

H. CON. RES. 477

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Thursday, January 22, 1970, at 12:30 p.m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there is no further business to

come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock p.m.) the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 20, 1970, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 19, 1970:

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT
George Harrold Carswell, of Florida, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, vice Abe Fortas, resigned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, January 19, 1970

This being the day fixed by Public Law 91-182, 91st Congress, enacted pursuant to the 20th amendment of the Constitution, for the meeting of the second session of the 91st Congress, the Members of the House of Representatives of the 91st Congress met in their Hall, and at 12 o'clock noon were called to order by the Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, a Representative from the State of Massachusetts.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., L.H.D., offered the following prayer:

Be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might.—Ephesians 6: 10.

O God and Father of us all, may we follow the leading of Thy spirit as we face another year and enter another decade. Bless us with Thy presence and help us always to be receptive to Thee and responsive to the needs of our fellow men.

At this high altar of prayer, the center of the spiritual life of our Nation, we pray for our President, our Speaker, Members of Congress, and all who labor with them, that they may be strengthened to meet confidently the searching demands of this stirring day.

Keep ever before us the goal of a better world with justice alive in our world, with peace between nations, and with good will in the hearts of men.

Hear us as we unite in offering unto Thee the Prayer of our Lord, *Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever.*

Amen.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members answered to their names:

[Roll No. 1]

Abbitt	Adams	Alexander
Abernethy	Addabbo	Anderson,
Adair	Albert	Calif.

Anderson, Ill.	Fallon	McKneally
Andrews, Ala.	Fascell	McMillan
Arends	Findley	Madden
Ashbrook	Fish	Mahon
Ashley	Flood	Mann
Aspinall	Flynt	Marsh
Ayres	Foreman	Mathias
Baring	Fraser	Matsunaga
Beall, Md.	Frey	May
Belcher	Friedel	Melcher
Bennett	Fuqua	Meskill
Berry	Galifianakis	Michel
Blaggi	Gaydos	Mikva
Blester	Gettys	Miller, Ohio
Blackburn	Gibbons	Mills
Blanton	Gilbert	Mink
Blatnik	Gonzalez	Mize
Boggs	Goodling	Mizell
Bolling	Gray	Mollohan
Bow	Griffiths	Montgomery
Brasco	Gross	Moorhead
Brinkley	Gubser	Morse
Brook	Gude	Morton
Brooks	Haley	Moss
Broomfield	Hall	Murphy, Ill.
Brotzman	Hamilton	Natcher
Brown, Mich.	Hammer-	Nedzi
Broyhill, Va.	schmidt	Nelsen
Burke, Mass.	Hanley	Nichols
Burleson, Tex.	Harsha	O'Byrne
Burlison, Mo.	Harvey	O'Hara
Bush	Hastings	Olsen
Byrnes, Wis.	Hathaway	O'Neill, Mass.
Cabell	Hays	Passman
Caffery	Hechler, W. Va.	Patman
Carter	Heckler, Mass.	Patten
Casey	Henderson	Pelly
Cederberg	Hicks	Pepper
Chamberlain	Hogan	Perkins
Chappell	Horton	Pettis
Chisholm	Howard	Pike
Clausen,	Hull	Pirnie
Don H.	Hungate	Poage
Clawson, Del.	Hunt	Poff
Cleveland	Hutchinson	Pollock
Cohelan	Jarman	Powell
Collier	Johnson, Calif.	Preyer, N.C.
Collins	Johnson, Pa.	Price, Tex.
Colmer	Jonas	Pryor, Ark.
Conable	Jones, Ala.	Purcell
Conte	Karth	Quile
Corbett	Kastenmeier	Quillen
Cramer	Kazen	Rallsback
Crane	Kee	Randall
Cunningham	King	Rarick
Daddario	Kleppe	Rees
Daniel, Va.	Kluczynski	Reid, Ill.
Daniels, N.J.	Koch	Reid, N.Y.
Davis, Ga.	Kyl	Reifel
Davis, Wis.	Kyros	Reuss
Dellenback	Landrum	Riegler
Denny	Langen	Rivers
Dennis	Latta	Roe
Dent	Leggett	Rogers, Colo.
Devine	Lennon	Rogers, Fla.
Dickinson	Long, Md.	Rooney, N.Y.
Dingell	Lowenstein	Rooney, Pa.
Dowdy	Lujan	Rosenthal
Downing	McCarthy	Roth
Duncan	McClary	Roudebush
Eckhardt	McCloskey	Ruppe
Edmondson	McClure	Ruth
Edwards, Ala.	McCulloch	Ryan
Edwards, La.	McDade	Saylor
Eshleman	McDonald,	Schadeberg
Evans, Colo.	Mich.	Scherle
Evins, Tenn.	McEwen	Schneebelt

Schwengel	Stuckey	Watts
Scott	Symington	Weicker
Sebelius	Taft	Whalen
Shipley	Talcott	Whitten
Sikes	Taylor	Williams
Sisk	Teague, Tex.	Wilson, Bob
Slack	Thompson, Ga.	Wold
Smith, Calif.	Thompson, N.J.	Wright
Springer	Tiernan	Wyatt
Stanton	Ullman	Wylie
Steed	Utt	Wyman
Steiger, Ariz.	Van Deerlin	Yatron
Steiger, Wis.	Vander Jagt	Young
Stephens	Vanik	Zablocki
Stokes	Vigorito	Zion
Stratton	Waldie	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 283 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 775) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 775

Resolved, That a committee of three Members be appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join with a committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House has assembled and Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to join a committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House has been assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make, the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. ALBERT, the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. BOGGS, and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. ARENDS.

NOTIFICATION TO SENATE

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 776) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 776

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House inform the Senate that a quorum of the House is present and that the House is ready to proceed with business.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DAILY HOUR OF MEETING

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 777) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 777

Resolved, That until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting of the House of Representatives shall be at 12 o'clock meridian.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RESIGNATION AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read:

DECEMBER 17, 1969.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
The Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. SPEAKER: Due to my election as the Governor of New Jersey, I hereby resign my office as Representative in the Congress of the United States from the Sixth District of New Jersey, effective January 19, 1970, midnight.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM T. CAHILL.

NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD REVEAL DETAILS OF ITS MIDDLE EAST PROPOSALS

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have called upon Secretary of State Rogers to release immediately the texts of the proposals which this administration has made concerning the settlement of the Mideast conflict. Since last spring, the representatives of the United States have been proposing Mideast settlement plans, chiefly to the Soviet Union. None of these plans has yet been made fully known to the public or to the Congress.

For example, in his December 9, 1969, speech Secretary of State Rogers partially revealed a proposal made to the Soviet Union 6 weeks earlier, on October 28, which included a call for Israel's withdrawal from Egypt to the pre-6-day-war lines.

Another example of this underground diplomacy is the proposed Israel-Jordan settlement plan, reported in the New York Times on December 20, 1969, which apparently presented a detailed plan for repatriation or resettlement of Arab refugees.

Mr. Speaker, peace in the Mideast—

achieved through direct negotiations—is crucial to the interests of this country and to the nations of the Mideast. The apparent specificity of the administration's proposals is unfortunate. They leave little for the parties themselves to negotiate and, thereby, undermine the likelihood of direct negotiations.

I also find it totally inadequate and unacceptable for us to have to rely upon "leaks" from foreign governments, reported in American newspapers, as the basis for assessing what the administration is doing.

The text of the Soviet response to the administration's proposal for an Israel-Egypt settlement has now been made public—not by the State Department but by unidentified foreign diplomats in London. However, the original proposal is still a secret.

Such a situation is not just absurd. It is dangerous. The administration is leaving Congress in the dark, while it shifts away from support for Israel. This shift is undermining the possibility of direct negotiations, which are essential for lasting peace in the Mideast. Thereby, the administration is departing from the previous 20 years of firm support and commitment by the United States to insure a viable Israel.

JAYCEE WEEK

(Mr. POAGE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, the week of January 18 has been designated as Jaycee Week across the Nation. This year the U.S. Jaycees are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of their outstanding service organization. Certainly our country has benefited a great deal from the unselfish and dedicated work of the thousands of local Jaycee organizations across our land.

I was honored to be a member of the Waco Jaycees, which organization has rendered a great service throughout the years to the folks in my hometown of Waco, Tex.

I want to take this opportunity to commend the efforts of the U.S. Jaycees and to congratulate them on their great progress and success in serving their fellow man.

THE KANSAS CITY CHIEFS ARE NO. 1

(Mr. RANDALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, the magnificent Kansas City Chiefs football team 1 week ago yesterday earned the right for everyone in the heart of America to proudly raise his right index finger and to say, "we're No. 1." As winner in the Super Bowl the Chiefs became the No. 1 team in all pro-football.

The 23-to-7 victory of the Chiefs over the Minnesota Vikings was a David and Goliath event because the Chiefs entered the game a 14-point underdog. We had heard the Vikings were a devastat-

ing machine. Undisturbed, our ingenious coach, Hank "Wham Bam" Stram called on the great quarterback, Len Dawson, who with his teammates outthit, outmaneuvered, and in the end destroyed the Vikings. The team from up north because of the color of their uniforms had been called "Purple People Eaters." Not frightened by such descriptions the Kansas City Chiefs gave these so-called "Eaters" a bad case of indigestion, leaving the Vikings bothered, bewildered, and at the end beginning to panic.

The 1970 super bowl was geographically unique. One team came from northern mid-America. The winner came from a prairie cow town, now grown big, located right in the very heart of America—metropolitan Kansas City. The site of the game was New Orleans. There was no glitter of New York or glamour of Los Angeles in the game this year. Neither the east coast nor the west coast could claim any of the spotlight. Both teams and the scene of the game were in the very middle of this great country of ours. It was central time zone all the way. This year in the super bowl irrespective of the score, mid-America was the winner.

FULL-SCALE INVESTIGATION NEEDED

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, most of us were spending the Christmas recess with our families as the turbulent decade of the 1960's was drawing to a close.

There was a Christmas wreath on the door, and Christmas cards and lights in the window of a stone house in the little coal mining community of Clarksville, Pa., the home of Joseph A. Yablonski. The very meaning of Christmas and the basic teachings of the Prince of Peace were suddenly, brutally, violently and fiendishly shattered by the cold-blooded, calculated, and premeditated triple murder of Joseph Yablonski, his wife, and his daughter.

I knew Jock Yablonski as a close friend. Every weekend, as soon as Congress finished its business, I went out to campaign with and for Jock Yablonski in his efforts to clean up the union. He confided in me. I knew his life was being threatened. His life was in danger because his charges of union corruption, embezzlement, and violation of the law were striking too close to home. And I know that Jock Yablonski did not have an enemy in the world except those created by his efforts to clean up the union.

This is more than a battle of personalities. This is more than an internal union struggle. The issues highlighted by the Yablonski murders involve the very fabric of law and order in this Nation.

Personally, I am frightened. I admit that I want to live, but I am also frightened about the future of this Nation if this violence and intimidation continues. Nobody can frighten or intimidate the entire Congress, and that is why I trust

that Congress will go ahead and investigate not only the violence growing out of the election but the whole train of corruption, embezzlement, and gross violations of the law by the United Mine Workers of America. No organization or individual in this Nation is above the law, and I urge the House of Representatives to press forward with a full-scale investigation of the widespread violations of the law which have repeatedly been cited in the public record.

INCREASE IN STEEL PRICES

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, the Bethlehem Steel Corp.—generally the frontrunner in the announcement of price increases for the steel industry—announced a \$7 per ton increase in the price of steel plate and a \$10 per ton increase in the price of steel piling.

The company stated that the price increase resulted from increased costs of raw material, increased State and local taxes, increased costs of pollution control, and the termination of the investment tax credit.

It is incredible that this company should endeavor to justify this arbitrary and exorbitant price increase—which will be industrywide by weekend—on either its pollution control effort or the repeal of the investment credit.

First of all, the steel industry has accumulated the largest investment credit backlog of any other industry in the Nation. Hundreds of millions of dollars of the investment credit were “grandfathered in” under last year’s tax reform bill. The steel industry will have all of the 7-percent investment credit it can use in projects currently underway. Furthermore, the tax reform bill provided the steel industry with additional relief for its expenditures in pollution control by allowing for the first time accelerated depreciation credits for pollution control expenditures. These tax credits are soon expected to cost the Treasury over \$120 million per year.

The cruel fact is that the steel industry is taking advantage of current market conditions—raising prices in a period of high demand and irresponsibly firing up an inflationary impact which will raise the price of everything made of steel.

Mr. Speaker, the steel price increase is a selfish, irresponsible act of greed which will propel inflation to new and more painful levels.

YOU CAN HELP YOUR POLICE AND COURTS REDUCE CRIME BY ESTABLISHING A “CITIZENS CRIME CHECK” PROGRAM IN YOUR COMMUNITY

(Mr. DONOHUE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, like every American citizen I am very deeply

disturbed by the continuing increase in crime throughout our country and within our communities. In my own home community the local authorities recently reported an overall crime increase of 15 percent in 1969 over 1968.

As a national legislator I am, of course, very deeply concerned that the Congress of the United States should fully meet its responsibility to assist our various States and cities and towns in strengthening and improving their crime detection and law enforcement resources. That is why I have joined with the great majority of my colleagues here in consistently urging approval of adequate Federal funds to help local officials provide modern training for police personnel and more efficient functioning of our courts, particularly in the juvenile system.

However, as was so clearly pointed out recently in a very timely article by a very able journalist, Mr. Paul V. Craigue, of the Worcester, Mass., Telegram staff, even the most skilled and diligent police personnel imperatively need the aid and cooperation of the local citizenry if we hope or expect to get the job done right, speedily, and economically.

In a very interesting and instructive article, in the January 17, 1970, issue of the Telegram, Mr. Craigue, a special representative of the newspaper in the Framingham, Mass., area, reports that the local police credited a “citizens crime check” with the solution of more than 20 burglaries of homes and automobiles in the past 3 months.

“Citizens Crime Check” is a program of the Massachusetts Council on Crime and Correction under which all citizens are urged to cooperate with the police by reporting any suspicious activities they happen to see. Its slogan is, “If you see it, report it.”

In his enlightening story, Mr. Craigue reveals how two very alert women observed some youths acting suspiciously in their neighborhoods and reported their actions, with descriptions, to the police who were promptly able to apprehend the youths and clear up the investigation of some 20 cases of theft and illegal entry.

In a comparatively short article Mr. Craigue has, I think, contributed a great public service by reminding each of us that we can and we should help our police departments decrease the crime rate in our community by being sensibly alert to neighborhood activities, particularly of strangers, and promptly reporting any obviously suspicious activities to the local police. I would like to compliment Mr. Craigue for his good work and earnestly hope that all the readers of this RECORD will heed the moral of his story by pledging their full cooperation to the police and the courts in their own community. Such cooperation might very well save your own life and property as well as your neighbor’s but in any case it will undoubtedly save you money.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a resolution as follows:

S. RES 304

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that the Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore, pursuant to Senate Resolution 304, appointed Mr. MANSFIELD and Mr. SCOTT to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that the Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a resolution, as follows:

S. RES. 305

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Consent Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Consent Calendar.

PROVIDING FOR ADMISSION TO UNITED STATES OF INHABITANTS OF BONIN ISLANDS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4574) to provide for the admission to the United States of certain inhabitants of the Bonin Islands.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

CONSTRUCTION OF CUSTOM AND IMMIGRATION FACILITIES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12795) to amend the act entitled “An act to provide better facilities for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws,” to increase the amount authorized to be expended, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12795

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of June 26, 1930, as amended (19 U.S.C. 68), is further amended—

(a) by striking out “\$100,000” and inserting in lieu thereof “\$200,000”; and

(b) by adding at the end of such Act the following new paragraph:

“Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of the Treasury may, when necessary for the protection of the revenue, expend public funds in accordance with the preceding paragraph prior to the issuance of a written opinion of the Attorney General in favor of the validity of the title to such land: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the

Treasury shall secure such written opinion as soon after such expenditure as is reasonably possible."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the Act entitled 'An Act To provide better facilities for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws', approved June 26, 1930, as amended (19 U.S.C. 68), is amended by striking out '\$100,000' and inserting in lieu thereof '\$200,000'."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Bureau of Customs and the Immigration services are outstanding Government agencies that protect our borders from undesirable outside elements and prevent the importation of narcotics and other things that would be detrimental to the welfare of the American people.

Our border stations along the Mexican and Canadian borders are substandard and inadequate. Many of the personnel are traveling great distances to work because on-site facilities are not available. This weakens our enforcement efforts and is costing us in lost revenues much more than the facilities authorized by this bill will cost.

Mr. Speaker, during hearings before the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds that I have the honor of chairing, we were honored by having as a witness the Assistant Commissioner, Office of Administration, Bureau of Customs, U.S. Treasury Department, the Honorable Frank B. Gatchell, Jr. So that every Member will know of the reasons for requesting their support for passage of H.R. 12795, I am inserting in the RECORD Mr. Gatchell's testimony which will give a complete justification for the legislation. His testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK B. GATCHELL, JR.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee. As the chairman has indicated, my name is Frank B. Gatchell. I am Acting Assistant Commissioner of the Office of Administration, Bureau of Customs. I very much appreciate the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee on behalf of the Treasury Department and its Bureau of Customs in support of H.R. 12795, which is an act "To amend the act entitled 'an act to provide better facilities for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws,' to increase the amount authorized to be expended, and for other purposes."

This proposed legislation was prepared by the Treasury Department and we urge your committee to give it favorable consideration. Effective performance of the mission of the Bureau of Customs and the Immigration and Naturalization Service along the Canadian and Mexican borders requires adequate physical facilities. These facilities often must be erected in remote places and at a premium cost for both labor and materials.

Under existing law, the maximum amount that may be expended for any one project by Customs or Immigration, or both, to acquire land and erect buildings, including inspection stations and residences, is \$100,000.

This special authority may be exercised only where no other federally owned or leased facilities are available at remote border locations or in the Virgin Islands. When this special border facilities legislation was first enacted in 1930, the ceiling was \$3,000 each for Customs and Immigration or \$6,000

per project. In 1962, the \$100,000 figure was reached. In the past 7 years, building costs have increased to such an extent that there is scarcely a site in the country where a typical project consisting of a border station and two residences (one for Customs and one for Immigration) can now be built within the \$100,000 ceiling presently imposed.

In recent years, traffic crossing into the United States at Mexican and Canadian border points has increased by almost 30 percent. This trend is expected to continue. The additional traffic has exceeded the capacity of existing facilities in many instances and has created a need for new and expanded facilities. There are more than 15 projects now planned for adequate border facilities in the Customs-Immigration construction program. These are to be located in various sites across the entire range of our borders with Canada and Mexico.

Treasury's proposal to provide a means for resolving the problem of inadequate border facilities is set forth in H.R. 12795, the bill we are discussing this morning.

The bill would do two things:

(1) Increase the amount which may be spent by the Attorney General or the Secretary of the Treasury or both jointly on a single project from current level of \$100,000 which was established in 1962, to \$200,000.

(2) Authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire sites and commence the construction of facilities on those sites prior to the receipt of a written opinion from the Attorney General authenticating the validity of the vendor title where such action is deemed by the Secretary to be essential for the protection of the revenue. This provision would not waive the requirement of a written opinion, only permit the agency to acquire land before the title validation was obtained in cases where it appears that unusual delay in clearing title would be encountered.

Mr. Chairman, this completes my formal statement in support of H.R. 12795 and I will be glad to try to answer any questions which the committee may have concerning this proposed legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ASSISTANCE FOR DESERTLAND ENTRYMEN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6244) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to extend financial assistance to desertland entrymen to the same extent as such assistance is available to homestead entrymen.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6244

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the first sentence of the Act entitled "An Act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to extend financial assistance to homestead entrymen, and for other purposes", approved October 19, 1949 (63 Stat. 883; 7 U.S.C. 1006a), is amended by striking out "homestead entry" and inserting in lieu thereof "homestead or desertland entry".

(b) The last sentence of the first section of such Act is amended by striking out "reclamation project" and inserting in lieu thereof "reclamation project or to an entryman under the desertland laws".

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 6244, a bill which has

received the approval of the Committee on Agriculture. I want to thank the chairman of that committee, Mr. POAGE, for his courtesy and assistance in this matter.

The development of the United States from the Jamestown Colony and the landing of the Pilgrims has depended on the courage, the faith, and the industry of the American farmer. I am not overlooking the romance of the trapper and fur trader, but they operated pretty largely beyond the frontier—and, indeed, could not operate except in the undeveloped vastness of our continent. I am not unmindful of the contributions of the miners who led thousands westward across the land in search of instant riches 120 years ago. But it was the tiller of the soil who cleared and planted and built upon which the solid progress of this Nation was founded.

You all know the complex social evolution which prompted the enactment of the Homestead Act over a hundred years ago and the profound changes across our land which followed. I assume you are all aware of the needs which prompted the passage of the Desert Land Act in March 1877, and I will not burden you with any lengthy repetition of the rationale behind these landmark laws. They are just as desirable today as they were then, but the problems of implementing them are different now. A hundred years ago, land lay waiting and all it required was labor to develop it—and a law which would permit it. As the most easily developed lands were taken up, the emphasis shifted to those lands which required irrigation to make them productive and the Desert Land Act provided the incentive. The lands which were easily irrigated and inexpensively developed were taken early. There remain good lands and adequate water, but they must be brought together. No longer is it possible for a sturdy, self-reliant man to simply move on open land and put it to the plow. No longer is it possible simply to divert a stream to the lands along its banks—that has long since been done. And just as farming has now become big business, so, also, does it require investment of large sums of money to provide the irrigation works and equipment to reclaim the desert lands of the West.

I will not burden you with a repetition of all the statistics of the population explosion which dictate the need for expanded food supply in the not too distant future. This committee is leading our Nation to an awareness of this problem. I would, however, like to point to the time which is required to make a productive farm out of raw land and urge that we cannot wait until a food shortage develops and then expect to put new lands into full production overnight.

In Idaho we have at least 12 million acres of good land that are irrigable—and as productive as any in the country. We have enough water to irrigate those acres, but we must bring them together—and I should remind the thirsty Southwest that the Snake River alone cannot provide all the needed water for all those acres. There are several courses of action for us to follow, such as reclamation

projects, water and land conservation practices, and other Federal programs under existing laws. I want to emphasize, however, the tremendous strides being taken in Idaho in recent years in the development of lands by individual initiative.

Since 1950, we have averaged 50,000 acres of newly irrigated land each year. This is the equivalent of a Columbia Basin Project each 10 years. The tremendous growth of the potato industry in Idaho has relied heavily on these new lands—and we need more.

The original Desert Land Act of 1877 provided that individuals could obtain patent to 640 acres of land, but this was reduced in 1891 to 320 acres. Under this provision, a husband and wife together could develop 640 acres, and this has been the law since then. Since its passage over 10,000,000 acres of land have been patented under the Act, and about 1,400,000 acres of this has been in Idaho. Since 1955, an average of 17,000 acres has been patented annually under the Desert Land Act.

In the United States in 1962, there were 153 desert land entry patents issued on 36,322 acres. Of these, 61 patents covering 15,131 acres were in Idaho. Of those lands classified as suitable for desert land entry in 1968, all but one of the 193 entries were in Idaho. As of September 24, 1969, there were 770 pending desert land entry applications in Idaho. I think these figures indicate the importance of the pending legislation to us in Idaho.

The Farmers Home Administration has long been authorized to lend money for the development of a homestead entry. Although an entry under the Desert Land Act may be more land and is most certainly more expensive, this source of development capital has not been available to the desert land entryman. Until the land is cleared, a functional water distribution system installed, and the land brought into production, the entryman has no title. Without title, the land cannot be used as security. Unless the entryman has substantial resources outside the land, he is attempting to reclaim, it is almost impossible to obtain the needed financing. A recent check indicates that almost 20 percent of the original entryman—those who first go on the land to clear it and cultivate it—almost 20 percent fail. Of course, these are the ones with the least financial resources. Even worse, many young and capable people have no hope of obtaining the financing necessary to even start—they are frozen out in the beginning.

Because of these financial obstacles, and because of the high cost of developing the extensive irrigation works which are necessary today, we are now witnessing the growing reliance upon group applications.

The object and purpose of H.R. 6244 is to allow desert entrymen to receive credit from the Farmers Home Administration to the same extent as such assistance is available to homestead entrymen. The legislation would fill the existing void since the entryman has no security sufficient for the granting of a loan to

develop the land. Without developing the land he cannot get title which can provide the security upon which he can obtain development capital. Our bill would break this vicious circle and extend aid to many worthy individuals who are ready to open these new lands.

I urge your favorable consideration of this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR THE DISPOSITION OF JUDGMENT FUNDS OF THE SIOUX TRIBE OF THE FORT PECK INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10184) to provide for the disposition of judgment funds of the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10184

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the funds appropriated by the Act of October 21, 1968 (82 Stat. 1190, 1198), to pay a judgment to the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Reservation, Montana, in Indian Claims Commission Docket Numbered 279A and the interest thereon, after payment of attorney's fees and all appropriate expenses, shall be distributed per capita to each person born on or before, and living on, the date of this Act who is a citizen of the United States and duly enrolled, on a roll approved by the Secretary of the Interior, as a member of the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Reservation, in accordance with eligibility requirements and procedures agreed upon by the Secretary of the Interior and the tribe, or its authorized representatives.

SEC. 2. The distribution of funds shall be made per capita in accordance with criteria and procedures agreed upon by the Secretary of the Interior and the tribe, or its authorized representatives. The per capita shares shall be determined on the basis of the number of persons eligible for per capitas and the number of persons rejected for per capitas who have taken a timely appeal. The shares of those persons whose appeals are denied shall revert to the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Reservation, Montana, to be expended for any purpose designated by the tribe and approved by the Secretary.

SEC. 3. The funds distributed under the provisions of this Act shall not be subject to Federal or State income taxes or to any lien, debt, or claim of any nature whatsoever against the individual Sioux entitled to a share of such funds.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 8, after "expenses" insert "and after deducting \$50,000 to be used as provided in section 5 of this act, and after deducting the estimated costs of distribution."

Page 2, lines 5 to 8, strike out "The distribution of funds shall be made per capita in accordance with criteria and procedures agreed upon by the Secretary of the Interior and the tribe, or its authorized representatives."

Page 2, after line 15, insert a new section 3 as follows:

"Sec. 3. Sums payable to enrollees or their heirs or legatees who are less than 21 years of age or who are under a legal disability

shall be paid in accordance with such procedures, including the establishment of trusts, as the Secretary of the Interior determines appropriate to protect the best interests of such person."

Page 2, line 16, renumber section 3 as section 4.

Page 2, lines 18 and 19, delete "or to any lien, debt, or claim of any nature whatsoever against the individual Sioux entitled to share in such funds."

Page 2, after line 19, insert a new section 5 as follows:

"Sec. 5. Upon agreement by the Fort Peck Sioux Tribe and the Fort Peck Assiniboine Tribe on the amount each agrees to contribute from any award to each tribe in Indian Claims Commission Docket Numbered 279A, the agreed contribution of the Fort Peck Sioux Tribe shall be withdrawn from the \$50,000, and interest thereon, withheld from per capita distribution pursuant to section 1 of this Act, and credited to the joint account for expenditure pursuant to the Act of June 29, 1954 (68 Stat. 329): *Provided*, That upon request of the Fort Peck Sioux Tribe the Secretary of the Interior in his discretion may distribute all or part of the aforesaid \$50,000 and interest thereon per capita to each person eligible under section 1 of this Act."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

(Mr. ASPINALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to authorize the use of a judgment against the United States for \$1,161,354 recovered by the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation. The judgment has already been appropriated, but cannot be distributed or used without specific legislative authorization.

The bill provides that all except \$50,000 of the judgment will be distributed in equal shares to the members of the tribe. This is in accordance with the wishes of the tribe and the recommendation of the Department of the Interior.

The \$50,000 will be retained and used for reservation purposes if the Assiniboine Tribe, which occupies the same reservation contributes an equal amount.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AUTHORIZE THE PARTITION OR SALE OF INHERITED INTERESTS IN ALLOTTED LANDS IN THE TULALIP RESERVATION, WASH.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11372) to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the partition or sale of inherited interests in allotted lands in the Tulalip Reservation, Washington, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1956 (70 Stat. 290).

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to give the Tulalip Tribes of Washington additional authority to acquire, manage, and dispose of their tribal property.

The bill was requested by the tribes

and recommended by the Department of the Interior.

The tribes live in an urban area close to Seattle, and they need additional authority in order to take advantage of the increasing opportunities to develop their lands.

The principal authorities granted by the bill are the authority to mortgage tribal land in order to raise capital, and the authority to enter into long term leases when necessary to attract development capital. Both of these authorities are needed in order to take advantage of the strategic location of the lands, which are well suited to development for high-quality residential, industrial, and recreational purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I interrogate the chief sponsor of the bill, the gentleman from Colorado? I notice that the purpose of this bill is to vest title in fee in the Indian tribe and, among other things, give the tribe the right to mortgage the property.

My first question is this: Will the officials of this Indian tribe be permitted to put, let us say, a \$1 million mortgage on this property without a vote of the tribesmen themselves? I think in order for the protection of the individual Indians, this should be made clear.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Pennsylvania will yield to me. We have three different kinds of ownership in this particular matter. We have the ownership by the Indian tribe itself, we have the ownership by the Indians and the ownership by the non-Indians. Now, this legislation does represent a departure by giving the tribe some new authority that they do not now have and one of the new authorities is the one to which the gentleman from Pennsylvania has called attention. This will have to be done under the rules and regulations governing the tribe. It will be done, of course, directly with the full tribe voting on the matter or it will be done indirectly through the tribe sanctioning the loans and so forth as provided by their duly constituted authority.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I was thinking in view of the fact that apparently there are millions of dollars involved in this land which is worth \$1,500 an acre and there being 22,000 acres, it seems that the bill ought to have a provision in it to the effect that they cannot mortgage the land without getting the permission of the tribe.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, there are about 1,000 members of this tribe and about 370 live on the reservation.

All we are trying to do is to take care of the economic progress of this entire tribe. However, we have to pay attention to the members on the reservation. They have to be given the first consideration because they are the ones who are immediately involved in this transaction. I would not think that any provision which would call for a vote by the tribal members would be appropriate in this instance. I think it should be left within the framework of

the constitution under which they operate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Another question, Mr. Speaker: I suppose in case of a conveyance of let us say \$1 million in value, could the tribal council make this conveyance without a vote of the individual rights of the members of the tribe?

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, the tribal council would have the authority to take care of the business activities of the tribe.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. I notice that this bill very cleverly permits them to put the property back in trust to the Federal Government if it appears that the State of Washington is going to place a real estate tax on it. Suppose they reinvest the title back to the Federal Government? Who, then, would make conveyance? Would the Secretary of the Department of the Interior have to make conveyance?

Mr. ASPINALL. If the gentleman will yield further, the Secretary of Interior would have to make the conveyance because he would still hold his position as the administrator of the trust under the laws governing the tribe.

May I state further, the Secretary of the Interior would have the necessary responsibility.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. One final question regarding these 22,000 acres valued up to \$1,500 per acre: Supposing a sale is made involving huge sums of money, would the profit from that sale be subject to the Federal income tax the same as if I were to make the same type of sale for that amount of money?

Mr. ASPINALL. No. The Federal income tax would not apply in this particular instance, nor does it apply in most instances having to do with the Indians.

The distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. JOHNSON) has been using the figure of 22,000 acres, and that takes care of, as I remember it, all of the total acreage in the whole reservation, and here we are not talking about the total acreage; we are talking about a portion of the total acreage.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. The report says 22,000 acres valued from \$25 to \$1,500 per acre.

Mr. ASPINALL. Of course, the gentleman is correct. There are presently 4,571 acres of individually owned Indian trust land, and 5,170 acres are held in trust for the tribe.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. ASPINALL) has answered my questions, and I therefore withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11372

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the partition or sale of inherited interests in allotted lands in the Tulalip Reservation, Washington, and for other purposes", ap-

proved June 18, 1956 (70 Stat. 290), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution and charter of the Tulalip Tribes of the Tulalip Reservation, any lands that are held by the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes, or that are subject to a restriction against alienation or taxation imposed by the United States, or that are on and after June 18, 1956, acquired by the Tulalip Tribes, may be sold by the Tulalip Tribes, with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, on such terms and conditions as the Tulalip board of directors may prescribe, and such sale shall terminate the Federal trust or restrictions against alienation or taxation of the land; except that the trust or restricted status of said lands may be retained at the option of the board of directors upon sale thereof to any member of the Tulalip Tribes.

"(b) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to purchase with any funds made available by the Tulalip Tribes any land or interest in land within, adjoining, or adjoining other land of the Tulalip Tribes which adjoins, the boundaries of the Tulalip Indian Reservation, and to take title to such land in the name of the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes.

"(c) The Secretary of the Interior shall accept any transfer of title from the Tulalip Tribes for any land or fractional interest in land within, adjoining, or adjoining other land of the Tulalip Tribes which adjoins, the boundaries of the Tulalip Reservation, and to take title to such land in the name of the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes.

"(d) Any general statute which prohibits the use of tribal funds to acquire land in the State of Washington if the acquisition would exempt the land from local taxation shall not apply to land acquisition by, or transfers of title to, the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes made pursuant to this Act, unless such statute is specifically made applicable to the Tulalip Tribes.

"(e) Any land or interest in land now owned by or held in trust for the Tulalip Tribes may be exchanged for any other land or interest in land within, adjoining, or adjoining other land of the Tulalip Tribes which adjoins, the boundaries of the Tulalip Reservation provided the lands so exchanged are of equal value or the values are equalized by the payment of money.

"(f) The Tulalip Tribes may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, execute mortgages or deeds of trust to land, the title to which is held by the Tulalip Tribes or by the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes. Such land shall be subject to foreclosure and sale pursuant to the terms of such mortgage or deed of trust in accordance with the laws of the State of Washington. The United States shall be an indispensable party to, and may be joined in, any such proceeding involving trust land with the right to remove the action to the United States district court for the district in which the land is situated, according to the procedures in section 1446 of title 28, United States Code, and the United States shall have the right to appeal from any order to remand entered in such action.

"(g) Any moneys or credits received or credited to the Tulalip Tribes from the sales, exchange, mortgage, or granting of any security interest in any tribal land may be used for any tribal purpose.

"(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Tulalip Tribes may lease any tribal lands for any and all purposes as set forth in the Act of August 9, 1955 (69 Stat. 539), as amended (25 U.S.C. 415), for a period not exceeding twenty-five years without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and for a period not exceeding fifty

years pursuant to rules and regulations adopted by the Tulalip Tribes: *Provided*, That such rules and regulations shall have received the prior approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Nothing in this section shall be deemed to authorize such leases for the exploitation of any natural resources, or for the leasing of land for grazing purposes for a term exceeding ten years."

Sec. 2. The first section of the Act of August 9, 1956 (69 Stat. 539, as amended; 25 U.S.C. 415), is amended by inserting after "the Gila River Reservation," the following: "the Tulalip Indian Reservation."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That section 2 of the Act entitled 'An Act to authorize the partition or sale of inherited interests in allotted lands in the Tulalip Reservation, Washington, and for other purposes,' approved June 18, 1956 (70 Stat. 290, 25 U.S.C. 403-2), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution and charter of the Tulalip Tribes of the Tulalip Reservation, any lands that are held by the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes, or that are subject to a restriction against alienation or taxation imposed by the United States, or that are on and after June 18, 1956, acquired by the Tulalip Tribes, may be sold by the Tulalip Tribes, with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, on such terms and conditions as the Tulalip board of directors may prescribe, and such sale shall terminate the Federal trust or restrictions against alienation or taxation of the land: except that the trust or restricted status of said lands may be retained, upon approval of the Secretary of the Interior, in any sale thereof to any member of the Tulalip Tribes.

"(b) The Secretary of the Interior may accept any transfer of title from the Tulalip Tribes for any land or fractional interest in land within adjoining, or adjoining other land of the Tulalip Tribes which adjoins, the boundaries of the Tulalip Reservation, and take title to such land in the name of the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes, and such lands shall not be subject to taxation.

"(c) The Tulalip Tribes may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, execute mortgages or deeds of trust to land, the title to which is held by the Tulalip Tribes or by the United States in trust for the Tulalip Tribes. Such land shall be subject to foreclosure and sale pursuant to the terms of such mortgage or deed of trust in accordance with the laws of the State of Washington. For the purpose of any foreclosure or sale proceeding, the Tulalip Tribes shall be regarded as vested with an unrestricted fee simple title to the land, the United States shall not be a necessary party to the foreclosure or sale proceeding, and any conveyance of the land pursuant to the foreclosure or sale proceeding shall divest the United States of title to the land. Title to any land redeemed or acquired by the Tulalip Tribes at such foreclosure or sale proceeding shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the tribes. Title to any land purchased by an individual Indian member of the Tulalip Tribes at such foreclosure sale or proceeding may, with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, be taken in the name of the United States for the individual Indian purchaser.

"(d) Any moneys or credits received or credited to the Tulalip Tribes from the sale, exchange, mortgage, or granting of any security interest in any tribal land may be used for any tribal purpose."

"Sec. 2. The first section of the Act of

August 9, 1955 (69 Stat. 539), as amended, (25 U.S.C. 415), is amended by inserting after "the Gila River Reservation," the following: "the Tulalip Indian Reservation and adjacent areas".

"Sec. 3. Section 1 of the Act of August 9, 1955 (69 Stat. 539), as amended (25 U.S.C. 415), is redesignated as subsection 1(a) and a new subsection 1(b) is added as follows:

"(b) Any lease by the Tulalip Tribes under subsection (a) of this section, except a lease for the exploitation of any natural resource, shall not require the approval of the Secretary of the Interior (1) if the term of the lease does not exceed 15 years, with no option to renew, or (2) if the term of the lease does not exceed 30 years, with no option to renew, and the lease is executed pursuant to tribal regulations previously approved by the Secretary of the Interior."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, your committee on the part of the House to join a like committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House has been assembled and is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make has performed that duty. The President asked us to report that he will be pleased to deliver his message at 12:30 p.m. Thursday, January 22, 1970, to a joint session of the two Houses.

JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1970

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 477) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 477

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Thursday, January 22, 1970, at 12:30 p.m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR DURING JOINT SESSION

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to make an announcement.

After consultation with the majority and minority leaders, and with their consent and approval, the Chair announces that on Thursday, January 22, 1970, the date set for the joint session to hear an address by the President of the United States, only the doors immediately opposite the Speaker and those on his left and

right will be open. No one will be allowed on the floor of the House who does not have the privileges of the floor of the House.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday of this week.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING SPEAKER TO DECLARE A RECESS ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 22

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday, January 22, 1970, it may be in order for the Speaker to declare a recess at any time subject to the call of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would the intent of this request be simply for the leadership of the House to recess enant the joint meeting of the two bodies to hear the message from the President of the United States?

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ALBERT)?

There was no objection.

PRESIDENT NIXON SHOULD NOT PLAY POLITICS WITH APPROPRIATION BILL FOR LABOR-HEW FOR FISCAL YEAR 1970

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, there will come a time shortly when the Members of this body will be called upon to cast their votes for or against education. Through his top spokesmen for education, his press secretary, Mr. Ziegler, and his counselor, Mr. Harlow, Mr. Nixon has made it known that he will veto H.R. 13111, the appropriations bill for Labor-HEW for fiscal year 1970.

As a result of extensive hearings and intensive debate, the House and the Senate has agreed that the budget for education submitted by Mr. Nixon was approximately \$1.1 billion short of what this Nation realistically could and should afford for its young people. In the name of fighting inflation, the President has attacked the judgment of Congress as wrong. Taking the President's budget across the board, including the education increases, Congress has exercised decreases of \$5.6 billion. Thus, to at-

tack congressional action as spelling "long-term grief for the American people" is either to ignore the facts or to distort them for some other end.

Even if the President's assertions concerning inflation were true, and they most certainly are not, the simple facts are that there are certain investments in this Nation which are held by the people of America to be fundamental to our hopes for the future, and therefore of paramount importance. Education is one of these investments. In reordering national priorities by reworking the Nixon budget, the Congress has done no more than reflect the will of the American people. And should Mr. Nixon hold sway that will would remain unchanged and the result would only be that citizens at the local level, faced with the reality of having to decrease the quantity and quality of instruction, would tax themselves to make up for the deficit. Thus, money would be spent on education and would, to the degree it does, contribute to inflation anyway; and the only difference would be that the American taxpayer would have to pay twice for that education which he could get by paying only once, through taxes to the Federal Government.

In short, Mr. Nixon cannot have his cake and eat it too; rather, if he has his cake, the American taxpayers will go hungry twice.

The Congress is about to participate in, and the American people are about to witness, a classic struggle between two branches of our Government. The veto was established in our constitutional system as a check upon precipitate congressional action. Exercised wisely and with discretion it is a healthy and necessary weapon in the hands of the President. But, like any weapon, placed in the wrong hands, or used at the wrong time, it is dangerous: destructive of the best interests of the public and erosive of the traditional respect with which the Congress and the President view each other. Such now, I think, is the situation.

The classic and difficult struggle we are about to engage in will be one of form only, not of substance. Substance will not be at issue because everyone, the President included, is for education—just as they are for apple pie, motherhood, and football. So being "pro" or "anti" education is not a factor in this vote. And, as we have already seen, the Congress has underscored the President's justified concern with inflation by paring his overall budget in the amount of \$5.6 billion. Well, if education is not the issue, and inflation is not the issue, what then is the issue?

The issue, I think, is "the issue." The President has got himself boxed in by his advisers and by circumstance and has decided the only way he can save face is to come on strong with a power play.

Last August, just after the House had acted on H.R. 13111, increasing it by somewhat more than \$1 billion, Mr. Nixon could not anticipate that his overall budget would later be reduced by nearly \$6 billion. Two weeks after the House action he attacked the Congress and said that congressional action made

no difference, that he would refuse to spend the money appropriated in excess of his budget. Over the ensuing months the lines of battle were drawn. Other issues came to bear. The President talked of vetoing the veterans' benefits bill and there were threats of a veto of the tax bill, and murmurs wafted up from Pennsylvania Avenue that the coal mine safety bill would be vetoed.

Threats are dangerous weapons in any battle because they become effective only to the degree they are exercised. Mr. Nixon signed the GI bill and the tax bill and he signed the coal mine safety bill. His threats were going unheeded, like the calls of the boy who cried wolf. Still it would be possible, he evidently was counseled, to maintain face by refusing to spend the education funds. And then on the eve of the conference on H.R. 13111, the President was informed that he could not impound a large part of the education increases. A split-second decision was made—an unfortunate one—to veto the bill. Congress, it had been decided, must be taught a lesson.

Soon we shall see who is the teacher and who is the taught. But I can only regard it as unfortunate that in his desperate clutching for the straws of power, the President is trying to draw down with him so many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. Between the vote on the Joelson amendment and the acceptance of the conference report of H.R. 13111, 110 different Republicans voted for increased aid to education. These votes were bipartisan and rightly so. But now the raw politics of "are you with me or against me?" has entered the picture.

In order to sustain his veto, the President must coerce a substantial number of Republicans who previously have voted for education to switch—to abandon their positions and align themselves with the White House. Such demands are usually met with limited success because they force a Member of Congress to abdicate principle in exchange for power. In this election year, however, support may count for more than consistency and I am confident the White House will be successful in forcing a number of Republicans to desert education.

I predict that these trade-offs of conscience for consanguinity will be of only transitory value; for the educators and parents of this Nation are watching this vote; and they will not forget; and they will not be mollified by lame explanations of a partial effort.

The President has chosen to play politics with education, and that—win or lose on his veto—will prove to be a fatal political mistake for the Republican Party.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. ARENDS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, now that the majority leader has made his usual nonpartisan Democratic speech, I would like to ask him a question. Could the gentleman from Oklahoma inform us whether or not there are any legislative

matters to be brought up this week that he knows of at the present time?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Of course, today we have considered the Consent Calendar, and tomorrow we will consider the Private Calendar. We may have to act on a conference report.

If the other body adopts the conference report on the HEW appropriation bill, and if a Presidential veto comes to the Congress this week, we will, of course, have to take some action on that.

We will, as the earlier proceedings of today have indicated, be honored with the state of the Union message of the President on Thursday.

Beyond that we have no legislative program as of now for this week.

Mr. ARENDS. The gentleman will inform us if we are to consider conference reports that he does not at this moment anticipate coming before us?

Mr. ALBERT. We shall keep the gentleman informed, and likewise the House.

Mr. ARENDS. I thank the gentleman.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN C-5 PROGRAM IS SEVERELY SHAKEN

(Mr. MOORHEAD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, December 17 the first C-5A Aircraft was delivered to the Air Force at Altus Air Force Base, Okla., for crew transition training.

Before that delivery I made the charge that these airplanes were admittedly structurally deficient and specifically that the wings were structurally deficient.

My charges were hotly denied by Lockheed and the Air Force.

There must have been something to my charge because today's Washington Post contains an article which reports:

Lockheed said all 10 of the C-5's which have been completed were called back to the plant for wing modification.

During this wing modification a crack 8 to 10 inches long was discovered in the wing of one of the aircraft.

As a result last Friday all 10 completed C-5's were grounded and two are still grounded.

This brings immediately to mind the fiasco of the ill-fated F-111—all 223 of which have been grounded after experiencing their 15th crash in which the plane shed a wing, and killed both pilots.

Mr. Speaker, public confidence in the C-5 program has been severely shaken. There have been repeated demonstrations since last summer that all is not well technically with this aircraft.

Considering the enormous investment in the C-5 I am sending a letter to Secretary of Defense Laird proposing that a panel of aerodynamic and design experts, from outside the Air Force and Lockheed, be set up. I propose that these experts examine such questions as the extent to which the primary and sec-

ondary flight characteristics have been degraded; the impact of the degradations on the ability of the aircraft to perform its original specified mission; how does this impact on the safety of the aircraft?; has the price been adjusted accordingly; and will a flimsier aircraft mean substantially increased maintenance costs?

I propose that the panel report to the Secretary of the Defense and the Congress in 2 months—a reasonable period of time under the circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, the public is entitled to know with some confidence whether additional taxpayers' money should be spent for the procurement of more of these controversial airplanes.

This objective could be accomplished by the appointment of a blue ribbon Commission and, incidentally Mr. Speaker, it might add to the public confidence in the findings of this commission if Mr. A. E. Fitzgerald, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, who first exposed the C-5A scandal, were named a member of the Commission.

REPORT ON URBAN EDUCATION

(Mr. COHELAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 5, 1970, a massive report on urban education was transmitted to the Office of Education. This report, compiled by the Urban Education Task Force, has not yet been released to Members of Congress.

I am astounded. This task force, commissioned by President Nixon and chaired by Dr. Wilson Riles, deputy superintendent of public instruction for the State of California, has given us not only a blueprint of the extraordinary deficiencies in our urban school systems, but also a clear guide to follow in correcting these deficiencies.

In this letter of transmittal Dr. Riles recommended that this report be made a "public document for use by interested parties." The administration, however, has refused even to let Congress see the study. And no wonder, for while the President is reported to be considering a veto of the HEW appropriations bill on the grounds that \$1 billion was added to his budget request, this report by the President's own task force recommends at least \$1 to \$2 billion more than we have appropriated this year and a target of \$7 to \$14 billion per year by 1974.

We in Congress are pikers by comparison to the needs of our educational system, yet the President is ready to veto less than half a loaf when in fact his own study shows that a whole basket of education funds are immediately needed for our starving school systems.

This report is shocking. It states without equivocation that substantial support for urban schools must become the "major priority" of the administration's domestic program. It goes on to say:

Without adequate funding, there is no hope for effective education in the cities.

Among the specific recommendations are an extra \$500 per year per pupil, a sharp reduction in class size by an average of four to 10 students and a small group remedial program.

Despite its importance, this report has been officially buried by HEW.

I do have a copy however, and because of its importance to every member of both Houses of Congress and the public at large I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in its entirety at the conclusion of my remarks.

I hope every Member of Congress will take this opportunity to read it for a full understanding of the critical problems in urban education—a problem we must face in the next few weeks if the possible veto by the President of the HEW appropriation bill becomes a reality.

The report follows:

FINAL REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON URBAN EDUCATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE OFFICE OF EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wilson C. Riles, Chairman; John F. Hughes, Cochairman, January 1970.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Urban Education Task Force wish especially to express their sincere appreciation to the five subcommittee chairmen and their co-chairmen as well as the support staff listed by name in Appendix I.

They also wish to express their sincere thanks to those individuals and organizations which contributed data and material for the chapters in Part One, State of Urban Education, Part Two, The Federal Responsibility. Specifically, they wish to thank Dr. Alan K. Campbell, Dean, Maxwell Graduate School, Syracuse University; Mr. Joel Berke, Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Policy Institute of the Syracuse Research Corporation; Dr. Seymour Sacks, Professor of Economics, Maxwell Graduate School (their services were invaluable); Dr. David Cohen, Executive Director, Center for Educational Policy Research, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, for his special contribution to Part Two, The Federal Responsibility; and Dr. Robert A. Dentler, Director of the Center for Urban Education in New York City, and his staff for producing a comprehensive data base under nearly impossible time constraints.

Lastly, they wish to express their gratitude to the final team who largely wrote the Report, Dr. and Anne O. Hughes and Miss Barbara H. Desind, Division of Compensatory Education, BESE, U.S. Office of Education—as well as to the secretarial support who tirelessly supported them.

W. C. R.
J. F. H.

SUMMARY

Chapter I: Introduction

Perspective for the Report.—These points should be borne in mind with regard to the Urban Education Task Force Report. First, the problems confronting urban education and its environment are *not* of sudden origin. Such problems as inadequate financing, increased enrollments, insufficient staffing, malnutrition, and discrimination have all existed for a long time. However, there are some differences, specifying, the surfacing of these problems nationally, increased awareness of their seriousness, and their interrelatedness to poverty.

Second, the picture presented of urban education and its environment is far from pleasant. However, the presentation in the documentation section is not to be con-

strued as criticism for criticism's sake. Instead, our intent is to underscore the urgency of dealing with urban education's needs as a major national priority and to lay the foundation for our ensuing recommendations.

Third, the Task Force deliberately chosen to reflect diversity in viewpoints, inevitably found unanimity impossible on all of the recommendations made by its committees. Hence, both majority and minority points of view are presented in the Report with the intent of demonstrating alternative views on and recommendations for resolving the issues and problems which are identified. The Report also reflects many of the suggestions for modifications made by members of the Task Force.

Worthy of mentioning is the fact that every member of the Task Force recognizes that education in this country has never been assigned an adequate priority in terms of financial, human, and material resources.

Overview of the Urban Education Problem.—Urban education systems are facing a major challenge to provide appropriate learning experiences for the various life styles of vast numbers of students. The indicators of this challenge are extremely diverse in their intensity and scope: student unrest on university campuses and in the high schools, local community groups seeking control of their neighborhood schools, clashes with law enforcement agencies, complaints being filed with regard to use of Federal funds, teacher strikes, voter rejection of large city school bond issues, the proliferation of alternative plan for education students, lack of priority for education in State and local governments. The greatest number of such indicators—intensifying each other—are taking place in our cities.

This challenge is, in turn, part of yet a broader and more complex one. Major changes have occurred in the perceptions of large numbers of American citizens, specifically, the minority racial and ethnic groups, who now express their feelings of exclusion from meaningful participation in the social, economic, political, and educational institutions of our nation. The steady accumulation of evidence across a wide spectrum of human needs and rights signals that these perceptions are largely supported.

Vastly increased amounts of money are now imperative. In general, the amount of Federal money thus far added has been insufficient for the magnitude of the task confronted. Furthermore, the sustained flow of money is another problem. Complicating these problems are contradictions in terms of legislation and budget priorities at the Federal, State, and local levels which often work against urban areas and their school systems. As the cities become poorer and education becomes costlier, the probabilities increase for the inner city student to participate in only a substandard education. And it is he who should be able to secure a superior education since it constitutes his passport to economic self-sufficiency and self-realization.

However, solving the monetary problems alone is not the complete answer. Major changes must take place in the educational system as well. Compensatory education programs which are producing positive results with impoverished students usually reflect combinations of modified curriculum, staff development, enlightened staff attitudes, supportive services, parent support, and adequate funding. Too few of these programs are currently operating.

Education holds the promise of a one-generation up and out process. That is, the poverty child does not have to repeat the poverty pattern of his parents if he receives a valid and saleable education.

It is within this context that we strongly urge that the problem of urban areas should

be considered as the major priority of the Administration's domestic programs. Within this priority, education—broadly conceived and with new constituencies involved—should become a first consideration. The overwhelming majority of the Task Force adopted all of the below-noted positions.

1. *Money*.—Significantly increased levels of funding are needed for urban education far exceeding what current appropriations—even authorizations—now make possible. However, the criteria for securing funds must be based upon such factors as poverty indices, community determination, demonstrated capability to carry out such a program, levels of State and local efforts, the recognition of the fact that education is more expensive in the cities than elsewhere, and a clear focus on both the inner city areas and the suburban poverty pockets.

2. *Concept of Urban Education*.—Education as we have typically defined it is too narrow for the impoverished constituencies with whom we are concerned. The educative process must be truly expanded in its focus to the whole individual at all educational levels. It must be conceived of as taking place anytime and anywhere; focused on the whole community with genuine respect for its various needs, aspirations, and strengths; and aimed at preparing students for all the complexities of urban living.

3. *Master Plan for Urban Education*.—The only viable approach to resolving the complex problems of education in urban areas is through the development and implementation of a master plan for urban education . . . from early childhood through higher and adult education tailored to the specific needs of a particular urban area.

4. *Institutional Changes*.—There must be a deliberate sequence of steps planned and implemented which will lead to institutional change within educational systems. Such a sequence should be based on a changed and expanded perspective concerning the role(s) and function(s) of the schools and their staffing, including institutions of higher education. While the fundamental changes must be made within the system rather than occurring outside of it, alternative educational approaches can also contribute positively to accelerating the rate of institutional change.

5. *Community Determination*.—Community residents and students must have an active role in the critical decision-making concerning urban education problems. The definition of this role will need to be worked out locally within a broad and flexible set of guidelines. Regardless of the form that the community determination takes, it should contain policy-making contributions in the areas of: priorities for spending the available monies; the educational program offered; and hiring of key personnel. (Definitions which are evolved will have to be conditioned by the legal constraints of existing State and Federal legislation.)

6. *Performance Standards*.—Clearly stated performance standards or criteria should be established for an urban education program. These criteria should constitute a clear statement of the specific knowledges, attitudes, and skills which the students themselves are expected to demonstrate. In effect, they should describe the kinds of students the educative process intends to produce in terms of overt behaviors. Furthermore, performance criteria should be established for all educational staff involved in program.

7. *Assessment*.—Assessment should be an integral part or component of the urban education program beginning with the planning phase. Moreover, this assessment component should be designed to assure rapid and continuing feedback on the program's strengths and weaknesses and should allow for rapid modifications and adjustments to

be made in the program based on student performance. Furthermore, Federal funding should be conditioned on the attainment of measurable standards of this performance by urban school agencies.

8. *Racial and Ethnic Integration*.—Racial and ethnic integration should be a major element in all the planning and implementation phases of the urban education program and should be clearly stated as a major criterion for receiving funds. Recognizing that there is no single or simple way of achieving real integration, a community applying for funds should demonstrate how its educational plan contributes to overcoming racial and ethnic isolation. We suggest that the current thrust composed of separatism, local community control, and the demand for a recognized identity is not over the long term antithetical to the aims of integration. Rather, it constitutes an attempt to achieve through other channels what these earlier thrusts have only partially fulfilled. Still another thrust seems to be emerging which reflects neither primary reliance on public-spirited members of the white majority nor the "we'll go it alone" stance of some groups within the minorities. Instead, it reflects the effort to achieve legitimate power bases from which to negotiate as equals with the majority. This emergent thrust is potentially very promising since it concomitantly recognizes common goals and proposes a cooperative approach in achieving them. Therefore, we strongly support a broadened view of racial and ethnic integration which includes within it those actions which superficially and over the short term may seem militant.

The purposes of the Report are, as follows:

1. To describe and document the critical problems and needs confronting urban education.

2. To examine the extent to which the Federal Government can and should extend solutions to the problems facing urban education.

3. To recommend long-term programmatic and legislative approaches needed to resolve the problems and needs identified; and also to recommend the short-term actions that can be taken under existing legislation.

Part I—The state of urban education

Part one of the Report considers the four major dimensions of the problem confronting urban education in Chapters II through V. Specifically, they deal with the financial crisis of the urban schools; the urban environment of the students; the urban education system; and the impoverished urban student.

Two points should be borne in mind with regard to the chapters of Part One. First, rarely—if ever—has there been an attempt to show the problems of urban education in the light of their surrounding context. Instead, education and its setting are often treated as separate entities with separate problems. Since children and youth spend more time in school than they do in any other social agency, the school and its setting inevitably interact on one another. Thus they should be interrelated when studied. Second, although difficult to secure data for the documentation of urban education's needs, sufficient evidence has been arrayed to delineate the major dimensions of the problem facing urban education.

Chapter II—The financial crisis of the urban schools

To provide the basis for the recommendation that the Federal Government must assume a policy of top priority for urban areas demonstrated by massive appropriations to meet the need of educationally and economically disadvantaged families, the extent and nature of the current financial crisis

is demonstrated through a documentation of the following factors:

1. *Financial deterioration due to population migration*.—Generally, the high tax producers are leaving the cities while ever increasing numbers of high tax consumers—the disadvantaged—are entering the city. The obvious result is less money available to meet greater needs.

2. *The higher cost of urban education*.—It is more costly to meet the needs of the educationally deprived than those of the affluent suburban student. Compounding this problem are the higher maintenance costs and vandalism rates in the inner-city.

3. *Inequitable State aid formulas*.—Such formulas not only fail to recognize the disproportionate educational expenses of the cities, but compound the problem by providing central cities with less State aid per capita than is made available to the outlying areas.

4. *Dwindling popular support and confidence in education*.—Adverse votes on tax measures and bond references have left many cities with drastically inadequate budgets.

5. *Financial difficulties of non-public schools*.—Non-public schools have felt many of the same financial pressures as public schools. As the former are forced to close their doors, the latter have been faced with serving whole new school populations with inadequate budgets and facilities.

6. *Minimal level and minimal effect of Federal funds*.—Federal aid is less than 8 percent of the average local education dollar. In addition, cities do not receive their fair share under most Federal education programs.

Without adequate funding, there is no hope for effective education in the cities. The current need for funds is as desperate as it is massive.

Chapter III—The urban environment of the students

The urban environment of the student—as characterized by divergent values, overcrowding, under-housing, high cost of living, low levels of income, too much discrimination, too little food, and too much noise—also constitutes a major dimension of the problem confronting the schools. The environment is not static—it is a dynamic. As such, the environment is potentially and continuously involved in the process of educating its residents, among them its children and youth. The educative process in the schools cannot—and should not—be separated from that in the environment. In this chapter, the major elements of this environment are identified and analyzed with respect to their influence on the student. These elements are below-noted.

Health and Nutrition.—The urban student often suffers from malnutrition which results in inadequate health and energy levels minimizing his efforts on demanding school tasks. He lives in a world in which the mortality rates of women and babies in birth are higher and the life expectancies of men are lower than for other Americans.

Economic Status and Unemployment.—Unemployment, underemployment and inadequate welfare are facts of life for many urban students. Education brings some upward mobility, but more often racial discrimination acts as an obstacle to securing education, employment, and advancement.

Housing and Living Conditions.—The inner-city student lives in poor, overcrowded housing for which a family is likely to have to overpay.

The Family.—Although there are many stable families residing in such areas, the divorce, separation and desertion rates are comparatively high in the inner cities. If not within his immediate family, then with-

in his neighborhood, the inner-city student will gain an early knowledge of problems associated with drug addiction, prostitution, and theft. He will probably develop a tough self-reliance, a spirit of cooperation, a tolerance for a high degree of noise and a casualness in terms of daily routine. The concepts, language, and problem solving techniques he acquires will be primarily geared to his survival in the neighborhood and the necessary interactions in and demands of his family.

Chapter IV—The urban education system

Although the argument is often offered that financial inadequacies and the conditions of the student's urban environment are the only important contributors to the urban education problem, the education system itself must bear some share of the responsibility. These problems are summarized below.

Obstacles Faced by Urban Education Systems.—In addition to the great obstacle of inadequate funding, the flow of racial and ethnic minorities has created obstacles for the schools in terms of the numbers, poverty, social isolation, and lack of education of these urban immigrants. Yet while the system has generally acknowledged the problems of its numbers, it has in many cases failed to respond adequately to the needs of these individuals. The size and nature of the immigration has in turn imposed difficulties in achieving the goal of integration, increased the inadequacy of school facilities, and made the existing teacher shortage more acute. The problems of recruiting fully accredited teachers, keeping accredited experienced teachers for any length of time, and achieving a racial and ethnic balance are more sharply felt in the cities than in the suburbs.

The Problems of the Education System in Perceiving Its Students.—In many instances, educational systems are unable to cope with a pluralistic culture. A serious problem with many urban systems today is their lack of awareness of the effects of their own biases on their students. Possessing essentially the same general goals as previous waves of immigrants (e.g., economic security, self-respect, personal safety), the minorities today nevertheless manifest some differences in values, needs, and problems. These often unrecognized biases and unchanging expectations have often limited the system's capacity to teach effectively children who do not have the same expectations, such as being oriented to middle class values and expectations, being "ready" for reading, and having the structural orientation that facilitates shifting from subject matter to subject matter as dictated by time blocs rather than by interest and substance. The failure of many teachers to perceive their students as they are stems from complex origins relating to the status assigned by society to teaching the disadvantaged and the levels of competency and experience of the teachers.

The Problems with the System as a Perception of Its Students, Its Faculty, Its Community.—The system has major problems if significant elements of its consistency believe it is falling. Three such elements (i.e., the students, the teachers, and the general community) are identified and their perceptions discussed. The student's perception of the system's failure is reinforced through the documentation of achievement levels, dropout rates, and instances of violence. The teacher's perception is articulated by strikes, disagreements, and a growing body of dissent literature. The community's perception of this failure is expressed by the defeat of bond issues, or general lack of support and confidence, and a growing trend toward demands for decentralization and separatism.

Chapter V—The impoverished urban student

A brief analysis of the impoverished urban student is presented in terms of behaviors

which often go largely unutilized in present educational programs. Proceeding from a combination of direct experience, anecdotal report, and analogical reasoning, the evidence cited is focused on three categories of behaviors of major importance to academic learning: (1) his capacity for realistic problem-solving at many levels; (2) his excellent communication capabilities which encompass the kinds of verbal abilities required by the school; and (3) his generosity, cooperation, and candor.

Appropriate programs and staff capitalize on these and other behaviors of this student with achievement as one major result. However, such programs, staff, and results occur all too infrequently.

PART TWO—THE FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

In this section, there are two points to bear in mind. One is that the Federal government is beginning to shift its focus from comparatively specific efforts in education to broad social action thrusts which encompass more than education per se. Problems in evaluating such programs have arisen as a result of their new thrusts. The other point is that the Federal role is not easily defined with regard to these broad educational programs. It is in the process of emerging and its development must take place in the midst of constitutional precedents and political realities.

Chapter VI—Problems in evaluating the impact of current Federal programs for impoverished populations

The major change in the Federal focus on education from the previous relatively small and specific programs affecting limited groups (e.g., NDEA) to the newer broadly conceived large social action programs (e.g., NSEA, Title I) affecting impoverished populations has not been accompanied correspondingly by a major change in the approaches being used in the evaluation of these programs.

More fundamental than the methodological problems in the evaluation of the current programs are the conceptual and political problems.

Conceptual.—The central conceptual problem arises from the fact that while the new programs are essentially political and social in nature, evaluators tend to approach them as though they were standard efforts at educational change.

Political.—Three major problems are identified: (1) the current operating programs (e.g., ESEA, Title I) were not envisaged as vehicles for research and development in their legislative mandates; (2) the existing distribution of political power in education; and (3) the basic lack of resources—both fiscal and human.

Chapter VII—The Federal role in urban education: Limits and obligations

The dimensions of the newly developing Federal role in education are described within the context of: (1) political and financial limitations; and (2) the obligation—and precedent—for the Federal Government to intervene specifically where it is in the national interest to solve a particular problem. Urban education now poses such a problem.

The dimensions of the new Federal role are seen as: (1) fostering institutional change for the improvement of economic, social, health, and educational conditions of impoverished groups; (2) providing increased monies for such educational and education-related programs; and (3) becoming an advocate on behalf of impoverished groups as a result of (1) and (2).

A major question is raised concerning whether or not the Federal Government has the skill and determination to redesign its education programs in ways which will solve

urgent national problems of social progress and human survival. Moreover, the point is made that massive amounts of money are necessary—and only the Federal Government has the resources to solve these problems.

PART THREE.—A PLAN FOR URBAN EDUCATION

This final part of the Report presents the long-range recommendations on which the Urban Education Task Force place its major emphasis. In addition to the long-range recommendations, short-range recommendations are made relating to existing legislation. The latter are meant only to serve as a holding action until such time as the long-term recommendations are operative.

The Report submits as its major recommendation the development of the Office of Education of special landmark legislation, such as an Urban Education Act, which will be designed to fund the planning development and implementation of a comprehensive master plan to meet the long-range educational education-related needs of inner-city areas. To accomplish this, the Task Force recommends that the Office of Education immediately establish an Office of Programs Serving the Disadvantaged under an Associate Commissioner, to become the Bureau of Urban Education with broader mandates upon the passage of an Urban Education Act.

Part Three of the Report discusses the long-term recommendations relevant to the Urban Education Act in Chapters VIII through XI, governing the educational program, the authority structure, funding principles and the cost respectively. The short-term recommendations are presented in Chapter 12.

Minority viewpoints are presented for those recommendations on which more than one alternative was offered. However, the recommendations stated first represent the large majority of the Task Force members.

Chapter VIII—An urban education act—the educational program

Authorized by an Urban Education Act, urban areas should plan and develop comprehensive master plan proposals for the redesign of educational programs and supportive services which would set forth specific educational and social goals, educational services and performance standards for the improvement of education at all levels within the area to be served, with special emphasis for inner-city students.

Scope of the Master Plan.—In order to provide the inner-city student with an equal opportunity to function successfully in the mainstream, his education must not merely equal, but be superior to that in the suburbs. The master plan must accordingly reflect the most enriched definition of education and relate that education to current urban problem areas including integration, housing, employment, recreation, and health.

To ensure this superior education, general criteria should be established—preferably in the legislation itself but could be done administratively—which would be concerned with: a broadened definition of the education; the use of existing and heretofore largely unutilized instructional resources; the use of financial resources at all levels of public and private sources; a clearly articulated needs statement indicating a knowledge of the target area and its problems on a need priority basis; a general set of objectives for a total program which will consider those problems of the city which have direct bearing on the process of education; a specific set of educational objectives to be met by the educational program of the master plan; a full description of the program; plans for continuous assessment of the program in terms of student performance; and plans for an evaluation of the overall institutional performance.

Levels of the Education Program.—The

master plan should encompass all educational levels from early childhood through adult. While all levels should be fully and equally treated in the plan, certain long-range considerations might be afforded the early childhood level, while short-term considerations might affect secondary and higher education.

Educational Program Components.—The educational program of the master plan should include at a minimum the following program and program-related components:

1. **Planning.**—This component should be continuous with various phases, such as initial design, preliminary implementation feedback, modification, etc.

The planning framework should assume integration as a vital aspect of education and should take all feasible steps toward this goal. The planning framework must also assume *institutional change* as a necessity, not for the sake of change, but as the implementation of new aspects which have been proven more effective than those in use. Plans should consider gains, not only for students, but for the *total community* through a wide use of resources. *Pre-grant performance* should be indicated and planners should be required to use existing funds to demonstrate performance prior to receiving developmental and operational funds.

2. **Personnel Development.**—All educational personnel at all professional and non-professional levels should be provided continuous preservice and inservice programs at the local, city, State, and Federal levels. Programs should stress: acquisition of appropriate attitudes for working with target populations; preparation for process centered learning; utilization of life experiences of students; techniques for involving community residents; cooperative work with supportive services staffing; and flexible use of traditional and traditional educational settings. Basic reform in personnel development must occur in three areas: recruitment, training programs, and staff development.

3. **Curriculum.**—Curriculum is defined as a clearly articulated master plan for the educative process which includes student-oriented performance objectives; sequenced sets of experiences organized from task analyses; basic strategies for acquiring the knowledge skills and attitudes in these sequences; and evaluation based on the objectives. In addition to traditional academic areas must be curriculum designed to teach the urban child how to cope with specific urban problems. Special emphasis should be given to the communication processes; and within these, reading should be stressed because of its significance to educational achievement and employment.

4. **Supportive Services.**—Such services, adequately staffed, which make effective learning possible, e.g., medical, dental, nutritional, clothing, shelter, social and psychological, counseling and guidance, occupational and educational placement, dropout prevention, personnel recruitment, and recreational, must be provided the students and their communities.

5. **Community Determination.**—The master plan should provide mechanisms to include the target community with all its human and institutional components, all of which can profit education locally. Such components are the innercity residents, colleges, universities, vocational and technical training institutions, and local private industries and foundations. Of special importance is the contributions which inner-city residents can—and should—make.

6. **Experimentation.**—This component will serve to try out new concepts, techniques, personnel training, staffing patterns, class organization, etc. Related are those alternative education programs which may be piloted or demonstrated as "sub-programs" in the overall master plan.

7. **Assessment.**—This component is defined as the planning and implementation of a design which will determine the extent to which the students in the educational program are manifesting those behaviors stated in its objectives at various educational levels so that necessary modifications and/or redesign of operating programs can occur at a national thrust.

8. **Facilities.**—Facilities should be created to use space imaginatively in a manner which integrates them with the local program. Where possible they should afford multipurpose usage and have favorable impact upon local economy and community use.

A minority view held that the Federal Government had no appropriate role in the area of recommending criteria and program components.

The Need for Alternatives to the Master Plan.—Alternative programs outside of or in competition with the master plan should be funded to meet specific needs and problems not taken into account by the more comprehensive master plan. Among alternatives discussed here are educational parks, publicly funded private schools, city-as-classroom structures, etc., as well as the controversial voucher system. Minority viewpoints are also presented.

Chapter IX: An urban education act—the authority structure

The Task Force recommends that the Office of Education, in its development of an Urban Education Act, consider the restructuring of authority on Federal, State, municipal, and community levels—as it applies both to grantor and grantee. New roles must be conceived at each level and are reflected in the four sections of the chapter dealing with the community, the metropolitan area, the State, and the Office of Education.

A Rationale for an Expanded Community Role.—The Task Force supports the principle that heretofore excluded parents and local community residents must be included in the process of decision-making for the schools if effective changes in urban education are to be achieved. Any new legislation should insure that the community can develop its own mechanism for significant inclusion; make provision for the training of administrators to accommodate themselves to that mechanism; provide funds for such development and training; and provide for Federal evaluation of institutional change and local evaluation of the mechanism's effectiveness in achieving its objective of increased institutional accountability.

The role of the community must be expanded in part because of the relative failures of school boards, school administrators and teacher organizations to meet local educational needs. In addition, the community has a legitimate role in educational decision-making on the basis of American tradition and their ability to make valid contributions.

The Report describes some of the efforts of urban systems to link decision-making authority to the community. Decentralization is discussed in its gradations of the delegation of certain kinds of authority and responsibility by a duly constituted legal school board to a subdivision or unit within its purview. Community determination is discussed in terms of degree: participation in the system; partnership with the system; and control over some school or subsystem within the system.

A majority of the Task Force recommends that decentralization and community determination must be considered as major avenues to institutional change while a minority held that Federal policy in this area was unnecessary.

Relationships Among Communities in Urban Areas.—While the main thrust of new legislation should be directed at the inner-

city with authority for such programs vested in school districts and local communities, the Task Force recommends that an alternative thrust be considered which will involve the larger metropolitan population as participants in an urban education program. Comprehensive metropolitan planning should be encouraged where it will result in: a realignment of present school systems; mutual benefit among education and related agencies; a capitalization on the strengths of an entire metropolitan area in order to meet its needs; a trend toward decentralization of programmatic and administrative matters to individual schools.

This recommendation is based on: the existence of non-localized educational and related problems; the presence of disadvantaged populations outside the central city; a broader potential of pool resources; potential advantages for students through enriched programs; the need for comprehensive educational planning; the existence of scattered successful examples of metropolitan planning, and the compatibility of metropolitan and decentralization.

The Role of the States.—An Urban Education Act should clearly define the role of the States, considering both their present practices which often do not favor urban education and their significance for future urban education. The Task Force recommends that the requirements for recognition and correction of inequities in State aid formulas which discriminate against urban areas must be defined. Moreover the Task Force recommends that the Act provide incentive grants to States which require State matching and State maintenance of effort for the new and improved education programs for the urban impoverished groups.

In addition, incentive funds should be used for: providing for a reform of State school finance programs; establishing urban education units in State departments; revising requirements for certification to permit new sources of personnel; examining and setting standards for physical facilities; and creating State and local units for disseminating information about urban educational needs; and creating approval mechanisms for urban education proposals.

The Need for Federal Reorganization and the Establishment of an OE Bureau of Urban Education.—The Task Force recommends the following OE reorganization steps:

1. An interim measure, prior to the passage of an Urban Education Act, the consolidation within OE of those special programs which serve the needs of disadvantaged children under an Associate Commissioner for Programs Serving the Disadvantaged. An appropriate bureau or office title may be designed in keeping with the current OE reorganization.

2. As the development of new program authorization permits, the creation of a new Bureau for Urban Education with a clear mandate to operate programs and establish Office-wide priorities to meet effectively and rapidly urban education needs in all OE programs.

Such an office described in step 1 above, should be afforded priority commensurate with the vital functions it will perform. It should have immediate operating responsibility for programs for the disadvantaged including Title I ESEA, Follow Through, Bilingual and Dropout Prevention Programs, and the Demonstration Project in Anacostia (D.C.). The unit should have its own program, salaries, and expense budget. Staff should be recruited from both Federal and non-Federal sources to reflect a wide range of competencies pertinent to urban programs, legislation, and the like.

The need for such an office is validated by the unsatisfactory efforts of smaller units and special assistant positions to fulfill those functions in the past.

The functions of the new office should include: implementation of the short-term recommendations in this report; coordination of OE efforts to supply materials to Congress pertinent to the passage of the Act; coordination of existing programs which focus on urban areas; administration of those operating programs now authorized by ESEA (Title I, VII and Section 807), administration of demonstration programs; development and operation of an information center; provision of assistance to local agencies; coordination with other Federal agencies in the development of urban programs; sponsoring programs to keep Federal personnel informed in these areas; assisting the Commissioner in articulating his concerns over urban schools to the public and to Congress.

With the passage of the Act, a Bureau of Urban Education should be created, as described in step 2 above, to continue the functions of the office described above, and to implement the new approach to Federal and to urban schools embodied in the Act. Such a Bureau should be headed by an Associate Commissioner who reports directly to the Commissioner. Its budget should be submitted to the Congress as an entirely distinct line item.

Chapter X—An urban education act—the funding process

A set of principles was developed as guidelines for establishing priorities, eligibility and facilitating mechanisms for the funding process related to an Urban Education Act. These principles stem from the basic premise that a more than equal educational opportunity is necessary for the inner-city student. They are designed to focus Federal effort on a priority basis to those places where equal educational opportunity is farthest from reality. The principles summarized are, as follows:

1. Education districts representing the largest eligible urban areas should receive priority in Federal funding.
2. Determination of eligibility of urban areas should be based on economic and performance criteria.
3. Each qualifying area should receive full funds for its program and where sufficient funds are unavailable for full funding of every qualifying urban area in its particular size group, a system of competition for a fully funded grant should be developed.
4. Federal aid should be awarded on a basis that enables maximum feasible eligibility for participation among groups, agencies, and institutions within designated urban areas. (The Task Force recommends that a percentage (5-15 percent) of the funds of the Act be set aside for use by the Commissioner to fund groups other than the regular school authorities which design viable specific experiments for use in the inner city and the other depressed areas in the metropolitan area.)
5. Funding procedures should include a system of regulating recurrent eligibility, with grants renewed on the basis of evidence of quality student performance.
6. The legislation should permit a by-pass of State educational agencies where necessary to achieve urban priority. (Such cases might occur where State educational agencies fail to provide sufficient guarantees of their efficiency and willingness to perform in the capacity of advocates for approval and renewal of urban education programs.)
7. The legislation should permit the participation of non-public school children in the program in ways to introduce a new child services concept of the disadvantaged.
8. Advance funding should be provided for the urban education grants.
9. There should be provision for the phasing in of existing categorical grant programs

in the sense of incorporating them into the new urban education mandate.

Chapter XI—An urban education—The cost

The Task Force has developed a suggested financial mechanism through which to channel critically needed increased educational resources into the cities. The mechanism which best meets urban educational needs is a formula that will provide an addition of at least a third in educational resources: equipment, teachers, counselors, curriculum planning, etc. It is estimated that in terms of an increment to current local educational expenditures, a one-third addition to resources will require at least a fifty percent addition to current local educational expenditures.

For the 10,500,000 school children in cities with populations over 100,000 the cost would be \$5 billion. If the program were extended to reach children in all cities over 50,000, an additional 4 million students would be included, adding \$2 billion more to the cost, totalling 7 billion additional dollars. Such figures assume a necessary increase of \$500.00 per student.

For 1971-72, the Task Force recommends a total expenditure for cities over 100,000 population of \$470,200,000 for planning, developmental and operational grants, including facilities and educational training. By 1975, the expenditure should reach \$7,566,000,000.

The cost for including cities of populations over 50,000 in 1971-72 would be an additional \$182,100,000 and by 1975, an additional \$3,627,000,000. If all three categories of cities are included beginning in FY 1971-72, the initial cost would be \$706,900,000 which would rise to \$14,541,800,000 in FY 1975.

A minority viewpoint recommends supplemental Federal funding of all school districts at the annual level of \$30,000,000 on a formula basis to improve education for all children.

Chapter XII—Short-term recommendations

While action on the long-term recommendations above should begin immediately, their full implementation may not be realized for several years. In the interim, there is a critical need for immediate action in the field of urban education. Thus, the Task Force recommends the following short-term measures, based largely on existing legislation and programs noted below, which should be implemented within the next fiscal year or two.

Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act

1. Title I must be funded at or near full authorization.
2. States should be encouraged to concentrate funds in areas with high concentrations of disadvantaged populations.
3. Appropriations must be made in advance.
4. A by-pass amendment should be included to directly aid non-public schools when States fail to do so.
5. HEW audits of local and State administration of Title I funds and other related programs should be made available to the public.

Vocational Education

1. Congress should adequately fund all parts of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968.
2. The Commissioner should concentrate funds under the discretionary parts of the VEA on the urban disadvantaged.

Research and Demonstration

1. Top priority should be given to the needs of the urban disadvantaged child.
2. Emphasis should be on developing models which could be used in inner-city classrooms across the country.
3. Educational laboratories and Research and Development Centers should focus on urban problems.

4. There should be an effort to involve a broader range of people in the research effort.

Training

1. There should be more of an effort to bring new kinds of people into the field of education, and to establish early recruitment of such people.
2. The Teacher Corps and the Urban Teacher Corps should be expanded.
3. Challenges in certification laws should be encouraged.

Higher Education

1. There should be fuller funding of existing programs designed to aid the disadvantaged, such as Upward Bound, Special Services, Talent Search, Equal Opportunity Grants, work-study, and National Defense Education Act loans.
2. Funds should be made available for one-year federally-funded college preparatory programs for the disadvantaged.

Discretionary Funds of the Commissioner

1. Discretionary programs should focus on urban education.
2. New monies should be set aside for planning and instituting urban education programs.

Data on Urban Education Funds

1. Data on the flow of Federal funds to the central city school districts in each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area should be published annually.

National Commission

1. A National Commission on the Future Financing of American Education should be established.

National Advisory Council

1. Greater weight should be given to the inclusion of poor people on the Council.
2. The Council should be given a clear mandate to review all Federal programs which affect the lives of the disadvantaged.

