committee to develop a uniform code for facilities dealing with the health, safety and physical comfort of children, to be used in licensing facilities, and directs the Secretary to encourage their adoption by State and local governments. The Committee is to be comprised of parents of children enrolled in child development programs, representatives of state and local licensing agencies, public health officials, and others; not less than one-half of the Committee must consist of parents of children enrolled in Head Start programs and programs conducted under Title IV (B) of the Social Security Act.

Section 210: *Use of Federal, State and Local Governmental Facilities for Child Development Programs.* This section directs the Secretary after consultation with other officials of the Federal Government to report to the Congress the extent to which facilities owned or leased by Federal departments, agencies and independent authorities could be used for child development programs, during times and periods when not utilized fully for usual purposes, and authorizes the Secretary to require a similar review and report on the part of any State or local unit of general local government as a condition to the receipt of assistance under the Act.

Section 211: *Advisory Committee Established.* This section requires the establishment of a broadly representative National Child Development Advisory Committee, given a broad mandate to assess the Nation's needs, review the administration of programs, and make recommendations in respect thereto.

Section 212: *Authorizations.* This section authorizes for Part A the sum of \$75,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974; \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975.

Part B—Special child development programs for Federal employees

Section 221: *Program Authorized.* This section authorizes the Secretary to enter into agreements and provide technical assistance to Federal Departments, agencies and independent authorities and public and private agencies and organizations for programs for the children of employees of the federal government. (subsection a). In order to qualify, programs must meet the substantive requirements set forth for programs under Title I and provide a means of determining priority of eligibility, a scale of fees, and incorporation with Child Care Plan Programs under Title I. (subsection b).

Under the section, 800/0 matching is available. (subsection d). Programs cannot be conducted without approval of the plan from the head of agency involved and the heads of agencies are authorized to make available space to such programs. (subsections (c) (e)).

Section 222: *Advisory Committee on Child Development Programs for Federal Employees.* This section directs the Secretary to appoint a special Advisory Committee on Child Care programs for Federal Employees, composed of one official and one parent from each of the Cabinet Departments and an official and a parent from each of three other agencies or authorities of the Federal Government. The Committee is responsible for identifying the child development needs of children, reviewing plans submitted pursuant to Section 222, assessing and evaluating the extent to which child development programs are sufficient to meet the needs and making recommendations for the further development programs for federal employees.

Section 223: *Authorization of Appropriations.* This section authorizes for Part B \$50,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1973 and \$75,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$75,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975.

TITLE III. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Section 301: *Advance Funding.* This section authorizes advance funding under the Act and transitions to such funding.

Section 302: *Definitions.* This section defines "child," "child development program," "children of low income families," "parent," "poverty level," "Secretary," and "state."

Section 303: *Nutritious Commodities.* This section directs the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to make commodities available for child development programs under existing laws.

Section 304: *Legal Authority.* This section authorizes the Secretary to prescribe rules, regulations, guidelines.

Section 305: *Labor Standards.* This section requires the application of the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act.

Section 306: *Interstate Agreements.* This section provides for interstate agreements for programs under the Act.

Section 307: *Effective Date.* This section makes the Act effective July 1, 1972.

Section 308: *Repeal, Consolidation and Coordination.* This section repeals section 222(a) (1), Part B of title V and Sections 16(2) (b), 123(a) and 312 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

(A copy of Bill S. 4577 follows:)

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work done during the year. It also mentions the various committees and sub-committees which have been formed to deal with the different aspects of the work.

The second part of the report deals with the work done during the year. It is divided into several sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the work. The first section deals with the work done in the field of research and the second section deals with the work done in the field of education.

The third part of the report deals with the work done during the year. It is divided into several sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the work. The first section deals with the work done in the field of research and the second section deals with the work done in the field of education.

The fourth part of the report deals with the work done during the year. It is divided into several sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the work. The first section deals with the work done in the field of research and the second section deals with the work done in the field of education.

The fifth part of the report deals with the work done during the year. It is divided into several sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the work. The first section deals with the work done in the field of research and the second section deals with the work done in the field of education.

The sixth part of the report deals with the work done during the year. It is divided into several sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the work. The first section deals with the work done in the field of research and the second section deals with the work done in the field of education.

1 full or part-time employment, training, or education; (3)
2 there is a need to provide an appropriate legislative frame-
3 work and resources for the consolidation of existing pro-
4 grams and for the future expansion of such programs to all
5 children, with continued priority to children of low-income
6 families; (4) it is crucial to the meaningful development of
7 such programs that decisions as to their nature and funding
8 be made at the community level with the full involvement
9 of parents and other individuals and organizations in the
10 community interested in child development and with appro-
11 priate assistance from State and Federal agencies.

12 (b) It is the purpose of this Act to provide the frame-
13 work for the meaningful and coordinated evolution of child
14 development programs in the Nation at the community level
15 so as to make available eventually to each family in the
16 Nation a full range of child development services.

17 TITLE I

18 COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY CHILD DEVELOPMENT

19 PROGRAMS

20 DIRECTION TO ESTABLISH PROGRAM

21 SEC. 101. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel-
22 fare is hereby authorized and directed to establish compre-
23 hensive community child development programs through the
24 support of activities in accordance with the provisions of this
25 title.

1 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

2 SEC. 102. There are hereby authorized to be appropri-
3 ated for the purpose of carrying out this title, \$900,000,000
4 for this fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; \$1,800,000,000
5 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974; and \$2,800,-
6 000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975.

7 APPLICATIONS FOR DESIGNATION OF COMMUNITY

8 CHILD CARE COUNCILS

9 SEC. 103. (a) The Secretary is authorized to designate
10 a Community Child Care Council responsible for the plan-
11 ning, coordination, and monitoring of child development pro-
12 grams for each area in a State which he determines to be
13 a suitable area for the conduct of such programs and which
14 is the area of—

- 15 (1) a city;
- 16 (2) a county or other unit of general local govern-
17 ment determined by the Secretary in accordance with
18 such regulations as he shall prescribe, to have general
19 governmental powers substantially similar to those of a
20 city;
- 21 (3) a combination of such general units of local
22 government;
- 23 (4) a neighborhood or other portion of a city; or
24 (5) an Indian reservation.

25 In determining whether an area is a suitable area for the

1 conduct of child development programs under this subsection,
2 the Secretary shall take into account such factors as he shall
3 by regulation prescribe, including, but not limited to, the
4 number of children of low-income families within such area,
5 the extent to which such children and other children will be
6 served effectively if such area is designated, and the extent to
7 which such area coincides with areas designated for the ad-
8 ministration of education, manpower training and health pro-
9 grams, and areas for the administration of child development
10 programs conducted previous to the effective date of this title.

11 (b) The Secretary shall make designations under sub-
12 section (a) upon approval of an application for designation
13 which may be submitted on behalf of such Council, by any
14 public agency or any nonprofit agency or organization within
15 the community or a combination of such agencies or orga-
16 nizations. Such an application shall include provisions
17 which—

18 (1) provide for the establishment of a Community
19 Child Care Council to be responsible for the planning,
20 coordination, and monitoring of child development pro-
21 grams for an area which meets the criteria of subsection
22 (a) of this section and which (in accordance with regu-
23 lations promulgated by the Secretary with the prior con-
24 currence of the Director of the Office of Economic Oppor-
25 tunity) is broadly representative of community action

1 agencies, single-purpose Headstart agencies, community
2 development corporations, parent cooperatives, repre-
3 sentatives of public and private educational agencies and
4 institutions in the area to be served, parents of children
5 enrolled by the programs under this and other Acts,
6 private nonprofit organizations interested in child devel-
7 opment, representatives of public and private welfare,
8 manpower training, model cities, and health agencies
9 in the area to be served, representatives of professional
10 groups, business, industry, labor, employee and labor-
11 management organizations interested in child develop-
12 ment programs and public officials for the area to be
13 served; but not less than one-half of the membership
14 of the Council shall consist of parents of children enrolled
15 in child development programs under this title, which
16 parents shall be chosen by democratic selection proced-
17 ures established by the Secretary (with the prior con-
18 currence of the Director of the Office of Economic Oppor-
19 tunity) except that for the purpose of the initial desig-
20 nation, parents shall be of children representative of
21 those previously enrolled in Project Headstart programs
22 under section 222 (a) (1) of the Economic Opportunity
23 Act of 1964. The chairman shall be elected by the
24 members of the Council in accordance with procedures
25 established by the Secretary;

1 (2) describe the geographical area to be served
2 by the Council;

3 (3) evidence capability for effective planning, co-
4 ordination, and monitoring by the Community Child
5 Care Council of child development programs in the area
6 to be served;

7 (4) designate an agency (which may be an existing
8 agency or one newly created) to be responsible for dis-
9 bursing funds and effecting coordination between pro-
10 grams (subject to the direction and controls of the
11 Council) in accordance with a Community Child Care
12 Plan submitted by the Council under section 105. Where-
13 ever feasible, the application shall provide for the desig-
14 nation as such agency of any community action or other
15 agency which prior to enactment of this title was princi-
16 pally responsible for the conduct of programs in the
17 area to be served under section 222 (a) (1) of the
18 Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

19 (c) When two or more applications have been submitted
20 for the designation of Community Child Care Councils serv-
21 ing a common or overlapping geographical area (which
22 are consistent otherwise with the purposes of this title and
23 meet the requirements set forth in subsection (b)) the
24 Secretary, in accordance with such regulations as he shall
25 prescribe, shall designate for that geographical area the

1 Community Child Care Council which he determines will
2 most effectively carry out the purposes of this title, but for
3 the purpose of initial designation special consideration shall
4 be given to applications submitted by community action
5 agencies and other agencies which prior to enactment of
6 this title were principally responsible for the conduct of
7 programs in the area to be served under section 222 (a) (1)
8 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