Rural Areas

While the Task Force feels that urban needs deserve priority consideration and separate treatment, the needs of rural areas deserve comparable study and consideration.

Chapter I. Introduction

Perspective for the Report

Three points should be borne in mind with regard to the Urban Education Task Force Report. One is that the problems confronting urban education and its environment are *not* of sudden origin. Such problems as inadequate financing, increased enrollments, insufficient staffing, and discrimination in housing and jobs have *all* existed for a considerable period of time. However, there are some differences. One consists of the surfacing of these problems at the national level. Another is the increased awareness of both their gravity and complexities. Outstanding among them are: the steadily dwindling financial resources of education; the persistence of racism; the rising expectations of impoverished urban residents; and the interrelatedness of *all* the problems to poverty.

The second point concerns the picture we present of urban education and its environment. By and large, it is far from pleasant. However, the presentation in the documentation section is not to be construed as criticism for criticism's sake. Rather, our intent is to underscore the urgency of urban education's needs and to lay the foundation for our ensuing recommendations. To make constructive recommendations for urban education's improvement—and the inner city and suburban poverty pockets in particular, it is necessary to examine its current state of affairs.

The third point concerns the viewpoints of the Task Force members themselves. Every

member of the Task Force fully recognizes that education in this country has never been assigned an adequate priority in terms of financial, human, and material resources. Moreover, every member has a deep commitment to improving the quality of American education. However, difference arose among members as to the best ways and means for achieving this improvement. It was inevitable that the Task Force, deliberately chosen to reflect diversity in viewpoints, would find unanimity impossible on all of the recommendations made by its committees. Hence, both majority and minority points of view are presented in the Report with the intent of demonstrating alternative recommendations for resolving the issues and problems which are identified. One formal minority report was filed by Mr. Francis P. Murnaghan, Jr., President, Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore Public Schools. This report was circulated to all Task Force members asking for their comments on it as well as for their comments on the draft majority report. This final revision of the Task Force Report reflects a conscientious and systematic effort to incorporate the suggestions for modifications made by Task Force members and to present the views and recommendations expressed in the formal minority report as an alternative to those of the majority report.

This Report is therefore focused both on documenting the needs of urban education and on presenting recommendations to meet them—both those of the majority and of the minority.

Overview of the Urban Education Problem

Urban education systems are facing a major challenge to provide appropriate learning experiences for the various life styles of their vast numbers of students. The indicators of this challenge are extremely diverse in their intensity and scope: student unrest on university campuses and in the high schools, local community groups seeking control of their neighborhood schools, clashes with law enforcement agencies, complaints being filled with regard to use of Federal funds, teacher strikes, voter rejection of large city school bond issues, the proliferation of alternative plans for educating students, lack of priority for education in State and local governments. By far, the greatest number of such indicators—interacting on and intensifying each other—are taking place in our cities.

This challenge is, in turn, part of yet a broader and more complex one. A major change has occurred in the perceptions of large numbers of American citizens, specifically, the minority racial and ethnic groups. They are convinced that they have been short-changed by their fellow American citizens—the white majority—who largely control the social, economic, political, and educational institutions of our nation. The steady accumulation of evidence across a wide spectrum of human needs and rights signals that this perception is largely supported. It is within this context of challenge that urban education must be reconceived, revitalized, and adequately financed.

Simplistic and partial solutions which have been and may still be offered to resolve complex educational problems of increasing magnitudes are untenable. To accomplish this task, vastly increased amounts of money are imperative. In general, the amount of Federal money thus far added has been insufficient for the magnitude of the task confronted. Furthermore, the sustained flow of money is another problem. Specifically, this problem consists of assuring the continuing supply of money.

Systems are faced with fluctuations in levels of Federal, State, and local appropriations and budgets for special programs; failures in passage of local school bond issues;

reductions in assessed property values and the other taxing bases within the cities. Complicating the issue are contradictions in terms of legislation and budget priorities at Federal, State, and local levels which all too often work against the urban areas—and their educational systems. As if these problems were not enough, the cost of providing educational services and programs in large urban areas is increasing every year. Thus, as the cities become poorer and education becomes costlier, the probabilities inevitably increase for the inner city student to participate in only a substandard education. And it is he who should be able to secure a superior education since it constitutes his passport to economic self-sufficiency and self-realization.

However, solving the monetary problems alone is not the complete answer. There must be changes in the educational system as well. Here and there, appropriate—and, therefore, effective—compensatory education programs are flourishing with evidence of increased learning by impoverished children. Such programs usually reflect a combination of modified curriculum, enlightened staff attitudes, and adequate funding. But all too often, special programs to meet special needs have turned out to be “more of the same” programs. Offered such programs, the students involved have wastefully and tragically proved again and again that these programs do not—and cannot—meet their needs. No urban educational system has yet succeeded in meeting the educational needs of all of its poor children.

Pilot or demonstration projects have typically lacked the magnitude to provide adequate answers. In such efforts, a usually small-scale intensive program is mounted which presumably takes the students' special needs—and assets—into consideration. Assuming that the program is appropriate and the staff is adequately trained, the problems are often the involvement of too few students, prohibitive costs per student, and experimental and instructional techniques which are not readily transferable to large-scale operations. Another problem is that such projects usually have key people in leadership positions whose personal styles of working are not easily replicated for the expanded operations.

While educational research has played a part in some of these projects, the general pattern has been to avoid the kind of research which deals with major learning problems. Researchers have usually singled out only limited aspects of such problems for largely financial or methodological reasons. First-rate comprehensive studies of inner city children and youth are rare phenomena indeed. Thus, research with its current conceptualization and methodology does not generally provide a clear sense of the broad directions to be taken.

Another problem has been that most of the programs have been conceived from a perspective which implicitly compares the inner city student from a minority group with his white middle class, age, and grade-level suburban counterpart. The results and applications of such comparisons are inevitably negative—the inner city student winds up being described as deficient in . . . verbal ability, reading achievement, marketable economic skills, and social skills.

The strengths or positive characteristics of this student are almost never considered e.g., his pride, his tough pragmatic problem-solving, his resiliency in the face of daily economic uncertainties, his personal loyalty to his group, his sense of humor, his candor—or lack of hypocrisy. Consequently, most of the programs are designed from a negative standpoint, namely, overcoming deficiencies, and are almost never designed from the posi-

tive view of capitalizing on strengths. Such programs, however, well-intentioned, often reflect the implicit assumption that the white middle class student is the standard or model. This assumption leads the educator and the community-at-large into perceiving the inner city student through a mediating stereotype instead of as an individual in his own right who may be thoroughly alienated by programs designed to remake him in an image which is neither his own nor necessarily appropriate for him to adopt. Rarely, have inner city community residents and students had the opportunity either to make significant decisions about the kinds of programs to be implemented or to make a significant contribution in their implementation. Yet, these residents and students have the most direct knowledge and experience of all.

Positions of the Task Force

The Administration has announced new and far-reaching plans in the areas of welfare and employment. There is no doubt whatsoever that these areas are critically in need of immediate assistance. However, we firmly believe that only through the educative process can long term effective solutions to welfare and employment finally be devised. Education holds the promise of a one-generation up and out of poverty process. That is, the poverty child of a welfare mother, of an underemployed father, or of a seasonally underemployed parent does not have to repeat the poverty cycle of his parents if he receives his passport out. That passport is valid and salable education.

It is within this context that we strongly urge that the problem of urban areas should be considered as the major priority of the Administration's domestic program in the 1970's. Within this priority, education—broadly conceived and with new constituencies involved—should become a first consideration. Human talent—regardless of color, environment, social level or anything else—is our most valuable national resource. The education process—appropriately designed and directed—is our most potent means for developing the rich diversity of all of this talent.

Our major thrust is, therefore, a long-term one involving planning and implementation of comprehensive urban education programs with a combined focus on the students' real needs and effective institutional change. However, we further recognize that there is an urgent and immediate NOW with which we must be concerned. Hence, we have developed short-term or interim plans and recommendations for urban education which provide for some immediate steps to be taken. The overwhelming majority adopted all of the below-noted positions.

Money

1. Significantly increased levels of funding are needed for urban education far exceeding what current appropriations—even authorizations—now make possible. *Money is a major requirement.* However, the criteria for securing funds for urban education programs must be based upon such factors as poverty indices, community determination, demonstrated capability to carry out such a program, levels of State and local efforts, the recognition of the fact that education is more expensive in the cities than elsewhere, and a clear focus on both the inner city areas and the suburban poverty pockets. The amounts that will ultimately be required to resolve the urban education problem, should we either continue at the level of our present efforts or only engage in tokenism will be literally “out of sight.” Taking major action now is the economy of foresight; postponement can only demand the excessive price of hindsight.

Concept of Urban Education

2. Education as we have typically defined it is too narrow for the impoverished constituencies with whom we are concerned. The educative process must be truly expanded in its focus to the whole individual at all educational levels . . . as he is . . . as he can be . . . as he wants to be. Accordingly, his health, his emotional well-being, his intellectual capacities, his future employment, his self-realization are all involved and there must be adequate provisions made for these key aspects in this process.

Additionally, the educative process must no longer be conceived as only that which occurs within the physical boundaries of the school building as a result of formally planned lessons by the teaching staff. Instead, this process must be conceived of as taking place anytime and anywhere.

The learning which is acquired outside the school is just as valuable as that learning which is acquired within it. Moreover, this type of "outside" learning is definitely highly personal, meaningful, and direct ways which the "in-class" learning activities should not only be related to but could well seek to emulate. With regard to curriculum, the usual academic areas (e.g., reading and mathematics) must be appropriately reconceived and implemented. New areas must be included and interwoven with the other which are of special significance for the urban student, such as problems of narcotics additions, noise, overcrowding, and maintenance of individuality. Above all, the educative process should be focused on including the whole community with genuine sensitivity to and respect for its various needs, aspirations, and strengths.

Master Plan for Urban Education

3. The only viable approach to resolving the complex problems of education in urban areas is through the development and implementation of a master plan for urban education tailored to the specific needs of a particular urban area. Such a plan must concomitantly deal with causes and symptoms, must be conceived within a framework of over-all urban problem-solving rather than education per se, and must encompass all educational levels, i.e., from early childhood through higher and adult education. Moreover, this plan must reflect a considerable expansion and enrichment of what constitutes "education." Within the educational plan, there must be stress placed on developing and implementing appropriate curricular designs, consumer participation, staff development programs for all concerned, supportive services, and evaluation. Finally, it must be interrelated with other facets of the larger urban problems, such as housing, employment, recreation, and health. We recognize that the development and implementation of a master plan for urban education will not take place overnight; it will take time, work, and the changing of attitudes.

Institutional Changes

4. There must be a deliberate sequence of steps planned and implemented which will lead to institutional change within educational systems. Such a sequence should be based on a changed and expanded perspective concerning the role(s) and function(s) of their schools and their staffing, including institutions of higher education. As Poga aptly stated, "I have met the enemy and he is us."

Among the areas of concern for such a sequence should be the: (1) involvement of the local neighborhood constituencies in the educative process and thus to work for common goals; (2) design and implementation of curriculum and the instructional programs which are highly appropriate to the perceived needs of these constituencies; (3) involve-

ment of other social agencies in the educative process; and (4) education of the staff to perceive and teach the students as they themselves are and not as seen through the filters of mediating stereotypes—no matter how well-intentioned the program generated from such stereotypes may be. We believe that basically this change must come in the education system itself. Only the "educational establishment" is big enough to deal with the educational crisis on the grand scale. While we feel that alternatives (e.g., street academies, community-operated early childhood centers) to existing educational agencies should receive encouragement and financial support, the fundamental changes must be made within the system rather than occurring outside of it if education is to be a vital experience for the vast numbers of students to be served. Nevertheless, alternative educational approaches can also contribute positively to accelerating the rate of institutional change. Through the alternatives exerting pressure from *without* and the educational system working to revitalize itself from *within*, the key directions and techniques for implementing change can be identified.

Community Determination

5. The community residents and students who are to be the direct participants in urban education programs *must* have an active role in the critical decision-making concerning such programs. Whether this role should include full control by the community residents or a partnership arrangement with whatever educational agency is affected will be a matter which each urban area will need to work out on its own within a broad and flexible set of guidelines which will allow for various forms. Regardless of the particular form which community involvement takes, this role must include policymaking in the areas of: (1) priorities for spending the available monies; (2) design of curriculum and implementation of program components; and (3) employment and evaluation of key personnel.

Performance Standards

6. Clearly stated performance standards or criteria should be established for an urban education program. These criteria should constitute a clear statement of specific knowledges, attitudes, and skills which the students themselves are expected to demonstrate. In effect, they should describe the kinds of students the educative process intends to produce in terms of measurable overt behaviors.

Furthermore, performance criteria should be established for *all* educational staff involved in program (e.g., administrators, teachers, aides) based directly on the student-oriented objectives. As with the student objectives, these criteria should form the primary basis for evaluation of the educational staff. Finally, both the student and staff criteria should be stated in terms of overt, measurable behaviors.

Assessment

7. Assessment should be an integral part or component of the urban education program beginning with the planning phase. Moreover, this assessment component should be designed to assure rapid and continuing feedback on the program's strengths and weaknesses and should allow for rapid modifications and adjustments to be made in the program. Furthermore, the assessment component should be interwoven into all other components of the operating program and therefore would encompass much more than the measurement of the academic achievement areas, e.g., reading and mathematics. Federal funding should be conditioned on the attainment of measurable standards of performance by urban school agencies.

Racial and Ethnic Integration

8. Racial and ethnic integration should be a major element or recurring theme in *all* the planning and implementational phases of the urban education program and therefore should be clearly stated as a major criterion for receiving funds. Recognizing that there is no single or simple way of achieving real integration, a community applying for funds should demonstrate how its educational plan contributes to overcoming racial and ethnic isolation. We also believe that the current thrust composed of separatism, local community control of schools, and insistence on the recognition of minority identities (e.g., black history, La Raza) by various groups is the all-too-logical result of the basic lack of commitment and the slowness of action to achieve integration. The quality, recognition, and acceptance which were to have occurred with earlier thrusts on integration, such as equal employment opportunity, fair housing, and school desegregation, have not really materialized. We suggest that the composite thrust of separatism, local community control, and the demand for a recognized identity are not over the long term antithetical to the aims of integration. Rather, it constitutes an attempt to achieve through *other channels* what earlier thrusts have only partially fulfilled. In fact, as this current thrust is unfolding yet another thrust seems to be emerging. Some of its characteristics can be pointed out.

Specifically, it reflects neither the primary reliance of the minorities on public-spirited members of the white majority to do something for them nor the "we'll go it alone" stance of certain groups within the minorities. Instead, other groups within these minorities are actively seeking legitimate power bases or positions of strength from which they can negotiate as equals with the majority. In striving to achieve this negotiating capability, the minorities are developing a new thrust in the continuing struggle for genuine integration which could be termed *interdependency*. As emerging here, it is saying, "you need us every bit as much as we need you—so we better find ways to cooperate as equal partners in our mutual concerns. It is only by working together that we are going to solve our society's problems." This emergent—and newest—thrust seems to hold potentially the greatest promise for achieving genuine integration since it concomitantly recognizes common goals (e.g., economic self-sufficiency, a healthful environment, improved educational programs) and proposes to work cooperatively on the ways to achieve them.

Purposes and Organization

Having presented the general overview and specific positions of the Task Force, the purposes of the Report are, as follows:

1. To describe and document the critical problems and needs confronting urban education in terms of their uniqueness and complexity as a justification for their urgency.

2. To examine the extent to which the Federal government can and should extend solutions to the problems facing urban education.

3. To recommend long-term programmatic and legislative approaches needed to resolve the problems and needs identified, including the framework for the educational program, the authority structure, the funding process, and the cost of the program; and also to recommend the short-term actions that can be taken under existing legislation.

The organization of the Report parallels its purposes, and is accordingly divided into three major sections. They are: (1) State of Urban Education; (2) The Federal Responsibility; and (3) A Plan for Urban Education—An Urban Education Act. Within each section, there are chapters which deal with the

key elements of each section; and, where appropriate, stating the majority and minority viewpoints.

PART I—THE STATE OF URBAN EDUCATION
Overview

In Part One of the Report, the State of Urban Education, we consider the four major dimensions of the problem confronting urban education and devote one chapter to each. Specifically, these chapters are concerned with: (1) the financial crisis of the urban schools; (2) the urban environment of the students; (3) the urban education system; and (4) the impoverished urban student. Within the time constraints which have been imposed, we have attempted to document the pressing needs of urban education and to describe the context in which the urban education system must function.

There are two points to be borne in mind with regard to the chapters of Part One. The first is that rarely—if ever—has there been an attempt to show the problems of urban education in the light of their surrounding context. All too often, education and its setting are treated as separate entities with separate problems. Such is not the case. The operating units of the educational system—the schools—are based in neighborhood settings. And the problems, values, and needs of the residents of the neighborhood are inevitably carried by its children into the school. Moreover, the school is the most visible or tangible public social agency in the neighborhood. Since the children and youth spend more time in the school than they do in any other social agency, the school—in one form or another—exerts a tremendous social force. Hence, the presentation in this part is attempting to focus on the context in which the urban education system must function as well as on the system itself.

The second point arising from the first is that it proved extremely difficult to secure data for the documentation of the urban education system's needs and its context in a comprehensive and systematic manner. In some cases, data were not available in the form needed; and, in others, they were fragmentary or lacking in comparability. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence has been arrayed which clearly delineates the major dimensions of the problem confronting urban education.

It must again be underscored that the presentation in these chapters—and particularly Chapter IV, "The Urban Education System"—is to document the increasing necessity for making urban education's needs a major national priority.

Chapter II. The financial crisis of the urban schools

The schools of our cities are again opening their doors to a vast number of students with increasingly more complex educational needs. These students hold fewer expectations of having those needs met than ever before. For many urban educational systems the first priority this year will be that of keeping their doors open beyond the months of March or April. There is simply not enough money. Our urban schools are in a state of financial crisis.

This chapter will demonstrate the extent and nature of the financial crisis facing urban education through an explanation of the set of unique factors affecting the cities today. Implicit in the discussion of each factor is the recommendation that the Federal Government must assume a policy of top priority for urban areas demonstrated by massive appropriations to meet the needs of educationally and economically deprived families. The factors to be discussed are summarized as follows:

1. *Financial deterioration due to population migration.*—The money now is insufficient to meet greater needs in the city. The

evidence of the financial deterioration of the central city is ever deepening because of patterns of population migration detrimental to the city coffers. High tax producers—members of business and high-salaried populations—are moving to the suburbs and are being replaced by an ever-increasing number of high tax consumers—disadvantaged persons—who are concentrating in the central cities.

2. *The higher cost of urban education.*—Education in the cities simply costs more than education in the suburbs. Several factors are responsible for this. There are more disadvantaged students in the cities than in the suburbs. It is a costlier job to effectively educate students whose poverty and low levels of family education are obstacles to that education, as opposed to the children of more highly educated and motivated suburban families who have the funds provide compensatory education through tutoring where required. In addition, maintenance and security costs are higher and the need for maintenance is compounded by the higher vandalism rates in cities.

3. *Inequitable State aid formulas.*—State aid formulas not only fail to recognize the disproportionate educational expenses of the cities but also compound the problem by providing central cities with less state aid per capita than is made available to the outlying areas.

4. *Dwindling popular support and confidence in education.*—Locally raised revenue is the major share of most public school budgets in large cities. In a number of large cities, adverse votes on tax measures and bond referenda for capital outlay have recently occurred. While the suburbs have often been hard-pressed by such cutbacks, the squeeze has been felt particularly sharply in the cities where the higher costs of non-educational needs has used up a greater percentage of local revenue, leaving a smaller percentage of the budget for education in the city than in the suburbs.

5. *Financial difficulties of non-public schools.*—Just as public school systems have in recent years experienced higher costs and lower budgets, many parochial and other non-public schools have felt financial pressures. Raised tuitions have caused numbers of students to enroll in public schools, particularly in the inner city. In many cases, religious orders have had no recourse but to close some of their schools for lack of funds for operating expenses. In such cases public schools have suddenly been confronted with serving whole new school populations with no increase in budget and no new facilities to ease the unexpected increase.

6. *Minimal level and minimal effect of Federal funds.*—Federal funds provide the smallest share of the local educational dollar. Even since the passage of legislation such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides substantial educational aid to school areas serving the disadvantaged, the total public school expenditures borne by Federal aid has been less than 8 percent nationally. In fact, in the 1969 fiscal year, estimates show a slight decrease to 7.3 percent.¹ And, in addition, the cities suffer from distribution procedures of Federal aid which do not take into account their special needs, just as they suffer from suburban-oriented state aid.

The financial situation in the cities is bleak indeed.

Financial Deterioration Due to Population Migration

The most serious threat to local support for urban education stems from general trends in American metropolitanism, not from educational finance per se. The average metropolitan area is undergoing a process

which is decentralizing population and employment from the central city to the outlying areas while at the same time concentrating growing numbers of economically disadvantaged persons within the central city itself.

1. Population changes that affect differential family incomes

It is estimated that between 1950 and 1960 central cities grew at a rate of only 1.5 percent while the suburban areas of the nation's metropolises mushroomed at a rate of 61.7 percent if annexations are disregarded. More recent estimates show a slowing of metropolitan growth, with cities growing at 1.0 percent and OCCs at 25.4 percent for the 1960-68 period.² Such suburban growth, moreover, was common among all sizes of metropolitan areas (See Table 1).

While a lack of growth in population of the central city may in itself have serious financial impact, suburban and commuter population growth imposes the greater costs on central cities. Suburbanization undermines the cities' revenue base and the daily inflow of commuters into the city poses costs that must be financed by the cities. Police and fire protection, health services, parking facilities, and other services must be provided by central cities to suburban residents who spend their days in city employment but who return in the evening—and more importantly—pay their taxes to outlying jurisdictions.

TABLE 1.—POPULATION GROWTH IN METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH AND WITHOUT CENTRAL CITY ANNEXATIONS, 1950-60¹

	Total change (percent)	Change without annexations (percent)
All SMA's:		
Central cities.....	+10.8	+1.5
Outside central cities.....	+48.5	+61.7
Total.....	+26.4	+26.4
SMSA's, population of:		
3,000,000 or more:		
Central cities.....	+1.0	+ .6
Outside central cities.....	+71.3	+72.2
Total.....	+23.2	+23.2
1,000,000 to 3,000,000:		
Central cities.....	+5.6	-2.2
Outside central cities.....	+44.8	+52.7
Total.....	+25.0	+25.0
500,000 to 1,000,000:		
Central cities.....	+21.4	+4.8
Outside central cities.....	+57.4	+81.1
Total.....	+36.0	+36.0
250,000 to 500,000:		
Central cities.....	+16.2	+2.2
Outside central cities.....	+36.2	+51.9
Total.....	+25.6	+25.6
100,000 to 250,000:		
Central cities.....	+24.4	+4.6
Outside central cities.....	+27.6	+54.5
Total.....	+25.8	+25.8
Under 100,000:		
Central cities.....	+29.2	+8.6
Outside central cities.....	+10.9	+69.9
Total.....	+24.4	+24.4

¹ Recent data indicates a slowing in rates of growth for both central cities and suburbs as follows:

	1960-68 total change (percent)
Central cities.....	+1.0
Outside central cities.....	+25.4
Total.....	+12.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Pt. A: Number of Inhabitants, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics Series, p. 20, No. 181, Apr. 21, 1969, Bureau of the Census, Table A.

Furthermore, the economic and ethnic composition of the population change has aggravated the fiscal situation of the central city. Racially, central cities have been increasing in the percentage of their population that is Negro, estimated in 1968 to be 20.4 percent of total central city population.

Footnotes at end of article.

Suburbs have shown declining proportions of Negro population since 1900, with Negroes numbering approximately 4.7 percent of residents of OCC areas according to 1966 estimates.³ The generally lower income and educational levels of non-white populations inevitably provide the cities with fewer tax dollars and higher educational costs. (Campbell, *Metropolitanism*, 1969, pp. 25-27).

Estimates of income levels for the year 1967 are that central city areas had a median family income of \$7,813 while for the outlying area the figure was \$9,367 (Census, P-23, No. 27, 2/7/69, p. 36). Another way of demonstrating this income differential is to compare the percentage of families under

\$4000 in both central city and outside central city areas and the percentage of families with incomes over \$10,000 in both areas. A consistent pattern of central city disadvantage emerges.

Higher proportions of central city families have incomes under \$4000 than do those in the suburbs (19 percent vs. 12 percent) in 1967; ⁴ lower proportions of central city families have incomes over \$10,000 than do those in the suburbs (33 percent vs. 45 percent).⁵ Differences in income between central city and suburb are accentuated in the larger SMSA's (See Table 2 for detail in 1959 census figures). A study, published by the Committee for Economic Development, found that

twice the proportion of central city population lived in poverty (16.2 percent) than did those in suburbs (8.6 percent) in 1966 (See Table 3).

2. Economic change

Along with these population changes, there has been a continuing exodus of all types of employment from cities to suburbs. In a 1967 report of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *The Metropolitan Enigma*, the cities were found to have been losing employment in manufacturing, wholesale, and retail sectors at about one-half of one percent per year, while suburban areas have been gaining such employment areas at a rate of two and a half percent a year.

TABLE 2.—PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES UNDER \$3,000 AND OVER \$10,000 BY SIZE OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA, 1959

Population of SMSA	Number of SMSA	Percent of families with incomes					
		Under \$3,000			Over \$10,000		
		Entire SMSA	Central city	Outside central city	Entire SMSA	Central city	Outside central city
United States average	212	15.1	17.6	12.5	18.8	16.5	21.2
Over 3,000,000	5	12.6	15.4	8.9	23.0	19.5	27.6
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	19	13.0	17.1	10.0	20.8	16.6	23.9
500,000 to 1,000,000	29	17.2	19.8	14.2	16.4	14.6	18.4
250,000 to 500,000	48	17.6	18.7	16.6	14.6	14.7	14.5
100,000 to 250,000	89	19.5	19.6	19.3	13.7	14.3	12.9
Less than 100,000	22	20.7	18.8	27.2	13.6	14.4	12.0

THE RATIO OF NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES OVER \$10,000 TO THOSE FAMILIES UNDER \$3,000 PER 100 FAMILIES, BY SMSA SIZE, 1959

Population of SMSA	Entire SMSA	Central city (CC)	Outside central city (OCC)	Difference in ratio (OCC-CC)	Population of SMSA				
					Entire SMSA	Central city (CC)	Outside central city (OCC)	Difference in ratio (OCC-CC)	
United States	124.2	93.9	169.4	75.5	250,000 to 500,000	82.8	78.6	87.4	8.8
Over 3,000,000	183.0	126.7	311.5	184.8	100,000 to 240,000	70.3	73.1	88.6	-6.5
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	160.5	97.3	233.0	141.6	Less than 100,000	67.0	76.3	44.0	-32.3
500,000 to 1,000,000	95.6	73.8	129.3	55.5					

Note: Table from Alan K. Campbell and Seymour Sacks, *Metropolitan America: Fiscal Patterns and Governmental Systems*, New York Free Press, 1967, pp. 22, 23.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960. Selected area reports: Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Final report PC(3)-1D.

TABLE 3.—INCIDENCE OF POVERTY BY AREA, 1966

Area	Percentage of total population in that area in poverty	Number of poor persons in that area (in millions)
United States	15.4	29.7
Metropolitan areas	12.1	15.2
Central cities	16.2	9.5
Suburbs	8.6	5.7
Nonmetropolitan areas	21.4	14.6
Rural nonfarm	23.1	7.4
Farm	22.5	2.4
Urban	18.7	4.8

Source: Downs, Anthony. *Who are the Urban Poor?* New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1968, p. 14.

The disadvantageous position of the central city is similarly demonstrated by ex-

Footnotes at end of article.

amining the changed location of retail activity. Between 1958 and 1963 the largest 37 SMSA areas showed an average increase for central city retail activity of 4.8 percent as compared to a 45.5 percent increase in retail activity for the outlying areas (See Table 4). The magnitude of the changes is indicated by the fact that in 1958, 27.1 percent of all retail transactions were in these large central cities and 17.7 percent in their outside areas. As a result of the differential growth rates, the central cities in 1963 carried out 24.1 percent of the retail sales and the suburbs 21.2 percent, almost eradicating the previous enormous balance in favor of the central cities. The greatest decreases in retailing occurred in the central business districts, crucially lowering the city tax base. And it was the rare large city central district which recorded anything above a nominal increase in retail activity. In most of them the decrease was greater than that of the city as a whole, and in all cases, even if it did

record an increase, it was far less than the SMSA taken in its entirety (Sacks, 1970).

A similar discouraging pattern existed in relation to manufacturing activity. In the aggregate, manufacturing employment in the central cities declined 6.0 percent, while outside the central cities employment increased by 15.6 percent (See Table 5).

3. Tax base change

The various forces thus far noted have a common effect on the local property tax base. Not only has the income base of the central cities been depressed relative to the suburbs but, in addition, the city property tax base has generally grown at a much slower rate than has the property tax base of metropolitan areas as a whole, with the exception of a very limited number of peculiarly circumstanced cities as shown in Table 6. In sum, the increase in gross assessed valuation in the suburbs far outstrips that of central cities.

TABLE 4.—RETAIL SALES, INSIDE (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1958 AND 1963

Area	1958 (in millions)			1963 (in millions)			1963 as a percent of 1958	
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$9,040	\$4,413	\$4,627	\$12,149	\$5,022	\$7,127	113.8	154.0
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	953	410	503	1,300	547	753	133.4	149.7
San Diego, Calif.	1,132	725	407	1,408	794	614	109.5	150.9
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	3,440	1,875	1,565	4,511	2,165	2,346	115.5	149.9
Denver, Colo.	1,182	833	349	1,533	857	676	102.9	193.7
Washington, D.C.	2,502	1,304	1,198	3,367	1,418	1,949	108.7	162.7
Miami, Fla.	1,369	752	617	1,618	655	963	87.1	156.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	919	693	226	1,152	767	385	110.7	170.4
Atlanta, Ga.	1,230	879	351	1,619	1,016	603	115.6	171.8
Chicago, Ill.	8,398	5,486	2,912	9,889	5,630	4,259	102.6	146.3
Indianapolis, Ind.	1,127	866	261	1,401	917	484	105.9	185.4
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	820	578	242	977	625	322	108.1	145.5
New Orleans, La.	1,396	765	203	1,123	801	326	104.7	158.6
Baltimore, Md.	1,956	1,396	560	2,266	1,317	949	94.3	169.5
Boston, Mass.	3,443	1,341	2,102	3,973	1,240	2,733	92.4	130.0

TABLE 4.—RETAIL SALES, INSIDE (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1958 AND 1963—Continued

Area	1958 (in millions)			1963 (in millions)			1963 as a percent of 1958		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC	CC	OCC	
Detroit, Mich.	\$4,448	\$2,274	\$2,174	\$5,393	\$2,303	3,090	101.3	142.1	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	1,871	1,373	498	2,194	1,350	844	98.3	169.5	
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	1,486	890	596	1,683	1,066	617	119.8	103.5	
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	2,427	1,168	1,259	2,847	1,068	1,779	91.4	141.3	
Newark, N.J.	2,243	674	1,569	2,582	665	1,917	98.7	122.2	
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	1,451	523	928	1,871	447	1,424	85.5	153.4	
Buffalo, N.Y.	1,521	794	727	1,675	671	1,004	84.5	138.1	
New York, N.Y.	13,582	9,898	3,684	15,646	10,493	5,153	106.0	139.9	
Rochester, N.Y.	913	551	362	1,138	602	536	109.3	148.1	
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	1,279	815	454	1,404	800	604	98.2	133.0	
Cleveland, Ohio	1,909	1,413	496	2,331	1,278	1,053	90.4	212.3	
Columbus, Ohio	915	734	181	1,145	790	355	107.6	196.1	
Dayton, Ohio	792	479	313	994	471	523	98.3	167.1	
Portland, Oreg.-Wash.	903	689	214	1,279	752	527	109.1	246.3	
Philadelphia, Pa.-New Jersey	4,943	2,528	2,415	5,737	2,490	3,247	98.5	134.5	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	2,638	990	1,648	2,878	980	1,898	99.0	115.2	
Providence, R.I.	903	503	400	1,100	554	546	110.1	136.5	
Dallas, Tex.	1,473	1,144	329	1,809	1,288	521	112.6	158.4	
Houston, Tex.	1,717	1,299	418	1,962	1,616	346	124.4	82.8	
San Antonio, Tex.	703	646	57	807	726	81	112.4	142.1	
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	1,444	1,036	408	1,748	1,110	638	107.1	156.4	
Milwaukee, Wis.	1,459	1,067	392	1,706	1,076	630	100.8	160.7	
37 SMSA total	89,449	53,804	35,645	108,215	56,367	51,848	104.8	145.5	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "U.S. Census of Business, 1958," vol. II; and U.S. Census Bureau, "U.S. Census of Business, 1963," vol. II. Table from Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System," vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C. October 1967, A-31.

TABLE 5.—MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT, INSIDE (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC), 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1958 AND 1963 [Figures other than percentages are in thousands]

Area	1958			1963			1963 as a percent of 1958	
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	729.0	327.2	401.8	842.9	304.0	538.9	92.9	134.1
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	29.2	11.7	17.5	37.5	14.0	23.5	119.7	134.3
San Diego, Calif.	71.4	56.8	14.6	60.3	48.7	11.6	85.7	79.5
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	190.3	58.4	131.9	196.1	51.7	144.4	88.5	109.5
Denver, Colo.	53.7	37.9	15.8	69.5	36.1	33.4	95.3	211.4
Washington, D.C.	34.7	21.3	13.4	50.1	22.1	28.0	103.8	209.0
Miami, Fla.	36.9	19.4	17.5	43.2	19.2	24.0	99.0	137.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	32.2	23.7	8.5	36.7	23.8	12.9	100.4	151.8
Atlanta, Ga.	83.5	49.6	33.9	95.7	52.4	43.3	105.6	127.7
Chicago, Ill.	857.2	569.4	287.8	860.6	508.4	352.2	89.3	122.4
Indianapolis, Ind.	5.6	70.1	35.5	115.8	70.2	45.6	100.1	128.5
Louisville, Ky.-Indiana	86.7	55.7	31.0	87.6	58.0	29.6	104.1	95.5
New Orleans, La.	46.9	30.1	16.8	49.1	31.1	18.0	103.3	107.1
Baltimore, Md.	197.8	113.4	84.4	190.5	103.9	86.6	91.6	102.6
Boston, Mass.	301.0	90.2	210.8	293.4	82.5	210.9	91.5	100.0
Detroit, Mich.	467.4	213.5	253.9	493.9	200.6	293.3	94.0	115.5
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	146.0	113.5	32.5	163.8	110.3	53.5	97.2	164.6
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	103.1	64.9	38.2	111.1	62.1	49.0	95.7	128.3
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	252.5	146.8	115.7	259.7	129.1	130.6	87.9	112.9
Newark, N.J.	245.6	78.8	166.8	250.2	73.7	176.5	93.5	105.8
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	158.5	62.9	95.6	176.5	62.8	113.7	99.8	118.9
Buffalo, N.Y.	173.9	68.0	105.9	162.9	57.0	105.9	93.8	100.0
New York, N.Y.	1,184.0	998.6	185.4	1,147.2	927.4	219.8	92.9	118.6
Rochester, N.Y.	116.7	96.5	20.2	121.3	97.3	24.0	100.8	118.8
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana	156.5	76.4	80.1	153.9	76.6	77.3	100.3	96.5
Cleveland, Ohio	273.7	180.8	92.9	280.3	168.9	111.4	93.4	119.9
Columbus, Ohio	73.0	55.4	17.6	80.2	65.9	14.3	119.0	81.3
Dayton, Ohio	97.2	78.2	19.0	104.2	81.2	23.0	103.8	121.1
Portland, Oreg.-Washington	58.3	35.2	23.1	65.3	35.6	29.7	101.1	128.6
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	536.9	298.5	238.4	535.8	264.9	270.9	88.7	113.6
Pittsburgh, Pa.	305.7	99.3	206.4	272.2	81.7	190.5	82.3	92.3
Providence, R.I.	567.2	62.6	64.6	65.9	65.0	60.9	103.8	94.3
Dallas, Tex.	95.2	79.7	15.5	109.5	86.3	23.2	108.3	149.7
Houston, Tex.	104.5	68.8	35.7	108.6	77.3	31.3	112.4	87.7
San Antonio, Tex.	20.9	19.3	1.6	23.6	21.4	2.2	110.9	137.5
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	114.9	86.5	28.4	121.6	84.1	37.5	97.2	132.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	189.5	126.6	63.9	193.8	119.3	74.5	94.2	118.4
37 SMSA total	7,867.3	4,651.5	3,215.8	8,090.5	4,374.6	3,715.9	94.0	115.0

Source: 1963 Census of Manufacturing. Table from ACIR, "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System," vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C., October 1967, A-31, p. 54.

TABLE 6.—ASSESSED VALUATIONS, SELECTED LARGE CITIES AND THEIR ENVIRONS, 1961 AND 1966 [Dollars in thousands]

City and county	Gross assessed value including State-assessed property			Locally assessed real property		
	Amount		Percent increase or decrease (-)	Amount		Percent increase or decrease (-)
	1966	1961		1966	1961	
Los Angeles (Los Angeles County)	\$6,602,518	\$5,133,469	28.6	\$5,493,997	\$3,842,755	43.0
Remainder of county	9,305,428	7,628,555	22.0	7,296,636	5,504,740	32.6
San Diego (San Diego County)	1,132,097	959,617	18.0	896,312	710,294	26.2
Remainder of county	963,864	769,006	25.3	755,154	592,281	27.5
San Francisco (city-county)	1,785,052	1,509,095	18.3	1,225,167	1,041,073	17.7
Alameda County	1,953,958	1,594,987	26.1	1,409,571	1,067,938	32.0
Denver (city-county)	1,190,546	1,132,313	5.1	894,913	805,252	11.1
Jefferson County	370,183	248,236	49.1	310,170	202,201	53.4
Washington, D.C.	3,538,066	2,735,578	29.3	3,027,939	2,324,612	30.3
Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Md. and Arlington County, Va.	4,875,381	2,735,322	78.2	4,073,511	2,267,394	79.7

TABLE 6.—ASSESSED VALUATIONS, SELECTED LARGE CITIES AND THEIR ENVIRONS, 1961 AND 1966—Continued

(Dollars in thousands)

City and county	Gross assessed value including State-assessed property			Locally assessed real property		
	Amount		Percent increase or decrease (—)	Amount		Percent increase or decrease (—)
	1966	1961		1966	1961	
Atlanta (De Kalb and Fulton Counties).....	\$2,206,439	\$880,950	36.9	\$667,286	\$502,975	24.7
Remainder of counties.....	1,074,584	732,978	46.6	803,205	508,009	58.1
Chicago (Cook County).....	11,253,002	10,456,136	7.2	8,426,107	8,065,128	4.5
Remainder of county.....	6,985,946	5,718,397	22.2	6,209,218	4,862,052	27.7
Indianapolis (Marion County).....	964,833	885,657	8.9	633,656	556,208	13.9
Remainder of county.....	658,469	448,257	46.9	451,254	279,524	61.4
Louisville (Jefferson County).....	2,099,577	678,654	209.4	1,596,739	488,016	227.2
Remainder of county.....	2,116,328	556,040	280.6	1,526,894	387,205	294.4
Baltimore City.....	2,902,421	2,787,318	4.1	2,060,059	1,976,041	4.3
Baltimore County.....	2,277,957	1,743,854	30.6	1,819,785	1,416,464	28.5
Boston (Suffolk County).....	1,507,495	1,467,907	2.7	1,368,025	1,337,254	2.3
Remainder of County.....	207,577	147,789	40.5	196,302	137,392	42.9
Detroit (Wayne County).....	4,991,122	4,778,022	4.5	—2,941	3,341,301	13.5
Remainder of county.....	4,208,820	2,750,705	53.0	—9,459	1,842,737	66.6
Minneapolis (Hennepin County).....	403,518	(1)	(1)	325,008	318,574	2.0
Remainder of county.....	329,013	(1)	(1)	290,956	182,127	59.8
St. Paul (Ramsey County).....	240,656	(1)	(1)	184,670	182,048	1.4
Remainder of county.....	98,417	(1)	(1)	82,948	97,948	43.1
Kansas City, Mo. (Clay and Jackson Counties).....	1,127,177	1,000,085	12.7	719,479	631,345	14.0
Remainder of counties.....	395,076	334,698	18.3	312,857	252,220	24.0
St. Louis City.....	1,795,987	1,669,461	7.6	1,297,009	1,226,740	5.7
St. Louis County.....	2,151,191	1,662,272	29.4	1,674,184	1,298,345	28.9
Newark (Essex County).....	1,403,838	750,505	87.1	1,248,045	596,598	109.2
Remainder of county.....	3,164,647	1,208,872	161.8	3,046,296	1,091,317	179.1
New York City.....	33,283,403	28,036,640	18.7	31,886,954	26,948,094	18.3
Nassau and Westchester Counties.....	6,658,595	5,995,761	11.1	6,405,660	5,773,641	10.9
Buffalo (Erie County).....	1,121,422	1,129,087	-0.7	1,075,723	1,086,733	-1.0
Remainder of county.....	1,000,611	906,819	10.3	966,174	876,391	10.2
Rochester (Monroe County).....	718,258	727,049	-1.2	684,288	695,667	-1.6
Remainder of county.....	708,924	524,167	35.2	687,841	508,141	35.4
Cincinnati (Hamilton County).....	1,630,813	1,605,985	1.5	1,086,580	1,078,093	0.8
Remainder of county.....	1,748,127	1,408,024	24.3	1,237,908	983,217	25.9
Cleveland (Cuyahoga County).....	2,851,240	2,917,808	-2.3	1,685,817	1,774,596	-5.0
Remainder of county.....	3,327,474	2,736,223	21.6	2,577,276	2,117,539	21.7
Columbus (Franklin County).....	1,497,959	1,219,387	22.8	1,014,636	832,441	21.9
Remainder of county.....	865,979	639,758	35.4	646,922	478,397	35.2
Portland, Oreg. (Multnomah County).....	660,877	874,956	-24.5	477,461	624,230	-23.5
Remainder of county.....	251,379	273,026	-7.9	195,030	208,242	-6.3
Pittsburgh (Allegheny County).....	1,228,615	1,201,638	2.2	1,228,615	1,201,638	2.2
Remainder of county.....	2,350,539	2,039,511	15.3	2,350,539	2,039,511	15.3
Seattle (King County).....	959,032	799,981	19.9	714,807	590,413	41.1
Remainder of county.....	876,351	467,364	79.8	626,322	358,338	74.8
Milwaukee (Milwaukee County).....	2,251,917	1,985,697	13.4	1,820,657	1,659,985	9.7
Remainder of county.....	1,176,825	956,656	23.0	962,528	805,192	19.5

¹ Not available.

² Excluding the minor portion of Kansas City, Mo. located in Platte County.

³ Excluding the minor portion of Portland, Oreg., located in Clackamas County.

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Taxable Property Values" (1962 Census of Governments, vol. II), and "Assessed Valuations for General Property Taxation" (1967 Census of Governments, preliminary report, February 1968, CG-P4).

Table from ACIR, Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System, vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C. October 1967, A-O, p. 83.

This shift in the property tax base is further indicated by statistics showing the average household value in central city and suburban areas of the 37 largest metropolitan areas. With the exception of some Southern and some Western metropolitan areas, central city household values are significantly lower than those of their suburbs. Furthermore, this condition of lower average household valuation has persisted be-

tween 1961 and 1966, another indication that the tax base of the country's large cities is in a relatively static condition compared to that of the outlying areas which are continually attracting higher valued property to their jurisdictions (See Table 7).

Not only are residential values depressed in central cities, but total per capita market values of property are higher in suburban areas than in central cities. Again with the

exception of some Southern and Western metropolitan areas, per capita property tax bases are higher in suburban than in central city areas. Thus, given the higher proportions of nonresidential property within the central city, there is clearcut indication that this decline in the nonresidential amount of property tax base is intensifying the fiscal disparity between central city and suburb (See Table 8).

TABLE 7.—AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD VALUE, CENTRAL CITY AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY, SELECTED LARGE SMSAS, 1961-66

	CC	Ratio, OCC to CC				1966 CC	OCC
		1961 OCC	1961	1966	1966 CC		
Northeast:							
Washington, D.C.....	\$18,900	\$19,851	1.05	1.15	\$22,300	\$25,589	
Baltimore, Md.....	9,200	14,400	1.57	1.92	8,900	17,096	
Boston, Mass.....	13,200	(1)			14,900	(1)	
Newark, N.J.....	12,200	20,483	1.68	1.46	16,000	23,429	
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.....	(1)	(1)		1.33	19,000	25,359	
Buffalo, N.Y.....	(1)	(1)		1.92	9,500	18,252	
New York, N.Y.....	20,200	20,711	1.03	1.14	21,700	24,811	
Rochester, N.Y.....	11,900	18,728	1.57	1.91	11,000	20,958	
Philadelphia, Pa.....	8,500	13,880	1.63	1.84	8,800	16,226	
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	13,200	13,772	1.04	1.09	11,600	12,673	
Providence, R.I.....	12,600	(1)			16,600	(1)	
Midwest:							
Chicago, Ill.....	18,000	19,693	1.09	1.10	17,300	18,965	
Indianapolis, Ind.....	11,900	16,289	1.37	1.55	10,400	16,134	
Detroit, Mich.....	7,400	(1)			10,600	(1)	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.....	14,107	17,683	1.25	1.07	15,807	16,930	
Kansas City, Mo.....	11,368	13,054	1.15	.75	12,169	9,128	
St. Louis, Mo.....	12,300	14,571	1.18	1.38	12,100	16,272	
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	15,900	19,039	1.19	1.15	15,800	18,190	
Cleveland, Ohio.....	14,500	23,124	1.59	1.61	14,800	23,785	
Columbus, Ohio.....	13,900	18,446	1.33	1.28	15,100	19,276	
Dayton, Ohio.....	(1)	(1)		1.25	13,300	16,578	
Milwaukee, Wis.....	14,700	(1)			15,900	(1)	

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 7.—AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD VALUE, CENTRAL CITY AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY, SELECTED LARGE SMSAS, 1961-66—Continued

	CC	1961 OCC	Ratio, OCC to CC		1966 CC	OCC
			1961	1966		
South:						
Miami, Fla.	(1)	(1)		0.92	\$17,500	\$16,093
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	(1)	(1)			(1)	(1)
Atlanta, Ga.	\$15,000	\$13,027	0.87	.79	15,761	12,478
Louisville, Ky.	10,300	13,180	1.28	1.40	11,900	16,612
New Orleans, La.	17,300	14,200	.82	.91	19,500	17,700
Dallas, Tex.	(1)	(1)			(1)	(1)
Houston, Tex.	(1)	(1)			(1)	(1)
San Antonio, Tex.	8,900	17,305	1.94		(1)	(1)
West:						
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	20,435	20,665	1.01	.84	28,958	24,234
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	(1)	(1)			(1)	(1)
San Diego, Calif.	(1)	(1)		.88	19,000	16,734
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	21,416	20,639	.96	.84	30,286	26,000
Denver, Colo.	15,200	15,674	1.03	.96	16,200	15,523
Portland, Oreg.	10,200	11,833	1.16	1.29	12,200	15,681
Seattle, Wash.	15,200	15,585	1.03	.92	17,400	15,946

¹ Not available.

Source: 1962 Census of Governments, Taxable Property Values; 1967 Census of Governments, Taxable Property Values.

TABLE 8.—PER CAPITA MARKET VALUE OF PROPERTY, CENTRAL CITY AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY AREAS SELECTED LARGE SMSAS, 1966

	Central cities ¹			Outside central cities ²		
	Central cities ¹	Outside central cities ¹	Percent	Central cities ²	Outside central cities ²	Percent
Northeast:						
Washington, D.C.	\$10,166	\$8,627	0.85	\$10,285	\$8,627	0.84
Baltimore, Md.	4,684	5,803	1.24	4,602	5,803	1.26
Boston, Mass.	6,929	(*)	(*)	5,811	(*)	(*)
Newark, N.J.	5,066	7,306	1.44	4,819	7,306	1.52
Paterson, N.J.	4,877	8,219	1.69	4,994	8,219	1.65
Buffalo, N.Y.	3,446	8,449	2.45	3,081	8,449	2.74
New York, N.Y.	8,994	8,088	.90	8,043	8,088	1.01
Rochester, N.Y.	5,726	8,457	1.48	5,971	8,457	1.42
Philadelphia, Pa.	3,669	4,959	1.35	5,694	4,959	1.34
Pittsburgh, Pa.	4,916	5,036	1.02	4,622	5,036	1.09
Providence, R.I.	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
Midwest:						
Chicago, Ill.	8,776	9,292	1.06	7,789	9,292	1.19
Indianapolis, Ind.	5,762	9,046	1.57	5,492	9,046	1.65
Detroit, Mich.	6,260	(*)	(*)	6,459	(*)	(*)
Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minn.	9,088	7,366	.81	8,502	7,366	.87
Kansas City, Mo.	10,313	6,262	.61	10,313	6,262	.61
St. Louis, Mo.	7,172	7,528	1.05	6,332	7,528	1.19
Cincinnati, Ohio	7,379	8,527	1.16	7,464	8,527	1.15
Cleveland, Ohio	10,047	10,167	1.01	9,453	10,167	1.08
Columbus, Ohio	6,832	10,970	1.61	6,888	10,970	1.59
Dayton, Ohio	9,507	7,316	.77	9,380	7,316	.78
Milwaukee, Wis.	5,963	(*)	(*)	5,761	(*)	(*)
South:						
Miami, Fla.	\$5,746	\$6,071	1.06	\$6,727	\$6,071	0.90
Tampa-St. Pete., Fla.	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
Atlanta, Ga.	7,482	4,145	.55	8,289	4,145	.50
Louisville, Ky.	5,784	7,151	1.24	5,728	7,151	1.25
New Orleans, La.	6,221	6,497	1.04	1,966	6,497	3.30
Dallas, Tex.	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
Houston, Tex.	7,264	19,303	2.66	(*)	19,303	(*)
San Antonio, Tex.	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
West:						
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	11,811	11,941	1.01	10,481	11,941	1.14
San Bernardino, Calif.	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
San Diego, Calif.	7,031	8,529	1.61	7,952	8,529	1.08
San Francisco-Oakland Calif.	22,435	12,424	.55	20,790	20,290	.61
Denver, Colo.	8,423	6,466	.77	8,311	6,466	.76
Portland, Oreg.	7,852	7,733	.98	8,195	7,733	.94
Seattle, Wash.	14,685	8,899	.61	14,058	8,899	.63

¹ Based on residential assessment ratios in central cities-outside central cities.

² Based on total assessment ratios in central cities, residential assessment ratios in outside central cities. Source: 1967 Census of Governments, Taxable Property Values, tables 19 and 20.

³ Not available.

The implications for educational expenditures of changes in the urban tax base are direct and important. Eighty-four percent of locally raised educational funds and 98 percent of tax revenues in fiscally independent school districts are raised through taxation.⁴ It is significant to note that between 1930 and 1960, per pupil education costs across the country rose at a rate more than three times as fast as the average per capita value of taxable property in large cities (See Table 9).

4. General service needs

Accompanying these financial problems related to the changing population, commercial, and tax base factors, is the additional strain on city revenues caused by its high public service expenditure needs. Density and deterioration, poverty and the central business district are all factors which require a high service level relative to suburban and rural jurisdictions. Table 10 shows the startling picture. In the 37 largest SMSA's, central cities spent 175 percent of suburban expenditures per capita for non-educational local governmental purposes in fiscal 1965. Relating this to the ability to finance education, the 37 largest SMSA's central cities were able to devote only 30 percent

of their total budgets to educational purposes, whereas the suburbs, with their much lower general municipal overburden were able to devote 53 percent of their local government expenditures to education (See Table 11).

The lower proportion of city expenditures devoted to education has often raised questions about the extent to which cities are trying to support education. Much of the question comes about because of the analyses which treat educational expenditures in isolation rather than seeing them as part of the total service and tax package which cities must bear. When educational expenditures are added to general government spending, the disparity between central cities and outlying regions is reduced because of the much greater proportion of spending which suburbs devote to schools, but cities still lead the way in per capita governmental costs. Table 12 shows the relationship, with cities spending in 1965 approximately 120 percent of suburban levels.

TABLE 9.—Percentage changes in property values per capita in large cities and expenditures per pupil 1930 and 1960¹

Expenditures per pupil—	Percent
United States.....	331
Average for cities shown.....	97
Baltimore	92

TABLE 9.—Percentage changes in property values per capita in large cities and expenditures per pupil 1930 and 1960¹—Con.

	Percent
Boston	15
Buffalo	37
Chicago	70
Cleveland	151
Detroit	152
Houston	201
Los Angeles	159
Milwaukee	82
New York	15
Philadelphia	6
Pittsburgh	25
San Francisco	117
St. Louis	167

¹ Full market values of property obtained by applying assessment ratios to assessed values; and the ratios for 1930 were obtained from National Municipal Review (December, 1931), pp. 707-17, and ratios for 1960 were obtained by questionnaire from the school districts. Population data were drawn from U.S. Census reports.

Source: Determinants of Educational Expenditures in Large Cities of the United States, by H. Thomas James, James A. Kelly, and Walter Garms.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 10.—PER CAPITA NONEDUCATIONAL LOCAL GENERAL EXPENDITURE, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-65

Area	1957			1964 to 1965			Area	1957			1964 to 1965		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC		SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$159	\$169	\$110	\$214	\$257	\$185	Newark, N.J.	\$112	\$167	\$93	\$179	\$299	\$145
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	122	149	112	208	234	197	Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	82	99	76	118	152	108
San Diego, Calif.	110	120	99	191	196	184	Buffalo, N.Y.	125	141	111	186	219	166
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	135	158	118	240	269	222	New York, N.Y.	175	193	119	284	330	172
Denver, Colo.	111	141	73	135	195	84	Rochester, N.Y.	130	147	104	195	234	160
Washington, D.C.	127	189	47	202	373	114	Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	113	165	62	140	227	87
Miami, Fla.	118	156	98	157	201	138	Cleveland, Ohio	119	133	108	164	188	145
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	85	111	43	147	201	71	Columbus, Ohio	99	114	62	137	150	94
Atlanta, Ga.	79	103	48	166	227	114	Dayton, Ohio	78	120	51	124	187	91
Chicago, Ill.	115	154	56	145	191	91	Portland, Ore.-Wash.	88	128	51	119	166	83
Indianapolis, Ind.	91	116	32	107	121	68	Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	90	116	66	121	167	84
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	75	100	43	90	123	61	Pittsburgh, Pa.	86	147	64	111	202	84
New Orleans, La.	108	117	81	152	151	154	Providence, R.I.	69	114	49	106	188	78
Baltimore, Md.	111	140	71	150	202	95	Dallas, Tex.	91	119	44	116	133	90
Boston, Mass.	140	221	114	182	310	135	Houston, Tex.	84	91	61	113	124	76
Detroit, Mich.	112	140	86	155	184	133	San Antonio, Tex.	59	65	17	76	(*)	(*)
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	114	130	92	185	216	144	Seattle-Everett, Wash.	88	117	54	187	(*)	(*)
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	87	123	56	118	134	105	Milwaukee, Wis.	157	178	121	220	237	187
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	73	103	53	108	192	69	Unweighted average	106	137	76	165	205	124
							Weighted average	120	153	84	179	232	132

¹ Data not available.

Note: See app III for ACIR methodology concerning the problem of noncoincidence between school districts and other political jurisdictions.

Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Table from ACIR, "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System, vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C. October 1967, A-31, p. 105

TABLE 11.—EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GENERAL EXPENDITURES INSIDE (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC), 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-65

Area	1957		1964-65		Area	1957		1964-65	
	CC	OCC	CC	OCC		CC	OCC	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	36.7	45.8	34.1	47.6	Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	36.1	51.6	37.7	52.2
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	49.7	41.7	47.5	46.5	Buffalo, N.Y.	26.9	47.1	28.4	51.3
San Diego, Calif.	37.7	47.6	36.2	46.4	New York, N.Y.	24.5	53.8	25.3	55.2
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	29.1	48.7	26.3	47.8	Rochester, N.Y.	26.5	46.9	35.5	56.4
Denver, Colo.	34.1	50.3	34.8	64.7	Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	32.9	47.0	42.1	47.9
Washington, D.C.	20.9	64.1	21.8	58.1	Cleveland, Ohio	27.3	44.0	33.3	49.8
Miami, Fla.	31.0	41.4	36.8	45.9	Columbia, Ohio	31.3	60.3	33.6	62.7
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	30.2	56.2	32.6	57.8	Dayton, Ohio	28.1	60.5	36.2	57.3
Atlanta, Ga.	34.8	53.0	24.8	51.9	Portland, Ore.-Wash.	36.9	61.1	42.8	62.9
Chicago, Ill.	23.8	60.6	28.7	59.9	Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	29.7	52.2	30.7	60.7
Indianapolis, Ind.	34.8	70.1	43.5	76.0	Pittsburgh, Pa.	21.8	50.0	27.9	55.6
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	38.3	62.3	43.6	62.6	Providence, R.I.	37.9	60.0	59.2	59.9
New Orleans, La.	28.2	32.5	28.8	33.9	Dallas, Tex.	35.3	59.3	36.7	56.3
Baltimore, Md.	29.6	50.0	30.8	55.6	Houston, Tex.	41.9	67.4	39.5	73.1
Boston, Mass.	18.7	37.4	19.8	41.7	San Antonio, Tex.	42.5	83.7	(*)	(*)
Detroit, Mich.	30.1	57.0	34.3	53.3	Seattle, Wash.	32.8	61.3	35.2	35.5
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	29.7	51.1	23.0	57.5	Milwaukee, Wis.	22.3	40.5	23.4	39.6
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	33.9	49.1	33.0	57.3	Unweighted average	31.0	51.3	32.6	53.2
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	30.9	57.3	29.9	60.8	Weighted average	(*)	(*)	29.9	52.5
Newark, N.J.	31.3	48.6	27.6	48.2					

¹ Data not available.

Note: See app. III.

Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Table from ACIR, "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System," volume 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C., October 1967, A-31, p. 75.

5. Tax effort

But spending unrelated to tax base tells us nothing about the effort which communities are making to provide public services.

Table 13 expresses this factor and in the aggregate demonstrates that city efforts in terms of per capita tax revenues as a percent of per capita income run considerably in ad-

vance of their suburbs. In aggregate terms, the cities tax themselves 33 percent more heavily than do the suburbs (see Table 14).

TABLE 12.—PER CAPITA TOTAL LOCAL GENERAL EXPENDITURE, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-65

SMSA	1957			1964-65			SMSA	1957			1964-65		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC		SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$254	\$267	\$203	\$368	\$390	\$353	Newark, N.J.	\$197	\$243	\$181	\$309	\$413	\$280
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	221	296	192	391	446	368	Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	156	155	157	230	244	226
San Diego, Calif.	190	191	189	323	307	343	Buffalo, N.Y.	203	193	210	327	306	351
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	227	223	230	402	373	410	New York, N.Y.	257	257	260	425	442	384
Denver, Colo.	185	214	147	266	299	238	Rochester, N.Y.	199	200	196	364	362	367
Washington, U.C.	196	239	131	342	477	272	Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	181	246	117	252	392	167
Miami, Fla.	188	226	169	274	318	255	Cleveland, Ohio	186	183	193	286	282	289
Tampa-St. Petersburg Fla.	132	159	89	244	298	168	Columbus, Ohio	163	166	156	236	226	252
Atlanta, Ga.	133	158	100	267	302	237	Dayton, Ohio	144	167	129	240	293	213
Chicago, Ill.	178	202	142	249	266	227	Portland, Ore.-Wash.	165	203	131	253	290	224
Indianapolis, Ind.	157	178	107	233	214	283	Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	151	165	138	226	241	214
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	141	162	114	189	218	163	Pittsburgh, Pa.	147	188	128	211	280	189
New Orleans, La.	152	163	120	219	212	233	Providence, R.I.	118	160	99	188	255	163
Baltimore, Md.	175	199	142	254	292	214	Dallas, Tex.	155	184	108	208	210	205
Boston, Mass.	203	273	181	279	427	239	Houston, Tex.	162	155	187	224	205	286
Detroit, Mich.	201	202	200	283	280	285	San Antonio, Tex.	112	113	104	162	(*)	(*)
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	186	185	188	320	300	339	Seattle-Everett, Wash.	159	174	142	325	270	335
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	146	186	112	226	201	246	Milwaukee, Wis.	222	229	210	338	345	328
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	134	149	124	207	274	176	Unweighted average	175	198	156	277	304	265
							Weighted average	193	214	171	303	332	278

¹ Data not available.

Note: CC as percent of OCC, 1957, 125 percent; 1965, 120 percent. (Averages computed for task force report.)

Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Table from ACIR, "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System," vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C. Oct. 1967, A-31, p. 103.

TABLE 13.—MEASURES OF TAX EFFORT IN CENTRAL CITIES AND SUBURBS IN 22 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA), 1962¹

[Per capita tax revenue, 1962, as percent of per capita income, 1960]

SMSA (1)	Actual tax revenue		Adjusted tax revenue ²		Adjusted tax revenue ³		SMSA (1)	Actual tax revenue		Adjusted tax revenue ²		Adjusted tax revenue ³	
	Cities	Suburbs	Cities	Suburbs	Cities	Suburbs		Cities	Suburbs	Cities	Suburbs	Cities	Suburbs
New York	9.5	7.5	7.8	7.0	7.3	6.8	Dallas	5.7	3.7	5.2	3.1	4.8	2.7
Chicago	7.4	6.1	6.6	5.8	6.2	5.6	Pittsburgh	7.2	4.9	6.8	4.7	6.3	4.5
Los Angeles	8.4	7.0	7.3	6.0	6.8	5.6	San Diego	6.3	6.7	5.3	5.6	4.7	4.9
Philadelphia	7.4	4.9	6.6	4.6	6.1	4.4	Seattle	5.0	3.6	4.5	3.2	4.2	2.9
Detroit	7.5	5.7	6.2	4.9	5.5	4.6	Buffalo	7.5	7.0	6.2	6.2	5.7	5.9
Baltimore	6.9	4.4	6.0	4.3	5.3	3.9	Cincinnati	8.2	4.5	6.5	4.2	5.7	3.8
Houston	5.9	5.6	5.4	5.4	4.7	4.9	Atlanta	6.2	3.7	5.1	2.8	4.5	2.4
Cleveland	7.4	5.2	6.1	4.4	5.5	4.2	Minneapolis	7.0	6.5	5.3	5.6	4.8	5.3
St. Louis	7.6	5.1	5.9	4.8	5.2	4.4	Kansas City	6.0	5.4	5.1	5.0	4.5	4.6
Milwaukee	8.4	6.5	6.8	5.4	6.3	5.2	Newark	12.3	7.0	9.5	6.5	8.9	6.2
San Francisco	7.4	7.2	6.1	6.0	5.6	5.6	Mean	7.6	5.7	6.3	5.1	5.8	4.8
Boston	11.2	7.4	8.9	6.8	8.3	6.4							

¹ Data computed by and presented in: Woo Sik Kee, City-Suburban Differentials in Local Government Fiscal Effort, Morgantown: Regional Research Institute, West Virginia University, October 1967.

² Total tax revenue minus the estimated locally financed portion of expenditure for public welfare, health, and hospitals.

³ Total tax revenue minus the estimated locally financed portion of expenditure for public welfare, health, hospitals, and education of children in families with incomes of less than \$3,000.

Source: Reprinted in: Netzer, Dick, Impact of the Property Tax: Effect on Housing, Urban Land Use, Local Government Finance, Research Report No. 1. Prepared for the consideration of the National Commission on Urban Problems, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968, P. 52. Table from Financial Status of the Public Schools, Committee on Educational Finance, NEA, 1969.

TABLE 14.—PER CAPITA TOTAL LOCAL TAXES, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-65

Area	1957			1964-65		
	Standard metropolitan statistical areas	Central city	Outside central city	Standard metropolitan statistical areas	Central city	Outside central city
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$126	\$155	\$102	\$207	\$227	\$194
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	98	141	81	188	203	181
San Diego, Calif.	86	93	76	149	151	146
San Francisco-Oakland Calif.	124	140	111	224	248	217
Denver, Colo.	104	131	68	166	192	143
Washington D.C.	124	185	75	184	291	129
Miami, Fla.	107	132	94	143	169	131
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	66	78	47	111	131	84
Atlanta, Ga.	68	98	44	107	128	89
Chicago, Ill.	123	138	99	166	203	123
Indianapolis, Ind.	97	106	68	158	155	168
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	78	92	59	97	113	79
New Orleans, La.	56	62	38	71	84	47
Baltimore, Md.	87	105	62	123	143	102
Boston, Mass.	127	161	116	179	223	16
Detroit, Mich.	111	127	95	154	171	141
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	98	115	75	162	172	152
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	85	105	69	132	135	131
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	84	98	75	128	167	110
Newark, N.J.	146	178	139	220	273	205
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	116	118	116	183	177	185
Buffalo, N.Y.	114	116	112	176	170	179
New York, N.Y.	164	167	153	262	279	221
Rochester, N.Y.	121	122	119	181	179	180
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	101	137	65	139	190	108
Cleveland, Ohio	103	106	98	161	151	169
Columbus, Ohio	78	80	72	120	113	138
Dayton, Ohio	81	126	52	138	180	116
Portland, Ore.-Wash.	59	135	66	149	189	119
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	54	115	74	135	147	126
Pittsburgh, Pa.	82	113	68	123	164	110
Providence, R.I.	84	109	73	118	160	103
Dallas, Tex.	78	101	43	105	122	77
Houston, Tex.	84	85	70	118	114	132
San Antonio, Tex.	51	54	26	63	(¹)	(¹)
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	66	81	48	122	128	116
Milwaukee, Wis.	118	126	104	167	193	122
Unweighted average	99	119	81	152	173	137
Weighted average	113	132	94	174	200	152

¹ Data not available.

Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

6. Summary

Dollars for government purposes are hard to come by in central cities because of (1) shifts in population and business activity, (2) deterioration of the property tax base, and (3) high service requirements. But educational dollars are hardest of all to find because general government (non-educational) service needs place such a heavy burden on city taxpayers.

The Higher Costs of Urban Education

Besides the general fiscal problems affecting cities, urban systems are also beset by

higher costs for education than exist in outlying areas. It therefore takes proportionately higher city expenditures to purchase the same educational services than it does in the suburbs. Cities, however, are generally able to spend less per pupil than are their suburban areas and urban education accordingly suffers in comparison with the "better" school systems in the environs.

1. Disparities between city and suburban educational spending.—Accurate current figures on the disparity between central city and OCC educational expenditures are, unfortunately, difficult to obtain. A recent cur-

sory survey of several selected large city school systems and a satellite suburban system indicates through approximate per pupil expenditures that the gap between a city and certain of its suburbs was a startling (see Table 15).¹ Far more money is being spent on the suburban child who generally enjoys the advantages of educational motivation, educated parents, resources to provide additional tutoring, etc. than on the inner city child whose educational needs are greater and whose extra school resources to meet them are fewer.

TABLE 15.—Approximate per pupil expenditures for 1968-69

New York City	\$1,031
Scarsdale, N.Y.	1,626
Los Angeles, Calif.	636
Beverly Hills, Calif.	1,131
Cleveland, Ohio	630
Shaker Heights, Ohio	968
Newark, N.J.	637
Tenafly, N.J.	922
Detroit, Mich.	575
Grosse Point, Mich.	875
Boston, Mass.	655
Newton, Mass.	842

Considerable analysis remains to be done before current fiscal reporting systems (which now tend to include a range of expenditures not formerly considered as educational programs) can be made comparable to studies of the pre-1966 period. Analysis underway at the Policy Institute of the Syracuse University Research Corporation is designed to elicit such information, but it is our judgment that for the present the most reliable data may be found in statistics like those noted in Tables 16 and 17 and 18. Though they cover only the period through 1965, our preliminary research indicates that these patterns are probably continuing.

Table 16 shows the picture in 1962. At that time, the mean difference in total expenditures per student in 38 large SMSA's showed that OCC areas were outspending central city areas by nearly \$150 per student. The same comparison for "current," as opposed to "total," expenditures per student showed a difference of more than \$65 per student. In only two of these SMSA's in the case of total expenditures, and in only five in the case of current expenditures, did the central cities spend more per pupil than their outlying areas.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 16.—TOTAL AND CURRENT EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL FOR CENTRAL CITIES (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS 1961-62

Cities	Total expenditures per student—(CC)	Total expenditures per student—(OCC)	Difference	Current expenditures per student—(CC)	Current expenditures per student—(OCC)	Difference	Cities	Total expenditures per student—(CC)	Total expenditures per student—(OCC)	Difference	Current expenditures per student—(CC)	Current expenditures per student—(OCC)	Difference
New York	\$603.95	\$869.32	-\$265.37	\$586.88	\$684.34	-\$147.35	Memphis	\$235.17	\$356.00	-\$120.83	\$227.88	\$245.71	-\$18.13
Chicago	479.78	567.24	-87.46	408.51	473.09	-65.18	Denver	426.67	579.97	-103.30	418.30	390.74	+37.56
Los Angeles	482.62	802.88	-320.26	437.14	554.54	-117.40	Atlanta	276.86	352.63	-75.77	272.52	287.80	-15.23
Philadelphia	438.20	577.32	-139.12	397.75	492.90	-95.15	Minneapolis	417.86	626.35	-182.98	414.31	441.45	-27.14
Detroit	543.81	523.50	+15.31	461.67	434.10	+27.57	Indianapolis	365.29	650.24	-284.95	352.87	467.92	-115.05
Baltimore	431.95	577.28	-145.33	366.07	427.61	-55.54	Kansas City	468.23	460.94	+7.29	409.19	350.67	+58.52
Houston	290.62	555.25	-264.63	290.09	450.35	-160.25	Columbus	331.31	398.08	-66.77	327.40	332.66	-4.06
Cleveland	412.70	585.21	-172.51	370.59	459.50	-88.91	Newark	575.65	612.41	-36.76	496.21	522.23	-26.02
St. Louis	391.33	527.68	-136.35	386.58	423.73	-37.15	Louisville	301.46	656.04	-356.58	301.44	477.73	-176.29
Milwaukee	451.54	570.85	-119.31	377.96	469.38	-88.91	Portland, Oreg.	431.30	602.31	-171.01	421.59	480.14	-58.55
San Francisco	550.50	701.69	-151.19	466.77	546.29	-79.62	Long Beach	460.58	802.88	-342.30	426.33	554.44	-128.21
Boston	385.46	545.80	-160.34	385.46	465.36	-79.90	Birmingham	239.83	247.64	-7.81	194.43	223.84	-29.46
Dallas	383.36	445.60	-62.34	301.96	325.40	-23.44	Oklahoma	279.33	367.88	-88.55	269.23	291.67	-22.44
New Orleans	278.89	341.66	-62.77	271.87	323.05	-51.18	Rochester	602.71	732.76	-130.05	580.05	573.07	+6.98
Pittsburgh	417.85	511.78	-93.93	363.00	450.98	-87.98	Toledo	489.71	676.09	-186.38	377.71	511.85	-134.14
San Diego	547.65	697.98	-150.33	414.63	538.95	-124.32	St. Paul	427.91	626.36	-198.45	415.51	441.45	-25.94
Seattle	492.97	505.79	-12.82	409.89	415.72	-5.83	Norfolk	271.17	363.30	-92.13	265.43	283.65	-18.22
Buffalo	451.27	660.16	-208.89	447.03	561.20	-114.17	Omaha	293.08	522.74	-229.66	282.58	304.90	-112.32
Cincinnati	411.16	745.91	-334.75	376.11	577.74	-204.63	Mean	414.46	559.42	-144.96	376.33	441.99	-85.85

Source: Seymour Sacks and David Ranney, "Suburban Education: A Fiscal Analysis," Urban Affairs Quarterly (Sept. 1966). (Revised.)

Table from Alan K. Campbell and Seymour Sacks, "Metropolitan America: Fiscal Patterns and Governmental Systems," N.Y. Free Press: 1967.

TABLE 17.—PER CAPITA TOTAL LOCAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE INCLUDING HIGHER EDUCATION, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-65

Area	1957			1964-65		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$95	\$98	\$93	\$154	\$133	\$163
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	99	147	80	183	212	171
San Diego, Calif.	80	72	90	132	111	159
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	92	65	112	162	88	182
Denver, Colo.	74	73	74	131	104	154
Washington, D.C.	69	50	84	140	104	158
Miami, Fla.	70	70	70	117	117	117
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	47	47	47	97	97	97
Atlanta, Ga.	54	55	53	101	75	123
Chicago, Ill.	63	48	86	104	77	136
Indianapolis, Ind.	66	62	75	126	93	215
Louisville, Kentucky-Indiana	66	62	71	98	95	102
New Orleans, La.	44	46	39	67	61	79
Baltimore, Md.	64	59	71	104	90	119
Boston, Mass.	63	49	68	97	72	104
Detroit, Mich.	89	62	114	128	96	152
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	72	55	96	135	84	195
Kansas City, Missouri-Kansas	59	63	55	108	67	141
St. Louis, Missouri-Illinois	61	46	71	99	82	107
Newark, N.J.	85	76	88	130	114	137
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	75	56	81	112	92	118
Buffalo, N.Y.	78	52	99	141	87	175
New York, N.Y.	82	63	140	141	112	212
Rochester, N.Y.	70	53	92	168	128	207
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana	68	81	55	112	165	80
Cleveland, Ohio	67	50	85	122	94	144
Columbus, Ohio	64	52	94	99	76	158
Dayton, Ohio	66	47	78	116	106	122
Portland, Oregon-Washington	77	75	80	134	124	141
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-New Jersey	61	49	72	105	74	130
Pittsburgh, Pa.	59	64	64	100	78	105
Providence, R.I.	49	46	50	82	70	87
Dallas, Tex.	64	65	64	92	77	116
Houston, Tex.	78	65	126	111	81	207
San Antonio, Tex.	53	48	87	86	(1)	(1)
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	71	57	87	138	(1)	(1)
Milwaukee, Wis.	65	51	85	108	98	129
Unweighted average	70	61	80	119	99	141
Weighted average	73	61	86	124	99	146

¹ Data not available.
OCC as percent of CC, 1957—141; 1965, 147.—Averages computed for Task Force report.

Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 18.—PER CAPITA AND PER PUPIL CURRENT EXPENDITURE FOR LOCAL SCHOOLS, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1964-65

Area	Per Capita			Per Pupil		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$118	\$94	\$134	\$558	\$424	\$654
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	123	142	115	578	498	631
San Diego, Calif.	107	89	129	549	485	621
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	127	79	158	701	565	758
Denver, Colo.	111	95	124	471	493	457
Washington, D.C.	107	90	117	545	508	562
Miami, Fla.	94	94	94	503	503	503
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	67	67	67	362	362	362
Atlanta, Ga.	86	69	100	378	342	403
Chicago, Ill.	86	67	109	503	433	578
Indianapolis, Ind.	106	79	176	471	407	579
Louisville, Kentucky-Indiana	71	45	97	416	350	455
New Orleans, La.	57	50	71	333	310	369
Baltimore, Md.	85	81	90	429	407	452
Boston, Mass.	84	68	88	493	490	499
Detroit, Mich.	108	81	129	509	454	539

Footnotes at end of table.

Area	Per Capita			Per Pupil		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	\$108	\$80	\$135	\$564	\$527	\$587
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	91	59	117	494	425	531
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	82	68	88	542	411	594
Newark, N. J.	106	96	109	595	515	619
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N. J.	95	76	101	557	477	579
Buffalo, N. Y.	125	74	157	694	507	777
New York, N. Y.	121	96	181	790	728	889
Rochester, N. Y.	138	104	172	807	700	885
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana	79	78	79	472	439	494
Cleveland, Ohio	94	81	105	528	433	609
Columbus, Ohio	82	70	115	410	368	500
Dayton, Ohio	101	100	102	481	431	432
Portland, Oregon-Washington	115	92	133	543	444	616
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-New Jersey	88	63	108	586	447	656
Pittsburgh, Pa.	90	58	100	521	419	544
Providence, R.I.	70	64	72	430	436	427
Dallas, Tex.	73	60	93	422	334	597
Houston, Tex.	86	62	164	430	311	794
San Antonio, Tex.	65	(1)	(1)	310	(1)	(1)
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	119	74	196	527	476	556
Milwaukee, Wis.	85	66	116	485	421	568
Unweighted average	97	82	113	514	449	573

¹ Data not available.
 CC as percent of OCC: Per capita, 138; per pupil, 128.—Averages computed for Task Force.
 Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census and from the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Table from ACIR, "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System," vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C., October 1967, A-31, p. 66.

Table 17 shows the trend between 1957 and 1965 in per capita total educational expenditures comparing central cities and outlying areas. OCC expenditures increased as a percentage of central city expenditures from 141 percent to 147 percent in those eight years.

Table 18 develops the relationship for 1965 in current expenditures per capita and per pupil for the 1964-65 school year, and shows that by either measure, outside-central-city areas devoted more resources to education than did the central cities by considerable margins. It is important to recall at this point in the analysis the two conditioning factors which shape this pattern, namely (1) the high non-educational service responsibilities to which cities must devote 70 percent of their budgets, whereas suburban governments with lesser service requirements devote only 47 percent of their expenditures to non-educational purposes, (see Table 10), and (2) the higher level of total tax effort in the central cities (see Table 13).

2. *The need for additional money in the cities.*—When one combines the picture of higher educational expenditures in the suburbs with the fact that urban education actually costs more per unit than does education in the suburbs, the degree of central city disadvantage is substantially magnified. There are two general reasons why urban education is more expensive than suburban education. First, many items in the school budget are more expensive in cities than they are outside of cities, and second, the socio-economic characteristics of the urban student population make for additional expenditures.

2.1 *Higher cost of wages, services.*—To illustrate the first of these two reasons, Professor Charles Benson, in an unpublished study conducted for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, isolated one such urban high cost factor. "City costs are characterized by a general expenditure-raising phenomenon, namely, the age of their teachers. Central city school populations are not growing as rapidly as urban ones. Also, for institutional reasons, cities tend to make promotions internally. On both counts, central cities tend to have school systems that are staffed primarily by teachers of substantial seniority. Again for institutional reasons, teachers are paid largely on the basis of seniority. It follows that central cities must pay high salaries per teacher, even though their salary schedules are not as attractive as those to be found in the suburbs" (Benson, 1966, p. 8).

Other examples of higher cost items are those of site acquisition for school construction. Urban land values are generally higher

than in outlying areas. In a city like Baltimore, for example, it is not uncommon to pay \$300,000 an acre for an inner city elementary school site (Murnaghan & Mandel, 1969, pp. 32-34). Comparisons, of course, are not simple because the urban model for school construction is not the suburban 10 acre school plot. Yet despite the caveat, it would seem reasonable to conclude that higher urban land costs affect the city school budget to some extent.

Similarly, the Bureau of Labor Statistics indices consistently show higher urban standards of living, and city wages and salaries for ancillary services to schools therefore tend to be higher. According to national school finance specialist, Dr. Eugene McLoone, Assistant Director of Research, National Education Association, and professor of economics at the University of Maryland janitorial and security expenses are widely reported to be higher in city school systems, a function of a variety of causes related to such diverse factors as unionization and higher rates of student vandalism.

2.2 *Higher requirements for special educational attention for the disadvantaged.*—But the most important reason why urban education is inherently more expensive than education in other areas derives from the educational and socio-economic characteristics of city student populations. The poor, the black, the immigrant, the handicapped make up a large proportion of the city student body, and such students have high requirements for special educational attention. Programs for the culturally disadvantaged, programs for non-English speaking adults and children, programs for children to whom standard English is virtually a foreign language, adult education in general, summer schools, programs for the physically and emotionally handicapped (where costs per pupil are greater than normal child costs by a factor of four or five to one) and vocational (characterized by average costs of 1.35 times those of academic secondary schools)—these are all prominent aspects of urban education because of the ethnic and socio-economic make-up of the city. (Benson, 1966.)

More importantly, however, if improvement and change in curriculum, educational personnel, supplementary services, facilities and attitudes are to take place to educate effectively the inner city population, it will cost more—more per disadvantaged child, more per black child, more per deprived child.

3. Summary

To summarize, in addition to the general fiscal problems facing central cities, the education function itself is subject to higher

costs than it is in outlying areas. The higher costs are attributable to items of expenditure that cost more in cities and to the more "expensive" school population that the cities must educate.

Biased State Aid Formulas

Thus far our discussion of educational finance has focused on local revenues and expenditures. But education, like most other functions of government in the American Federal system, is characterized by the involvement of all three levels of government in its operation. In fiscal 1969 in the field of elementary and secondary schooling, the national division of fiscal responsibility is 52.0 percent local, 40.7 percent State and 7.3 percent Federal. The question to be examined now is, To what extent do the substantial State revenues offset or increase disparities between central city and outside central city educational finance?

1. *State impact on educational spending—excluding State aid to education.*—At the outset it is important to recognize that State aid for education is but one aspect of State impact on educational spending. State statutory and constitutional provisions regarding the organization of school districts, permissible tax and debt limits, and responsibility for retirement funds are but a few of the factors playing important parts in shaping patterns of educational finance.

For example, Seymour Sacks, one of the nation's leading experts in educational finance, has noted that in many cases the only school districts in a State which must bear the responsibility for financing employee retirement systems are the large school districts of the State. And in some cases even where small local school districts are given this responsibility, a heavier assignment may be charged to the large city school district or its overlying government. In all such cases, these costs must be financed almost entirely from local taxes.⁵

To take another example, State policy determines the extent to which taxes may be levied, and complex limits are a common feature of tax law throughout the nation. Many of these provisions came into being in the 1930's and have resulted in a set of rules and regulations which Professor Sacks finds are "operative only in so far as they affect the large cities . . . The effect of the tax limits on large cities has been thoroughly inhibiting on large city school finances, which depend almost exclusively on the real property tax base."

Effects of this problem are described in a report prepared for the 1967 New York State

Footnotes at end of article.

Constitutional Convention. At that time, ten of the State's 62 cities were found to be operating at 90 percent or more of their statutory tax limit. Included in the group were all of the States' cities with more than 125,000 population. Four of these large cities (New York, Rochester, Syracuse and Yonkers) were operating at 99 percent of their limit. For all the six large cities, the fiscal problems were particularly grave. Besides the pressures for more varied services than less populous places, the large cities have the additional burden of having to finance their school systems within the city's tax limit, whereas smaller cities have independent school systems with a separate tax limit unrelated to general service requirements. Another problem relates to the differing treatment of school districts depending on their location. School districts wholly or partly within a city with fewer than 125,000 total population for example, are subject to constitutional tax limit. School districts wholly outside cities are not, and they often oppose annexation to existing cities or inclusion in new ones, whether desirable or not on other grounds, because it would subject them to constitutional tax and debt limits (Local Finance, 1/27/1967, pp. 53-55). While the discussion at this point is addressed directly to New York State, the problems are not at all unlike those existing across the nation.

2. *Effects of State aid to education—disparities in distribution to cities.*—But our concern is primarily with the effect of State aid to education, and here there are also clear differences between the central city and outside central city areas in the amount of aid per pupil and per capita. The history of such aid is an interesting one. State aid systems continue to bear the marks of their origins—the attempt to compensate for the inequalities between what were then the rich cities and the poorer outlying and rural regions. The 1962 published figures show that of the 37 large city areas, the central cities received larger educational aid per pupil in only eight cases (See Table 19). The outside areas received greater aid in the preponderant 29 cases. When examined in per capita terms, only three of the 37 central city areas have greater aid than their outlying areas. And of these three, Oklahoma City represents a very special case because of its extensive nature, and Milwaukee represents a difference of but \$1 and neglects the imbalance in noneducational aid. On the average, per capita State education aid in the large city areas was \$20.72 while in their outlying area it was almost twice as great, \$37.66.

There is also the question of aid as a proportion of expenditures. In this case it is quite evident that both the large central cities and their outlying areas receive a much smaller proportion of their current expenditures in the form of aid than does the nation as a whole. For if the aid figure for the nation is computed on a current expenditure basis, it amounts to some 44.5 percent of the total. Only five of the large city areas in the entire country receive more than that proportion of aid (See Table 20).

TABLE 19.—TOTAL EDUCATION AID PER PUPIL, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS AND SELECTED LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1962

Metropolitan area	CC	OCC
New York.....	\$234.00	\$296.50
Chicago.....	111.00	103.00
Los Angeles.....	172.90	463.50
Philadelphia.....	139.80	132.10
Detroit.....	137.00	163.00
Baltimore.....	106.40	161.80
Houston.....	143.80	200.70
Cleveland.....	49.90	96.30
St. Louis.....	128.80	140.80
Milwaukee.....	93.00	54.50

TABLE 19.—TOTAL EDUCATION AID PER PUPIL, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS AND SELECTED LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1962—Continued

Metropolitan area	CC	OCC
San Francisco.....	\$188.70	\$310.40
Boston.....	50.10	42.10
Dallas.....	139.80	172.00
New Orleans.....	194.20	200.20
Pittsburgh.....	93.30	124.10
San Diego.....	195.00	281.60
Seattle.....	234.20	288.50
Buffalo.....	193.80	287.60
Cincinnati.....	51.20	145.43
Memphis.....	107.40	119.20
Denver.....	73.90	121.80
Atlanta.....	102.50	152.10
Minneapolis.....	132.80	367.20
Indianapolis.....	97.00	125.80
Kansas City.....	129.80	89.00
Columbus.....	50.20	114.90
Newark.....	95.00	65.80
Louisville.....	123.40	137.30
Portland (Oregon).....	114.70	216.20
Long Beach.....	187.00	401.50
Birmingham.....	154.40	152.40
Oklahoma City.....	96.40	58.90
Rochester.....	186.50	309.80
Toledo.....	51.60	200.10
St. Paul.....	129.80	386.20
Norfolk.....	101.00	117.40
Omaha.....	33.20	40.00

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Census of Governments, 1962.

TABLE 20.—EDUCATION AID PER CAPITA, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS AND SELECTED LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1962

Metropolitan area	CC	OCC	Exhibit—Total education aid as a percent, total education expenditures central city areas (CC)
New York.....	\$30.19	\$66.17	38.7
Chicago.....	15.31	20.45	23.2
Los Angeles.....	36.19	102.30	35.8
Philadelphia.....	17.45	24.17	31.9
Detroit.....	23.62	39.49	25.2
Baltimore.....	19.83	31.61	24.6
Houston.....	31.33	51.98	49.1
Cleveland.....	6.76	12.76	10.4
St. Louis.....	18.20	24.83	32.9
Milwaukee.....	13.43	11.91	20.6
San Francisco.....	23.72	98.34	34.3
Boston.....	6.54	7.78	13.0
Dallas.....	27.13	38.74	36.5
New Orleans.....	29.06	39.01	69.6
Pittsburgh.....	11.43	34.53	22.3
San Diego.....	37.43	63.87	35.6
Seattle.....	42.46	80.03	47.5
Buffalo.....	25.45	59.80	42.9
Cincinnati.....	7.73	32.34	12.4
Memphis.....	22.20	32.34	45.7
Denver.....	14.06	34.70	17.3
Atlanta.....	21.25	39.02	37.7
Minneapolis.....	19.51	93.73	31.0
Indianapolis.....	18.53	27.89	26.5
Kansas City.....	20.69	30.21	27.6
Columbus.....	9.28	28.31	15.1
Newark.....	15.48	12.04	16.5
Louisville.....	17.53	28.02	40.9
Portland (Oregon).....	21.05	53.52	26.6
Long Beach.....	34.91	90.05	40.6
Birmingham.....	31.70	37.85	78.3
Oklahoma City.....	23.19	13.39	34.5
Rochester.....	24.56	67.05	30.9
Toledo.....	8.54	47.51	10.5
St. Paul.....	17.78	102.03	30.5
Norfolk.....	17.89	28.28	37.3
Omaha.....	5.60	10.46	11.3

Source: Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of Census.

Another way of analyzing the central city-suburban State aid differential may also be found in the Sacks' study (*Educational Finance in Large Cities*). Looking at the broad concept of the New York Metropolitan Region as developed by the Regional Planning Association, we can see the working of three different systems of State aid and their effects on the central cities of their component areas. There are clearly striking differences between the amounts of aid received per pupil in these three States. Using the 1959 aver-

age income of \$2,306 New York received almost the same amount of aid as Westchester County (less Yonkers) with an average income of \$3,427, almost 50 percent higher. The New Jersey levels in 1964 were much lower than these in New York, but the aid per pupil in Newark with an income of \$1,792 was slightly lower than the aid received by the rest of the Newark SMSA with an income of \$2,746. Similar results occurred in the other parts of the New Jersey area analyzed. An almost identical situation may be found in Connecticut, where Bridgeport, with an average income of \$1,955, received almost exactly the same State aid per pupil as did the suburban portion of surrounding Fairfield County, with an average income of \$3,208.

Educational aid formulas frequently overstate the fiscal capacity of central cities because their measure of fiscal capacity is almost universally tax base per pupil rather than tax base per capita. This seemingly insignificant factor is in reality of major consequence. For by focusing only upon the per pupil relationship with the tax base, the formulas assume that the fiscal resources of different kinds of school districts, for instance central city and suburban, are equally available for educational purposes. As this chapter has noted at several points already, this is in fact untrue, and central cities have a much heavier general service load than do other kinds of jurisdictions.

3. Summary

In short, for a variety of reasons, it would appear that State governments in general are failing to compensate for the crisis of educational finance facing the large central cities of the nation.⁹

Dwindling Popular Support for and Confidence in Education

Underlying the financial problems of education in large cities is a growing popular unwillingness to raise additional revenues for school purposes at the State and local level. Increasingly, this disposition is running head on into (1) the heightened determination of teachers' organizations to force raises in instructional salaries, and (2) a general rise in prices schools have to pay for facilities, materials, and non-instructional services. In a number of States, Governors and State legislatures have been presented with the spectre of state-wide teachers' strikes or resignations if State aid levels were not raised. At the same time, a mood widely characterized as a taxpayer revolt has caused a more conservative approach in State aid programs. And reapportioned legislatures, whose increased representation has gone primarily to suburban districts, have taken few effective steps to revise State formulas to meet the educational needs of central cities. Even where, as in New York, an urban aid program was pasted onto the pre-existing aid system, the minimal financial amount (\$27,000,000 for the entire State) has made its effect barely perceptible.

1. *The heightened impact of lack of public support on the cities.*—In the large cities, the gap between necessary revenues (as seen by the educational system and related organizations) and available revenues (as seen by city governments and large portions of the tax conscious public) threaten an unparalleled crisis for urban education.

Examples of the fiscal crisis may be taken from any section of the nation. This spring in Houston, Texas, voters rejected by a 2 to 1 margin a proposed \$5,000,000 tax measure and a \$20,000,000 bond issue. While the public debate included a tangle of issues related to the desirability of kindergarten and special education, as well as a general opposi-

Footnotes at end of article.

tion to higher taxes, the net result of the two defeats will be the denial of services to 20,000 pupils from the Houston Independent School District as a means of saving \$2.3 million in 1969-70.

The case of Youngstown, Ohio, is another example. Amid a complex political environment, rejection of a school levy in last fall's general election forced the city to shut down its public school system for five weeks. Opposition to increases in the property tax had led to four defeats of school tax proposals in just a twenty-two month period in Youngstown.

In Sacramento, California, a school budget adopted in August was the largest in the city's history, yet required cuts in services and in the number of employees due to pressures from inflation. While increased State aid may permit some small restorations, the new school aid provision approved by the State legislature in August underlined the problems of that city and of others in California: Sacramento's neighboring suburban school district, San Juan, with nearly identical enrollment, received \$2,200,000 in new aid; Sacramento received \$900,000. San Juan's proportion of minority group students is 3 percent; Sacramento's 33.8 percent.

The largest cities of the nation are also feeling the effects of adverse tax and bond votes. Los Angeles and Philadelphia both had voter rejections of such measures last year, and education officials expect serious impact on the school program in both cities. In the former, three educational bond and tax measures were defeated. In the latter, the defeat of its school bond referendum was the first suffered in the city's modern history. Detroit and New York are other cities whose educational systems are in severe financial difficulty, although adverse public referenda were not involved. In the former, the 1968-69 school budget ran an \$8,000,000 deficit, and the 1969-70 projection is for a possible deficit of more than \$30,000,000. Local school officials, seeing little chance of increased State or local support, are reported to be considering extended school closing as a mean of coping with their fiscal problems. Other drastic measures under consideration include the increase of class size, and termination of innovative educational programs.

An extensive national survey conducted by the Gallup organization for the Kettering Foundation asked whether respondents would be willing to approve new measures for higher school funds. Forty-nine percent answered no, another 5 percent indicated they were not sure, and only forty-five percent were willing to indicate their support of further revenue measures. In other respects respondents indicated satisfaction with many aspects of the educational system, including the regard in which they held teachers and the quality of education, according to a front page story in the New York Times of August 17, 1969.

3. Summary

State and local taxation is notoriously regressive and highly visible as compared with the Federal income tax. State sales taxes, which are noted as "pennies for the Governor" with every purchase, and local property taxes, which have little relationship to ability to pay, are widely resented and are in some places reaching the limits of expansion. If needed new support is to be made available for the support of city schools, the share carried by Federal revenues will have to be vastly increased. For the signals, as noted in the examples and trends discussed above, point to a rapidly growing public unwillingness to approve marked increases in State and local revenues.

Financial difficulties of non-public schools Many of the factors discussed which affect the cities, and in turn the financial situation of the public schools, are also relevant in their effects on parochial and other non-public schools.

Population shifts bringing the poorer, more educationally disadvantaged into the inner city, lowered land values, lack of State and Federal aid have had profound effects on non-public schools which are reverberating to the public schools.

For example, one official for the parochial school system in Detroit informed the Task Force that financial pressures have forced raises in tuition from \$50 to \$100-\$150 per family for elementary school students and from \$75 to \$150-\$200 per student for high school students. As a result, the Catholic schools expect to lose over 5,000 students this year, most of whom will enter the city's public schools. In a further attempt to economize, the parochial system consolidated six of its elementary schools into two schools, thus turning five hundred additional students into the public schools.

Three largely Spanish-speaking schools, totally subsidized by the Church last year, are being forced to close down this year. The kindergartens in these schools, the only ones in the systems, have already been dropped. An inner city high school, which formerly enrolled 700 students, raised its tuition to \$250, and now enrolls 350. The parochial school system projects that if it does not receive assistance, it will have to close 75 percent of its schools next year. Last year the parochial schools enrolled 65,000 children.

Such an example is far from atypical. The process is an insidious one which is being replicated in cities across the nation. Non-public schools located in areas of increased populations of disadvantaged families receive increased enrollments. Since tuitions pay for only a portion of per student expenses, the system raises tuitions in order to decrease its budget deficit. In the inner city, lower income families cannot afford these raises in tuition, and remove their children to the public schools. As a result of enrollment losses and continuing financial difficulties parochial schools may consolidate or even close down, and in so doing cause even more students to enroll in public schools whose facilities and budgets are already overtaxed.

The problems of the non-public schools are in a very real sense the problems of the

public schools. The problems of the city are the problems of both.

Minimal Level and Minimal Effect of Federal Funds

Simply stated, the funding of Federal programs has not assisted hard-pressed urban areas to meet the educational challenges which confront them.

1. *Small impact of Federal funds on public elementary and secondary schools.*—We first to the aggregate level of Federal money for public elementary and secondary schools. Table 21 illustrates the growth in the absolute amount contributed by the Federal Government over the last twelve years. From 1958 to 1964, Federal funds almost doubled from \$486,000,000 to \$897,000,000. In 1965-66, with the passage of ESEA, a quantum jump occurred in a single year, with Federal funds more than doubling from \$897,000,000 to \$1,997,000,000. During the last three years, however, the growth has slowed, and in the last fiscal year it even declined slightly.

Table 22 puts those figures in a somewhat different perspective. By expressing Federal, State, and local funds for education in proportions of total public elementary and secondary education expenditures, we see that the Federal share, after growing from 4.4 percent to 7.9 percent after the passage of ESEA, leveled and then declined over the ensuing three years to 7.3 percent of total expenditures. If the purpose of Federal aid is to encourage local efforts to move in directions consonant with national objectives, such a growth pattern provides small incentive indeed. For not only is the overall proportion of aid relatively marginal (less than 8 percent), but in addition it does not appear to offer a dynamic potential. As noted in the fourth annual report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, "Doubt about the continuing availability of funds inevitably results in a lower-grade staff for Title I projects (some administrators have declared they would not assign their best teachers to a program that may go bust any time!), a preponderance of single purpose programs not integrated with the regular school curriculum, and a minimum of basic changes or improvements in the total curriculum for disadvantaged children."¹⁰ What applies to Title I, applies to many other programs as well.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 21.—REVENUES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS [In thousands]

School year (1)	Total (2)	Federal (3)	State (4)	Local (5)
1957-58	\$12,181,513	\$486,484	\$4,800,368	\$6,894,661
1959-60	14,746,618	651,639	5,768,047	8,326,932
1961-62	17,527,707	760,975	6,789,190	9,977,542
1963-64	20,544,182	896,956	8,078,014	11,569,213
1965-66	25,356,858	1,996,954	9,920,219	13,439,686
1966-67*	27,256,043	2,162,892	10,661,582	14,431,569
1967-68*	31,092,400	2,472,464	12,231,954	16,387,982
1968-69*	33,743,748	2,455,547	13,729,344	17,558,857
Increase, 1957-58 to 1968-69:				
Amount	21,562,235	1,969,063	8,928,976	10,664,196
Percent	177.0	404.8	186.0	154.7
Annual rate (percent)	9.7	15.8	10.0	8.9

*NEA research division estimates.

¹ NEA research division estimates of Federal revenue may be lower than those which will be published later by the U.S. Office of Education because of partial omission of money value of food distribution for the school lunch program.

Table from Committee on Education Finance, NEA, "Financial Status of the Public Schools," 1969, Washington, D.C. NEA, 1969 p. 59.

Sources: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1965-66," Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1968, p. 11.

National Education Association, research division, "Estimates of School Statistics, 1966-67 and 1968-69." Research reports 1966-R20 and 1968-R16. Washington, D.C., the Association, 1966 and 1968.

TABLE 22.—PERCENT OF REVENUE RECEIVED FROM FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL SOURCES FOR PUBLIC, ELEMENTARY, AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

School year (1)	[In percent]		
	Federal sources (2)	State sources (3)	Local sources (4)
1957-58	4.0	39.4	56.6
1959-60	4.4	39.1	56.5
1961-62	4.3	38.7	56.9
1963-64	4.4	39.3	56.4
1965-66	7.9	39.1	53.0
1966-67	7.9	39.1	53.0
1967-68	8.0	39.3	52.7
1968-69	7.3	40.7	52.0

¹NEA Research Division estimates. NEA "Financial Status," op. cit., p. 60.
Sources: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1965-66," Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968, p. 11.
National Education Association, Research Division, "Estimates of School Statistics, 1968-69," Research Report 1968-R16. Washington, D.C.: the Association, 1968, p. 18.

1.1 *Minimal level of Title I, ESEA poverty designated funds.*—Title I, however, is of particular interest in itself because its funds are allocated on the basis of a poverty formula, thus providing substantial assistance to central cities. The effects of the leveling and decline of Federal educational aid is exemplified by its operation on Title I. Between the 1967-68 and 1968-69 school years, cutbacks of \$68 million combined with the growing costs of education resulted in \$400 million less for disadvantaged pupils in the local schools this year than was available in the first year of the program (Title I—ESEA,

1969, p. 11). In addition, the growth in the number of eligible pupils—both because of changes in the Federal eligibility formulas and because many cities have experienced marked increases in the number of pupils from families receiving AFDC payments (which increases the number of Title I eligibles)—has made for a sharp decline in funds available per Title I pupil. Testimony presented before the House Education and Labor Committee this Spring showed that in New York State, Title I funds per poverty eligible pupil had declined to little more than half, from \$365.64 to \$200.10 in the four years of Title I operation (see Table 23).

TABLE 23.—STATEMENT PRESENTED BY IRVING RATCHICK, COORDINATOR OF TITLE I, ESEA, NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Fiscal year	Comparative basic data on Title I, ESEA allocations in New York State fiscal years 1966-69					Total number of poverty eligibles
	Maximum basic grant	State allocation	Proration factor	Average net current expense	Prorated per pupil	
1966	\$109,666,770	\$109,666,770	1.00	\$365.64	\$365.64	299,962
1967	159,451,294	111,091,007	0.70	393.14	273.95	405,584
1968	195,277,704	115,770,356	.59	416.70	247.05	468,629
1969	265,610,797	113,600,524	.43	467.88	200.01	567,706

1.2 *Arbitrary administration of Federal funds resulting in non-target distribution.*—Dilution of the effects of aid to overcome educational disadvantage has occurred not only because of total funding levels but also because of administrative procedures of many State and local education agencies. Since the poverty factor which is used to allocate funds to the county levels is not used in determining the particular children who will benefit from Title I programs (poor educational performance is the criteria), school officials have considerable leadway in determining the particular recipients of Federal funds. By failing to concentrate funds to provide total educational effort directed toward students most in need of

compensatory education, many school systems have spread Title I allocations thinly in order to include as many students as possible. The result is a superficial veneer of fragmented programs or new equipment rather than an integrated, high impact intervention to achieve major educational change. In statistical terms this tendency may be seen in the average national expenditure per Title I pupil: \$95.00. With the average per pupil expenditure from all sources running just below \$700 per pupil nationally, this level of Title I spending is highly unlikely to achieve marked change in the quality of education afforded the educationally disadvantaged.

TABLE 24.—REVENUE SOURCES PER PUPIL—1967

	ESEA I	Federal Elementary and Secondary education aid	Additional Federal aid for education	Total Federal education aid from all sources	State aid	Total revenue	Enrollment
Schenectady	\$28	\$22	\$10	\$60	\$454	\$1,069	12,480
Niskayuna	6	46	22	84	471	1,173	4,708

Source: The University of the State of New York. The State Education Department Bureau of Educational Research, Albany, N.Y. Prepared by U.S. Office of Education.

1.3 *Lack of time for program planning for use of Federal dollars.*—There are other reasons why Title I of ESEA has failed to bring the degree of aid for urban education problems that was originally expected. Because of the uncertainty and late availability of funds, a circumstance which has prevented educators from being able to plan for Title I as they develop their program months in advance of the start of the school year,¹¹ ESEA money has largely gone for a variety of special and ancillary programs and has not been utilized to relieve the pressures that bear upon the central portion of the educational curriculum presented to disadvantaged children. Thus, while Title I funds have been of importance to central city school districts and have helped to offset the imbalance of financing described in earlier sections of this paper, the effect has not been even as helpful as the gross figures might suggest.

But Title I represents about 40 percent of Federal aid to public schools. While the formula for the allocation of Title I funds insures substantial equity for central cities, the pattern of distribution of other Federal education programs does not. The point may be illustrated by a specific example, an individual State study, and by a sample of the largest cities in the nation.

2. *Lack of fair-share Federal fund distribution to the cities.*—A specific example of how a very wealthy suburb, by the exercise of the fine art of grantsmanship, can garner substantially more Federal aid than a neighboring deteriorating central city may be seen in the case of Schenectady and Niskayuna, New York.

Schenectady, a central city whose relative financial situation to that of Niskayuna can be seen most readily in the fact that it qualifies for three times the Title I aid per pupil, receives \$60 per pupil from all Federal programs. Niskayuna, probably the wealthiest suburb in the area, is able to take advantage of a sufficient range of programs to receive \$84 per pupil, 140 percent the amount of its proportionately poorer neighbor. (See Table 24).

A recently completed study of Michigan by James W. Guthrie and associates investigated the association between (1) assessed property value per pupil (2) a comprehensive measure of the socio-economic characteristics of school districts, and (3) the flow of Federal aid. The study reported: "In general Federal funds flow in a fashion which permits high SES (socio-economic status) and wealthy districts (high AV/PP) to receive more or as much Federal money per pupil than low SES and poor (low AV/PP) districts." (Guthrie, July 1, 1969, p. 31.)

One study examined entitlements under five Federal programs to compare the share of State allocations going to large cities with the share of the student population in those large cities. Except for Title I of ESEA, the study found that large cities were receiving less than their proportionate share based on their populations. In other words, not only were Federal aid programs not compensating for the special fiscal problems of cities discussed in earlier sections of this paper; Federal aid programs weren't even giving cities their fair share (See Tables 24, 25, and 26). In the fifty largest cities in the nation, with 21.3 percent of the pupil enrollment in their combined 28 States and with 26.4 percent of the disadvantaged by Title I count, their receipts by program were 15.9 percent of Vocational Education funds, 16.2 percent of NDEA Title III (instructional equipment), 18.1 percent of ESEA II (textbooks and library resources), and 20.5 percent of ESEA Title

Footnotes at end of article.

III (supplemental services and centers). Only in ESEA I did the fifty cities receive funds proportional to their percentage of State student population.

TABLE 24.—FEDERAL REVENUE SOURCES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1967

Federal program	Schenectady ¹		Niskayuna ²	
	Amount	Per pupil ³	Amount	Per pupil ³
ESEA I.....	\$348,800	\$27.94	\$26,300	\$5.58
ESEA II.....	24,400	1.95	35,100	7.48
ESEA III.....			134,500	28.57
Total, ESEA.....	373,200	29.90	195,900	41.61
NDEA III.....	19,600	1.57	21,700	4.60
NDEA V-A.....	5,500	0.44	5,200	1.10
Vocational education.....	50,800	4.07	26,900	5.71

TABLE 24.—FEDERAL REVENUE SOURCES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1967—Continued

Federal program	Schenectady ¹		Niskayuna ²	
	Amount	Per pupil ³	Amount	Per pupil ³
Public Law 874.....	\$143,300	\$11.48	\$103,100	\$21.89
School milk and lunch.....	27,500	2.20	28,100	5.96
Other Federal.....	129,100	10.34	16,005	3.40
Total, Federal.....	749,000	60.01	396,905	84.30

¹Schenectady enrollment (1967) 12,480.
²Niskayuna enrollment (1967) 4,708.
³Does not add to total due to rounding.
 Source: The University of the State of New York. The State Education Department, Bureau of Educational Research, Albany, New York. Prepared by U.S. Office of Education.

TABLE 25.—25 LARGEST CITIES (City as percent of State)

State and city	Public school enrollment 1966-67	Title I, ESEA, 5-17 (count established fiscal year 1967)	Fiscal year 1967 obligations for—					
			Vocational education	NDEA III	ESEA I	ESEA II	ESEA II	
California:								
Los Angeles.....	14.59	20.60	14.35	0.21	20.03	7.58	5.67	
San Francisco.....	2.49	4.53	3.53	.84	4.38	1.87	3.17	
San Diego.....	2.78	3.09	2.70	2.44	3.03	0.82	2.55	
Colorado: Denver.....	19.38	29.10	12.74	7.81	26.02	17.02	28.65	
Georgia: Atlanta.....	10.53	6.92	5.88	12.10	5.74	22.84	7.95	
Illinois: Chicago.....	26.51	50.89	24.24	29.89	53.87	32.99	17.50	
Louisiana: New Orleans.....	13.02	11.65	9.46	12.53	15.01	20.78	23.38	
Maryland: Baltimore.....	24.31	50.81	7.90	19.62	49.67	10.51	2.65	
Massachusetts: Boston.....	8.68	26.10	3.93	6.17	24.63	6.42	0	
Michigan: Detroit.....	14.79	33.25	25.24	28.47	34.97	14.56	0.50	
Minnesota: Minneapolis.....	8.52	12.61	8.63	15.19	11.20	9.33	8.05	
Missouri: St. Louis.....	13.94	18.90	9.35	3.69	19.44	18.43	21.06	
New York:								
New York.....	33.31	63.80	10.74	34.30	61.39	29.58	28.18	
Buffalo.....	2.26	4.46	3.18	1.62	4.34	2.56	5.02	
Ohio:								
Cleveland.....	8.21	14.31	11.52	4.72	14.70	6.47	5.07	
Cincinnati.....	3.84	8.48	1.46	3.67	8.60	3.09	13.00	
Pennsylvania:								
Philadelphia.....	12.65	25.37	10.88	17.79	24.60	8.51	17.28	
Pittsburgh.....	7.58	6.93	22.83	7.04	6.62	1.84	11.31	
Tennessee: Memphis.....	14.74	9.33	0	0	9.25	13.94	1.16	
Texas:								
Houston.....	10.93	5.23	4.04	5.20	5.13	8.24	12.20	
Dallas.....	5.93	3.76	3.31	4.08	3.69	5.42	.80	
San Antonio.....	5.27	4.39	3.77	1.60	4.30	3.29	7.00	
Washington: Seattle.....	18.46	15.67	18.99	12.55	14.79	12.09	44.36	
Wisconsin:								
Milwaukee.....	13.34	18.37	10.09	11.92	17.84	10.26	15.72	
District of Columbia.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

Source: U.S. Office of Education National Center for Educational Statistics Reference, Estimates, and Projections Branch.

The distribution of Federal funds: The 50 largest cities of the Nation have 21.3% of the total school enrollments and 26.4% of the disadvantaged Title I-ESEA children in their combined 28 states.

Yet, in 1967 these 50 cities received only: 15.9% of their States' Vocational Education funds; 16.2% of their States' NDEA Title III funds for purchase of instructional equipment; 18.1% of their States' ESEA Title II

funds for purchase of textbooks and school library resources; and 20.5% of their States' ESEA Title III funds for supplemental centers and services.

Only in the ESEA Title I program did these cities receive funds proportional to their educational burdens—29.9% of their States' funds.

Some specific examples:

TABLE 26.—DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL FUNDS (In percent)

	Total enrollment	Title I count	Vocational education	NDEA title III	ESEA title II	ESEA title I
Birmingham.....	15.56	5.40	4.27	2.34	5.06	4.92
Los Angeles.....	14.59	20.60	14.35	.21	7.58	20.03
Denver.....	19.38	29.10	12.74	7.81	17.02	26.02
Baltimore.....	24.31	50.81	7.90	19.62	10.51	49.67
Louisville.....	18.83	4.64	7.55	3.11	6.73	4.79
St. Louis.....	13.94	18.90	9.35	3.69	18.43	19.44
Kansas City.....	10.39	7.78	5.41	4.33	14.56	7.58
New York City.....	33.31	63.80	10.74	34.30	29.58	61.39
Rochester.....	1.43	1.60	0	1.52	1.84	1.59
Columbus, Ohio.....	4.57	6.09	1.04	3.84	4.04	6.25
Oklahoma City.....	12.55	10.49	0	15.38	11.67	9.96
Philadelphia.....	12.65	25.37	10.88	17.79	8.51	24.60
Pittsburgh.....	7.58	6.93	22.83	7.04	1.84	6.62
Memphis.....	14.74	9.33	0	0	13.94	9.25
Houston.....	10.93	5.23	4.04	5.20	8.24	5.13
Milwaukee.....	13.34	18.37	10.09	11.92	10.26	17.84

Source: U.S. Office of Education National Center for Educational Statistics, Reference, Estimates, and Projections Branch.

3. Lack of Federal awareness of patterns of allocations

One of the greatest problems in analyzing the impact of Federal educational aid is the immense information gap that exists between what we *should* know about the pattern of allocation of funds and what we actually *do* know. In its draft report, the Committee on Finance and Governmental Relations of the Urban Education Task Force gave particular emphasis to this problem: "... the Federal Government does not now have a systematic way of measuring its own overall resource allocation priorities in education. The difficulties encountered by the Committee and others in focusing attention on the aggregate impact of Federal aid on a particular type of local district, say, urban districts, underscores the presently fragmented patterns of thinking about federal aid to education. Federal policy toward a particular district is primarily a function of the relative distribution of Federal dollars; today, we discuss future policy without really knowing what present policy is" (Draft Report, Task Force on Urban Education, 5/28/69, pp. 5 & 6).

This is not to say that USOE efforts are not being directed toward studying the allocation of its funds. However, it is our judgment that such efforts are still in their initial stages, and need considerable refinement before they can be relied upon for an accurate picture of fiscal flows in relationship to community characteristics important for educational policy making (J. Froomkin & D. J. Dugan, June 1969).

4. Summary

Despite the paucity of reliable data, some general conclusions can probably be drawn about the impact of Federal aid to education in coping with the problems of the cities. Title I of ESEA, despite the problems discussed above has been an important and welcome source of funds for cities. Its size in comparison with other education programs (40 percent of current Federal aid to public schools) has made for an aggregate impact under which cities appear to get a share of overall Federal funds in an amount proportionate to their population. However, when we examine the other Federal aid programs individually, we find that many of them, even programs such as Vocational Education, are of far more assistance to more favored suburban areas than they are to the central cities. Many wealthy suburban communities, wise in the ways of submitting program applications, have been able to fare better in securing Federal funds than have neighboring cities with problems of property seriously affecting their educational program. Thus, although Federal aid funds taken as a whole may provide the cities as a whole with a share proportionate to their percentage of the population, there is a serious lack of even distribution of funds given for particular individual programs to individual metropolitan areas. Relative allocations distributed by individual programs seldom reflect size or extent of need of the target population. In no sense can one discover in present distribution patterns a focused recognition that the nation has a serious urban education problem.

Summary of Chapter

Cities are facing unique problems which become more complex as the population size increases. Schools and their budgets are affected by a myriad of such problems peculiar to the cities as well as by problems originated by the educational establishment per se.

1. A set of general problems are being suffered by the cities and their results affect education.

- a. Cities face financial deterioration as a result of patterns of population migration.
- b. Patterns of migration include exit from cities or business and professional populations and entrance by lower income and economically disadvantaged populations.

c. Disadvantaged populations pay fewer taxes and require costlier services than do suburban populations, including an education which is inevitably more expensive than that adequate and appropriate for suburban populations.

d. Loss of business, lowered employment rates, lowering land values are among factors which make the cities' economies too weak to deal adequately with education for the disadvantaged.

e. Problems accompanying cities' density and deterioration demand expensive solutions in areas additional to education. Education receives a smaller share in proportion to the city's total budget than in proportion to the total budget in its suburbs—in spite of the fact that cities tax themselves more heavily than do the suburbs.

1. Cities simply cannot afford as much money for education per pupil as can the suburbs.

2. Education in the cities costs more than education in the suburbs.

a. Higher service costs in the city result in higher costs of educational personnel, maintenance, construction and services.

b. The high poor, black, handicapped, and immigrant proportions of the student body have high requirements for special educational attention.

3. State aid formulas do not offset the disparities between central city and suburban educational costs and spending.

a. Statutory and constitutional provisions of the States which influence patterns of educational finance in such areas as the organization of school districts, tax and debt limits, and responsibility for retirement funds, have often placed unfair burdens and restrictions on the cities.

b. State aid formulas, still operating on the historic assumption that cities were rich and rural areas poor, continue to favor suburban and rural areas to the point where cities seldom currently receive even their fair share.

4. Lack of public confidence toward education has been manifested in a number of ways.

a. As teachers demand higher salaries and as costs for educational materials rise, taxpayers have objected to increased spending on education.

b. Even when school programs are obviously suffering from lack of funds, the public has turned its back as further program cuts are forced. Voters have defeated local school tax and bond issues across the nation.

5. Financial difficulties experienced by non-public schools have created additional difficulties for the public schools.

a. Students who cannot afford non-public schools' raised tuitions enroll in public schools.

b. Financial failures of non-public schools cause whole school populations to enroll in public schools whose budgets and facilities do not increase proportionately.

6. Federal aid has not assisted urban areas to any great degree.

a. The levels of Federal aid are low in proportion to the total cost of education.

b. Actual dollar amounts are low with regard to increase in per pupil expenditures.

c. Administrative procedures of many State and local educational agencies have diluted the effects of aid through poverty formulas.

d. Uncertainty levels and availability of funds have minimized effective planning efforts.

e. Federal funds are distributed in a fashion which permits wealthy districts to receive more than or at least as much Federal money per pupil as poor districts.

f. Funds of many Federal programs are not distributed to the cities in shares which are proportionate to cities' percentages of State student population.

g. The Federal Government does not have a systematic way of measuring its own overall resource allocation priorities in education.

The composite result of the above factors is leading to a disastrous educational situation for many cities across the nation. It is true that several large city systems will find concentration on program improvement impossible as they struggle merely to stay open. A few examples of this are cited below.

In Philadelphia, the 1968-69 educational outlay of \$280 million is a "bare bones" budget when compared to that of 1967-68. Only emergency funds provided by the State of Pennsylvania prevented the school system from closing down May 1, several weeks before the normal closing date. The prospects are not improving. Failure of a school capital improvement bond precludes construction of sixty proposed school buildings.

In Detroit, the 1968-69 school year ended with the school system five million dollars in the red. This deficit would have been increased many times over if severe cuts had not been effected in several areas—all of them detrimental to program effectiveness—such as the filling of vacancies, textbook purchase, maintenance program, capital outlay, hiring substitute teachers, etc. The year also ended with 325 fewer teachers than the previous year.

Prospects for this year are indeed bleak. \$30-\$35 million are needed and the State may be able to provide a maximum of \$10 million. With such a deficit, the system must choose the least "evil" from the following choices: (1) keep schools closed until needed funds are guaranteed; (2) open schools as scheduled and operate them until the money runs out; or (3) further curtail an already "subsistence" budget.

In Los Angeles, defeat of tax and bond issues have left a shortage of \$32 million in the current year's budget. This deficit will mean the cutting of crucial elements of the school program, a freeze on the hiring of needed additional staff, and the possibility of being forced to close down in April of 1970.

The few examples above are far from unique. Such statements will be reflected to varying degrees in all of the large cities of the nation. Specifically, too many are faced with: (1) deficits from last year; (2) defeat of bond issues; (3) impossible alternatives of substandard programs or early closing dates; (4) continuing deterioration of facilities for which there is no money to maintain or rebuild; (5) inability to keep good teachers for lack of salary incentives; and (6) inability to hire urgently needed additional staff members.

Current budgets are barely providing the subsistence for operational expenses. And while it is true that money alone cannot guarantee educational program effectiveness, it is equally true that without first providing "survival" operational funds and second, massive additional funds to plan, develop staff and program, and implement the type of education which produces useful urban citizens, there is no chance for success.

Program failures do occur through lack of commitment, lack of expertise, and/or attitudes which anticipate failure. Program failures must occur when there is a desperate lack of sufficient funds to pay for what is needed. This chapter has documented this desperate lack.

Chapter III. The urban environment of the students

In the preceding chapter, both the causes and the extent of the massive financial crisis confronting large urban areas and their schools were clearly documented. However, the financial crisis in urban education is not the whole of the problem. The urban environment of the student—its impact, its offerings, its differences—is a major part of this problem, as characterized by divergent value sys-

tems, overcrowding, under-housing, high cost of living, low levels of income, too much discrimination, too little food, and too much noise. While the charge of this particular Task Force was focused on urban education—the students and the system, it is completely unrealistic to consider urban education apart from its context. For it is the elements interacting—often explosively—within this context which directly contribute to urban education's unique and monumental problems.

In considering these elements and their interactions, it is an extremely difficult task to rank many of the identified elements, including their effects and interactions, in terms of their significance for the urban student and his learning. Some, of course, are clearly more significant than others, such as health and food, but beyond the basic survival level, the ordering by significance becomes increasingly less clear. Moreover, cause and effect relationships are difficult to determine because of interactions among the elements. In effect, everything relates to everything else. Nevertheless, this truism is the key point to bear in mind throughout this chapter. For it is the combination of these environmental elements and their interactions in various configurations which impacts on the student's potential and largely influences the extent to which this potential will be—or can be—realized, the directions it will take, and the number of feasible options it will have.

We contend that the combination of elements in the urban environment which is bombarding on this impoverished student has created a set of special needs above and beyond those of other impoverished students. Therefore, this chapter is focused on: (1) analyzing what we have identified as the major sets of elements, including their effects and interactions, which are continuously influencing the urban student; and (2) establishing the special nature of their influence upon him. While we recognize that the educational system is an integral part of the urban student's environment, it is treated separately in the ensuing chapter because of the special focus of the Task Force. Within each section, clusters of major elements are presented with considerable attention given to those concerned with basic physical survival. For some elements, the data are definitive while, for others, the available evidence is limited. And there are some for which little "hard" evidence was found to be available other than experience and anecdotal report. In no case, are the data exhaustive. However, they are intended to present a firm foundation on which to establish the magnitude and major features of the urban education problem. Only on this kind of foundation can the urgency of our recommendations—and our credibility—be established.

The specific sections are: (1) health and nutrition; (2) economic status and employment; (3) housing and living conditions; and (4) the family of the inner city student. In the summary section we present the major conclusions and implications derived from the preceding sections as they relate to education.

Health and Nutrition

Most basic of all the clusters of elements in terms of physical survival are those associated with health and nutrition. In this section, we are concerned with: (1) documenting the incidence of health and nutritional problems among the impoverished urban groups; and (2) describing the effects of these problems on the quality and length of their lives with the major focus on education.

Malnutrition, Its Extent and Effects

Malnutrition, a major corollary of poverty, is a basic fact of life in America. Of the ap-

proximately 10.5 million children living in poverty throughout our nation, it is estimated that for many of them, food is either unavailable or insufficient to meet even the minimum standards required to sustain a healthy child (U.S. Senate, Hearings, 1/1969, p. 344). In the urban areas where the majority of these children live, malnutrition exists almost exclusively among the racial and ethnic minority groups of the inner city (U.S. Senate, Hearings, 1/1969).

In a major study involving ten States, the National Nutritional Survey (Schaefer & Johnson, 1969, p. 10), a major attempt was made to define the nutritional status of America. Five approaches were used in securing the data: clinical, biochemical, dietary, dental, and socioeconomic.

The study's sample, studied in depth and carefully selected, is well worth mentioning. Fifty-five percent of the sample examined was Negro. Twenty-five percent of the families were Spanish-American. Forty-one percent of this group spoke Spanish as the principal—and most frequently the only—language. An age distribution of the groups particularly vulnerable to nutritional stress shows: Children 0-6 years constituted 19 percent of the total group. Children 10-16 years constituted 25 percent of the total group. Adults 60 years and older constituted 13 percent of the total group. Only 50 percent of the male respondents reported working full-time in the month and year preceding their examination at the local cooperating clinic where the survey was conducted.

Some of the clinical findings are of major significance. Approximately 4 percent of the babies and children up to six years of age showed evidence of Vitamin D deficiency; 18 cases of rickets were diagnosed. Four to 5 percent of the subjects exhibited winged scapula and potbelly, systematic of protein/calorie malnutrition. Goiter is endemic; 5 percent of all people examined have an enlarged thyroid gland. Eight cases of Bitot's spots related to Vitamin A deficiency were noted and confirmed. Four percent of all surveyed exhibited scorbutic gum lesions. Changes in hair, skin, and lips, which may be indicative of poor general nutrition, were also found.

The children studied between one and three years of age were considerably below the average height of children in the U.S.A. Three times the expected number of children fell below the sixteenth percentile on the Iowa Growth Chart. A number of this group were more than 10 percent below the average height for their age.

Lastly, the survey revealed seven cases exhibiting severe general malnutrition of kwashiorkor (severe protein and multiple nutrient deficiency) and marasmus (primarily a caloric deficiency). Wrist bone X-ray data is presently being analyzed for further evidence of growth retardation. Analysis of the first 120 x-rays of preschool children indicates that growth in about 3.5 percent is retarded.

Biochemical laboratory findings were also characteristic of poorly nourished populations. From 9 to 19 percent of those tested had blood and urine levels less than adequate for good health. Some of these findings are:

1. One-third of the children under six had hemoglobin levels diagnosed as anemia and requiring medical attention. While fewer of the older people had anemia, many had hemoglobin levels indicative of poor nutritional health.

2. The findings for Vitamin A present a somewhat similar picture. One-third of the children under six had less than adequate serum levels of Vitamin A.

3. Urinary riboflavin and thiamine levels were also low in a substantial portion of the total studied. Analysis of the first 2,400 urine samples revealed 19 percent of the people had low levels of urinary riboflavin. Nine percent had low levels of urinary thiamine. Here

again, the pattern of widespread malnourishment was reaffirmed.

4. Serum Vitamin C levels were less than adequate in 12 to 16 percent of all age groups. These findings suggest the intake of food supplying Vitamin C is less than it should be among these people. This deficiency of Vitamin C occurred primarily in children under six.

5. Sixteen and three-tenths percent of all surveyed showed less than adequate serum protein levels. Seventeen and one-tenth percent of the serum albumin levels were similarly depressed. These values are below those observed in foreign populations.

The dietary inadequacies vary between the age groups. Iron intake is low in more than 60 percent of the young children. Adolescents and older individuals have inadequate intake of Vitamin A. Almost 40 percent of both groups consume less than half the amount considered adequate. However, early trends in certain dietary and biochemical values appear to support each other. For example, one-third of the children less than six years old were anemic. In the same group, the food eaten contained considerably less than adequate amounts of iron, an important nutrient in maintaining adequate hemoglobin levels.

In general, this study concludes that malnutrition and the ill health largely engendered by it may negatively and directly affect the development of the central nervous system. Such an effect on the nervous system will eventuate either in patterns of clinically definable malfunctioning or in sub-clinical conditions (Schaefer & Johnson, Spring, 1969). As any psychologist or educator knows, such patterns have negative functional consequences for normal development and the capacity to learn. When we consider the vast number of children living in poverty who are all probably experiencing at least some degree of malnutrition, the findings and the major conclusion from this study alone are of the gravest concern.

The work of Densen (1967), Haynes (1967), and Baumgartner (1965) all indicate that we have yet to learn the full magnitude of the nutritional problems of blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans. However, with the information which is available, it is clear that widespread malnutrition is definitely a characteristic of impoverished urban groups.

Our primary concern here, however, is not with an exhaustive documentation of malnutrition and ill or marginal health among urban minority groups in and of itself. Such documentation is the concern of other studies. Rather, we are pointing out that the impoverished urban resident—regardless of his age—is not only prey to malnutrition and its attendant health problems but to their effects as well. These effects have significant complications for the whole quality of his life, of which education is a crucial part.

The relationships among poverty, malnutrition, and education have been explored in considerable detail. Findings from studies present a discouraging picture of the impoverished urban student with regard to the likelihood of his achieving successfully in the educative process as it is currently conceived and implemented in the schools. As the following reports show, this student has little of the "background readiness" which the schools have typically assumed—and required—when he enters the kindergarten or the first grade; and, in all probability, he will be unable to make up this "readiness" just through receiving successive years of schooling.

According to one report (Cravioto, et al., 1966), there are at least three ways in which malnutrition indirectly affects the learning of the child. One is his lack of responsiveness to his environment, which results in a lessened amount of time being spent in learning from it. Over a period of time, the result is the loss of months of needed experience.

This factor alone can produce developmental and learning lags.

A second factor is below noted.

"Interference with the learning process at specific times during its course may result in disturbances in function that are both profound and of long term significance. . . . (There is a) relationship between the age at which malnutrition develops and learning. . . . As contrasted with older patients, infants under six months recovering from kwashiorkor did not recoup their mental age deficit during the recovery period. . . . (There is evidence that) indicated a strong association between the persistence of later effects on mental performance and the age at onset of malnutrition and its duration." (Cravioto, et al, 1966 p. 399).

A third factor has to do with parent-child interactions, i.e., parental response to the child is in part a function of the child's reactivity. Malnutrition reduces responsiveness resulting in various levels of apathy. A lack of responsiveness on the part of the child can have negative effect on the amount of responsiveness (e.g., affection, verbalization) given to the child by his parent(s). Apathy begets apathy which produces a cumulative pattern of reduced adult-child interaction. This pattern has major consequences in terms of the child's general capabilities for stimulation, learning, and social interaction. For the school, with its demands for verbal capabilities a rapid rate of performing tasks, and group operations, this pattern of apathy creates serious problems. Virtually the same factors were reported in a later study by Birch. Specifically, he found that:

"Children who are ill-nourished are reduced in their responsiveness to the environment, distracted by their visceral state, and reduced in their ability to progress and endure in learning conditions." (Birch, 1968, p. 598.)

Furthermore, as was reported in another study, the apathy, factor can often be confused with mental retardation by teachers which, in turn, leads to a lower set of expectations for impoverished children (Stemmler, 1966).

Concerning mental retardation and other disabilities, Sarasan (1959) reported that the incidence of mental retardation is not randomly spread throughout the population. Beyond the level of chance, mental retardation is most prevalent in the impoverished groups. Moreover, his studies reveal its linkage to malnutrition and ill health. In the same vein, Kessler (1958) reported that neurological and physical disabilities were also more prevalent among impoverished groups than among higher income groups. As with mental retardation, linkages of these kinds of disabilities to malnutrition and ill health were noted. Figures reported in both these studies were based on predominantly urban groups.

Infant and Childbirth Mortality Rates

Another element in the health and nutrition area is infant mortality. According to Dr. Charles Upton Lowe, Chairman, Committee on Nutrition, Academic of Pediatrics, the rate of infant mortality "may be the hallmark of poverty in the U.S.A." (Lowe in U.S. Senate, Hearings, 1/1969, p. 1091).

As he further stated in an appearance before the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Need, the rate of premature births is also from two to three times higher among poverty families than among the well-to-do (Lowe, in U.S. Senate, Hearings, 1/1969, p. 1091). Additional evidence concerning the rates of infant mortality among impoverished urban minority groups compared with white groups is presented for twelve major cities in Table 1 on the following page (Infant and Perinatal Mortality in the U.S., 10/1965, p. 12). Although there is considerable variation shown in the comparison of white and non-white groups in the three

categories, the striking fact which emerges is that for each category in every city, the non-white mortality rate exceeds the white. A companion table using the same source presents data on white and non-white infant mortality in terms of causes (See Table 2). Among the most striking figures in this table are those given for pneumonia, unqualified neonatal disorders, effects due to mother's disease during pregnancy, and di-

seases in early infancy. In these instances, the rate for the non-white group is usually twice—and, sometimes, more—as great as that for the white groups. Thus, it can be seen that there is a far higher rate of infant mortality among families in poverty than for those not in poverty. Moreover, the infant mortality rate within urban areas is much higher for the racial and ethnic minorities than for the white majority.

With regard to mortality rates of mothers in childbirth, the non-white rate well exceeds that of the white rate. For example, in 1930, twice as many non-white mothers died in childbirth as did white mothers. In 1960, four non-white mothers died in childbirth for every white mother who died. The overall trend is toward the reduction of deaths in childbirth in the 1960s. However, when the figures for white and non-white mothers are examined separately, the non-white rate is well in excess of the white (Baumgartner, 4/1965, p. 495).

In addition to the kind of care received, the linkage to health and nutrition are again manifested.

Life Expectancy

Numerous factors enter into computing the life expectancies of individuals and groups. However, without the fundamental elements of adequate nutrition and health, the life expectancy of an individual is likely to be shortened. For this reason, the information on this element is presented here.

While gradually increasing for Americans generally, life expectancy for the black man has not increased. In fact, it has dropped slightly. What is even more striking is that the decrease is higher among black men in their prime working years, as can be seen from Table 3. An inference which can be drawn from this table is the probability of an increase in widowhood among the blacks. Extrapolating further, such figures suggest that an increasing number of families will be without a male head during the critical years of the children's development.

Indeed, as Douglass reported in an article, "The Urban Negro Family," there were proportionately more widows among non-white women than white. Twenty percent of non-white women were widows in 1960 as compared with under 7 percent for white women. Another finding reported was that non-white women become widows earlier than white women (Douglass in *The American Negro Reference Book*, 1966, p. 340).

From such information, it is comparatively easy to infer the kinds of effects the lack of a male head of household could have on a family's economic and emotional stability—and, particularly, on the family's children. We shall return to considering these and other effects in the fourth section of this chapter.

ECONOMIC STATUS AND EMPLOYMENT

A basic pair of elements in terms of physical survival are those of economic status and employment. Certainly, no other elements are more directly connected to poverty than these. In this section, we present their main dimensions for the inner city residents, and note their relationships to education.

Economic Status: For Americans as a whole, income levels are rising, resulting in a general improvement in economic status. Our concern here is to what extent this general improvement is reflected in the economic status of those Americans living either in poverty or in near poverty.

Between 1959 and 1967, there was a major increase in the proportion of Negro families with higher incomes in metropolitan areas. In 1967, approximately one-fifth had incomes over \$10,000, double the proportion in 1959. While this increase was taking place, it was only one-half the percentage of white families in the same income bracket (U.S. Bureau of Census, Feb., 1969, p. 42). Table 4, on the following page, indicates that the median family income for the Negro has substantially increased, but it is still only 68 percent of the white family income (Bureau Census,

TABLE 1.—AVERAGE ANNUAL INFANT MORTALITY RATES BY AGE AT DEATH AND COLOR¹

Area	Rates per 1,000 live births					
	Under 1 year,		Under 28 days,		28 days-11 months,	
	1960-61		1960-61		1960-61	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
New York, NY.....	21.5	41.3	16.2	30.5	5.3	10.8
Chicago, Ill.....	23.1	37.9	16.9	25.2	6.3	12.7
Los Angeles, Calif.....	22.1	29.9	16.9	22.4	5.2	7.5
Philadelphia, Pa.....	24.8	41.2	19.5	30.3	5.3	11.0
Detroit, Mich.....	24.7	37.0	19.3	28.1	5.5	8.8
Baltimore, Md.....	25.3	40.3	19.3	29.6	6.0	10.8
Houston, Tex.....	22.9	36.9	17.8	21.6	5.1	15.2
Cleveland, Ohio.....	24.8	38.0	19.5	30.6	5.3	7.4
Washington, D.C.....	28.3	39.4	22.4	29.5	5.9	9.9
St. Louis, Mo.....	24.5	43.9	18.6	31.8	5.9	12.0
Milwaukee, Wis.....	23.2	34.0	18.4	25.2	4.8	8.9
San Francisco, Calif.....	22.8	26.3	17.0	19.6	5.8	6.7

¹ Infant and perinatal mortality in the United States. Public Health Service Publication, Washington, D.C., 1965, p. 72.

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE ANNUAL INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR SELECTED CAUSES OF DEATH, BY AGE AT DEATH, AND COLOR, 1959-61

[Rates per 10,000 live births in specified color group]

Cause of death (7th revision—International Classification of Diseases)	Under 1 year	Under 28 days	Under 1 day	1 to 6 days	7 to 27 days	28 days to 11 months
WHITE						
All causes.....	228.5	172.2	95.6	60.0	16.6	56.3
Infective and parasitic diseases (001-138).....	2.6	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.2	2.3
Influenza and pneumonia, including pneumonia of newborn (480-493, 763).....	22.9	6.6	0.8	2.8	3.0	16.3
All other diseases of respiratory system (470-475, 500-527).....	5.3	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.3	4.6
Gastritis and duodenitis, etc. (543, 571, 572, 764).....	4.0	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.5	3.4
All other diseases of digestive system (530-542, 544-570, 573-587).....	3.6	2.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.2
Congenital malformations (750-759).....	37.5	25.0	10.1	9.3	5.6	12.5
Birth injuries (760, 761).....	23.4	23.3	15.7	7.1	0.5	0.0
Intracranial and spinal injury at birth (760).....	6.9	6.9	2.7	3.7	0.4	0.0
Other birth injury (761).....	16.5	16.5	12.9	3.4	0.1	0.0
Postnatal asphyxia and atelectasia (762).....	42.2	41.6	24.9	15.8	1.0	0.5
Hemolytic disease of newborn (770).....	5.6	5.5	3.8	1.6	0.2	0.0
Immaturity unqualified (776).....	39.4	39.2	27.5	10.6	1.1	0.2
Neonatal disorders arising from certain diseases of mother during pregnancy, etc. (765-769, 771-774).....	24.0	22.6	10.6	10.2	1.8	1.4
Symptoms and ill-defined conditions (780-793, 795).....	2.8	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.3	1.6
Accidents (E800-E962).....	7.3	1.1	0.1	0.4	0.6	6.2
Residual (140-468, 590-749, E963-E985).....	8.1	2.3	0.7	0.8	0.8	5.8
Certain diseases of early infancy (760-776).....	141.7	139.5	83.2	48.2	8.1	2.2
NONWHITE						
All causes.....	425.3	268.6	143.3	85.3	40.1	156.7
Infective and parasitic diseases (001-138).....	7.9	1.5	0.1	0.3	1.1	6.4
Influenza and pneumonia, including pneumonia of newborn (480-493, 763).....	75.3	19.2	2.2	6.5	10.4	56.1
All other diseases of respiratory system (470-475, 500-527).....	11.3	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.6	10.1
Gastritis and duodenitis, etc. (543, 571, 572, 764).....	23.0	3.9	0.0	0.3	3.6	19.1
All other diseases of digestive system (530-542, 544-570, 573-587).....	4.7	2.3	0.4	1.1	0.8	2.5
Congenital malformations (750-759).....	30.4	17.8	6.4	6.8	4.6	12.6
Birth injuries (760, 761).....	26.9	26.8	16.9	8.9	1.0	0.1
Intracranial and spinal injury at birth.....	11.2	11.2	4.8	5.6	0.8	0.0
Other birth injury (761).....	15.7	15.6	12.0	3.4	0.2	0.1
Postnatal asphyxia and atelectasia (762).....	64.8	63.5	41.2	20.0	2.3	1.3
Hemolytic disease of newborn (770).....	2.2	2.2	0.9	1.0	0.3	0.1
Immaturity unqualified (776).....	77.8	76.9	51.6	21.0	4.3	0.9
Neonatal disorders arising from certain diseases of mother during pregnancy, etc. (765-769, 771-774).....	46.7	38.0	18.2	14.0	5.8	8.8
Symptoms and ill-defined conditions (780-793, 795).....	22.2	9.2	3.8	3.2	2.2	13.1
Accidents (E800-E962).....	17.0	3.0	0.4	1.1	1.5	14.0
Residual (140-468, 590-749, E963-E985).....	15.0	3.6	1.0	1.1	1.5	11.4
Certain diseases of early infancy (760-776).....	241.1	230.0	130.9	71.5	27.5	11.2

SOURCE: "Infant and Perinatal Mortality in the United States," Public Health Service, October 1965, Washington, D.C. table 9 p. 76.

1969 (a). Table 4 also shows income comparisons between white and black workers for two time periods in the central cities in terms of female and male, part-time and full-time. In every instance, the white workers fare much better than their black counterparts.

Another comparison is afforded by examining income in terms of the number of earners in white and black families. Again, using 1959 and 1967 as the baselines, we find that in 1967 the median income for the Negro family with one earner in the inner metropolitan areas was \$4,199. For the white inner city family with one earner, it was \$7,285. If there were two earners in the black family, then the median income figure rose

to \$7,225. The median income for black families with two earners was still less than that for white families with only one earner (U.S. Bureau of Census, Feb., 1969, p. 44). Figures quoted here in terms of blacks are equally relevant to Spanish-speaking minorities as well.

From these comparisons, we find that there is an increase in income over the last eight years for both white and non-white families in the central cities. However, we still find that the median income of the non-white family is still well below that of the white family in the inner city. Moreover, to approximate the median income earned by one white earner per family there must apparently be two black earners per family.

TABLE 3.—LIFE EXPECTANCY¹ IN PRIME WORKING YEARS, 1960 AND 1966

	1960			1966		
	Nonwhite (years)	White (years)	Difference	Nonwhite (years)	White (years)	Difference
At age:						
25.....	43.1	48.3	-5.2	43.1	48.6	-5.5
35.....	34.3	38.8	-4.5	34.4	39.1	-4.7
45.....	26.2	29.7	-3.5	26.4	30.0	-3.6
55.....	19.3	21.5	-2.2	19.4	21.8	-2.4

¹ Additional years of life expected.

Source: Center for Urban Education.

TABLE 4.—MEDIAN EARNINGS OF WHITE AND NEGRO WORKERS IN CENTRAL CITIES (1967 DOLLARS)

	Male			Female		
	1967	1959	Percent change, 1959-67	1967	1959	Percent change, 1959-67
White:						
All workers.....	\$6,465	\$5,430	19	\$3,063	\$2,616	17
Year-round workers.....	7,264	6,132	18	4,144	3,896	6
Proportion of workers with year-round work.....	74	67	(¹)	57	48	(¹)
Negro:						
All workers.....	4,380	3,435	28	2,197	1,421	55
Year-round workers.....	5,179	4,271	21	3,020	2,295	32
Proportion of workers with year-round work.....	68	57	(¹)	55	42	(¹)
Negro median earnings as a percent of white:						
All workers.....	68	63	(¹)	72	52	(¹)
Year-round workers.....	71	70	(¹)	73	59	(¹)

¹ Not applicable.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce; Bureau of Census, "Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas," Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 27, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, February 1969, p. 47.

With only one earner according to these figures, the black family is still on the brink of poverty—if not "over the cliff" in it.¹²

Support for this conclusion is to be found in Table 5 on the next page. In comparing the numbers and percent of black and white Americans classified as being in poverty in 1959 compared with 1967, there is an overall decrease in the actual numbers so classified

for both the black and white groups. However, we find a staggering number of Americans designated as being below poverty level for whom the affluent society simply does not exist. However, in examining the percents reported in Table 5, we find that in the metropolitan areas, the incidence of poverty is three times as great for black Americans as it is for white (Bur. Census, Feb. 1969, p. 52).

Tables 6, 7, and 8, on three successive pages, supplement the information presented in

Tables 4 and 5. Table 6 presents the total number of families residing in six large metropolitan areas in 1960 categorized by: (1) residents of central city versus those outside the central city; and (2) percent of those who are classified as having incomes below poverty level. Clearly apparent from this table

is the factor of poverty density. That is, the heavy concentration of families classified in the economic status of poverty is found in the cities. San Antonio, with its heavy concentration of Spanish-surname Americans, shows the greatest density in terms of percents (Louria & Stokes, 1968, p. 3).

TABLE 5.—INCIDENCE OF POVERTY¹ AMONG PERSONS

	Number of persons below poverty level (millions)		Percent below poverty level	
	1967	1959	1967	1959
United States.....	26.1	39.4	13	22
Metropolitan areas.....	13.2	18.3	10	17
Central cities.....	8.3	11.3	14	20
White.....	4.7	7.1	10	15
Negro.....	3.5	4.1	30	43
In metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more.....	4.5	5.1	15	17
White.....	2.3	3.1	10	13
Negro.....	2.1	2.0	28	36
In metropolitan areas under 1,000,000.....	3.8	6.1	14	23
White.....	2.4	4.0	10	17
Negro.....	1.4	2.1	33	54

¹ The poverty definition (as developed by the Social Security Administration) is based on the minimum food and other needs of families, taking account of family size, number of children, and farm-nonfarm residence. The poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of 4 was \$3,335 in 1967 and \$3,060 in 1959.

² An error was found in the original processing of the income data from the March 1963 CPS. Consequently, the revised 1967 poverty data shown here differ slightly from those published in "Current Population Reports," Series P-60, No. 55.

Source: Bureau of the Census, Trends in Social and Economic Condition in Metropolitan Areas, U.S. Department of Commerce February 1969, p. 52.

Table 7 presents the percent for non-white families living in the central city, in the poverty area, in the classification of poverty. Again, the density factor appears (Louria & Stokes, 1968, p. 4). The combination of the in-migration of the non-whites to the central city and the out-migration of the whites to the suburbs which has occurred since 1960 suggest that the numbers and percents of impoverished Americans concentrated in the central city will show a marked increase when the 1970 census data are compiled.¹³ It must also be pointed out that the number and percent of families living right on the brink of poverty in the central city were not reported in these tables. Such information on marginal poverty families would considerably alter the picture of the central city by increasing both the number and percentage distributions.

Table 8, based on 1966 data, presents information on poor and non-poor families in terms of residence, race, age of head of household, and economic status. Several striking relationships can be seen in this table. One is the high concentration of poor non-white families in the inner city, regardless of age of head of household. Another clearly indicates the exodus to the suburbs

on the part of the non-poor whites. In comparing percents in terms of the poor within the SMSA¹⁴ and the poor outside of it, it is apparent that there is a much greater percent—and number—of poor families living within the SMSA (Jackson & Welten, June 1969, p. 7).

TABLE 6.—FAMILIES RESIDING IN POVERTY AREAS HAVING INCOME BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL IN 6 METROPOLITAN AREAS—1960 CENSUS¹

Metropolitan area	Total number of families	Percent in poverty area	Percent below poverty level
New Orleans:			
Central city.....	152,518	67.1	25.6
Outside central city.....	58,643	37.0	16.0
San Antonio:			
Central city.....	137,758	50.8	28.6
Outside central city.....	18,872	41.0	21.0
St. Louis:			
Central city.....	191,873	47.4	19.1
Outside central city.....	339,039	7.1	9.6
Pittsburgh:			
Central city.....	151,874	44.7	16.0
Outside central city.....	470,401	15.1	11.4

Footnotes at end of table.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 6.—FAMILIES RESIDING IN POVERTY AREAS HAVING INCOME BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL IN 6 METROPOLITAN AREAS—1960 CENSUS¹—Continued

Metropolitan area	Total number of families	Percent in poverty area	Percent below poverty level
Washington, D.C.:			
Central city.....	173,695	42.8	16.7
Outside central city.....	305,212	3.8	6.0
Baltimore:			
Central city.....	229,069	41.0	17.9
Outside central city.....	194,411	10.7	8.6

¹ Poverty level has been defined by the Social Security Administration. It takes into account family size, composition and farm-nonfarm residence with the ceiling in 1959 set at \$5,448 for a nonfarm family headed by male with 7 or more members having 1 related child under 18 years of age. Poverty area is based on a poverty index using 5 socioeconomic characteristics: (1) percent of families with money incomes under \$3,000 in 1959, (2) percent of children under 18 not living with both parents, (3) percent of persons 25 years and over with less than 8 years of school completed, (4) percent of unskilled males (laborers and service workers) in the employed civilian labor force, (5) percent of housing units dilapidated or lacking some or all plumbing facilities. Although poverty area and poverty level are mutually exclusive terms, there is a natural overlap, i.e., people below poverty level tend to live in poverty areas. For a precise analysis, see "Poverty Areas in the 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas," PC (S1)-54, supplementary reports, 1960 Census of Population, Bureau of the Census, Nov. 13, 1967.

Source: Louria & Stokes, POD/OE/HEW 1968, "Profiles of Twenty American Cities," p. 3.

FIGURE 9.—NONWHITE FAMILIES IN 11 METROPOLITAN AREAS ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE, POVERTY AREA, AND POVERTY LEVEL

Metropolitan area	Percent in central city	Percent in poverty area	Percent below poverty level
Milwaukee.....	99.0	83.3	30.4
Chicago.....	95.3	75.7	29.3
New York.....	90.6	71.1	25.8
Cleveland.....	97.5	73.2	27.8
Washington.....	86.3	61.3	26.0
St. Louis.....	72.6	86.9	42.1
Buffalo.....	84.2	78.7	34.3
Baltimore.....	87.8	77.1	35.3
New Orleans.....	88.1	92.6	51.1
Boston.....	80.0	69.2	28.4
Philadelphia.....	79.8	71.5	30.7

Source: Louria & Stokes, OPD/OE/HEW, "Profiles of Twenty Major American Cities," p. 4.

TABLE 8.—FIGURE 7

Race and age of head	Number of families (in thousands)	Percentage distribution							
		Inside SMSA			Outside SMSA (rural)				
		Total	Central city	Fringe	Total	Urban	Total	Nonfarm	Farm
POOR									
White ¹	4,375	49.1	24.4	24.7	51.0	15.2	35.8	27.8	8.0
22 to 54.....	2,371	50.7	24.8	25.9	49.3	15.6	33.7	25.6	8.1
55 to 64.....	558	42.0	23.7	18.3	58.0	10.9	47.1	33.5	13.6
65 and over.....	1,277	48.0	23.6	24.4	51.9	15.8	36.1	30.2	5.9
Nonwhite ¹	1,711	53.9	44.0	9.9	46.0	16.7	29.3	21.3	8.1
22 to 54.....	1,511	58.6	48.5	10.2	41.3	16.5	24.8	18.3	6.5
55 to 64.....	243	37.9	29.2	8.2	62.2	29.6	41.6	27.2	14.4
65 and over.....	261	42.5	33.3	9.6	57.5	16.8	41.0	31.4	9.6
NONPOOR									
White ¹	39,641	65.7	27.4	38.3	34.3	13.4	20.9	15.5	5.4
22 to 54.....	27,586	66.9	25.6	41.3	33.1	12.8	20.3	15.9	4.4
55 to 64.....	6,393	64.7	31.1	33.6	35.3	13.7	21.6	13.9	7.7
65 and over.....	5,094	61.4	32.5	28.9	38.7	15.3	23.4	15.2	8.2
Nonwhite ¹	3,195	79.8	62.7	17.1	20.3	8.1	12.2	10.1	2.1
22 to 54.....	2,336	82.4	64.6	17.9	17.6	7.2	10.4	8.9	1.6
55 to 64.....	497	74.2	56.9	17.3	25.8	8.5	17.3	14.9	2.4
65 and over.....	296	66.2	55.4	10.8	33.8	14.9	18.9	12.8	6.1

¹ Includes families with a head under 22, not shown separately.

Source: Jackson, Carolyn and Welten, Terri, "Residence, Race, and Age of Poor Families in 1966." Social Security Bulletin, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, June 1969, p. 7.

For the residents of the cities, the actual number of families involved are probably even greater than these figures on poverty would indicate. The poverty definition is based upon a national norm in relation to the minimum needs of families' food, clothing, shelter, etc. The costs for these items are far higher in the cities, especially the larger ones. In March 1969, the Bureau of Labor Statistics published data concerning the minimum amount of money required for a family of four to live on with any degree of security in urban centers if it wanted to have a "sense of self-respect and social participation." These figures presented in Table 9 are well in excess of the national poverty threshold (Bureau of Labor Statistics, March 1969, pp. 1-92).

It should be remembered that these figures are conservative since they are computed in the spring of 1967 and that there has been an increase in consumer prices since that time. In 1967, the median earning of professional and managerial black workers was \$6,208. White collar Negro median salaries were \$5,515, and black service workers had

a median salary of \$4,159. Comparing these figures with those in Table 9 indicates that better than 50 percent of all professional blacks would be below the self-respect level required for living in Los Angeles and San Francisco. All other blacks would be below the "self-respect" level in any of the twelve major cities across this nation. In central cities the plight of the Negro is even worse. In 1967, the median income of year-round Negro workers was \$4,380. The figure means that somewhat less than three-fourths and more than one-half of all black families in inner cities across this nation are unable to live at a level of "self-respect and social participation" (New York Times, March 16, 1969, p. 1).

TABLE 9.—Low living financial requirement for urban family of 4

New York City.....	\$6,021
Chicago.....	6,104
Los Angeles.....	6,305
San Francisco.....	6,571
Milwaukee.....	6,104
Cleveland.....	5,915

TABLE 9.—Low living financial requirement for urban family of 4—Continued

Washington, D.C.....	\$6,133
St. Louis.....	6,002
Philadelphia.....	5,898
Detroit.....	5,873
Baltimore.....	5,820
Houston.....	5,542

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., *Three Standards of Living for an Urban Family of Four Persons*, March 1969, p. 16.

It seems apparent that the national standard for poverty, at least in terms of family income, is much too low. These figures clearly indicate that the cost of living in the city—and particularly in the central city—is actually forcing more families into poverty than is generally realized.

In considering the generally lower income of the ethnic and racial minorities in the cities when compared with the median income (\$7,264) of his white fellow worker (U.S. Bur. Census, Feb. 1969, p. 47), an easy

and less emotionally loaded explanation than the one of discrimination comes to mind: the educational achievement levels must be different when the minority groups are compared with the whites. That this explanation simply will not suffice is demonstrated by Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10 presents the median years of schooling for persons by age, sex, and race. With only one exception, the striking fact which emerges from this table is that there is very little difference in any of the categories for comparison. The median years of schooling completed for Negroes increased by about one year during the period of 1960-68. During this same period there was little change in the educational level of whites in the inner cities. The median differences between black and white central city males is but 4 months in years of schooling.

TABLE 10.—MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED FOR PERSONS 25 TO 29 YEARS OLD, BY SEX

	Metropolitan areas, total		Central cities		Suburban rings	
	1968	1960	1968	1960	1968	1960
Both sexes.....	12.6	12.4	12.5	12.4	12.6	12.4
White.....	12.6	12.4	12.6	12.5	12.7	12.4
Negro.....	12.3	11.4	12.2	11.4	12.3	10.0
Male.....	12.7	12.4	12.6	12.4	12.7	12.5
White.....	12.7	12.5	12.7	12.6	12.7	12.5
Negro.....	12.3	11.3	12.3	11.3	12.4	11.1
Female.....	12.5	12.3	12.5	12.3	12.6	12.4
White.....	12.6	12.4	12.5	12.4	12.6	12.4
Negro.....	12.2	11.4	12.2	11.5	12.3	9.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce; Bureau of Census, "Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas," 1969, p. 22.

TABLE 11.—MEDIAN INCOME FOR WHITE AND NEGRO MALES 25 TO 52 YEARS OF AGE BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

	Central cities			Suburban rings		
	Median income	Percent increase		Median income	Percent increase	
	1967	1959	1959-67	1967	1959	1959-67
WHITE						
Elementary: 8 years or less.....	\$5,658	\$5,137	10	\$6,454	\$5,507	17
High School: 1 to 3 years.....	6,748	5,788	17	7,495	6,342	18
4 years.....	7,543	6,265	20	8,188	6,774	21
College: 1 year or more.....	9,222	7,686	20	10,499	8,726	20
4 years or more.....	10,261	8,486	21	11,536	9,536	21
NEGRO						
Elementary: 8 years or less.....	4,215	4,215	23	4,021	2,750	46
High School: 1 to 3 years.....	5,086	4,059	25	4,631	4,050	14
4 years.....	5,642	4,323	31	5,980	4,333	38
College: 1 year or more.....	7,025	5,022	40	7,320	5,167	42
NEGRO MEDIAN INCOME AS A PERCENT OF WHITE						
Elementary: 8 years or less.....	75	67	(¹)	62	50	(¹)
High School: 1 to 3 years.....	75	70	(¹)	62	64	(¹)
4 years.....	75	69	(¹)	73	64	(¹)
College: 1 year or more.....	76	65	(¹)	70	59	(¹)
4 years or more.....	74	(¹)				

¹ Not applicable.

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Trends in Social and Economic Condition; in Metropolitan Areas," U.S. Department of Commerce; 1969, p. 26.

Table 11, again, arrays the educational data for white and non-white males living in the central cities and suburban rings and compares them for median income. However, the really depressing—and equally striking—fact which emerges here is that the income level of the black male is markedly less than for his white counterpart—regardless of his education or area of residence. This table also makes it very clear that in both cities and suburbs the 1967 median income of male Negro high school graduates was about the same as that of white males who had only attended elementary school. A Negro college graduate was barely making more annual income than a white high school graduate.

While these figures give no indication of the quality of the education which the white and non-white groups received, it is apparent that differences in educational achievement level, translated here as number of years in school, afford no real explanation. Other factors are obviously involved. The immediate explanation which comes to mind—quite apart from the educational quality of the schooling received—is racial and ethnic discrimination on a grand scale. Moreover, it takes little effort for any member of any of the racial and ethnic groups to arrive at the same explanation. The typical admonishment to a high school student from the minority groups to stay in school now so he will have an opportunity for a better income later receives only partial support from the figures presented in Tables 10 and 11. He may have an opportunity for a better income in comparison with those

from the minority groups if he does stay in school, but in all probability, he won't have an equal opportunity when compared with his counterpart from the white majority group.

In this section, the economic status of impoverished urban citizens has been largely treated in terms of two indices, income level and the below-poverty classification. However, there is a third index which should be mentioned, namely, welfare support. As would be expected for those Americans struggling in poverty, a large percentage of them receive some degree of welfare support. In 1961, Negro children constituted 46 percent of all children receiving AFDC in the country. In inner cities, 75 percent of the children aided were non-white. Although in 1961, the median number of monthly payments received was 20.8 for Negroes as compared to 11.5 for whites, nearly 50 percent of all Negro families on AFDC had monthly incomes of \$120 or less as compared to 39 percent of all white families. In fact, one of every five blacks on AFDC had a monthly income of \$80 or less, which equals \$960 a year (Polski & Brown, 1967, Table 33).

Employment

A comfortable and cherished myth has been: the "better" the education an individual secures, the greater will be his opportunity to secure a "better" job—including the impoverished individual. We have already provided some evidence which sharply contradicts this belief—at least for the racial and ethnic minorities living in urban areas. In this section, we provide additional evidence in further contradiction of this myth.

For it is within the central city that educational attainment is most dramatically linked to unemployment and underemployment.

As general background information, it should be noted that big city economies have changed from a past dependence upon craft skills and job flexibility to abilities correlated with literacy and formal education. Furthermore, as Chapter 4 explains in detail, the in-migration of groups from rural and non-urban areas has flooded the cities with Americans whose skills and knowledges are often of little saleable value in terms of employment. These Americans, without either adequate financial resources or adequate urban capabilities, gravitate to the already overcrowded inner city and its poverty. By far, the greatest number of these immigrants are from the racial and ethnic minorities. The net effect of the non-saleable skills can be seen in the following kinds of information.

In a survey of eight large cities conducted by the Department of Labor in 1966, the rate of unemployment in slums was three times the national average (Manpower Report, 4/1967, pp. 74-75). The survey found that a disproportionately large number of slum dwellers were neither working nor looking for work. This "nonparticipation rate" was 11 percent among men aged 20 to 64 living in slum neighborhoods. The sample survey reported that the average rate of "sub-employment" for the ten slums was 34 percent. Lack of formal education and vocational training was reported to be the principal reasons for unemployment and sub-employment among slum residents. In these neighborhoods, a third of all unemployed adults had never attended high school, and two-thirds had not graduated from high school.

Approximately a year later, another survey of 100 cities reported on the worst poverty sections of these cities. For the last quarter of 1967, adult blacks had an average city-wide unemployment rate of nearly 7 percent as compared with 3.2 percent in other sections. For whites, the rates were 3 percent and 5 percent respectively in non-poverty and poverty sections. For blacks, the rates were 9 percent¹³ in the poverty areas and 5 percent outside of them (U.S. Bur. Labor Stat., January 16, 1969).

In 1968, the average unemployment rate decreased from 5.2 percent in poverty sections and to slightly less than 3 percent in non-poverty sections. For blacks, the rate was 6.4 percent in poverty sections and 2.5 percent outside of them (U.S. Bur. Labor Stat., January 16, 1969). While these figures show reductions over a period of time in the unemployment rates for blacks, they also show that the blacks are trailing well behind the employment rate of the general population of the central city.

Table 12, shows the unemployment rates in percents for non-whites and whites over a twenty-year time period (1948-1968), including the ratio of non-white to white. Since 1961, the unemployment rate for both white and non-white has been decreasing, but the unemployment rate for blacks continues to be twice that of whites.

However, the really striking figures with regard to unemployment emerge when we examine the unemployment rate among teenagers. In *One Year Later* (1969), the following information was reported:

"Black teenagers, in the final quarter of 1967, had an unemployment rate of a staggering 34 percent, worse, than even the (Kerner) Commission had estimated. By 1968 it had been reduced to 27.3 percent. The gain was highly significant but did not remove the problem of idle youth from the streets of the slums and ghettos." (*One Year Later*, 1969, pp. 10-11).