9 (d) The Secretary shall not approve an application for
10 designation submitted under this section unless—

11 (1) the application was submitted to the Secretary
12 by such date as the Secretary shall prescribe by regula-
13 tion, prior to the beginning of the fiscal year when such
14 application is to take effect, in order to provide a rea-
15 sonable period of time for review in accordance with
16 the provisions of this section and for the submission of a
17 Community Child Care Plan under section 105;

18 (2) a copy thereof has been submitted for comment
19 to any State Child Care Council designated under section
20 107 (or if no such application or designation has been
21 made, then to the chief executive of the State), and
22 the State Child Care Council (or chief executive) has
23 been provided such period of time, as the Secretary shall
24 prescribe by regulation, after the copy of the applica-
25 tion was received, during which time it may submit com-

1 ments on such application to the Secretary, a copy of
2 which shall be sent to the applicant; and, if comments
3 have been submitted by the State Child Care Council
4 or chief executive such additional period of time, as the
5 Secretary shall prescribe by regulation, has passed, dur-
6 ing which time the Secretary shall, to the extent prac-
7 ticable, confer with and encourage the applicant to re-
8 solve any differences, arising from such comments;

9 (3) in the case of an application for designation of
10 a Community Child Care Council to serve a portion of
11 a city which is an area geographically common to or
12 overlapping with another area with respect to which an
13 application for designation has been submitted, a copy
14 thereof has been submitted for comment to any Com-
15 munity Child Care Council designated to serve such
16 city (or to any other agency or organization which has
17 submitted an application for designation, or, if no such
18 application or designation has been made, then to the
19 chief executive of such city) and such Community Child
20 Care Council applicant, agency or organization or chief
21 executive has been provided such period of time, as
22 the Secretary shall prescribe by regulation, after the copy
23 of the application was sent to it, during which time it
24 may submit comments on such application to the Secre-
25 tary, a copy of which shall be sent to the applicant and,

1 if comments have been submitted by the Child Care
2 Council applicant, agency or organization or chief execu-
3 tive such additional period of time, as the Secretary shall
4 prescribe by regulation, has passed, during which time
5 the Secretary shall, to the extent practicable, confer with
6 and encourage the applicant to resolve any differences
7 arising from such comments.

8 (4) a copy thereof has been submitted for comment
9 to any community action agency or single purpose
10 Headstart agency in the area to be served except that
11 for the purpose of initial application a copy shall be
12 submitted to each agency previously responsible for the
13 administration of programs under Section 222 (a) (1)
14 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and has been
15 provided some period of time as the Secretary shall
16 prescribe by regulation, after the copy of the application
17 was received, during which time it may submit comments
18 on such applications, a copy of which shall be sent to
19 the applicant, and if comments have been submitted by
20 such an agency such additional period of time, as the
21 Secretary shall prescribe by regulation, has passed, dur-
22 ing which time the Secretary shall, to the extent prac-
23 ticable, confer with and encourage the applicant to re-
24 solve any differences, arising from such comments.

25 (e) Except as provided in subsections (c) and (d), the

1 Secretary may approve any application for designation sub-
2 mitted under this section if it is consistent with the provisions
3 of this title. An application submitted under this section may
4 be disapproved or a prior designation of a Child Care Coun-
5 cil may be withdrawn only if the Secretary, in accordance
6 with regulations which he shall prescribe, has provided—

7 (i) written notice of intention to disapprove such
8 application, including a statement of the reasons therefor;

9 (ii) a reasonable time in which to submit corrective
10 amendments to such application; and

11 (iii) an opportunity for a public hearing upon which
12 basis an appeal to the Secretary may be taken as of right.

13 RESPONSIBILITIES OF COMMUNITY CHILD CARE COUNCILS

14 SEC. 104. (a) A Community Child Care Council desig-
15 nated pursuant to section 103 shall be responsible for—

16 (1) the planning, coordination, and monitoring of
17 child development programs in the area served;

18 (2) the submission to the Secretary of a Community
19 Child Care Plan meeting the requirements of section 105
20 for such programs;

21 (3) ensuring that the requirements set forth in sec-
22 tion 106 with respect to project applications and that the
23 special conditions set forth in section 111 are met;

24 (4) providing for a hearing before the Council for
25 every project applicant prior to the making of any final

1 determination adversely affecting the applicant and for
2 filing with the Secretary a report (in such form and con-
3 taining such information as the Secretary may prescribe)
4 at the request of any applicant who is dissatisfied with
5 any such final determination;

6 (5) providing technical assistance to individuals,
7 agencies, and organizations interested in the establish-
8 ment, conduct, and evaluation of child development
9 programs in the area served; and

10 (6) disbursement of funds to approved project ap-
11 plicants and establishing (A) such fiscal control and
12 fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to
13 assure proper disbursement and accounting for Federal
14 funds paid to such applicants under this title, and (B)
15 such reports in such form and containing such informa-
16 tion as may be reasonably necessary to enable the Sec-
17 retary to perform his functions under this title, and
18 providing assurances that such applicants which receive
19 assistance under this title, shall make available to the
20 Secretary and the Comptroller General of the United
21 States, or any of their duly authorized representatives,
22 for purposes of audit and examination, any books, docu-
23 ments, papers, and records that are pertinent to the
24 assistance received by such agency or organization under
25 this title.

1 (b) A Community Child Care Council designated pur-
2 suant to section 103 shall be authorized to—

3 (1) obtain the services of such full-time profes-
4 sional, technical, and clerical personnel as may be re-
5 quired in the performance of its duties, and to contract
6 or otherwise arrange for such assistance and services
7 (including planning, technical assistance, and evalua-
8 tion services) as may be necessary;

9 (2) consult with the departments, agencies, and
10 authorities of the Federal Government and with State
11 Child Care Councils and State and local public agencies,
12 professionals and other sources of technical information
13 and assistance relevant to its functions as it deems ad-
14 visable and practicable; and

15 (3) utilize the services, personnel, facilities, and
16 information, including statistical information, of Federal
17 departments and agencies, State Child Care Councils,
18 and State and local public agencies and private research
19 agencies with the consent of such agency or council with
20 or without reimbursement therefor.

21 (c) For the purposes outlined by subparagraphs (a)
22 and (b) of this section, the Secretary shall reserve not less
23 than 2 per centum of the amounts available for title I to
24 be allocated in substantially the same manner as set forth
25 in section 116 (a) (2).

1 tion, the amount available to such agency in the year
2 prior to approval of the application under section 222
3 (a) (1) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964)
4 unless after notice and an opportunity for a hearing it
5 has been determined that such agency no longer pro-
6 vides effective services and (b) that each such agency
7 receives such additional allocations as may be necessary
8 to insure special consideration to the needs of children of
9 low-income families.

10 (4) arrangements in the area served for the inte-
11 gration into the Community Child Care Plan of child
12 development programs for which financial assistance is
13 provided by the Secretary of Health, Education, and
14 Welfare under the authority of other laws;

15 (5) arrangements for the utilization of services
16 and facilities which are available, with or without reim-
17 bursement of the reasonable cost, from Federal, State,
18 and local agencies, including community action agencies,
19 community development corporations, child welfare agen-
20 cies, educational agencies and institutions, and agencies
21 conducting manpower training programs, but nothing
22 contained herein shall be construed to limit the utilization
23 of services and facilities of private agencies, institutions,
24 and organizations interested in child development, includ-
25 ing private educational agencies and institutions, which

1 can at comparable cost provide substantially equivalent
2 services or facilities;

3 (6) arrangements for program coordination be-
4 tween approved project applicant through joint pro-
5 gram services, training and other joint activities, joint
6 purchasing arrangements, and joint personnel recruiting
7 systems;

8 (7) arrangements between approved project appli-
9 cants and administrators of local school systems, both
10 public and nonpublic, to effect coordination between pro-
11 grams conducted under this Act and programs conducted
12 by such administrators pursuant to Section 222 (a) (2)
13 of the Economic Opportunity Act and the Elementary
14 and Secondary Education Act.

15 (8) arrangements in the area served for the inte-
16 gration of programs conducted under the auspices of
17 or with the support of business, industry, labor, em-
18 ployee and labor-management organizations.

19 (b) No plans or modification or amendment thereof
20 submitted by a Community Child Care Council under this
21 section shall be approved by the Secretary unless he deter-
22 mines that—

23 (1) each community action agency or single-pur-
24 pose Headstart agency in the area to be served, pre-
25 viously responsible for the administration of programs

1 under this Act, or in the case of initial submission, under
2 section 222 (a) (1) of the Economic Opportunity Act,
3 has had an opportunity to submit comments to the Com-
4 munity Child Care Council and to the Secretary;

5 (2) any educational agency or institution in the
6 area to be served responsible for the administration of
7 programs under section 222 (a) (2) of the Economic
8 Opportunity Act has had an opportunity to submit com-
9 ments to the Community Child Care Council and to the
10 Secretary;

11 (3) in the case of plans submitted by Community
12 Child Care Councils designated under section 103, any
13 State Child Care Council (or, if no such council has been
14 designated, then the Chief Executive of the State) has
15 had an opportunity to submit comments to the Com-
16 munity Child Care Council and to the Secretary;

17 (4) in the case of plans submitted by a Community
18 Child Care Council serving a part of a city, any Com-
19 munity Child Care Council designated to serve such city
20 (or, if no designation has been made, then the chief
21 executive of such city) has had an opportunity to submit
22 comments to such Council and to the Secretary.

23 (c) Except as provided in subsection (b), the Secre-
24 tary may approve any Community Child Care Plan sub-
25 mitted under this section if it is consistent with the provisions

1 of this title. A Community Child Care Plan submitted under
2 this section may be disapproved only after notice, a reason-
3 able time to submit corrective amendments, and an oppor-
4 tunity for a hearing.