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 12.—UNEMPLOYMENT RATES,¹ 1948-67, AND 1968 (1ST 6 MONTHS)

	Nonwhite	White	Ratio, nonwhite to white
1948.....	5.2	3.2	1.6
1949.....	8.9	5.6	1.6
1950.....	9.0	4.9	1.8
1951.....	5.3	3.1	1.7
1952.....	5.4	2.8	1.9
1953.....	4.5	2.7	1.7
1954.....	9.9	5.0	2.0
1955.....	8.7	3.9	2.2
1956.....	8.3	3.6	2.3
1957.....	7.9	3.8	2.1
1958.....	12.6	6.1	2.1
1959.....	10.7	4.8	2.2
1960.....	10.2	4.9	2.1
1961.....	12.4	6.0	2.1
1962.....	10.9	4.9	2.2
1963.....	10.8	5.0	2.2
1964.....	9.6	4.6	2.1
1965.....	8.1	4.1	2.0
1966.....	7.3	3.3	2.2
1967.....	7.4	3.4	2.2
1968 (1st 6 months, seasonally adjusted).....	6.8	3.2	2.1

¹ The unemployment rate is the percent unemployed in the civilian labor force.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States, July 1968, p. 11.

Tables 13 and 14 show the comparisons between adults and teenagers in terms of unemployment rates. While employment rates are higher for both white and non-white teenagers than for adults the figures shown for non-white teenagers are as striking as those reported by the preceding source.¹⁶ Table 14 also makes it clear that this high teenage unemployment situation has existed for quite some time—without any real evidence of remediation.

The implications of these figures on the teenagers alone are, indeed, staggering when we consider the wastage of human resources—not to mention the costs which may be incurred in such areas as welfare, crime, and perhaps rehabilitation.

There is one additional pattern to the employment picture of impoverished groups within urban areas which must be mentioned. The black woman—and, to a lesser extent, the Spanish-surname woman, has more consistently been able to secure employment in comparison to the black male.¹⁷ What is apparently happening now is that she is be-

ginning to climb up the economic ladder at a more rapid rate than he is. A trend is developing which indicates that the woman will not only be a more consistent earner in the household but, in relation to the male head of household, she will also be the major earner.

TABLE 13.—UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE, 1967 AND 1968 (1ST 6 MONTHS)¹

	Nonwhite		White	
	1967	1968	1967	1968
Total.....	7.3	6.8	3.3	3.2
Adult men.....	4.5	4.0	2.1	2.0
Adult women.....	6.9	6.4	3.7	3.4
Teenagers ²	26.4	24.7	10.2	10.9

¹ Average, seasonally adjusted.
² "Teenagers" include those 16 to 19 years old.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1969. Recent Trends, July 1968, p. 13.

TABLE 14.—WHITE AND NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN CENTRAL CITIES FOR SELECTED GROUPS

	1968			1960		
	White	Negro	Ratio: Negro to white	White	Negro	Ratio: Negro to white
Both sexes:						
16 years and over.....	3.5	7.8	2.2	4.9	10.7	2.2
16 to 19 years.....	12.3	30.4	2.5	9.8	22.7	2.3
Male:						
20 years and over.....	2.5	6.0	2.4	4.8	9.9	2.1
Married, wife present.....	1.8	4.5	2.5	3.4	7.5	2.2
Female, 20 years and over.....	3.5	5.9	1.7	4.3	10.1	2.2

Source: U.S. Labor Statistics, Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas, February 1969, p. 31

The implications of this pattern are of particular significance in terms of the development of the male child's masculine roles and responsibilities or, in other words, his self-concept. When this situation of female dominance at home is coupled with the "petticoat rule" of the classroom—particularly, at the elementary level, the implications for the male child's development are, indeed, serious.

However, the employment patterns and unemployment rates do not tell the whole

story. There is another element involved of equal seriousness, specifically, underemployment or subemployment.

In *One Year Later*, the kinds of jobs available to blacks were summarized from the Kerner Commission Report, as follows:

"It found that Negro men are three times as likely as whites to be in unskilled or service jobs (based on 1960 Census Bureau figures). The concentration of male Negro employment at the lowest end of the occupational scale, the Commission said, is 'the

single most important source of poverty among Negroes'." (*One Year Later*, 1969, pp. 4-5).

Based on a later compilation of information, Table 15, on the following page, shows that almost one half of the white males employed in central cities worked as white collar workers whereas only one-fifth of the Negro males were so employed. There has been little change in the occupational distribution of either white or Negro men since 1960.

TABLE 15.—DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN CENTRAL CITIES EMPLOYED IN NONAGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

	White		Negro			White		Negro	
	1968	1960	1968	1960		1968	1960	1968	1960
MALE									
Total (millions).....	11.2	12.1	2.3	1.9	Total (millions).....	7.1	6.8	1.8	1.3
Total, percent.....	100	100	100	100	Total, percent.....	100	100	100	100
Professional and managerial workers.....	30	26	9	6	Professional and managerial workers.....	20	19	11	8
Clerical and sales workers.....	17	19	12	12	Clerical and sales workers.....	48	49	23	13
Craftsmen.....	21	21	13	11	Private household workers.....	3	3	20	34
Operatives.....	19	21	32	31	All other service workers.....	12	11	27	26
Laborers.....	5	5	17	22	Craftsmen, operatives, and laborers.....	16	18	19	18
Service workers.....	8	7	17	17					

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas, February 1969, p. 33.

In contrast to this is the marked increase of white collar jobs for black women from 1960 to 1968. The rise is from one-fifth in 1960 to one-third in 1968. The increase is accounted for among clerical and sales workers. Black domestic workers were far fewer in 1968 than 1960.

The "Kerner Commission" reported that in addition to the 2 million unemployed, about 10 million people are underemployed, 6.5 million of whom work full-time and earn less

than the annual poverty wage (Kerner, 1968, p. 231). Many of the rioters, the Commission pointed out, were employed, but worked in intermittent, low status, unskilled jobs—jobs which they regarded as below their level of education and ability (*Nat. Adv. Com. on Civil Disorders*, 1968, p. 232).

The *Manpower Report of the President*, April, 1968, published a new national subemployment measure reflecting the judgment that workers with low earnings may have problems which are as persistent and grievous as those of many workers with sub-

stantial unemployment. The measure is a conservative one which focuses on the most serious elements of unemployment and low earnings. It includes two distinct groups: (1) workers who were unemployed 15 or more weeks during the year; and (2) those who made less than \$3,000 for year-round, full-time work (*Manpower Report of the Pres.*, 1968, p. 34). Table 16, over page, is based on the new measure and indicates that in 1966 there were three times as many non-whites as white men who were subemployed.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 16.—SUBEMPLOYMENT INDICATORS FOR MEN, 1966

	Nonwhite	White
Subemployment rate, 1966.....	21.6	7.6
Indicators of subemployment: Number of low earners, 1966 (in thousands).....	635	1,417
Monthly average number unemployed 15 weeks or more, 1966 (in thousands).....	69	255

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bureau of the Census, "Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States," Washington, D.C., July 1968, p. 17.

A new Labor Department study of the Washington labor force reported in *The Washington Post* (5/18/1969) broadens the subemployment measure to more accurately describe the extent of joblessness and underemployment in a large urban center. In the new study, the subemployment rate for Washington is 23.1 percent. The following categories were used to arrive at the above figure: (1) the unemployed; (2) workers who hold full-time jobs receiving incomes below poverty level (as defined by the Labor Department in 1968); (3) part-time workers who would like to work full-time; and (4) people who need work but are not actively searching for jobs (normally called non-participants in the labor market who are not counted in monthly unemployment statistics).

Comparisons of "under-utilization" rates—as the study calls subemployment, show Negroes consistently in an inferior position as Table 17 indicates. When intermittent employment, low-wage work, and other factors are also included as a measure of deprivation, conditions in slum areas are seen to be especially acute. According to Department of Labor statistics, the subemployment rate in nine selected slum areas in 1966 was 32.7 percent. Table 18 indicates the rates for each of the nine areas.

TABLE 17.—UNDERUTILIZATION RATE, WASHINGTON, D.C. DECEMBER 1968

Age group	White male	Negro male	White female	Negro female
14 to 21.....	11.4	31.9	9.5	40.7
22 to 44.....	3.0	12.0	5.5	13.6
45 to 64.....	5.1	10.0	4.9	10.4
65 and over.....	5.1	11.0	4.4	10.5

Source: Robert J. Samuelson, the Washington Post, May 18, 1969.

TABLE 18.—EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS IN 9 SERIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED SLUM AREAS, NOVEMBER 1966

Unemployment rate in United States.....	3.5
Unemployment rate in 9 slum areas (estimated average).....	9.5
Subemployment rate (unemployment and estimated underemployment): ¹	
Total, 9 slum areas.....	32.7
Boston: Roxbury area.....	24
New Orleans: Several contiguous areas.....	45
New York City:	
Central Harlem.....	29
East Harlem.....	33
Bedford-Stuyvesant.....	28
Philadelphia, North Philadelphia.....	34
Phoenix: Salt River bed area.....	42
St. Louis: North side.....	39
San Francisco: Mission-Fillmore.....	25

¹ Subemployment includes: (1) the unemployed as usually defined (those unemployed and actively looking for work); (2) part-time workers wanting full-time employment; (3) full-time workers with weekly earnings as follows: heads of households under 65 years old earning less than \$60 per week working full time and individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than \$56 per week in a full-time job; (4) half the adult males not in the labor force; and (5) half the adult males estimated to have been missed in the survey.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States," Washington, D.C., October 1967, p. 97.

Housing and Living Conditions

Resulting largely from the problems associated with low levels of employment and economic status is another whole set of problems associated with the elements of

housing and living conditions. Basically, these elements can be considered from two vantage points. The first is to view them strictly in terms of their measurable physical characteristics, e.g., condition of dwellings, kinds of facilities per unit, number of poor people in the cities, and overcrowding. The second is to view these elements of housing and living conditions in terms of the quality or style of living which they engender. In this section, we outline some of the key features from the first vantage point and consider their significance for education. In the next section on the family, we consider the second vantage point.

Substandard Housing

While there was a sharp decline in the proportion of substandard¹⁸ houses among non-whites between 1950 and 1960, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders nevertheless made the following statement:

"Nationwide, 25 percent of all non-whites living in the central cities occupied substandard units in 1960, compared to 8 percent of all whites. Preliminary Census data indicate that by 1966, the figures had dropped to 16 and 5 percent respectively. However, if "deteriorating" units, and units with serious housing code violations are added, the percentage of non-whites living in inadequate housing in 1966 becomes much greater." (*Rep. Nat. Adv. Com. on Civil Disorders*, 1968, p. 257).

Table 19, on the following page, cites the proportions of all non-white housing units designated as deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacking full plumbing for 14 of the largest cities of the U.S. in 1960 (*Rep. Nat. Adv. Com. on Civil Disorders*, 1968, p. 257).

TABLE 19.—SUBSTANDARD HOUSING IN 14 OF THE LARGEST U.S. CITIES—1960

City	Percentage of nonwhite occupied housing units classified deteriorating, or dilapidated, 1960	Percentage of nonwhite occupied housing units classified deteriorating, dilapidated, or sound, but without full plumbing, 1960
New York.....	33.8	42.4
Chicago.....	32.1	42.8
Los Angeles.....	14.7	18.1
Philadelphia.....	28.6	32.0
Detroit.....	27.9	30.1
Baltimore.....	30.5	31.7
Houston.....	30.1	36.7
Cleveland.....	29.9	33.9
Washington, D.C.....	15.2	20.8
St. Louis.....	40.3	51.6
San Francisco.....	21.3	34.0
Dallas.....	41.3	45.9
New Orleans.....	44.3	56.9
Pittsburgh.....	49.1	58.9

Source: Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Washington, D.C., March, 1968, p. 257.

As can be seen, these percents are generally much greater than the 25 percent cited above for substandard housing in the nation. It was also reported that blacks, on the average, occupy much older housing than whites.

Precise information on overcrowding (e.g., number of people in housing units over and above the number for which such units were designed) and the problems with dilapidated housing has been difficult to gather in statistical form for the general inner city areas. The following account, however, reflects only too faithfully what most people who have ever lived in or worked in ghetto areas have experienced. It was made by the principal of a school in New York's inner city.

"As for housing," Shapiro continued, "our middle-income housing is the low-income St. Nicholas housing project. They send us

about three hundred and fifty children. The housing conditions for many others are very bad. Across the street a house built for eight families has forty-five. Next door there are two houses with serious heating problems. Two winters ago, I spent hours trying to track down the owner, and finally I told the man who said he was only the agent that if heat wasn't provided, there'd be a picket line of teachers and me. There was heat for the rest of the winter. The next year there was no heat again and we couldn't even find the agent. Finally the city took it over as a public nuisance. Another time for another building, we found someone in the Mayor's office who was vulnerable to picketing and he arranged for the city to take that one over. Nonetheless, the furnace remained broken, and it took us fifteen days of constant pressure to get it fixed." (Hentoff, 1966, p. 6).

The findings from the "Kerner Commission" concerning the housing and living conditions in 1967 are applicable in 1969. Specifically, in the large cities surveyed, the findings were:

1. Blacks either pay the same rent and receive less for their money than do whites or they pay more rent for the same accommodations.

2. Blacks are discriminated against in terms of the enforcement of building codes by both landlords and municipal authorities.

3. The housing conditions in which non-whites (24 percent of all units) live are overcrowded and the physical facilities are inadequate (Forty-seven percent of the units occupied by non-whites in the disturbance areas were classified as non-standard.)

4. Poverty is the foremost reason for the black to live in substandard housing.

5. Discrimination in the housing market is the second major reason which forces non-whites into ghetto housing.

6. Inadequate Federal building programs have done comparatively little to alleviate the housing problems for impoverished inner city residents (*Nat. Adv. Com. on Civil Disorders*, 1967, p. 258-259).

Taken together these findings provide meaning for the bleak term racial and ethnic isolation. In *One Year Later* (1969), it was noted that while some improvements had been made, the major problems remained. The general conclusion drawn is below-noted:

"Progress in dealing with the conditions of slum-ghetto life has been nowhere near in scale with the problems, nor has the past year seen even a serious start toward changes in national priorities, programs, and institutions advocated by the Commission. The sense of urgency in the Commission report has not been reflected in the nation's response." (*One Year Later*, 1969, p. 62).

Related Factors: New Homes, Poverty Families, Birth Rates, and Population Projections.—That the situation is not likely to improve just through the filtering down of "prosperity" is well illustrated by the following information on the housing market, the number of impoverished families in the nation, birth rates, and the population projections. With regard to the purchase of new homes, the following statement is made in *Housing America's Low- and Moderate-Income Families*:

Families.—"For families just above the poverty level, it is clear that opportunities to purchase new homes at prevailing prices and at market interest rates are generally unavailable. In 1966, only 0.7 percent of the purchasers of FHA-insured new homes under the conventional FHA Section 230 program had effective annual incomes of less than \$4,000; only 2.9 percent of the purchasers had incomes between \$4,000 and \$4,999; and only 8.3 percent had incomes between \$5,000 and \$5,999." (Keith, 1968, p. 1).

When these percents are considered in relation to the numbers of families which are

Footnotes at end of article.

represented, the problem of moving out of substandard housing into adequate housing becomes one of massive proportions. Table

20 presents the figures for these for poor households in 1959 and 1966 classified by age, sex, category of farm or non-farm, and race.²⁰

TABLE 20.—NUMBER OF POOR HOUSEHOLDS AND INCIDENCE OF POVERTY, 1959 AND 1966

Characteristics of head of household	Number of poor households (millions) ¹		Incidence of poverty (percent) ²	
	1959	1966	1959	1966
Nonfarm	11.6	10.3	22.5	17.6
White	9.0	7.9	19.6	15.3
Male head	5.0	3.9	13.4	9.4
Under 65 years	3.3	2.4	10.2	6.8
Aged (65 years and over)	1.7	1.5	34.0	24.7
Female head	4.0	4.0	45.2	37.7
Under 65 years	2.2	2.0	37.8	30.5
Aged (65 years and over)	1.8	2.0	59.3	48.9
Nonwhite	2.6	2.4	48.9	37.5
Male head	1.4	1.2	39.7	32.6
Under 65 years	1.2	.9	36.7	23.3
Aged (65 years and over)	.2	.3	64.4	51.4
Female head	1.1	1.2	69.4	60.8
Under 65 years	.9	.9	68.1	58.8
Aged (65 years and over)	.2	.2	76.3	69.9
Farm	1.8	.6	40.9	20.8
White	1.3	.5	34.7	16.9
Nonwhite	.4	.2	85.0	69.7

¹ Households are defined here as the total of families and unrelated individuals.

² Poor households as a percent of the total number of households in the category.

Note: Poverty is defined by the Social Security Administration poverty-income standard.

Source: N. Keith, "Housing America's Low- and Moderate-Income Families," 1968, Research Report No. 7, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 2.

Taking the comparative birth rates for blacks and whites into account provides yet other information concerning the increasing gravity of the situation. Table 21, which follows, shows the ratios for white and non-white births for three time periods. Again, citing from the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*:

"The . . . Negro population is now growing significantly faster than (the) white population. From 1940 to 1960, the white population rose 34.0 percent, but the Negro population rose 46.6 percent. From 1960 to 1966, the white population grew 7.6 percent, whereas (the) Negro population rose 14.4 percent, almost twice as much.

"(A) Consequence of higher birth rates among Negroes is that the Negro population is considerably younger than the white population. . . . About 35 percent of the white population was under 18 years of age, compared with 45 percent for Negroes." *About one of every six children under five and one of every six new babies are Negro* (Emphasis supplied) (Nat. Adv. Com. on Civil Disorders, 1968, p. 116).

Just the increased number of children involved—even without considering other environment-originated problems which they may have—is cause for serious concern on the part of school systems with their already overtaxed facilities and pared-down budgets.

If the problems are already massive in terms of the sheer numbers and percents involved using the information available in this decade, the problems become almost unimaginable when the population movements and growth are projected to 1985. Population growth and density more than any other factor, projects a picture of the inner city in the not-too-distant future which is as disturbing as it is startling. In regard to changes in central city and suburban residence, projections indicate great differences between whites and non-whites.

TABLE 21.—LIVE BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED 14-44

Year	White		Ratio of nonwhite to white
	White	Nonwhite	
1940	77.1	102.4	1.33
1957	117.4	163.4	1.39
1965	91.4	133.9	1.46

Source: Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, March 1968, p. 116.

According to Table 22, the white metropolitan population would increase by 51.5 million, or 52 percent, between 1960 and 1985. However the white population residing within central cities would experience a decline of 2.4 million or 5.0 percent. White population residing within suburbia, on the other hand, would increase by 53.9 million, or a gain of 104 percent. Non-whites population would double in metropolitan areas,

growing by 13.8 million or 104 percent. Within central cities non-whites would almost double, growing from 10.4 million in 1960 to 20.1 million by 1985, a gain of 94 percent.

In consequence, the dramatic rate of suburban growth notwithstanding, 75 percent of non-whites residing in SMSA's in 1985 would be living in the central cities, a decline of only 3.8 percentage points over the 1960 total of 78 percent. In dramatic contrast, only 30 percent of white metropolitan residents would live in central cities by 1985, a decline of 18 points from the 1960 level of 48 percent. Thus, more than two-thirds or 70 percent of white persons living in SMSA's

would reside in suburbs compared to 25 percent of non-white metropolitan residents (Hodge & Hauser, 1968, p. 25).

The problems created by the increasing numbers of children, by the inevitable deepening of the bitterness and frustration which racial and ethnic isolation and discrimination have bred, and by the never-ending cycle of poverty, are also increasing the magnitude of the problem confronting urban education. Specifically, the schools will face more children with more needs and parents with less tolerance for unsaleable and invalid education and less acceptance of the schools' current brands of expertise.

TABLE 22.—PROJECTED GROWTH TO 1985 WITHIN COMPONENT PARTS OF METROPOLITAN AREAS¹ BY COLOR BY REGION

Region, color, and residence	1985 (in thousands)	1960 (in thousands)	Increase 1960 to 1985		Percent by residence within SMSA's		Change (percent)
			Number (in thousands)	Percent	1985	1960	
United States:							
White	151,164	99,692	51,472	51.6	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	45,435	47,852	-2,417	-5.0	30.1	48.0	-17.9
Ring	105,730	51,840	53,890	104.0	69.9	52.0	+17.9
Nonwhite	26,974	13,192	13,782	104.5	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	20,146	10,356	9,790	94.5	74.7	78.5	-3.8
Ring	6,827	2,836	3,991	140.7	25.3	21.5	+3.8
Northeast:							
White	41,423	32,388	9,035	27.9	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	13,485	14,925	-1,440	-9.6	32.6	46.1	-13.5
Ring	27,938	17,463	10,475	60.0	67.4	53.9	+13.5
Nonwhite	5,905	2,962	2,943	99.4	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	4,833	2,398	2,435	101.5	81.8	81.0	+0.8
Ring	1,072	564	508	90.1	18.2	19.0	-0.8
North Central:							
White	38,698	27,718	10,980	39.6	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	11,326	13,793	-2,467	-17.9	29.3	49.8	-20.5
Ring	27,372	13,925	13,447	96.6	70.7	50.2	+20.5
Nonwhite	5,944	3,245	2,699	83.2	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	5,318	2,849	2,469	86.7	89.5	87.8	+1.7
Ring	627	396	231	58.3	10.5	12.2	-1.7
South:							
White	35,362	21,183	14,179	66.9	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	11,236	11,144	92	0.8	31.8	52.6	-20.8
Ring	24,126	10,039	14,087	140.3	68.2	47.4	+20.8
Nonwhite	10,794	5,253	5,541	105.0	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	7,137	3,918	3,219	82.2	66.1	74.6	-8.5
Ring	3,658	1,335	2,323	174.0	33.9	25.4	+8.5
West:							
White	35,682	18,403	17,279	93.9	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	9,388	7,990	1,398	17.5	26.3	43.4	-17.1
Ring	26,294	10,413	15,881	152.5	73.7	56.6	+17.1
Nonwhite	4,330	1,732	2,598	150.0	100.0	100.0	-----
Central city	2,859	1,190	1,669	140.3	66.0	68.7	-2.7
Ring	1,470	542	928	171.2	34.0	31.3	+2.7

¹ 1960 boundaries of SMSA's used for 1960; 1967 boundaries used for 1985.

Source: P. L. Hodge and P. M. Hauser, "The Challenge of America's Metropolitan Population Outlook—1960 to 1985," 1968, Research Report No. 3, U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., p. 26.

The Family

As a Task Force, we are primarily concerned with the impoverished urban child in his role as a student. However, we fully recognize that unless the education system serving him has a clear grasp of the world in which he must live and survive and can accept this world without condescension, any educational programs which are designed and

implemented can only be of limited effectiveness. We further recognize that, perhaps, no element has more direct and continuing emotional-social impact on any child than that of his family. Through its members, its values and needs, and its interactions, the family concomitantly constitutes and lays down the immediate dimensions of the impoverished urban child's world. In this sec-

tion, we describe what some of the major ones are and consider their significance for the urban education system. Therefore, the first part of this section deals with some general statistics on the family; the second, with the character of inner city family living. Much of what we say in both parts is admittedly negative, but we stress that the "negatives" are the results of a pernicious and insidious combination of economic poverty, discrimination, isolation, and sheer physical hardships. And we further stress that such negatives are not to be considered as intrinsic to the impoverished urban family.

The Family in General

It is important to point out at the beginning that within the Negro family structure as within the white family, there is great diversity and variation. And it is the similarities and differences so well documented in Andrew Billingsley's *Black Families in White America* that make it almost impossible to generalize about the structure of the Negro family.

In 1965, Moynihan made a report on the structure of Negro families. Using sources which included the U.S. Census of Popula-

tion, 1960; Nonwhite Population by Race; and Vital Statistics of the U.S., he found that nearly one-fourth of urban Negro births are not illegitimate; nearly one-fourth of all Negro families are headed by a female. What is amazing, however, is that despite the economic and other pressures which the Negro family must face, 75 percent of urban Negro marriages remained intact, 75 percent of Negro births were legitimate, and 75 percent of all Negro families were headed by a male.

The situation as Moynihan found it in 1965 is not improving as illustrated by the following figures. The proportion of husband-wife families among blacks declined from 73 percent to 66 percent between 1960 and 1968. Table 23 shows the comparison of types of families by percent for race and location, i.e., central cities, suburban rings, and the metropolitan areas in general. As table 24 shows, a higher percentage of unrelated (not blood-related) males reside with black families (47 percent) than do white males with white families (36 percent) in the inner cities. One-fifth of all male unrelated individuals in the central cities are black. Approximately, the same percent exists for the suburban rings.

TABLE 23.—TYPES OF WHITE AND NONWHITE FAMILIES IN URBAN AREAS—TYPE OF FAMILY

	Metropolitan areas, total			Central cities			Suburban rings		
	1968	1960	Percent change	1968	1960	Percent change	1968	1960	Percent change
TOTAL									
Number (millions).....	32.2	28.6		14.6	14.7		17.6	13.9	
Percent.....	100	100		100	100		100	100	
Husband-wife.....	86	88	-2	82	84	-2	90	91	-1
Other male head.....	3	3	(0)	3	3	(0)	2	2	(0)
Female head.....	11	10	+1	15	12	+3	8	7	+1
WHITE									
Number (millions).....	28.6	25.8		11.8	12.4		16.8	13.3	
Percent.....	100	100		100	100		100	100	
Husband-wife.....	88	89	-1	85	86	-1	90	92	-2
Other male head.....	2	3	-1	3	3	(0)	2	2	(0)
Female head.....	10	8	+2	12	10	+2	8	6	+2
NEGRO									
Number (millions).....	3.3	2.6		2.6	2.1		.7	.5	
Percent.....	100	100		100	100		100	100	
Husband-wife.....	67	74	-7	66	73	(0)	72	79	-7
Other male head.....	4	4	(0)	4	4	(0)	6	3	+3
Female head.....	29	22	+7	30	23	+7	22	18	+4

¹ No change.

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas," 1969, p. 12.

TABLE 24.—UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS BY SEX, 1968

	[Numbers in millions]			
	Total	Male	Female	Male as a percent of total
Metropolitan areas (total)				
.....	9.2	3.4	5.8	37
White.....	7.9	2.8	5.1	35
Negro.....	1.2	.6	.7	47
Percent of total.....	13	17	11	(0)
Central cities (total)				
.....	5.7	2.2	3.6	38
White.....	4.7	1.7	3.0	36
Negro.....	1.0	.5	.5	47
Percent of total.....	17	21	15	(0)
Suburban rings (total)				
.....	3.5	1.3	2.2	36
White.....	3.2	1.1	2.1	35
Negro.....	.3	.1	.1	46
Percent of total.....	7	9	6	(0)

¹ Not applicable.

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas," 1969, p. 13.

TABLE 25.—ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS,¹ 1940-66

	Number (thousands)			Percent illegitimate of all live births		
	Non-white	White	Difference	Non-white	White	Difference
1940.....	49	40	9	16.8	2.0	14.8
1945.....	61	56	5	17.9	2.4	15.5
1950.....	88	54	34	18.0	1.8	16.2
1955.....	119	64	55	20.2	1.9	18.3
1960.....	142	83	59	21.6	2.3	19.3
1965.....	168	124	44	26.3	4.0	22.3
1966.....	170	133	37	27.7	4.4	23.3

¹ As stated in the source cited: "No estimates are included for misstatements on the birth record or for failure to register births. The decision to conceal the illegitimacy of births is likely conditioned by attitudes in the mother's social group toward her and toward children born out of wedlock. Also, the ability (economic or otherwise) to leave a community before the birth of the child is an important consideration. These factors probably result in proportionately greater understatement of illegitimacy in the white group than in the nonwhite."

Note: 34 States and the District of Columbia report legitimacy status on birth certificates. For the remaining States the illegitimacy ratio is estimated from the reporting States in each of the 9 geographic divisions. The following States do not report legitimacy: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Vermont, Georgia, and Montana. The last 2 States reported before 1957.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Already documented in the first and third sections of this chapter are, the higher mortality rates for non-white fathers, mothers, and children and the fact that the birth rate for non-white children is increasing. A fact not previously mentioned is that the number of illegitimate children born to black mothers has also increased. The latest data indicate that illegitimate births have been increasing for both black and white mothers. No reliable comparison of the difference between the rates for black and white mothers can be made for reasons stated in Table 25 which follows.

Non-whites have a substantially higher divorce rate than white inner city dwellers. The non-white male divorce rate is five times that of his white counterpart. The non-white female has a divorce rate six times that of her white counterpart (Douglass, 1966, p. 340). Moreover, there has been an increase in the non-white suicide rate. Although white suicide rates definitely exceed those of non-whites, the difference in recent years is decreasing (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1966, p. 225).

Already mentioned as an index of economic status, welfare support for impoverished urban families is often a fact of life. Concerning marital status, 37 percent of all Negro AFDC recipients were married; 54 percent of white recipients were married. Three times as many black were single, compared to whites. Approximately the same proportion of blacks as white recipients were characterized by home broken by marital discord (divorced, legally separated, and deserted) in 1961 (Polski and Brown, 1967, Tables 31-33b).

Previously mentioned have been the elements of health, nutrition, economic status, employment, and housing and living conditions—all of which add up to a massive constellation of elements and interactions working against the continuation of the impoverished urban family as a unit—let alone against its roles of providing stability and protection for its children. The truly remarkable fact is that in spite of all the problems for which these families must almost daily find resolutions, the majority of them still manage to function as intact and vital units in the inner city.

Character of Inner City Living

The character and quality of inner city living is difficult to fathom from sets of statistics which are highly abstracted statements of the effects of such living on the residents. Yet, it is with the character of life in the inner city that both its residents and the urban school must deal.

We have yet to develop an adequate quantitative measure for life style. Accordingly, this second part on the family is largely descriptive and anecdotal in its sampling of the evidence.

Minuchin, et al (1967), in an intensive study of six families of children at the Wiltwyck School, a private residential treatment center in New York, describes the families of the children with whom they worked: "Their families are impoverished, disadvantaged, unstable, 'hard-core' families. They are mostly from minority ethnic backgrounds (Negro and Puerto Rican), and they dwell in the congested, rat-infested ghettos and slums of New York City. Such children and their families can be found in the big cities throughout our nation. We do not know how 'representative' the families we worked with are. But we do know that all such families have in common a difficult struggle for survival in our society. They are often 'multi-agency' families. In varying degrees they are known to the police, courts, welfare facilities, shelter agencies, clinics, hospitals, social agencies, visiting nurse associations, truant officers, parole officers, and other private, city, and state institutions. And yet they are anonymous. For although they are in constant contact with the institutional representatives of society, they remain shadowy;

they feel left out of the main stream, as indeed they are."

With regard to one of the six families studied, the following account of the quality of the world this family lives in is given:

"Strangers, neighbors, 'cops,' schoolmates, friends, and relatives move through this world, and so do the shadowy, transient lovers of some of these people. There are money and adventures to be taken and victims to be 'took.' There is action: the excitement or the chase of the being chased. There are risks. The world is peopled by adults who can be counted on and adults whom you cannot trust." (Minuchin, et al, 1967, p. 127).

In one of a collection of papers, pertaining to the disadvantaged child (Frost and Hawkes 1966), Jules Henry noted the below-noted qualities and characteristics:

"Among the children of the very poor, survival must take precedence over every other consideration.' Where the fight for survival involves the full energies of the child, how can he find the time and the strength to develop the values espoused by his society, such as pride in work, reward for effort, consideration of other people, and courage in meeting life's problems?" (page 377)

"Where no father is present during the evening, there is usually no organized meal, no organized opportunity for language exchange, no real interaction. A common result is cumulative deficit in the language component of a child's development. Since this deficit is qualitative and quantitative, it is erroneous to believe these children are characteristically nonverbal." (Henry in Frost and Hawkes, 1966, pp. 377, 380).

Reissman (1962) also presents information on the character of inner city living.

"The key to much of the family life is security and protection. The large extended family²¹ provides a small world in which one is accepted and same. If help is needed, the family is the court of first resort and will provide it, at least to some extent. Time and energy, rather than money, are the chief resources provided.

"The home is a crowded, busy, active, noisy place where no one child is focused upon. There are too many children for this, and the parents have too little time. Consequently, the children spend much more time in each other's company and with the relatives. Individualism and self-concern on the part of the children is much less likely to emerge and is, in fact, discouraged in this more family-centered home.

"Intense parent-child relationships are infrequent, and while the danger of parental rejection is present, overprotection is out of the question.

"The atmosphere is much more communal and, to some extent, cooperative." (Reissman, 1962, pp. 36-37).

A characteristic of much concern to educators and psychologists has been the considerable use of punishment or discipline. As the following statements bring out, it is likely that school personnel are not placing most forms of punishment (excepting extreme forms, of course) in their proper perspective for these families.

"Since physical punishment is part of the everyday pattern among the disadvantaged, there is probably considerable adaptation to it and it is not perceived as a major threat to the ego; as physical punishment and aggression generally are expressed rather easily and directly, it is unlikely that they have the sadistic overtones that often produce the negative correlates of punishment.

"Why do underprivileged parents use punishment so freely? This practice is frequently interpreted as restrictive and unloving. However, with the peculiar problems that plague their lives, with large families often crowded into small apartments, and with both working, the problem of discipline becomes a difficult one. Popularly held notions of permissiveness cannot easily be applied. Respect and obedience without a lot of arguing and 'reasoning' is probably much more convenient when the parents come home tired from a hard day's work. They are in no mood to cajole the children and they resort much more quickly to physical punishment—not sadistic beatings, but a quick slap and a strong tone.

"Underprivileged people do not see discipline as inconsistent with love; that is, they do not feel when they punish a child that this might indicate a lack of love for him." (Reissman, 1962, pp. 39-40).

There are several additional qualities which make up the character of inner city living which are all-too-often lost in the enumeration of negative characteristics. It is fitting that this section end with a statement of these qualities. On the "positive" side are:

"The cooperativeness and mutual aid that mark the extended family; avoidance of the strain accompanying competitiveness and individualism; equalitarianism, informality, and warm humor; freedom of self-blame and parental over-protection; the children's enjoyment of each other's company, and lessened sibling rivalry; the security found in the extended family and in a traditional outlook." (Reissman, 1962, p. 48).

Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we have considered the environment of the impoverished urban student in terms of its impact, its offerings, and its differences. Although not exhaustively, we have presented information concerning a set of elements which we consider are basic in this student's world, and which, in combination have a major influence on how he will both perceive and perform in the school.

Most of the conclusions which we draw from the evidence presented are extremely disturbing. If there is such a thing as the American dream, it is far from being realized for the impoverished urban student. It is no wonder that Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "I have a dream." For this student in the fall of 1969, it could hardly be otherwise . . .

Our specific conclusions concerning the urban student and his environment are, as follows:

1. He and his family are apt to live on a diet which is less than adequate—if not insufficient. And he is less likely to manifest adequate health and energy levels for a sustained effort on demanding tasks, e.g., reading as taught by the school. He may not appear as able as other students his age due in part to this prolonged malnourishment.

2. He lives in a world in which the mortality rates of women and babies in birth are higher and the life expectancies of men are lower than for other Americans.

3. Economically, he lives in a world in which unemployment, underemployment, and the inadequate welfare check are common facts of life. He learns, too, as his family already has, that his family's economic status is all too often a direct offshoot of racial discrimination. For even if he does finish high school or college, he will earn less than his white counterpart with the same years of schooling.

4. He lives in housing which is apt to be in poor condition—if it isn't classified as substandard, and it may very likely be overcrowded.

5. His family will probably pay more for this housing than it's worth simply because there is really nowhere else to go. A new home or a better apartment would be out of the question on his family's income—quite apart from the discrimination barrier.

6. Within his immediate experience, if not directly within his family, there may be problems resulting from divorce, separation, or desertion by one or the other of his parents. And, although only touched upon peripherally or implied, he will probably gain a knowledge of the problems associated with drug addiction, prostitution, and theft within his neighborhood—if not within his immediate family.

7. Within this family—and particularly if it is an extended family—he will develop a tough self-reliance, learn to cooperate, probably receive a prompt reaction in terms of physical discipline for stepping out of line, tolerate a high degree of noise, and experience considerable casualness in terms of daily routine.

8. The concepts, language, and problem solving techniques he acquires will be primarily geared to his survival in the neighborhood and the necessary interactions in and demands of his family.

It is our contention that all of these elements and their interactions which characterize the impoverished urban environment and which are inevitably reflected to various degrees in any one student from it are directly contributing to making the task of urban education a unique one. Moreover, when we consider the increasing rise in the urban population of young children and teenagers, the task now facing urban education becomes not only unique but monumental as well. Finally, we do not find that many changes for the better have occurred in this environment since the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders sounded its lucid and comprehensive warnings to the nation at large. Although our data are much more limited, they clearly suggest that we have precious little time in which to make needed—and orderly—changes in the urban environment.

Chapter IV takes up a major element in this environment, the urban education system.

Chapter IV. The urban education system

The preceding two chapters have documented the financial and environmental sets of factors contributing to the urban educational problem. Such financial deficiencies and conditions dominating the urban student's world are prime contributors, along with legislative obstacles at all governmental levels, to the urban education problem. Without such a complex of debilitating conditions, perhaps most urban education systems could achieve success where relatively few now do despite such hurdles. Yet, in the face of so many obstacles, all too few systems attempt to or know how to wage a battle geared to effectively overcome them. And in too many systems, there are aspects of that system (which are themselves an important contributor to the problem) such as remoteness of its administration from its constituencies; patronizing attitudes; inexperienced, unimaginative, and inappropriately trained teachers.

In this chapter, we shall discuss the indicators of the extent to which the system itself has a responsibility for the general lack of success in urban education. Although it is impossible to isolate the effects upon the system of all the obstacles facing urban education today, this chapter will: (1) identify those obstacles extrinsic to the system beyond those of finance (Chapter II) and environment (Chapter III), such as the in- and out-migration patterns; (2) proceed to identify those areas in which the system it-

self is falling in full or partial degree, such as in the accuracy and sensitivity of its perceptions of the students; and (3) discuss those indicators of the system's lack of success as manifested in the perceptions and expressions of its constituents, i.e., the students, the teachers, and the community. Accordingly, the chapter is organized into three major sections, followed by a summary.

It should be noted that this presentation is not just intended to blame urban education systems, but rather to analyze those indicators of a failure for which the system has considerable responsibility. We recognize that as difficulties in school systems have been given wider and wider coverage, targets of blame become fashionable for a period of time which are to some extent discarded only when a new target undergoes scrutiny. In recent years, such targets are many. Initially, the family of the child—or the child himself—was charged with his lack of achievement. The second target was the superintendent, followed by the school board, the principal, and the teacher. As such overly simplified attacks have been made, little attention has been given to the conflicting Federal, State, and local laws and the discrepancies between authorizations and appropriations which serve as the backdrop against which school people must work out their programs—and their frustrations. With a backdrop of these obstacles in mind, this chapter will analyze the role of the system in an attempt to document those failures which are specifically its own responsibility.²²

Obstacles faced by urban education systems
The movement of high tax-paying business and salaried professional populations out of the cities, compounded by the entrance of large numbers of disadvantaged, have, as we have noted in Chapter 2, caused significant

economic problems for the cities and for the education systems of the cities. This section will define and document the extent of this in- and out-migration and discuss the impact of such migration on areas of vital concern to the education system particularly those of facilities and personnel.

Extent of In- and Out-Migration

As racial and ethnic minorities flow into the cities, their numbers, their poverty, their social isolation, their lack of education, and their needs and problems which are dissimilar to their predecessors, are of direct concern to the educational system. While the system has been able to count their numbers and to measure the indicators of their poverty, social isolation and lack of education, it has, in many cases failed to respond to—or even to recognize—their needs and problems. The impact and extent of the migration is as follows:

Numbers.—During the post-World War II period, millions of blacks left the rural South to seek better conditions in urban centers. The greatest Southern exodus occurred during the 1940's and 1950's, but even in 1968

the average annual non-white migration from the South was 80,000 (See Table 1). As shown in Table 2, in 1960, Negroes comprised 11 percent of the population of all metropolitan areas and in 1968, 12 percent. In the inner city, the concentration is greater in density. Today, blacks comprise about 20 percent of the total inner city population as compared with 12 percent in 1950. In cities with 1,000,000 or more inhabitants, blacks make up an inner city population today of 25 percent as compared to 13 percent in 1950. From 1960 to 1965, the Negro population in the central cities was up by 2,100,000 and the white population was down by 270,000. In the suburbs the figures are strikingly different. From 1960 to 1965, the suburban Negro population increased by 400,000 while the white population increased by 7,000,000 (*U.S. News and World Report*, 3/19/67, p. 61). The Spanish-speaking population has also become urbanized. Representing approximately 5 percent of the general population, 82 percent of the Spanish-speaking population resides in an urban environment (Moore & Mittelbach, 1966, pp. vi-vii).

TABLE 1.—NEGRO POPULATION AND ESTIMATED NET OUTMIGRATION OF NONWHITES FROM THE SOUTH,¹ 1940-68
[In thousands]

	1940	1950	1960	1965	1968
Negro population in the South.....	9,905	10,222	11,312	11,233	11,573
	1940-50	1950-60	1960-65	1965-68	
Nonwhite, average annual net outmigration from the South.....	195.7	145.7	94.6		80.3

¹ The South includes the States of the Old Confederacy as well as Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

² Excludes Armed Forces living in barracks.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States*, July 1968, p. 2.

TABLE 2.—POPULATION CHANGE BY LOCATION, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1950-68

[Numbers in millions]

	Total population						Population change 1950-68					
	Negro			White			Negro			White		
	1960	1966	1968	1960	1966	1968	1950-60	1960-66	1966-68	1950-60	1960-66	1966-68
United States.....	18.8	21.5	21.9	158.1	170.9	173.7	+3.8	+2.6	+4	+23.7	+12.8	+2.8
Metropolitan areas.....	12.2	14.8	15.0	99.2	109.3	110.7	+3.8	+2.6	+2	+19.3	+10.2	+1.3
Central areas.....	9.7	12.1	11.8	47.5	46.6	45.8	+3.2	+2.4	-2	+2.2	-8	-8
Suburbs ¹	2.5	2.7	3.2	51.7	62.7	64.9	+6	+2	+4	+17.2	+11.0	+2.2
Smaller cities, towns and rural.....	6.7	6.7	7.0	58.9	61.6	63.0	(²)	(²)	+2	+4.3	+2.7	+1.5

¹ Comprises the part of metropolitan area outside central cities.
² Less than 50,000.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States*, July 1968, p. 4.

In the inner city, the non-whites who are moving in and those who are already there are younger and have a higher birth rate than those whites remaining. In 1960, 35 percent of the black population was under 18 years of age and 65 percent was over 18 years of age. In 1967, 44.7 percent was under 18; and 55.3 percent was over 18 years of age.

The number of non-white teenagers has increased over 50 percent from 1960 to 1966. This figure is almost double the national teenage growth rate. Non-whites under 14 years of age increased at an average annual rate three times that of white children. Ninety-five percent of this increase is in the inner cities (Louria & Stokes, 1968, p. 1) where schools are now confronted with the urgent problems of low reading and arithmetic achievement and poor social interaction.

Poverty.—As shown in Chapter 2, "Financial Crisis," more families with incomes under \$3,000 live in the city than in the suburbs—and the number is ever increasing. Chapter 3 provides further documentation.

Social isolation.—As the Commission on Civil Disorders cautioned, we are moving closer and closer "toward two societies; one black, one white—separate and unequal" (Kerner, et al. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1969, p. 1). The poor, maleducated non-white remains in the city while the affluent white rushes to the suburbs. The black and Spanish-speaking groups comprise a far higher percent of the inner cities' population than they do of the country's total population. In the public schools of such cities, the pupil enrollment is largely black and Spanish-speaking while the non-public schools are largely white. At the same time the educational systems are attempting to deal with the *de facto* school segregation inherent in a residential segregated setting. Thirteen of the nation's 20 largest cities with populations in excess of 500,000 approach the Tauber Index of 100, signifying total residential segregation (See Table 3). Unless there are some major governmental policy changes, these 20 cities, which account for approximately half of the

black population of the country, will be uniformly characterized by extreme residential, and therefore extreme *de facto* segregation. All evidence indicates that the trend is continuing, albeit slowing down.

The most recent data suggest that 70 percent of all black pupils attend schools that are composed of 90 to 100 percent black pupils. By 1975, probably 80 percent of all black students in the above 20 cities will be attending 90 to 100 percent black schools. Except for Washington, D.C., the cities showing the least segregation are located in the West. The rate of Negro in-migration, however, is likely soon to move West into the same orbit as the South and Northeast. What is more, Houston and Dallas are only now moving from *de jure* to *de facto* school segregation.²³

The lack of education.—While the inner city is becoming more non-white than white, it is also becoming increasingly less educated.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 3.—POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, MIGRATION, AND SEGREGATION PATTERNS IN 20 LARGE CITIES¹

City	1960 SMSA population	1960 city population	1960 city nonwhite population	1960 city nonwhite percent	1964 estimate SMSA population	1960-64 estimate change in migration	1960 city residential segregation index ²	1950-60 change in segregation pattern	1960 suburban residential segregation index ³
New York	10,695,000	7,781,984	1,141,322	14.7	11,260,000	115,000	79.3	-8.0	77.5
Chicago	6,221,000	3,550,404	837,656	23.6	6,591,000	3,000	92.6	.5	88.7
Los Angeles	6,039,000	2,479,015	417,207	16.8	6,674,000	286,000	81.8	-2.8	83.7
Philadelphia	4,343,000	2,002,512	535,033	26.7	4,617,000	56,000	87.1	-1.9	82.0
Detroit	3,762,000	1,670,144	487,174	29.2	3,914,000	-80,000	84.5	-4.3	87.6
Baltimore	1,727,000	939,024	328,416	35.0	1,829,000	(4)	89.6	-1.7	80.9
Houston	1,418,000	938,219	217,672	23.2	1,640,000	108,000	93.7	2.2	
Cleveland	1,909,000	876,050	253,108	28.9	1,958,000	-51,000	91.3	-2	
Washington	2,002,000	763,956	418,693	54.8	2,323,000	173,000	79.7	-4	87.8
St. Louis	2,105,000	750,026	216,022	28.8	2,203,000	-24,000	90.5	-2.4	90.3
Milwaukee	1,233,000	741,324	65,752	8.9	1,262,000	-50,000	88.1	-3.5	
San Francisco	2,649,000	740,316	135,913	18.4	2,894,000	107,000	69.3	-10.5	79.7
Boston	2,595,000	697,197	68,493	9.8	3,177,000	-81,000	83.9	-2.6	65.5
Dallas	1,084,000	679,684	131,211	19.3	1,256,000	89,000	94.6	6.2	
New Orleans	907,000	627,525	234,931	37.4	1,001,000	32,000	86.3	1.4	
Pittsburgh	2,405,000	604,332	101,739	16.8	2,368,000	-132,000	84.6	.6	
San Antonio	716,000	587,718	43,221	7.4	787,000	8,000	90.1	1.8	
San Diego	1,033,000	573,224	44,712	7.8	1,131,000	19,000	81.3	-2.3	
Seattle	1,107,000	557,087	46,528	8.4	1,178,000	9,000	79.7	-3.6	
Buffalo	1,307,000	532,759	73,388	13.8	1,319,000	-54,000	86.5	-3.0	82.3

¹ This table was constructed for a paper prepared by Robert A. Dentler and James W. Eilsberg for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, November 1967.

² Adapted from the Tauber's Racial Segregation Index, Negroes in Cities, tables 1 and 12, pp. 32-33, 59.

³ Where more than 1 suburb is clustered about a city an average segregation index is calculated.

⁴ Less than 500 or 0.05.

The inner city's Negro median number of years of completed schooling was 9 in 1967, compared to 12.1 for whites (Census, 1968, Table 156).²⁴

Impact of In- and Out-Migration on the System.—As a result of the above factors, schools are facing a near paralysis in both dealing with the sheer numbers and in attempting to integrate the isolated groups. With the 40 percent non-white population, the higher non-white birthrate, and with many whites sending their children to parochial and private schools, the majority of students in the public schools would necessarily become increasingly non-white—thus creating additional problems in efforts to integrate. The growing population has only increased the inadequacy of school facilities. It has made the existing teacher shortage more acute. The following two sections will discuss these obstacles faced by overpopulated urban school systems.

Increased Inadequacy of Facilities

The Kerner Commission (1968) pointed out that because of the rapid expansion of the Negro population which "has been concentrated in segregated neighborhoods, ghetto schools have experienced acute overcrowding. Shortages of textbooks and supplies have developed. Double shifts are common; hallways and other non-classroom space have been adapted for class instruction, and mobile classroom units are used. Even programs for passive construction of new schools in Negro neighborhoods cannot always keep up with increased overcrowding." (Kerner, et al. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, p. 432).

Difficulties with facilities result not only from increased population but are also combined with the age of such facilities. This combination presents a bleak picture in the inner cities when compared to the suburbs. Core schools generally have more impoverished or makeshift instruction rooms per building than do fringe schools. A greater percentage of core students than suburban students attend school buildings which are older and larger, with more students in the school, more students per teacher, and more students per room. For instance, in the Northeast, 43 percent of the elementary core schools are over 40 years old, while in the fringe schools, only 18 percent are over age 40. Figures are comparable for secondary schools. In secondary education, there are seven more students per classroom in the core than in the fringe in the Northeast. In

the Midwest, there are 21 more students per classroom (Coleman, 1966, pp. 68, 69, 71). In addition, there are fewer librarians attending to the core schools with a centralized library, fewer volumes in the core school library, and fewer volumes per core school student (Coleman, 1966, p. 74). Further, there is definite advantage in the suburban schools in facilities for preparing hot meals and for providing health services (Coleman, 1966, p. 71).

Increased Personnel Problems²⁵

In its study of the problems and priorities of urban education, the Study Group on Urban Education of the Republican Coordinating Committee draws the following conclusion about the quality of teaching in our urban areas:

"The teacher is a fundamental and crucial link between the education system and the child. A child is under the influence of his teacher for a continuous period of five hours or more per day, 180 days or more per year. . . . It is apparent that success or failure of an education system will depend most vitally upon the quality of teaching. Yet in urban areas today, because of numerous difficulties, the quality of teaching and the pupil-teacher relationship frequently do not meet the needs of the disadvantaged child." (Republican Coordinating Committee, Study Group on Urban Education as cited by the Center for Urban Education).

These difficulties become abundantly clear from the following data.

Teacher shortages.—Significant numbers of large city school systems reported that they were encountering extreme difficulty in filling teaching positions for 1968-69. The most frequently identified assignments these school systems report having extreme difficulty in filling and the number of unfilled positions in early August are shown in Table 4. Supporting these reports of shortages are the relatively large numbers of these school systems which report they have had to employ persons with substandard qualifications in these assignment areas for 1968-69: 21, industrial arts; 27, special education; 15, mathematics; 11, trade-industrial-vocational-technical courses; 17, regular instruction in elementary grades; 7 natural and physical science; and 6, women teachers of physical and health education.

It is interesting to note the relatively small number of teachers for the educationally disadvantaged cited in these figures. It would seem that the shortages referred to above are those in special programs for the disadvantaged, but the need for more

qualified teachers for inner-city schools exists in virtually all of the shortage areas cited.

TABLE 4.—SURVEY OF DIFFICULT-TO-FILL POSITIONS IN LARGE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Assignment	Number of school systems reporting having extreme difficulty in filling position	Number of positions not filled in August in the large school systems
Industrial arts	45	284
Special education	32	867
Mathematics	27	382
Trade, industrial, vocational	20	89
School psychologists	15	91
Physical education (women)	13	180
Remedial reading speech, etc.	13	153
Librarians	11	124
Elementary, regular instruction	10	2,123
Natural and physical sciences	10	193
Instruction of educationally disadvantaged	10	148

Source: Center for Urban Education.

Looking to the staffing problems of the cities selected for study in connection with this report, it can be noted that in Washington, D.C. over the period of 1966-1968 pupil population increased from 145,951 to 148,719, a gain of 1.9 percent. During the same period the teacher population decreased from 6,391 to 5,958, a loss of 6.3 percent. The pupil teacher ratio was thus raised from 23 : 1 to 25 : 1. A similar inverse relationship was observable in Los Angeles. Pupil population for the same period increased 2.8 percent while teacher population decreased by almost 1 percent. This change increased the pupil-teacher ratio from already high 29:1 to 30:1 (pupil-teacher ratio average for all schools in the United States is 23 : 1). Milwaukee showed a pupil population increase of 2.1 percent and a teacher population decrease of 1.9 percent, with a rise in pupil-teacher ratio from 26:1 to 27:1. While not displaying inverse pupil-teacher population development, the cities of Chicago and Philadelphia both reveal a significantly greater rate of increase in pupil population than teacher population growth could keep pace with. Pupil population in Chicago showed an increase of 4.1 percent and an increase in teacher population of only 2.7 percent. Philadelphia's pupil body expanded by 5.3 percent, compared to its teaching staff growth of 4.4 per-

Footnotes at end of article.

cent. Pupil-teacher ratio was then observed to increase in Chicago from 24.5 : 1 to 26.2 : 1 and in Philadelphia from 23.8 : 1 to 24.0 : 1.

High pupil-teacher ratio.—Taking pupil-teacher ratio as an index of instructional staff supply problems in urban areas, a fall 1968 survey revealed that eight of the twelve cities under study in this document exceeded the national average pupil-teacher ratio of 23.1 by as much as 5.1 more pupils per teacher. The range of excess was from .5 to 5.1 (See Table 5).

Lack of fully accredited teachers.—Among the many staffing difficulties experienced by big city school systems, the short supply of fully accredited or licensed teachers remains a vexing problem. This is clear from the following comparison. The total number of full time teachers with less than standard certificates in the United States reported in a fall 1968 survey was 108,000, this figure representing 5.6 percent of all employed full time teachers. At the same time, cities such as Chicago, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. reported much higher percentages of classroom teachers with less than standard certificates, i.e., Chicago 33.9 percent, Baltimore 23.8 percent and Washington, D.C. 26.0 percent.

TABLE 5.—PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS IN 8 LARGE CITIES

City	Pupil-teacher ratio	No. of pupils over national average
Baltimore	23.6	0.5
Chicago	24.5	1.4
Cleveland	27.0	3.8
Houston	26.9	3.8
Los Angeles	26.5	3.4
Milwaukee	27.5	4.4
Philadelphia	24.7	1.6
St. Louis	28.2	5.1

Source: Center for Urban Education.

Comparison between cities and suburbs.—The straits of big cities regarding the supply of educational personnel is further illustrated by comparisons drawn between several of the cities under consideration and their surrounding suburbs and towns. Striking differences favoring the suburbs are evidenced regarding the supply of school nurses, school librarians, and school psychologists. For example, Washington, D.C. reveals a ratio of 1,377 pupils per school librarian, in sharp contrast to that of neighboring Arlington County, Virginia which presents a ratio of only 459 pupils per librarian. Similar contrasts are to be found when comparisons are made between Baltimore and Baltimore County (2,317:1 and 787:1 respectively); Cleveland and Cleveland Heights (1,365:1 and 802:1 respectively); Philadelphia and Bristol Township (6,287:1 and 1,446:1 respectively); Milwaukee and Racine (10,508:1 and 1,432:1 respectively); San Francisco and Berkeley (1,958:1 and 750:1 respectively); Los Angeles and Long Beach (26,354:1 and 1,138:1 respectively). A comparison of some of the same cities and nearby suburbs regarding school nurses and school psychologists reveals yet another staffing disadvantage of big city school systems. In Washington, D.C., there is a ratio of 3,105 pupils per school nurse, while in Arlington County, Virginia, one finds a ratio of 1,540 per school nurse. Again, similar contrasts are to be found when comparisons are made between Philadelphia and Bristol Township (1,172:1 and 732:1 respectively); and between Chicago and Rockford (4,034:1 and 1,589:1 respectively). Likewise, in the matter of school psychologist, striking contrasts are found between Washington, D.C. and Arlington County, Virginia (6,346:1 and 3,273:1 respectively); and between San Francisco and Haywood (9,400:1 and 4,308:1 respectively).

Racial distribution of teaching staffs.—The problems of big city schools will not be completely solved if more minority group

teachers and administrators are recruited and promoted, but unless they are, all other reforms seem hypocritical. Unless prejudice and racism are overcome, all other programs will fall short of their goals. Moreover, quite apart from moral exhortations, it is clear that minority group teachers represent an under-utilized manpower pool which might substantially contribute to the reduction of the shortage mentioned above. The results of generations of discriminatory hiring and promotion practices are revealed in one of the findings of the Coleman Report: "Compared to the teachers of the average white pupil, the teacher of the average Negro pupil is . . . much more likely to be Negro in every region." A 1963 study of Cleveland's East Side, for example, showed that 81 percent of the teachers assigned to nearly-all Negro schools were Negro, 91 percent of the teachers in majority-Negro schools were Negro, and 3 percent of the teachers in nearly-all white schools were Negro. That the process of changing these racial patterns is far from complete may be exemplified by illustrations from a number of school systems. In Los Angeles (Fall 1967), for example, where 21.4 percent of the pupils are black, only 6.1 percent of the administrators, 12.8 percent of the counselors, and 14.7 percent of the teachers are black. Even more striking 20.3 percent of the pupils have Spanish surnames, but only 1.3 percent of the administrators and 3.0 percent of the teachers have Spanish surnames. In Chicago, where approximately 54 percent (1966) of the student body is black, 33.9 percent of the teaching staff is black and approximately 21.9 percent of the administrative supervisory staff and specially assigned teachers are black. The situation in New York City schools is even more acute. Only 6,000 (11 percent) of a 55,000 teaching force is black. The proportion of black administrators is even lower.

Teacher drop-out.—The perennial and increasing problem of staffing big city schools is aggravated by a phenomenon identified by B. Othanel Smith and his associates as the "Teacher Dropout." And this attrition problem among new teachers and teachers at all levels of experience seems greater in the inner-city regions of big cities. It has been noted for example that the rate of exit from Chicago inner-city schools is ten times that of less poverty-stricken areas. Citing Haubrich and others, Smith offers a useful summary of current information concerning the high rate of teacher exit from inner city schools.

In the borough of Manhattan, according to Haubrich, one third of the teachers appointed to positions do not accept their assignments. Moreover, in a study of teacher attitudes in 15 major American cities, it was reported that 17 percent of the teachers had been in their ghetto school for one year and 63 percent in their present position for five years or less. The proportion of teachers remaining after five years dropped off radically. At the same time, some 88 percent of the teachers indicated that they were satisfied with their positions. But the rate of dropouts from the ghetto schools would seem to indicate that the teachers tend to move on even though they may express satisfaction with the school in general.

The teachers in the above-mentioned study were least satisfied with the working conditions, their teaching loads, and the community. About 63 percent were satisfied with their working conditions and approximately 62 percent with their teaching loads. But only 58 percent expressed satisfaction with the community, with 48 percent of these being only somewhat satisfied. A large proportion of the teachers were satisfied with their colleagues, supervisors, the pupils, and with their salaries and the flexibility permitted them in the classroom. These findings seem to indicate that the dissatisfaction of

within the school itself. Since teachers seem not to prefer neighborhoods where working conditions are unfavorable, young and inexperienced teachers, who must accept positions wherever they find them, are often located in the disadvantaged areas. With the highest rate of turnover among beginning teachers, it is not surprising that schools in deprived communities suffer a high rate of attrition among their teachers.

The Problems of the Education System in Perceiving Its Students

This section argues the inability, in many cases, of the system to cope with a pluralistic culture, and cites some of the reasons for the problems which many teachers have in perceiving their students as they are—and as they can be—and to respond to their needs.

Perhaps one of the most serious problems with many urban systems today is their lack of awareness of the effects of their own biases on their students. The racial and ethnic minorities, the urban immigrants of today, possess essentially the same general goals as those of the nationality immigrants of yesterday. Among these goals are the attainment of self-respect, personal safety, economic security, and acceptance in the mainstream without loss of individual self-identity. Despite the similarity in goals, today's minorities are separated from previous groups by more than years alone. The school systems which expected middle class performance from those earlier immigrants were fulfilled in their expectations for they were similar to those of the students.

The populations have changed; their strengths and weaknesses have changed; their problems have changed; their needs have changed; their values have changed. Most systems have not. Many systems' unconscious biases and static expectations have limited its capacity to teach children who enter the schools without certain attributes held by previous constituencies of the system. Such attributes relate to being oriented to middle class values and expectations, being reading-ready, and having the structural orientation that facilitates sifting from subject matter to subject matter as dictated by time blocs rather than by interest and substance. Because of the widespread use of systems' equating a student's capacity to meet their expectations with his possession of such middle class attributes, the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy has all too often been demonstrated. "Children who are treated as if they are uneducable invariably become uneducable" (Clark, 1965, p. 128).

Studies indicate that a student entering the school doors has a significantly better chance if he is neither black nor nonwhite.²⁸ However, scattered throughout urban education systems are a growing number of activities which reflect efforts to overcome these biases—and, are, indeed, hopeful indicators. These efforts reflect a very considerable variety and scope. Among them are: decentralization and *de facto* community involvement in real decision-making, sensitivity training for school personnel; addition of courses in institutions of higher education on impoverished children and youth at the request of local educational systems; early childhood programs which are aimed at parents as well as their children; bilingual programs with emphasis on the cultural as well as the linguistic aspects of language; job training in the high schools; and the like.

The Problem of the Teacher in Perceiving His Students

The teacher's problem in perceiving his students when those students represent backgrounds and values different from his own has complex origins. In addition to personal difficulties on the part of the teacher to accept and respect differences, there is the

Footnotes at end of article.

education system's—and indeed society's—lack of interest in so doing. Until quite recently, society generally, and teacher education institutions specifically, have attached little status to working with disadvantaged. One of the rewards of education has been presented as increased status in the eyes of society for those who have successfully negotiated the educational system from the primary years through graduate school. For the teacher, this status comes as a result of successful achievement at an institution of teacher training. His continued status often rests on his "ability" to teach only those students who are already successfully negotiating the system.

Graduate schools of education, with very few exceptions, have sent their brightest interns to wealthy suburban areas as their "reward," further reinforcing the notion that "good teachers deserve to teach in the suburbs, while less capable teachers are left to teach in the city." Implicit in this pattern of assignments is the corollary that suburban schools are "good" while city schools are "bad." The trend has been that graduates and younger, brighter graduate students have started their careers in suburban systems. Moreover, the most effective experienced teachers have generally selected suburban teaching settings. Thus, the least experienced teachers have been relegated to the cities, further reinforcing the view of the ghetto schools as inferior (Kerner, et al. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, pp. 428-429).

The average Negro student is more likely than the suburban student to be taught by a teacher who: (1) scored slightly lower on a verbal examination voluntarily taken for the Coleman Report; and (2) attended a college which gives less than a regular teaching certificate (Coleman, et al., 1966, pp. 134, 137, 140).

"The schools attended by disadvantaged Negro children commonly are staffed by teachers with less experience and lower qualifications than those attended by middle-class whites. For example, a 1963 study ranking Chicago's public high schools by the socioeconomic status of surrounding neighborhoods found that in the ten lowest-ranking schools only 63.2 percent of all teachers were fully certified and the median level of all teaching experience was 3.9 years. In three of these schools the median level was one year. Four of these lowest ranking schools were 100 percent Negro enrollment and three were over 90 percent Negro. By contrast, eight of the ten highest ranking schools had nearly total white enrollments, and the other two were more than 75 percent white. In these schools, 99.3 percent of the teachers were fully certified and the median level of teaching experience was 12.3 years." (Kerner, et al., 1968, p. 428).

Thus, all too often those teachers who are either less successful in their own educations or who are least experienced face students with deep-seated differences, problems and needs which they little understand.

Where the teacher is far from his students in terms of their background and culture, and is conscious of his own lack of status as awarded by society for teaching the disadvantaged, the teacher is inclined to develop a set of defenses which distort his perceptions of his students. Such cultural pluralism compounded by the great size and density of population produces a growing schism based on mutual misperception and mistrust between many of the service professions, including teaching, and the urban impoverished groups. As sociologist, Dan Dodson was quoted:

"As schools now perform the status ordering, those who come out ahead have little sense of responsibility for those who are of less status. This is amply illustrated by the alienation which accompanies professional training. By the time a man is trained to be a doctor, he cannot treat the poor, except as they conform to his rituals. He has been

tuned out of humanity's main wave lengths. By the time a man has become a lawyer, he has little concern with the poor, except to defend those with privilege against them. On the lower East Side, it was found that of 100 cases where people had been denied public welfare, 80 would have been eligible had they been represented with legal counsel. What strange value is this in American education which makes it impossible for those who are party to its blessings, to relate to the common stream of humanity? The doctors can't treat the poor. The lawyers can't serve them. . . . The teachers can't teach them—they too have to be siphoned off into a special class. . . . Education has become a stairway to status rather than a gateway to service." (Dodson, 1969, p. 19).

In too many cases, teachers cannot descend this stairway to more clearly and humanly see their students. We are fortunate in that there are always some teachers who do, indeed, see education as a "gateway to service." Despite often inappropriate materials, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate special services, and little special equipment, these teachers somehow still manage to carry on a classroom learning program which is appropriate for and effective with their students. And such teachers stay enthusiastic about what they and their students are achieving. But such teachers are in short supply.

The Problems With the System as a Perception of Its Students, Its Faculty, Its Community

Apart from and transcending that which can be measured, the system has major problems if its constituency thinks it is failing. To what extent and with what intensity that constituency believes the system has failed is impossible to measure with full accuracy, but there are certain indices by which the manifestations of that belief may be measured and, as a result, validated.

This section reinforces the student's perception of the system's failure through the documentation of achievement levels, drop-out rates, and instances of violence; the teacher's perception as articulated through strikes, disagreements, and a growing body of dissent literature; the community's perception as expressed by the defeat of bond issues, general lack of support and confidence, and a growing trend toward decentralization and separatism.

The System as Perceived by the Student

For the student, his belief that the system has failed is manifested by his lack of opportunity to achieve success within its framework by this judgment that something outside the system holds more relevance for him than anything within, or by his hostility toward it. The validity of these attitudes may be documented through the indices of student achievement, drop-out rates, and acts of vandalism or other forms of hostility toward the system.

Academic achievement of the inner-city student.—The system has failed—not only in the eyes of the student, but in fact—to provide the inner city student with the necessary level of achievement in academic skills. It has failed the disadvantaged student and the student of a racial or ethnic minority. In a detailed examination of urban education led by Congressman Alphonzo Bell and released by ten other members of the House of Representatives, one conclusion was:

"Each student in America should be given the opportunity to acquire the basic tools of speech, writing, reading, and math, without which he can neither learn further nor compete effectively. The core city youth, especially the ghetto Negro is not now acquiring these skills and we believe that urban education is inadequate to provide him the opportunity to acquire them." (*Congressional Record*, 8/19/68).

The evidence backs up such a conclusion. It is true, as mentioned above, that a student

entering school has a significantly better chance if he is neither black nor non-white to achieve success in academic terms. Achievement scores on standardized examinations demonstrate conclusively that metropolitan Negro students score consistently lower than metropolitan white students—at every grade level and in relation to all basic skills. Data from the Coleman Report show for example, that in the Northeast the average score student in grades one through twelve scores 8 points less on a nonverbal exam, 9 points less on a verbal exam, 8 points less on a reading exam and 10 points less on a math exam (Coleman, 1966, pp. 252, 253, 256).

Not only are such scores lower, but the gap seems to accelerate over a period of time. The urban Negro student tends to fall further behind his white counterpart as they complete successive grades in school. The average Negro core student in the Northeast is 5.2 grade levels behind his white suburban counterpart in math by the twelfth grade, 2.0 grade levels behind in reading, and 3.3 grade levels behind in verbal ability. Figures are similar in the Midwest and worse in the far West (Coleman, 1966, pp. 274, 275).

Table 6 (not printed in Record) was compiled by the Center for Urban Education from data gathered from an intensive analysis of over 200 studies on the subject of academic progress. It dramatically describes the progress for black and disadvantaged children following almost identical patterns, in contrast with normal progress. These children score slightly below their more advantaged counterparts when first tested in either grades one or two, and thereafter progress at steady rates which are lower than normal. The gap increases as the child proceeds through school until at the end of the ninth grade, he is generally two and a half years behind. Summarizing these conclusions in numerical terms, the figures in Table 7 represent the mean percent of normal expectation actually achieved at the appropriate grade level. For the disadvantaged group, the mean proportion drops from a high of 80.1 percent in the second grade to a low of 68.0 percent by the end of the eighth grade. For the black group, the mean starts at 94.7 percent and then remains in the area of the low 70's. These data might lead one to the spurious conclusion that minority and disadvantaged groups begin school with lower intelligence and/or academic capabilities and that their abilities diminish over time. In many cases, school programs manifest content which reinforces such a conclusion. What these data really point out is that the complex of disadvantages during pre-school years serve as obstacles to the student's early learning which his more advantaged counterpart does not face. For the Spanish-speaking student, these obstacles are compounded. Not only does he contend with the problems of poverty but he must also contend with a language barrier as well. As the student progresses through school, he continues to face those environmental obstacles (described in Chapter III). But now he meets an educational program which is worlds apart from that environment, generally indifferent to the growing toll which that environment exacts of him, and geared neither to capitalize on his strengths nor respond to his needs.

TABLE 7.—MEAN PROPORTION OF ACHIEVEMENT

Grade	Disadvantaged	Black
1		94.7
2	80.1	84.5
3	75.9	78.6
4	72.5	71.0
5	76.0	69.7
6	74.6	73.5
7	68.2	
8	68.0	71.8

Source: Fox, memorandum No. 1, the Center for Urban Education, pp. 21, 23.

TABLE 8.—STATUS IN RELATIONSHIP TO NORMS BY GRADE, VARIABLE, AND CITY, 1967-69; READING AND ARITHMETIC¹

Grade	Variable	Los Angeles		Milwaukee, September, October 1967	Philadelphia, April, May 1968	St. Louis, April, May 1968	New York, April 1968
		Detroit, September 1969	January 1968				
2	Reading		-.8	-.6	-.6		(?)
	Arithmetic concepts				-.4		
3	Reading		-.9	-.7	-.6		
	Arithmetic				-.5		
4	Reading	-.9		-.5	-1.1		(?)
	Arithmetic	-.6		-.3	-1.0		
5	Reading				-1.2		
	Arithmetic				-1.0		
6	Reading			-.6	-1.2		-.8
	Arithmetic			-.6	-1.1		
7	Reading				-1.1		-.4
	Arithmetic				-1.6		
8	Reading	-1.2		-.6	-1.4	-1.0	
	Arithmetic	-1.5		-.8	-1.7	-1.0	

¹ Where a vocabulary and reading comprehension score were both available, the reading comprehension score was used here. Similarly arithmetic concepts was used when it and arithmetic problem solving were both available.
² At norm.

Source: Fox memorandum No. 1 "The Center for Urban Education" p. 8.

Visits by staff of the Center for Urban Education to major cities revealed that in each city and in each grade for which data were available, there was city-wide retardation in achievement. Table 8 indicates the steadily worsening achievement levels of city students.

A telephone survey by OE staff to superintendents of several large cities and their suburbs indicated a reading level gap between city and suburban students of approximately two years at the sixth grade level. Results of this survey are partially indicated in Table 9.

We can only conclude from these data that the core city youngster has little basis on which to count on the education system with its present programs and levels of funding to provide him with the opportunity to achieve academically. The cycle of expectation of failure is a difficult one to break. As teachers expect low academic achievement

from minority and disadvantaged students, they provide programs that are notably lacking in motivational techniques and substance that are the key elements in programs more often presented to the more advantaged students with high success expectations. As programs have been analyzed a progression of various concerns and debunking of various methods have been expressed, just as pointed out in this chapter's introduction, various people and institutions have been blamed. Teacher expectation is by no means the only problem. Over a period of time, the catalog of "what is wrong in urban education" has included earlier starting dates for children cultural enrichment, more urban and relevant materials, more minority group role models, ego-identification, individualism of instruction, parent involvement, the right to read, and so on. Yet, tragically coupled with all else that is wrong, teachers' expectations of failure, are, as an-

ticipated, met by the students. And more dangerously, they begin to project the system's failures onto themselves and cease to hold their own capabilities in high regard. With little faith in their own abilities and in the system's ability to convey an opportunity for success, school becomes a meaningless use of their time. Possibilities of earning money, or simply doing nothing, become more attractive to them.

TABLE 9.—AVERAGE READING ACHIEVEMENT GRADE LEVELS OF STUDENTS IN THE 6th GRADE

	Reading achievement level	Difference
Detroit	5.1	
Grosse Point, Mich	8.0	2.9
Atlanta	4.3	
Fulton County, Ga.	6.9	2.6
New York	5.0	
Scarsdale, N.Y.	7.5	2.5
Cleveland, Ohio	5.4	
Shaker Heights, Ohio	7.8	2.4
Los Angeles	5.0	
Beverly Hills, Calif	7.0	2
Philadelphia	5.6	
Lower Merion, Pa.	7.5	1.9
Newark, N.J.	6.2	
Tenafly, N.J.	7.3	1.1

Source: Data received over the phone by members of Urban Education Task Force from selected school districts using 1969 achievement data.

Dropout rates.—Students whom the system has failed reject that system in disturbingly high numbers. Urban school systems fail to hold approximately one in four of their students through the full term of high school. The rate increases with the size of the city.

Both percentages and/or actual numbers of dropouts have been on the rise during the past decade. Table 10 indicates that during the period from 1960 through 1963, twelve major cities experienced an average student loss of approximately 30 percent, or 74,249 dropouts.

TABLE 10.—LOSS IN NUMBER OF PUPILS, BY GRADES, FROM GRADE 10 THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION (SEPTEMBER 1960 THROUGH JUNE 1963)

Cities	Loss in number of pupils by grades			Total loss, grades 10 to 12	Percent not graduating from reporting systems	Cities	Loss in number of pupils by grades			Total loss, grades 10 to 12	Percent not graduating from reporting systems
	Grade 10, 1960-61	Grade 11, 1961-62	Grade 12, 1962-63				Grade 10, 1960-61	Grade 11, 1961-62	Grade 12, 1962-63		
New York, N.Y.	8,843	15,281	5,125	29,249	37.05	Houston, Tex.	1,337	855	+268	1,924	21.39
Chicago, Ill.	4,345	3,532	858	8,735	33.95	Cleveland, Ohio	1,349	789	24	2,162	31.37
Los Angeles, Calif.	3,275	3,423	704	7,402	22.83	Washington, D.C.	779	679	6	1,462	29.61
Philadelphia, Pa.	4,255	4,219	+54	8,402	46.60	St. Louis, Mo.	945	108	67	1,120	24.70
Detroit, Mich.	4,138	2,008	480	6,626	37.84	Milwaukee, Wis.	387	940	330	1,657	26.19
Baltimore, Md.	1,494	1,248	733	3,475	34.98	San Francisco, Calif.	910	1,003	122	2,035	33.15

Source: "A study of the holding power rates of school systems in 128 large cities, population over 90,000, based on the graduating classes of 1960-63, inclusive," by Daniel Schreiber project; School Dropouts National Education Association, 1201 16th St. NW., Washington, D.C. App. A, table A, p. 56.

Warnings of the educational system's limited holding power went unheeded during the early years of this decade. As the years passed, the dropout rate became larger. For example, in 1963, Los Angeles had a total dropout figure of 7,402; but in 1967 that figure had risen to 12,086. The percentage of 22.83 percent in 1963 had risen to 27.00 percent in 1967. In 1968 the dropout percentage was the same as in 1967 but the number of dropouts had risen to 12,137. Within one year from 1963 to 1964 the Milwaukee dropout rate increased from the tabulated 26.19 to 27.6 percent.²⁷

In 1965, former President Johnson told Congress: "In our fifteen largest cities, 60 percent of the tenth grade students from poverty neighborhoods 'drop out before finishing high school'" (*State of the Union Message*, 1965). Since roughly 10 percent never get to the tenth grade, the proportion is even larger. In 1967 approximately 65 percent of all black and Puerto Rican New York

City students left school before graduation (*Carnegie Quarterly*, Fall 1968, p. 1).

Among Mexican Americans, the problem during the earlier years is even more acute. According to the Texas Education Agency, as many as 60 percent of the approximately 100,000 non-English speaking first graders entering the system each year will have dropped out of school permanently before elementary school graduation (Stemmler, 1966, p. 43).

The educational system's ability to hold students showed a continued slackening grip by 1968. Daniel Schreiber, in June of that year, published an article in *American Education* in which he indicated that the year 1967 had witnessed a total of 734,000 dropouts, 580,000 of whom were white with the remaining 154,000 nonwhite (Schreiber, 6/1968, p. 6). The rate of dropout among minority students compared to that of white students is startling. Negro students in the metropolitan North and West are more than three times as likely as whites to dropout of school by ages 16 and 17 (*One Year Later*, 1969, p. 29). An average of 48 percent of the

non-white population over 25 lacks a high school diploma as opposed to 27.5 percent of whites (*Digest of Educational Statistics*). A higher percentage of the black population, as compared to the white, may be dropping out of school but the figures clearly indicate that there is much dissatisfaction with the existing school system on the part of both white and nonwhite American youth.

Work-study programs, street academies, storefront schools, public and private manpower training programs, Upward Bound, and the Job Corps are all involved in working with dropouts and potential dropouts. These programs are promising evidence of the effort to salvage the wastage of our youth. But, as the above figures show, these efforts are far from accomplishing the salvage job on the scale that is needed.

Growth of hostility toward the system.—That the student is perceiving the education system with increasing hostility is being demonstrated all too painfully. The dropout, who, as we saw in ever increasing numbers in the preceding section, does not merely release his hostility in the act of breaking his

Footnotes at end of article.

association with the educational system. The National Commission on Civil Disorders showed a significant and prophetic relationship between education and rioting. In its survey of riot cities, it became evident that the typical riot participant was a high school dropout. Conversely, "the counter-rioters were clearly the best educated. . . . Apparently high levels of education and income not only prevented rioting but are more likely to lead active, responsible opposition to rioting." (Kerner, et al., 1968, p. 132).

"Drop-out-ism" and rioting are two of many expressions of today's students' hostility toward society in general and toward the education system in particular. Violence directed at the school and its symbols is being exhibited at a cost that far exceeds the monetary damage. And violence may be viewed in varying degrees of intensity which grow from vandalism against property to assault and even murder of individuals associated with the system. Students who begin their overt resentment of the system through vandalism against school property may be telling us that the system will not listen to them when they speak softly and peacefully. As Bruno Bettelheim has pointed out:

"Violence is, of course, a short cut toward gaining an objective. . . . Whether or not it will be used or avoided depends entirely on what alternative solutions are known to a person facing a problem." (Bettelheim, 1966, p. 72).

Perhaps the most serious aspect of vandalism is the set of messages it conveys—that many students look upon the school as alien territory, hostile to their ambitions and hopes—that the education which the system is attempting to provide lacks meaningfulness, and that they feel no pride in the edifices in which they spend most of their days.

The usual reaction of the school system and of the general public to acts of vandalism has been one of anger, not only because of the damage caused and the hostilities expressed, but because of the seeming sense-

lessness of the acts. However, studies of youth violence have indicated—without absolving the perpetrators of responsibility for their acts—that vandalism is not as pointless or aimless as it appears.

John M. Martin of Fordham University has said that every incident of vandalism is "both meaningful to the participants and understandable in terms of the situation in which it occurs" (New York Times, July 14, 1969, p. 37). Stanley Cohen of the University of Durham, England, confirms Martin's earlier findings.

"The usual terms used to describe various forms of vandalism obscure and discredit what may be the real explanations: if a boy breaks into his school and smashes up the classrooms because he has a grievance against the teachers, it is no help to call his behavior 'wanton' and 'pointless.' . . . Most research into school vandalism indicates, in fact, that there is something wrong with the school that is damaged. The highest rates of school vandalism tend to occur in schools with obsolete facilities and equipment, low staff morale and high dissatisfaction and boredom among the pupils." (Cohen, November 11, 1968, pp. 497-500.)

The lesson of these studies is that though the public and the system may be justifiably angry at the destructiveness and maliciousness of acts of vandalism, they "hide their heads in the sand" if they dismiss the acts as being senseless, pointless, or aimless. Cohen's research reveals that the schools are seen as deficient, frustrating, hopeless places by the vandals.

Systems generally are failing to heed this message. By so doing, they face two inevitable effects: (1) rising financial losses; and (2) increased frustration levels among students which lead to more serious forms of violence. These effects are discussed below.