5 PROJECT APPLICATIONS

6 SEC. 106. (a) Any public or private agency or organi-
7 zation, including but not limited to community action
8 agencies, single-purpose Headstart agencies, community
9 development corporations, parent cooperatives, public and
10 private educational agencies and institutions, nonprofit pri-
11 vate organizations interested in child development shall be
12 eligible to apply to the Community Child Care Council for
13 financial assistance to be provided pursuant to a Community
14 Child Care Plan.

15 (b) The services and activities for which funds under
16 this section may be available shall include the following—

17 (1) planning, developing, establishing, maintain-
18 ing, and operating child development programs (in-
19 cluding demonstration and pilot programs to test the
20 effectiveness of new concepts) providing full-time, part-
21 time, family, day, nighttime, intermittent, or other care
22 in the child's home or in a group setting, and
23 designed to serve families of children from birth through
24 the age of fourteen;

25 (2) the design, acquisition, construction, alteration,

1 renovation, or remodeling of facilities (or portions
2 thereof in the case of shared facilities), including but not
3 limited to the purchase or rental or improvement of land
4 through the provision of loans, loan guarantees, occu-
5 pancy guarantees, interest subsidies, and cash grants;

6 (3) the development and conduct of programs to
7 train persons for occupations involving the planning,
8 development, establishment, maintenance, operation, and
9 evaluation of child development programs including but
10 not limited to (a) programs providing preservice, in-
11 service, remedial, educational and other training for par-
12 ents on a substitute-staff basis, (b) programs to train
13 teachers, adult basic educational personnel, and super-
14 visory personnel to train or supervise persons in such
15 occupations, (c) programs which include courses in
16 English language skills and, where appropriate, in other
17 languages and communication to assist individuals to
18 become more effective in such occupations, and (d)
19 programs to provide sustained and continuing training
20 and supervision for persons involved in the conduct of
21 child development programs;

22 (4) the establishment, maintenance, and operation
23 of programs to give actual training in and to teach the
24 fundamentals of child development (including nutritional
25 and health aspects thereof), parents and other older

1 members of a family, and to youth and prospective
2 parents;

3 (5) the establishment of child development infor-
4 mation centers and the dissemination of information
5 through other means in the functional language of per-
6 sons to be served to assure that parents are well informed
7 of child development programs available within the
8 community and may become directly involved in activ-
9 ities in which their children are involved, and other
10 information programs to encourage parental support for
11 and involvement in such activities;

12 (6) the provision of necessary diagnostic and
13 assessment services in the functional language of those to
14 be served, to assure identification of visual, hearing,
15 speech, language, cultural, and other physical, mental,
16 educational, and emotional barriers to full participation
17 by a child in child development programs and remedial
18 programs to deal with such barriers;

19 (7) programs and projects designed to strengthen
20 the capability of public agencies and private nonprofit
21 organizations in the community to plan, conduct, and
22 evaluate child development programs, including pro-
23 grams to assist in the establishment of organizations
24 which provide technical assistance, including architec-
25 tural program design, financial, consultative, legal pre-

1 planning, and other assistance to individuals, agencies,
2 and organizations interested in the establishment of child
3 development programs in the community;

4 (8) transportation arrangements or expenses neces-
5 sary in order to make it possible for children of low-
6 income families to participate in programs under this
7 title;

8 (10) monitoring and evaluation activities designed
9 to increase the knowledge of child development programs
10 and the demonstration and dissemination of information
11 derived to assure effective use of knowledge acquired;
12 and

13 (11) such other services and activities as the Sec-
14 retary deems appropriate in furtherance of the purposes
15 of the Act.

16 (c) The Secretary shall promulgate regulations estab-
17 lishing procedures to insure that full and impartial consid-
18 eration is given by the Council to all project applications
19 submitted by organizations and agencies under this section.

20 APPLICATIONS FOR DESIGNATION OF STATE CHILD CARE
21 COUNCILS

22 SEC. 107. (a) The Secretary is authorized to designate
23 a State Comprehensive Child Care Council for each State, in
24 accordance with the provisions of this section.

25 (b) The Secretary shall make designations under sub-

1 section (a) upon approval of an application for designation
2 submitted by the chief executive of the State in accordance
3 with regulations promulgated by the Secretary. Such applica-
4 tion shall include provisions which—

5 (1) provide for the establishment of a State Child
6 Care Council broadly representative of educational, wel-
7 fare, health, manpower training, and other State agencies
8 interested in child development in the State, representa-
9 tives of business, industry, labor, employee and labor-
10 management organizations, and other public and private
11 agencies and organizations interested in child develop-
12 ment but not less than one-half of the membership of
13 the Council shall consist of parents of children enrolled
14 in child development programs within the State under
15 this Act chosen by democratic selection procedures in
16 accordance with criteria established by the Secretary
17 except that for the purpose of their initial designation,
18 parents shall be of children previously enrolled in
19 Project Headstart programs under section 222 (a) (1)
20 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The chief
21 executive of the State shall be a member and serve as
22 chairman of the Council.

23 (2) designate an agency (which may be an exist-
24 ing agency or one newly created) to be responsible for
25 implementing State Child Care Assistance Plans under

1 section 109 and reviewing applications for designation
2 and Community Child Care Plans on behalf of such
3 Council and making recommendations to the Council in
4 respect thereto;

5 (3) evidence capability of the Council and any
6 agency to be designated pursuant to paragraph (2)
7 for carrying out its responsibilities of the Council under
8 section 108.

9 RESPONSIBILITIES OF STATE COUNCILS

10 SEC. 108. (a) A State Council designated pursuant to
11 section 107 shall be responsible for—

12 (1) preparing, submitting, and implementing State
13 Child Care Assistance Plans under section 109; and

14 (2) reviewing applications for designation of Com-
15 munity Child Care Councils under section 103, review-
16 ing Community Child Care plans submitted to the Coun-
17 cil under section 105 and recommending to the Secretary
18 and Community Child Care Councils proposed changes in
19 such applications or plans deemed by the State Child
20 Care Council to be in the interest of maintaining the
21 quality of programs and an equitable distribution of
22 child development and related programs within the
23 State, insuring cooperation and coordination between
24 programs conducted within the State and encouraging

1 the maximum utilization of available services and facili-
2 ties within the State.

3 (b) A State Child Care Council designated pursuant to
4 this section shall be authorized to—

5 (1) obtain the services of such full-time professional,
6 technical, and clerical personnel as may be required in
7 the performance of its duties and to contract or otherwise
8 arrange for such assistance and services (including plan-
9 ning, technical assistance and evaluation services) as
10 may be necessary;

11 (2) consult with the departments, agencies, and
12 authorities of the Federal Government and with Com-
13 munity Child Care Councils and State and local public
14 agencies, professionals and other sources of technical
15 information and assistance relevant to its functions as it
16 deems advisable and practicable; and

17 (3) utilize the services, personnel, facilities, and
18 information, including statistical information, of Federal
19 departments and agencies, Community Child Care Coun-
20 cils, and State and local public agencies and private
21 research agencies with the consent of such agency of
22 council with or without reimbursement therefor.

23 (d) For the purposes outlined in this section, the Secre-
24 tary shall reserve not less than 1 per centum of the amounts

1 available for title I to be allocated in substantially the same
2 manner as set forth in section 116 (a) (2).

3 STATE CHILD CARE ASSISTANCE PLANS

4 SEC. 109. (a) Except as provided in section 107,
5 financial assistance under this title may be provided by the
6 Secretary to State Comprehensive Child Care Councils only
7 pursuant to a State Child Care Assistance Plan approved
8 by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions in this
9 section. Any such plan shall set forth—

10 (1) a description of the purposes for which finan-
11 cial assistance will be used, including a statement as to
12 the Community Child Care Councils, agencies, and
13 organizations to be assisted and the State agency or other
14 organization responsible for providing such assistance,

15 (2) assurances that assistance will be provided on
16 an equitable basis among areas in the State and be-
17 tween Community Child Care Councils, agencies, and
18 organizations within the State in such a way as to en-
19 sure equitable assistance for disadvantaged children.

20 (b) The services and activities for which financial as-
21 sistance may be available under this section shall include the
22 following—

23 (1) identifying child development goals and needs
24 within the State,

25 (2) providing technical assistance (through con-

1 tracts, agreements, or other arrangements with State
2 agencies) to—

3 (A) assist in the establishment of Community
4 Child Care Councils within the State and strengthen
5 the capability of such councils to effectively plan,
6 coordinate and monitor child development
7 programs;

8 (B) encourage the effective coordination
9 between programs conducted within different com-
10 munities in the State by councils, agencies and
11 organizations under this and other laws, and the full
12 utilization of resources and facilities within the State
13 by such councils, agencies and organizations with-
14 out unnecessary duplication and, in the most effi-
15 cient and economical manner;

16 (C) strengthen the educational, health, child
17 welfare, and related components of programs to be
18 conducted by agencies and organizations within the
19 State under this Act; and

20 (D) assist agencies and organizations in the
21 acquisition or improvement of facilities for child
22 development programs to be conducted under this
23 Act;

24 (3) conducting programs (through grant, contract,
25 or otherwise) to train persons for occupations involving

1 the planning, development, establishment, maintenance,
2 operation and evaluation of child development programs
3 under this and other laws, including but not limited to
4 (i) programs providing preservice, inservice, remedial,
5 educational and other training for parents on a substitute
6 staff basis, (ii) programs to train teachers, adult basic
7 educational personnel, and supervisory personnel to train
8 or supervise persons in such occupations, (iii) pro-
9 grams which include courses in English language skills
10 and, where appropriate, in other languages and com-
11 munication to assist individuals to become more effective
12 in such occupations, and (iv) programs to provide
13 sustained and continuing training and supervision for
14 persons involved in the conduct of child development
15 programs;

16 (4) conducting programs (through grant, con-
17 tract, or otherwise) providing for the exchange of per-
18 sonnel between Community Child Care Councils and
19 other agencies and organizations involved with child
20 development programs within the State under this and
21 other laws;

22 (5) assessing the extent to which information sys-
23 tems and research on the nature of child development
24 processes and the impact of various influences upon chil-
25 dren, assessment and diagnostic techniques, have been

1 irrespective of whether a State or Community Child Care
2 Council is serving such area or is in compliance or non-
3 compliance with the provisions of this title, if the Secretary
4 determines that children of low-income families will not
5 otherwise be equitably served or that the provision of direct
6 financial assistance is otherwise necessary to effect the pur-
7 poses of the Act.