(1) The financial burden the system must bear through vandalism is overwhelming. It is estimated that the public school systems in the Nation's 193 largest urban areas have

suffered at least \$70 million from school vandalism each year since 1960, and costs have increased at a faster rate as the frequency of vandalic acts has multiplied.

In the 1967-68 school year, New York City public schools recorded \$2,716,757 in damages. Costs in Chicago in 1968 reached \$992,542, not including \$800,000 for broken glass replacement. In the same year, the costs of school vandalism per pupil reached a high of \$6.84 per pupil in Tampa, and a mean for the Nation's twelve largest school systems exceeded \$1.50 per pupil. Table 11 conveys a devastating message.

(2) The systems' response to the message left by the vandals only serves to cause further frustration among students, which is expressed by more serious forms of violence. School administrators express their growing alarm at the rising tide of damage to school property by installing expensive electronic detection devices, changing building design, employing armed guards accompanied by dogs, training themselves in police methods, and even by flying helicopters at low altitudes with powerful searchlights each night—in short doing those things which will further reduce pupil, parent and teacher morale, and further destroy any feelings of mutual respect and openness so essential to good learning.

Following simple vandalism directed at school property, there develops a frightening shift toward assault on people who are seen as extensions of the system.

Acts of vandalism are a reflection of student and community attitude towards the schools of the major cities in the Nation. Data that more reliably permit us to view student attitude towards the schools and their teaching personnel are the figures related to cases of violence committed by students upon school personnel. In Philadelphia, for example, there was a 500 percent increase in the number of reported assaults on or threats to school personnel in the period 1962-63 to 1967-68.

TABLE 11.—VANDALISM BY TYPE, NUMBER AND COST FOR SELECTED GREAT CITIES, 1966-67

City school system	Types of offenses										Cost per number of offense
	Total		Windows		Larceny		Arson		Miscellaneous vandalism		
	Number	Cost	Number	Cost	Number	Cost	Number	Cost	Number	Cost	
New York City	207,775	\$1,952,795	205,218	\$1,026,900	2,358	\$787,301	199	\$139,404	()	()	\$9.39
Los Angeles	3,515	555,491	2,000	19,793	274	373,270	41	116,147	1,200	\$46,281	158.03
Detroit	2,123	515,319	666	249,296	1,434	183,000	23	83,023	()	()	242.73
Cincinnati	7,195	444,500	4,535	123,125	824	106,096	130	115,316	1,706	104,963	62.47
Baltimore	67,176	267,458	66,632	191,345	477	47,897	19	19,863	48	8,353	3.98
Newark	29,384	251,459	28,690	69,926	489	29,368	40	125,894	165	26,171	8.55
Washington, D.C.	36,748	251,123	36,525	180,202	223	70,921	()	()	()	()	6.83
Philadelphia	110,125	250,000	109,500	250,000	369	()	80	()	176	()	2.27
Cincinnati	9,639	226,757	9,307	72,408	166	9,123	()	()	166	145,226	26.25
Milwaukee	2,056	215,063	1,531	98,738	244	69,253	28	6,676	253	40,396	104.85
Boston	1,135	213,700	840	128,000	153	58,600	38	18,800	104	8,300	188.28
Kansas City, Mo.	11,075	114,672	10,860	74,866	71	31,151	()	()	144	8,655	10.35
Memphis	9,563	101,897	9,220	64,487	()	21,500	()	()	343	15,900	10.65
Minneapolis	389	67,220	300	76,200	42	720	3	7,200	44	3,100	224.22
St. Paul	4,366	73,675	4,154	43,248	166	23,945	()	()	40	1,382	16.87
Pittsburgh	7,544	72,398	7,125	47,780	126	6,154	()	()	293	18,464	9.60
Tampa	6,575	62,297	5,955	17,793	425	40,483	()	()	195	9,021	10.23
Tulsa	1,768	65,000	1,560	23,400	208	41,600	()	()	()	()	36.76
Wichita	2,059	55,430	()	41,492	()	10,770	()	()	()	3,168	27.92
Oakland	1,112	54,344	465	9,292	165	11,160	135	26,973	347	6,919	48.87
Syracuse	3,500	48,871	3,500	48,871	()	()	()	()	()	()	13.96
Dayton	265	45,461	195	34,101	65	7,360	5	4,000	()	()	171.55
Jefferson County	806	42,823	714	12,846	67	24,671	()	()	25	5,288	53.13
Corpus Christi	()	40,778	()	12,599	()	8,924	()	11,887	()	()	7.368
Portland	2,285	40,764	1,000	18,662	290	14,296	37	486	958	7,320	17.83
Richmond	154	40,414	()	27,188	76	2,843	1	8,875	77	1,508	262.43
San Antonio	()	40,000	()	26,000	()	()	()	()	()	14,000	()
New Orleans	2,837	36,986	2,272	12,000	235	24,886	3	100	327	()	13.03
Louisville	333	33,254	333	26,560	()	()	()	()	()	6,694	99.86
Denver	9,182	29,189	8,964	18,371	218	10,818	NR	()	()	()	3.17
Norfolk	1,592	25,490	1,365	8,191	155	10,500	()	()	72	6,799	16.01
Birmingham	92	20,944	()	()	91	15,994	1	5,000	()	()	228.19
El Paso	181	14,304	79	()	63	7,242	37	994	()	6,064	79.02
Beaumont	515	5,500	400	2,000	80	300	2	()	35	3,200	10.68
St. Louis	1,108	()	1,108	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Indianapolis	1,100	()	1,100	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	()

† Not reported.

Source: Vandalism Study of Selected Great Cities for 1966-67, prepared by Baltimore City

Public Schools, Division of Research and Development, Bureau of Records and Statistics, June 1968.

Table 12 includes only reported incidents. The number of actual incidents is probably higher than reported. Other cities have reported similar incidents which are related to student-teacher interaction rather than to black-white tensions, inflamed by activist movements. The assaults upon teachers has sharply risen within the last two years. In Chicago, for instance, the assaults upon teachers during the first six months of the September 1968 term were up to 30 percent over the same period in 1967. The plight of East St. Louis where three out of four of the city's 900 teachers are carrying guns is indeed a frightening one.

The move from attacks on school property to attacks on school personnel was slow in coming. This is partially because in the beginning there was no support in the home for an attack upon the school system in any overt manner. In part the slowness was due to the student realizing that he was attacking an authority figure who represented his parent. In the beginning, the child sees the teacher as the agent of the parent, a parent surrogate. Psychologically, to attack such a figure was to attack not just authority but one's parent.

TABLE 12.—ASSAULTS ON OR THREATS TO SCHOOL PERSONNEL IN THE PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL SYSTEM

School year:	Number reported		
	Total	Assaults	Threats
1967 to 1968.....	121	107	14
1966 to 1967.....	107	104	3
1965 to 1966.....	109	92	17
1964 to 1965.....	68	47	21
1963 to 1964.....	62	48	14
1962 to 1963.....	20	16	14

Source: The School District of Philadelphia, Office of Research, analysis of incidents reported by the Philadelphia senior high schools, 1962-3 through October 1968, p. 3.

However, the attack did in fact come against the school's personnel. The system was perceived as the child's enemy, especially the black child's. The black child had now reached the stage where he was attacking the values of his own previous generation, the values of his own parents as well as the white society surrounding him. The attack on the parent made it possible to attack physically the agent of the parent. The black youth began to attack the existing black leadership as being emasculated by white school systems and centuries of oppression. The youth-oriented and youth led SNCC attacked the established adult civil rights groups such as the NAACP and the Urban League. Others began attacking the term "Negro" as no longer appropriate, since it was given to blacks by the white man. Black youth looked upon their fathers as failures as guides in the struggle for emancipation (Feuer, 1969, pp. 394-396).

But more was happening to the youths of the cities. As indicated previously, there was also a growing frustration, hostility and restiveness on the part of adults due to increased awareness of the second class status of the black man. This sense of hostility towards the system was felt by the non-white child. His growing dissatisfaction with the educational system moved from dropping out of school and mischievous vandalism to destruction of the buildings, and finally to the attack upon the person, the ultimate confrontation with the system. In his own eyes he now could believe that his action would have the sanction of parental authority. Another factor that made this combination of tangible and psychological factors result in violent outburst at the educational system and those who run it was the system's inability to teach the non-white children whose numbers were constantly growing. Along with

the growing number comes growing sense of power.

Although the civil rights movement has roots prior to 1964, it is in the mid 1960's that its major impetus is most noted. The public school student did not move into action as fast as the civil rights movement. His dissatisfaction with the educational system initially took the form already documented. It was not until the last two years that significant change occurred. Its delay was due to the fact that the child's mind is not a *tabula rasa*. The non-white child was a product of the previous generation and had been socialized in the home and elementary school to perform and respond in adult-determined ways and to accept the ways of the school as correct. He had to overthrow these internalized values he held concerning the educational system. He had to modify, if not eliminate, certain beliefs that he would be allowed to achieve equally, according to his ability with his white peer. He had to convey these new realizations. Too, often he conveyed them violently. But he had a message.

If vandalism was a matter of a few isolated incidents, the message could be set down as the voice of a few disgruntled misfits. But it is occurring on a massive scale everywhere in the Nation and in the large urban school systems in particular. The message is inescapable—it is a large vote of no confidence in the schools by a growing number of pupils.

The System's Problems as Perceived By Its Faculty

On Wednesday, September 3, 1969, *The Education Daily* (Vol. 2, No. 165) reported that about 75,000 teachers in at least 13 states were involved in disputes with their school systems. Cited specifically were:

Los Angeles, where 30,000 teachers are demanding a 14 percent increase in starting pay, and where 1,000 teaching slots are unfilled as the season starts.

New York, where 70 locals were without contract including 10,000 teachers in districts where the situation was critical.

Michigan, where 170 local education associations with 31,000 teachers were not under contract.

Tennessee, Indiana, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Wisconsin, where teacher strikes were in effect.

The problems which the system faces in the area of personnel are discussed in detail earlier in the chapter. What we wish to note here are the teachers' ever increasing grievances with the system. And while the teachers are an integral part of the system, their strikes which are occurring with increasing frequency hold a message for the system as much as that expressed by the students and while many of the strikes involve financial grievances, there is an implicit plea on the part of teachers for society's respect and valuation of their role. Underpaid and afforded little status in hierarchy of professions, many teachers feel that students will hardly respect them if their place in the larger society is rewarded no more significantly than the sanitation workers.

Perhaps certain teachers deserve no higher reward, but it is significant in recent literature to note the increasing number of volumes in which teachers are highly critical of those of their profession who are indifferent to or falling at their jobs and are just as critical of the system which shields such failures. A whole new genre has crept into the educational literature—the expression of the "angry young teachers" who view other teachers and the system as the failures in the educative process. A few such noteworthy examples would include:

Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Heart and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools, by Jonathan Kozol, 1967.

36 Children, by Herbert Kohl, 1967.
The Way It Spozed To Be, by James Herndon, 1968.

How Children Fall, by John Holt, 1964.
Our Children Are Dying, by Nat Hentoff, 1966.

Education for Alienation, by Nathaniel Hickerson, 1966.

Village School Downtown: Politics and Education, A Boston Report, by Peter Schrag, 1967.

This brief catalog is only set out as examples of a few voices out of many that are beginning to be heard. Related to such voices is one recent film entitled "High School" produced by Frederick Wiseman which revealed the shortcomings and shortsightedness of one urban system in regarding its own schools. The system gave Wiseman free access to what it judged to be one of its most highly rated schools. The messages of the lack of communication between administration, teacher and student; the stifling of student individuality and the words of the students themselves, quickly ended the system's expectation of a film to justify its pride in that school. The film is not shown in that city.

The system is failing the needs of its good teachers and its good teachers are realizing with increasing frustration that even they, while a part of their system, are failing the needs of the students.

The System's Problems as Perceived by the Community

Neither the white nor the minority communities have expressed indications that they are satisfied with the schools as they now are serving their children. Both have expressed the deep conviction that the schools must belong to their particular communities—although the forms of expressing the conviction may markedly vary.

In the suburbs, as well as in the cities, majorities of white populations have expressed their alienation from the schools at the polls in many recent votes on bond issues and tax support. Chapter II discussed this lack of confidence in detail.

Minority populations with more cause to judge the schools as failures, have less financial "clout" over the schools, and thus have had generally less decision-making powers over them. It has been this exclusion from the decision-making of the system that has led to the recent upsurge of feeling in the inner-city community that the community has the right to control the schools. The failure of the system to meet impoverished children's needs, in particular, has led such communities to believe that they could certainly do no worse a job educating their children than the present system is doing. Moreover, they believe they could probably do a better job—because of their more direct and personal comprehension of the needs and problems of their children.

The highly vocal demands for decentralization and community control on the part of minority communities, particularly the black communities, have been, in many cases, coupled with the move toward racial and cultural separatism. What is happening in the black communities' attitudes toward education is being paralleled in their militant attitudes expressed in local and national politics. Generally stated, the attitude is: if the white establishment fails to provide equal opportunity, the blacks will do it themselves—by themselves—for themselves.

The movement in most large cities toward alternative forms of education is clearly indicative of further community dissatisfaction. Such alternatives range from large sub-system projects, such as Ocean Hill-Brownsville (New York) to smaller community-operated schools—like Adams-Morgan in Washington, D.C., and intermittent demands for a voucher system.

The ineffective use of Federal funds in the schools has become a major community con-

cern. In States, such as Mississippi, which represent an extreme, protests have been declared by black communities as to the misdirection of funds under Title I, ESEA which are supposed to aid the disadvantaged student. What is happening in Mississippi is by no means an isolated event. Urban communities in states across the Nation have become increasingly aware of the uneven distribution of funds which have favored suburban and rural areas. Moreover, these urban school systems have done comparatively little with those funds they have received to improve the educational level of the inner city student. It has now occurred to the groups representing target populations to begin claiming title to those new Federal funds as belonging to them—and their demands are becoming more vocal as well as more perceptive as to the intent of the funds.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the urban education system has raised the dissatisfaction level of the parents and urban communities of any racial or ethnic group—impoverished and affluent alike. The emerging interdependency trust mentioned in Chapter I has yet to be fully articulated and demonstrated. However, some examples of it are to be found although not labeled as such. The Community Schools of Flint, Michigan, and the Anacostia Community School Project (D.C.) could probably be considered as manifesting this thrust. Certainly, successful Head Start and Follow Through projects manifest varying degrees of it as well. Programs and projects genuinely reflecting this thrust are promising signs in urban education systems.

Summary of Chapter

The Task Force members agree that the education system is generally failing to provide the inner-city economically and educationally disadvantaged student an educational experience which will afford him an equal opportunity to enter the occupational and cultural mainstream. Although the members vary in their judgment as to the extent of the system's responsibility for its failure, all agreed that major changes were needed with significant increases in funding levels to effect such changes. The minority report expressed the view that only with very significantly increased Federal funds would the school systems ever be able to provide the educational programs needed. The point was stressed that there has never been enough money for education and that this approach ought to be tried.

This chapter continued to examine the overwhelming obstacles faced by the system, in addition to those of finance (Chapter II) and environment of the student (Chapter III). Such obstacles relate to the extensive migration of poor uneducated members of racial and ethnic minority groups into the inner city where they have settled in isolated pockets.

Not only are educational programs and staff attitudes which were successful with previous urban populations ineffective with these groups, but facilities and personnel are inadequate to meet their needs and numbers. Unmet, these problems become increasingly complex and increasingly significant for their part in the system's failure to educate the student.

Beyond the system's problems in coping with the increased numbers, lack of facilities and lack of personnel, it has demonstrated a blindness in perception of the student of today's inner city. By and large, the system has expected that student to be a failure, and unaware of its failure, has succeeded in creating the student in its own image. The teachers of the urban system are generally less educated, less able, and less experienced than those of the suburbs. They are too often of different backgrounds from their students. They gain little status for teaching the disadvantaged. For these rea-

sons, and others, urban teachers are generally unsuccessful in relating to and perceiving their students.

In turn, the students, certain teachers, and the community develop their own perception of the system. They have perceived the system as not meeting their needs.

The students have reason for such a perception. They are not being given the opportunity to achieve academically. The inner city students of a racial minority score lower than their more affluent white counterparts on achievement tests when they enter the system and tend to fall further behind as they complete successive grades in school. The system has not met their needs nor recognized their strengths and aspirations. The students have recently begun to articulate the frustrations that underlie their perceptions. They have done so first by dropping out of school and then through acts of vandalism against school property followed by acts of violence against the personnel of the school. Significantly their violence has occurred more frequently in situations where something is wrong with the school, such as its facilities or its personnel. The system has all too often not heeded the messages conveyed by these students and has generally responded with repressive measures that only tend to increase student hostility.

A growing number of teachers are coming into conflict with the system. Strikes, disagreements, unsigned contracts, etc., are becoming commonplace headlines. And teachers are courageously speaking out against ineffective fellow teachers and repressive, unimaginative systems in a new brand of angry literature.

Communities both black and white have expressed their judgment of the system's responsibility for its own failure through defeat of local bond issues, demands for decentralized, community controlled schools, and alternative systems. Their judgment has probably lent in some cases at least tacit approval to their children's dropping out or expressing disapproval in less peaceful ways. The communities have grown increasingly aware of the presence and purpose of Federal funds in local systems and have expressed their dissatisfaction with the system's relatively ineffectual use of such funds.

There are, throughout the urban education system, indications of change which offer real promise for the future—and some example of these have been cited. However, the decade of the 1970's must bring with it, a rapid acceleration and expansion of changes in urban education systems if we are to have schools which will effectively educate all of our impoverished urban children and youth. No urban education system has succeeded in achieving this goal in the 1960's. It must be accomplished in the 1970's.

Chapter V

The Impoverished Urban Student

In the three preceding chapters, we have presented evidence to show the three major aspects of the massive urban education problem: the financial crisis, the urban environment, and the education system itself. In this chapter, we focus on the student—not in terms of listing his so-called deficiencies" (e.g., low verbal skills, "wrong" language—speaking Spanish instead of English) but, instead, concentrating on what he has to offer the school which provides the basis for planning the educational program.

What we are arguing for—indeed, pleading for—in this chapter is the discarding of the practice of comparing this student with his suburban counterpart. In effect, we are trying to dispel—and discredit—the mediating stereotype mentioned in Chapter I which has largely resulted in viewing the impoverished urban student as deficient in all the really important behaviors associated with academic success. We say "trying" because the new voluminous literature on the disad-

vantaged student abounds with accounts of his deficiencies. The accounts of the strengths and assets of this student are comparatively sparse, and usually appear in the form of anecdotal reports. Occasionally, they are manifested through a process of analogical reasoning, e.g., if he is smart enough to plan ways for systematically disrupting instruction in the classroom from the teacher's point of view, then he must be smart enough to deal with cause and effect relationships in printed material.

Often his particular forms of manifesting the behaviors which underlie academic success are misinterpreted because their significance for school learning is not recognized, are overlooked because too much else is happening at the same time in the classroom, or are disregarded because he has already been judged as incapable of or indifferent to the school's program. Whatever the reason(s) involved, his manifestations of the critical behaviors very often do not surface on the typical standardized achievement tests, intelligence tests, or on teacher ratings of "desired" classroom behaviors.

The previous—and current—pattern has been to make careful frequency counts of the instances of such behaviors as acts of vandalism, low reading achievement scores, number of days absent, and the like. But how many times have we taken the same care to count the instances of such behaviors as protecting a younger brother or sister from harm; facing down his own fatigue, hunger, or emotions to struggle through a dull reading lesson; refusing a heroin pop at a party; deciding to go to school on a day when all his friends are cutting out; or teaching himself or a younger child a sport? Such displays of personal courage, resiliency and stamina, problem-solving, concern for others, and choices among options occur every day in and out of school—as everyone who has ever worked or lived in the inner city well knows. However, it proved to be a fruitless effort to find the evidences of these latter kinds of behaviors arrayed in general statistical summaries in the "disadvantage" literature—the mediating stereotype was everywhere. Therefore, the evidence concerning these behaviors in this chapter is of necessity a combination of direct experience, anecdotal report, and analogical reasoning.

The impoverished urban student has an excellent capacity for problem-solving. Daily, he contends with problems of the value systems of at least two worlds: the home or neighborhood and the school. Daily, he must thread his way through the set of values which the school espouses and the set which he lives with and has learned from his family and neighborhood. He must develop and carry out strategies which permit him to survive in both worlds without being overwhelmed by the conflict diverse value systems can produce. The extent to which he survives as a whole human being with a strong and stable self-concept and a sense of worth will be dependent on the quality and reality orientation of the strategies he employs.

An example of this conflict of values between neighborhood and school is afforded by fighting. In the impoverished inner city, prowess in fighting is usually an important aspect of the masculine self-concept and is often an important attribute for maintaining the leadership of a gang or group. The following quotation from *Manchild in the Promised Land* exemplifies this value.

"As I saw it in my childhood, most of the cats I swung around with were more afraid of not fighting than they were of fighting. This was how it was supposed to be, because this was what we had come up under. The adults in the neighborhood practiced this. They lived by the concept that a man was supposed to fight. When two little boys got into a fight in the neighborhood, the men around would enhance them and egg them

on. They'd never think about stopping the fight." (Brown, 1965, p. 263).

In the school, however, fighting—efficient or otherwise—is not admired, is not condoned, and is often viewed as the sign of a trouble-maker or potential delinquent. The old bromide, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do," does not really apply here. He has not left his hometown far behind, it's right there in the classroom in the form of the kids on the block and the values he brings with him through the school door. No matter which way he moves with regard to fighting, he is in line for some form of reprisal. If he goes along with the school, he may catch it when he leaves the school premises and endanger his standing in the neighborhood—not to mention the blow to his own self-esteem. If he opposes the school position, he will most assuredly buy trouble. He can opt for either one of these "extremes." Or, he can work out a compromise somewhere in the middle. Talking it over with a teacher—or a guidance counselor—is a highly unlikely solution. Talking it over at home is also unlikely—there are usually too many other children, too many other problems to be dealt with, and the adults may not really have a clear sense of the best choice to make either. An illustration of this last point is below noted.

"They were trying to guide us and make us do right and be good, and they didn't even know what being good was. When I was a little boy, Mama and Dad would beat me and tell me, 'You better be good,' but I didn't know what being good was. To me, it meant that they just wanted me to sit down and fold my hands, or something crazy like that. Stay in front of the house, don't go any place, don't get into trouble. I didn't know what it meant and I don't think they knew what it meant, because they couldn't ever tell me what they really wanted. The way I saw it everything I was doing was good." (Brown, 1965, p. 289).

By and large, the inner city youngster must work out his own compromises and test them against the daily realities of his environment—all of which constitutes a very sophisticated form of problem solving anchored sharply to the real world. And what is remarkable is that he usually emerges from this process as a self-reliant human being. There is no task which the school can give him which requires such a high degree of problem solving. And yet the staff of a school will rarely register the conflict which this student experiences and resolves—let alone, capitalize upon his very real capability here.

Implied in the kind of problem-solving we have just described for the inner-city student are very considerable manifestations of intelligence, information, and persistence. A further example of such reality-oriented problem-solving is the case of the gang leader. Here is the bright individual who, in the course of evolving and working out his strategies for survival in his world, has relegated the offerings of the school to the background. The compromises and strategies which he evolved in his childhood to survive in school and in the neighborhood have been replaced by decisions and strategies which now afford more tangible and immediate gratifications and recognition than anything else either the neighborhood or the school could offer. While his initial take-over of his group may have been partially accounted for by his skill with a switchblade or his fists, it is more likely that he succeeded largely through both his ideas and administrative or leadership ability. That is, he manifests the capacity to plan and implement a successful operation to provide needed gratification and recognition to the members, and to create an authority structure in which his role and the members' roles are clearly defined.

Accorded the leadership of the group, he

must also be prepared to deal with challengers. Thus he must be a particularly good judge of character as well as a shrewd judge of how best to utilize the talents of his followers. As such, he is manifesting a set of capabilities that somehow the school was never able to capitalize upon in its programs. The options which the school potentially offered were discarded in favor of another option. And with his choice, society-at-large has lost a potential leader on a larger stage than the one he has chosen to be on. It is interesting to note that among those recruited for Upward Bound, the gang leader was sought after—clear testimony to his intelligence and his resourcefulness, and initiative as a leader.

An additional example of the problem-solving of the impoverished urban student is afforded by how he is dealing with the gap between his aspirations and the realities of his daily life. Research related to the aspirations of blacks indicates a shift occurring between the 1950's to the present. In both the fifties and the early sixties, the research generally indicates that blacks had higher aspirations than whites (Boyd, 1959; Rosen, 1959; Reiss and Rhodes, 1959; Sprey, 1962). Such aspirations are clearly contradictory to the reality surrounding him. Whatever the conscious reasons the child or youth may have given for having such aspirations or thinking he could achieve them, the basic reason has to be fantasizing in support of some ego need, and is a form of withdrawal from reality. Although such fantasies and the resulting withdrawal would produce a temporary respite from his environment, this pattern of problem-solving goes ultimately nowhere unless the fantasies are preliminary to subsequent action. Nevertheless, the pattern shows imagination and intelligence; it also shows a mechanism—albeit fragile—of protecting one's self-esteem.

In the later sixties, however, the research suggests a lessening of the gap between reality and aspiration. It is likely that with the concepts of black identity and "soul," the urban teenager now has a firmer basis on which his self-concept and aspiration can develop. He no longer needs to emulate the whites (Caro and Philbold, 1965; Antonovsky, 1967). The following statements by James Farmer in *Urban Schooling* are indicative of this change.

"When I was a lad of about ten in Austin, Texas, my pal and I would go downtown every Saturday afternoon to watch the Tarzan picture at the movie theater. It was a half-hour serial. The missionary was put in the pot; soon his tongue was hanging out and the sweat was dripping down his forehead as the heat built up underneath the pot. We all waited, chewing our popcorn in anticipation of Tarzan's arrival. But Tarzan was slow in coming, and the Africans danced faster and faster around the pot. Now and then a close-up of the face of one of the Africans flashed onto the screen, and I would elbow my friend and say, 'Erving, that's you.' Erving's response would be predictable. He would say, 'Naw, man, that ain't me. I didn't come from no Africa.' Erving represented the Negro people in his self-rejection and self-repudiation. A people was rejecting itself—denying it had roots. It was as if all the Negroes in the United States had suddenly sprung alive, full-grown, from the loins of the Deep South. It was as if the Negroes were without a heritage.

"But the Negro's concept of himself has been changing in these past ten years—and rapidly. A contributing factor, as I have said, has been the new image of Africa. As new nations emerge, the black man of this country saw proud black people from Africa representing their nations, arguing on the floor of the United Nations, appearing on radio and television, and speaking eloquently in

English or in French. And the black man of this country witnessed the rise of these nations and asked himself, 'Now, is that the boiling pot or is that the real Africa?' As the new image assumed greater proportions and dimensions, it started to eclipse the old image. The American Negro began to say, 'That's Africa! That's me! That man is my brother. If he can do it, so can I!'

"Another long step in the development of a new self-image is being taken by the Negro living in America today. He is beginning to speak of himself as a black man and of his people as black people. Twenty years ago, if you walked through Harlem or Watts or Detroit and called a man a black man, he would have wanted to hit you" (Rudman & Featherstone, 1968, pp. 141-142).

As he becomes more secure in and of himself and watches his parents and other adults of the community challenge the lack of opportunity provided by and the discrimination of authorities in the community (e.g., real estate commission, mayor's office, school board), he—like the adults—begins to realize that such authorities are not out of reach. He is mounting protests with other students—and he is beginning to be recognized. His problem-solving strategies here with regard to the school often reflect violence, but they are certainly more reality-oriented than the fantasizing and withdrawal which he previously engaged in. That he will continue to use such strategies until there is a reality-oriented payoff in line with his aspirations is indicated by the following statement.

"The victories that have been won have brought about changes in the life condition of the Negro middle class, but the poorer classes in the Negro Community have not yet been helped. The conditions of their existence remain the same. The black child in Watts and in Harlem still senses that in the nation's eyes he is nothing—a nobody—and that he is shut out." (Rudman & Featherstone, 1968, p. 143).

The impoverished urban student does have an excellent communication capability for the neighborhood world in which he lives. He is insightful, sensitive, and perceptive—and he knows that other worlds exist outside the one he lives in. But the schools rarely tap this source.

In his pamphlet, "Teaching the Unteachable," Kohl wrote:

"Children will not write if they are afraid to talk. Initially, they suspect teachers and are reluctant to be honest with them. They have had too many school experiences where the loyalty of the staff and the institutional obligations of teachers have taken precedence over honesty. They have seen too much effort to maintain face, and too little respect for justifiable defiance in their school lives. I think children believe that there is a conscious collusion between all of the adults in a school to maintain the impression that the authority is always right, and that life is always pleasant and orderly. Unfortunately, the collusion is unconscious or at least unspoken. This is dramatically true in slum schools where the pressures of teaching are increased by understaffing and a vague uneasiness about race which is always in the air."

"So we spoke. At first the children were suspicious and ashamed of what they'd written. But as I listened and allowed them to talk they became bolder and angrier, then finally quieter and relieved. I asked them to write down what they would do to change things, and they responded immediately."

"For several weeks after that the children wrote and wrote—what their homes were like, whom they liked, where they came from. I

discovered that everything I'd been told about the children's language was irrelevant. Yes, they were hip when they spoke, inarticulate and concrete. But their writing was something else, and they felt that no white man was judging their words, threatening their confidence and pride. They faced a blank page and wrote directly and honestly. Recently I have mentioned this to teachers who have accepted the current analyses of 'the language' of the 'disadvantaged.' They asked the obvious fact that 'disadvantaged' children will not speak in class because they cannot trust their audience." (Kohl, 1967, pp. 13, 16, 17).

As examples of this communication ability in verbal printed form consider the following writing which Kohl's students produced, ages 11 to 16.

"If I could change my block, I would stand on Madison Avenue and throw nothing but teargas in it. I would have all the people I like to get out of the block and then I would become very tall and have big hands and with my big hands I would take all of the narcotic people and pick them up with my hand and throw them in the nearest river and oceans. I would go to some of those old smart alle cops and throw them in the Oceans and Rivers too. I would let the people I like move into the projects so they could tell their friends that they live in a decent block. If I could do this you would never see 117 St. again." (pp. 16-17, Grace, age 11).

"Things

"Tears—

"what are they?

"who needs them?

"Emotions—

"I despise them!

"Happiness—

"I'll never have it!

"Why should I see it!

"These things—

"Please, I don't want any of them—so somebody take them away (I don't deserve them.)

"Help—please somebody! (but I suppose I don't deserve that either) (p. 30)."

"We can teach each other

"Inside I feel like I am a nice person; but I have to act like one too. I have to know what kind of person I am. Sometimes, I forget that other people have feelings. Teachers for example; sometimes I hurt them without knowing it. I can say or do something that is so hurtful that they can't say anything but 'Get up and get out.' They say this so they can go on and teach the rest of us a lesson. But teachers can hurt you too and they do it just to teach you a lesson.

"You are a child of learning in some ways, but in other ways children teach teachers. I don't know what a teacher is like or how she feels, just like a teacher doesn't really know what I'm like or how I feel. So I can teach her what and how I think and feel. Teachers have been children before, but they seem to forget what it's like because the time changes in the way that the weather changes. So they can't say, well it's like when I was a child.

"No it's not like that, because people are changing and our minds are changing too. So children teach teachers a new lesson, about children today." (Patricia Williams).

From such examples as the above—and many more could be cited, it is difficult to consider the impoverished urban student as deficient in verbal skills. What is also apparent from these examples is his responsiveness and creativity when he—like anyone else—is permitted to learn in a valid way for him. Further evidence of his communication capabilities and creativity is afforded by the outpouring of graphic art, music, poetry, and skill in the performing arts, which the impoverished students in Upward Bound produced when worked with in an effective program. What is equally apparent from the information cited in Chapters III and IV is

that this student's communication capabilities, sensitivity, insight, and creativity are simply not being released and nurtured in the schools. And, again, society is losing a vast amount of talent.

The impoverished urban student is also noteworthy for his generosity, cooperation, and lack of hypocrisy. The realities of his neighborhood world require its residents to develop cooperative and generous patterns because survival is the first order of business. When the ever-present need to survive is coupled with the overcrowding, people really know basic and intimate facts about one another—thus, making pretense virtually impossible. Everybody knows who everybody else is—and what everybody else is doing. Hentoff (1966) comments on the generosity and cooperation in the following statement:

"That's one thing about ghetto communities. One way or another, people who have nowhere to go get taken care of. Last week a little girl in my class was looking out the window as the fire engines came screaming up. I rushed to see the fire, which was across the street. The girl said matter-of-factly, 'That's my house that's burning.' It was like she'd had so much happen to her that it was hard to get excited about just a fire. Anyway, by late afternoon, she, her three brothers, and her parents had places to stay." (Hentoff, 1966, p. 20).

In the schools, one sees evidence of the students cooperating and sharing with one another—behaviors which are often discouraged because everybody is to do *his own learning by himself*—an almost impossible demand for young children. For example, a young child who is having difficulty with identifying words in his (all-to-often inappropriate) reader will usually have immediate assistance from the others around him. In testing situations, the same behavior prevails. What we have here is a carry-over of the survival pattern of cooperation and sharing. Anyone who has worked in the inner city is well aware of the sharing of an insufficient food supply with someone else when it is apparent that his situation is really critical.

The inner city student's candor and honesty are reflected in the examples of writing cited above. However, an additional example is cited which particularly exemplifies the starkness and awareness within his honesty and candor. In this case, the student is Juan Gonzales, age 17.

"Man, I hate where I live, the projects. I've been living in a project for the past few years and I can't stand it. First of all, no pets. I've been offered so many times dogs and cats and I can't have them because of the Housing. Then there's a watch out for the walls. Don't staple anything to the walls because then you have to pay for it. Don't hang a picture. There's a fine. And they come and they check to make sure.

"Don't make too much noise. The people upstairs and the people downstairs and the people on the side of you can hear every word and they've got to get some sleep. In the project grounds you can't play ball. In the project grounds you can't stay out late. About ten o'clock they tell you to go in or get out. Then . . . there's trouble because they don't want you to hang around in the lobby. . . .

"I guess in some ways the projects are better. Like when we used to live here before the projects, there was rats and holes and the building was falling apart. It was condemned so many times, and so many times the landlords fought and won. The building wasn't torn down until finally it was the last building standing. And you know what that is, the last building. . . . There's no place for those rats to go, or those bugs, or no place for the bums to sleep at night except in one building still standing. It was terrible. The junkies and the drunks would all sleep in the halls at night and my mother was real

scared. That was the same time she was out of work and it didn't look to us like anything was ever going to get better." (Mayer-son, 1965, pp. 39-40).

In this chapter, we have only briefly described and illustrated some of the capabilities and characteristics which the impoverished urban student reveals when he is looked at as *he is*—and not through a mediating stereotype which compares him unfavorably with his suburban counterpart of the same age. He has many more capabilities and strength than we have cited here, but these descriptions hopefully serve to illustrate how badly major changes in urban education systems are needed for this student. His strengths have only rarely been capitalized upon by the schools. When they have been, it has been by sensitive—and realistic—teachers and administrators using programs which are valid for this student—and thus for society as well.

What is most remarkable about this student is that when the program and the people implementing it are appropriate, he learns at a rapid rate—and he does so in spite of malnourishment, economic insecurity, emotional-social problems, and all the other elements which are interacting on and within him. That he can learn at such a rate is evidence not only of his courage, tenacity, and learning potential but of the high value he places in trying to receive an education as well.

PART II—THE FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

Overview

In Part Two, the Federal Responsibility, we continue with two additional aspects of the urban education situation from the standpoint of the Federal government. The two chapters included in this Part are specifically concerned with: (1) the problems in evaluating the impact of new Federal programs for impoverished populations; and (2) the Federal role as it relates to urban education in terms of its limits and obligations.

In this section, there are two points to bear in mind. One is that the Federal government is beginning to shift its focus from comparatively specific efforts in education to broad social action thrusts which encompass more than education per se. For example, the Economic Opportunity Act (1964) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) reach far beyond such legislation as that of the National Defense Education Act (1957). Problems in evaluating such programs have arisen as a result of their new thrusts. Of greatest importance are those of a conceptual and political nature rather than of a methodological one.

The other point is that the Federal role is not easily defined with regard to these broad educational programs. It is in the process of emerging and its development must take place in the midst of constitutional precedents and political realities.

With the problems in the areas of evaluation and the Federal role, we have attempted to analyze briefly their major dimensions as the groundwork for the recommendations in both areas which are made in Part Three.

Chapter VI.—Problems in evaluating the impact of current Federal programs for impoverished populations

An assessment of recent Federal efforts to upgrade education for impoverished populations calls for a look at the process whereby such efforts are evaluated. Although program evaluation is no novelty in education, the objects of this art have changed a great deal in recent years. The recent Federal thrust against poverty and discrimination has introduced a new phenomenon for evaluation: the impact of large-scale programs of social action in education. In addition to generating much activity in city schools, they have produced considerable confusion whenever efforts have been made to find out

whether they were "working." The sources of the confusion are fairly complex. Prior to 1964, the objects of evaluation in education consisted almost exclusively of small programs concerned with such matters as curriculum development or teacher training. They generally occurred in a single school or school district, and typically involved modest budgets and small research staffs. The research literature which grew up around these efforts naturally focused on familiar problems of design, instrumentation, and validity.

The Change in Federal Focus

This small-scale effort began to change, however, when the Federal government established national educational improvement programs in the mid-1960's. These programs—including Project Headstart, Title I of the 1965 ESEA, and Project Follow-Through—are programs of social action; unlike earlier efforts they are not focused narrowly on such things as teachers' in-service training or the content of a science curriculum, but broadly on such things as "improving education for the disadvantaged." Also, the Federal programs are neither aimed at a school nor a school district, but at millions of children, in thousands of schools, in hundreds of school jurisdictions, in scores of states. Further, they are not conceived and executed by a teacher, a principal, a superintendent, or for that matter, a researcher. The new programs were conceived by the Congress, and are administered by bureaucracies, which are at great remove from the schools and school districts which actually execute them.

Simply to recite these differences is to suggest major new problems in program evaluation in education. These have been compounded by efforts to apply the inherited stock-in-trade of evaluation techniques to the new phenomena. The collision of new programs and old intellectual technologies is at the root of recent controversies over the programs' efficacy.

There is a persistent tendency in evaluation research to resolve all problems into methodological issues, but we do not regard the present difficulties in evaluating social action programs as really methodological. Most issues of this sort center around making satisfactory comparisons between "treated" subjects and some other criterion presumed to measure an otherwise comparable condition of non-treatment. These issues are formally the same regardless of the size, age, aim, or outcome of the program in question, and they have been extensively explored in the evaluation literature. Although these problems are serious, *the main difficulties in evaluating social action programs are political and conceptual.* The conceptual barriers arise from misunderstanding the nature of the programs; the political problems are little different from those which impede the effective development of social action programs in the first place.

Conceptual Problems

The central conceptual problem arises from the fact that while the new programs are essentially political and social in nature, evaluators tend to approach them as though they were standard efforts at educational change. This results in part from the fact that the programs themselves are ambiguous—since they are political endeavors in education, much of the surrounding rhetoric is educational. But it also results from the fact that evaluation researchers identify professionally and intellectually with their disciplines of origin (mostly education and psychology), and thus would rather not study politics.

Whatever the sources of this incongruence, it produces an inappropriate approach to evaluating the programs. The experience with Title I of ESEA is a good case in point. It has been in existence for about four years,

and during that period the several national evaluations have been reported and these all have concentrated on one question: "Has the program as a whole improved achievement over what otherwise might have been expected?" The answer in each case has been negative, and not surprisingly this has led many to conclude that Title I the program is not "working?" Yet such a conclusion is possible only if two crucial assumptions about the program are accepted.

They are:

(a) Children's achievement test scores are a suitable criterion of the programs desired by school men and intended by Congress;

(b) The program exists in such a form that any such a summary over-all criterion of success is applicable.

Although each assumption can be tested empirically, there is no evidence that such tests have ever been made a pre-condition of any evaluation. In some respects, of course, this is understandable. Empirical tests of the first assumption for example, would involve a research program of unprecedented proportions. While educators regard achievement test scores as a suitable criterion of program success—on the theory that higher achievement leads to academic persistence, prolonged education, increased ability to perform complex occupational tasks, and better jobs and more money—there is little evidence one way or the other on this proposition. Of course, the same educators who subscribe to this view also argue that compensatory programs will have other beneficial effects; reducing vandalism; improving deportment; bettering citizenship; lowering truancy; and improving school-community relations. Some of these are doubtless valuable ends in themselves—less broken glass, for instance—but like achievement, most are included chiefly for the consequences they are presumed to have in adult life. There is, however, no more evidence on this than there is for achievement. The main long-range aims of compensatory education then, are impossible to directly measure by short-term program evaluation, for it has never been shown that the two have any actual connection.

But even if we disregard this scientific embarrassment, there is another major difficulty with the first assumption. Schoolmen must be expected to assume that the greater application of their efforts will improve students' lives, but there is no evidence that the Congress subscribed to that view by virtue of passing Title I of the 1965 ESEA.

Although the purposes of the Congress may be too complicated to be summarized in a national study of test scores, they are not by that token mysterious. The relevant Committee hearings and debates suggest that the legislative intent included several elements besides those already mentioned. One involved the rising political conflict over city schools in the early 1960's; no doubt many legislators felt that spreading money on troubled waters might bring peace. Another concerned an older liberal effort to provide Federal financial assistance for public education: the motives for this were mainly political and ideological, and were not intimately tied to achievement scores. A third involved the larger cities which were increasingly hard-pressed to maintain educational services which were competitive with other districts in their areas. Educators and other municipal officials were among the warmest friends of the new aid scheme because it would relieve some of the pressure on their revenues.

Thus the legislative intent concerning Title I embraced other elements besides achievement, i.e., improving educational services in school districts with many poor children; providing the central cities with some fiscal relief; reducing the discontent and conflict associated with race and poverty; and

establishing the principle that the Federal government has some responsibility for local educational problems. The fact that these elements were embodied in a single piece of legislation probably contributed heavily to its passage, but they do not imply that the resulting program was single-purpose and homogeneous. Indeed, if any supposition was in order, it was precisely the opposite. The bill was typical of what we should expect of reform legislation in a large and diverse society with a Federal political system: it reflected various interests, and (for that reason) a variety of programmatic priorities.

It is one thing to identify the assumptions on which social action programs rest, and quite another to test them. In testing such assumptions, the methodological problems must be considered and concomitantly with the conceptual ones. For example, in order to determine whether Title I resulted in programs "which might reasonably be expected to improve achievement," one must first know what it is about schools that affect achievement; only then would it be possible to inspect Title I programs and determine if in fact they were doing the right things. The only difficulty is that when ESEA was passed almost nothing was known on this point: not a single proven strategy for raising achievement was extant. Prior efforts had been few, far between, and mostly failures. Title I, after all, was not the fruit of a systematic program of educational experimentation, but the expression of a paroxysm of concern. As a result, it is impossible to tell whether a given Title I program is likely to improve achievement, simply by inspecting the program; the only way to tell is by finding out whether in point of fact it *did* improve achievement.

Similarly, little is known about the process by which educational institutions change. This has been highlighted by the ability of many big-city school systems to absorb large amounts of activity and money designed to change them, and emerge apparently unchanged. If any question about the efficacy of social action programs is crucial, it is *how* such efforts at change succeed or fail. *The requirement here is not quantitative research, but sensitive political and social analysis, following the political and administrative history of social change programs.* It may be possible to learn as much about the sources of programs' success from studying the politics of their intent and execution as from analyzing the quantitative relationships between program components and some summary measure of target group performance.

These examples could be multiplied for other programs, but by this time the main point ought to be reasonably clear. Studies of program realization are an essential element in the evaluation of large-scale social action programs, because unlike neat treatments in small experiments, the aims of these large programs are diverse and often unclear. In fact, the notion of realization studies is based on the observation that reform legislation in a more or less pluralistic and open society will reflect diverse and sometimes conflicting purposes. Under such conditions, the first task of program evaluation is essentially political: it is to identify those purposes and determine the various ways in which they have been realized. The results of this process will yield evidence on the basis of which it is possible to determine the appropriateness of and conditions for further evaluation.

Once social action programs in education are seen for what they are—not experimental "treatments," but complex and often contradictory political undertakings—the rest follows. There are three broad areas at which evaluation should be directed:

- (a) Definition of program aims and measurement of their implementation;
- (b) Analytic studies of the dynamics of program implementation;

(c) Comparative studies of program efficiency.

The first of these categories includes investigations of whether a program improves achievement, as well as all the other criteria of realization which the diverse purposes of social action programs require. Despite its mainly quantitative character, such research is essentially comparative and historical: it seeks to determine whether a target population has changed its situation on particular educational indicators, where change is measured relative both to the same population before the program began, and to other, non-target populations. The issue here is not efficiency, but simply how much change occurred. Since the programs are large scale efforts in social action, evaluation must be large and diverse; it must cover and represent the available variation in the two populations, and monitor several program aims.

The second category includes those studies of the politics of program realization discussed just above. The focus of such research would be measures of program delivery, rather than some internal criterion of efficiency, and their purpose is to illuminate the political and administrative causes of variation in program realization. Although such studies would be inapplicable in traditional educational evaluation, they are crucial in the evaluation of social action programs; since these programs represent an effort to rearrange political relationships, the sources of variation in their realization are bound to be external (related to political and administrative matters), as well as internal (related to relative efficiency in the relationship between program inputs and outcomes).

The third category of studies, on the other hand, is focused on internal measures of program efficiency. In some cases—when it is appropriate to frame the issues in fiscal terms—these would take the form of benefit-cost analysis. There are, however, other measures of program efficiency in education—related both to program input and outcomes—to which comparative analyses are applicable. Benefit-cost analysis for example, might be concerned with the relative efficiency of several programs in producing achievement, but it is easy to imagine reasons for comparative studies of efficiency, say, in changing teachers' attitudes. In the first case the criterion of efficiency would be monetary, whereas in the second it might be other measures of educational effort, such as time or stress.

Political Problems

The evaluation of large-scale social action programs has been marked by a too-narrow definition of program aims, and an almost complete absence of program realization studies. As a result, evaluation has been almost uninterpretable. The real issue, however, is whether the resolution of these difficulties would provide an adequate basis for evaluation.

From the abstract perspective of evaluation schemes, one might be inclined to an affirmative answer. Given a more differentiated view of program aims, and careful program realization studies, Title I, for example, could be imagined as a satisfactory vehicle for research and development in compensatory education.

The only drawback with this idea is that the legislation did not envisage Title I in such a role. It is a major operating program, and several of its purposes have nothing to do with achievement. Therefore, activities in Washington designed to carry out systematic research and development would generate considerable opposition among recipient state and local educational agencies, and in the Congress. Research and development, after all, require that particular educational strategies be identified and carried out, and that their consequences be satisfactorily

measured. Measurement is technically and politically the easiest of the two requirements, but even that has a dubious prospect. To date, the Office of Education has not tried to require that achievement tests be used in all Title I projects, a decision which program personnel feel is based on an accurate reading of political realities. Under these circumstances, it would be even more difficult to execute a particular set of educational strategies under Federal supervision in Title I districts.

This element in Title I, coupled with the existing distribution of political power in education, probably will deter effective national research and development work with Title I for some time. Such work is likely to occur—if at all—only in those States which for reasons of their own are committed to using the Federal funds for such purposes. The fact that selected States are currently collaborating in a new management data system offers some encouragement, but this project covers information, and has nothing to do with planning, executing, and monitoring educational strategies. The latter requires a much higher degree of commitment, partly because it costs more, but mostly because it produces much greater political opposition. There is, after all, more reason for State and district officials to oppose Federal involvement in planning local educational programs than there is for them to oppose Federal measurement of Federal programs.

The prospects for research and development with Title I can best be indicated by the fact that at the moment there isn't a single State which operates an R&D program in compensatory education. Thus, while the new information system may produce information on the characteristics of successful programs, it seems unlikely that even within States it will offer an opportunity for systematic research on and development of successful strategies.

The underlying reason for this is political. Research and development work involves elements of the experimental approach, and effective use of that approach requires a degree of control over the main variables which seems incompatible with the other purposes of Title I. The question, then, is whether other programs offer a better prospect for research and development in compensatory education.

Our effort to develop educational strategies based on "planned variation" of different program approaches has evolved in the Follow-Through Program of the Office of Education. Following a 1968 report on Child Development (produced by a White House Task Force) OE in the early spring of 1968 converted its new Follow-Through on Head Start to an R&D effort aimed at the determination of which early childhood programs in the K-3 complex would have greatest success working with disadvantaged children in various community settings throughout the nation. Underlying this strategy is the assumption that useful experience was most likely to result from more systematic efforts to try out several strategies at once, under a variety of school and community conditions. In this way answers to the standard evaluation questions could be gotten at the same time as answer to the comparative (benefit-cost) questions.

Since this approach has been in effect only one school year it would be unwise to essay any judgments about the strategies or their impact upon achievement. The Follow-Through program is designed to provide answers to two questions:

(a) Which of the strategies improves achievement over what might otherwise be expected?

(b) What is the relative efficiency of the several strategies in improving achievement?

Answers to these questions await the results of national evaluation studies now underway—the largest of these being under the

direction of the Stanford Research Institute.

The experience thus far suggests that as things presently stand, there are three major obstacles to a national experimental approach to evaluation and comparative studies:

(a) Fiscal—lack of money to produce adequate sample sizes;

(b) Political—lack of authority to assign schools and/or districts to treatment or control groups;

(c) Administrative—lack of staff required to deal effectively with the logistics of a large program.

Experimental approaches are subject to two primitive political problems: one is that the educational system is almost completely decentralized (at least from a national perspective), and Federal experimentation must conform to this pattern; the other is that the resources allocated to programs designed to eliminate educational disadvantages are small when compared to other Federal priorities. This is a token of the relatively low political investment in such efforts which the government currently is willing to make. The consequence of the first problem is that Federal efforts to experiment begin with a grave deficit in the political and fiscal power required to mount them, and the implication of the second is that there is scant evidence of much new money or more power with which to redress this imbalance.

Chapter VII.—The Federal role in urban education: limits and obligations

In Chapter VI, we dealt with the several facets of the evaluation problem which have resulted from the more recent Federal programs with their broad social-action thrusts. In dealing with this problem, we have already, by implication, begun describing what some of the newly developing dimensions of the Federal role are. Specifically, they are: (1) to foster institutional change for the improvement of economic, social, health, and educational conditions of large numbers of our impoverished fellow citizens; (2) to provide increased monies for such programs; and (3) as a result of (1) and (2), to provide de facto advocacy on behalf of impoverished children and adults. Now, beginning to evolve on a larger scale than ever before, are the Federal efforts with regard to educating impoverished children.

These dimensions of the Federal role have not been effortlessly evolved. Rather, they have been hammered out on the anvil of the political realities of pressure groups, regional and local interests and needs, social ferment, prejudice, and general resistance to change. And, as the growing activism of the Federal role emerges in education, concern is expressed over the changes which may be—or are—taking place in traditional Federal, State, and local roles.

With these considerations in mind, this chapter considers first, the limits of the Federal role in education; and, second, the obligations which the Federal government has to impoverished citizens in urban areas with regard to education.

The Limits of the Federal Role

Federal financial and substantive participation in education programs has increased markedly over the past five years. The legislative breakthroughs of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 and the Education Professions Development Act of 1967, combined with various programs of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, have resulted in a new posture in education for the Federal Government. It has been described as a new "Junior Partnership" with State and local governments by a former U.S. Commissioner of Education. These acts and their potential

for educational progress have caused a ferment of expectation on the ultimate scope and direction of the new Federal role in education. Arising from this ferment is a recent manifestation of public disappointment that the new laws have not wrought the educational miracles which are needed to achieve educational quality and equality for our disadvantaged groups. One source of resentment concerns the Federal failures to fulfill the dollar authorizations of the new Acts with appropriations which match the amounts authorized. As the hastily formed Emergency Committee for Full Funding of Educational Programs stated for the debate on the House floor in July 1969 the Federal Government authorized (i.e., promised) 9 billions of dollars with its laws but delivered only 3 billions with its budget (see page 7-12).

A major surprise was achieved when the pressures mounted behind this Committee's campaign produced an unprecedented reversal not only of the Administration budgetary forces, but of the all-powerful House Committee on Appropriations, by adding close to \$1 billion to the fiscal year 1969-70 appropriation bill for educational programs as it rode through the House. Thus a new chapter has been added to that mentioned earlier. First Administration and Congressional forces placed on the statute books a legislative mandate calling for Federal funds to be placed on the doorstep of every school and college in America for the delivery of improved services to youth. Next the allied groups representing educational interests delivered a telling message that they had the power to push the Congress into a funding action that would have previously been considered impossible. The net effect is an assumption (at least a political assumption) that the Federal role will continue to grow and that the Federal programs are sufficiently important to create across-the-board political action to achieve more adequate funding of them.

While a Federal role is emerging in law, more sharply than might have been earlier predicted, a growing realization persists that local problems are not yielding to the legislative solutions designed by the Congress. Public despair with educational progress for poor and minority group populations has led to questions of the magnitude of Federal leverage that will be required to bring about institutional change in the educational system. As programs multiply on the local scene, the continuing decline of achievement scores in the inner city causes public concern and doubt. As the Federal slice of the education budget grows the question arises "how much difference is the Federal dollar making?" The answers are difficult to come by. The principal political concern centers on the issue of "categorical" aid vs. "block grants" or "general aid." The principal public concern is whether Federal dollars can bring about needed improvements in pupil achievement. Economists argue that we should not invest heavily in educational programs until we find out "what works" and can be assured of commensurate return for the Federal investment. Educators argue that we have never really given them a chance to prove their ability to deliver educational success because we have limited their resources and forced them into diluted programs.

The impasse that emerges from this conundrum is that the character of program leadership from Washington may shift in either of two directions. One choice is for greater Federal concern for producing tangible educational outcomes for those pupils who are being rejected by the system. The other choice lies in the direction of calculated funding of "the system" to provide the essential public finance, and to allow the local schools to worry about producing needed results. Whether a middle course can be charted is another question.

For the urban areas, the stakes are very high since they are at the mercy of unsympathetic State legislatures. Also, they are caught in the undertow of the growing disabling confluence of immigrant poor pupils and an exodus of middle class taxpayers. They are also striving for political recognition by the Federal Government in the face of a growing Federal apathy toward "solving" urban problems.

However, the Federal Government can only drift—it cannot retreat. It is politically impossible as well as humanly unthinkable for the Federal Government to turn its back on the millions of children it has offered to help through its new programs serving the disadvantaged. What the Federal Government really must decide is not whether to withdraw, or even whether to enlarge its role in the educational system—the real question is whether the Federal Government has the skill and determination to remake its programs in ways that will solve urgent national problems of social progress and human survival. For our inner cities the question is more simple and stark—life or death for its children.

Urban Education—A National Problem

As was stated in chapter I, the salvation of urban education is a problem of national dimensions. All our cities suffer from the same complex of social, political, and economic forces which impinge on the ability of our schools and colleges to produce an acceptable educational product. Since our great cities are the economic and social mainspring of modern living, their educational salvation becomes a problem that transcends State boundaries and political traditions.

The problem of an inadequate education which faces an inner city child and his parents is the problem of the Nation. We believe that the Federal Government must assume a role in solving that problem. The inequities of the education of impoverished urban students exact a disastrous toll. They cripple the individual youngster's chance for success, happiness, and usefulness. In their wake, his family, community, city and nation are denied his potential contribution. We must now face our unmet obligation. This urgent obligation must be met not only in moral and human terms, but also in financial terms.

An education which produces the effects described above is worthless, and ultimately disastrously expensive. Not only is the money which financed it wasted, but we shall continue to pay for its results. If the dropouts of the present system become delinquents or criminals, they become financial liabilities. If they have a family—but no job—they become welfare liabilities.

It is patently obvious to any student of government that the Federal Government has responded to specific crises in various sectors of the economy. The best example is the agriculture industry which supports a small number of farmers with higher consumer prices and revenue collected from nationwide income taxes. No less supported are the builders of the merchant marine fleet. Where it is in the national interest to solve a particular problem, the national Government has previously sought to solve that problem. Further, the solution of that problem benefits not only the nonwhite and the city but the entire country as well.

From a completely practical standpoint—idealism aside, Federal investment in education can be an extremely profitable venture, in that money that was formerly spent for programs, such as welfare, stronger police forces, and other preventive or stop-gap measures could be freed for spending in other areas, since educational programs create revenue and jobs. The costs of not educating people to take responsible positions in society are striking.

TABLE 1.—MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND POLICE PROTECTION, 1967

[In millions of dollars]

City	Welfare expenditure	Police protection
New York.....	558.4	292.1
Chicago.....	10.2	93.1
Los Angeles.....	.2	70.6
Philadelphia.....	11.3	47.7
Detroit.....	19.8	41.0
Baltimore.....	50.8	25.9
Houston.....		12.5
Cleveland.....	1.9	17.6
Washington, D.C.....	35.1	30.8
St. Louis.....	1.1	22.5
San Francisco.....	61.1	20.3
Milwaukee.....		17.4
Boston.....	61.7	22.1

Source: Statistical Abstracts, 1968, Table 602, City Government Expenditures.

The Municipal Expenditures cited in Table 1, overpage, are actually only a small portion of the money that is spent for such purposes. In 1967, the Federal Government paid out a total of \$9,868,217,000 to the states for public assistance alone. This figure is equivalent to more than twice what the government spent in all education programs in that same fiscal year. (The total government spending in education in 1967 was \$4,047,000,000.)

In terms of welfare payments, the Federal Government will provide a yearly average of \$515 per recipient. As of January 1969, there were 6.1 million people on welfare,²⁸ with a resulting average Federal welfare bill of 3.1 billion dollars. An individual on welfare for the period of his working life will cost the country approximately \$25,000.

These substantial welfare expenditures by the Federal Government offer little if any return on the investment. Welfare cannot be regarded as more than stopgap measure to solve the problems of poverty. Expenditures in education could have the direct effect of lowering welfare costs, by educating people, getting them off the welfare rolls and into the occupational structure. Aside from the financial benefits of such action, it is impossible to measure the saving in terms of the effects on the individual lives involved and the ultimate reduction in human conflict. And in the end, this prosperity that is created by the introduction of such programs can also be shared by the local citizen; for, as spending and employment increase, so will the GNP, and tax revenue and Federal grants will be available for use on other essential programs.

Education is an investment in the future of the individual and in the future of the country. He will, in all probability, be adequately employed, and thus a financial asset through his payment of income taxes. In terms of job training programs, the majority of which are designed for high school dropouts, the government will spend another 3.5 billion dollars in 1970 (*Federal Manpower Programs*, 1969, p. 135). In terms of prison costs and rehabilitation, the government pays \$3,760 a year per adult in a reformatory and another \$1,200 to train him.²⁹ A high school graduate may be expected to earn an average of \$7,494 a year; a college graduate, \$11,135 (U.S. Office of Education, 1968, p. 15). Together they will pay back to the government in Federal taxes approximately \$90,000 during their working lives.³⁰ Education is the key to the chance for an individual to become a \$25,000 welfare liability, or to become a \$90,000 taxpaying asset. We cannot afford the cost of failing to meet our obligation.

Another factor which points to the Federal government assuming a role in solving the problem of urban education is that the local and state governments simply cannot do the job alone. Education must compete with all of the other urban problems, like housing,

Footnotes at end of article.

health, traffic congestion, air pollution, for attention from city governments which face crises in meeting their operating budgets.

No one knows how to meet any of these problems without spending massive sums of money. The property and sales taxes on which states and localities rely so heavily are pitifully insufficient. The hope, then, must come from Washington. The Federal income tax with all its faults does keep pace with the growth of the economy much better than the sales or property taxes.

The Nixon Administration has made a move toward helping state and local governments with its revenue sharing plan. However, if enacted, it would not help the big cities or urban education significantly. The proposal contains no satisfactory pass-through mechanism to get the money to the cities, and there are assurances for educational support from whatever does come through their pipelines. If urban education deserves priority attention, and we strongly believe that it does, it must come in the form of direct aid from Washington to the cities.

President Nixon's Task Force on Education urged such Federal effort on behalf of urban education in its report:

"We believe that . . . this (urban education) is one of the areas of education where the Federal Government has a special responsibility for direct intervention and one to which the new administration must devote a substantial portion of its attention." (President Nixon's Task Force on Urban Education, 1969, H 1661).

A Federal effort in urban education would be in keeping with such past efforts such as the Morrill Act, which 100 years ago responded to the need for a system of higher education in this country, and the National Defense Education Act, passed after the Soviet launching of Sputnik and designed to compensate for deficiencies in science, math, and language programs in American schools.

The crisis in urban education must be confronted. It is obvious that we cannot afford the financial and social burden that presently exists. We cannot afford the growing animosities and tension between blacks and whites in our cities and across the land. If it is agreed that the foremost socializing agency in the nation is the school system, then that is where an attack upon the problem must begin and the solution, at least in part, must reside.

PART III—A PLAN FOR URBAN EDUCATION Overview

The Task Force submits as its major recommendation that the Office of Education develop special landmark legislation, such as an Urban Education Act, which will be designed to fund the planning, development, and implementation of a comprehensive master plan to meet the specific, long-range, broadly conceived educational needs of inner-city areas. As an interim measure, the Task Force further recommends that the Office of Education immediately consolidate programs for impoverished groups under an Associate Commissioner for Programs serving the Disadvantaged. This Office or Bureau should: supervise the implementation of the short-term recommendations of this Task Force Report; conduct a critical examination of current programs dealing with education in the city; modify and administer these programs; provide technical assistance to them; design such long-range landmark legislation as the Task Force recommends; and prepare to administer such legislation upon its passage. As the development of new program authorization permits (e.g., an urban education act or new categorical programs), a new Bureau of Urban Education should be created with a clear mandate to operate programs and to establish Office-wide priorities for efficiently meeting urban educational needs in all OE programs.

Accordingly, Part Three of this report dis-

cusses the long-term recommendation for the development of an Urban Education Act in four successive chapters and the short-term recommendations are presented in the last chapter. The chapters are as follows:

Chapter VIII—An Urban Education Act—The Educational Program.—This chapter deals with the type of education program which would be the major focus of a comprehensive urban master plan. The Task Force would hope to see the components of such an educational program specified in the legislation or contained in administrative guidelines.

Chapter IX—An Urban Education Act—The Authority Structure.—The question of authority is discussed on all levels: local, city, metropolitan, State and Federal. Federal reorganization designed to establish a Bureau of Urban Education is discussed in this chapter.

Chapter X—An Urban Education Act—The Funding Process.—This chapter discusses the funding process, including the determination of grantees, e.g., cities, local education agencies, non-public schools, and competitive alternative agencies. Funding to States, as well as a potential funding by-pass to cities is also covered here.

Chapter XI—An Urban Education Act—The Cost.—This chapter delineates the cost of the recommended programs.

Chapter XII—Short-term Recommendations.—This chapter will discuss measures which either relate to existing legislation or which may be taken without introduction to new legislation.

The Task Force wishes to underscore its conviction as to the urgency for immediacy in implementing both its recommendation for landmark legislation with long-range impact and its short-term recommendations. (The short-term recommendations are regarded by the Task Force as crucial and minimal to hold current educational systems together.)

Chapter VIII. An urban education act— The education program

The Task Force recommends that special legislation be developed, to be called the Urban Education Act. As a major section of the Act, the Task Force recommends the inclusion of a comprehensive master plan concept for urban education. This section should make provision for duly constituted agencies and groups (detailed in Chapter IX) to develop comprehensive master plan proposals for the redesign of educational programs and supportive services with special emphasis on inner city and suburban students who are impoverished. Also included in this section of the Act should be both the kinds of characteristics and the sequencing which any master plan submitted by a potential urban grantee should possess. Finally, this section should include provision for grantees other than those eligible under the master plan and the characteristics of programs funded as alternatives.

Accordingly, this chapter describes the scope and orientation or philosophy of the master plan, the levels which this plan should encompass, and the components which should be included at all its levels. Also described is the rationale and characteristics of an alternative plan to the master plan.

The Scope and Orientation of the Master Plan

The master plan must reflect the broadest and most enriched concept of education and relate its projected educational program to other special urban concerns, such as integration, housing, health, and employment. To isolate the urban education program from its environment or context would be setting the stage for irrelevance in the neighborhood school program and for inadequate responses to special needs of impoverished

students at the policy and senior administrative levels.

Furthermore, merely equalizing the educational resources between city and suburb will not accomplish the goal of providing impoverished students with the quality education they need. To prepare this student for full participation in the life of our nation, he must be provided with an education that is dramatically superior to that in the suburbs. This education must prepare him to enter the economic and social mainstream of American life without losing his individuality and concomitantly prepare those already in the mainstream to accept his individuality and diversity as positive contributions to it.

To achieve this superior education for the impoverished urban student:

"The educative process must be truly expanded in its focus to the whole individual at all educational levels. . . . His health, his emotional well-being, his intellectual capacities, his future employment, his self-realization are thus all involved in the process. . . . New areas must be included which are of special significance for the urban student, such as problems of narcotics addiction, noise, overcrowding, and maintenance of individuality." (UETF Report, Ch. I, p. 1-7).

In order to insure that a master plan submitted by a potential grantee reflects a broadened concept of education and an enriched supporting program, general criteria should be established. These criteria should either be contained within the legislation itself or specifically assigned in it to the Commissioner of Education to develop in concert with representatives from other urban and urban-related agencies. Placing such criteria within the legislation itself in general terms would presumably give more weight to subsequent and more detailed regulations and administrative statements dealing with possible future problems of compliance than might be available if administratively developed. Moreover, if generally stated in the legislation, there should be sufficient flexibility to make adjustments administratively as needed after urban education programs have come into existence. To be avoided for either alternative is the creation of a monolithic set of criteria which only consider the common characteristics of urban areas and fail to take into account their unique characteristics.

Bearing in mind the above caveat, the majority of the Task Force recommends the establishment of a set of general programmatic criteria both to be followed by the potential grantees in developing their master plans for urban education and to be applied by the grantor in: (1) assisting potential grantees in developing their proposals; (2) in judging the quality of these proposals; and (3) in working with the grantees in implementing these proposals. These general criteria should include the following features:

1. A clear and broadly conceived definition of what education in the urban setting should accomplish is imperative. This definition should overarch and thus link together all of the specific phases and components of the urban education program. Parents and youth of the neighborhood communities participating in the program should also contribute to formulating this definition since they will be experiencing its effects in various ways over extended periods of time. Moreover, this definition should avoid the pejorative distinction often made between education and training. The educative process must encompass both so that the participating students will acquire a valid and saleable education in the sense of becoming fully self-respecting, rationale, and economically sufficient human beings and citizens. Specifically, the majority positions of the Task Force as detailed in Chapter I lead to a definition of education which

embodies the concept that all of the individuals participating in the program at any level and in any role are active and continuous partners in the educative process which can—and does—take place anytime and anywhere. This concept implies that heretofore largely unrecognized partners—parents, local community residents, and students—must be involved in the decision-making about what is to be learned, and why it should be learned. The extent of student decision-making would, of course, vary with age, but it should nevertheless begin with the earliest age of entry into the program. With such involvement in the decision-making process comes both the need and the responsibility for knowing the options and the probable consequences of these options, the joint setting of goals which are understood by all participants, and the identification of the best strategies to reach these goals. Moreover, this decision-making requires clear statements of goals to be accomplished and the sequencing of behaviors required for their accomplishment.

2. A clearly articulated statement of need which includes: (a) a description of the community environment(s) in which the program will be based; (b) descriptions of target populations to be served; (c) the development of the priorities or needs which identifies the relative degree of urgency of the problems facing the urban area which relate directly and indirectly to education; (d) inadequacies within the presently existing educational programs in the urban area; (e) a description of how the proposed new plan will meet the priority needs of the target population and effect necessary educational system and related institutional changes; and (f) the difference between financial resources presently available at the State and local levels and those needed from the Federal level to successfully implement the plan.

3. The plans for utilizing financial resources from all available sources, including Federal, State, local and private sources. These plans should detail the sources and amounts of funds as well as their anticipated use in the program.

4. The plans for utilizing existing and heretofore largely unutilized instructional and human resources, e.g., private business and industrial facilities and services, cultural institutions, governmental agencies at various levels, (Federal, State, and local), the diverse human potential within both the city-at-large and a particular community. The use of these resources can take a wide variety of patterns ranging from voluntary contributions in the form of services, equipment, and space to subcontracting out whole aspects or levels of the educational program. The following example are briefly illustrative.

In the voluntary area, there are such possibilities as teaching an art program in a nearby gallery with local artists doing the teaching or supplementing the school instructors; of teaching measurement in a factory making precision instruments, in a bakery, in a dress-making or interior decorating shop; teaching reading to functionally illiterate adults with qualified personnel drawn from the school system or local universities using want ads, driving manuals, bus schedules, labels on food products, and credit contracts; etc. In the subcontracting area, there are such possibilities as computer programming and keypunching, automobile mechanics training, carpentry; and early childhood education program being operated in leased commercial space; para-professional training program; street academy for drop-outs and other young adults; work-study programs run by local universities at the secondary level to prepare teenagers for successful undergraduate performance; etc.

5. A general set of objectives or aims to be pursued to solve those problems which have direct bearing on the process of education,

e.g., housing, employment, health, integration, etc. Such objectives should strive to be met by phases of the funded master plan and by utilization of and coordination with other Federal, State, and local authorities. The local educational agency will need to develop these broad objectives in conjunction with these other agencies as well as within whatever legal constraints are involved. A consolidated set of general objectives with a timetable and a commitment for mutually accomplishing them should hopefully afford a coordinated approach to these education-related problems.

6. A specific set of educational objectives to be met by the educational program of the master plan clearly stated in terms of what the student in each educational developmental level is expected to learn, acquire, and/or manifest as a result of the comprehensive program provided. Such objectives should be oriented to student performance which can be measured in some form of overt behavior.

7. A full description of the program which will be developed and implemented to accomplish the objectives in points 4 and 5 above. The education program description should include the following components at a minimum: a) planning, b) personnel or staff development at all levels, c) curriculum, d) supportive services, e) community involvement, f) experimentation, g) assessment, and h) facilities. These components are described in detail in a subsequent section of this chapter.

8. The plan for adequately evaluating the master plan program in each community with respect to the performance of institutions in general and specific key roleholders within them in bringing about change and improvement. Such evaluation plans should include the utilization of the assessment component of the education program in relation to all other components of the education program beginning with the first stages of the planning and including estimates of student performance and the general educational performance in each community.

Levels of the Educational Program

As stated above, the Task Force recommends that the master plan be developed to encompass all educational levels from early childhood through adult. In determining priorities in terms of developmental levels, the Task Force suggests the following level designations and their definitions:

1. Early childhood—from prenatal to nine years of age (preschool through 4th grades).
2. Middle childhood—from ten to thirteen years of age (5th through 8th grades, including some "occupational readiness").
3. Secondary—from fourteen through eighteen (9th through 12th grades, and including "occupational readiness" and training).
4. Higher education—eighteen and up (while in college or other form of post-secondary education, including occupational readiness).
5. Adult (training taken after a lapse of time from secondary or higher education, often requiring occupational readiness and training).

The Task Force felt that a rationale could be developed to give first priority to the consideration of any one of the above-noted levels. Therefore, we recommend that through the development of a comprehensive program which if articulated at each level to the next, then all levels will be considered as having an equal priority. This position represented the sense of the Task Force members present although a considerable number of the members felt that the early childhood should receive the greatest emphasis.

The Task Force suggests that priorities can be imposed only when considered from long- or short-range perspectives. To illustrate: If viewed from the perspective of long-range results, early childhood education would re-

ceive priority emphasis in order that a child from birth could be educated to his fullest potential and in order that his education might progressively equip him to most effectively negotiate the society for which he is being prepared. This reasoning proceeds from the up-and-out in one generation perspective. If viewed from the perspective of short-term results, secondary level would receive priority in order that the current high school students of the cities emerge motivated and prepared to acquire higher education or vocational training to become sorely needed educated members of society. We can afford no gap of educated inner city students in leadership positions while we await the emergence into society of those students now in early childhood phases. Also, higher education is an important immediate priority since program modifications and/or new programs must have appropriately trained personnel to operate them.

Educational Program Components

As mentioned above in the section, *The Scope of the Master Plan*, the Task Force recommends that the educational program of the master plan should include at a minimum the following program and program-related components defined below. The order of listing does not imply a statement of priority, except with regard to planning.

Planning

Crucial to the successful implementation of any educational program component is a deliberate and comprehensive plan which has been developed with sufficient lead time and which at various stages in its development has involved appropriate persons representing the community, the public and private educational agencies at State and local levels, USOE, private industry within the urban area and the State and local governments. The planning component itself should not phase out as the program components become operational. Rather this component, in conjunction with that of assessment, should become the cutting edge of the master program, i.e., it should be out "in front" of program in anticipating its needs, personnel, training, and the like. Its operations should specifically include continuous planning, modifications, and/or redesign as feedback becomes available from the operating components. Hence, the planning component should have phases to it (e.g., initial design, preliminary implementation, feedback, modification, and the like), but the phases will as the program becomes fully operational take on a cyclical character.

During the initial design phases, the development of framework for the master program becomes critical, and should include such aspects as: the setting of priorities based on a wide range of inputs from such sources as parents, community leaders, teachers, administrators, etc.; a clear set of performance objectives stated in terms of overt student behaviors; funding requirements and anticipated costs; preparation of a plan for in-service training in critical areas; designation of schools to be involved; joint planning with other social agencies; etc. While we feel that the specific objectives should be defined locally, we recommend that specific objectives be conceived within a framework that considers the following concerns.

Integration

The planning framework should assume integration as a vital aspect of and means to a full education. The Task Force agrees with and fully endorses Commissioner Allen's goal "to provide an equal educational opportunity for all in a racially and socially integrated society." (To achieve this equal educational opportunity, urban education financially and programmatically must be superior.) We further recommend that systematic integration plans must be a part of the master plan. Studies have shown that when children from

low-income minority families are integrated with middle or upper class white children, achievement does improve. Even more important is the finding that when children of different backgrounds with different values associate with one another attitudes and outlooks are bound to modify and broaden.

However, for significant integration to occur there must be a substantial, genuine voluntary mix of students and staff. Unfortunately, this prerequisite makes it impossible for integration to work on a large scale in most urban areas. There are simply not enough whites in the inner city to go around. Nor have whites been particularly willing to give up their advantages to do something about inner city education. We recognize the seeming paradox of attempting to achieve integration with the current thrust of decentralization and community control which in some instances seem to perpetuate existing patterns of racial isolation.

However, this thrust by no means precludes integration. Integration is, in fact, a natural byproduct of many smaller experiments in community control of schools. Washington's Adams-Morgan Community School, for example, began as an effort to bring an economically and racially diverse neighborhood together so that programs could be developed to meet the root causes of its social problems. Its students, faculty, and governing board are integrated. At Ocean Hill-Brownsville over 70% of the teaching staff happens to be white. The Store Front Learning Center, also located in the heart of Roxbury, reflects the surrounding community and is primarily a mix of Spanish-speaking black and white children and teachers.

The emerging interdependency thrust has the potential for developing new patterns of integration. For example, the Anacostia Community School Project is making efforts to draw in the larger community as well as the resource of the Public Schools of D.C. The new Federal City College, also located in D.C., manifests the same thrust although reflected in somewhat different ways.

Integration is feasible through other approaches as well. Schools in smaller cities which have a majority white population should be reorganized along racial lines. All schools in the district may be used and qualified educational personnel redistributed among the schools. In recent years several cities with population ranging from 100,000 to 300,000 have desegregated their school systems. Examples of desegregation efforts in such cities as Berkeley, with 125,000 people with a school population 41 percent black, and Evanston, with a total population of 88,000 of which 22 percent is black, should be studied by cities of like size and composition. Educational parks, great high schools, which involve the concept of metropolitan planning in education are a logical next step for those areas which have successfully tried an integrated approach on a small scale.

In short, we recommend that: 1) in addition to holding the objective of integration in the long run, any immediate steps toward this goal which are feasible should be taken; 2) regardless of what form integration in the inner city takes—and it may not be immediately feasible—we must provide for the disadvantaged urban student an education which is dramatically superior to that in the suburbs in order to recompense that student for an education which to date has failed him. We must provide an education which will prepare him to negotiate the mainstream, and which will in time attract all races and all social strata to share in a process superior to the one they are currently experiencing.

Institutional Change

Also, within the planning component, specific program and student performance-oriented objectives should be conceived within a framework that assumes *institutional change*

as an urgent necessity—not change for the sake of change—but the implementation of new educational structures, roles, materials, training programs, and the like, which have been proven more effective toward the successful education of students than those currently in practice or use. Plans should indicate what conditions or areas call for institutional changes, what kinds of institutional changes are anticipated, how they will be achieved, the nature of opposition to and/or support for these changes, the schedule by which they will be accomplished, and the criteria for measuring the extent and magnitude of the anticipated changes.

Gains for total community through wide use of resources.—The framework should take into account not only educational gains for the student but also for the community as a whole. A set of performance objectives for students if well conceived and successfully met will yield byproducts for the entire urban community in such areas as employment, cultural enrichment, and dollar impact. The planning framework itself must be a dynamic and expanding one. In order to meet student performance objectives, new authorities must be developed and new resources tapped which will contribute to future planning and implementation of programs.

Pre-grant performance.—Plans should include a report of those components which have been developed, implemented and tested since they are the ones on which the success of the master plan is predicated. Without prohibiting newly created organizations from receiving funds under an urban education act, planners should generally be required to use existing funds to demonstrate performance prior to receiving developmental and operational funds.

Personnel Development

One of the most crucial elements of any comprehensive plan to make the schools in our cities more responsive to their students and to better prepare them to deal with our complex society is a basic and far-reaching reform in the approach to educational personnel development. By *personnel* is meant administrators, teachers, paraprofessionals, non-professionals and community volunteers. By *development* is meant continuous preservice and inservice programs at the local, city, State and Federal levels for all persons involved in educational activities. Specifically, these programs should be designed for and carried out in inner-city educational settings. Included in such programs should be:

1. The acquisition of appropriate attitudes and strategies for working with inner-city students.
2. Preparation for process-centered learning rather than textbook-centered learning.
3. The full utilization of the life experiences of the students as significant content for process learning.
4. The techniques for involving community residents and other resources in the educative process.
5. Cooperative work with supportive services staffing, e.g., nutritionist, psychologist.
6. The flexible and maximal use of educational settings—both traditional (e.g., the regular school) and a traditional (e.g., streets, businesses) within the community for the educative process.

A good teacher is usually the major key to a successful educational program. Yet in our inner-city schools we all too often find new and inexperienced teachers, or substitute teachers. We also find teachers who have received their teacher training in middle-class oriented institutions and who, as a result, have developed negative attitudes toward the potential of the disadvantaged child of the urban ghetto. When we do find dedicated teachers, they are often hampered by inadequate educational material, by an inflexible curriculum, by inappropriate pre-

service education, or by a lack of any salary incentive to remain in an urban school rather than move to the suburbs or drop out of teaching altogether. Actually, if we take into account all of these factors—low salaries, inadequate preparation, low status, inappropriate curriculum, and the inadequate tools given to teachers to accomplish the monumental task expected of them by society—educational personnel are probably performing better than the society has a right to expect.

Yet this is small consolation in the face of the urgent demand for more effective schools and for a more effective educative process which is linked to the real lives of students. A basic reform is required. Students in our cities have a right to: (1) expect teachers who understand and appreciate their cultural heritage, their socio-economic problems, and their individual life styles; (2) expect teachers who possess a positive attitude toward their learning ability, who are able to make use of the students' varying values, even though they differ from the teachers' values; (3) be taught by teachers who can function as team leaders and who can draw experiences into the learning situations that will make it community-centered learning; (4) find in their teachers a sensitivity to individuals which is reflected when they encourage each student according to his ability and interest; and (5) have teachers competently knowledgeable in their respective subject-matter areas.

We see this basic reform occurring in three major areas: (1) recruitment; (2) training programs; and (3) staff development. The main responsibility for beginning to develop new approaches to recruitment and staff development rests with the school systems. These new approaches should be spelled out in the plan. Renewal of teacher training programs must be a cooperative venture between colleges and the schools.

Recruitment.—School systems should initiate programs which will provide incentives and inducements for attracting capable and competent persons to enter urban school systems, especially those from poor and ethnic minority backgrounds.

One type of program would be an arrangement whereby the school system would hire a beginning teacher and in cooperation with a college or university develop a special graduate training program tailored to his needs, and would also pay for the teacher's graduate training. Another program would be the recruitment of returned Peace Corps and VISTA workers, accompanied by special orientation and training programs. There could be programs established which focus on hiring and preparing persons who have college degrees and have been employed in other fields but who now want to enter the teaching profession. Another obvious approach would be to send young, attractive articulate teachers from the school system to recruit additional staff members from colleges and universities.

Another essential part of the recruitment program should be the effort to attract residents of the communities served by the schools, especially the poor, into new careers in the education profession. The involvement of community residents in school programs has already been shown to have a positive effect on the learning of the students and has assisted, in many instances, in overcoming the students' alienation from teachers and administrators. In addition these new career opportunities will help to meet the manpower crisis in the teaching profession and will allow for greater flexibility and differentiation in staff organization.

The new career opportunities offered to community residents should be more than simply secretarial or clerical. There should be an adequate orientation program to enable these paraprofessionals to function effectively in the classroom as part of the instructional team. In addition, training and

education should be built into their work situation to enable them to advance into a permanent position in the professional teaching ranks.

Training programs.—If a comprehensive education plan directed to the needs of the disadvantaged child is to be effective, teacher training programs must concentrate on changing the attitudes of teachers and preparing them to effectively employ new ideas and educational materials quite different from those methods and materials which might be employed in a typical suburban school.

We recommend, therefore, that a separate title of the Urban Education Act be written which would fund specific types of teacher training programs to accomplish the above objectives. These programs would have to be operated in colleges or universities located in or adjacent to the urban areas which receive funds under the terms of the Urban Education Act.

The programs approved for funding by the Assistant Secretary/Commissioner of Education would have to be based on a reconnection between the teacher training institutions and the communities which the teachers will serve. The institutions will need to ask the urban communities what their goals are in terms of the kinds of teachers they feel are needed in their schools. And they will need to design special student teaching experiences approved by the community and which take place in the city. In addition, university professors must come to understand, experientially, the actual problems that school teachers face daily in the classroom in order to help them arrive at better approaches to teaching.

Necessary elements of any program must be courses such as urban sociology, cultural anthropology, and the psychology of the disadvantaged, experience in working with highly aggressive students, and a working knowledge of behavior therapy in preparation for conflict situations likely to occur between the values of staff personnel and students from urban areas. In addition, pertinent faculties outside the school or department of education must also contribute to the work of effectively preparing teachers for our urban schools.

Finally, this teacher training title of the Act should provide funds for experimental approaches in the area of teacher preparation apart from colleges and universities. These approaches could take the form of new training centers either publicly operated by a school system, or privately operated by a profit or nonprofit organization. The centers would be located in the ghetto as autonomous units and should be accredited by the State.

Such experimental approaches should be operated on two basic premises: (1) that training should take place in the local community rather than on college campuses; and (2) that the community (including community service agencies and other local groups) should have a major part in the planning and implementation of the training programs and in the policy decisions.

Staff development.—Urban school systems have a prime responsibility for constantly improving the quality of teaching in their system through staff development programs which aim at increasing the subject matter competence of teachers and their skill in teaching children. Such programs must be an integral component of any comprehensive plan to meet the educational needs of the cities.

We believe that if this in-service phase of teacher training is to have a significant impact on the urban school system, then programs must be implemented which orient themselves to the individual schools within that school system. In-service training which attempts to reorganize the teaching methods of the entire school system can become either quite overwhelming or just procrustean.

We, therefore, recommend a staff development approach (similar to that proposed by the Training Task Force) which takes place at the local school level and involves the whole staff of the school. In this approach the principal of the individual school would play a special role in his ability to coordinate and relate new educational methods and materials in a curriculum design appropriate for particular character of the students and teachers of his school.

More importantly, teachers themselves would be involved and would share a major responsibility for the process of school's development. Obviously, adequate time would have to be provided in the school day for the teachers to carry out this in-service program; it is not an extra to be tacked on at the end of the day in the classroom. This approach to staff development would be seen as a part of their professional life on the job.

Teachers and the para professionals in the schools would carry out an analysis and evaluation of the unique characteristics and strengths of their students, as well as the learning problems peculiar to these students. Then they would decide on the types of teaching approaches, sequences of learning tasks, and instructional materials that would most effectively meet these learning needs. In this process, they would be actively aided by their own students, as well as by parents, citizens, university specialists, central staff personnel and other community resources.

We believe that by decentralizing in-service teacher development, new approaches to education can more effectively and more rapidly reach the classrooms of the urban schools and begin positively to influence the learning process of the impoverished urban student.

Also, any adequate staff development program for an entire school system must be aimed at administrators and school board members as well. Principals and other administrative officers in the school systems who often were promoted to these positions because they were good teachers, should receive training in efficient management techniques. Present and potential school board members, at both the city and the community levels, should also be given the kind of orientation which will enable them to function in their role as educational decision-makers.

Curriculum

Curriculum is defined here as a clearly articulated master plan for the educative process which includes student-oriented performance objectives; sequenced sets of experiences organized from task analyses; basic strategies for acquiring the knowledge, skills, and attitudes in these sequences; and evaluation based on the objectives. Thus, we are concerned with creating curricular designs for living, learning, and working which will result in superior urban education.

These designs must successfully combine the life experiences, needs, and environment of the particular inner-city students in relation to the demands and needs of an increasingly technological and value-conflicted society—and one which is only reluctantly facing up to its racism. The traditional content—or textbook—centered curricular designs on which tweaking and tinkering has been done (e.g., broad fields) will no longer suffice. Rather, we must have curricular designs which are centered on the acquisition of realistic problem-solving processes, the steady development of stable and constructive self-images, and the merit of diversity within the mainstream. Such designs must also reach up into the higher education level and encompass all its fields and aspects.

For example, any curricular design would need to be concerned with key communication processes (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing) utilizing students' life experiences and relevant subject-matter contributions which will be applicable to a

career ladder for occupations and professions. Moreover, within the communication process—there must be a strong emphasis on reading. Reading is the major gateway not only to school achievement at all levels but also to acquiring the competencies necessary for employment in the skilled and professional occupations and for an enlightened citizenry.

Improved approaches to developing readiness for reading at all educational levels and the teaching of reading itself, must be rapidly identified and implemented. These approaches must also be sharply anchored to the lives of the students involved and the other communication processes (i.e., listening, speaking, and writing)—and, at the same time, they must truly prepare students for the subject-matter demands of the curriculum, e.g., reading an equation. A general performance objective in reading would be: Each student should read at a level commensurate with an accurate estimate of his learning potential.

In addition to curriculum containing the more traditional academic areas, there must also be the inclusion of areas designed to teach the urban child how to deal with such specific urban problems as health—both mental and physical, and including sex education; combating noise and congestion; controlling the environment in order to maintain clean air and water supplies, etc.; understanding and helping to fight the problems of crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and child abuse. Universities and social agencies must be involved in the development of the curriculum as well as parents, teachers, and students. All have contributions to make to it which are valid and needed.

Supportive Services

Included in this component are all those services—adequately staffed—which make effective learning possible, namely, medical and dental assistance, nutritional services, adequate clothing and shelter provisions, social and psychological assistance, counseling and guidance, occupational and educational placement, drop-out prevention, and recruitment of new personnel. If the students and their families cannot afford such services, then these must be provided. Ill, malnourished, inadequately clothed and sheltered, and/or emotionally upset students—regardless of either their potential learning capacities or age levels—do not function as effectively as students who are comparatively free of such problems and stresses. No matter how effective the curriculum is or how dedicated the staff in its implementation, these components can never effect the superior learning program desired if adequate supportive services are not available. Such services are costly but they must receive a high priority in the overall program since they are foundational to it. It is here that cooperative planning with State and local government officials, local social agencies, and Federal programs will become particularly critical in order to maximize the use of existing resources and gain commitments for new ones.

Specifically, these services should encompass the following areas:

1. To provide parents and young adults (e.g., teenagers) with additional information about the various aspects of growth and development of children, e.g., nutrition, the role and significance of language development and ways of enhancing it, constructive ways of dealing with young children's emotions, techniques for problem-solving and the like.
2. To provide parents and young adults with volunteer or special or special paraprofessional training if desired in the various growth and development aspects of children.
3. To insure that services are made available to potential vocational education students and families.

4. To provide at least the minimum daily nutritional requirements of children.

5. To provide adequate health services to children, including examination and follow-up treatments as needed, as well as health education—both mental and physical including sex education.

6. To provide adequate recreational services for children at various age and interest levels.

7. To insure maximum health for infants and expectant mothers.

Community Determination

Although community determination is discussed in detail in Chapter IX, The Authority Structure, it is mentioned here as one of the vital components of a successful urban education program.

Community, in this connection, is broadly defined to include its human and institutional components, all of which can profit and be profited by education locally. In order for that education to be effective, and truly relevant to the child's own frame of reference and environment, all components of the community need to be meaningfully involved in the educational process. Specifically those components are: the inner-city residents themselves; the colleges, junior colleges, universities, vocational and technical training institutions in the area; and local private industries and foundations.

Inner-city residents.—The inner-city residents must be actively involved in all aspects and at each developmental level of the urban educational program. This involvement could take one of several patterns: (1) *control* (i.e., full fiscal, programmatic, and hiring authority); (2) *partnership* (i.e., division of authority with representation from other groups within the urban area); or (3) *participation* (i.e., a combination of advisory and policy-making functions with preferential hiring of community residents). Whatever community involvement pattern is decided upon by the planners, it must have the sanction of the inner-city residents affected as being the most workable pattern for them. Contingent upon the particular pattern chosen would be the degree to which decentralization would come into being. With full community control comes the requirement for full decentralization. With community participation—as defined here, a very limited administrative decentralization might be the only requirement. Whichever pattern is chosen, parents and other inner-city residents should have ready access to the educational staff on a daily basis to enable the staff and the community to solve problems of mutual concern so as to permit continuous feedback, evaluation and rapid modification of the ongoing educational program as well as to train parents as effective educational interventionists. Programs should be developed which would facilitate teachers visiting the homes of all students. Such components have been highly successful in existing vocational programs and might be utilized widely at all educational levels, greatly enhancing communication and cooperation between staff and community—and, also, help assure final accountability. Where community and school share responsibility, the patterns of shared accountability must be developed.

Institutions of higher education.—Although colleges have tended to relate to local needs and clientele, other private and public institutions of post secondary and higher education have all too often functioned independent of and segregated from the local community. We have recently witnessed many outbursts directed at the symptoms of such segregation. The times are dictating a radical shift in the colleges' and universities' institutional images, from the medievally-originated concept of the secluded scholarly retreat to that of an active

and responsible community member. Many students and some faculty members and administrators, sensitive and receptive to the university's emerging role as community citizen, are already engaged in active participation and partnership with the community. It is necessary that these efforts be expanded so that the expertise of the university is combined with that of the neighborhood communities in preparing children and youth to be members of the society at large. Colleges and universities must alter their all-too-prevalent attitudes that they are functioning responsibly in "maintaining standards" by shutting their doors to those students of disadvantaged backgrounds who do not score comparably to their middle class counterparts for whose culture the measurement tests have been designed. If colleges find that the preparations in skills of the few disadvantaged students currently admitted are obstacles to the full learning potential of these students, they must not merely condemn that preparation. Such colleges owe it not only to those students but also to their own validity as institutions, to involve themselves in the improvement of that preparation during the early years of education. They must realize the importance of expanding their roles and attitudes to include: (1) early involvement with and recruitment of the inner-city student; (2) motivational and skill-oriented pre-college programs; (3) development of curriculum designs appropriate to inner-city students and the education of those who will work with and teach them; (4) re-examination of faculty attitudes toward inner city students whose backgrounds and values are divergent from their own and from a majority of their student peers; and (5) redesigning of teacher training programs and patterns of certification.

Private industries.—Local private industries and foundations, both profit and non-profit, should also be actively engaged in the education of their communities. Such agencies constitute a major resource for needed professional and vocational skills. Moreover, their participation in the educational programs should be mutually beneficial in terms of immediate service to and subsequent employment of community residents.

Experimentation

At all educational developmental levels, the urban education program with its various interlocking components is to be viewed as experimental. Experimentation is therefore to be viewed as an integral part of the general operating program. The dichotomy which has grown between costly research-experimental programs involving small numbers of children and operating programs with large numbers of children (e.g., Title I) must be avoided. Experimentation as conceived here, is for trying out new concepts, techniques, personnel training, staffing patterns, class organizations and the like, within the realities of the operating program. This type of experimentation precludes neat independent-dependent variable designs, but, at the same time, permits new approaches to be tried out with immediate feedback results in a realistic way.

Related to this experimental component, are those alternative education programs and approaches which many be piloted or demonstrated as "sub-programs" in the overall master education plan. Such alternatives sponsored within one grantee's master plan are to be distinguished from alternative programs which may be funded and operated outside of or in competition with that particular grantee. Alternatives outside a master plan are discussed in a later section. In this part, we are concerned with alternative programs conducted as experiments within a master plan of a local educational agency. Such experiments can presumably accelerate the rate of effecting in-

stitutional change within a system and may take one of the following forms:

Community Schools.—Community schools offer services and leadership in response to joint planning by the school and the community to improve communication and to better meet the community's needs. To truly serve its community, the school should be placed where all members of the community, old and young would have the opportunity to learn. It may also function as a community center where health and legal services, counseling and employment are offered. A successful example of this type of school is the Mott Program in Dearborn, Michigan.

Model subsystems.—Model subsystems such as those now operating in the District of Columbia, New York and Boston are used as testing-and-demonstration-grounds for new programs. Governed by a community board they have the freedom to experiment widely in curriculum and other recruitment and utilization of teachers and the management of the system itself. Basic to the subsystem approach is the premise that model schools have a close and direct tie to the rest of the school system in order to influence that system's practices.

Street academies.—Street academies may operate either as an experiment or a demonstration within a master plan, or as an alternative to a master plan. An example of this genre is the system of Street Academies sponsored by the Urban League in Harlem which caters to students who have dropped out of the public schools. The Academies, usually abandoned storefronts, are manned by teachers and streetworkers, often alumni of an Academy who live in the area where they work and are therefore more able to communicate with prospective students. The educational process is three-tiered. First, a student attends the Street Academy, then the Academy of Transition. After he has achieved 8th or 9th grade levels of performance, he goes to one of the college preparatory schools, either Newark or Harlem Prep (so far 90 percent of Academy students have gone on.) The success of the academies is due primarily to the fact that they are truly decentralized units. They work from the street up and adapt the institution to fit the relationship between streetworkers and teachers and students. Recently the entire Academy program has been moving towards greater involvement with the public schools. For example Benjamin Franklin High School in Harlem farms out truants and dropouts to the Street Academies.

Experimental classrooms.—Such examples would include the Duhl School which proposes a new K-4 school for lower-class communities. It assumes that what are needed are four years of preliminary work to get the underprivileged child ready to meet the demands of school. In each urban neighborhood, a classroom would be built in the community, in the living environment of the child utilizing especially built rooms in new housing or space modified for classroom use in older housing. A collection of these rooms joined by electronic devices would comprise a school. The parents and community would be part of the classroom—the "urban agents" which tie the child to the community.

Assessment

As with experimentation, assessment is to be considered as an integral part of the general operating educational program. Assessment is defined here as the extent to which the students in the educational program are manifesting those behaviors stated in its objectives at various educational levels. Implicit in this definition is the requirement that the educational objectives are synonymous with the assessment objectives and that they are measurable in the form of overt behaviors of some sort. Moreover, an assessment design for the type of master plan proposed would encompass far more than the mere use of

standardized academic achievement measures. Rather, it would involve a multi-faceted approach to the educative process (e.g. the physical, social, emotional, and academic performances of students at various levels.) Results obtained from the assessment component should be fed into the planning and other components so that necessary modifications and adjustments can be made as rapidly as possible. These results should also yield information—albeit indirectly—on the effectiveness of institutional change as reflected in teaching style(s) in the classroom, in middle- and upper-level administration, utilization of resources, and ultimately the impact of the program. The main focus of these designs must be upon the behaviors of students—and not upon such issues as management efficiency and cost effectiveness. When these kinds of issues become the focus, the learning of students becomes either subordinated or completely lost. Finally, the assessment should have a national thrust so that information on target groups can be secured, analyzed, summarized, and disseminated in comparable ways.

Facilities

The need for additional school facilities is critical in most urban areas. Urban school populations continue to mushroom while available space and monies for construction grow increasingly scarce. The master need for and possible use of new school facilities and an account of the ways in which the community intends to obtain maximum use of existing facilities. Specifically, plans should include the below-noted considerations.

The creation of new ways to use space and facilities more effectively and creatively.—This might include extensive use of the natural and physical resources of the city including museums, art galleries, aquariums, parks, newspaper and government offices and so on as an integral part of the educational program. Classes may also be located in libraries, department stores, college labs, abandoned storefronts. If a different or unusual kind of environment improves student performance it should be utilized.

A premium should be placed on the construction of new educational facilities within all low and middle income housing constructed with the assistance of public funds.

Likewise, educational facilities should be included in public assisted commercial construction, shopping centers, etc. and other office space. Such facilities may provide a significant avenue for racially integrated early school programs. These last two suggestions could also provide a major financial saving if planned at the time original architectural designs are drawn up.

Integration of facilities with the local educational program.—For example, if early childhood education is to be a goal, the possibility of constructing facilities in schools for demonstration centers should be considered. Such centers could act as models for teacher training, and materials research and development. Day care/educational centers could also be established in vocational and high schools for the benefit of children, students, and teachers. Additional programs could be developed to provide high school students and other members of the community with special training in child care, family planning, home economics, etc. Hospitals and other health facilities built with public funds, are also a prime target place. Early childhood programs should be open to all hospital personnel including health manpower trainees who are among the most marginally employed of all institutional employees at the present time.

Multipurpose use.—Where possible, facilities should be designed for recreational, vocational, research and demonstration, and administrative uses. Facilities should be geared to meeting the needs of the entire

community; infants; youth out of school; adults; the elderly; as well as those of the children in school.

Impact.—Facilities and programs should be analyzed in terms of cost, design, site location, future use, etc., to determine potentially favorable impacts upon the local economy and community use.

In summary, the large majority of the Task Force feels that major institutional changes are needed in urban education, and that the Federal government should play an active role in recommending the components and processes of programs which will bring about desired change. A minority view held by a few members was that the Federal Government should not be involved with the setting of criteria and the recommending of program components. Instead, these members suggested that the only proper functions of the Federal level were funding and subsequently, the auditing and monitoring of these funds.

The Need for Alternatives to the Master Plan

The large majority of the Task Force recommends that the existing educational institutions and/or new combinations of existing institutions constitute the best initial mechanisms for developing the master urban education plan. It is to be stressed again that only the educational system is large enough to make the major changes for the improvement of the education of urban students. However, this majority recommends the funding of alternative programs outside of or in competition with the master plan to meet specific needs and problems not taken into account by the more comprehensive master plan. Such alternatives might fall into the following categories.

Educational parks.—Such parks offer more than just a parallel public school system. They could, hopefully, in the not-too-distant future supplant the entire concept of the traditional public school system because they would be of sufficient size and comprehensive enough in nature. Parks are in various stages of planning in Syracuse, East Orange, Boston, Rochester, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. The parks represent a totally planned system, an all-encompassing social community plaza with education and participation of the total community as its focal point. Not only education but related services, such as public health and counseling services would be offered with a constant interplay between service institutions and the educational area. Its participants would be racially economically and ethnically integrated. The major problem seems to be the one of finances. The park concept would involve a large commitment from the total resources of the region to be served in addition to a substantial commitment of State and Federal resources.

Publicly-funded private schools for children of the inner city.—The Highland Park Free School, is by far the most ambitious and most comprehensive project of this type. These schools, free from the bureaucratic inertia and rigid architectural structures of the public schools, can provide a setting responsive to the kind of experiment and innovation needed in urban education, and provides some healthy competition for the public schools. Also, they can demonstrate their program with high visibility.

City-as-classroom structures.—This school-without-walls in Philadelphia, the Parkway Project, is one of the more unusual experiments in education. There is no single school building as such. Non-graded classes take place in two dozen different places such as the zoo, art museum, YMCA. The lack of physical and instructional structure give the students the opportunity to study independently or in small groups and to design their own curricula. Students, black and white, are chosen at random from 2000 applications from public and parochial schools.

Regional State schools.—These schools

would be financed by the States and would cut across urban-suburban lines.

Federal regional schools.—Such schools would be financed by the Federal Government out of present State aid funds or with additional Federal funds. These schools would be able to cut through State boundaries and could make provisions for residential students.

College- and university-related open schools.—These schools, financed by colleges and universities would be part of their laboratories in education. They would be open to the public and not restricted to professors' children. Parents, students, and community leaders ought to be given significant representation in the policy-making process so that the university does not play an exclusive role.

Industrial demonstration schools.—These schools, financed by industrial business and commercial firms in the same way churches support parochial schools, would serve their employees and selected members of the public. They would not be vocational schools but standard elementary and high schools.

Labor union sponsored schools.—These schools would be largely but not exclusively for children of union members.

Army schools.—The Defense Department has been effectively educating the casualties of our present public schools. It is hereby suggested that they greatly expand their program. Schools for dropouts and educational rejects could be set up adjacent to camps, but not necessarily as an integral part of the military.

Learning center projects and advancement schools.—The Philadelphia School Board project consists of discovery oriented classrooms, located in nine schools which comprise a network of innovative classroom structures. In the fall of 1968, a group of teachers opened a separate laboratory school for further experimentation. The Pennsylvania Advancement School (formerly the North Carolina Advancement School) is a semi-autonomous corporation with its own board. It has complete freedom to try new ideas and methods. It draws from the city's public and parochial schools and offers staff development programs for teachers during the summer.

Voucher system.—The voucher system is one of the more controversial alternatives which has been proposed to the present system of public education. A voucher, valued at the national average of public expenditures per pupil would be given to students whose family income lies below the middle income level so that he could choose the school, public or private, he wished to attend. The value of this system is that it would introduce the element of competition which could provide the external stimulus to reform within the public schools. Competition makes for a strong incentive to incorporate new programs in order to provide what their customers, the students and their parents want.

The Task Force, as a whole, favored considering the voucher system as one of the alternatives as a means of both accelerating institutional change and providing an appropriate education for urban students. However, it was the sense of the Task Force generally that it did not favor the voucher system as the only educational alternative to the master plan since there are a number of other alternatives which are worthy of being tried out as well. Some of these other alternatives have been briefly described in this section.

Chapter IX. An Urban Education Act—the Authority Structure

The Task Force recommends that the Office of Education, in its development of an Urban Education Act, give careful consideration to the question of the need for restructuring of authority on all levels, Federal, State, municipal and community—both

for the grantor and grantee of funds. The Task Force therefore presents its rationale for new roles at each level and defines the general dimensions of each of these roles.

Accordingly, this chapter is presented in four major sections: 1) A Rationale for an Expanded Community Role; 2) Relationships among Communities in Urban Areas; 3) The Role of the State; and 4) The Need for Federal Reorganization and the Establishment of an OE Bureau of Urban Education.

A Rationale for an Expanded Community Role

The Task Force supports the principle that no significant or effective changes in urban education can be achieved without the involvement and support of those parents and local community residents who have heretofore been excluded from the process of decision-making concerning the goals and priorities of the schools. To this end, we recommend that an Urban Education Act:

1. Require a mechanism for community determination that provides for substantive community impact on policy development and implementation. Such a mechanism should be designed at the local level.

2. Make provisions for the training of school administrators and school board members in accommodating themselves to the above mechanism.

3. Provide funds to a planning group for staff which must create the mechanism for community determination.

4. Provide for evaluation by the Federal government to obtain information to analyze the process of change in the educational system in order to insure that there is substantive decision-making by the community.

5. Provide for evaluation at the local level to insure that the mechanism achieves its objective in making the system more accountable to its clients.

The Problems With Present Local Agents of Authority

In Chapter IV of this report, several aspects of the problem with the urban school system were documented. In that chapter, we stated that the authority figures, the policy-makers and administrators, are often "either too remote from or too indifferent to all of the constituencies they are supposed to serve." In this section, the failure of these current local agents of authority is discussed as one aspect of the rationale for increased community determination. The three agents which currently have a role in the governance of urban school systems are: (1) school boards; (2) school administrators; and (3) teacher organizations. None of these groups have succeeded in bringing about the necessary changes in the school system—although by vestiture of authority, all have had the potential. The reasons for these failures are myriad.

School boards.—School boards in our urban centers are not representative of the people they serve. Members are generally of upper and middle class cultures with attitudes that reflect such cultures. In many cities where a large majority of the school children are Negro or Spanish-speaking, the boards are composed of nearly all whites or Anglos. Where school boards do have minority group members, the latter are generally middle class men and women who have escaped from the slums and often have as little in common with the ghetto dweller as the rest of the board. As a result, the boards are infrequently responsive to the needs of the ghetto schools.

Not only are the boards unrepresentative of the people in terms of socioeconomic factors, but they are also unrepresentative in terms of the size of the population being represented. Table 1 illustrates the point by indicating the comparative populations and

school board sizes in four urban areas and nearby suburbs.

School Administrators.—Much of what has been previously stated about the dissimilarities between the members of school boards and their constituents holds true for school administrators and those same parents, community residents and students. Few school administrators are truly representative of the community being served.

Further, these same administrators are separated from that community even more by the insularity imposed on them by the nature of their function within a large bureaucracy.

Generally, involved with problems of budget and administrative detail, even those administrators—few in numbers—who are program-trained and oriented, have little direct contact with those they serve. As an all too frequent result, the administrator comes to hold the attitude that his service to his school board holds a prior commitment to that of service to the child. Also the administrator's inevitable bureaucracy creates a hierarchy, somewhere at the bottom of which is the child. Too often the bureaucracy serves its needs—not the child's.

The factors of the size and complexity of many school bureaucracies limits the facilitation of change. There are always rules to be quoted to prevent action—and often little incentive to create it.

Insulated from their students, senior administrators are at the same time insulated from the very human resources who might make them more effective in their roles. Few administrators take advantage of the trained personnel of their own staff or those of local colleges and universities, or of businesses and private industries nearby. As potential liaisons to many varied community echelons for mutually beneficial services, school administrators have generally overlooked this vital function.

The very autonomy of the local school systems serves to insulate administrators yet a step further. Systems free of the forces of change from without perpetuate unresponsiveness within.

A hopeful sign in the generally bleak scene of top city school administration is the emergence of a "new breed" of superintendent—one who perceives of his role, and functions in it, as an agent of change in the relations between the school and the community, e.g. the establishment of community schools in Philadelphia and other places.

TABLE 1.—RELATION OF SIZE OF SCHOOL BOARD TO POPULATION IN EIGHT SELECTED CITIES

City:	Population (1960)	Current size of school board
Los Angeles.....	2,479,015	7
Santa Monica.....	83,249	7
Baltimore.....	939,024	9
Hagerstown, Md.....	36,660	6
Detroit.....	1,670,144	7
Ann Arbor.....	67,340	9
New York City.....	7,781,984	9
Mount Vernon, N.Y.....	76,010	9

Source: (Statistical Abstract of the U.S., U.S. Bureau of Census, 1969, pp. 21-22; County and City Data Book, U.S. Bureau of Census, 1967, pp. 464-573). Survey of public education in the member cities of the council of big city boards of education, National Schools Boards Association, Washington, D.C., 1968 pp. 9-14.

Failure of the Teachers' Organizations

Neither the large teachers unions nor groups of non-union teachers have been effective in catalyzing the kinds of institutional changes needed to provide a successful education for inner-city students.

The teachers individually.—Although as we saw in Chapter IV, teachers in isolated instances have been highly critical of the role they have been assigned and of the system which perpetuates such roles, many teachers

are generally resistant to change. They are after all, a part of the system which employs them and over a period of time develop loyalties which may tend to cloud objectivity.

Concurrently, over the years, teachers in a sense "invest themselves" in a classroom developing their own personal concept of themselves as teachers. Such a concept involves acquiring attitudes toward the students and formulating their personal teaching methods, techniques, and materials. Understandably, they react defensively when this concept is challenged as irrelevant, inappropriate, and/or discriminatory. Whether the challenge is valid or not for a particular teacher, it reflects a change on the part of the students. What was once accepted is no longer. Teachers individually are facing a re-examination of their attitudes, roles and methods. The need for flexibility and continuous self-assessment is one of their greatest challenges, if they as individuals are to be responsive to current needs and problems.

The teacher unions and organizations.—Instead of serving as a strong advocate for changes in urban education programs or in the role of the teacher in urban schools, teacher organizations generally have been reluctant to depart from their traditional concerns over the status of the teacher.

These organizations have been and still are important crusaders for teachers' rights and privileges, and have led a crucial battle to raise the status of the teachers in their own perceptions as well as in the perceptions of their administrations and community. Unions have led the fight for contracts which reflect the impact of such criteria as length of time in service, level of education, working conditions, and grievance procedures. Such unions performed a vital function historically and continue to provide teachers with valuable protection.

However, the times are demanding more of the teachers and accordingly more of their unions and organizations. If contracts should in fact reflect the criterion of effective performance of teachers in the classroom with their students, then the unions have not as yet prepared themselves to negotiate on such terms.

With the unions' past and present primary thrust on salary, tenure and related administrative concerns, little attempt has been made to examine the teacher in terms of his effectiveness with his students. The unions would need to alter those thrusts in order to deal with this need and to accomplish significant change in current urban education.

Legitimacy of the Community's Role in Education

The educator, Goodwin Watson, provides a succinct analysis of why change cannot be brought about by those who currently operate the urban education system:

"[The school system] is managed by a school board drawn largely from upper-class circles; it is taught by teachers who came largely from middle-class backgrounds; and it is attended by children from working-class homes. These three groups do not talk the same language. They differ in their manners, power and values." (Keach, Fulton and Gardner, 1967, pp. 6-7).

Watson points out that no meaningful change can occur without the support of the inner-city parents and community. It is this group which can provide the greatest stake in bringing about change; it is this group which neither has a voice nor has it been mobilized in support of the schools.

Why the community should have an active role.—The education system owes accountability to the parents of the children whom it purports to be educating, and rightly so. For it is the parents who have a deeply personal concern in what the long-term outcomes will be for their children when their

children are not learning to read or are unable to find jobs. Giving parents and local community residents legitimate responsibility and thus decision-making power for effectively modifying the urban schools would allow them to make their contributions in the form of a more highly constructive and sensitive input than is currently possible. The inner-city community has potential power, energy, and enthusiasm for effecting positive and needed changes which have never really been tapped.

It is traditional in American society for the people to have the major voice in the decisions that govern our society and to demand that its institutions be responsive to and representative of the will of the people. If school boards as presently constituted in our urban areas do not achieve such responsiveness and representativeness, they should not—and they cannot—stand as viable and legitimate democratic institutions.

What the community can contribute.—Only members of the alienated and disfavored minority groups can accurately represent the deep-seated frustration, anger, and hostility directed toward the school system. That input simply cannot emanate from the white middle-class school board member, administrator, or teacher, or even from a black in one of those roles. Without an understanding of the causes and extent of this disaffection, changes in urban school systems will fall short of what is needed.

The parents and community can provide a reality base for the educators. It is the parents who can best articulate the goals and values of the inner-city population. It is they who can suggest techniques or approaches to make the program of the schools personally valid and economically useful to the student from the ghetto.

Parents can provide the system with a new link to the child. Academic and social outcomes of the schools are often related to the degree to which parents understand and reinforce the goals of the schools. The parents can provide an atmosphere in the home which either thwarts or fosters learning. Such parental positivism is in direct proportion to the opportunity those parents have to participate in the schools.

Models for Community Responsibility for Change

It is not the role of the Federal government to prescribe the kinds of or degree of changes which ought to take place at the local level. It is possible, however, to describe some of the efforts of urban systems which have linked decision-making authority to the community.

Most of these efforts for effecting change manifest two major features in some form. One is decentralization; the other, community involvement in the schools. While there are many variations in and degrees of decentralization and community involvement in the schools in such efforts, some general patterns for both can be identified.

Decentralization.—The term, in education, generally refers to a delegation of certain kinds of authority and responsibility by a duly constituted legal school board to a subdivision or unit within its purview. As we have analyzed the situation, there seem to be four basic variations of decentralization currently in existence, which can be distinguished from one another in terms of the degree of authority and responsibility which are delegated. They are, as follows:

1. Decentralization which assigns certain types of administrative matters (e.g., placement of teachers, use of specially trained personnel, processing of requests for materials and equipments) to a geographical subdivision of the school district. In this variation, all of the major policy- and decision-making power resides in the central board and administration.

2. Decentralization in which the geographi-

cal subdivisions have area or district superintendents who handle all of the above types of matters and also have major authority and responsibility for programmatic and personnel affairs. In this variation, the area superintendent usually has very considerable decision-making power and can deploy the personnel or alter the program as he deems necessary under the authority of the school board and the superintendent. In both of these variations, the shifting of authority is within the educational system.

3. Decentralization which permits a *de facto* community involvement in the decision-making process in the form of an advisory board or a planning council for a school or subsystem. Such an arrangement is usually a somewhat informal one in that there is no formal legal contract and the delegation of authority and responsibility are informally worked out between the educational system and the community groups in terms of the scope. Such an arrangement may vary in its scope from decision-making on program, priority-setting for expenditure of monies, and hiring practices to merely a glorified complaint department. In this form, the final authority and responsibility are still retained by the central school board and administration—although, in point of fact, the local council or “board” may have considerable policy-making authority.

4. Decentralization which involves full delegation of authority and responsibility, including the financial area, to a duly constituted legal entity, such as a non-profit corporation or another school board within the geographical limits of a school district. In this variation, the State authority and/or local central board and the other legal entity enter into a contract in which the authority and responsibility are specifically designated for a particular period of time or until otherwise rescinded by a still higher authority, e.g., State educational agency or the State legislature.

Community involvement in the schools.—Although difficult to characterize in a general way, the phrase, community involvement in the schools, generally means a higher degree of participation by neighborhood residents in the operations of a school or a subsystem than is typically accorded to neighborhood parents and leaders. As was previously noted in Chapter VIII, we have identified three basic patterns within the many variations which currently exist: *participation* in the system; *partnership* with the system; and *control* over some school or subsystem within the system. In this chapter, we consider each one of them in relation to the degree and extent of decision-making authority it would be likely to have in effecting changes in the urban education system. The analyses of the three patterns of involvement in terms of authority are below-noted.

1. As participation is conceived here, with its possible combination of advisory and policy-making functions, there is no guarantee that community parents and residents would really have an effective role in the governance of or programs in their local schools. Where a particular school or an area administrator was genuinely concerned with the contribution which the community could make in terms of needed changes or modifications in curriculum, supportive services, and staff, this pattern might be effective. We say might be effective advisedly because there would be no assurance that the central administration or the school board would be willing to go along with the changes which the local community and a particular school administrator wished to make. The history of local advisory boards with ESEA, Title I and parent advisory committees with Head Start and Follow Through has been quite uneven. Policy level decision-making is not often realized; and the advisory capacity can often be ignored.

The opportunities for major institutional change being effected through this pattern on a scale required by the magnitude of the urban education problem seem very unlikely.

2. With partnership, described here as a division of authority, there is a sharing of the decision-making power—either in an informal arrangement (e.g., a set of understandings worked out with the local school board and administration) or a formal agreement, e.g., a legal contract stipulating the precise division of authority and responsibility. The opportunities for major institutional change occurring through this pattern on either an informal or a formal basis are very considerable. An advantage of this pattern is that the technical assistance which a large school system has can be deployed to facilitate the “partnership” school or subsystem unit in planning and making necessary changes since support for these changes has already been secured. Moreover, the continuing financial and material resources of the larger unit are still available to the partnership unit in addition to securing resources from other agencies. However, the division of *de facto* authority is very critical here. That is, how are the partners in actuality? If the community's role is very junior, then this pattern cannot be effective. If its role is at least equal or perhaps, senior in the key decision-making areas, this pattern has real potential for effecting institutional change at a reasonably rapid pace.

3. With control, conceived here as full authority in fiscal, programmatic, and hiring matters the community board or authority legally replaces the central school board. Within the limits of State laws and municipal regulations including any other agencies with which it must deal (e.g. the teachers' union) the community can operate its school or subsystem making such changes as it deems necessary and can afford. Four factors are critical here: (a) assuring and maintaining adequate monies to operate the educational unit; (b) training of community members in the operation of the unit; (c) securing the appropriate personnel for the key positions; and (d) utilizing appropriate technical assistance. The opportunity for creating institutional changes rapidly is undoubtedly the greatest with this pattern. However the effectiveness of this institutional change will be contingent on how well the community in this situation can deal with the above-noted factors.

The large majority of the Task Force recommends that decentralization and community involvement must be considered as major avenues to institutional change. And we further recommend that the third and fourth patterns described for decentralization and the second and third patterns described for community involvement are the ones most likely to effect the institutional changes so badly needed in urban education from the standpoint of authority. A minority viewpoint within the Task Force maintains that local needs and conditions are too diverse to permit making recommendations in the areas of decentralization and community control.

Relationships Among Communities in Urban Areas

While the main thrust of an Urban Education Act will be directed at the inner-city with authority for such programs vested in school districts and local communities the Task Force majority recommends an alternative thrust which will involve the larger metropolitan population as participants in an urban education program.

For reasons that are stated in following paragraphs of this chapter, the Task Force recommends that comprehensive metropolitan planning be encouraged where it will result in:

1. A realignment of present school systems.
2. Mutual benefit among all education agencies and related resource agencies.
3. An effort to capitalize on the strengths of the entire metropolitan area in order to meet its needs.
4. A trend toward decentralization of many educational matters of program and administration to individual schools.

Rationale for Alternative Metropolitan Thrust

The above recommendations were developed for the following reasons.

The existence of non-localized educational problems.—The problems which confront urban educational institutions are not contained within particular political, geographical boundaries. Cities as well as their suburbs face educational problems, the roots of which spread across city lines.

The existence of non-localized problems related to education.—The problems which confront urban educational institutions are by no means exclusively educational by nature. They may be related to corollary problems of housing, employment, racial isolation, nutrition, health, all of which hold implications for city and suburb alike.

The presence of disadvantaged populations outside the central city.—That minority portion of the suburban population with poverty level incomes and greatest education needs should not be overlooked.

Availability of financial and human resources.—Those problems common to city and suburban systems could draw solutions from a wider pool of financial and human resources.

Advantages for students through enriched programs.—Continuing planning and development of programs and special projects could take place which would involve city and suburban students, staffs, communities of all racial, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Such programs might serve to:

1. Expand the students' concept of himself and his role in the larger community.
2. Allow both students and staff to become aware of different and similar aspects of cultures and values beyond one's immediate background and/or neighborhood.
3. Allow suburban students to benefit from the physical, cultural, educational, human resources of the inner-city and vice-versa.
4. Encourage and build in mechanisms for racial and ethnic interdependence and integration.
5. Allow a cross-fertilization of experimental program findings which could be replicated.
6. Generally make available the resources of the larger community to a small community or to a particular school or student whose needs may not be met within the immediate area.

The need for comprehensive planning in education.—There is need for comprehensive planning in education. Not until relatively recent years have metropolitan agencies joined together to consider mutual areas of interest such as transportation and land use. Education has rarely been on such agendas.

Existence of scattered successful examples of metropolitan planning.—There are indications that planning on a metropolitan scale is a growing, albeit a currently scattered, concern. No significant models of total metropolitan planning have been developed to date, yet on limited bases, several projects are making inroads to comprehensive planning and cooperation between districts within cities and between city and suburban areas.

For example, the Educational Research and Development Council of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Areas, Inc.—an organization of superintendents and university professors—has produced basic research on school

organization, school output measures, and surveys on financing and taxation programs for its 35 member districts. (Havighurst, 1967, pp. 393-409).

Dade County, Florida, is an example of a larger area which has assumed responsibility for transportation, schools, fires and police protection, housing and urban renewal, and zoning. Under this arrangement, functions which are not specifically designated to the County remain with the local municipalities.

The Nashville-Davidson County consolidation is another good example of the union of several local governments into a single metropolitan form of government and the simultaneous union of school districts into a single metropolitan school authority which has the responsibility of taxing the entire area and distributing tax money equitably. The new school authority has other responsibilities including the choice of sites for new school buildings. The separate school districts retain their authority for the administration of their local school systems.

The compatibility of metropolitanism and decentralization.—It is possible to centralize some functions while decentralizing others. Any plan for the broadening of school boundaries should be accompanied by a plan to decentralize many purely local educational decisions and to involve the community which is directly served.

Theodore Sizer in *Schools in the City*, writes:

"Thus we need to move in two different directions at once: to centralize some functions and to decentralize others. The former alone will lead to a deadening bureaucracy, as many of our present large systems already demonstrate. The latter alone will lead to missed opportunities and parochialism.

"Metropolitan allocation of children is a necessity if we are to have in communities any sort of racial or socio-economic balance: this is obvious. But there are other virtues, ones of possibly even greater long-term importance. New kinds of programs for children and adults may be possible. Certain economies may result from the elimination of small, duplicated offices. The wide area could easily support strong schools for special purposes. . . . The region might also be able to support, perhaps in conjunction with the state, systems of collegiate and technical education which could be functionally related to lower schools. Of great importance is the possibility of far more diverse sources of local tax revenues, sufficient, perhaps, in many areas to maintain an independence of overwhelming state and federal aid." (Sizer, 1967, pp. 293-294.)

The Task Force is cognizant of the several real and imagined reservations toward a metropolitan thrust. Some of the real obstacles that would need to be overcome if a metropolitan thrust were to be made are:

1. A potential perpetuation of the present imbalance of financial resources favoring the suburbs.
2. Lack of conviction of the part of suburbs that they can benefit from partnership with the cities.
3. Establishment on a clear authority with effective mechanisms for interagency coordination.
4. Insuring such vital resources as interest, models, time, money, staff, etc.
5. Rejection by inner city residents of individuals who live elsewhere participating in decisions concerning it.

Some of the stated reservations are the fears that metropolitanism: spells the end to local control and to schools which are responsive to people; encourages bureaucracies more vast and impersonal ones than the present ones; leads to Federal control over education. Such fears are misplaced in the judgment of the Task Force majority. A minority viewpoint held that the reserva-

tions are sufficient to outweigh the potential advantages of metropolitanisms.

The Task Force majority holds that each city must weigh the obstacles of metropolitanism against the advantages as they relate to local strengths and problems, but urges that such a thrust be at least considered as an alternative.

The Role of the States

The Task Force recommends that an Urban Education Act should clearly define the role of the States, considering both their present practices which often do not favor urban education and their significance for future urban education. The Task Force also recommends that the requirements for recognition and correction of inequities in State aid formulas which discriminate against urban areas must be defined. Moreover, the Task Force recommends that the Act provide incentive grants to States which require State matching and State maintenance of effort for the new and improved education programs for the urban impoverished groups.

Present State Biases Against Urban Education

For a number of reasons, among them, inadequate staff, and a definite suburban or rural bias, States have failed to adequately respond to the complex problems of urban education. Allocation formulas of both State and Federal funds to school districts remain outmoded and continue to favor suburban and rural systems. State legislatures have done little, if anything, to deal with the racial imbalance in schools. Outmoded teacher certification requirements continue to plague the understaffed urban schools.

Need for Incentives Which Will Expand the States' Role With Regard to the Urban Disadvantaged

At least part of the problem in past efforts to aid the disadvantaged has been the poorly defined roles and expectations of Federal, State, and local education agencies. A new concept of shared responsibility for urban education, involving a Federal-State-local partnership is imperative. Above all, there is a need for new forms of communication, joint review of proposals and revenue sharing.

State legislatures and departments of education have a critical role to play in the urban education crisis. Because of their constitutional responsibility for education via their taxing and distribution powers, they have a tremendous influence on the direction urban education will take. With this in mind, the Task Force urges that an Urban Education Act provide, on a matching basis, incentive grants to the States. Where needed, such grants should provide for a reform of State school finance programs and encourage State governments to build State aid plans which: (1) recognize the differences in relative needs and costs between urban, rural and suburban localities in given areas of school services; (2) not only measure difference in local property values per pupil, but also take into account the total fiscal effort of the locality; and (3) consider measurements reflecting differences in pupil characteristics which correlate closely with low achievement. Use of these two sets of factors by States would almost surely increase the State aid flowing to urban districts and would tend to decrease the possibility that States might balance any Federal increase in urban aid by increases in State aid to suburbs.

In addition, the Task Force recommends that incentive funds be used to promote the following types of activities:

1. The establishment of urban education units in State departments of education which would provide the following services: technical assistance for facilitating restructuring of urban districts within the State and the drafting of necessary legislation; evaluation of urban education programs,

trends, benchmarks, etc., assistance in the area of development and use of new testing measures for the disadvantaged and the use of new indicators of achievement such as parental involvement, attendance, rate of vandalism, and so on.

2. The examination and revision of requirements for certification to permit new sources of personnel both for leadership and teaching purposes.

3. The examination and setting of standards for physical facilities (e.g., special needs for early childhood centers).

4. The creation of State and local units which can fulfill the role of providing information about, and advocacy of urban educational needs.

5. The creation of planning and approval mechanisms for urban education program proposals within the State.

The Need for Federal Reorganization and the Establishment of an OE Bureau of Urban Education

The Task Force majority recommends the following steps be taken in the realm of OE organization:

(1) As an interim measure, prior to the passage of an Urban Education Act, the consolidation within OE of those special programs which serve the needs of disadvantaged children under an Associate Commissioner for Programs Serving the Disadvantaged. An appropriate bureau or office title may be designed in keeping with the current OE reorganization.

(2) As the development of new program authorization permits, the creation of a new Bureau for Urban Education with a clear mandate to operate programs and establish Office-wide priorities for effectively and rapidly meeting urban educational needs in all OE programs.

Structure and special characteristics.—The Commissioner should afford the establishment and structure of such an office priority commensurate with the vital functions it will perform. Accordingly, he should demonstrate the priority he assigns to urban education by locating such a unit within his immediate office. As an interim move, this office should be given immediate operating responsibility for programs which have a focus on the disadvantaged such as Title I ESEA, Follow Through, Bilingual and Dropout Prevention programs and the demonstration project in Anacostia (D.C.). The unit should be directed by an Associate Commissioner and be afforded its own program, salaries and expense budget. Its staff should be recruited from both Federal and non-Federal sources. Those with Federal experience should possess special skills and expertise in urban education and problems, in congressional liaison and in coordinating Federal programs within and between agencies and departments. Other staff should be drawn from among urban planners, community organizers, staff from mayors' and governors' offices, human resources administrators, members of health and welfare councils, as well as teachers and administrators with experience in city school systems.

Rationale for the structure and special characteristics.—The Task Force recommends the establishment of an office with the dimensions, directorship and staffing described above because of the weight and importance of its functions and because attempts to fulfill those functions through a smaller unit have been unsatisfactory in the past.

Late in 1968, the position of a Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education for Urban Education was created. In so doing, the Commissioner did acknowledge the special nature of urban school problems by placing the Special Assistant in a significant position in the bureaucracy. The creation of this position was an attempt to focus OE at-

tention on urban problems through an effort to affect program guidelines and sharpen their impact on urban areas. However, the impact of the position of Special Assistant has thus far been limited, primarily because the position lacks real power in dealing with the line Bureaus and Divisions within the Office. The Task Force concludes that the functions of the Special Assistant be incorporated into the expanded Office of Urban Education structure.

The history of the special staff unit created in 1965 to serve the disadvantaged (Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged) is likewise one of ineffectual policy implementation. Creation of this unit has served merely to accentuate the requirement for more forceful recognition of the program needs of disadvantaged populations. In the U.S. Office of Education, the point has been clearly established that staff units have no powers to match those units who operate programs, and typically they cease to function at all.

Finally, the Commissioner and the Secretary must recognize that a new operating environment for programs serving disadvantaged populations must be created if the Federal Office is to achieve the purpose of advocacy for educational change in favor of these groups. The existing bureau environment for such programs as title I of ESEA strongly suggests that operating priority to special programs for the poor will not be realized within a structure that is committed to the educational *status quo*.

Functions.—The new office should at a minimum perform the following functions:

1. Provide the Commissioner the arm to implement the short-term recommendations in Chapter XII of this report.

2. Coordinate the efforts of the U.S. Office of Education in preparing and supplying back-up materials for the passage of an Urban Education Act in Congress.

3. Coordinate existing OE programs to focus adequate attention on urban areas. To accomplish this, the Office should initiate action and have final authority in:

The review of existing program guidelines to assess their impact on urban areas to make necessary changes to sharpen the focus on urban programs.

The development of clear program objectives for OE programs in urban areas.

The development of review and evaluation procedures to measure the success of OE programs in urban areas against the stated objectives.

The supervision and training of the staff of those arms of the Office of Education which will perform the review and evaluations (NCES, OPPE).

The review of all research projects sponsored by OE and by OE funded programs to more sharply focus their attention on urban education problems.

4. Administer those operating programs now authorized by the ESEA (titles I, VII and section 807) which have special mandates for serving disadvantaged populations in urban and rural areas.

5. Administer demonstration programs to foster experimentation in urban schools.

Such projects might include the Anacostia School Project, the Fort Lincoln New Town Project, and a model school sponsored and administered by the USOE in Washington.

Funds for such demonstration projects could come from existing pieces of legislation (e.g., title IV, ESEA, the additional \$180 million appropriated under title I, ESEA, or the Vocational Education Amendments).

6. Direct the development and operation of an information center to:

Collect from LEAs and SEAs and other appropriate sources and disseminate basic data on urban school systems.

Collect and disseminate information on research and implementation of successful urban program designs and urban educa-

tional policies from public and private sources.

Collect data and maintain records on all OE programs on a city-to-city basis which indicate specific program allocations as well as aggregate Federal funding levels in order to better determine OE's policy on and priority for the problems of urban education.

7. Provide professional and expert assistance from the Office of Urban Education and from public and private agencies to local educational agencies from consultation services.

8. Coordinate with other Federal agencies in the development of their program in urban areas, e.g., Model Cities.

9. Act as an advocate/ombudsman for citizens groups concerned with the operation of Federal programs in cities, e.g., title I local advisory committees.

10. Sponsor retraining programs for Federal personnel to keep them abreast of issues and developments in urban education.

11. Assist the Commissioner in articulating his concerns, policies and plans for mobilizing Federal resources to meet the problem of urban schools, to the OE, HEW staffs, as well as to the public and to Congress.

Rationale for the functions.—Beyond the rationale provided throughout the report for its long- and short-term recommendations, we would like to emphasize at this point the tremendous need to learn more about and coordinate Federal programs—their levels of funding and patterns of money distribution—which affect education in urban areas.

During the course of preparing this report, we have reached three stark conclusions that more than provide a rationale for the above functions to be performed by an Office of Urban Education. These conclusions are:

1. *The plight of urban education is largely undocumented.* The country is in the midst of a revolution in education. City school systems are under attack by the consumers of education who are poor and black and who see education as the means by which they may enter the mainstream of American life. Their expectations have been raised by national movements which promised much but delivered little. Integration, educational reform movements have failed. Educators are seeking means to deal with problems in cities' schools.

The Federal Government is not isolated from these events. Its programs affect and are affected by the turmoil. *These programs cannot be responsive to the currents in American education without a means of identifying them.* Further, the Commissioner of Education serves as the spokesman in the Federal Government on issues in education. He must interpret these issues for the White House, the Congress and the Nation. He cannot operate without information. Such information is not available at the USOE. This Task Force report represents an heroic effort to collect information about the state of education in cities. This store of information will remain inadequate unless the Office begins to collect and publish such information on a regular basis.

2. *The impact of Federal dollars in cities cannot be documented—not to mention the amount.* To determine the impact of Federal efforts in urban areas, the Task Force sought data which would show the amount of money from all USOE programs being distributed to major cities. We learned that no records are maintained on this basis. The various OE programs allocate funds on a school district, county or project basis. The only common form in which the fiscal data is compiled is by congressional district. Thus OE cannot judge its policy toward urban education as reflected by the money it spends on the cities. This situation was discussed in Chapter II.

3. *The current organization of the U.S. Office of Education does not permit the function of coordinating those programs*

which affect urban areas at either the local or Federal levels. An attempt was made to coordinate OE programs at the local level through the Central Cities Project. Under the auspices of title III, ESEA, the Project attempted to impact Federal programs on inner city populations. It represented the first major attempt by local school administrators to concentrate a variety of funds in specific neighborhoods. It also brought together representatives of all the power bases in the community—parents, teachers, social service agencies, business industry—to assess needs, assign priorities, develop program strategies and evaluate results. However, its impact was limited because the Federal objectives were not clear; the feedback and data flow to OE was inadequate; Federal monitoring and technical assistance were inadequate.

Transition Into a Bureau of Urban Education

With the passage of an Urban Education Act, there should be created within the Office of Education, a Bureau of Urban Education to implement the new approach to Federal aid to urban schools embodied in the Act.

Such a Bureau should be headed by an Associate or Deputy Commissioner who reports directly to the Commissioner of Education. The budget of the Bureau of Urban Education should be submitted to the Congress as an entirely distinct line item for the scrutiny of the appropriate committees of Congress.

Functions.—The Bureau of Urban Education should perform the following functions: Assume operating responsibility for urban-oriented programs of ESEA.

Review and determine the acceptance of State approved local plans according to specified criteria including the implementation of standards of academic performance.

Submit to Congress an annual report and recommendations on programs in effect and on functions of the Bureau.

Administer funds under the Urban Education Act. In its administration of this Act, the Bureau would be responsible for: appraising the quality and need of an urban area's education proposal for funding and assistance under priorities established either by law or administrative regulations; providing active technical assistance to the planning and implementation of urban education programs; establishing clear fiscal and programmatic review objectives and procedures of the urban education program; developing the master evaluation plan guidelines for the urban education programs and assuring that these guidelines are carried out; developing a research area within the center which develops and checks research operation within the overall planning and operation of the program; and enforcing the grant performance conditions through a successive series of actions when deficiencies are manifested.

Monitor other OE funds now directed to urban areas and assist in their phasing into the Master Plan for Urban Education provided by the new Act.

A minority viewpoint within the Task Force held that the group did not have sufficient information and insight on the affairs of the Office of Education to make recommendations affecting internal Office organization.

Chapter X—An Urban Education Act—The funding process

The Task Force recommends the below-listed principles as guidelines for establishing priorities, eligibility and facilitating mechanisms for the funding process related to an Urban Education Act. These principles, just as all of the Task Force's recommendations stem from the basic premise that we attempt to provide for the inner-city student a more than equal educational opportunity. These principles are designed to focus Federal

effort on a priority basis to those places where equal educational opportunity is farthest from reality. This chapter summarizes these principles below and follows with a section containing explanation and discussion of each.

Summary of Principles

1. Education districts representing the largest eligible urban areas should receive priority in Federal funding.

2. Determination of eligibility of urban areas should be based on economic and performance criteria.

3. Each qualifying area should receive full-funds for its program and where sufficient funds are unavailable for full funding of every qualifying urban area in its particular size group, a system of competition for a fully funded grant should be developed.

4. Federal aid should be awarded on a basis that enables maximum feasible eligibility for participation among groups, agencies and institutions within designated urban areas.

5. Funding procedures should include a system of regulating recurrent eligibility, with grants renewed on the basis of evidence of quality student performance.

6. The legislation should permit a by-pass of State educational agencies where necessary to achieve urban priority.

7. The legislation should permit the participation of nonpublic school children in the program in ways to introduce a new child services concept for the disadvantaged.

8. Advance funding should be provided for the urban education grants.

9. There should be provision for the phasing in of existing categorical grant programs.

Explanation and Discussion of Principles

Principle: Education Districts Representing the Largest Eligible Urban Areas Should Receive Priority in Federal Funding

Consistent with its charge, the Task Force believes that the largest urban areas as a group should receive the most immediate attention and that the crisis in their schools should be attacked before we expand the Federal program to smaller, although burdened, areas.

There are a number of important reasons for this conclusion:

1. The crisis in education must not be separated from the crisis of our cities generally, and as suggested in Chapter VIII, the master plan must consider education along with those circumstances which affect education. What exists through education is an opportunity to break the cycle of poverty and separation now overcoming our major metropolitan areas. The problems of crime, welfare, unemployment and underemployment, shrinking city tax base and mass violence will not be overcome through the improvement of urban education alone, but neither will they be overcome without that improvement. If we are to work toward settling the urban crisis, we must begin to settle the urban education crisis.

2. The education systems of the cities of our nation are not now getting the attention they deserve from their respective States. As described in the chapter on the financial crisis, States are systematically favoring suburbs and rural areas over urban school systems. Federal assistance should require States to amend this practice, and should, on its own, begin to compensate the over-strained cities.

3. The entire thrust of Part One of this paper, particularly Chapter II on the Financial Crisis, demonstrated conclusively that it costs more to educate a child in the city. If we are to aim toward real equal educational opportunity, we must begin to redress the inequities of the major cities receiving not only less than their neighbors, but much less than they need to educate their children properly.

4. Nowhere is it more true than in the

cities that we are becoming a nation of "two societies—one black, one white." The continuing debate of compensatory education versus integration has simmered, but not died. But as a matter of real fact, if present migration trends continue and if the practice of majority black and majority white schools continues, aggravated by the fact that white city parents are continuing to place their children in private schools, integration will not be possible in the city. Projections by anyone's count are dismal. For instance, the study done by the National Center for Educational Statistics shows that by 1975, 31 of the 48 largest cities will have black school populations of over 33 percent, and 19 will have more blacks than whites in the schools. Integration in terms of racial balance within schools of the cities is probably not achievable in the context of these figures. Consequently, educational excellence within the cities must receive an immediate priority over integration with suburbia. To the degree that such excellence stops the flow of white school children into private schools or into the suburbs, something has been gained. To the degree that it reverses the trend (and scattered instances have succeeded in some areas of the country), much has been done toward integrating the schools.

5. As demonstrated elsewhere in this paper, the relationship of education to unemployment and underemployment is clear. To repeat briefly, an employer in the city need not even resort to discrimination to refuse to hire the blacks of our major cities, for in too many instances, the black is so ill prepared, he cannot qualify for our jobs—jobs becoming more white collar every day. And nowhere is unemployment higher but in the central cities. It is here where training is particularly important; it is here where a basic skill education must be effectively learned and learned fast if we are to reduce unemployment, reduce underemployment, reduce the welfare rolls, and the need for massive job training programs. It is here where all these are the most numerous, the most concentrated, the most costly.

6. The city in contrast to the smaller rural or suburban area has been the first to feel the pains of having alienated the parents, of having lost the confidence of the citizens and of having been helpless with the growing fear of the teachers. Federal attention must do more than bolster education programs; it must be the prod for change in a system which needs change and it must be the impetus in seeing that the big city school systems regain their lost responsiveness.

7. In Southern school districts, it has in the past been the policy to distribute funds within the system on an unequal basis—more to white schools than to the black schools. In other rural and suburban districts, this practice is minor, if it appears at all. But in the major cities, for whatever reasons—deliberate unequal distribution, or the inevitable practice of permitting teachers to teach where they wish, the cities suffer from poor internal distribution formulas. Dramatic cases have been published in Washington, D.C. and Boston. Conveniently, most school systems will not permit an intensive analysis of their internal distribution policies. But let us not delude ourselves—it exists and will persist unless direct action is taken against the practice.

8. Finally, although negative in its demeanor, one cannot ignore the argument that it is the major cities where the future of our education system is most in question. Chapters III and IV portray a dismal picture of alienation of parents, students, and teachers, as well as a frightening picture of increasing violence in our schools. Society is fearful of rewarding rioters. We should be at least as fearful of allowing the causes of rioting to persist.

Some have criticized the major city ap-

proach because of the difficulties in co-terminality of school, district and city lines. However, this problem does not gainsay our basic principle which states that it is the school district serving the major city which should receive priority in Federal funding.²¹

10. Some have criticized the major city approach because of their confusion with the decentralization issue. Decentralized districts under the major city approach qualify, where they might not if student enrollment is used as a measure. In fact, this approach not only insures that decentralized major city school systems qualify, but promotes such a concept.

The Task Force recommends that the following plan be used to determine initial eligibility by size:

Cities with a population of over 100,000 people will be eligible to begin the program the first year (FY 71) if they meet defined criteria of educational need (as discussed in the next section). If insufficient funds are available for the entire group of qualifying cities, programs will be full funded on a competitive basis (as discussed in a subsequent section).

As the first group of qualifying cities is fully funded, the second group of cities can enter the process of qualifying for funds. This second group would include all cities with a population of over 50,000 people. The desired schedule is one which would allow this second group to enter the process the second year of the program.

As the earlier groups have been full funded, subsequent groups become eligible to qualify, by lowering the population levels, first to 25,000 and then as funds become available, by strata to be determined.

This schedule does not insist on funds for only the major cities. It does insist on funds for the major cities first.

A strongly held minority viewpoint within the Task Force is that the formula for eligibility should not identify cities *per se* for participation but rather employ school population of local districts and numbers of poor children within them as the eligibility factor—a procedure which would include a large number of rural Southern counties.

Principle: Determination of eligibility of urban areas should be based on economic and performance criteria

Careful understanding of this principle is essential. As recommended here, economic criteria (i.e., the evidence of poverty) is the primary qualifying factor for a city of sufficient size to qualify under the above-mentioned principle. The addition of performance criteria is designed to include those possible instances where a city does not suffer from an overburden of poverty individuals, but for some reason whose students are performing significantly lower than the norm. Such a system does not exclude those few urban areas whose educators are doing comparatively well in their efforts to learn how to teach.

Although there is a high correlation between family income and school achievement ($r = .57$ to $.85$ level), including performance criteria is also advantageous in that it provides the mechanism whereby success with the goal which all of our recommendations embody—student performance—can be measured and the needed tool to implement the fifth principle.

Other suggested criteria that contain ambiguities or tend to disable the efforts of Federal program administrators to identify program results:

1. *Concentrations of unemployed and underemployed youths and adults including dropouts.*—This standard varies greatly in accord with changes in the national and regional economies. It reflects effectiveness in employment, especially recruitment and placement practices more than it informs us

of anything about educational needs. Dropouts statistics are as unreliable as reported crime statistics. In addition, non white urban dropout rates are negatively correlated with certain aspects of employment opportunity.

2. *Concentrations of AFDC mothers.*—This criterion would entail the use of an unreliably variable indicator of one type of household poverty. State and local laws—and local interpretations of eligibility apart from what laws say—affect this index substantially, as do temporary shifts in employment and definitions of time periods. The index would add nothing of value to a household poverty criterion.

3. *Narcotics addiction rate.*—This rate is a function of the distributional economics of the drug trade. Transport practices, wholesale networks, and local police practices, all affect one's ability to infer anything of interest to a Federal administrator of educational aid to urban areas from this rate.

4. *Educational attainment of adults.*—This criterion is a statistic artifact of the occupational mix and level of economic growth of regional and local economies.

5. *Volatility, e.g., disturbances, number of minor and major arrests.*—The Kerner Commission report, the report of the National Commission on Violence, studies of student unrest, and studies of arrest rates, all indicate how unreliable and invalid are any assertions of prediction based upon these events.

6. *Evidence of efforts within the target area to begin construction problem-solving.*—Such evidence would be important only to decisions affecting continuation of Federal aid. As a basis for judging eligibility, it would invoke case-making, special pleading, and lobbying.

Principle: Each Qualifying Area Should Receive Full-Funds for its Program and Where Funds are Unavailable for Full-Fundings of Every Qualifying Urban Area in its Particular Size Group a System of Competition for a Full Funded Grant Should be Developed

This concept has political hazards but nevertheless is essential to achieving effective results.

1. The lessons described in Chapters VI and VII on the precedents for Federal involvement are clear. The money has done little but stimulate some "laboratory" research. Money spread too thin has little or no effect. The question simply comes down to this: If we want to solve the crisis of education in our cities we must commit to that endeavor enough funds in those chosen areas to do so. To spread even an enormous amount of funds to all the education agencies in the country will do little to solve the problem anywhere. It is futile to only reduce class size or to only increase lunch programs or to only build more buildings or to provide enough books and tools. It is a waste to do any one of these. What must be done is all of these and more as this report amply points out—and that costs money. The price tag cannot be eliminated if comprehensive planning is to be effective. For every time we don't provide enough funds everyone will suffer. And if cities begin with a "revised" system in one part of town and not another the trouble asked for is well deserved.

2. The Federal effort, as has been pointed out, is roughly 7 percent of the total budget of a school system. Even if we were to double that percent overnight, 86 percent of the funds would still be State and local. The significance of that percentage lies in the role of the Federal funds—impetus for change; not change itself. This paper outlines the need for major overhaul of current educational structures. The Federal government cannot do it alone, but by full funding, offering the local government a chance to succeed in its efforts of change, the Fed-

eral government can bring about the changes desired. Less than full funding will do little to shake the fortress.

3. Surprisingly to some, this concept is not without Federal precedent. The Consumer Credit Corporation insures price stability for farmers at a full funding vessel. What is necessary to insure stable prices is available and without annual national debts. The mechanism is technical; the result is not.

The defense budget is fully funded. It was not until this year, after a long historical draught, that Congress thought to question the requests of the military. And even if Congress refuses to appropriate funds for certain programs, they will not be refusing to provide the full amounts of funds necessary to keep our military manpower strength and its strategic forces up to the level necessary for a secure nation. The proposal made in this chapter provides such a mechanism for refusing a "program" while fully funding the effort. Recurrent eligibility based on student performance will provide a mechanism to prevent waste and misuse of funds in one place or another, while not in any way jeopardizing the full funding of programs elsewhere.

The highway program has been fully funded.

Principle: Federal Aid Should be Awarded on a Basis That Enables Maximum Feasible Eligibility for Participation Among Groups, Agencies, and Institutions Within Designated Urban Areas

While the local agencies will be thoroughly involved in the process of experimenting with new educational systems and learning techniques, it would be a mistake to shift all the initiative for designing research and experimental projects to the traditional local educational agencies. A national research effort in urban education is desperately needed and centrally-stimulated initiative is vital to this process.

The Task Force therefore recommends that a percentage (5-5%) of the funds under the new urban education act be set aside for use by the Commissioner to fund groups other than the regular school authorities which design viable specific experiments for use in the inner city or other depressed areas in the metropolitan area.

In particular, urban education funds for design and experimentation should aim at having at least one major project in each city. This could include the use of "vouchers" in low income areas for parental choices of public or other schools; experiments for "parallel or alternative" schools run by non-public agencies, university run demonstration schools, regional schools, and the like. Urban education funds should also be used to develop models based on successful projects like the Parkway School in Philadelphia or New York's Street Academies for possible adaptation in other cities.

Principle: Funding Procedures Should Include a System of Regulating Recurrent Eligibility With Grants Renewed on the Basis of Evidence of Quality Student Performance

By way of illustrations, Title I of ESEA operates on the condition of closed eligibility. Only local education agencies (and State education agencies as the mediating bodies) may apply for Title I funds and, in turn, agree to performance evaluation, but these do not affect Federal decisions about subsequent funding. Title I establishes the essential precedent for performance evaluation. The addition of the feature of open eligibility would require the establishment of decision review.

A grant recipient should demonstrate quality performance in affecting positively the academic achievement of urban students; or the effective, health, or social development of urban students; or one of all of those areas

Footnotes at end of article.

identified as a special need of urban minority children and youth. Lack of evidence of impact, evidence of poor impact, or evidence of performance failure, should result in elimination from the roster of eligible agencies and groups or provide guarantee of intended change in procedures for the purposes of obtaining the above.

Where support is aimed at the strengthening of staff or facilities, the same performance criterion should pertain. Grant recipients should be obligated to demonstrate how the use of Federal funds for institutional purposes had positive effects upon one of the priority areas.

Indirect approaches may be more strategic than direct approaches. Therefore, evaluation should not be limited to twelve month periods. Instead, even the most indirect approach—e.g., the capitalization of new plant or equipment—must be linked systematically with the programmatic objective of the applicant, and this objective should fall within the broad areas of priority.

For example, three years of evaluation research on the More Effective Schools Program in New York City have indicated, *not* that MES is a failure but that it constitutes an incomplete program. It helps create working conditions that facilitate good teaching and helps to improve school-community relations, for instance, but it does not add its resources directly at the modification of teacher behavior and the strengthening of student learning.

The regulatory principle embodies the concept of accountability for outcomes. *It must not be applied rigidly, in the language of legislation or in the process of administration, however.* When the cost-benefit model is applied too narrowly to educational programming, a sensible sequence of operations is undermined; a system already fraught with uncertainties is damaged further. A mechanical approach to insuring accountability; within local education agencies often generates bad teaching practices in an emphasis upon mean reading scores, cramming for test-taking, and rituals of drill toward rote learning.

In spite of this grave danger, continuing eligibility should rest on evidence of performance in the areas cited and *not* on evidence of efforts at "institutional" change where unrelated to increased performance. The discontinuity between teacher preparation and learning outcomes is firmly enough documented to confirm this point.

The agencies and groups that remain eligible for Federal support under an urban aid act should be those that provide independently assessed, objective evidence of *incremental* gains in pupil achievement, social growth, or the enhancement of pupil interests and aspirations. This "hard line" regulatory criterion should be applied on a patient, long-term basis in order to prevent shallow programming.

Principle: The legislation should permit a by-pass of State educational agencies, where necessary

Because of the urgency of meeting critical educational needs in urban areas it is essential that the legislation contain provisions that will permit the Federal Government to deal directly with major urban areas, in the event State educational agencies are unable to provide sufficient guarantees to the Federal Government that they will perform effectively in this role. Such a provision in the law in all probability would be sufficient in itself to compel State educational agencies to meet such tests as might be established by the Federal office in requiring adequate priorities to urban educational needs and full cooperation of State educational agencies in the process of approving applications and funding projects. Therefore, in order to give the U.S. Commissioner of Education maximum negotiat-

ing powers with State educational agencies, it is recommended that the legislation permit the Commissioner to by-pass State educational agencies which fail to provide sufficient guarantees of their efficiency and willingness to perform in the capacity of advocates for renewal of urban education programs. States which have both strong departments of education, and large urban populations, should be capable of giving final approval to the content of local plans (e.g. the treatment of priorities, the quality of program, the standards of performance) as meeting Federal program and fiscal requirements. However, the Commissioner of Education should have the discretion of deciding when States have provided and demonstrated guarantees of conformance with these requirements.

Principle: The Legislation Should Permit the Participation of Non-Public School Children in the Program Designed in Ways To Introduce a New Child Services Concept for the Disadvantaged

Non-public school participation should be designed to permit benefits to children in terms of direct services, programs, equipment, and necessary staff increments to such schools. It should be possible to directly fund non-public school agencies for carrying out educational services which do not infringe on the church-State prohibitions of the first amendment. Such agencies could be made eligible for participation in the program on the basis of their guarantees to represent in their student body the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of the inner-city population.

Principle: Advance Funding Should Be Provided for the Urban Education Grants

By far the most negative provision in current education funding legislation is that of current fiscal year funding arrangements which deny adequate time to plan and implement programs. Advance funding authority for the education grants is imperative and, if possible, the appropriation authority should include provision for two-year availability for the education grants as opposed to the traditional one-year availability of other educational grant funds.

Principle: There Should Be Provision for the Phasing In of Existing Categorical Grant Programs

As a funding principle the Task Force recommends that the existing programs (ESEA, VE, NDEA, EPDA) be phased into the new existing urban educational grants on a planned basis. Initially, these should be regarded as integral components of the basic urban educational master plan. After a transition period (of perhaps two years) these categorical grant programs should be phased out of the urban educational plan as specific and legal categorical components and their funds and authority merged into the new urban concept. This will permit flexibility in the administration of funds and avoid other administrative trivia in the process of adequately funding urban educational needs. It should also facilitate stronger programming and evaluation and permit new concepts to take hold more rapidly. The phasing out period could cover a one- or two-year period depending on the acceleration of urban education funding provisions.

Chapter XI—An Urban Education Act— The cost

As Chapter II of this report demonstrated, the large cities of the nation are in desperate need of financial help to compensate for the special educational problems and the heavy non-educational costs they must bear. They are unable to meet these costs as well as unable to provide a quality education to urban youngsters with the resources currently available.

The Task Force has developed a suggested financial mechanism through which to chan-

nel increased educational resources into the cities, utilizing criteria that are described in this chapter. To explain this mechanism, the chapter is presented in the following sections: 1) the mechanism for providing aid; 2) the criteria utilized in developing the mechanism; 3) rationale for massive funding to the cities; 4) the need for guidelines; 5) summary of recommendations.

The Mechanism for Providing Aid

The Task Force submits that the mechanism that best meets urban educational needs is a formula that will provide an addition of at least a third in educational resources: equipment, teachers, counselors, curriculum planning, etc. We estimate that in terms of an increment to current local educational expenditures, a one-third addition to resources will require at least a *fifty percent addition to current local educational expenditures* due to the operation of supply and demand. We believe that such an increment in city school resources would make possible an educational program approaching that available in the best of the surrounding suburban districts. Such a program will not be cheap. We estimate that for the 10,500 school children in cities over 100,000 population the operational cost alone would fall between \$5-6 billion.

The Criteria Utilized in Developing the Mechanism

In developing the financial mechanism to channel more educational resources into the cities stated above, the following criteria were utilized:

1. Urban educational aid must be additive. It should not permit reduction of state-local effort nor should it simply function to bid up educational costs.

2. Urban education aid should reflect the degree of state-local effort.

It must recognize communities that are taxing themselves the most.

3. Urban education aid systems should provide opportunity for local innovation. Imaginative and varied approaches to education should be encouraged.

4. Urban education aid should be designed to improve total city school systems. Emphasis should be placed on the special educational problem of the city: the education of the socially, economically, and educationally disadvantaged; but this emphasis should not exclude improvements in education for the entire range of students represented in large city school districts.

Rationale for Massive Funding to the Cities

It is our view, that expenditures of at least the above-described magnitude are essential if significant improvements are to be made in urban education. Marginal changes are not enough as one noted study recently concluded.

"An incremental reduction in class size from 32 to 30 does not produce measurably significant gains in output, even as an increase in materials and supplies per pupil from \$7.00 to \$9.00 will produce no measurably significant gains in output. But these findings tell us nothing about outcomes over a larger range of variation. A reduction in class size from 30 to 10 may produce extremely significant gains. We will never know until we try." (Burkhead, et al., 1967.)

A look at the disparity between selected central cities and their most favored suburbs gives an indication of the current range of disparity (See Table 1). The new urban education aid program we are proposing would permit, we believe, a reduction in class size by an average of 4 to 10 students per class, a number equal to the difference in most metropolitan areas between the best suburban systems and their central cities.

While reduction of class size across a whole system is a useful measure of comparative educational resources, the aid system is not intended to bring about that reduction as an end in itself. Because the sys-

tem must provide full scope for the operation of educational innovation, school systems would be permitted to use the funds to provide for concentrated remedial work in small groups of perhaps only three or four students where that seemed most appropriate, and to provide television or other technologically advanced instructional mechanisms to groups of 150 or 200 students where they were educationally more appropriate. But the use of class size as an overall measure provides a criterion that is readily available, responsive to change, and indicative of a wide range of educational benefits.

TABLE 1.—COMPARISON OF SELECTED CENTRAL CITIES AND SUBURBS, 1967

City and suburb	Fall 1967 enrollment	Pupil-teacher ratio	Per pupil (ADM) expenditures
Los Angeles	645,059	27	\$601
Beverly Hills		17	1,192
San Francisco	95,014	26	693
Palo Alto		21	984
Chicago	572,026	28	571
Evanston		18	757
Detroit	296,089	31	530
Grosse Pointe		22	713
St. Louis City	116,789	30	525
University City		22	747
New York City	1,106,664	20	854
Great Neck		16	1,391
Cleveland	153,350	28	559
Cleveland Heights		22	703
Philadelphia	288,055	27	617
Lower Merion		20	733

Source: Kahn, Gerald and Hughes, Warren A., Statistics of Local Public School Systems, 1967, National Center for Educational Statistics, USOE.

The Need for Guidelines

In order to assure that the new aid system accomplishes better education and not simply more expensive education, guidelines must be developed and enforced to assure that improvements take place. The use

of the criteria already mentioned, a reduction in overall class size, is one available measure. Others may be developed in terms of (1) new equipment that the system has acquired, (2) the provision of remedial or specialized personnel in greater numbers than were previously available in the schools, and (3) by measure of student academic and social performance. But the guidelines that are developed, while assuring that aid results in improved educational resources, must avoid the pitfalls of overall rigid categories which stifle experimentation and change. Particularly in the areas of urban education, new and imaginative approaches to education are essential. The proposed urban aid system would also reflect state-local effort in supporting education by being calculated as a proportion of current educational expenditures, less current Federal aid. Thus the more a school district raises through local taxation and state aid, the higher is its Federal allocation. This is an important aspect of the proposed system, because it assures that new Federal funds cannot become an excuse for lessened state-local efforts.

The purposes for which the new urban aid can be used should impact upon the total city educational system. Emphasis should be placed on the education of the disadvantaged, but that emphasis should not be made to the exclusion of the full range of city educational efforts. If cities are to stem the movement to the suburbs and the flight to private education of middle income residents urban education must do more than equal education in the suburbs.

Summary of Recommendations

We are proposing, then, that a new aid to urban education program be developed to increase urban educational resources by approximately one third. To offset higher costs that would accrue through the bidding up of scarce resources, the formula for aid distribution would provide cities with an amount equal to one half of their total in-

structional costs, less the amount of their current Federal aid from existing programs. The decision to focus on cities is not meant to suggest that certain relatively poor and urbanized suburbs do not need similar assistance. Our recommendation is, however, that at a time when funds for domestic programs are limited, first priority be given to central cities, the areas where the needs are most pressing.

Costs of the program would depend upon the number of cities included in the program, and the scope of the assistance (e.g., whether facilities and training costs would be added to operational costs). The following summary of first year (1971-72) and full year (1974-75) costs is presented in the following:

(In millions of dollars)

	Fiscal years 1971-72	Fiscal year 1975
Group I, 100,000+:		
(a) Planning grants	62.8	
(b) Development grants	407.4	
(c) Operational grants		5,820.0
(d) Facilities (25 percent of (c))		1,455.0
(e) Training (5 percent of (c))		291.0
Total	470.2	7,566.0
Group II, 50,000+:		
(a) Planning grants	16.7	
(b) Development grants	165.4	
(c) Operational grants		2,790.0
(d) Facilities		697.5
(e) Training		139.5
Total	182.1	3,627.0
Group III, 25,000+:		
(a) Planning grants	18.2	
(b) Development grants	36.4	36.4
(c) Operational grants		2,548.0
(d) Facilities		637.0
(e) Training		127.4
Total	54.6	3,348.8
Grand total	706.9	14,541.8

PROJECTION OF APPROPRIATION REQUIREMENTS UNDER PROPOSED URBAN EDUCATION ACT (OPERATIONAL GRANTS BASED ON \$500 AND \$300 PER CHILD)

(Dollar amounts in millions)

	Medium		High		High 20 percent		Task force	
	Amount	Number of cities	Amount	Number of cities	Amount	Number of cities	Amount	Number of cities
1971-72								
Group I, cities over 100,000:								
Planning grants	\$48.9		\$62.8		\$62.8		\$62.8	
Development grants	311.1		407.4		407.4		407.4	
Operational grants								
Facilities at 25 percent								
Educational training at 5 percent								
Total	360.0	98	470.2	129	470.2	129	470.2	129
Group II, cities 50,000 to 100,000:								
Planning grants	0		2.9		11.7		16.7	
Development grants	0		26.9		118.1		165.4	
Operational grants	0							
Facilities	0							
Educational training	0							
Total			29.8	30	129.8	133	182.1	186
Group III, cities 25,000 to 50,000:								
Planning grants	0		0		0		18.2	
Development grants	0		0		0		36.4	
Operational grants	0		0		0		0	
Facilities	0		0		0		0	
Educational training	0		0		0		0	
Total							54.6	364
Total	360.0		500.0		600.0		706.9	
1975								
At \$500 At \$300								
Group I, cities over 100,000:								
Planning grants								
Development grants								
Operational grants	1,164.6		1,764.0		2,123.0		5,820.0	3,492.0
Facilities at 25 percent	285.0		444.0		533.0		1,455.0	873.0
Educational training at 5 percent	50.4		92.0		104.0		291.0	174.6
Total	1,500.0	26	2,300.0	39	2,760.0	47	7,566.0	4,539.6

PROJECTION OF APPROPRIATION REQUIREMENTS UNDER PROPOSED URBAN EDUCATION ACT (OPERATIONAL GRANTS BASED ON \$500 AND \$300 PER CHILD)—Continued

(Dollar amounts in millions)

	Medium		High		High 20 percent		Task force		
	Amount	Number of cities	Amount	Number of cities	Amount	Number of cities	Amount		
							AT \$500	AT \$300	
Group II, cities 50,000 to 100,000:									
Planning grants	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Development grants	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Operational grants	0	0	0	0	0	0	\$2,790.0	\$1,674.0	
Facilities	0	0	0	0	0	0	697.5	418.5	
Educational training	0	0	0	0	0	0	139.5	83.7	
Total							3,627.0	2,176.2	186
Group III, cities 25,000 to 50,000:									
Planning grants	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Development grants	0	0	0	0	0	0	36.4		
Operational grants	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,548.0	1,528.8	
Facilities	0	0	0	0	0	0	637.0	382.2	
Educational training	0	0	0	0	0	0	127.4	76.4	
Total							3,348.8	1,987.4	364
Total	\$1,500.0		\$2,300.0		\$2,760.0		14,541.8	8,703.2	

The Task Force recognizes that the proposed program must be implemented in stages. Therefore, it is recommended that eligible areas receive first, planning grants to formulate specific program proposals and components and second development grants with which to initiate the program on a limited scale (e.g., a sub-system as a demonstration project) prior to full implementation of the program.