8 (b) The Secretary, in consultation with the Director
9 of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall establish pro-
10 cedures to govern his receipt of information which may be
11 the basis for a determination under subsection (a).

12 SPECIAL CONDITIONS

13 SEC. 112. No assistance shall be provided under this
14 title unless the Secretary has determined that—

15 (a) children participating in programs will receive
16 such education, nutritional, health, emotional, social,
17 cultural, and cognitive development and related services
18 as are necessary to provide each child the opportunity
19 to reach his full potential;

20 (b) to the fullest extent possible programs shall be
21 subject to the direction of a governing board of parents
22 of children enrolled in the programs under this Act and
23 that provision has been made for extensive parental par-
24 ticipation in activities with their children;

25 (c) priority has been given to programs providing

1 child development services to children of low-income
2 families from birth through the age of five;

3 (d) programs will provide for the participation of
4 children of families who are not low-income, wherever
5 possible, by payments of fees in accordance with their
6 ability to pay, pursuant to criteria prescribed by the
7 Secretary, except that no charge for services provided
8 under a program assisted under this title shall be made
9 as to any child whose family's income is below the
10 poverty level;

11 (e) wherever practicable programs will be con-
12 ducted in such a manner as to provide meaningful
13 environmental linkage between the home and the set-
14 ting in which programs are to be conducted;

15 (f) in the case of programs to be carried out by a
16 local educational agency, children in the area served by
17 such program will in no case be denied the benefits of
18 the program because of their attendance in private pre-
19 school programs or because of the intention of their
20 parents to enroll them in private schools upon their
21 attainment of school age;

22 (g) programs shall meet the Federal standards for
23 Child Development Services established under section
24 209 of the Act;

25 (h) in the case of programs which include the con-

1 construction of facilities (1) such programs will be ap-
2 proved only upon a showing that construction of such
3 facilities will be more economically advantageous to the
4 Government than the rental, renovation, remodeling, or
5 lease of facilities, and that a variety of building designs
6 and techniques utilizing both new and conventional tech-
7 nologies have been considered in an effort to provide
8 the most economical and useful facility possible for the
9 intended purposes, (2) if within twenty years after
10 completion of any construction for which Federal funds
11 have been paid under this title the facility shall cease to
12 be used for the purposes for which it was constructed,
13 unless the Secretary determines in accordance with
14 regulations that there is good cause for releasing the
15 applicant or other owner from the obligation to do so,
16 the United States shall be entitled to recover from the
17 applicant or other owner of the facility an amount which
18 bears to the then value of the facility (or so much thereof
19 as constituted an approved project or projects) the same
20 ratio as the amount of such Federal funds bore to the
21 cost of the facility financed with the aid of such funds.
22 Such value shall be determined by agreement of the
23 parties or by action brought in the United States district
24 court for the district in which the facility is situated,
25 (3) such programs shall be subject to such other reg-
26 ulations as the Secretary may prescribe; and

1 (i) In the case of programs for the training of per-
2 sonnel involved in the planning, establishment, mainte-
3 nance, operation and evaluation of child development or
4 of persons to train teachers for such programs, any
5 project application shall include a description of the
6 methods to be used in recruit, screen, select, and orient
7 participants, including specific eligibility criteria.

8 NONCOMPLIANCE OR ABSENCE OF AN APPROVED PLAN

9 SEC. 113. (a) If the Secretary determines, after notice,
10 a reasonable time to submit corrective amendments and
11 an opportunity for a hearing, that a State or Community
12 Child Care Council or an approved project applicant is no
13 longer complying with the requirements of the Act, he may
14 determine that such council or project sponsor is no longer
15 eligible for and may withhold such further assistance or
16 portions thereof as may be appropriate.

17 (b) No determination of noncompliance under this sec-
18 tion shall be made without concurrence of the Commissioner
19 of Education or the Director of the Office of Economic
20 Opportunity with respect to those matters as to which his
21 concurrence was required under section 201.

22 FEDERAL CONTROL PROHIBITED

23 SEC. 114. No department, agency, officer, or employee
24 of the United States shall, under authority of this Act, exer-
25 cise any direction, supervision, or control over, or impose

1 any requirements or conditions with respect to, the per-
2 sonnel, curriculum, method of instruction or administration
3 of any educational agency or institution.

4 MATCHING REQUIREMENTS

5 SEC. 115. (a) The Secretary shall pay to each State
6 Child Care Council receiving financial assistance pursuant
7 to a State Child Care Assistance Plan pursuant to section
8 109 an amount not in excess of 80 per centum of the cost of
9 providing services and activities for children of low-income
10 families under that section.

11 (b) The Secretary shall pay to each Community Child
12 Care Council, or to any agency or organization receiving
13 direct financial assistance under section 112, an amount not
14 in excess of 80 per centum of the cost of providing services
15 and activities for children of low-income families. The
16 Secretary may, however, pursuant to regulations establish-
17 ing objective criteria, approve assistance for the purpose of
18 providing services to children of low-income families in ex-
19 cess of that percentage to insure equitable coverage of such
20 persons in any area and may vary otherwise the formula
21 in particular cases to encourage contributions from private
22 organizations for such purposes.

23 (c) The non-Federal share of the costs of programs
24 assisted under this title may be provided through public or
25 private funds and may be in the form of cash, goods, serv-

1 ices, or facilities (or portions thereof) reasonably evaluated,
2 fees collected from parents, or from union or employer
3 contributions.

4 (d) If, in any fiscal year, a program approved under
5 this title provides non-Federal contributions exceeding its
6 requirements, such excess may be applied toward meeting the
7 requirements for such contributions for the subsequent fiscal
8 year under this title.

9 ALLOCATIONS

10 SEC. 116. (a) The amounts available for any fiscal year
11 for this title shall be allocated in such a manner that of such
12 amounts—

13 (1) (A) Not more than 6 per centum shall be
14 available for financial assistance under subsection (c)
15 of this section.

16 (B) Not more than 2 per centum shall be available
17 for financial assistance under subsection (d) of this sec-
18 tion, and

19 (C) Not more than 2 per centum shall be available
20 for financial assistance under subsection (e) of this
21 section;

22 (2) Not less than 75 per centum shall be allocated
23 among the States as follows—

24 (A) The Secretary shall allot 30 per centum
25 of the sums to be apportioned under this paragraph

1 among the States so that the amount allotted to each
2 State bears the same ratio to such 30 per centum
3 as the number of families having an annual income
4 below the poverty level in the State bears to the
5 number of such families in all the States.

6 (B) The Secretary shall allot 30 per centum of
7 the sums to be apportioned under this paragraph
8 among the States so that the amount allotted to each
9 State bears the same ratio to such 30 per centum
10 as the number of children who have not attained
11 fourteen years of age of mothers who are regularly
12 employed outside home in the State as reported by
13 the Department of Labor bears to the total number
14 of such children in all the States.

15 (C) The Secretary shall allot 40 per centum of
16 the sums to be apportioned under this paragraph
17 among the States so that the amount allotted to each
18 State bears the same ratio to such 40 per centum
19 as the number of children who have not attained six
20 years of age in the State bears to the number of such
21 children in all the States.

22 *Provided, however,* That not less than \$150,000 each
23 shall be apportioned to the Virgin Islands, Guam,
24 American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific
25 Islands. The number of children who have not attained

1 six years of age, the number of children who have not
2 attained fourteen years of age, of mothers who are
3 regularly employed outside the home, and the number
4 of families having an annual income below the poverty
5 level in a State and in all the States, shall be deter-
6 mined by the Secretary on the basis of the most recent
7 satisfactory data available to him,

8 (3) The remainder shall be made available with-
9 out regard to apportionment for such purposes under
10 this title as the Secretary deems appropriate.

11 (b) Of the amount apportioned to each State under
12 clause (2) of subsection (a), not less than ten percent shall
13 be available for State Child Care Assistance Plans pursuant
14 to section 109. The remainder of the amount allocated to
15 each State under clause (2) of subsection (a) may be
16 apportioned by the Secretary among areas within each such
17 State on the basis of the criteria set forth in paragraph (2).

18 (c) The amount available pursuant to clause 1 (C) of
19 subsection (a) shall be available to the Secretary for the
20 purpose of providing additional financial assistance pur-
21 suant to section 112 for child development programs for
22 children of migrants, Indian children or children whose
23 functional language is other than English.

24 (d) The amount available pursuant to clause (1) (A)
25 of subsection (a) shall be available to the Secretary for

1 the purpose of providing additional financial assistance as
2 an incentive for the establishment by Community Child
3 Care Councils of appropriate procedures for coordination
4 and cooperation at the community level between agencies
5 and organizations conducting programs under this title and
6 prime sponsors conducting manpower training programs
7 assisted under other Federal laws. The Secretary, with the
8 concurrence of the Secretary of Labor, shall establish criteria
9 for the provision of such assistance.

10 (e) The amount available pursuant to clause (1) (B)
11 of subsection (a) for the purposes of this subsection shall be
12 available to the Secretary for the purpose of providing addi-
13 tional financial assistance as an incentive for the establish-
14 ment by Community Child Care Councils of appropriate
15 procedures for coordination and cooperation and to provide
16 continuity between preschool programs under this title, and
17 educational and related programs conducted by administra-
18 tors of school systems, both public and nonpublic, at the
19 community level.