Also, in recognition of the additional and special costs of facilities needed to carry on expanded activity, the Task Force proposes an add-on cost estimated at 20 percent of operational costs as the sum needed to cover the acquisition of space. Likewise, the additional cost of training professional and non-professional staff in new roles is acknowledged with a 5 percent increment to the operational cost estimate. These incremental cost factors may be regarded as optional costs to be included or excluded based on the fiscal resources which may be assigned to the priority of urban education.

There is an irony in expressing educational improvement in dollar terms alone. Surely no product could be more intangible, more a matter of the mind and the spirit, qualities not easily translated into money values. Yet as one distinguished educator has said:

"It may be argued that simply more resources will not solve the education problems. . . . There is much uncertainty about how educational disadvantage can be overcome. One thing, however, is clear. It cannot be done cheaply. . . . To substitute educational experimentation and innovation for increased resources is to sentence those experiments and innovations to failure" (Campbell, 1968, p. 13).

The proposed program for urban education aid is designed to provide the resources to make education in the cities of the nation at least equal and hopefully, superior to education anywhere in the land.

Minority Viewpoint

A minority viewpoint presented by one member of the Task Force recommends that supplemental Federal funding of all elementary and secondary education, in all classes of school districts at the annual level of \$30 billion on a formula basis which recognizes a new Federal obligation to serve the general needs of the schools to improve education for all children.

Backup Statement to the Budget Plans

1. The schedule for budget outlays follows the concept: That funds for planning and development be allocated for a two year period to implement a phasing-in of the developmental stage as soon as possible without the necessity of an additional Congressional appropriation. The two-year figure shown does not include funds to be allocated for operation of the programs for those

LEAs ready to implement the program in the second year.

2. The column entitled Task Force figures represents those current estimates of the Task Force of what is needed to attack the urban education program in a way which promises some level of success. The Task Force felt that any less than the demonstrated figures would be wasteful and ineffectual.

3. In the column to the right of the amounts shown on the budget chart is a figure for the number of cities which should be able to qualify as we move from one level to the next. The point simply: The more money; the more cities. (A mathematical average was used for the number of cities within each size group which would receive funds, although in reality, different size cities will be receiving different amounts of money. The number of cities in each group, therefore, represents an estimate.)

4. Operational grants have been computed on both a \$300 and a \$500 per child basis. The \$300 figure is modeled on the California standard and represents our estimation of the absolute minimum allotment for an adequate program. The Task Force recommends \$500 as the figure which will begin to make a major impact on meeting the needs of the impoverished urban student.

Chapter XII. Short term recommendations for urban education

Our major recommendations are long term in nature which, if adopted, will entail the drafting of new legislation and the setting up of new administrative structures. It is expected that the recommendations will call for a several-year period of planning and development if they are to be effectively implemented.

However, we believe that there is a need for immediate action in the field of urban education. Therefore, we recommend that the following short term measures, based on existing legislation and programs, be implemented during the next fiscal year or two to help resolve the crisis in urban education. Many of the short term recommendations do not require Congressional action, but rather, could be initiated immediately through administrative decisions.

ESEA, Title I

1. We stand firmly behind ESEA Title I as the only Federal aid program currently providing any sizeable number of dollars for the education of disadvantaged children. We believe that ESEA, Title I must be funded at or near full authorization before any reasonable test can be made of the efficacy of compensatory education.

2. In addition to increased funding, we offer the following proposals for the improvement of ESEA, Title I:

(a) Provide states with more flexibility in

making allocations within states and counties in order to concentrate Title I funds in areas with high proportions of seriously disadvantaged pupils. OE should support the Murphy amendment of S. 2218 which provides extra funds for districts, both urban and rural, with large numbers of poor children. Other steps should be taken to concentrate Title I funds, more effectively, such as, (1) increase the minimum number and percent of disadvantaged children required for LEA eligibility; (2) propose an amendment (or a change in regulation) which gives fund priority to schools based on proportion of low income population; (3) strengthen Federal guidelines requiring concentration of funds within local school districts (based on subsystems, etc.) and monitor their administration by the states. In addition, states, could use various indices for the disadvantaged population—poverty level, density, etc.—as the basis for special concentrated programs in central cities, allowing State governments the power to withhold some of their Title I funds for this purpose might encourage some states to act in this way.

(b) We note the persistent complaints of local and State officials about the uncertainties of Federal program funding and the loss in program quality that arises from "stop and go" programming signals. Localities object to required annual proposals and evaluations which are unrealistic in time horizon and ritualistic process. Multi-year objectives, proposals, grants and evaluations within categorical aid programs might make more sense. Advance appropriations are a prerequisite for intelligent use of the money.

(c) The legislation (ESEA, Title I) should be altered to include a by-pass for the Federal government to directly aid non-public schools should States fail to meet their responsibility in this area, and to make non-LEA's eligible for funds where districts fail to accept Federal requirements for racial desegregation.

(d) The HEW Audit Agency conducts regular assessments on a sampling basis of local and State administration of ESEA, Title I. These audits should be placed on a current basis and should become public documents for local consumption as a means of policing the integrity of local officials.

Vocational Education

1. The administration and the Congress should adequately fund all parts of P.L. 90-576, "The Vocational Education Amendments of 1968," to increase opportunities for occupational training in urban areas.

2. The Commissioner should use his discretionary powers under Part C—Research and Training, Part D—Exemplary Programs, and Part I—Curriculum Development to concentrate funds on programs to aid the

urban disadvantaged. The Task Force recommends that such programs try new approaches to vocational and technical training such as "new careers," which train people who do not necessarily have a high school diploma for human service and public services occupations; open admissions policy at post secondary schools which would allow young people without a high school diploma to begin vocational training; imaginative programs for the disadvantaged run cooperatively by industry and the public schools; strengthened vocational guidance and placement; and the articulation of vocational and technical education into the general curriculum.

Expanded Research and Demonstration

1. We support the recommendation of the HEW Research Subcommittee that top priority be given to educational needs of disadvantaged elementary and secondary students, particularly in the areas of reading and math. We would expand this by recommending that Congress set aside additional funds for basic educational research, laboratory testing, and controlled experiments in the field of the disadvantaged. We also recommend that the Office of Planning and Evaluation and the Bureau of Research adopt as their chief responsibility the development of more effective research, experimentation, and program evaluation in the field of education of the disadvantaged. This would include the testing of such new approaches and decentralization and community control; new careers at the high school level, whereby youngsters of high school age are employed as teacher aides, welfare aides, police assistants, etc.; and the effect of ethnic studies on student performance.

2. The results of research must be developed and disseminated in a useful way; for example, in the form of models which might be tried in classrooms across the nation. We urge that the new R&D office in OE disseminate more information on research and evaluation of programs for the disadvantaged and that other services and models for disseminating information about the disadvantaged be developed and tried.

3. The regional education laboratories and the research and development centers should be given a much clearer mandate to serve the needs of disadvantaged students in their areas of program or geographic concern. Where possible, the labs should be linked to supplementary education centers under ESEA, Title III, to programs under Title I, and most importantly to teacher training institutes and local training programs.

4. There should be more of an effort to involve a wider range of people and abilities in the entire research program including particularly school administrators, principals, teachers, parents and specialists in the field of education of the disadvantaged. A new participating role for the consumer of educational services should be a special concern of research administrators.

Training Opportunities

1. There should be more of an effort to bring new people into the field of education including low-income persons from ethnic minorities, returning veterans, and young people from ghetto neighborhoods. In order to promote this concept, institutes for national leadership development related to the education of the disadvantaged should be established and given wide visibility. These institutes would train low-income people and veterans who have shown evidence of leadership for positions such as community liaison workers in the school system. The Head Start Supplementary Training Programs might serve as models for the leadership institutes.

2. The Teacher Corps currently enrolls approximately 2200 interns and 453 team leaders in an effort to recruit new personnel in poverty area schools and institutions. Two-thirds of Corps members are partici-

pating to increase the number of interns in inner city schools in urban poverty programs. The Task Force urges that the Teacher Corps and its newest model—the Urban Teacher Corps—be expanded. The Urban Teacher Corps is currently operating in several large cities including Washington, Chicago, and Pittsburgh. Under the Urban Program, the LEA assumes more of the cost of training new interns, thereby increasing their numbers and the number of schools which have interns. The Urban Teacher Corps could have a real impact on schools in large city school districts.

3. The Commissioner should use all the power at his discretion to urge States to change their certification and civil service standards to help facilitate the above proposals.

Higher Education

1. The Task Force supports fuller funding and expansion of current programs which provide assistance to qualified but needy young people who want to pursue a college education. These include Upward Bound, Special Services, Talent Search, and the financial aid programs—Equal Opportunity grants, work-study, NDEA loans, all of which are presently funded far below present level of need.

2. We support the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that, in order to compensate for the poor level of secondary education received by ghetto youth, funds be made available for a one-year college preparatory programs for disadvantaged youth. Such programs would be operated by community colleges or LEAs.

Discretionary Funds

The Commissioner should use his discretionary powers under the various Office of Education programs to aid the disadvantaged in urban areas. Programs such as Impacted Aid and others (higher education construction, libraries, and traditional vocational programs) should be reoriented to more directly affect the lives of the disadvantaged. New monies which may be allocated for these programs should be set aside for seed capital for planning and instituting urban education programs. New programs such as the Bilingual and Dropout Prevention titles should be assigned specific mandates for program quality development.

Financial Aid to Urban Districts

One of the key statistics upon which Federal policy is built is the aggregate Federal aid to each local educational agency. To date, there is no one source which could tell us the total amount and the breakdown of Federal funds going to urban school districts. We therefore urge that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Commissioner of Education annually collect, prepare, and publish data on the flow of Federal funds to the central city school districts in each of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

National Commission

We firmly recommend that the administration propose that the Congress establish a "National Commission on the Future Financing of American Education," which would have a broad charter to look at every conceivable type of revenue-producing device from traditional Treasury grants-in-aid to the exotic and the visionary. For example, the Commission and its professional staff should look at the experience of other countries and some of our States which have obtained educational funds through lotteries and other types of voluntary public service contributions. Such a Commission should also have a charter broad enough to study and recommend changes in State and local taxation policy.

National Advisory Council

In appointing the new members of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children we strongly recom-

mend that the administration give greater weight to the inclusion of poor people directly on the Council and that the Council be given a clear mandate to look at all Federal programs in this area . . . not Title I alone.

Rural Areas

The Task Force assignment was to examine the needs and recommend programs designed to serve the priority of urban areas. We believe those needs to be different from and to deserve consideration over the needs of rural areas in view of population migration and other pressures affecting urban areas. However, it is abundantly clear that rural poverty is a significant problem which deserves comparable examination to urban areas. It is also our conclusion that the needs of the two areas contain important differences that deserve distinctive treatment.

FOOTNOTES

¹ National Education Association, Research Division, *Estimates of School Statistics, 1968-69*. Research Report 1968-R16. Washington, D.C. The Association, 1968.

² Note on Terminology: The terms *Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas*, *Metropolitan Areas*, and *SMSA's* are used interchangeably to refer to areas defined by the Census Bureau as having (1) at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants and (2) the contiguous counties that are socially and economically integrated with the central cities. *Central cities* refers, of course, to the core cities of SMSA's. The *OCC*, *outlying areas*, and *suburbs* are used to refer to the areas outside the central cities but within SMSA's. For a more precise and detailed explanation, see 1960 Census of Population definitions.

³ See Alan K. Campbell "Socioeconomic and Governmental Characteristics related to Education." In R. J. Havighurst-*Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education*. 67th Yearbook of the NSSE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1968 pp. 25-27. See also *Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics Series* p. 20, No. 181 April 21, 1969, Bureau of the Census USGPO. A recent projection of the racial composition of central cities and their suburban rings anticipates that non-white population will reach 30.7% in central cities and 6.1% in the suburbs by 1985. See *The Challenge of America's Metropolitan Population Outlook—1960 to 1985*. Prepared for the National Commission on Urban Problems by P. L. Hodge and P. M. Hauser, Washington: USGPO, 1968 pp. 25-31, esp. Table III-7 p. 31. Despite these figures, the increase in absolute numbers of non-whites in OCC areas will probably bring about a greater concern with the relationship of race and disadvantage to education there, particularly in those suburbs which are having a much higher black growth rate than the national norm.

⁴ Bureau of the Census, *Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas*, p-23, No. 27, Feb. 7, 1969, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 42.

⁶ U.S. Department of Commerce, *1967 Census of Governments*, Vol. 4, *Finances of School Districts*, Table I, p. 9.

⁷ OE staff telephoned superintendents' offices of ten large city school systems and those of outlying suburbs and requested approximate per pupil expenditures. Figures for six were conveyed by telephone.

⁸ See Sacks, *Educational Finance in Large Cities*, forthcoming from Syracuse University Press, 1970, volume in the *Education in Large Cities*.

⁹ For full dress discussions of the economic and legal aspects of inequity in State and local expenditure for education, see, for the former Charles S. Benson, *The Cheerful Prospect: A Statement on the Future of American Education*, Boston, Houghton & Mifflin, 1965; and for the legal questions, see Arthur Wise, *Rich Schools, Poor Schools*.

¹⁰ Title I—ESEA: A Review and A Forward Look—1969, Fourth Annual Report. The National Advisory Council on the Education

of Disadvantaged Children, Washington, D.C., 1969, p. 12.

¹¹ For a full discussion of many of these problems, see Stephen K. Bailey and Edith K. Mosher *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968, Chapters IV and V.

¹² A standard definition of poverty is given in conjunction with the data presented in Table 5.

¹³ Chapter IV considers the problems of in- and out-migration in detail.

¹⁴ SMSA refers to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area which is defined as a county or group of contiguous counties which include one central city or more, or "twin cities" with a combined population of at least 50,000. The title of a SMSA identifies the central city; outside central city is the balance of the SMSA. In New England, SMSA's consist of towns and cities instead of counties. *Central cities* refers, of course, to the core cities of SMSA's. The term *OCC, outlying areas*, and *suburbs* are used to refer to the areas outside the central cities but within SMSA's. For a more precise and detailed explanation, see 1960 Census of Population definitions.

¹⁵ An unemployment rate of 6 percent for the nation is considered to be at the recession level, according to the Department of Labor.

¹⁶ Discrepancies among figures are undoubtedly due to differences in sampling procedures, e.g., One Year Later (1969) is concerned primarily with inner city youth in the cities. These figures are concerned with the labor force in general.

¹⁷ Material concerning the black woman's employment in relation to that of the black male was provided by the Center for Urban Education in New York City.

¹⁸ The Department of Housing and Urban Development classifies substandard housing as that housing reported by the U.S. Bureau of Census: (1) sound but lacking full plumbing; (2) deteriorating and lacking full plumbing; or (3) dilapidated.

¹⁹ "Moderate" incomes are above "low" incomes but are lower than "middle" incomes; as of this time, moderate incomes would be considered as ranging between \$4,000 and \$8,000.

²⁰ This table also clearly shows a point previously made concerning the numbers and percents of white and non-white women who are heads of poverty households.

²¹ The extended family is one which usually includes three generations living together or it can also include aunts and uncles. Thus, the children may have more "parents" than their middle class counterparts have.

²² Supporting data in this chapter are selective, due largely to limited preparation time. Because of such selectivity, some of the studies reported undoubtedly can be contradicted by others. Several composite studies in chart or tabular form are included which were prepared by the Center for Urban Education in New York.

²³ Data and projections in this paragraph were provided by the Center for Urban Education.

²⁴ These figures do not necessarily contradict those on Table 10 in Chapter 3. The latter dealt with a more specific age group and may have employed different sampling procedures, probably drawing its sample from the labor force and not from a population containing significant numbers of dropouts.

²⁵ All data in the following section on personnel were provided by the Center for Urban Education unless otherwise noted.

²⁶ Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom, Teacher Expectations and Pupil Intellectual Development* (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1968); Joe Louis Rempson, *An Exploratory Study to Help Increase the Number of Parents Who Make In-School Contacts in Low-Urban Area Public Elementary Schools*, Doctor's, Teach-

er's College, Columbia University, 1969; Charles Edward Flowers, *Effects of Arbitrary Accelerated Group Placement on the Tested Academic Achievement of Educationally Disadvantaged Students*, Doctor's Columbia University, 1966.

²⁷ Data supplied by Executive Director of Pupil Personnel, Milwaukee School System.

²⁸ Figures supplied over the telephone by personnel from the National Center for Social Studies, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

²⁹ Figures supplied over the telephone by personnel from the Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice and the District of Columbia Department of Corrections.

³⁰ Figures based on Individual Tax Returns for 1967, Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Treasury Department.

³¹ In 40 of the 100 largest cities, the school district and the city are exactly coterminous. In the remaining cases, there is deviation from coterminality. Often the boundary differences are small, but sometimes they are sizeable. However, problems from these differences are those of management not of principle. As such they can be handled by administrative policy.

APPENDIX I. MEMBERSHIP OF THE URBAN EDUCATION TASK FORCE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Chairman: Wilson C. Riles, Director, Division of Compensatory Education, State of California.

Co-chairman: John F. Hughes, Director, Division of Compensatory Education, U.S. Office of Education.

COMMITTEE

I. Organization and Authority; Parent-Community Involvement: Chairman, Mr. David Seeley, Director, Public Education Association, New York, New York; Co-chairman, Mrs. Elinor Wolf, Coordinator for Citizen Participation, U.S. Office of Education.

II. Education Program Components; National Assessment: Chairman, Mrs. Josie Bain, Area Superintendent, Los Angeles Public Schools; Co-chairman, Dr. Anne O. Hughes, Education Program Specialist, U.S. Office of Education.

III. Financial Resources, Governmental Relations: Chairman, Mr. James A. Kelly, Executive Associate, National Urban Coalition, Washington, D.C.; Co-chairman, Jerome T. Murphy, Formerly Associate Director, National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Washington, D.C.

IV. Racial and Ethnic Isolation, Facilities, Metropolitan Planning: Chairman, Mr. Harland Randolph, Vice President for Planning and Development, Federal City College, Washington, D.C.; Co-chairman, Mr. Oscar Mims, Chief Education Advisor, Model Cities Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

V. Educational Alternatives: Chairman, Mrs. Gwyn Jones-Davis, The Way School, Minneapolis; Co-chairman, Mr. Richard Carlson, Budget Examiner, Bureau of the Budget.

MEMBERS OF THE URBAN EDUCATION TASK FORCE

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APPENDIX II. URBAN EDUCATION TASK FORCE, HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

On March 11, 1969, Robert H. Finch, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, announced the formation of a number of task forces to assist him in the Department's long-range planning, budgeting and legislative process. Eleven of these new task forces were in the field of education.

The Urban Education Task Force was a part of this newly-initiated planning process within the Department. Dr. Wilson C. Riles, Director of the Division of Compensatory Education for the California State Department of Education, agreed to serve as Chairman of the Task Force. His Co-chairman was designated as John F. Hughes, Director of the Division of Compensatory Education, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, in the Office of Education.

This particular Task Force took on special importance because of the high priority assigned by Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., then Assistant Secretary/Commissioner of Education-designate, to finding solutions for the educational crisis in the urban areas of our Nation. By September, 1969, the Task Force was to formulate recommendations for steps that could be taken by the Administration to deal effectively with this crisis. The recommendations were to be supported by a detailed program memorandum or report, detailed budget plans, and any policy studies which the Task Force felt necessary.

To accomplish this mission, the Chairman and Co-chairman issued a call to educational leaders across the country—parents, public and private school administrators, university professors, representatives of the Federal Government, school board members and officials of concerned private organizations—to serve on the Task Force in this major undertaking. There was a very generous response from these people, as is evidenced by the membership list of the Task Force and their contributions to the work of the Task Force.

At the same time, a small supportive staff of staff members from the Division of Compensatory Education and private consultants was assembled.

April 29, 1969, marked the first meeting of the Task Force membership. Held in Washington, its major initial concern was an identification of the critical problems confronting urban education and an exploration of possible solutions. The Task Force was divided into five separate committees in order to more easily deal with certain aspects of the total urban education problem. These committees and their respective chairmen were as follows:

1. Organization and Authority, Parent-Community Involvement: David Seeley, Chairman, Elinor Wolf, Co-Chairman.

2. Educational Program Components, National Assessment: Josie Bain, Chairman; Anne O. Stemmler, Co-Chairman.

3. Financial Resources; Government Relations: James A. Kelly, Chairman; Jerome T. Murphy, Co-Chairman.

4. Racial and Ethnic Isolation, Facilities, Metropolitan Planning: Harland Randolph, Chairman; Oscar Mims, Co-Chairman.

5. Educational Alternatives: Gwyn Jones-Davis, Chairman; Richard Carlson, Co-Chairman.

As a result of this April Meeting, each of the above chairmen drafted a report which was circulated within the membership of the separate committees. At the same time, the Task Force staff was developing a Legislative Proposal for Urban Education Programs in response to certain legislative demands on the Secretary and Commissioner Allen which necessitated the immediate development of some tentative recommendations concerning urban education.

The five individual committee reports and the legislative proposal were the subject of discussion at the next Task Force Meeting in Washington on June 6-7. Out of this meeting, there developed five short-term legislative recommendations concerning full-funding of Title I and additions to the Title I guidelines. These were submitted to Commissioner Allen on June 9. In addition the Task Force indicated at the meeting certain directions which an urban education legislative proposal should follow. These directions are reflected in the final Task Force report.

Subsequent to the June meeting, the staff was involved in preparing the first draft of the Report. This draft was submitted as part of a July 15 interim report to the over-all Education Task Force. It was also sent to the members of the Urban Education Task Force for preliminary review prior to the last full meeting of the group which was held on July 25.

The focus of this meeting was a somewhat detailed discussion of needed additions to and revisions of the first draft. The staff was given more specific directions about some of the issues which had not as yet been settled, including the funding of educational alternatives, the involvement of nonpublic schools and the most effective role for the States to play in assisting the city schools.

A revised draft was mailed to Task Force members in September, 1969. Comments on this draft were in turn incorporated into a third draft which was then sent out for review in October, 1969. Following a survey to determine reactions of Task Force members to the report, Dr. Riles and Mr. Hughes called a meeting of Task Force Chairmen on November 21, 1969, for the purpose of discussing minority viewpoints, suggested modifications and incorporating them into the final Report. The past weeks have been spent in the final editing of the Report. Through the cooperative efforts of many people, the completed report of the Urban Education Task Force is now ready for submission to Secretary Finch and Commissioner Allen for their consideration and future action.

APPENDIX III. NOTE ON METHODOLOGY FOR CHAPTER II¹

The methodology used in this study follows the techniques developed by Brazer² and Campbell and Sacks³ in making central city/outside central city comparisons. Where cities are coterminous with county boundaries or they have no overlying governments the allocation is purely mechanical; the central city and outside central city are handled as independent units. This procedure applies where the central city provides all—or nearly all—local government services (e.g., New York City, Baltimore, Boston, and Washington, D.C.), and also where there are overlying, but exactly coterminous, governments (e.g., San Francisco, Philadelphia, Denver, New Orleans and St. Louis).

Except for San Francisco, the fiscal data for the cities noted above and for their outlying areas are based entirely on published data in the *Local Government Finances in Selected Metropolitan Areas* volume and in *City Government Finances in 1964-65*, and on the comparable data for 1957.

Where there is more than one central city in a SMSA they are considered as a single unit in the central city comparisons. Thus, San Francisco is consolidated with Oakland. Oakland is not a city-county and hence calls for an allocation of county fiscal data between Oakland and the remainder of Alameda County.

In order to attribute to each central city the relevant financial items of the county in which it is located and of any other overlying local governments (mainly school districts and special districts) it was necessary to secure underlying Census survey forms and worksheet data for 1964-65. These were made available to the Commission by the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census. For 1957, such information was published in the *1957 Census of Governments*.

For those jurisdictions that are coterminous with the central city, the full financial amounts were attributed to the central city area. In the case of an overlying, but non-coterminous jurisdiction (e.g., a county) its fiscal behavior was allocated on the basis of the fraction of the total population of the overlying population residing in the central city or central cities. The residual amount was allocated to the outside central city areas. As a result the weighted averages of the central city and outside central areas are equal to the SMSA per capita figures as published for 1964-65 and as directly implied by the county area aggregates for 1957.

Generally, but not always, the allocation of fiscal responsibility involves noneducational expenditures. Occasionally there are noncoterminous school districts and/or districts providing higher education. The principal problems involve the allocation of county activities between the central city and outside central city areas. A comparison of tax behavior derived indirectly by this population allocation method, and directly from an analysis of tax rates indicates that our procedure does not introduce any systematic distortion into the data.

The allocation procedure may be illustrated by an example, that of San Diego. Based on published reports, the city of San Diego had general expenditures of \$59,053,000

¹ Excerpt from Appendix B, Statistical Methodology. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System*, Vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities, Washington, D.C., October 1967. Pages 111-112.

² Harvey E. Brazer, *City Expenditures in the United States* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1959).

³ Alan K. Campbell and Seymour Sacks, *Metropolitan America: Fiscal Patterns and Governmental Systems* (New York: The Free Press, 1967).

in 1964-65. It reported no expenditures for education and a nominal amount for public welfare. Education is provided by the San Diego Unified School District which reported expenditures of \$70,449,000 for fiscal 1965. This amount was credited entirely to the central city area of San Diego. It was estimated that the city comprised 56.2 percent of San Diego County population; the central city area was therefore credited with \$67,442,000 of the \$120,003,000 of the county's general expenditure. This added up to \$194,943,000, or \$307 (as reported in Table A-10) for each of the 636,000 persons estimated as residing in the city of San Diego in 1964. The remaining \$170,001,000 was allocated to the outside central city area of the San Diego SMSA. With an estimated population of 495,000 this equalled \$343 per capita.

This was the general approach followed in the case not only of total direct general expenditures, but of educational expenditures, non-educational expenditures, taxes, and the sum of State and Federal aid.

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SAFE STREETS ACT HEARINGS

(Mr. ROGERS of Colorado asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, will commence public hearings on H.R. 14341 and related measures, designed to provide funding authority for the law enforcement assistance program established under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

Hearings are scheduled to begin on Wednesday, February 18, 1970, at 10 a.m., in room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building.

Interested persons and organizations wishing to submit testimony at these hearings should contact the committee, room 2137, Rayburn House Office Building.

A news release from the office of the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER) follows:

CELLER ANNOUNCES HEARINGS ON CRIME IN THE STREETS

On Wednesday, February 18, Subcommittee No. 5, chaired by Representative Emanuel Celler who is also Chairman of the parent committee, will begin hearings on the operation and effectiveness of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. The

hearings will include testimony on Mr. Celler's bill, H.R. 14341, to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1971 and succeeding fiscal years. In announcing the hearings, Chairman Celler stated:

"The understandable fear of crime in the streets is compounded by the lack of information on the operation, effectiveness as well as deficiencies of the Safe Streets Program enacted in 1968. The general impression seems to be that crime is like weather, something everyone talks about and nobody does anything about. Is this fact or emotion? This attitude contributes to a feeling of helplessness. It is my purpose, keeping firmly in mind the limitations of federal responsibility concerning local and state law, to place the facts before the public. Are the cities where crime is heavily concentrated getting their fair share of federal assistance which now goes to the states in the form of block grants? Recently, the Director of Law Enforcement Assistance Programs in the Department of Justice acknowledged that 'The states remain to demonstrate a clear commitment to the problems of the large cities which account for the bulk of crime. . . . Have the State Planning Boards, set up under the provisions of the 1968 Act, effectively distributed the funds? What innovative programs for curbing crime in the streets have been put into motion? Do these Boards adequately serve the interests of the large metropolitan centers? What conditions, if any, has the Federal Government placed upon grants to the states in order to achieve public safety on the streets and raise the quality of criminal justice?'"

"While my bill calls for additional monies to be distributed, the question must be asked whether more money, in and of itself, will curb the increasing crime rate. Since the Federal Government does not write criminal law for the fifty states, what other means can the Federal Government employ other than money to assist the states and cities? We must explore whether the Governors and Mayors have discharged the responsibility, without fear or favor, placed upon them by federal block grants."

"The hearings will focus on measures now being taken to bring under control such 'street crimes' as muggings, armed robberies, rapes, and forcible assaults, which are the immediate and terrifying concern of our citizens. What programs have been taken or are being planned by the states and local governments to meet this crisis? What direction can the Federal Government, through Law Enforcement Assistance, give the states in restoring tranquility to our streets and safety to our citizens? What conditions, if any, are needed to assure that the cities will receive adequate support in their law enforcement efforts?"

"I am sure these hearings will produce some of the answers. It is not enough for those in high office continually to cry 'fire' without knowing what the 'fire fighters' are doing. This Committee wants to know."

U.S. POSITION IN ARAB-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on January 8 I addressed a letter to the Secretary of State pointing out the deep concern which had been aroused by his statement of December 9, which put the United States in the position of being willing to negotiate Israel-held territory with the Soviet Union and the Arab

States in exchange for some vague promise of peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, I urge this ill-conceived formula be withdrawn and the effort of the United States be devoted instead to arranging direct talks among the principals involved, the Arab States and Israel, and I propose at an early date—I hope with many of my colleagues in concurrence—to introduce a resolution in this House carrying out and expressing those sentiments.

Mr. Speaker, I include here the letter addressed to the Secretary of State:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., January 8, 1970.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: You know, I am sure, of the deep concern which has been aroused by your statement of December 9 which put the United States in the position of being willing to negotiate Israeli-held territory with the Soviet Union and the Arab States in exchange for some vague promise of peace in the Middle East.

The State Department proposal of one month ago has been widely regarded as an offer of significant concessions to the Arab States. I hope that this is not so. It is already the cause of much concern to the American people and our friends in Israel.

To my knowledge, Israel has not lent its proxy to any power in the negotiation of a settlement in the Middle East. To attempt to impose an outside settlement of terms on Israel would be totally inconsistent with our past policies of support and assistance.

I therefore urge that the ill-conceived formula that was publicly disclosed a month ago be withdrawn and the effort of the United States be devoted instead to the arranging of direct talks among the principals involved—Israel and the Arab States.

The policy of our country, I submit, should not be to try to dictate the terms of agreement between the parties—that would probably provoke more disagreement.

Our supreme efforts, I respectfully submit, should be to get the parties face to face across the bargaining table. That, I believe, would be the best course for our country to follow in achieving peace in the Middle East.

This is the sentiment previously expressed by two-thirds of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives. This too is the sentiment of the country.

With kindest regards, and

Believe me,

Always sincerely,

CLAUDE PEPPER,
Member of Congress.

RAIL-PASSENGER SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES

(Mr. ADAMS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, some time ago a number of us cosponsored legislation in this House to do something about rail-passenger service in the United States. There are more than 100 Members who now have brought in bills to help improve the quality of service and extend some type of minimum rail service before it disappears.

I was very pleased this morning to see in the Washington Post that the Nixon administration will send to the Congress a proposal for the management of an entire nationwide rail system.

Mr. Speaker, the bills are pending. The Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House has now completed hearings. We will be mailing out to Members copies of these hearings, and we will be going into executive session during the middle of this month to bring out a bill to the floor so that we can do something about the rail-passenger service. I hope all Members will support it who are interested in doing something, because, if we do not, we have been told by the presidents of the American rail lines that within 5 years there will be no more intercity-intracontinental passenger service.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point the article from the Washington Post which sets forth in detail what the President is proposing.

COMSAT-TYPE SETUP SOUGHT TO RESCUE
PASSENGER TRAINS

(By William H. Jones)

The Nixon administration will propose to Congress today the creation of a Comsat-type public corporation to operate—and try to save—what is left of the nation's railroad passenger service.

Administration officials, meeting here over the weekend reached final agreement on a program that would:

Establish a corporation called "Railpax" to provide passenger service in 11 major intercity corridors, plus "some" long-distance trains for such runs as New York to Chicago, and Chicago to Los Angeles.

Commit the federal government to a \$100-million, three-year "experimental" role in the corporation, after which time control would rest fully with the owners of the corporation, mostly railroads.

Authorize the Secretary of Transportation to designate a national network of necessary passenger service. Congress would have to authorize major changes in this network.

Trains operated by Railpax would not be subject to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Fares and train discontinuances would be determined by the corporation.

Under the proposal, \$40 million in federal funds would be used by the corporation to buy new rolling stock and to pay administrative costs. The remaining \$60 million would be used to guarantee loans for Railpax operations.

In contrast to a draft bill now before the Senate Commerce Committee, the administration plan rules out any operating subsidies for rail service. Administration spokesmen feel a subsidy plan, originally proposed by the railroad industry, would face a shaky future in terms of appropriations.

Rail industry officials said last night that they would study the proposal before commenting officially. However, several sources said they expect the railroads to support the bill.

The number of rail passengers has declined steadily since World War II. Many of the routes that were profitable then have since become financial handicaps for the railroads, forcing them to discontinue the service.

The railroads would not be required to join Railpax, but Secretary of Transportation John Volpe, a big booster of the proposal, expects that many of the carriers would join in order to get out from under passenger service and concentrate on the more profitable freight service.

Railpax would be patterned after Comsat, which operates telecommunications satellites. Comsat pays the government to launch its satellites and then operates the communications relays. Stock in the firm is sold on the open market.

ASSESSING THE FIRST SESSION
OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

(Mr. HANLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, many have critically assessed the first session of the 91st Congress as generally unprogressive in content. Earmarking this past session as such is unjust, although the actual volume of legislation was slight in comparison to previous sessions. However, the quantity of acts passed into law is by no means grounds for a comprehensive assessment of Congress.

As I have stated in the past, what the public sees, the debate and congressional voting on legislation, is the final act in turning a bill into law. By the time a bill reaches the floor a major proportion of the work has already been accomplished in lengthy hearings held in the committees.

Mr. Speaker, we have accomplished much but we have a lot of work ahead of us yet. Let us look at the record and the projections for 1970.

Certainly our action in reforming the Selective Service Act was not insignificant. Nor could one deny the need for meaningful reform of our Internal Revenue Code and neither did the first session, seeing fit to change several provisions making the code more equitable for the average income taxpayer. Adjournalment saw the reality of increased social security payments. Differences in tax reform proposals in the House and the Senate gave way to a comprehensive tax reform act having great importance in altering previous precedents. Military authorizations were never before so tightly scrutinized as in this past session. Not only was each section of the bill closely examined, but also the Senate demanded and was acknowledged a full review of the military budget. Another archaic precedent dutifully remodeled. In further legislation the hopes of our depressed coal miners were realized by Congress in the form of a forceful Mine Safety Act. A major accomplishment of this session was the passage in both the House and Senate of a major water pollution program.

In supporting the quality of work done this past year by no means do I attempt to ignore the amount of legislation still pending before us. Much work has yet to be accomplished.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In the area of urban development a major omnibus housing program was enacted, providing long-sought modern homes for the needy and the elderly. As compared to previous legislation, specifically, the 1968 Housing Act, a major step has been taken, but in no way is it a final solution. Inadequate funding of new housing production has obstructed the 1968 goals. Let us not find ourselves facing the same old dilemmas when the seeds for constructive advancement in the field of urban housing have finally been sown.

Under the Housing and Development

Act of 1969, Congress will appropriate \$4.8 billion, well above prior commitments. Cost ceilings for low-to-moderate housing units have been relaxed, allowing for more money to be spent in constructing each unit. Contained within this act are several provisions aimed at increasing the number of new homes being made available for the low-income families. Unfortunately, a majority of the provisions simply extend existing programs. No doubt such an act will hardly get off the ground without proper funding. However, as concerned Americans, in our quest for extensive financial assistance for our programs, we should not lose sight of those at whom such a program is directed. Simply destroying present urban communities and constructing concrete complexes in their place will not solve the problems. The benefits of large urban units will be realized when they incorporate already existing communities into the modern housing developments. Research must continue to provide the answers to these and other questions before we, as legislators, can create a program that is satisfactory to all. At current housing costs many families are cut off from housing programs simply because they cannot afford to pay the rent required for new apartments. The Omnibus Housing Act of 1969 has by far been the most comprehensive in these areas, but certainly not the ultimate step.

CRIME

One has only to observe the fear in our streets and the unrest in our neighborhoods to witness the critical situation of current law enforcement. This past session has been relatively unimpressive on paper in establishing actual crime controls. Yet at the same time roots have been established as to what direction such controls will take. While it is true that the administration has sent a number of urgent, but vague messages to Congress on this problem, we are still awaiting hard-core proposals. This delay on the part of the administration, together with the failure of the Attorney General to testify on the matter, has certainly not helped alleviate the problem.

In general, through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, programs must be reinforced to aid local authorities in obtaining and applying modern law enforcement technics, and exchanging their own knowledge of criminal activities with other municipalities. Specifically, what are needed are expanded efforts in the fight against the syndicates and increased law enforcement activities aimed at the ultimate apprehension of those who break our laws. Mr. Nixon has suggested a general witness immunity law preventing a witness from being prosecuted for what he says while testifying. However, refusal to testify would result in a prison sentence for contempt. Also proposed are new laws preventing infiltration of organized criminal syndicates into legitimate business activities.

A bill currently in the Senate, the Crime Control Act of 1969, encompasses a majority of these proposals and pro-

vides for many of the anticrime provisions called for in the past session.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Nothing is more important to us all than the livelihood of our children. The future of our Nation rests upon the kind of education we grant them. Several laws were enacted in the past few months increasing guaranteed student loan funds, appropriating \$67 million above the \$155 million set forth last year. However, still pending is a measure of great importance calling for substantial Federal aid to local school districts. It is my hope that our elementary and secondary schools will not be neglected by Congress and to this end I shall work for the passage of this bill. Still awaiting final action is another important proposal providing for Federal assistance for educational facilities for those children with learning disabilities.

The first session of the 91st Congress certainly has not drifted aimlessly along. Appropriations alone for the 1970 fiscal year in the field of student loans are far higher than in previous years. I expect that congressional consideration of our primary and secondary educational institutions will be equally as generous.

U.S. POSTAL SYSTEM

Many promises and eventually some proposals were made concerning the long-awaited overhaul of the U.S. postal system. It is the general feeling of Congress that ultimate reform will see the revamping of the postal system into a federally controlled enterprise. I have been a staunch proponent of meaningful postal reform since coming to Congress and I shall continue my efforts this year. Months of hearings and markup of reform legislation have convinced me of the need for an independent or quasi-independent agency, with its own capital construction and personnel program, whose decisions can properly be reviewed by the representatives of the people. I am hopeful such a reform will see the light of day this year.

WATER AND AIR POLLUTION

Finally, in considering what must be done within the next year one cannot ignore the pressing problems of pollution of our air and water. We must magnify those laws already in effect and find new solutions to these age-old problems. The time has come for us all to be more than upset over the filth that surrounds us daily, and act to construct measures that will curtail further increases in pollution.

The search for effective pollution controls has never been ignored in the last two decades. As early as 1955 the Federal Government became involved in authorizing the Public Health Service to conduct air pollution research. Known as the Air Pollution Control Act, this provision provided for \$5 million for fiscal year 1956. In 1962, the Surgeon General was authorized to study the health effects of automobile exhaust. In response, the Clean Air Act of 1963 granted \$95 million for developing new pollution prevention and control programs and to extend those already in existence. This act also provided for legal action culminating in interstate and intrastate air pollution curtailment. The Motor Vehicle Air

Pollution Control Act was added in 1965 empowering the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to establish standards limiting the polluting effects of new automobiles. The Air Quality Act of 1967 was the last comprehensive piece of pollution legislation up until this past session. It was generally an extension of past provisions, calling for \$428.3 million in air quality control funds. In 1970, the Air Quality Act expires. Let us hope that past commitments are not only renewed but greatly broadened to incorporate the vast complexities of the present problem.

The history of water pollution control has been no less impressive. Funds for research and sewage treatment plants were appropriated as early as 1948. Through the years this early provision has been extended to include water purity standards and funds for offsetting local costs in constructing sewage treatment plants. The Water Quality Improvement Act, passed during the last session, puts teeth into already existing antipollution measures. Provisions have been included to enforce protection of our public waters and to control thermal pollution resulting from our modern atomic powerplants. As of this moment much has been done to curtail the depositing of wastes in our streams and rivers. However, a great deal more is needed to insure against future violations of new standards. No one likes to see our national resources destroyed by pollution, nor do I. In the past I have ardently supported all antipollution legislation, and I intend to encourage future enactment of stronger legislation in these areas.

I have praised our past year's achievements in Congress for the great value each new act will have throughout American society. Much has yet to be considered in bringing constructive legislation out of committee and onto the floors for final voting and debate. We have spent our first session preparing meaningful bills to institute badly needed reform and to enact into law provisions that are equivocal to all. In Washington we must continue in the second session to realize the goals which we have established and to work toward the fulfillment of promises made to you during the past year. The omnibus measure soon to be reported out of conference, a bill which, incidentally, contains the first comprehensive tools to combat pollution of our destroyed lakes, is a good place to start.

This is by no means a complete laundry list of legislative "musts," Mr. Speaker. These issues I have joined here, rather point out some of the key areas of concern. As I said in my opening remarks, we have a great deal of work ahead of us.

THE ANTICRIME PROGRAM OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. McCULLOCH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note this morning that the

Attorney General has again expressed strong support for the anticrime program administered by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

The LEAA program, authorized by title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, is the Nation's first comprehensive effort to fight crime. Although the program is only in its second year, it has been a catalyst for thorough study of the criminal justice systems in every State. There is at least an awareness about the problems of what the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence called our "nonsystem of criminal justice."

This new effort does not come too early. From 1960 through 1968, the crime rate has doubled. This year, one person out of every 50 can expect to become the victim of a serious crime.

In announcing the allocation of funds to the States, the Attorney General said:

The allocations we announce today represent a promising beginning for the Federal-State partnership to defeat crime in the streets. The first prerequisite for any effective anticrime program is sufficient funding, not expansive rhetoric.

I agree.

It is only a beginning. It is promising. The master key to success is sufficient funding.

For the fiscal year 1970 the Congress appropriated \$268 million for the LEAA program. I believe we can—and must—do better. On October 9 of last year, I introduced H.R. 14296, a bill which would authorize an appropriation 2½ times as large. It is going to take money to reduce crime. I ask your support.

I believe that increased funding for LEAA is part of the answer. There are many sides to the crime problem. Our response must likewise be on several fronts. We must make a stronger attack upon organized crime. We must also make the streets safe after dangerous defendants have been apprehended—by enacting the administration's preventive detention bill, H.R. 12806, which I have cosponsored.

These proposals are not alternative choices, but rather complementary weapons necessary for a comprehensive war on crime. I urge your support.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. POFF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, the programs administered by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration have been of considerable benefit to the State of Virginia. Under the block grant program, Virginia received \$405,100 in planning funds and \$567,090 in action funds for fiscal 1969. Virginia universities received a total of \$56,700 for the purpose of awarding loans and grants to college students pursuing a law enforcement course of study. In addition, \$47,000 in funds from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, the research arm of LEAA, was allocated to Virginia.

In fiscal year 1970 the Virginia State Law Enforcement Planning Council, which administers the LEAA block grant program in our State, will receive additional funds for both planning and action programs. This will be a very substantial increase over the amount of action funds which were available last year. And in fiscal year 1970, 15 Virginia colleges have already received a total of \$223,427 for the law enforcement education program; this amount will be awarded in direct grants and loans to college students taking courses of study directly related to law enforcement.

I believe the first year of operation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has definitely been a successful year. It has witnessed the advent of a very ambitious program designed to combat crime in our Nation and to bring about improvements in the entire criminal justice system. It has been unfortunate that a few groups, while alleging that they were attempting to improve the program, have spent most of their time criticizing it from the very date it was enacted. The anticrime program authorized by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 was a small beginning but it was an excellent beginning.

Many critics suggest that there was not enough money for the cities in the first year of the LEAA program. The fact is that there was not enough money for any important aspect of the first-year program because the appropriation was very small. Out of a total first-year appropriation of \$63 million, \$19 million was awarded for planning and \$29 million for action programs. A budget so small could not be stretched to meet all the needs of police, courts, and corrections.

The Department of Justice realizes the need to give priority in fund allocations to urban areas with pressing crime problems. This priority is reflected in the State plans. At least one-third of the States have given local governments more than 75 percent of the block grants required by the act. Here are some examples: New Jersey, 88 percent; Louisiana, 92 percent; Arizona, 96 percent; Maine, 83 percent; Florida, 80 percent; Illinois, 87 percent; Colorado, 79 percent; Ohio, 82 percent; Michigan, 82 percent. A further breakdown of subgrants to date shows that New York City is receiving 43.4 percent of New York State's 1969 action grant. Here are city shares in other States: Dallas, 16.1 percent; Philadelphia, 11 percent; Detroit, 33.1 percent; Houston, 9.5 percent; Denver, 44.1 percent; Portland, Oreg., about 50 percent.

Moreover, LEAA fully realized that many cities need special help—so it awarded one-fourth of its 1969 discretionary funds to the Nation's 11 largest cities. The awards totaled \$1.1 million—or about \$100,000 each. All are financing high-priority anticrime or crime prevention programs.

In summary, available resources have been wisely used, and I salute and commend the administrators.

FEUD BETWEEN THE NCAA AND THE AAU

(Mr. MICHEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, last week the long-standing feud between the NCAA and the AAU surfaced again with the completely unreasonable, arbitrary and outrageous sanctions imposed upon Yale University's entire athletic program.

The controversy centers around the AAU's giving official sanction to the Maccabiah Games held this past summer in Israel, and the NCAA singling out basketball as the one sport in those games in which no U.S. athlete could participate without endangering his eligibility to compete in any NCAA-sponsored games and tournaments in this country during regular season play.

The inconsistency of the NCAA is beyond comprehension. Mind you, they make no contest of the young men participating in the Maccabiah Games in every other sport but basketball.

This opens up the subject of just how inconsistent the NCAA has been for years in their enforcement of recruiting rules and regulations, for example, and the degree of sanctions and punishment doled out to the athletes and the universities involved. We are really talking about big business in college sports when one considers the power to approve or deny television rights and all the benefits that go with them.

Very little is publicly known about the NCAA, its makeup, how it is run, how it is financed, and from whom it derives its power. I think the Congress has a legitimate right to inquire, just as we have shown our interest in times past with respect to professional sports.

And finally, Mr. Speaker, I think it should be noted that if ever there was a fine collection of strictly amateur athletes it is in the Ivy League, where there are no such things as athletic scholarships. I would like to enlist the support of as many of my colleagues as possible in this venture, and to also build up as much pressure as we can around the country from those who have a vital interest in amateur sports and particularly our young men and women participating in them. If I might make one other plea, it would be to the university and college administrations to take a more careful look and a more active interest in what goes on in an organization that represents them nationally in the field of athletics.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Mr. CRANE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker I rise today to introduce a resolution to express the sense of the House with regard to peace in the Middle East. I am pleased to have the support of 60 of my colleagues in co-sponsoring this resolution. A few weeks

ago Secretary Rogers expressed views regarding the Middle East crisis that appeared to be a departure from the previously-stated position of the President and the previous administration. While it has not been made clear whether the views expressed by Secretary Rogers were his own or, in fact, represented a change of policy by the administration, we believe it is in the interests of peace in the Middle East to join in restating the traditional position of the United States. Thus, the resolution affirms "face to face negotiations between the governments of the nations involved as the only path to an effective, long-term peace in the Middle East."

My colleagues who have joined me in sponsoring this resolution are:

Messrs. ANDERSON of Illinois, ASHBROOK, BELCHER, BLACKBURN, BROWN of Ohio, BROYHILL of Virginia, BUCHANAN, BURKE of Florida, BURTON of Utah.

Messrs. BUSH, CEDERBERG, CLANCY, DON H. CLAUSEN, DEL CLAWSON, COLLIER, COUGHLIN, DERWINSKI, DEVINE, DICKINSON.

Messrs. EDWARDS of Alabama, FISH, FREY, GOODLING, HASTINGS, HARVEY, HOSMER, HUTCHINSON, HORTON, JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, JONAS, KING, KUYKENDALL.

Messrs. KLEPPE, LLOYD, LUJAN, LUKENS, McCLORY, McCLOSKEY, McKNEALLY, MICHEL, PRICE of Texas, RAILSBACK, and Mrs. REID.

Messrs. ROTH, SCHNEEBELI, SCOTT, SHRIVER, STEIGER of Arizona, STEIGER of Wisconsin, TAFT, TEAGUE of California, UTT, WATKINS, WEICKER, WHITEHURST, WYATT, WYLIE, WYMAN, WILLIAMS, ZION.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas the continuing crisis in the Middle East is one of the greatest threats to world peace; and

Whereas the involvement of the Soviet Union in this area of the world has heightened tensions, and increased the possibility of a major outbreak of hostilities; and

Whereas the consistent policy of the United States has been to support the principle of self-determination for all of the peoples of the Middle East so that they may live in peace, justice and freedom: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives affirms the long-standing United States policy calling for direct, face-to-face negotiations between the governments of the nations involved as the only path to an effective, long-term peace in the Middle East.

MASSACRE OF U.S. PRISONERS

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last December 4—see page 36910 of the RECORD—I directed attention to the partial list of our captive fighting men which was made public by Hanoi's "dear American friends."

At that time I pointed out that the list of POW's contained only the names of Air Force and Navy officers. I demanded that Hanoi, whose agents were monitoring my remarks, tell us what had been done with our enlisted men and our Army officers—because failure to do so could

only be regarded as a showing of positive intent to mistreat and murder these men.

We now learn what Hanoi and its agents have done with two of our Army personnel who were taken captive. They were barbarically tortured and then murdered.

An Army captain and an Army master sergeant, were held captive 49 days, paraded on public exhibition by the Communists, and then callously murdered in front of a church—their bodies secreted in a shallow unmarked grave.

Every American should try to feel the mental anguish, the degradation, the personal suffering that these men endured before they had served their purpose as propaganda specimens at the hands of their barbaric captors. Are we naive enough to suppose that these are the only missing Americans who have suffered such a fate?

All military men understand that the hope of ultimate victory as well as a secure sanctuary are essential to any guerrilla operation. Defeated in the field on every hand, Hanoi terrorists are granted their essential sanctuary by the shortsighted policies of our own Government and are brazenly encouraged to believe in their ultimate victory by the repeated foolish pronouncements of our leaders.

Such expressions as "withdrawal," "Vietnamization," and "redeployment of troops" may be valuable in offsetting some of Hanoi propaganda on the homefront, but as to our men in the field, including our prisoners of war, it leaves our men fighting a war from a position of weakness and at the same time strengthens the enemy's resolve.

The American people are sick and tired of being told "we cannot win," "limited objectives," "sanctuaries," and "international treaties." American veterans of four wars understand that none of this gobbledygook will recover their captured men or prevent any further mistreatment and murder of those in the enemy's hands.

Today the American airwaves are filled with recorded messages originating with Radio Moscow and Radio Havana reporting to be the voices of captured U.S. fighting men held prisoners in Hanoi. Obviously, the buildup is intended as a ploy to persuade gullible Americans of the decency and humanity of the Communist world.

The plain truth is that Americans are held captive, subjected to mistreatment, and exploited in plain violation of the Geneva Convention. These men are not prisoners of war but are kidnap victims. The Soviets, both of the Moscow and Havana variety, have not shown their complicity in this violation of international law—their complicity in this continued commission of war crimes. What the latest Soviet demonstration should mean to every American is that Moscow has now shown what most informed people already know, that the Soviet Union is the hand manipulating the puppet Red government of North Vietnam.

"The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." Genesis 27: 22.

Mr. Speaker, I insert several related news clippings following my remarks:

[From the Washington, (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 18, 1970]

REDS EXECUTE TWO U.S. PRISONERS

SAIGON.—The Viet Cong hauled two American captives from one village to another, placed them on exhibit, then shot them to death, the U.S. Command announced yesterday.

The ordeal of Capt. David R. Devers of Mount Holly, N.C., and M. Sgt. John H. O'Neill of Providence, R.I., occurred 41 months ago, but it wasn't until last Christmas Eve that U.S. Marines found their bodies. They lay in a shallow grave in a coastal area of Thua Thien Province, in the northern most 1st Corps area of South Vietnam, the announcement said. They were executed in front of a village church north of Hue, the announcement said.

Devers and O'Neill served on a U.S. advisory team attached to the South Vietnamese 1st Infantry Division.

NOTIFICATION OF FAMILIES

The command held up the announcement until the two victims were identified through dental records and next of kin were notified last week.

"Reports from residents in the area stated the Viet Cong put the U.S. prisoners on display in several villages before executing them," said the statement. "They had been captured after an action Aug. 13, 1966, and later shot to death by their Viet Cong captors."

The bodies of three South Vietnamese soldiers, also apparently executed, were found in the same grave.

A U.S. spokesman said Devers and O'Neill were not the first American prisoners executed by the Viet Cong. He said there had been reports of others, but he did not know how many.

CAPTIVE 49 DAYS

Devers' former wife, Mrs. Terry Cannon, said in Mount Holly that the Army had notified her that Devers had been "executed on the legal date of Sept. 30, 1966," 49 days after his capture.

Mrs. Cannon said she was told that Devers "was taken with another American, presumably O'Neill, in front of the church in the village and executed."

"The villagers did not report the execution until Christmas Eve of 1969," she said. "The Army said the villagers decided three years later to tell what had happened. A U.S. Marine civic action team, acting on information supplied by residents in the area, found the bodies."

Mrs. Cannon said that Army records incorrectly listed Devers' home town as Mount Holly, that it actually was Paulding, Ohio.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Jan. 19, 1970]

REDS LIST POW WHO'LL BROADCAST

Moscow, January 19.—Moscow Radio today released the names of 13 U.S. servicemen imprisoned by North Vietnam and said taped messages from the men will broadcast to the United States tonight.

A Moscow Radio spokesman said the messages will be broadcast in two half-hour programs on its English-language shortwave service beamed to North America.

He said the programs can be heard at 7 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. EST on the 25, 31 and 41 meter bands.

The names listed by the spokesman were: Michael S. Kerr, whose wife is Jerry Kerr of 1037 W. Port Angeles, Wash.

Norman McDaniel, wife Jean Carol McDaniel, of 1409 Kinsley Road, Greensboro, N.C.

James Quincy Collins, 77 Marcidos Lane, Atherton, Calif.

Paul Brown, wife Carol Brown, 4 Christian-av, Cranston, N.J.

Roger Ingveison, Lebanonst, Sanford, Maine.

Joseph Scott Neably, 1900 Pacific-av, Manhattan Beach, Calif.

Giles Roderick Newton, wife Barbara, 1833 Owens-st, Albany, Ga.

William John Mayhew, father Stewart Mayhew, New Manchester, W. Va. (U.S. Postal guide does not list a New Manchester, W. Va.)

Malcolm Garley, Greenville, Maine.

Gordon Albert Larson, 2515 Clear Lane, Apt. 127, San Antonio, Tex.

Hugh Allen Stafford, 104 Belvedere-av, Cambridge, Md.

Harold Ed Johnson, 9338 Bluejacket, Hutchinson (or possibly Shawnee Mission), Kan.

John David Lunar, 5414 South 2000 W, Apt. C, Roy, Utah.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 18, 1970]

NOTHING HEARD FROM 60 PERCENT OF AMERICAN POW'S

The families of 60 percent of the Americans known to be imprisoned by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong have never received letters from their prisoner sons and husbands, the Defense Department says.

The Pentagon said Friday that "about 430" U.S. servicemen have been confirmed as prisoners out of 1,478 listed as missing or captured.

Only 175 have been allowed to send letters—a total of 900—to their families, Col. Milton K. Kegley of the department's office of public affairs told newsmen.

Kegley said 90 Americans are known to be held by the Viet Cong and 340 by North Vietnam, although some may have died since being identified as prisoners.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 18, 1970]

DELLINGER OPENS OFFICE TO FACILITATE POW MAIL

NEW YORK.—An office to arrange and facilitate exchange of mail between American servicemen imprisoned in North Vietnam and their families is opening here today, a group opposed to the war announced yesterday.

The office carries the name of the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam, and its organizers are Cora Weiss and David Dellinger.

Mrs. Weiss said the organization has had numerous contacts with families of prisoners it hopes to aid. She said 69 letters from 64 servicemen, brought by hand to Hong Kong, were flown to Philadelphia Saturday, then mailed to the families.

She said the North Vietnamese had approved mail arrangements by which families could send one letter and one package of no more than six pounds each month to relatives held in the north.

Mrs. Weiss, national head of the Women's Strike for Peace and co-chairman of the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, returned recently from a trip to Hanoi.

Dellinger is one of the seven defendants being tried in Chicago on charges growing out of the disorders during the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Mrs. Weiss said North Vietnamese officials have agreed to "reply to the extent possible," to inquiries from families seeking to determine whether their servicemen relatives were prisoners.

THE MASSIVE DISRUPTION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, many of the Nation's school districts are in grave danger of being destroyed.

Last week, during a trip to the First District of Alabama, which I have the honor to represent here in Congress, I discussed the problem of the schools with numerous parents and school personnel, both black and white. The situation is very grave. The displacement of large numbers of students and faculty members is causing massive disruption of the school system. The administration of the school systems is almost impossible in view of recent Supreme Court imposed deadlines.

So that you may be better informed of just what is happening in the school districts in the South, let me mention a few of the problems we are facing:

First. Under Court orders, students are being forced to travel long distances—sometimes for an hour or more—to attend schools halfway across the cities or counties.

Second. Parents who depended on public transportation or had made special transportation arrangements are stymied. Where they may have previously sent their grade-school-age children to one school, many now find, under Court orders, that each child is going to a different school. Many parents just cannot get their children to the newly assigned school.

Third. Teachers who purchased homes or established residences near their assigned schools are now forced, under Court order, to travel great distances to teach in their new assignments.

Now, many argue that this is a small price to pay to obtain total desegregation of our public school system. But the fact is that this will not bring about total desegregation of our public school system as long as school systems in the North continue to maintain "de facto" segregation of schools based on neighborhood housing patterns.

The simple fact is the Court has lost sight of the goal of desegregation. It was argued in the 1954 Supreme Court decision that students should have the right to a quality education equal with all other students, regardless of race, creed, or color. But the courts have abandoned the goal of quality education for our children regardless of color. Now they are pursuing a deadly numbers game. The prize is a fine set of statistics matching black-white general population ratios with school population ratios. The losers are our school children—both black and white—who are suffering disruption of their formal education.

In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, the responsibility for the desperate plight of the public school system in the South rests squarely on the shoulders of the Supreme Court of the United States. In its haste it has run rough-shod over school districts that are really struggling mightily to meet deadlines previously set. The most recent order calling for all plans to be implemented by February 1, 1970, has left school administrators in a state of shock.

The people in my district were working out a reasonable plan to please the courts, but such a wholesale displace-

ment in the midst of a school year is certainly not reasonable. The result of such irresponsible action by the Supreme Court is utter chaos.

Many parents have turned to private schools in which their children could be educated without mass disruption, extensive travel or constant harassment. But now the Court has ruled that tax exemptions are no longer available to these private institutions. There is no wonder that our people feel a great sense of frustration.

Millions of dollars are being spent to obtain a nice set of statistics on integration. These millions of dollars could have been better spent to assure quality education for all children regardless of race, creed, color, or place of attendance. Our goal is to build a better America, not destroy its foundations. A nation is only as great as the quality of the people in it. The efforts of the Supreme Court these days seem more bent on destruction of education rather than its improvement.

IS PATRIOTISM DEAD?

(Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, we hear a lot these days about whether or not patriotism is dead in this country. Very recently I had an opportunity to read an award-winning essay on this subject written by a young junior high school student in my congressional district in California.

Miss Sue Grant, who attends Rincon Valley Junior High School in Santa Rosa, Calif., has expressed most eloquently what is on the hearts and minds of a good many young people in this country, and I believe her words and her thoughts may have special meaning for my colleagues in the Congress.

Therefore, I am requesting that her winning essay, "Is Patriotism Dead?" be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that all may share this brilliant and dedicated young American's views and beliefs. This young lady has, by her actions and well chosen words, proven that youth in America has a very strong sense of pride and purpose—constantly seeking ways of alerting all Americans to the fact that patriotism and love of country are very important ingredients in sustaining our free institutions.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press-Democrat, Dec. 21, 1969]

IS PATRIOTISM DEAD?

(By Sue Grant)

What is it that brings tears to a citizen's eyes when the national anthem is sung? What makes chills run up and down one's spine at the sight of the Stars and Stripes against a clear blue sky? What is it that inspires great poets and writers to set down on paper the spirit of America? What creates the feeling of awe and pride in an American's heart when a mounted or military color guard passes by, and every head is bare? Could it be a dead cause? No! It is alive, very much alive, and that cause is patriotism!

Simply because American citizens are not dashing through the streets waving flags and shouting at the top of their voices, there is

no ground for the supposition that patriotism is dead.

Concern for the welfare of our nation is far from dead. Some people see the matter in that light because the World War I and World War II proto-type of patriotism is undergoing a transformation. If a statue of patriotism, as it was, could be made, it would probably be a proud eagle bearing "Old Glory", perched on the shoulder of a saluting, bravely smiling soldier who is singing "God Bless America." But now this statue is only a chunk of metal, having been reduced to such by friction, heat of anger, and possibly a bit of neglect. Nevertheless, the basic concept of patriotism is still there, as it will always be no matter how much it is beat upon and attacked by radicalism. Who knows what form the statue will be given next by the chisels of the American people.

Perhaps when this statue is again complete it will be partially unrecognizable to us. Right now, however, there seems to be something missing. Some element of emotion has disappeared.

It may be that when the words "my country" are spoken by an American citizen, a full realization of the true meaning is lacking. After all, we are citizens of this nation, not simply inhabitants! But somehow there does not seem to be the same manner of pride and strength in the way the phrase is uttered.

In my opinion, the Vietnam confrontation is in a large part responsible for this. During the two World Wars, the United States armed forces were protecting both our country and our ideals; whereas, in this Asian "policing action", it is questionable whether our country is on the offensive or defensive. I strongly suspect the former. The question has been asked countless times by men and boys who have been inducted, "What cause am I fighting for? Why should I fight in a political war that hasn't ever been declared?"

Some of today's young people would answer this question with a simple "you shouldn't." The younger generation, so magnified by today's social gap, appears to have quite a different opinion of patriotism than their older fellow Americans. They seem to feel that true patriotism consists of acting in the way that will benefit their country most. This can mean standing up and stating one's feelings as to what is right or wrong. Unfortunately some thoughtless radicals have carried this concept to an extreme. Those people who burn the American flag, and resort to violence are little more than spoiled children who are not capable of behaving in a civilized manner which would be fruitful for all concerned. In these individuals, patriotism is indeed dead, or possibly it never lived. Worst of all, these people have created a bad reputation for those young people who are conscientious in their protest.

Are the citizens whose sincere concern about national affairs leads them to speak out, to be considered less patriotic, than those who follow and concur with whatever pattern of existence their country offers? Again I say, no.

This difference of opinion is a reaction to the changing form of patriotism.

In conclusion, I can only say again that the fire of patriotism still burns, and that as long as there are sparks of life in American hearts, such a fire will never die. For it is these sparks which feed the flame, and the act of giving of one's self which provides the fuel. If we all do our part in tending the flame, when patriotism emerges from the present metamorphic stage, America, and each of us, will be better for it.

PLUGGING DEATH AND GIFT TAX LOOPHOLES CAN HELP MEET 1970'S REVENUE SHORTAGE

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from

Wisconsin (Mr. Reuss), is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, when President Nixon signed the Tax Reform Act of 1969 on December 30 he expressed regret over the revenue loss from the act's tax relief provisions. The President said:

The effect on the budget and on the cost of living is bad, I am also concerned about the constraint this act imposes on Government revenues in future years, limiting our ability to meet tomorrow's pressing needs.

Treasury estimates of the Tax Reform Act's revenue impact support the President's fears. Assuming no growth in the economy and excluding the effects of the 15-percent social security benefit increase also included in the act, the revenue impact looks like this through fiscal year 1975.

[In billions]

Fiscal year 1970	+ \$3.7
Fiscal year 1971	+ 2.7
Fiscal year 1972	- 0.6
Fiscal year 1973	- 2.8
Fiscal year 1974	- 3.9
Fiscal year 1975	- 3.6

On the more realistic assumption of growth in the economy, the picture is even worse:

[In billions]

Fiscal year 1970	+ \$3.7
Fiscal year 1971	+ 2.7
Fiscal year 1972	- 1.6
Fiscal year 1973	- 4.7
Fiscal year 1974	- 6.8
Fiscal year 1975	- 7.5

Some economists have argued that these Treasury figures underestimate the revenue loss from the tax bill, especially in the 1970-71 time period. The argument revolves around how you measure the revenue impact of the 10-percent surtax, which goes down to 5 percent at the beginning of 1970 and expires at midyear. Whatever the merits of this argument, it is clear that the tax bill is going to cause some serious budgetary problems for the Government, both now and in the future.

The administration reportedly has considered various expedients for dealing with this revenue shortfall, ranging from a value-added tax to increased excise taxes and a speedup in tax collections.

This resourcefulness is commendable. What is surprising, however, is that the administration seems to have overlooked a revenue source which stands ready at hand—reform of our loophole-ridden death and gift tax laws. Estimates of the extra revenue obtainable from closing off the worst of these loopholes range up to \$4 to \$5 billion a year.

The administration's oversight is even more remarkable in that this is an area of reform which House Ways and Means Committee Chairman WILBUR MILLS has specifically set for consideration this year. In the report on the House version of the 1969 Tax Reform Act, the committee says:

Your committee found that the time available did not permit the inclusion of reform measures relating to revision of the estate and gift tax laws or the related problem of the tax treatment of property passing at

death. Estate and gift taxes are an area of the tax laws your committee will undertake to study as soon as possible, with the expectation of reporting out a bill on this subject in this Congress.

Strong support from the administration would speed the movement of revenue-raising death and gift tax reforms through the Congress. Indeed, prompt submission of administration reform proposals could make passage of a reform bill possible by June 30, 1970. Additional revenue from the reforms would then be available to assist in balancing the fiscal year 1971 budget, with which the administration is reportedly having such difficulty.

Getting this revenue from death and gift tax reform would be much fairer than raising excise taxes on telephones, automobiles, gasoline, tires, cigarettes, and liquor. Excise taxes put a serious burden on the average taxpayer, whose purchases of these goods take a much larger percentage of his income than do similar purchases by the wealthy. Death and gift taxes, on the other hand, are collected almost exclusively from families with annual incomes in excess of \$20,000.

Death and gift tax reforms have been studied in the Treasury for a number of years, culminating in December 1968 with a comprehensive multivolume set of tax reform studies and proposals. Much of the groundwork, therefore, has already been done.

At a minimum, death and gift tax loophole plugging should include the following reforms:

First. Taxation of capital gains on property transferred at death—revenue gain—\$2.5 to \$3.1 billion.

Second. Unification of gift and estate taxes into a single transfer tax—revenue gain—\$200 million.

Third. Elimination of payment of estate taxes by redemption of Government bonds at par—revenue gain—\$100 million.

Other matters, such as taxation of generation-skipping transfers, should also be considered.

A more detailed description of the minimum reforms I propose follows:

TAXATION OF CAPITAL GAINS ON PROPERTY TRANSFERRED AT DEATH—REVENUE GAIN—\$2.5 TO \$3.1 BILLION

When real estate, shares of stock, and other forms of property increase in value, the increase is subject to tax as a capital gain. However, the capital gains tax rate on property held for more than 6 months is only half of that for ordinary income. (Prior to 1969, the maximum capital gains tax rate in all cases was only 25 percent. However, the 1969 Tax Reform Act raises the maximum rate for corporations to 30 percent at once, and for individuals the maximum rate on gains of over \$50,000 goes up in stages to 35 percent in 1972.) In addition, the tax on capital gains is not assessed until the property is sold and the increase in value realized.

But some capital gains—those on property transferred at death—are never taxed at all. Here is how it works. Suppose a taxpayer bought some stock in a small electronics company for \$5000 back in 1960. The company has flourished and the stock is now worth \$15,000. If he sells it now he will have to pay a capital gains tax on the \$10,000 increase in value. For the high bracket tax-

payer who pays the maximum 25 percent capital gains rates, this means a tax of \$2500. But if he never sells the stock and it passes on to his heirs, neither he nor his heirs will ever have to pay income tax on the increase in value. The heirs will have to pay capital gains taxes on any increase in value beyond \$15,000 if they later sell the stock, but that is all.

This loophole is obviously a great benefit to those with large amounts of accumulated wealth to pass on to the next generation.

The Treasury in its December, 1968, Tax Reform Proposals, called for an end to this loophole, recommending that the increase in value of assets be taxed at death.

The present system of not taxing appreciation on assets transferred at death, the Treasury said, "is grossly inequitable and substantially impairs the progressivity of the tax structure."

In addition, the Treasury estimated, it allows at least \$15 billion in capital gains to fall completely outside the income tax system each year.

Finally, it has "undesirable economic effects, particularly in cases of older people":

"Assets become immobilized; investors become 'locked in' by the prospect of avoiding income tax completely if they hold appreciated assets until death rather than selling them. This freezing of investment positions deprives the economy of the fruits of an unencumbered flow of capital toward areas of enterprise promising larger rewards."

Closing this loophole by simply taxing these capital gains at death would increase Federal revenues by \$3.1 billion a year.

UNIFICATION OF GIFT AND ESTATE TAXES INTO A SINGLE TRANSFER TAX—REVENUE GAIN—\$200 MILLION

Existing gift and estate tax laws greatly favor those who can afford to give away large amounts of property during their lifetime. As the Treasury said in its December, 1968, Tax Reform Proposals:

"[T]he present disparity between the tax treatment of lifetime gifts and deathtime transfers confers a very substantial advantage on the wealthy, because the tax advantages of making lifetime gifts become increasingly greater as the size of wealth accumulations increase. The preferential gift treatment thus serves to confer enormous benefits on those whose situation permits utilizing lifetime gifts—generally those who are so prosperous that they do not depend on this wealth and the income it yields for living expenses and security."

The main features of the law favoring lifetime gifts are:

- (1) Gift tax rates are approximately 25 percent lower than estate tax rates;
- (2) \$3000 can be given away each year to any number of individuals without paying any gift tax;
- (3) Over and above the yearly \$3000 gifts, \$30,000 can be given away by a person during his lifetime without paying a gift tax;

In addition, the Treasury in its 1968 Report called attention to certain structural problems in the dual estate and gift tax system:

(1) The estate and gift tax rate structures are wholly separate, with property transferred during life being excluded from consideration in determining the estate tax bracket for property transferred at death.

This dual tax system thus permits two separate starts at the bottom of two separate progressive rate schedules for persons who transfer a portion of their estate during their lifetime.

(2) There are two separate sets of exemptions—\$30,000 for lifetime gifts and \$60,000 for property transferred at death. Those who can afford to give away property during their lifetime benefit from both of them, but those

who cannot be restricted to the \$60,000 estate tax exemption.

Finally, said the Treasury, the present system leads to unnecessary complexity as people try to make arrangements for transfers at death look like lifetime gifts. The system also artificially distorts gift-giving within families by generating pressures for transfers which might not be desirable except for the tax advantages.

As a solution to these various problems, the Treasury recommended unifying the estate and gift taxes into a single transfer tax.

Instead of the present separate gift and estate taxes, a single cumulative tax rate schedule would be applied to all transfers of property whether made during life or at death. There would be a single \$60,000 exemption for all transfers during life and at death, and the present \$3000 annual exclusion for lifetime gifts would be retained.

The revenue gain from this reform would be about \$200 million per year.

ELIMINATION OF PAYMENT OF ESTATE TAXES BY REDEMPTION OF GOVERNMENT BONDS AT PAR—REVENUE GAIN—\$100 MILLION

If upon death a person faces a probable \$100,000 estate tax bill and has a smart lawyer, the lawyer will advise his client to buy \$100,000 worth of long-term U.S. Government bonds. Why? Because the U.S. Treasury will redeem its bonds at their par (face) value in payment of estate taxes, no matter what his client paid for them. If his client, for example, buys the Government bonds for \$80,000 and his estate later turns them in in payment of estate taxes, the Treasury must accept them at the full \$100,000 face value and the decedent's estate tax bill is effectively reduced by 20 percent.

The total face value of outstanding bonds redeemable in payment of estate taxes is more than \$45 billion, and their current market value is around \$33 billion. The result is a gaping \$12 billion tax loophole.

As a specific example of estate tax bargains available using this loophole, consider the 3½ percent Treasury bonds issued in October, 1960, and payable in November, 1998. If you bought some of these bonds with a par value of \$100,000, it would cost you only about \$65,000. That represents a potential 35 percent saving on your estate taxes. There is about \$4.2 billion worth of these bonds outstanding.

The 1968 Treasury Proposals recommended that this loophole be closed. When the loophole first entered the tax law, during World War I, it was thought that the estate tax redemption privileges would make it possible to market securities more easily and at lower interest rates. However, the Treasury says, "experience has shown that the tax losses sustained when such securities are redeemed at par prior to maturity considerably outweigh any possible benefits realized at the time when such securities are issued."

In addition, the Treasury continues, "the benefits of these securities are conferred in a very haphazard fashion from one year to another and from one taxpayer to another." The benefits go mainly to those who have the cash or other liquid assets needed to buy the securities and who die when interest rates are high. "There does not appear to be any reason for preferring such taxpayers over those whose estates are illiquid, or those who die when interest rates are low," the Treasury concludes.

Closing this loophole would bring in upwards of \$100 million in extra revenue each year.

PANAMA GIVEAWAY; TIME FOR ACTION HAS COME

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from

Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, many Members of the Congress who have studied important subjects in depth and made addresses on them, have long noted the apparent failure of their best efforts to make an impact. Too frequently, it is like throwing rocks into a fresh snow bank. Thus it was gratifying to read in the Christmas 1969 issue of the Evening Star of Washington an unusually thoughtful letter to the editor by Capt. Franz O. Willenbacher, U.S. Navy, retired, summarizing the present canal situation.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Captain Willenbacher, a graduate of the Naval Academy, received his doctorate in law in 1937 at Georgetown University, and that, while on duty in the Navy Department during the time when the 1936 treaty with Panama was being formulated, he had defended the indispensable rights, power, and authority of the United States in the control and ownership of the canal enterprise. Thus, he writes with the background of experience at a most opportune time.

Apròpos his point about the reopening of canal treaty negotiations with Panama, I would invite the attention of the Congress and the Nation at large to the fact that starting on October 27, 1969—Theodore Roosevelt's birthday—more than 100 Members of the House introduced House resolutions strongly opposing any surrender of U.S. sovereign rights or jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal to any other nation or to any international organization.

Mr. Speaker, those resolutions were referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs but so far there have been no indications as to when hearings will be held. In 1967, after hearings on similar resolutions, sponsored by some 150 Members of the Congress, were held, that testimony was never published and the committee, for some strange reason, never made a report.

As mentioned by Captain Willenbacher, in addition to the indicated House resolution, bills in both House and Senate providing for the major modernization of the existing Panama Canal have been introduced. Certainly the time has come for action on the canal question in the Congress, which agency of our Government bears the ultimate responsibility in the premises.

As the indicated letter is an excellent summary of the existing canal situation and should be of interest to all Members of the Congress concerned with canal questions and our citizens throughout the Nation, I quote it as part of my remarks along with the texts of House Resolution 593 and House Resolution 3792:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 25, 1969]

PANAMA GIVEAWAY

SIR: Recent press reports in the Spanish language press of Panama indicate that the United States may be on the verge of reopening treaty negotiations concerning the U.S.-owned Canal Zone and Panama Canal, territory and property, respectively, of the United States, in which, since 1904, includ-

ing defense, the taxpayers of our country have made a net total investment of more than \$5 billion.

In 1967 negotiations for three proposed new Panama Canal treaties were completed. These treaties provided for (1) surrender of U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama, (2) making that weak and unstable country a partner in the management and defense of the canal, (3) giving the United States an option on a site for a canal of so-called sea-level design and (4) eventually, giving both the existing canal and any new canal that may be constructed to replace it to Panama, all without any compensation whatsoever.

This projected betrayal of United States vital interests at Panama caused an uproar in the United States with the result that the treaties were never signed and some 150 members of the Congress introduced resolutions opposing the surrender. Extensive hearings were held by the Latin American Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which disclosed facts that had not been published in Panama. They were of such shocking nature that the printing and distribution of the House hearings were never accomplished as is customary in such cases.

Panama does not even now possess a constitutional government but is, instead, governed by a military junta which overthrew the last constitutionally elected President after he had been in office only eleven days. Now another coup has been attempted and thwarted.

Aside from the fact that no new canal treaty is required for the major modernization of the existing Panama Canal according to the well-conceived and time-tested Terminal Lake-Third Locks Plan as provided in bills now before the Congress, the very idea of giving this strategic waterway to Panama is unthinkable.

Certainly, with the world in the gravest type of crisis, this is no time to trifle with our basic rights, power and authority concerning the Panama Canal, which is of crucial importance in hemispheric defense. Instead we should take steps to strengthen our position by acquiring the entire watershed of the Chagres River valley as was once recommended by General Clarence Edwards when he was in command of the U.S. Army on the Isthmus.

FRANZ O. WILLENBACHER,
Captain, U.S. Navy (Retired).

BETHESDA, MD.

H. RES. 593

RESOLUTION

Whereas it is the policy of the House of Representatives and the desire of the people of the United States that the United States maintain its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal Zone; and

Whereas under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 between Great Britain and the United States, the United States adopted the principles of the Convention of Constantinople of 1888 as the rules for the operation, regulation, and management of said canal; and

Whereas by the terms of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903, between the Republic of Panama and the United States, under the authority of the perpetuity of use, occupation, control, construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection for said canal was granted to the United States; and

Whereas the United States has paid the Republic of Panama almost \$50,000,000 in the form of a gratuity; and

Whereas the United States has made an aggregate investment in said canal in an amount of over \$5,000,000,000; and

Whereas said investment or any part thereof could never be recovered in the

event of Panamanian seizure or United States abandonment; and

Whereas under article IV, section 3, clause 2 of the United States Constitution, the power to dispose of territory or other property of the United States is specifically vested in the Congress; and

Whereas 70 per centum of the Canal Zone traffic either originates or terminates in United States ports; and

Whereas said canal is of vital strategic importance and imperative to the hemispheric defense and to the security of the United States; and

Whereas, during the preceding administration, the United States conducted negotiations with the Republic of Panama which resulted in a proposed treaty under the terms of which the United States would shortly relinquish its control over the Canal; and

Whereas there is reason to believe that the present dictatorship in control of the Government of Panama seeks to renew negotiations with the United States looking toward a similar treaty; and

Whereas the present study being conducted by the Atlantic-Pacific Inter-oceanic Canal Study Commission may result in a decision to utilize the present canal as a part of a new sea level canal; and

Whereas any action looking toward an agreement with the Government of Panama which would affect the interest of the United States in the Canal would be premature prior to the submission of the report of the Commission in any event: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the Government of the United States maintain and protect its sovereign rights and jurisdiction over said canal and that the United States Government in no way forfeit, code, negotiate, or transfer any of these sovereign rights or jurisdiction to any other sovereign nation or to any international organization.