20 (f) The Secretary shall make such reallocations for each
21 fiscal year as he may deem necessary in order to insure that
22 funds available to community action agencies and single
23 purpose Headstart agencies are not less than the amount
24 available in the previous fiscal year (or for the purpose of
25 initial apportionment, the amount available in the previous

1 fiscal year under the Headstart programs under section
2 222(a) (1) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964).

3 (g) The Secretary is authorized to make reallocations
4 for such purposes under this title as he deems appropriate of
5 the unobligated amount of any apportionment under subsec-
6 tions (a) (2) and (b) to the extent that the Secretary
7 determines that it will not be required for the period for
8 which such apportionment is available. No amounts appor-
9 tioned under subsections (a) (2) and (b) for any fiscal
10 year may be reallocated for any reason before the sixth
11 month of the fiscal year for which such funds were appropri-
12 ated and unless the Secretary has provided thirty days
13 advance notice of the proposed reallocation to the council for
14 such area. Any funds reallocated under this subsection are
15 not required to be apportioned in accordance with subsection
16 (a) (2) or (b), and no revision in the apportionment of the
17 funds not so reallocated shall be made because of such
18 reallocations.

19 (h) As soon as practicable after the effective date of
20 this Act, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Regis-
21 ter the apportionment formula established pursuant to the
22 section as well as the percentage of funds appropriated to
23 carry out the purposes of this Act which shall be apportioned
24 to a State and allotted to areas within such State. The Secre-
25 tary shall review such apportionment formula annually and

1 at such other times as the circumstances may warrant and
2 may revise or modify such formula. Whenever the Secretary
3 establishes or revises such apportionment formula, he shall
4 also promptly publish in the Federal Register the factors
5 which he had considered in arriving at the apportionment,
6 the weight ascribed to the various factors, and the statistical
7 data found necessary in determining the apportionment.

8 (i) No State or unit of general local government shall
9 reduce its expenditures for child development programs by
10 reason of assistance under this title.

11 TITLE II—SPECIAL FEDERAL
12 RESPONSIBILITIES

13 PART A—RESEARCH, EVALUATION, TRAINING, AND
14 SPECIAL PROVISIONS

15 ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRAMS

16 SEC. 201. (a) The Secretary shall establish in the
17 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an Office of
18 Child Development which shall be the principal agency in
19 that Department for programs and activities relating to child
20 development and shall carry out the provisions of this Act.

21 (b) The Secretary shall ensure that the Commissioner
22 of Education has concurred in all actions taken by the
23 Secretary regarding programs (including demonstration pro-
24 grams under section 203) or program components to be
25 conducted by educational agencies and institutions, including

1 the promulgation of regulations, the approval of plans, and
2 any determination of noncompliance with the Act.

3 (c) The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity
4 shall concur in all actions taken by the Secretary including
5 the promulgation of regulations, the approval of plans, and
6 any determinations of noncompliance with the Act regarding
7 programs or program components to be conducted by com-
8 munity action, single-purpose Headstart, or other agencies,
9 or previously conducted by such agencies under section 222
10 (a) (1) of the Economic Opportunity Act.

11 RESEARCH

12 SEC. 202. (a) The Secretary shall establish a compre-
13 hensive program of research in the field of child development,
14 utilizing the methods, techniques, and knowledge of the
15 behavioral and social sciences and such other methods, tech-
16 niques, and knowledge as he determines will aid in the
17 achievement of the Nation's goals with respect to child devel-
18 opment. Such program shall include, but shall not be limited
19 to research to determine the nature of child development
20 processes, the impact of various influences and interven-
21 tions upon such processes, the techniques necessary to
22 evaluate and diagnose child development, the extent to
23 which child development programs conducted in various set-
24 tings might positively affect child development processes,
25 and the means of improving child development program plan-

1 ning and evaluation. The Secretary shall establish a program
2 for the continuing dissemination of the results of such research
3 to State and Community Child Care Councils to insure effec-
4 tive programmatic use of knowledge and information derived
5 therefrom.

6 DEMONSTRATION

7 SEC. 203. The Secretary, in consultation with the Secre-
8 tary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic
9 Opportunity and the heads of other appropriate departments
10 and agencies, shall establish a program of experimental, de-
11 velopmental, demonstration, and pilot programs and proj-
12 ects through grants to public agencies and contracts with
13 private organizations for the purpose of demonstrating and
14 evaluating the effectiveness of specialized methods in meet-
15 ing the Nation's needs for child development programs, in-
16 cluding, but not limited to programs and projects of tuition
17 assistance, to provide access to child development services
18 and facilities under a purchase voucher or similar plan, and
19 to encourage the development of child development services
20 and facilities by business, industry, labor, employee and
21 labor-management organizations for employees at or near
22 a place of business. Nothing herein contained shall preclude
23 the conduct of such experimental, developmental, demon-
24 stration, and pilot projects by the Secretary of Labor or the
25 Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under any
26 other law.

1 paragraph (10) of such section and inserting in lieu thereof
2 a semicolon and the word "and", and by adding at the end
3 of such section the following new paragraph:

4 “(11) programs or projects to provide inservice
5 and other training and preparation for professional per-
6 sonnel for child development programs.”

7 (b) Section 532 of the Higher Education Act of 1965
8 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sen-
9 tence: “There is authorized to be appropriated the sum of
10 \$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and
11 the sum of \$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
12 1974, for programs and projects under paragraph (11) of
13 section 532 (b) of this part.”

14 SEC. 207. Section 205 (b) (3) of the National Defense
15 Education Act is amended as follows, by adding after the
16 word “nonprofit” the phrase “child development program,”
17 by striking out “and (C)” and inserting in lieu thereof the
18 following: “(C) such rate shall be 15 per centum for each
19 complete academic year or its equivalent (as so determined
20 by regulations) of service as a full-time teacher in public or
21 private nonprofit child development programs or in any such
22 programs operating under authority of title I of the Com-
23 prehensive Community Child Development Act of 1971,
24 and (D)”.

SPECIAL STUDIES

1
2 SEC. 208. The Secretary, in consultation with the Sec-
3 retary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic
4 Opportunity, shall make continuing studies to determine the
5 need for additional trained Federal, State, and local personnel
6 to carry out programs assisted under this and related laws,
7 the availability of such personnel, the adequacy of Federal
8 and other manpower employment and training programs to
9 train and provide such personnel and the extent to which, and
10 manner in which, employment and advancement practices in
11 respect to such programs restrict the opportunities for suit-
12 able employment advancement and increased competency in
13 such field and shall report the results of such studies together
14 with his recommendations (including any recommendations
15 for changes in legislation) to the President and the Congress.

16 The Secretary shall develop and promulgate guidelines,
17 based upon such studies, setting forth task and skill require-
18 ments for specific jobs and recommended job descriptions
19 designed to encourage career employment and occupational
20 advancement in such field.

FEDERAL STANDARDS FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT

SERVICES

21
22
23 SEC. 209. The Secretary shall establish, after consul-
24 tation with the Director of the Office of Economic Oppor-

1 tunity and heads of other Federal agencies, a common set of
2 program standards which the President shall make applicable
3 to all programs providing child development services with
4 Federal assistance under this and related laws, to be known
5 as the Federal Standards for Child Development Services.

6 DEVELOPMENT OF UNIFORM CODE FOR FACILITIES AND
7 APPLICABILITY OF UNIFORM CODE STATE STANDARDS

8 SEC. 210. (a) The Secretary shall appoint within six
9 months after enactment of this Act a special committee to
10 develop a uniform code for facilities, to be used in licensing
11 child development facilities. Such standards shall deal prin-
12 cipally with those matters essential to the health, safety, and
13 physical comfort of the children and the relationship of such
14 matters to the Federal standards for Child Development
15 Services under section 209.

16 (b) The special committee appointed under this section
17 shall include parents of children of low-income families
18 enrolled in child development programs, representatives of
19 State and local licensing agencies, public health officials, fire
20 prevention officials, construction officials, operators of public
21 and private programs, and representatives of national orga-
22 nizations interested in the development of children, but not
23 less than one-half of the membership of the committee shall
24 consist of parents representative of children of low-income
25 families enrolled in programs conducted under section 222

1 (a) (1) of the Economic Opportunity Act and Title IVB
2 of the Social Security Act.

3 (c) Within six months of its appointment, the special
4 committee shall complete a proposed uniform code and shall
5 hold public hearings on the proposed code prior to sub-
6 mitting its final recommendations to the Secretary for his
7 approval.

8 (d) The Secretary must approve the code as a whole
9 or secure the concurrence of the special committee to changes
10 therein and upon approval shall distribute the standards and
11 urge their adoption by State and local governments. The
12 Secretary may from time to time modify the uniform code
13 for facilities in accordance with the procedures described in
14 subsections (a) through (d).

15 USE OF FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL
16 FACILITIES FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

17 SEC. 211. (a) The Secretary, after consultation with
18 other appropriate officials of the Federal Government shall
19 within sixteen months of enactment of this Act report to
20 the Congress in respect to the extent to which facilities
21 owned or leased by Federal departments, agencies, and
22 independent authorities could be made available to public
23 and nonprofit private agencies and institutions if appropri-
24 ate services were provided, as facilities for child develop-
25 ment programs under this Act during times and periods

1 when not utilized fully for usual purposes, together with his
2 recommendations (including recommendations for changes
3 in legislation) or proposed actions for such utilization.

4 (b) The Secretary may require that as a condition to
5 the receipt of assistance under this Act, any State or unit
6 of general local government shall agree to conduct a review
7 and provide the Secretary with a report as to the extent to
8 which facilities owned or leased by such State or unit of
9 general local government could be made available, if
10 appropriate services were provided, as facilities for child
11 development programs under this Act during times and
12 periods when not utilized fully for usual purposes.

13 ADVISORY COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED

14 SEC. 212. (a) The President, in consultation with the
15 Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Direc-
16 tor of the Office of Economic Opportunity, shall appoint
17 a National Child Development Advisory Committee (the
18 Committee) which shall consist of at least thirteen but not
19 more than seventeen members and shall be composed of per-
20 sons broadly representative of community action agencies,
21 single-purpose Headstart agencies, community corporations,
22 parent cooperatives, representatives of public and private
23 educational agencies and institutions, parents of children en-
24 rolled in programs under this Act, representatives of public
25 and private welfare, manpower, employment and training,

1 economic opportunity, model cities, and health agencies,
2 representatives of professional groups, business, industry,
3 labor, and labor-management organizations interested in child
4 development programs and elected public officials, but not
5 less than one-half of the membership of the Council shall
6 consist of parents of children representative of those enrolled
7 in child development programs under this Act except that
8 for the purpose of the initial designation, parents shall be
9 of children representative of those previously enrolled in
10 Project Headstart programs under section 222 (a) (1) of
11 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. From the members
12 appointed to such Committee, the President shall desig-
13 nate a Chairman. Members shall be appointed for terms of
14 three years except that (1) in the case of initial members,
15 one-third of the members shall be appointed for terms of
16 two years each, and (2) appointments to fill the unexpired
17 portion of any terms shall be for such portion only. Such
18 Committee shall hold not less than two meetings during
19 each calendar year.

20 (b) The Committee shall—

21 (1) identify the needs and goals of the Nation and
22 assess the extent to which child development programs
23 under this and related Acts represent a consistent, inte-
24 grated, and coordinated approach to meeting such needs
25 and achieving such goals;

1 (2) review the administration and operation of such
2 child development programs, including application and
3 other procedures and advise the Secretary of Health,
4 Education, and Welfare, and the Director of the Office
5 of Economic Opportunity and other appropriate officials
6 as to the carrying out of their duties under this Act and
7 related Acts; and

8 (3) make recommendations (including recom-
9 mendations for changes in legislation) for the improve-
10 ment of the administration and operation of such
11 programs.

12 (c) The Committee shall make an annual report, and
13 such other reports as it deems appropriate on its findings,
14 recommendations, and activities to the Congress and to the
15 President.

16 (d) The Committee may accept and employ or dispose
17 of gifts or bequests, either for carrying out specific programs
18 or for its general activities or for such responsibilities as it
19 may be assigned in furtherance of subsection (b) of this
20 section.

21 (e) Appointed members of the Committee shall be
22 paid compensation at a rate of up to the per diem equivalent
23 of the rate for GS-18 when engaged in the work of the
24 Committee, including traveltime, and shall be allowed travel
25 expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence as authorized

1 by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in the Government
2 service employed intermittently and receiving compensa-
3 tion on a per diem, when actually employed, basis.

4 (f) The Committee is authorized, without regard to the
5 civil service laws, to engage such technical assistance as may
6 be required to carry out its functions; to obtain the services
7 of such full-time professional, technical, and clerical person-
8 nel as may be required in the performance of its duties, and
9 to contract for such assistance as may be necessary;

10 (g) In order to encourage private employers, business,
11 industry, labor, employee, and labor-management organiza-
12 tions to arrange for the provisions of child development pro-
13 grams at or in association with a place of employment, the
14 Committee is directed to evaluate existing programs and to
15 make recommendations, including recommendations for
16 changes in legislation, to the Secretary for the meaningful
17 expansion of such programs.

18 (h) For the purpose of this section, funds may be
19 reserved from the sums appropriated to carry out this part,
20 as directed by the Director of the Office of Management
21 and Budget.

22 AUTHORIZATION OR APPROPRIATION

23 SEC. 213. There is authorized to be appropriated for the
24 purposes of this part the sum of \$75,000,000 for the fiscal
25 year ending June 30, 1973, \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year

1 ending June 30, 1974, and \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year
2 ending June 30, 1975.

3 PART B—SPECIAL CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FOR
4 FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
5 PROGRAM AUTHORIZED

6 SEC. 221. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make
7 grants to, enter into contracts and agreements (including
8 interagency agreements) with and provide technical assist-
9 ance to Federal departments, agencies, and independent
10 authorities and public and private agencies and organizations
11 for the purpose of planning, developing, establishing, main-
12 taining and operating child development programs (includ-
13 ing the design, acquisition, construction, alteration, renovation
14 or remodeling of facilities, the acquisition of necessary equip-
15 ment and supplies) and training informational, diagnostic
16 and other activities as prescribed by the Secretary for the
17 children of employees of the Federal Government.

18 (b) In order to be eligible for assistance under this sec-
19 tion, except technical assistance, such Federal department,
20 agency, or authority must submit to the Secretary a plan,
21 which:

22 (1) provides that the program will meet the
23 special conditions set forth in section 112;

24 (2) provides a means of determining priority of

1 eligibility among parents wishing to use the services
2 of the program;

3 (3) provides, wherever feasible, for the use of
4 facilities, equipment, and supplies of the department,
5 agency, or authority for whose employees services are
6 to be provided; and

7 (4) provides, in accordance with regulations
8 prescribed by the Secretary, for coordination between
9 programs conducted under this section with programs
10 conducted pursuant to Child Care Plans submitted by
11 Community Child Care Councils under title I.

12 (c) The Secretary shall not provide assistance under
13 this section unless he has obtained approval of the plan from
14 the head of the department, agency, or authority whose
15 employees will be served by the child development program
16 and the Advisory Committee on Child Development Pro-
17 grams for Federal employees appointed pursuant to section
18 222 has had an opportunity to submit comments in respect
19 thereto.

20 (d) No more than 80 per centum of the total cost of
21 a child development program under this section shall be
22 paid from Federal funds.

23 (e) The heads of all departments, agencies, and
24 authorities of the Federal Government are authorized to make

1 available space under their control on a rent free, or actual
2 cost of use basis, for child development programs for groups
3 drawn primarily from the children of Federal employees.
4 The agencies may also provide on a free or reimbursable
5 basis any supplies, materials, equipment and services
6 required by the child development program but such reim-
7 bursements shall be available for obligation without further
8 appropriation to the providing agency during the year in
9 which they are received and during the successive fiscal year.

10 (f) The heads of all departments, agencies, and authori-
11 ties are authorized to allow employees reasonable time from
12 their usual duties to participate in the preparation and sub-
13 mission of plans under subsection (b) of this section.

14 ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS
15 FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

16 SEC. 222. (a) The Secretary shall, after consultation
17 with the Commissioner of the Civil Service Commission and
18 the heads of other Federal departments and agencies, appoint
19 an Advisory Committee on Child Care Programs for Federal
20 Employees, which shall be broadly representative of indi-
21 vidual agencies and organizations interested in the provision
22 of educational, health, and related services for children and
23 which shall include one official selected and one parent
24 elected according to democratic selection procedures estab-
25 lished by the Secretary by other parents from each of the

1 Cabinet departments and an official and a parent from each
2 of three other agencies or authorities of the Federal Govern-
3 ment. From the members appointed to such Committee, the
4 Secretary shall designate a Chairman. Members shall be
5 appointed or elected for terms of one year.

6 (b) The Advisory Committee on Child Care Programs
7 for Federal Employees shall—

8 (1) identify the child development needs of children
9 of Federal employees;

10 (2) assess and evaluate the extent to which child
11 development programs for Federal employees under this
12 Act and related laws are sufficient to meet the needs of
13 such children;

14 (3) review plans for child development programs
15 for the children of employees of the Federal Government
16 submitted pursuant to section 221; and

17 (4) make recommendations (including recommen-
18 dations for changes in legislation) for the further
19 development of child development programs for Federal
20 employees.

21 (c) Elected members of the Advisory Committee
22 on Child Care Programs for Federal Employees other
23 than officers and employees of the Federal Government shall
24 be paid compensation at a rate of the daily equivalent of the
25 rate for GS-18 when engaged in the work of the Committee,

1 including traveltime, and all members of such Committee
2 shall be allowed travel expenses and per diem in lieu of
3 subsistence as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for
4 persons in the Government service employed intermittently
5 and receiving compensation on a per diem, when actually
6 employed, basis.

7 (d) The Advisory Committee is authorized to appoint
8 without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States
9 Code, governing appointments in the competitive service,
10 or otherwise obtain the services of, such professional, tech-
11 nical, and clerical personnel as may be necessary to enable
12 it to carry out its functions, as prescribed by law.

13 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

14 SEC. 223. There is authorized to be appropriated for
15 the purposes of this part the sum of \$50,000,000 for the
16 fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$75,000,000 for the fiscal
17 year ending June 30, 1974, and \$100,000,000 for fiscal year
18 ending June 30, 1975.

19 TITLE III—GENERAL PROVISIONS

20 ADVANCE FUNDING

21 SEC. 301. (a) For the purpose of affording adequate
22 notice of funding available under this Act such funding for
23 grants, contracts, or other payments under this Act are
24 authorized to be included in the appropriations Act for the

1 fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which they are avail-
2 able for obligation.

3 (b) In order to effect a transition to the advance fund-
4 ing method of timing appropriation action, subsection (a)
5 shall apply notwithstanding that its initial application will
6 result in the enactment in the same year (whether in the
7 same appropriation Act or otherwise) of two separate
8 appropriations, one for the then current fiscal year and one for
9 the succeeding fiscal year.

10 DEFINITIONS

11 SEC. 302. As used in this Act—

12 (a) "child" means children who from birth through
13 age of fourteen;

14 (b) child development program means programs,
15 services and activities providing children with such edu-
16 cational, food nutritional, health, and related services,
17 emotional, social, cultural, and cognitive development
18 and specialized social services as are necessary to provide
19 each child the opportunity to reach his full potential;

20 (c) "children of low-income families" means chil-
21 dren of families having an annual income below the
22 poverty level;

23 (d) "parent" means any person primarily respon-
24 sible for the care of a child;

1 authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan
2 Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 64 Stat. 1267) and
3 section 2 of the Act of June 1, 1934, as amended (48 Stat.
4 948, as amended; 40 U.S.C. 276 (c)).

5 INTERSTATE AGREEMENTS

6 SEC. 306. In the event that compliance with provisions
7 of this Act requires cooperation or agreements between
8 States, the consent of Congress is hereby given to such States
9 to enter into such compacts and agreements to facilitate such
10 compliance, subject to the approval of the Secretary.

11 EFFECTIVE DATE

12 SEC. 307. The effective date of this Act, except as other-
13 wise provided, shall be July 1, 1972. Rules, regulations,
14 guidelines and other published interpretations or orders may
15 be issued by the Secretary at any time after the date of
16 enactment.

17 REPEAL, CONSOLIDATION, AND COORDINATION

18 SEC. 308. Effective July 1, 1972—

19 (1) section 222 (a) (1) of the Economic Oppor-
20 tunity Act of 1964 is repealed:

21 (2) part B of title V of the Economic Opportunity
22 Act of 1964 is repealed;

23 (3) section 162 (b) of the Economic Opportunity
24 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "day care for
25 children" and inserting in lieu thereof "assistance in

1 securing day care services for children, but not operation
2 of day care programs for children.”;

3 (4) section 123 (a) (6) of the Economic Oppor-
4 tunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “day care
5 for children” and inserting in lieu thereof “assistance in
6 securing day care services for children”, and adding after
7 the word “employment” the phrase “, but not including
8 the direct operation of day care programs for children”;
9 and

10 (5) section 312 (b) (1) of the Economic Oppor-
11 tunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “day care
12 for children”.

[From the Congressional Record—Senate, Dec. 10, 1970]

UNIVERSAL CHILD CARE AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Senator BAYH. Mr. President, earlier today, I held a news conference for the purpose of announcing my intention to introduce at the opening of the 92d Congress a bill to provide for universal child care and development. I am most concerned that our Nation begin to make a definite commitment to serving the many needs of the children of our country, and I certainly hope that the White House Conference on Children that will convene in Washington this weekend will produce very definite and far-reaching results. While I do not intend to introduce my bill during this session in Congress, I felt it necessary, given the need for enlightened suggestions, to offer my proposal for consideration by the participants in the White House Conference.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my news conference remarks and a section-by-section analysis of the bill be printed in the Record for the consideration of Members of Congress and the American people as a whole.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BIRCH BAYH ON CHILD CARE BILL, AT PRESS CONFERENCE ON DECEMBER 10, 1970

The French writer Victor Hugo once said, "Greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come."

The decade of the 1960's saw many ideas whose time had come.

We recognized the need for medical care for older Americans.

We recognized the need to break down barriers that prevented some of our citizens from enjoying the full rights and privileges enjoyed by the majority.

We recognized the fact that the Federal Government had a direct responsibility to assist in the education of the nation's children.

All ideas whose time had come; all ideas with sufficient force to bring men together, across party lines.

Now there is another idea whose time has come: provision of universal child care, utilizing voluntary and community organizations and other means, for all mothers who feel their children would benefit from this service.

Actually, it is strange that this idea has been so long in coming. We, who consider ourselves leaders of the free world, have long been surpassed in this area by national child care programs in such nations as Sweden, Israel, and even the Soviet Union.

In addition, we have ourselves had long ago, though partial, experience with the contribution that child care can make to both children and families.

The roots of child care in the United States can be traced back as far as 1863 when Philadelphia mothers engaged in making uniforms and bandages for the Union Army were assisted by a child care center. During the Great Depression poor families and unemployed teachers and nurses were assisted by WPA child care centers. Once again, during World War II, the need for such child care centers was obvious, and many thousands of mothers and children benefited from programs established in centers throughout the nation.

At least we are beginning to understand that child care centers are too significant to become the creature of emergencies. They should have a permanent place in the structure of American social services, because they fulfill a permanent need.

Those needs are both obvious and increasingly urgent. They are needs that are not centered in any one area of the country or in any economic group.

For example:

There are 14 million children in this nation who have working mothers (8 out of 10 of these children are cared for through make-shift arrangements);

There are 2,790,000 mothers who work because they are the sole support of their families;

Of those mothers who work, nine out of ten do so to satisfy an otherwise unmet economic need: basic support; medical bills; to provide for the future education of the children, etc.;

The need reflected by these figures is neither temporary nor declining. Indeed, as we become a more urbanized nation the extended family—with a grand mother or elderly aunt or unmarried sister available to take care of the children—has gradually disappeared. Thus . . . while the proportion of working mothers with preschool children was 10% in the 1940's and 40% in the 1960's, it is estimated that the percentage will increase to between 60 and 70% in the decade of the 1970's; and U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau figures reflect a similar trend, by showing that the 3.7 million working mothers with under-5 children will increase to 5.3 million by 1980.

The figures also clearly show that provision of such care would make a measurable and positive economic impact on both national productivity and on the status of the individuals involved, particularly since one-third of all poor families in the U.S. are headed by women. However, the need for child care is by no means confined to the lowest income group since, for example, 57% of all working mothers are from families that have incomes of \$6,000 or more annually, and 48% from families with incomes from \$6,000 to \$10,000 annually. Further, it is estimated, based on 1967 population figures that 10.6 million mothers at *all* economic levels would like to work, including one-third of the mothers now on welfare rolls. The majority of these who would like to work, however, are modest- to middle-income mothers who find it increasingly necessary to supplement their husbands wages to make ends meet. Their earnings often mean the difference in providing full educational opportunity for their children.

Though this program would fill a significant and growing need among mothers who work or would like to work, the major point is that it would have a highly beneficial effect on the children of such mothers. Research on early child development, etc. is providing convincing evidence of the importance to intellectual and character development of the early years. We owe it to the millions of mothers who must work, we owe it to the children, to provide some nationwide, effective, professional network of child care centers.

The Bill I am proposing today—the Universal Child Care and Development Act of 1971—will take a major and much needed step toward providing this network.

Briefly, the bill establishes a new network of public institutions (called the Child Service Districts) for the provision of the variety of services necessary for adequate child care and development. Included among these services eligible for funding are: infant care; comprehensive pre-school programs; general child care services during evening and night time hours; day care programs before and after school; emergency care; day care and night care programs to aid working parents; and combinations of such programs. Health, nutritional, and social services will be an integral part of the programs funded. Planning, research, and construction funds are also provided for.

Each Child Service District will consist of a limited geographic area small enough to reflect the specific needs of parents and children residing in the District. Direct community participation is assured through the election of boards of directors composed of parents of the children to be served. State and local governments will be responsible for developing plans for the District boundaries.

The bill provides for Child Service Advisory Councils to be established in each District to assure the participation of representatives of public and private agencies with established interest and expertise in child care and development services.

My bill calls for an appropriation of 2 billion dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, 4 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; and 6 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974. This level of funding has been recommended by every major organization concerned with providing universal care for American children.

Loans in the amount of 600 million dollars are authorized through fiscal 1974 for construction or remodeling of appropriate facilities—300 million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972; 200 million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; and 100 million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974. Loans and grants would be applied for and rewarded to the individual Child Care Service Districts through the Office of Child Development of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

During this and previous sessions of Congress we have witnessed with approval the introduction of many bills aimed at responding to this natural and proper desire for all Americans, whether poor, near-poor, or non-poor, to have their children receive the benefits of early childhood programs. Some of these proposals have a single purpose, reflecting the Member's concern with a particularly urgent problem that needs solving. Our legislation is designed to provide more comprehensive services, and aims at a reform of all programs now serving young children.

Our concern today in introducing this bill is not only to draw together the best features from all of these proposals, but to take an additional significant step. Not only is there a need for adequate nutritional services, for adequate health services, for educational and social services needed by the child and his family, but also we believe it important that these programs must involve the parents not only in the final stages, but in the earliest, planning phases.

We are aware, also, of the wasteful and unnecessary duplication which has resulted from the fragmentation of these programs among the various Federal agencies. For that reason, it is our hope that comprehensive programs can be designed and administered through this bill, and that one Federal agency can have the main responsibility for seeing that the programs work.

In this bill, also, we have taken that final step which we believe is necessary in fairness to all the American people. We are recommending that *all* children, regardless of income or status, receive those services in such degree and at such locations and during such hours as they require. Recognizing the need for parents to work and to study, but believing that the children of parents who need not be absent from the home also require these programs, we are recommending that child care services be recognized and provided as a matter of right to every child in America, no matter what the income of his family.

Certainly it is in the national interest as well as their own, that our children grow into whole, humane citizens who can function in a democracy. And in fulfilling the needs of these children, we simultaneously serve them, their parents and our society.

In this bill, we stress the developmental nature of these programs because we believe that the years of experience and the results of studies made of Head Start programs demonstrates that early involvement, properly planned, can best benefit all children, not just the few children of the poor and near-poor now served. For this reason, a variety of programs must be provided. Each must meet the needs of the child as an individual, and the individual development of that child must be paramount.

One of the greatest incentives to positive action in the Bill is the benefits our society and economy will realize by allowing parents to take training and employment, safe in the realization that their children are enrolled in quality child care programs. Through this program, then, the professionals and para-professionals needed by the millions in our social services and our industries can re-enter the labor market. Hence, not only will the welfare recipients benefit through finding an alternative to the degrading status of welfare but our economy will benefit from an influx of middle- and upper-income workers into the marketplace. In addition, this bill provides for situations such as visitation to those homes where a child may be too ill to attend his or her child care facility.

It should be noted that this bill defines young children broadly with services to be provided for children from birth through age 14. The legislation is designed to serve this age group because, in the course of each child's development, he requires programs at every stage. Past programs have failed to recognize the need for services for infants and have failed to provide sufficient funds to offer programs that will not produce more human tragedy in the form of psychologically-crippled children. In this bill, adequate personnel will be provided to avoid institutionalized crippling.

At the same time, this legislation will recognize the needs of school-age children for before-and-after school programs and for summer programs. Not only those children that require remedial programs will be enrolled; all children will be eligible for enrollment. Attention under the terms of the Bill will also be accorded to the urban, suburban and rural children who are too often left to their own devices, and who form the seedbed from which springs our growing numbers of juvenile delinquents and drug users.

Another area which this bill emphasizes is the practical need of parents who must take training or jobs, or who are ill, but have no place for their children. Too often, the working parent must work at night; classes in the evening are also common. This bill would provide night-time programs for the children of these parents.

We have still another interest in offering this bill, and that is a desire to restructure child assistance on a more rational basis. Now, it is common for several public agencies to have partial responsibility for children. No local, community-based agency has full responsibility. We wish to change this picture, so that agencies that see childcare as a secondary purpose will still be involved, but the children they are serving will be the responsibility of an agency that has child welfare as its primary job.

There is clearly a need to create a continuing structure which will assume the task of providing child services to the population on a truly universal basis. This permanent structure must be composed of both professionals and non-professionals committed to the task. In that way, citizens employed as para-professionals, can work together with their neighbors who have been trained as teachers and are increasingly unable to find a job. It will be the responsibility of these locally-controlled groups to design and determine where resources can be focused most effectively on the needs of the children involved. Citizens participation, both professional and non-professional, will insure that a broad range of perspective and training is brought to the task. It will also insure that race, economic factors, or even political philosophy will not delay services which are greatly needed by every community.

Parental and community participation is, we have come to realize, a requirement for successful child development programs, particularly those that reflect and build on the culture and language of children, families, and communities being served. At every age, children require services of such range and diversity that without complete parental and community participation, some children will not get what they need. And we must recognize that every child who fails costs society and the community not only in terms of his lost potential contributions but through the very real and considerable costs which he may cause to society as an adult.

To guarantee that parental involvement through this Bill will not be merely advisory, administration and control will be vested in boards of the parents of children who are being served. These boards, given full authority within each community to provide the services needed by that community's children, would operate within broad Federal and State guidelines. Federal standards would of course be required to ensure that Federal funds did not subsidize inadequate or harmful programs. And State participation will be required to guarantee that local planning does not destroy the delicate mechanisms for Federal-State-Local cooperation built up over the past few years. But, at the operational level, community control will be read in the context of parental control.

There is an additional desire accommodated here, the desire that people everywhere have for a greater voice in their own destiny and in that of their children. Perhaps, with the goal of making it possible for all children to grow into healthy, humane citizens we can build a common understanding within our neighborhoods that children are important enough to spur the resolution of our disagreements. This process of resolution involves grappling with the issues of community control as well as other matters of contention that have made public education so controversial of late, particularly in our large cities. Hopefully, the size of the service area proposed in this bill will allow neighbors to work out these tensions, and to build upon, rather than magnify, the diversities which are unique in the American society.

In summary, the act will neither be easy to implement nor inexpensive to finance. To provide what our children need, when they need it, to the extent they need it will require a real, but I am convinced, long overdue and highly creative commitment to reordering national priorities in favor of an investment in human resources. Our children are the Nation's tomorrow and deserve the kind of opportunity this Bill seeks to provide. I believe our society has evolved to a point of humaneness in which it can combine its economic ability to provide child-care with a willingness to do so. In short, this is the idea whose time has come and the Universal Child Care and Development Act of 1971 is a mechanism to translate idea into institution.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF UNIVERSAL CHILDCARE AND DEVELOPMENT ACT
OF 1971

SEC. 2—STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

States (a) the findings of Congress that (1) The provision of adequate child-care, including developmental programs for infants, children of preschool age and children up to 14 years of age in need of such care is of the highest national priority;

(2) adequate family support for the care, protection and enhancement of the developmental potential of children does not now exist;

(3) the mobility of our society has tended to separate family units from traditional family support thereby affecting the quality of life, including the proper care and nurture of the young;

(4) appropriate childcare services and resources are not now available to provide needed family support;

(5) such services and resources are necessary in a modern society to ensure adequate care and development of the children of this Nation, the opportunity for parents to participate as productive members of society and the opportunity for parents to achieve their own potential as humans.

States (b) It is the purpose of this Act to provide financial assistance in order to fulfill the responsibility of the Federal Government to contribute to attaining an optimum level of adequate care, developmental and other services for young children to help to assure the stability of the family unit, and to offer an increased opportunity for parents to participate in society at the maximum level of ability.

SEC. 3—PROGRAM AUTHORIZED

Authorizes the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare to make grants to the public agencies created by the Act.

SEC. 4—ALLOTMENT OF FUNDS

Allots funds in proportion to the number of children in each state, infant to age 14.

SEC. 5—USES OF FEDERAL FUNDS

Authorizes the use of grants for planning and furnishing childcare services including (a) infant care; (b) comprehensive preschool programs including part day and day care programs; (c) general childcare services for children 14 and under during evening and night time hours; (d) day care programs before and after school for school age children 14 and under in need of such care; (e) emergency care for young children 14 and under; (f) day care and night care programs to aid working parents and (g) combinations of such programs. Health, nutritional and social services will be an integral part of programs funded. Planning, research, and construction funds are provided.

SEC. 6—APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS AND CONDITIONS FOR APPROVAL

Sets conditions for the application for and approval of funds granted to the Child Service Districts including criteria for fiscal accountability, periodic evaluation, and other requirements as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of funds. Programs funded must be consistent with criteria and standards of quality prescribed by the Secretary and consistent with the purposes of the Act.

SEC. 7—CHILD SERVICE DISTRICTS

Authorizes establishment of public agencies named Child Service Districts. Such Districts will not be larger than the attendance of five public schools. The geographic boundaries of each District shall be determined by appropriate local officials in each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area over 100,000 persons. State officials will determine District boundaries in all other areas in given states. Governors of each state shall conduct elections in each district to choose a Board of Directors for each District. Eligible voters are parents having one or more children who have not attained 15 years of age who reside with their children within the geographic area of the District established pursuant to the Act.

The Board of Directors will consist of 9 to 15 members. It will plan for, contract for, and operate programs authorized by the Act. In all municipalities having populations greater than 100,000 persons, one or more Child Service Advisory Councils shall be appointed by the chief executive of such municipality. Advisory Councils shall consist of representatives of public and private agencies with established interest and expertise in the area of childcare and development services, and function as a consultative body to the Districts. For those areas of each State not included in municipalities over 100,000 population, a State Child Service Advisory Council will provide consultation.

SEC. 8—LOANS AUTHORIZED

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is authorized to make loans to any Child Service District for construction or remodeling of facilities appropriate for use as Child Service Centers and other facilities deemed necessary to provide services assisted under the Act. Applicants must be unable to secure a loan from other equality favorable sources and must assure that construction and remodeling will be both economical and consistent with delivery of quality service. Loans shall be repaid within twenty-five years. A total of \$600 million is authorized to carry out this section; \$300 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972; \$200 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; \$100 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974.

SEC. 9—RESEARCH, DEMONSTRATION AND TRAINING—PROJECTS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The Secretary is authorized to provide for (1) research to improve childcare and developmental programs (2) experimental, developmental, and pilot projects to test effectiveness of research findings; (3) demonstration, evaluation, and dissemination projects; (4) training programs for inservice personnel; (5) projects for development of new careers, especially for low income persons.

SEC. 10—PAYMENTS

Each approved applicant will receive a grant amount equal to the total sums to be expended under the terms of the application or such lesser amount as the Secretary determines on the basis of objective criteria, relating to fees charged to the parents of children to be served, if any, and other similar factors prescribed that the applicant can afford.

SEC. 11—WITHHOLDING OF GRANTS

Grants may be withheld after reasonable notice for failure to comply substantially with any requirement or applicable provision set forth in the Act.

SEC. 12—RECOVERY OF PAYMENTS

Provides that, if a facility which was constructed with the aid of federal funds under this Act ceases to be used as a public childcare facility within 20 years, the government can recover from the facility's owner the portion of its value which is equal to the federal share of the original cost of the building.

SEC. 13—REVIEW AND AUDIT

Provides for access for audits and examination of records by the Comptroller General.

SEC. 14—LABOR STANDARDS

Provides that prevailing wage rates shall be paid to laborers and mechanics employed on construction projects assisted under the Act.

SEC. 15—EMPLOYMENT AND BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR LOWER INCOME PERSONS

Provides opportunities for training, employment, and business development for lower income persons in the planning and implementation of projects authorized by the Act.

SEC. 16—ADMINISTRATION

Establishes the Office of Child Development within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer the provisions of the Act. The Director of the Office shall report directly to the Secretary.

SEC. 17—EVALUATION AND REPORTS

Provides for complete review of programs assisted under the Act. Requires the Secretary to directly consult with as many of the members of the Child Service District Boards of Directors as possible. Requires the Secretary to submit annually to the Congress a report on the administration of the Act.

SEC. 18—REPEAL, CONSOLIDATION, AND TRANSFERS

Consolidates major early childhood, day care, child service, and preschool programs authorized by existing laws to form a single coordinated comprehensive childcare and development program in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

SEC. 19—DEFINITIONS

Defines the terms used in the Act to insure accurate interpretation of its intent.

SEC. 20—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

FY 72 \$2 billion.

FY 73 \$4 billion.

FY 74 \$6 billion.

Senator MONDALE. We stand in recess at the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:08 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)