H.R. 3792

A bill to provide for the increase of capacity and the improvement of operations of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Panama Canal Modernization Act".

Sec. 2. (a) The Governor of the Canal Zone, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Army, is authorized and directed to prosecute the work necessary to increase the capacity and improve the operations of the Panam Canal through: the adaptation of the Third Locks project set forth in the report of the Governor of the Panama Canal, dated February 24, 1939 (House Document Number 210, Seventy-sixth Congress), and authorized to be undertaken by the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), with usable lock dimensions of not less than one hundred and forty feet by not less than one thousand two hundred feet by not less than forty-five feet, and including the following: elimination of the Pedro Miguel Locks, and consolidation of all Pacific locks near Miraflores in new lock structures to correspond with the locks capacity at Gatun, raise the summit water level to its optimum height of approximately ninety-two feet, and provide a summit-level lake anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal, together with such appurtenant structures, works, and facilities, and enlargements or improvements of existing channels, structures, works, and facilities, as may be deemed necessary, at an estimated total cost not to exceed \$850,000,000, which is hereby authorized to be appropriated for this purpose.

(b) The provisions of the second sentence and the second paragraph of the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), shall apply with respect to the work authorized by subsection (a) of this section. As used in such Act, the terms "Governor of the Panama Canal", "Secretary of War", and "Panama Railroad Company" shall be held and considered to refer to the "Governor of the Canal Zone", "Secretary of the Army", and "Panama Canal Company", respectively, for the purposes of this Act.

(c) In carrying out the purposes of this Act, the Governor of the Canal Zone may act and exercise his authority as President of the Panama Canal Company and may utilize the services and facilities of that company.

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby established a board, to be known as the "Panama Canal Advisory and Inspection Board" (hereinafter referred to as the "Board").

(b) The Board shall be composed of five members who are citizens of the United States of America. Members of the Board shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as follows:

(1) one member from private life, experienced and skilled in private business (including engineering);

(2) two members from private life, experienced and skilled in the science of engineering;

(3) one member who is a commissioned officer of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army (retired); and

(4) one member who is a commissioned officer of the line, United States Navy (retired).

(c) The President shall designate as Chairman of the Board one of the members experienced and skilled in the science of engineering.

(d) The President shall fill each vacancy on the Board in the same manner as the original appointment.

(e) The Board shall cease to exist on that date designated by the President as the date on which its work under this Act is completed.

(f) The Chairman of the Board shall be paid basic pay at the rate provided for level II of the Executive Schedule in section 5313 of title 5, United States Code. The other members of the Board appointed from private life shall be paid basic pay at a per annum rate which is \$500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman. The members of the Board who are retired officers of the United States Army and the United States Navy each shall be paid at a rate of basic pay which, when added to his pay as a retired officer, will establish his total rate of pay from the United States at a per annum rate which is \$500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman.

(g) The Board shall appoint, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, a Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities and shall fix their rates of basic pay in accordance with chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. The Secretary and other personnel of the Board shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

Sec. 4. (a) The Board is authorized and directed to study and review all plans and designs for the Third Locks project referred to in section 2(a) of this Act, to make on-the-site studies and inspections of the Third Locks project, and to obtain current information or all phases of planning and construction with respect to such project. The Governor of the Canal Zone shall furnish and make available to the Board at all times current information with respect to such

plans, designs, and construction. No construction work shall be commenced at any stage of the Third Locks project unless the plans and designs for such work, and all changes and modifications of such plans and designs, have been submitted by the Governor of the Canal Zone to, and have had the prior approval of, the Board. The Board shall report promptly to the Governor of the Canal Zone the results of its studies and reviews of all plans and designs, including changes and modifications thereof, which have been submitted to the Board by the Governor of the Canal Zone, together with its approval or disapproval thereof, or its recommendations for changes or modifications thereof, and its reasons therefor.

(b) The Board shall submit to the President and to the Congress an annual report covering its activities and functions under this Act and the progress of the work on the Third Locks project and may submit, in its direction, interim reports to the President and to the Congress with respect to these matters.

Sec. 5. For the purpose of conducting all studies, reviews, inquiries, and investigations deemed necessary by the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to utilize any official reports, documents, data, and papers in the possession of the United States Government and its officials; and the Board is given power to designate and authorize any member, or other personnel, of the Board, to administer oaths and affirmations, subpoena witnesses, take evidence, procure information and data, and require the production of any books, papers, or other documents and records which the Board may deem relevant or material to the performance of the functions and activities of the Board. Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, or any territory, or any other area under the control or jurisdiction of the United States, including the Canal Zone.

Sec. 6. In carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to obtain the services of experts and consultants or organizations there in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates not in excess of \$200 per diem.

Sec. 7. Upon request of the Board, the head of any department, agency, or establishment in the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized to detail, on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, for such period or periods as may be agreed upon by the Board and the head of the department, agency, or establishment concerned, any of the personnel of such department, agency, or establishment to assist the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act.

Sec. 8. The Board may use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

Sec. 9. The Administrator of General Services or the President of the Panama Canal Company, or both, shall provide, on a reimbursable basis, such administrative support services for the Board as the Board may request.

Sec. 10. The Board may make expenditures for travel and subsistence expenses of members and personnel of the Board in accordance with chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code, for rent of quarters at the seat of government and in the Canal Zone, and for such printing and binding as the Board deems necessary to carry out effectively its functions and activities under this Act.

Sec. 11. All expenses of the Board shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Chairman of the Board or by such other

member or employee of the Board as the Chairman may designate.

SEC. 12. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Board each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities under this Act.

SEC. 13. Any provision of the Act of August 11, 1939 (54 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), or of any other statute, inconsistent with any provision of this Act is superseded, for the purposes of this Act, to the extent of such inconsistency.

SENSITIVITY INTERNATIONAL— NETWORK FOR WORLD CONTROL

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. RARICK) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Members of this body, as well as our people at home, are constantly subjected to organized thought control and behavior programming through sensitivity training.

One of the finest explanations and clearest analysis of sensitivity training as a vehicle to brainwash people into submission, is a paper prepared by Ed Dieckmann, Jr., which originally appeared in the winter 1969 edition of *American Mercury* and has been reprinted by the network of Patriotic Letter Writers, Post Office Box 2003D, Pasadena, Calif. 91105.

Mr. Dieckmann's report follows my remarks:

SENSITIVITY INTERNATIONAL—NETWORK FOR WORLD CONTROL

(By Ed Dieckmann, Jr.)

Early in May of this year, a courageous mother, Mrs. Lois Godfrey of Garden Grove, California, succeeded in getting sensitivity training outlawed, at least temporarily, in the Garden Grove Unified School District. Mrs. Godfrey withdrew two of her children from a class in which the process was being used, then appeared before the school board where she was challenged to give a definition of sensitivity training, which she gave, having received it from me through State Senator John G. Schmitz.

The definition:

"Sensitivity training is defined as group meetings, large or small, to discuss publicly intimate and personal matters, and opinions, values or beliefs; and/or, to act out emotions and feelings toward one another in the group, using the techniques of self-confession and mutual criticism.

"It is also, 'coercive persuasion in the form of thought reform or brain-washing.'"

The second paragraph, admitting that sensitivity (human relations) training is *brain-washing*, is from page 47 of *Issue In Training*, a manual for group leaders published in 1962 by the National Training Laboratories (NTL) of the National Education Association (NEA). That is, from the *main source* of sensitivity training, from the "horse's mouth!"

Many people tell that, in saying this comes from the horse's mouth, I miss the target by the length of exactly one horse.

I'm forced to agree with them.

For what we are talking about is community group criticism, a destructive process that is used in every communist country every day to control the people, to force their thinking into the "correct" patterns; and to make sure that each person acts as the fearful and submissive member of a group, a "collective."

Edward Hunter, in his book *Brainwashing—From Pavlov to Powers* (Bookmiller: 1965), calls group criticism "The greatest threat against our society—the calculated creation of a national neurosis." Then he goes on: "The only Red defense has been

to hush up the subject, because even to deny it would bring attention to it."

PRESSURE HAS INCREASED

Realizing this makes it easy to understand why, since my expose in "Communism In Our Midst," *AMERICAN MERCURY*, Summer 1967: followed by "Hate Therapy," by Gary Allen, *American Opinion*, January 1968; the pressure and pace of the sensitivity assault have increased—with "voluntary" participation increasingly replaced by the frankly brutal insistence that sensitivity training be mandatory.

The outlawing of sensitivity training at Garden Grove has given added force to that reaction. For it was at Garden Grove on February 26, 1969, that 2,000 teachers were forced to attend a seminar where psychologist Jack Frymer, of Ohio State University, told them that "They should go to sensitivity training sessions in order to know how to use ST on their pupils." Already an attempt is being made to sneak the process back again under the name "Evaluation," or another program called "Social Sciences Framework." School Superintendent David Paynter has suddenly decided that "sensitivity training cannot be defined," and the battle rages on.

Carl Rogers, Ph. D., of the Western Behavioral Sciences Lab, and one of the chief pushers of ST, was so shaken that, when he spoke at Cerritos College near Long Beach on May 6, he refused to answer questions, stating, "I do not know the audience."

MAIN ATTACK

But the main attack comes on a much broader front:

1—Recently California Senate Bill (SB) 1414 set a pattern for repressive legislation in every state, providing, in its "Poverty" provisions, Section I, for inservice sensitivity training for all teachers under threat of losing tenure (their jobs) if they do not submit.

2—In June, Robert Finch, of Health, Education, & Welfare, announced plans for a national network (note word "network"), of "experimental and demonstration schools dedicated to the innovative process." Translation: *Sensitivity training for planned change.*

3—Again in California, that testing lab for "social engineering", SB 474 was introduced in June by Senator Bellensohn (D), the same legislator who originated a bill in favor of abortion. No. 474 would allow group leaders in ST or Human Relations training to be licensed by the State, "to make sure they are qualified." This completely ignores the fact that, whether the group leaders are qualified or not, no one has any business forcing healthy people to take sensitivity training, "a perversion of group therapy that makes healthy minds sick!"

4—To increase the pressure even more, The California Elementary School Administrators Association (CESAA), now promotes *legal contracts* with organizations teaching ST, such as the Far West Laboratory. These contracts are made with school boards not alert to what they are signing. "To evaluate curriculum, stressing *human potential* and development of the child." Again *sensitivity training.*

But the deadliest thrust is nationwide:

5—The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), a department of the NEA, now reaches into every State to force both teachers and teacher-candidates to accept ST for *national accreditation*. That is, an interstate teaching compact is being set up to enforce nation-wide standards of "teacher understanding" plus *disciplinary moves against teachers or candidates who protest!*

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

On September 23, 1968, the then President of the NEA, Elizabeth D. Koontz, got into

the AACTE at a meeting of the association in New York. Said she:

"The NEA has a multi-faceted program already directed toward the urban school problem, embracing every phase, from the Headstart Program to sensitivity training for adults—both teachers and parents."

Thus she revealed the real goal: involvement of the entire community in one gigantic laboratory of groups, exactly as in North Vietnam, Russia and Red China.

It is enlightening to know that the same Elizabeth Koontz, the first Negro president of the NEA and a known member of the board of SIECUS, the infamous "Sex Information & Education Council of the U.S.," was appointed by President Nixon, earlier this year, Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor!

Synchronized with the attack by what, we must remember is "coercive persuasion or brainwashing," was the announcement last February by New York University that it now offers a master's degree in sensitivity training; followed by Redland's University in California with its trumpet blast in May that it, too, starts ST this summer—and that it will be mandatory!

Thus a class of group trainers or "social facilitators" is coming into existence to "facilitate" the understanding and "correct thinking of you and your children. For the same thing is happening sparked by AACTE of the NEA, at nearly every college and university in the United States, including any private or parochial school that is foolish enough to accept either Federal funds or a Ford grant.

NIXON INVITED

It is somehow fitting and just, in view of President Nixon's appointment of Mrs. Koontz, that in *Look* magazine, June 10, 1969, Nixon himself, along with his entire staff, was invited to attend sensitivity training "in a series of interracial confrontations." Who invited him? None other than Ralph D. Abernathy, of the Communist Southern "Christian" Leadership Conference, left hand man of the late Martin Luther King.

Although this information tells us very much, it is still necessary to ask where the force comes from that can react to the gradual awakening of the American people, to the dangers of sensitivity training, with such coordination and power. What is the source, the origin, the Eye of the Octopus?

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A special advisory committee to the State Board of Education in California hinted strongly at this source on May 9, 1969. Staffed by such courageous conservatives as Dr. Edward Klotz, former Special Assistant to the Board of Education, and Professor Harden B. Jones, of Berkeley (who made an extensive study of the Nazi use of ST in Hitler's Germany), the committee concluded that:

"Sensitivity training is being used by those who are in fact aligned with revolutionary groups acting contrary to public policy; that is, they intend to use the schools to destroy American culture and traditions."

The path to the Eye of the Octopus, where the destruction originates, extends much further than I at first supposed in 1967. But complicated though the path may seem, and cancerous in its meanderings, it is actually simple, in the way that an avalanche or a raging forest fire may be said to be simple.

Before we take that path it is essential to understand two things:

1—The "far-out" methods of sensitivity training that have received so much publicity, such as the nude marathons, the body awareness, the intimate contacts and sexual permissiveness, are *not allowed* in communist countries. These types are only used on countries targeted to be softened and undermined for subversion and conquest.

2—Sensitivity training, according to Mel-

vin Anchell, M.D. of Los Angeles, is clinically desensitization and should be called "Insensitivity training."

With that as a foundation we can proceed without illusion, seeing our subject steady and clear, knowing it not only for what it is—but what it is not.

The Great Deceit (Veritas Foundation Staff Study: 1964), referring to the American socialist and one-worlder, E. A. Ross and his book *Social Control* (1901), points out that:

"The main interest of leftist socialists is to construct processes which are now lumped together under the popular term 'brainwashing' as a means of conditioning and indoctrinating the mind of man."

And further:

"The left-wingers have as their aim the seizing of all society. This includes not only all the wealth and political power, but also control, through conditioning and manipulation, of the mind and spirit of all mankind."

It should therefore come as no shock, to those who study the One-World Movement, to learn that the earliest One-World organization, *The Order of the Illuminati*, used sensitivity training.*

THE ILLUMINATI

Founded in Bavaria on May 1, 1776, by the brilliant but degenerate Adam Weishaupt, the *Illuminati* (Enlightened Ones) played a major role in the French Revolution, before going underground in 1795 and emerging, partially, in 1848 as the League of the Just, which hired Karl Marx to write the *Communist Manifesto*.

Sensitivity training, as it turns out, is the most poisonous legacy the *Illuminati* let us—and the main evidence we have that the *Illuminati*, as a part of the overall conspiracy, are very much with us today, not only in the United States, but throughout the world.

Before we probe further for the Eye of the Octopus, a brief recap is necessary. We already know the following:

That the self-criticism of the *Illuminati* was revived in 1929 by the Soviet Secret Police for use on Russian citizens; while under the name of "sensitivity training" it was started in the U.S. with the founding of the National Training Laboratories of the NLA in 1946.

That in October, 1945, a Leftist Canadian psychiatrist, G. Brock Chisholm, gave three lectures in Washington, D.C. which laid the foundations for both the "sex education" that is causing so much trouble today and sensitivity training.

Now Chisholm was invited to give these lectures by Alger Hiss and was warmly applauded by a Washington lawyer, Abe Fortas. It is easy to see why Fortas liked the lectures.

Not only did Chisholm advocate doing away with the "ways of the elders," by force if need be, but also insisted we must do away with the "concept of right and wrong;" start sex education in the 4th, 5th, and 6th grades; fumigate "Mom and Dad" psychologically with self analysis, ST, that is; all with one race, one common humanity, as the goal in a One-World Government.

This, of course, but scratches the surface of the Chisholm world improvements; but we now know that a member of Chisholm's staff when Chisholm was Director of the World Health Organization (WHO), was Dr. Frank Calderone, husband of Mary Calderone of SIECUS fame. We are consequently not surprised again to learn that the "sex ed" of the kind now being pushed is sensitivity training and that's what is wrong with it! All the ingredients are there: self-confession,

* *Seventeen Eighty-Nine*, American Opinion Review Series: 1968 PP. 85-86.

More Stately Mansions, Robert Welch: 1964 P. 16, Item No. 8.

the lack of right and wrong, group consensus, the "New Morality," and the only loyalty that toward One-World, as condensed in the *World Citizenship Credo* of the United Nations:

"World Citizenship and Mental Health."

Get it? If you are so blind as not to perceive the blessings of One-World, you are less than healthy and ready for shock treatments.

In 1951 UNESCO, "United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization," brought the chain of power behind sensitivity training to a focus by imposing the UNESCO doctrine of "Social Health" on the United States. This was done through the U.N. Joint Commission of Mental Health, of which "our" National Educational Association, with its National Training Laboratories, is a member.

What is the UNESCO doctrine of social health?

Belief in One-World Government.

In that year 1951 the National Association for Mental Health, part of Health, Education & Welfare, and subordinate to UNESCO and WHO, announced:

"The principles of mental health cannot be successfully furthered unless there is acceptance of the concept of world government."

And then:

"Our chief problem is . . . how individual and group resistance to change can be overcome."

Or do you prefer, "We shall overcome?"

As the late Congressman Usher L. Burdick put it:

"To bring this country into line to accept world government, many things must be done by the U.N. and her agencies, such as UNESCO. First of all, love of country is found by these conspirators to be very deep and hard to destroy. Here UNESCO comes into play, to teach these children, with specially trained teachers, that love of country interferes with loyalty to a world organization, that they must transfer their loyalty to a world organization."

The "specially trained teachers" now come, in a steady stream, from the many teachers' colleges where sensitivity training is mandatory.

The American Legion, Department of California, declared, July 1, 1962:

"The international cartel structure, through which the collateral descendants of 18th Century Illuminists control the U.S. Government and its people today, is represented by the subversive Council on Foreign Relations."

Of course.

Anyone who has read Gary Allen's article on the C.F.R.* is aware of the interlocking directorates, memberships and influences that make the world conspiracy what Hilaire du Berrier has aptly called, "A Basket of Eels."

The Eye of this particular Octopus, then, is UNESCO.

But something is missing.

The other eye.

For the trail to that one we go to The Esalen Institute between the Pacific and the pines of Big Sur. The only note of optimism I have is that Esalen is named after an extinct Indian tribe.

From now on, hold tight.

Abraham M. Maslow, Ph. D., President of the leftist American Psychological Association, on the staffs of both Brandeis University and Esalen, has called Esalen, "Potentially the most important educational institution in the world."

He ought to know.

For although this strange collective of huts, halls, and swimming pool has only

* "The C.F.R. Conspiracy to rule the World." *American Opinion*: April 1969.

been active since 1964, it has "serviced" more than 150,000 of the curious, the weak, and the sinister, in search of their "human potential," including teachers from the C.T.A.: California Teachers Association.

The chief characteristic of Esalen, once you get past the first shock of the obvious degeneracy, is the unmistakable evidence of widespread overlapping and cross-fertilization. The National Training Labs are very much involved in Esalen; and Carl Rogers, advisor to Esalen and member of the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute at La Jolla, California, admits that, "all groups start from the NTL."

Not only does Esalen have a weekly program over San Francisco station KQED, but the staff and advisors includes psychiatrist Frederick Perls, developer of gestalt therapy, "a hostile personality," according to a woman who questioned him once about the value of sensitivity training.

Then, of course, there is S. I. Hayakawa, now permanent president of San Francisco State College, a staunch advocate of sensitivity training and advisor to Esalen.

There is also William Schutz, Ph. D., who, when I debated him on the Joe Dolan Show in Oakland last February, gave me the opportunity to point out to the audience, not only that the Nazis used sensitivity training in their "Strength Through Joy" movement, but that Schutz, by the sheerest coincidence, is the author of a book on ST whose title is JOY.

But I grow lyrical and, while that's easy to do with Esalen, it's not proper when dealing with an octopus.

We have seen that all groups start with the NTL and that the NTL-NEA combine is prominent at Esalen.

EUROPEAN NETWORK

Now let's shift our focus from Esalen to the NTL and its double headquarters at Bethel, Maine; and Washington, D.C. (1201 16th St., N.W.). We find that a web of NTL programs is being conducted in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Nigeria, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Japan, West Germany, Australia and New Zealand!

This European network extends from England and the Tavistock Institute, University of Leicester, to the Institute of Social Research, University of Vienna, Austria; The Technological Institute in Denmark; and the Netherlands Pedagogical Institute at Zeist.

In Germany, The German Productivity Center; in Sweden, the State Technological Institute; and from there, always under NTL control, the network spreads to six centers in France, foremost of which is the Social Psychology Laboratory of the Sorbonne (scene of Leftist riots, May, 1968), and the National Association for the Development of Humane Sciences, at the Universities of Bordeaux and Strasbourg.

It is instructive to know that, in September, 1969, sex "Family Life" education started in the schools of West Germany.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Tempting as it is to take a closer look at this subnetwork in Europe, the NTL programs on the other side of the world, in Pakistan and Socialist India, demand our attention.

For several years Pakistan, split into East and West by Northern India, was "beneficiary" of sensitivity training from the NTL trained School of Public Administration, UCLA, before the communist-led riots tore that divided country even more apart last year. The smug report of liberal Associate Professor Robert Abramson: *Techniques of Sensitivity (Human Relations) Training and Their Application in Pakistan* (UCLA: 1967), makes it only too clear what an impact ST had on that unhappy land.

India and Pakistan. Have we hit on something?

Consider this. Michael Murphy, owner of Esalen, is an unusual character. Just being the brother of Dennis Murphy, author of *The Sergeant*, now a movie about a homosexual sergeant in, of course, the U.S. Army, makes him unique enough.

But in 1948-'49 Michael Murphy studied in India at a place called Auroville. Auroville is on the east Coromandel coast of the Bay of Bengal, just outside the former French city of Pondicherry.

As coincidence would have it, young Mike studied collectivist doctrine under a "guru" who in reality was an old Marxist revolutionary named Sri Aurobindo. The gentle Aurobindo was a Cambridge graduate born in 1872 and had once in 1908, been jailed by the British for a very ungentle bomb plot.

He died in 1950, but not before indoctrinating Murphy in what he must do, as well as laying plans for a much larger Auroville and Ashram or Growth Center." Aurobindo's wife, now 92 and known as "The Mother," became the remains titular head of Auroville, "the Planetary City."

Murphy returned to the U.S. and, almost literally, went into a cocoon, while the world changed and Western civilization, as we know it, became hell-bent for suicide. Then, in 1964, Esalen sprang into being on Murphy's land in Big Sur, midway between Hearst Castle and Monterey. Miraculously, it was revealed that the Growth Center of Auroville in India was also ready to grow. Just as miraculously, or so it seemed, the Growth Center of Esalen was joined by other "Ashrams for human potential" throughout the U.S. and Canada:

Adanta, Inc.—Atlanta, Georgia
Amare—Bowling Green, Ohio
Berkeley Center for Human Interaction—Berkeley, Calif.
Boston Tea Party House—Boston, Mass.
Bucks County Seminar House—Erwinna, Pa.
Cambridge House—Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Casaelya—San Francisco, Calif.
Evergreen Institute—Littleton, Colorado
Gestalt Therapy Institute—Cleveland Heights, Ohio
Human Resources Development—Hidden Springs, New Hampshire
Kopavi, Inc.—St. Paul, Minn.
Laos House—Austin, Texas
Oasis (Midwest Center for Human Potential)—Chicago, Ill.
Ontos—West Chicago, Ill.
Orizon—Washington, D.C.
Plainfield—Plainfield, New Jersey
Shalal—Vancouver, Canada
Synergia—Montreal, Canada
Sky Farm Institute—Calais, Vermont
San Francisco Gestalt Therapy Institute—San Francisco, Calif.
Shadybrook House—Mentor, Ohio
Tarry Town House—Tarryton, New York
Wainwright House—Rye, New York
And miracle of miracles, the growth of the "awareness" centers multiplied, as though from the splitting of an amoeba, into something called "Intentional Communities," 69 of them, all the way from The Children of Light Commune in Gila Bend, Arizona, to Magic Mountain (Spartacist), Seattle, Washington; and many others in Canada, Japan, Central America, France, New Zealand, even Israel.

Do you suppose we should take another look at Auroville?

The first thing we notice is that the Auroville center has indeed had a tremendous growth since the death of its founder 19 years ago, and that it is now a small city with an expected population for the near future of 50,000 from all walks of life and all countries, all believers in one-world, one race, one government.

The second thing to notice is that Auroville receives, and has received for years, the hard financial support of that first Eye of

the Octopus, UNESCO. It is this hard cash that has encouraged French architect, Roger Anger, to develop "concrete plans for Auroville to be a model city for the whole planet."

EQUALS ONE

But even before you digest that, be advised that Auroville publishes a magazine with the strange, but revealing title of *Equals One*. The "magazine" is actually an esoteric pink package of arty booklets, obviously to appeal to the idealistic novice worker for One-World Brotherhood, each booklet taking him from "service to mankind" to the higher mysteries, until finally the highest mystery or "illumination" of all is revealed: the real goal of the organization, world dictatorship—the exact methods and goal of the 18th Century: *Order of the Illuminati*.

Coincidence?

Where do you suppose you apply for a year's subscription to *Equals One*? Well, you could write to:

Navajata, General Secretary, The Auroville Office and the Sri Aurobindo Society, Pondicherry 2, India.

But why bother?

It's much easier, and faster, to send your \$6.00 to:

The Lucis Publishing Company, 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Address your letter to Jack H. T. Albert. And as you do, be also advised that the Lucis Publishing Company is the former "Lucifer" Publishing Co. (something about that name bothered people), and the publishing outlet for *Lucis Magazine*, the official, self-admitted magazine of today's *Order of the Illuminati*.

LUCIS MAGAZINE

Owned by the Lucis Trust, *Lucis Magazine* is published by the Pre-Nicene Publishing House, B.C.M. Consortium, W.C.I., London, England, and edited by a mysterious Italo-Englishman Richard Duc de Palatine.

A researcher on the West Coast, who I dare not name because sources of information would dry up, tells me that *The Illuminati* use several fronts, one of which is *The Order of Pleroma*, in Los Angeles. Headed by one Stephen Heller (as fitting a name as Lucifer), it is connected with The Anderson Institute, a sensitivity training organization advertised in *The Free Press*, and other underground papers.

All this is just wild coincidence—and if you don't think so just ask any member of the Staff of Esalen.

But still something is missing. There must be a center; that is, a control for the direction and coordination of the other centers. We find it deep in what we suddenly realize is another front:

The Center Letter, Deerfield Foundation, Editor: Mrs. Earl Hubbard, Lakeview, Conn. 06039.

This magazine, which advertises itself as "A network of communication for those forming a coalition of concern for man's future," was started in 1967 and is stabilized on a line running from Auroville in India to the Temple of Understanding in Washington, D.C. Incredibly, the Center Letter, if Letter No. 8, 1968, is to be believed, "is being sent to libraries and schools throughout the world, as a public service!"

THE EUPSYCHIAN NETWORK

There, in this publication devoted "to helping all peoples become one world and one species," we find the other Eye of the Octopus: The Eupsychian network.

Meaning "United minds," it was Abraham Maslow of Esalen, on honoring Marxist revolutionary Sri Aurobindo in Center Letter No. 5, 1968, who produced a list of the directing "self evolvers of one-world in a planetary community," made up of what Maslow calls

the "Good Person," or, shades of Adam Weisshaupt! "the fully-illuminated man."*

Naturally, this list to which members on all other network lists are subordinate, includes Esalen, second only to Auroville.

This Network for total control has extensions and a reach of such power and magnitude that only another article, starting where this one leaves off, can do justice to it. Two examples will give you some idea:

JOURNEY INTO SELF

Those of us who are aware of the power behind ST were amazed when a documentary film on sensitivity training, starring Carl Rogers,** did not win the Oscar at the Academy Awards last March. Finally, early in May, this film, *Journey Into Self*, did win! For the first time in the 28-year history of the Awards a winner, *The Young Americans*, was disqualified on a technicality, and the ST documentary got the Oscar.

Which means that *Journey Into Self* will soon saturate our entire society.

I felt almost as enlightened as member of the *Illuminati* when I discovered that the producer of the film, Ross Hunter, Universal-International, was praised in Center Letter No. 7, 1968, as an "enlightened media representative." It seems that Hunter spoke at the Center's Communications Forum for the Center of American Living, September 16 and 17, 1968, along with many others, including Robert Doyle, Chief of the TV Division of the National Geographic Society; and John M. Allen, Senior Editor, *The Reader's Digest*.

Thereby hangs example number two.

As a freelance writer I queried the *Digest* three times in the last year and a half about an article on sensitivity training, even going so far as to suggest a pro-and-con arrangement where Carl Rogers could write an article in the same issue in favor of ST. Each time the answer was a soft but unyielding No; and that sensitivity training was "too esoteric" a subject for their readers, "too little known to be of interest."

This puzzled me, especially since Allen answered each time, though I had not addressed the original query to him. In his letter of April 25, 1969, he says: "The problem is that not enough of our readers would ever be involved in sensitivity training."

Since I had explained to Allen that the plan is to involve every man, woman, and child in the world in sensitivity training, this puzzled me most of all.

Not until last May did I understand Allen's strange reasoning, having been "illuminated" by the *Center Honor List* of people whose "work and ideas have been reported in the Center Letter, 1967-'68." John M. Allen, of *Reader's Digest*, heads the list of 58 names, for reasons other than the alphabetical. Just below his name is that of the "Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Planners & Developers of Auroville, an experimental 'planetary city for global man.'"

And below that, such names as Ross Hunter, Julian Huxley, Lewis Mumford, Erich Fromm, and Judith Hollister, founder of the Temple of Understanding.

Based on the evidence, what must any reasonable person conclude? Simply that an organization which says it is the *Order of the Illuminati* (whether actually it is we do not know for certain yet), is at the very center of the worldwide plan of sensitivity training for world government. Of this last there is no doubt whatever. And that organization, whether the *Illuminati* or *The Eupsychian*

* "A Manhattan Project Attack Upon the Big Problems," Abraham H. Maslow. *Center Letter* No. 6, 1968.

** Rogers, along with co-star of the film, Richard Farson, is a member of the *California Council for Public Responsibility*, "to combat extremists," such as The John Birch Society.

Network, is but a part, like the Communist Party itself, of one gigantic plan.

In 1964 one Roderick Seidenberg predicted, in his chilling books, *Anatomy of the Future*, (University of North Carolina Press) his vision of a One-World "Socialist" state. In this prediction the obviously internationalist author shows, with relish, how the master race of "administrators" has reduced the mass of human beings, "by the ever increasing techniques and refined arts of mental coercion," to the level of mindless insects.

The vision of the sensitivity training planners is precisely that. We must never let this happen.

How far these diabolical plans have advanced may be seen from the fact that the Department of Housing and Urban Development is proposing the financing of sensitivity training as part of the Model Cities Program. For example, under the government social planners' proposals, the city of Wichita, Kansas, is to get sensitivity training workshop leaders such as those certified by the National Training Laboratory to "handle the job of changing values and attitudes of that city's residents."

According to one Washington correspondent, the Wichita Model Cities plan places part of the blame for many of the city's ills on the conservatism of its residents and this is one of the city's "hang-ups" that sensitivity training sessions are designed to change.

WHAT CAN YOU DO

What can you do to stop it?

Resist. Do not fight alone but resist as a group.

The importance of resisting as a group is shown by the story of the Turkish prisoners in Korea, as told by Dr. William E. Mayer: There were 229 Turks and the communist commandant started to tell them what to do. The Turkish Major stepped forward, saying, "It is not necessary to tell them, I'm in command, tell me!"

The communist put the major in Camp #2, an isolation camp for "reactionary individualists." The same thing happened on down through the lieutenants and every one of the noncommissioned officers, until there were nothing but privates left. Again the communist gave his instructions and a little private, older than the others, stepped forward and said, "I'm the senior private. It is not necessary to tell them, tell me!"

So it went, until finally all 229 men were back together again in Camp #2! And they all made it home.

So learn to recognize sensitivity training, using the definition at the beginning of this article; realize that you cannot depend on any legislative committee, however exalted, to do your fighting for you because the good men, the men who pay attention to your letters, like Senator John Schmitz, are in the minority.

Only one other state legislator has taken a firm stand against sensitivity training, Assemblyman Floyd Wakefield (R); and on the national level, to my knowledge, one Congressman, the Honorable John R. Rarick (D), Louisiana, in the *Congressional Record*, March 11, 1969.

Therefore, it's up to you to resist, to absolutely refuse to take sensitivity training in any form, under any name. And to band together with others who resist.

Remember the heroic mother in Garden Grove.

Remember the Turkish prisoners.

Do not ever submit—and you and your children will survive.

CHAMPION OF THE PEOPLE

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of those consumers who have frequently felt a sense of helplessness due to the insensitivity of large organizations and institutions, Ralph Nader has fought and won many signal victories. He has given new hope and inspiration to young people yearning for the expression of nonmaterial ideals. Through hardheaded and constructive legislative work, he has pioneered in the passage of several landmark Federal laws. With a passion for facts, a strict adherence to truth, dedication to the public interest, a fierce devotion to the cause of the underprivileged or exploited, Ralph Nader has emerged as a champion of the people who has won battle after battle for the people.

There are those who have expressed resentment at the insistence of Mr. Nader that wrongs must be righted, and public institutions as well as public officials must serve the cause of humanity instead of serving only themselves. It always comes as a surprise to Mr. Nader's critics to learn that he has a genuine sense of humor which contrasts with the image which his critics attempt to portray. In fact, some individuals and organizations have been so shaken up by Mr. Nader's prods to action that they have spent huge sums trying to discredit him instead of correcting the evils he has exposed. The most famous case in point is the General Motors Corp., and the final chapter in that story has yet to be written in the courts.

Time magazine's December 12, 1969, issue devoted its cover story to Ralph Nader, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

THE UNITED STATES TOUGHEST CUSTOMER

Midway through lunch at a fashionable Washington restaurant not long ago, a young man named Ralph Nader stopped suddenly and gazed down in disgust at his chef's salad. There, nestled among the lettuce leaves, lay a dead fly. Nader spun in his chair and jabbed both arms into the air to summon a waiter. Pointing accusingly at the intruder on his plate, he ordered: "Take it away!" The waiter apologized and rushed to produce a fresh salad, but Nader's anger only rose. While his luncheon companions watched the turmoil that had erupted around him, Nader launched into a detailed indictment of sanitation in restaurants. He pointed out that flies killed by insect spray often fall into food, thereby providing customers not only with an unappetizing bonus but also with a dose of DDT—or something even stronger.

Restaurant owners had better take heed. Nader is by now an almost legendary crusader who would—and could—use a fly to instigate a congressional investigation. As the self-appointed and unpaid guardian of the interests of 204 million U.S. consumers, he has championed dozens of causes, prompted much of U.S. industry to reappraise its responsibilities and, against considerable odds, created a new climate of concern for the consumer among both politicians and businessmen. Nader's influence is greater now than ever before. That is partly because the consumer, who has suffered the steady ravishes of inflation upon his income, is less willing to tolerate substandard, unsafe or misadvertised goods. It is also because Nader's ideas have won acceptance in some surprising places. Last week, for example, Henry Ford II went farther than any other automobile executive ever has in acknowledging the industry's responsibility for polluting the air

and asked—indeed, prodded—the Government to help correct the situation. The auto companies must develop, said Ford, "a virtually emission-free" car, and soon, Ford did not mention Ralph Nader, but it was not really necessary. Nader is widely known as a strong critic of the auto industry for, among other things, its pollution of the atmosphere.

Nader was able to force off the market General Motors' Corvair, which was withdrawn from production this year. Corvair's sales had plunged by 93% after Nader condemned the car as a safety hazard in his bestseller, *Unsafe at Any Speed*. That influential book, and Nader's later speeches, articles and congressional appearances, also forced the Department of Transportation to impose stricter safety standards on automobile and tire manufacturers.

Advocate, muckraker and crusader, Nader has also been almost solely responsible for the passage of five major federal laws. They are the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967, the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act and the Wholesale Poultry Products Act, all of 1968. This week Congress will almost certainly pass the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, which Nader and a group of insurgent mine workers supported against the wishes of complacent union leadership. The act contains stiff preventive measures against working conditions that can cause black lung.

Nader was the first to accuse babyfood manufacturers of imperiling the health of infants by using monosodium glutamate, a taste enhancer that medical research shows can cause brain damage in some animals. The three largest producers of baby food have since stopped using it. In addition, Nader's repeated warnings about the dangers of cyclamates and DDT helped to nudge the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to press research that led to recent federal restrictions on their use. From witness chairs and podiums, he has also taken aim at excessively fatty hot dogs, unclean fish, tractors that tip over and kill farmers, and the dangerous misuse of medical X rays. He has revealed that some color-television sets were recalled for leaking excessive amounts of radiation. (The Federal Trade Commission has publicly warned viewers to sit at least six feet away from color tubes.)

THE EROSION OF LIFE

To many Americans, Nader at 35, has become something of a folk hero, a symbol of constructive protest against the status quo. When this peaceful revolutionary does battle against modern bureaucracies, he uses only the weapons available to any citizen—the law and public opinion. He has never picketed, let alone occupied, a corporate office or public agency. Yet Nader has managed to cut through all the protective layers and achieve results. He has shown that in an increasingly computerized, complex and impersonal society, one persistent man can actually do something about the forces that often seem to badger him—that he can indeed even shake and change big business, big labor and even bigger Government.

"My job is to bring issues out in the open where they cannot be ignored," says Nader, chopping his hands, as he often does when he speaks. "There is a revolt against the aristocratic uses of technology and a demand for democratic uses. We have got to know what we are doing to ourselves. Life can be—and is being—eroded." To prevent that erosion, he unmercifully nags consumer-minded U.S. Senators, pushing them to pass new bills. When their committees stall, he phones them by day, by night, and often on Sundays. "This is Ralph," he announces, and nobody has to ask, "Ralph who?"

Nader today is widening his sights. A lawyer by training, he is investigating the affairs of Covington & Burling, the Washington law

firm headed by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. At one time or another, Covington & Burling has numbered among its clients 200 of the nation's 500 biggest corporations, and Nader wants to determine just how much influence the firm has inside the Government. Most of all, he is probing into the affairs of ossified federal bureaucracies. "We hear a lot about law and order on the streets," he says, with a mischievous twinkle in his eyes. "I thought we ought to find out how law and order operates in the regulatory agencies." How does it? "It doesn't."

MOST OUTSTANDING MAN

He issued a report (now in hardcover) that scaldingly criticized the FTC and called for its reorganization: recently several FTC officials have agreed with him. He is examining laxity within agencies as diverse as the National Air Pollution Control Administration and the Federal Railroad Administration, which he says shares the blame for the fact that U.S. railways have 100 accidents a day, accounting for 2,400 deaths a year. "Regulatory agencies have failed by the most modest of standards," Nader contends, in great part because their top men are too cozy with the industries that they oversee and often use their Government jobs as steppingstones to lucrative private careers in the same field. By his count, 75% of former commissioners of the Federal Communications Commission are employed or retained by the communications industry. This, he charges, amounts to a "deferred bribe." Agency officials who resign their jobs, Nader contends, should be barred from accepting immediate employment in the industry that they were supposedly policing.

To multiply the manpower for his campaigns, Nader has enlisted the help of vacationing students for the past two summers. Their Zola-like zeal for investigating bureaucracies has earned them the name "Nader's Raiders." Last year there were only seven Raiders, but this year the number grew to 102 law, engineering and medical students. The Raiders, who were paid a meager living allowance (\$500 to \$1,000 for ten weeks), delved energetically into the Department of Agriculture, the Food and Drug Administration, the National Water Pollution Control Administration, occupational health agencies, the Interstate Commerce Commission and several other fiefdoms.

In anticipation of their findings, which are due to be released beginning early next year, at least one ICC official has already resigned. Meanwhile, Nader and his Raiders have accused Government authorities in general of "systematically and routinely" violating the 2½-year-old Freedom of Information Act, which is supposed to entitle public access to much federal information. "If Government officials displayed as much imagination and initiative in administering their programs as they do in denying information about them," he says, "many national problems now in the grip of bureaucratic blight might become vulnerable to resolution." In line with that philosophy, one group of Raiders last month filed a suit in federal court to force the Civil Aeronautics Board to release findings on passenger complaints. Nader expects similar suits to be filed soon against the Departments of Labor and Agriculture.

Over the long run, the inspiration that Ralph Nader is providing for young Americans may prove as important to the country as his own lone battle. The Harvard Law School newspaper has somewhat generously called him "the most outstanding man ever to receive a degree from this institution," which has counted among its graduates Oliver Wendell Holmes and Felix Frankfurter. Nader is a major hero in most law schools. Two of last summer's Raiders canvassed Texas colleges and returned with 700 applications for next summer.

CRITICS AND CHAMPIONS

Nader is not universally loved for his efforts. New Left revolutionaries condemn him because he wants to improve the economic system rather than tear it down. Businessmen complain that he is a publicity-seeking gadfly and that he can be self-righteous to the point of arrogance. His most obvious weakness is that he sometimes exaggerates for effect, as when he said that frankfurters are "among the most dangerous misuses this country produces." But many businessmen, whatever their feelings about Nader's methods, applaud his accomplishments and concede that he is an important and often valuable critic. Last month a study committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce deplored "the tardiness of business in responding constructively" to consumers' criticism. The committee called on sellers to "expand information regarding safety, performance and durability of products." Nader insists that he is not "anti-business" but simply "pro-people." He often jokes that he is as much a foe of the funeral industry as Jessica Mitford but that while she only wrote a book, "I'm trying to reduce the number of their customers."

Occasionally the people whom Nader is trying to help seem more resentful of his efforts than do his corporate targets. On his taxi rides through Washington, cabbies regularly berate him because they must now pay for seat belts and 28 other pieces of mandatory safety equipment. Nader sympathizes with them but argues that the automakers could reduce prices by at least \$700 per car if they would do away with costly annual style changes. Even Lyndon Johnson, who signed the 1966 auto-safety bill into law, has found some Nader innovations irritating. On a drive across his Texas ranch, L.B.J. noticed a spot on the windshield of his new Chrysler and groped for the washer and wiper knobs. Still unfamiliar with the Nader-inspired safety feature of non-protruding knobs, Johnson pawed at the dashboard in vain while he continued to drive. Utterly frustrated, he turned to a passenger and muttered: "That goddamned Nader."

THE ORIGINS OF DISCONTENT

Paradoxically, many U.S. consumers are disoriented even while they are the envy of contemporary civilization—the best-fed, best-clothed, most pampered people in history. Most companies have a self-interest in promoting product safety and performance, if only to induce customers to buy and buy again. Since the large majority of consumers do exactly that, businessmen understandably believe that they are producing the kind of merchandise that the nation wants. The average buyer probably gets more value for \$1,000 spent in a current mail-order-house catalogue than in an edition of 50 years ago.

Nevertheless, many low-quality and hazardous goods find their way into the marketplace: too much is overpriced, and too little works right. Consumer protest groups, often led by women, have been organized in many states. Longtime consumer activists profess amazement that the public has waited so long to fight back. Until lately, amateur, part-time buyers have felt unequal to challenging professional, full-time sellers. Says Peter Drucker, author of *The Age of Discontinuity*: "We have been a very patient people by and large. Now people are fed up, and I do not blame them."

The movement that Nader fostered goes by the awkward name of "consumerism." It belongs to an age of discontent that has roiled campuses and ghettos, subjected old certitudes to new doubts and stimulated individual assertiveness. Economist Walter Heller says: "People are much more questioning of authority, including the authority of the marketplace."

Today's consumer is better educated than

his forebears and thus less willing to accept the exaggerated salesmanship, misleading advertising, shoddy goods and even bits of deceit that buyers once considered natural hazards of commerce. He is justifiably confused by product guarantees written in incomprehensible legalese, by conflicting claims for chemical additives in gasoline and toothpaste, by food and soap that are packaged to defy easy comparison with the prices of competitive products. Though the poor and the uneducated are more systematically bilked than other groups, the current upwelling of consumer protest comes primarily from the comfortable middle class. The anger rises from the irritation of the telephone caller who cannot get a dial tone, the commuter whose dilapidated train runs 45 minutes late, or anyone at all who tries to get his auto, dishwasher or TV set properly repaired.

THE MOST SERIOUS THEFT

It is almost impossible to estimate the dollar loss to consumers through unscrupulous practices. The chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, Washington's Warren Magnuson, argues that deceptive selling is the nation's "most serious form of theft," accounting for more dollars lost each year than robbery, larceny, auto thefts, embezzlement and forgery combined. An idea of its scope comes from the case of some major drug manufacturers, which have admitted entering into a long-term price-fixing scheme that netted them at least \$100 million before they were caught. Three large plumbing-fixture manufacturers were convicted not long ago, and twelve others pleaded "no contest" to a similar conspiracy involving \$1 billion worth of sinks, tubs and toilets.

The human costs of unsafe products and practices are even harder to measure, though Nader can almost endlessly cite alarming statistics. "Do you realize that there are 2,000,000 needless cases of salmonella food poisoning a year?" he says. "Just think of it. And that's only one aspect. Do you realize that more Americans died on the highways by mid-October of this year than have been killed in all of the Viet Nam War? Consumers are being manipulated, defrauded and injured, not just by marginal businesses or fly-by-night hucksters but by blue-chip business firms."

The bulk of complaints against business falls into four broad categories:

Deceptive promotion. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has reported that commercial mouthwashes—a \$212-million-a-year business—are useless for curing "bad breath," and that more than 300 other patent drug items are useless for the purposes for which they are advertised. Chicago officials recently fined 121 service-station operators who had put out curbside signs advertising gasoline at one price but charged more at the pump. Another advertising abuse involves the "bait and switch," routine. Salesmen lure customers by advertising an extremely low-priced product; but when the time comes to buy, the product is "not available" and the customer is induced or coerced to accept a costlier one. In California, the attorney general's office has found this practice used by swimming-pool contractors, home-freezer-and-meat-supply operations and by a dealer who specialized in collecting advance payments from G.I.s serving in Viet Nam.

Hidden charges. A subtler method of parting consumers from their dollars is to tack on additional, often vaguely named charges. Lenders, for example, collect "service charges" and "points" that add substantially to borrowing costs. Often such charges would amount to usury under state laws if they were labeled as interest, which they simply supplement. Some retailers who mail out unsolicited credit cards try passing on the high costs of collection and theft loss to their customers. Until protests from three states prompted revisions in the plan, Montgomery

Ward billed charge-account customers for credit life insurance on themselves to avoid the expense of settling with the estates of deceased buyers. Unless customers specifically requested not to be enrolled in the plan, they were billed 10c a month on each \$100 owed. Although the charge amounted to pocket change for most persons, it was designed to pass on a major expense of Montgomery Ward's to the customers.

Sloppy service. Consumers Union, a non-profit, private testing organization of which Nader is a board member, distributed 20 deliberately broken TV sets to New York City homes and asked neighborhood repairmen to fix them; only three of the 20 were properly serviced. Television, air-conditioners and many other repairmen commonly refuse even to look at a cantankerous appliance until they collect a substantial "estimate fee." Texas authorities have forced finance companies to return \$1,900,000 to victims of unscrupulous and outrageously sloppy home-improvement firms. Automobile repairing has broken down so badly that automakers have instituted training programs for mechanics and are developing new gadgetry for electronic diagnosis of engine trouble.

Unsafe or impure products. Consumers can get information about the nutritive value and ingredients of dog food more easily than about some forms of canned meat; the chairman of the Senate Consumer Subcommittee, Utah's Frank Moss, likes to point out this discrepancy by reading the can labels to his audiences. When Consumers Union analyzed federally inspected pork sausage, inspectors found that one-eighth of the samples contained "insect fragments, insect larvae, rodent hairs and other kinds of filth." Investigators for the National Commission on Product Safety have found many potentially lethal toys on the market. Eleven Philadelphia children recently had to have tiny toy darts, which they accidentally inhaled from a plastic blowgun, removed from their lungs. Other hazards include a child's electric stove that produced temperatures of 600° and a baby's rattle that was held together with spike-like wires. Under a law signed last month, the Government can ban the sale of toys that present electrical, mechanical or heat hazards. But the law does not become effective until after the Christmas buying season, and Congress disregarded a commission recommendation that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare pretest some kinds of toys for safety. By the estimate of the Product Safety Commission, about 100,000 persons each year are injured when they walk through safety glass; yet builders have repeatedly refused to make it stand out better by marking it clearly. Nader has charged over nationwide TV that complex electronic medical equipment causes large numbers of unreported electrocutions in hospitals; doctors have estimated, he said, that anywhere from 1,200 to 12,000 patients per year are electrocuted. Official safety regulations, where they do exist, are often loosely enforced. Last month the Department of Transportation announced that one-quarter of the tires that it has tested this year failed to meet a significant test: standards originally devised by tire manufacturers themselves.

Politicians at every level of government recognize that consumerism has become a vote-catching issue. There has been a surge of activity to protect the consumer from fraud in the marketplace, and sometimes from his own bad judgment. Under a new law in Massachusetts, people who are fast-talked by door-to-door salesmen into signing contracts for unwanted goods can now cancel the deal within ten days. California's Department of Professional and Vocational Standards has instituted a television-repair inspection system that has trimmed \$15 million a year from fraudulent fix-it bills. The de-

partment tests the honesty of any suspicious repair outfit by planting deliberately broken sets in private homes; if the repairman makes unnecessary charges, his license is lifted.

THE BELATED PROTECTORS

Nearly all major cities and about 22 states have created offices of consumer affairs, many of them headed by attractive and energetic women with whom housewives identify easily. The national prototype is Mrs. Virginia Knauer, 54, a Philadelphia grandmother who served as Pennsylvania's consumer adviser and last April was chosen by President Nixon to head the federal consumer program. Bess Myerson Grant, the 1945 Miss America who is now New York City's commissioner of consumer affairs, recently sent inspectors out to test restaurant hamburgers. When nearly one-third of the burgers failed to meet the city's all-beef standards, Mrs. Grant complained loudly about "shamburgers," 156 people were subpoenaed, and those found guilty were fined. During her first year as Chicago's commissioner of consumer sales, Jane Byrne issued 1,144 tickets and collected \$58,000 in fines. Some supermarkets were caught placing "cents off" labels on items that were selling at the regular price or even higher.

All too few consumer watchdogs, however, are effective. The limp performance results partly from austerity budgets and from the reluctance of many juries to convict businessmen under criminal codes. The appointees to consumer-affairs jobs frequently have little experience in government. California's Kay Valory, consumer counsel to Governor Ronald Reagan, has not testified in three years before any committee considering consumer legislation. She recently made the extraordinary recommendation that buyers shun the "very narrow" testing reports of Consumers Union in favor of the handbook of the National Association of Manufacturers.

WINNING IN WASHINGTON

It has been left to the Federal Government to provide most of the protection for U.S. consumers. Congress has already enacted at least 20 major pieces of consumer legislation despite strenuous efforts by most industry lobbyists to defeat them. The lobbyists have been considerably more successful in keeping enforcement of the new rules to a minimum. The favorite lobbyist tactic is to persuade Congress to provide only token funds to administer new laws. Enforcement of the 1966 Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, adopted over vigorous objections from the food industry, has been all but abandoned by the FDA: it has funds to pay only two employees to do the job. The FTC initially received enough money to inform retailers of the new truth-in-lending law, effective last July 1, but not enough to enforce it.

Six weeks ago, President Nixon called on Congress to enact a "buyers' bill of rights." The President declared: "Consumerism is a healthy development that is here to stay." Among other things, he proposed the establishment of a new consumer division in the Justice Department and expanded powers that would enable the FTC to seek injunctions against unfair business practices. As Nader and other consumer activists have long been demanding, the President also asked Congress to allow consumers to join together in "class action" damage suits in federal courts against errant manufacturers or merchants. If found guilty of deceptive trade practices, manufacturers would have to bear all legal fees and pay damages to all who sue. Nixon disappointed consumer advocates, however, by proposing that suits be limited to eleven specified offenses, including worthless warranties and false claims for a product. Moreover, consumers would be unable to go to court until the Justice Department had first established fraud through a lawsuit. Even Mrs. Knauer, the Administration's

own adviser, wanted much broader measures. "Timid tiptoeing," complains Nader. "Politics turned the message into Swiss cheese."

Still, U.S. consumers stand an increasing chance of winning in Washington. The Veterans Administration recently agreed to make public its comprehensive test data on hearing-aid performance. Nader wants the General Services Administration, the principal federal purchasing agent, to release its vast store of product information, which includes test results on goods as varied as bed sheets and flatbed trucks. Legislation is now in preparation to 1) require producers of household poisons to render their containers "childproof" by making bottles and packages harder to open, 2) set up more stringent health rules in fish-processing plants, and 3) force manufacturers to guarantee the adequate performance of their products and live up to all claims that they make for them. A farther-reaching piece of legislation, being drafted by Senator Moss's Consumer Subcommittee, would set up an independent "consumer council" to act as the buying public's ombudsman. Nader has advocated the idea of a Cabinet-level consumer post for years.

What makes Nader so effective today? Much of the answer lies in his lawyer's dedication to hard facts. He makes accusations almost daily that would be libelous if untrue; yet no one has ever sued him on his charges against companies or products. He collects facts everywhere—from his audiences on campus speaking tours, from obscure trade journals and Government publications, from interviews with high officials, from secret informers in public office and private industry, from thousands of letters addressed simply to "Ralph Nader, Washington, D.C." Nader receives more mail than the majority of U.S. Senators and Congressmen, reads all the letters—but can answer few.

His first inkling that all was not well with the Corvair's suspension system came from a disgruntled General Motors auto worker who wrote him a letter. In *Unsafe at Any Speed*, Nader went on to single out the sporty car's rear-suspension system as an example of hazardous compromise between engineering and styling. At certain speeds and tire pressures, or in certain types of turns, he charged, the rear wheels could "tuck under," causing a driver to lose control. G.M., which eventually redesigned the system, at first did not even recall the model for checking. But executives were disturbed enough by Nader's charges to hire a Washington law firm to look into the matter. The lawyer, in turn, engaged the Vincent Gillen private detective agency to trail Nader. Purely on a fishing expedition that was to find nothing, the agency's head urged his men to uncover what they could about Nader's "women, boys, etc." Tipped by friends that investigators were looking into his private life, Nader charged publicly that he was being harassed. G.M.'s use of grade-B spy-movie tactics was fully exposed when its president, James Roche (now chairman), was summoned before a Senate subcommittee and twice apologized to Nader for the company's investigation.

In his battle for pipeline-safety legislation, Nader secured important technical data from an engineer who was fighting the installation of a gas main near his home. He first learned of the damage that pipeline explosions could cause from a professor whom he met at an M.I.T. conference. "Sometimes the things these professors casually drop at conferences send me up the wall," says Nader.

INFLUENCE ON THE LAW

Typical of Nader's battle style was his campaign for more stringent federal meat inspection at packing plants. While speed-reading the small print of a House report on Agriculture Department appropriations, Nader noticed that it urged "further studies"

of the U.S. meat-inspection program. Did that mean that there had been earlier studies showing that the U.S. had a meat problem? Indeed it did, as Nader found out when he requested a copy of the little-known study at the Agriculture Department. "Nobody ever asked for this before," said the employee who handed it to him. The study gave graphic descriptions of conditions in some meat plants.

Now Nader had his ammunition. He sent a summary of the study to the House Agriculture Committee, which was about to hold "clean meat" hearings for the first time in eight years. He quickly wrote an article for *The New Republic* titled "We're Back in the Jungle"—a title that echoed Upton Sinclair's classic indictment of the meat industry 60 years ago, *The Jungle*. He sent press releases to newspapers located near the worst plants. As a result, Nader was deluged by letters from meat handlers, meat buyers and anonymous Agriculture Department officials. He gave tips and new evidence to the Senate sponsor of the meat bill, Minnesota's Walter Mondale. What Nader's activity produced was the Wholesome Meat Act, which brings small, intrastate meat-packing plants under federal interstate jurisdiction.

One campaign leads to another. Many doctors who wrote Nader about meat urged him to investigate the steadily rising fat content of the venerable hot dog, which they said was contributing to heart disease. Nader found that average frank fat had increased in 15 years from 17% to 33% of the total content. The "fatfurter" campaign was on, and he now emphasizes it frequently in his speeches. Nader cultivates mutually helpful friendships among Congressmen, offering to let them take credit for his digging and even drafting legislative proposals for them. His chief contacts in the Senate are Magnuson, Moss, Teddy Kennedy, Wisconsin's Gaylord Nelson and William Proxmire, Texas' Ralph Yarborough, Connecticut's Abraham Ribicoff and Indiana's Vance Hartke.

As a result of Nader's indictments, the Government is making many changes. "When Nader issued his report on the Federal Trade Commission, my first feeling was irritation," says an FTC commissioner, Mary Gardiner Jones. "But I feel now that the commission has pulled itself together more, and faster, than if it had not come out." Though the FTC still has a long way to go, it has lately begun to take more vigorous actions. Sample: after nearly a decade of indecision, the commission in August ordered gasoline stations and food stores that use giveaway games for promotion to inform customers as to just how infinitesimal are their chances of winning.

Though Nader has rarely done his fighting in the courtroom, he has exerted a profound influence on the law. Before his auto-safety crusade, accident injuries were blamed on faulty drivers—not faulty cars. In order to collect damages, an accident victim was usually required to prove negligence on the part of a manufacturer. But Nader contended that automakers should build "crashworthy" cars that would not cause bodily injury in a "second collision" after the accident itself. The second-collision concept is now recognized by many courts. A 22-year-old Pennsylvania college student, who suffered permanent injury when the roof of a car buckled in an accident, recently won the right to use the "second-collision" principle in a damage suit against General Motors. U.S. District Judge John A. Fullam ruled that the roof should have been built to withstand the car's roll-over and that automakers are required "to provide more than merely a movable platform capable of transporting passengers from one point to another." Since the second-collision principle could be applicable to other products as well, manufacturers may become more

safety-conscious and design their products to avoid injury in case of mishap.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

The entire legal profession must be reformed, Nader maintains, if society is to alleviate its ailments. "The best lawyers should be spending their time on the great problems—on water and air pollution, on racial justice, on poverty and juvenile delinquency, on the joke that ordinary rights have become," he says. "But they are not. They are spending their time defending Geritol, Rice Krispies and the oil-import quota."

That is changing, in no small part because of Nader. Of the 39 *Harvard Law Review* editors who will be graduated next June, not one intends to join a high-paying Wall Street law firm. Instead, most plan to enter neighborhood agencies or government service—and represent the individual against the institutions. Nader believes that the rise of the youthful protester, which began in the '60s, will accelerate into the '70s. "You watch," he predicts. "General Motors will be picketed by young activists against air pollution."

Student demonstrators, he believes, will increasingly choose to become student investigators. Many of them will move to Washington and, like Nader, spend their early careers prowling among the Government filing cabinets, searching for examples of abuse and seeking means of reform in the existing system. "This is a new form of citizenship," Nader says. At heart, he is teaching the oldest form of citizenship: that one man, simply by determined complaining, can still accomplish a great deal in a free society.

THE LONELY HERO: NEVER KOWTOW

His suits are shiny, his shoe heels generally worn. The nation's No. 1 consumer guardian is a conspicuous nonconsumer. Ralph Nader does not care much about goods or appearances, and his income rules out luxury. He earns nothing from most of his work and supports himself by writing magazine articles and making public speeches for fees of \$50 to \$2,500. He refuses to divulge how much he earns, lest corporations find out how many investigators, if any, he can afford to hire. He turns down occasional six-figure offers from law firms and regularly shuns pleas for product endorsements. Partly because he knows that his personal purchases might be interpreted as a stamp of approval, Nader owns no major appliances, no television set, no car. Yet he refuses to acknowledge sacrifice or unusual achievement. At a recent award ceremony in his honor, Nader gently scolded sponsors in his speech: "I should not be given an award for doing what I should be doing."

Like a man possessed, Nader has forsworn any semblance of a normal life. His workdays last 16 to 20 hours, often seven days a week. He has no secretaries, no ghost-writers, no personal aides other than his summer volunteers. Nader operates from two little-known Washington addresses and two unlisted telephones—one in the hallway outside the \$80-a-month furnished room that has been his home for the past five years, the other in his one-room office in the National Press Building. He rarely answers knocks on the door and sometimes lets the telephone ring; the surest way to reach him is to send a telegram.

Nader's feeling for duty and constant study grew out of his family upbringing in Winsted, Conn., a gracious town of 8,000. His mother Rose used to ask friends all about films showing at the local movie house and would send her four children only to the few that had useful messages. Nightly dinner was more a course in forensics than food: it often lasted four or five hours, and everyone was expected to contribute his opinions to the topic of the evening. Nader

Nader, now 77, a Lebanese immigrant who built up a moderately prosperous restaurant business, presided over these Kennedy-like sessions, and he urged the children to stand up for their rights. "Never kowtow," he taught—and they learned the lesson.

As a student at Princeton, Ralph settled into his lone, irregular life-style. Always a late-night worker, he was given a key to Woodrow Wilson Hall so that he could study after hours. He righteously refused to lend that key to envious friends who wished to visit the dark, vacant study hall with their dates. On weekends, Nader hitchhiked out of town—just to see the U.S.—and learned, among many other things, that trucks were not built the way he and truck drivers thought they should be. For instance, a coat hanger in some truck cabs could puncture a driver's skull in case of an accident. He graduated *magna cum laude* and won a Phi Beta Kappa key.

Later, at Harvard Law School, Nader was passed over for the staff of the prestigious *Law Review*, but became editor of the school's issue-oriented newspaper. One of his articles was "American Cars: Designed for Death." After graduation, he pursued his growing interest in highway safety while working as an aide to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then an Assistant Secretary of Labor, and he later expanded his law-school article into *Unsafe at Any Speed*. The book, published in 1965, was dedicated to a friend who had been crippled in an auto accident. It is a shocking indictment of the auto industry, engineering groups, governmental agencies and traffic-safety organizations for failing to make automobiles more "crash-worthy." Written by an unknown 31-year-old, the book did not make much of an impression at first. But G.M.'s investigation into Nader's life—and the public apology to him by the president of the company—made Nader famous overnight.

A lanky six-footer who is constantly behind schedule and late for appointments, Nader can be painfully shy among strangers. When asked to give his name in hotels and on planes, he often tries to avoid recognition and replies, "Nader, initial R." He even keeps his birthday secret lest admirers send him cakes or other gifts. His driving intensity about work can sometimes trap him into hasty accusations. When economists in the Johnson Administration once met with auto industry leaders in an effort to win voluntary price restraint, Nader was too quick to accuse the Administration of "acquiescing" to Detroit. In fact, L.B.J.'s emissaries had stood their ground.

Intimates relish his flashes of dinner-table wit, which are nearly always aimed at one of the establishments he is bucking. "The people at regulatory agencies are utterly confounded when we come to investigate them," he says. "They have forgotten what citizens look like." On rare evenings out at a party, he usually leaves early to get in a couple more hours of reading, writing or phoning at his office. Though Bachelor Nader has no antipathy to girls, he rarely has the time or inclination for dates. Says his father: "We're very proud of Ralph. But we wish he would get married soon."

MORE ON POLITICS IN THE ARMY

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, 1969, I placed in the RECORD correspondence which I had with Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird concerning the actions of Maj. Gen. Winston P. Wilson, Chief of the National Guard Bureau. I brought to his attention the fact that Major General Wilson had introduced

politics into the National Guard. That he had clearly done so was established beyond doubt from a reading of the directive which the general had sent to all members of the National Guard. The only possible interpretation of that directive was that it encouraged a counter demonstration to the moratorium activities scheduled for November 1969. It goes without saying that everyone acting in an individual capacity has the right to support or oppose the activities of the moratorium but no general acting in his official capacity has the right to direct or encourage such activity pro or con. Unfortunately, it would appear from the response which I received from Col. B. M. Etnenson acting on behalf of Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird that the Secretary of Defense is not as concerned as I hoped he would be in preventing the politicization of our Armed Forces. Because I consider this a very important matter I am setting forth the entire correspondence to date:

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
November 4, 1969.

MR. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ED: Major General Winston Wilson, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, asked National Guardsmen to counterdemonstrate against our planned war protest later this month.

Did he send out this appeal as a private citizen? Did he use his personal stationery? Did he pay for reproduction, secretarial and mailing costs out of his personal funds?

If, as one would assume from the AP story, this was done as an official act, using government facilities and at government expense, then he must be asked to retract the statement and personally reimburse the government for expenses thus incurred and given at least a slap on the wrist that future acts of this nature will not be tolerated and will call for disciplinary action.

In New York, as you well know, we are scrounging money for printing, distribution and bus fares for protesters for the demonstration. It is not tolerable to have men like General Wilson using official channels and our tax money to oppose our efforts to bring peace to our poor war-divided country.

It was an extreme pleasure to watch you on several recent TV appearances. While we miss you in Chelsea, we must applaud your growing stature and leadership in Washington. Carry on, please.

Sincerely,

IRENE DAVALL.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

MAJ. GEN. WINSTON P. WILSON,
Chief, National Guard Bureau,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GENERAL WILSON: I am writing to you about a matter brought to my attention by Ms. Irene Davall, 311 West 24th Street, New York, New York.

I am enclosing a letter received from Ms. Davall concerning your position on the Vietnam antiwar moratorium. I would like you to know that I consider your introduction of partisan politics into the National Guard as very destructive to our democratic system. Other countries have suffered grave damage to their democratic processes when they permitted the military to enter the political arena. I join with my constituent in asking whether any government funds were used by you in your appeal to our nation's 500 Na-

tional Guardsmen to engage in a political demonstration.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE ARMY AND
THE AIR FORCE, NATIONAL GUARD
BUREAU,
Washington, D.C., November 24, 1969.

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. KOCH: This is in reply to your inquiry in behalf of Irene Davall regarding my recent message that I sent to the Adjutants General of the several States.

The National Guard Bureau is an administrative agency which oversees the maintenance of the Army and Air National Guard in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. My message to the Adjutants General was sent out in my official capacity as Chief of the National Guard Bureau. This was a routine type of message providing information to the States. As a part of this message, I suggested that our National Guardsmen be encouraged to exhibit their patriotism by flying the American flag at their homes, by burning their porch lights, and by driving with their car lights on from November 11-16, 1969. A copy of this message is inclosed for your information.

It is regretted that my message was interpreted as a counterdemonstration against the anti-war protesters.

Sincerely,

FRANCIS S. GREENLIEF,
Major General, Deputy Chief,
National Guard Bureau.

(For and in the absence of Winston P. Wilson, Major General, Chief, National Guard Bureau).

NOVEMBER 3, 1969.

From: NG Departments of the Army and Air Force, Washington, D.C.

To: All groups, 50 States and Puerto Rico
Copies to: White House (Mr. Butterfield), Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Army, Secretary of the Air Force.

On November 11, our nation will once again pay tribute to those who have made the supreme sacrifice in the defense of their country. This year's ceremony, as for the past number of years, will take place while our armed forces are still locked in battle in Vietnam.

In that war, at least 75 National Guardsmen from the four mobilized Air Guard and eight Army Guard units which were deployed to the combat zone or who volunteered to serve in Vietnam, have given their lives. One of our mobilized Army Guard units is still fighting there. Many former Air Guardsmen who became active Air Force pilots have been shot down over North Vietnam and are now prisoners of war suffering indignities and torture at the hands of a cruel, inhumane enemy.

I find unfortunate the fact that just a few days following the day of national tribute to Americans who have fallen in battle, many other Americans will demonstrate in many of our cities to demand a course of action that not only would betray those Americans who already have suffered and died in Vietnam, but also would mean abandonment of our allies and a revocation of our pledged word.

Certainly, every American wants to end the war. Every American wants peace. However, the desire for a speedy conclusion of the conflict should not be so great that we become blind to the realities of such a shortsighted course. We do not, through emotional confusion, want to pursue an impetuous action at the price of capitulation and surrender. We should move ahead coolly, methodically and orderly—as I believe we are doing—in a manner which will give us the greatest guarantee of lasting results.

I am concerned that those Americans who seek a capitulatory solution are creating a feeling of comfort in Hanoi and are leaving the enemy with the impression that their vocal and active groups represent the majority opinion within the United States.

As a result, I think the time has come for all of us to awaken to the difficulties these misguided activities create for our nation's efforts to bring about an honorable peace in Vietnam, how disruptive they must be to negotiations in Paris. It's time for Americans to get behind a move that will demonstrate the true majority opinion in this country. I believe as a matter of national honor, the will of the American people will be to show Hanoi that America's overwhelming public opinion is not represented by those who carry the enemy flag in our streets.

Undoubtedly, many Guardsmen may be called upon to protect the rights of these citizens to protest. To act with restraint in the face of what many of the Guardsmen, I know, believe to be a dishonor to our country requires a patience and understanding that are above and beyond what most Americans are ever asked to perform. Yet, I know Guardsmen will act with the restraint and orderliness that has marked their past efforts to maintain peace in our cities and on our campuses.

Because of my grave concern that the moratorium activities might be misunderstood in North Vietnam, however, I suggest that we ask even more of our Guardsmen. Therefore, I urge that we encourage all National Guardsmen, as citizens, to join in a national effort that will underscore the nation's determination to follow a prudent course in Vietnam. To do this, I urge that from 11 November through 16 November 1969, National Guardsmen: 1. Fly the American flag at their homes and businesses. 2. Drive their automobiles with the headlights turned on and turn their porch lights on at home.

I hope, too, that Guardsmen will encourage others in their families and in their communities to do the same.

WINSTON P. WILSON,
Major General,
Chief, National Guard Bureau.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., December 4, 1969.

HON. MELVIN LAIRD,
Secretary, Department of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I would like to place a matter before you which I believe deserves your very closest scrutiny.

As the result of a newspaper article commenting on the alleged action of Major General Winston P. Wilson to the effect that he had sent an appeal to the members of his command requesting that they undertake actions which could only be interpreted as constituting a political demonstration, I wrote to General Wilson inquiring whether any government funds had been used in connection with this matter.

I received his reply, a copy of which is enclosed with the entire correspondence. He states without reservation that his message was sent "in my official capacity as Chief of the National Guard Bureau." He went on to say, "As a part of this message, I suggested that our National Guardsmen be encouraged to exhibit their patriotism by flying the American flag at their homes, by burning their porch lights, and by driving with their car lights on from November 11-16, 1969."

I would very much appreciate your advising me as to whether these acts of the General constitute violations of the Army regulations and the United States Code. If they do, I trust that appropriate measures will be taken in this case. I would appreciate being informed of the disposition that you do make in this matter.

Any attempts to politicize the Army by Generals using their official position to encourage and influence political demonstrations, pose a serious threat to the traditional supremacy of civilian control over military command authority and have the potential of subverting our democratic process.

I would appreciate your views on this matter.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
Washington, D.C., December 31, 1969.

DEAR MR. KOCH: This is in reply to your letter to the Secretary of Defense regarding the message of Major General Winston P. Wilson, Chief, National Guard Bureau, to the Adjutants General of the several States.

The National Guard Bureau is the channel of communication between the Department of the Air Force and the National Guard on all matters pertaining to the National Guard, the Army National Guard of the United States, and the Air National Guard of the United States. It was, therefore, basically proper and appropriate for the Chief, National Guard Bureau, to address an inspirational and patriotic message to the organizations of the National Guard concerning the observance of a military holiday, Veterans Day. It was certainly not General Wilson's intention to invade the political arena. It is regretted that the message may have been interpreted as such.

General Wilson has been made aware of your letter to the Secretary and he, as well as the Air Force, appreciates your concern in this matter, and the need for careful draftsmanship of statements.

Sincerely,

B. M. ETTENSON,
Colonel, USAF, Chief, Congressional
Inquiry Division, Office of Legislative Liaison.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 2, 1970.

Col. B. M. ETTENSON,
Chief, Congressional Inquiry Division, Office of Legislative Liaison, Department of the Air Force, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COL. ETTENSON: Veterans Day! You believe that General Wilson's directive was in response to Veterans Day while General Wilson himself clearly stated in his directive that because of his "grave concern that the moratorium activities might be misunderstood in North Vietnam," he was suggesting that the National Guardsmen be encouraged "to join in a national effort that will underscore the nation's determination to follow a prudent course in Vietnam." To do this he urged that National Guardsmen fly their flags and burn their lights from 11 November through 16 November (Veterans Day just barely falling in this six day period).

I have the feeling that this is but another example that the military rarely admits error.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

MORE ON GERALD L. K. SMITH

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to keep our colleagues posted on the current situation relating to the Federal grant of \$182,000 for a highway project, the net effect of which will be to assist Gerald L. K. Smith, a well known anti-Semite. The proposed Federal grant was brought to my attention by an article in the Washington Post on November 25, 1969, bylined by Jack Anderson.

With the thought it would be of interest to our colleagues, I am setting forth a record of the correspondence which I have had with the Department of Commerce.

I urge my colleagues to communicate with Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans and request that he overrule the decision of E. L. Stewart, Federal co-chairman of the Ozarks Regional Commission which authorizes the grant of funds.

The article and correspondence follows:

U.S. FUNDS WILL AID BIGOT'S PROJECT (By Jack Anderson)

A \$182,000 federal grant has been quietly authorized for a project promoted by Gerald L. K. Smith, the hoary rabble-rouser, who for decades has been one of America's most virulent and enduring prophets of hate. Carroll County, Ark., where the old bigot's name is well known, is putting up another \$45,000 in matching funds.

This astonishing gift of the taxpayers' money will be laid out by the Commerce and Transportation Departments for sleek new roads to improve the access to the "Christ of the Ozarks" statue and the "Passion Play" near Eureka Springs, Ark.

Both projects must be a mockery to the Saviour in whose name they were promoted. For they are the work of the Elna M. Smith Foundation, organized by the hate peddler, named after his wife and boosted in his hate sheet, "The Cross and the Flag."

Instead of the love-thy-neighbor rule taught by Christ, Smith preaches racial and religious bigotry of the most ugly brand. Even the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy, who gave his name to irresponsible hate mongering, backed away when Smith tried to embrace him.

It is inconceivable that the federal government didn't know who was behind the Eureka Springs project. The literature on the seven-story-high "Christ of the Ozarks" states plainly that the million-pound statue was "originated and instigated by Gerald L. K. Smith, husband of Elna M. Smith." Smith's hate-spouting editor, Charles Robertson, is listed as "coordinator."

The initial financing came from the Elna M. Smith Foundation and from such bigot backers as Countess Rosalind Wood Guardabassi, a notorious contributor to hate causes.

Yet without a trace of shame, the Commerce Department announced that the \$182,000 in federal funds "will help stimulate growth in tourism and create new jobs." The government officials who approved this inappropriate appropriation are E. L. Stewart Jr., federal co-chairman of the Ozarks Regional Commission, and Ralph Bartelsmeyer, director of the Bureau of Public Roads.

Gerald L. K. Smith, in his vicious publications, the delight of every anti-semitic in the land, tells how a \$1,000 gift can get the donor's name on the "great bronze plaque" at his Eureka Springs "tourism complex." This list of bigots is poor company for Uncle Sam to join.

Note: A lone voice against the racist's projects has been raised by a gray-haired widow, who served in the Peace Corps in India before she settled down in Eureka Springs to run her own dress and gift shop. She is Mrs. Georgia Stratton Ziffner, 57, who quit as treasurer of the local Chamber of Commerce because, in their greed for the tourist dollar, they endorsed Smith's projects.

DECEMBER 3, 1969.

HON. MAURICE H. STANS,
Secretary,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY STANS: I read with interest a statement contained in the Washington

Post on November 25 in an article signed by Jack Anderson that \$182,000 federal grant for a project by Gerald L. K. Smith.

Please advise me as to the status of that authorization and be advised that I oppose it and request that the grant not be made.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

THE OZARKS REGIONAL COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., January 6, 1970.

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KOCH: This is in further response to your letter of December 3, 1969, to Secretary Stans concerning the assistance of the Commission toward the improvement of a public road in Carroll County, Arkansas.

Immediately upon learning that Gerald L. K. Smith was connected with the Elna M. Smith Foundation, we launched an inquiry into the facts and circumstances. The enclosed report is a result of that inquiry.

I personally abhor and condemn beliefs expressed by Gerald L. K. Smith and others of his ilk. The report points out that irrespective of the deplorable record of Smith, this record in and of itself cannot legally constitute the basis for rejection of this public project.

Should you have further questions concerning this matter, I would be happy to discuss them with you.

Sincerely,

E. L. STEWART, Jr.,
Federal Cochairman.

FACTS AND CONCLUSIONS, CARROLL COUNTY, ARK., PUBLIC ROAD PROJECT

The joint federal-state-local road project at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, has been the subject of several newspaper articles questioning the propriety of the federal expenditures involved. The controversy first arose in an article published by the Washington Post on November 25. According to the allegations of the columnist who wrote the article, "a \$182,000 federal grant has been quietly authorized for a project promoted by Gerald L. K. Smith," in order to provide "sleek new roads to improve the access" to the Christ of the Ozarks statue and the Passion Play operated by the Elna M. Smith Foundation near Eureka Springs, Arkansas. Pending a complete review of these charges, the Ozarks Regional Commission froze all funds allocated to this project. Our investigation has revealed the following:

(1) The project in question involves the repaving and regrading of an existing county road, Route 1226, which already serves as a schoolbus and mail route.

(2) The roadway is part of the federal aid secondary system and links U.S. Highway 62 with Arkansas Highway 23 (North).

(3) Funding for the project is being supplied by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads (50%), the Ozarks Regional Commission (30%), and Carroll County, Arkansas (20%).

(4) The need for repaving is occasioned by the fact that the road is heavily traveled by visitors desiring to see the statue and play operated by the Elna M. Smith Foundation.

(5) The road is an entirely public thoroughfare and does not enter private property at any point along the right of way.

(6) None of the federal money in question will go to the Foundation, nor will it be used to improve property owned by the Foundation.

(7) The Foundation expends all of its revenues for maintenance and operation of the projects. No monies are diverted to any outside activities.

(8) The road repaving is a response to an already high volume of traffic on a presently unsafe and dangerous public road.

BACKGROUND

Eureka Springs is in a depressed area and desperately needs a sustaining industry. As of 1967, per capita income for Carroll County

was \$1,548 and unemployment exceeded six percent. The entire Beaver Lakes area relies on tourism and the Elna M. Smith Foundation projects form one of the central tourist attractions for the area. The project employs 20 fulltime and 200 part-time employees in addition to stimulating a good deal of local commerce in the tourist trade.

The only other industry in Eureka Springs was a hardwood flooring factory employing 40 workers. The plant was partially destroyed by fire recently and the company has decided to relocate out of the region. This only served to heighten the need to promote tourism in the area.

The thoroughfare in question, designated county Route 1226, is an entirely public, 2.5 mile connecting roadway linking U.S. Highway 62 with Arkansas State Highway 23 (North).

In November of 1968, County Judge Arthur Carter, Administrator of Carroll County, filed an application with the Ozarks Regional Commission for assistance in repaving and upgrading 2.5 miles of Route 1226. The project had been approved by the Bureau of Public Roads for 50% federal assistance and the County sought Commission aid in helping to meet the balance of the costs.

The justification offered for this project was that the road is a heavily traveled tourist route for visitors desiring to see the statue "Christ of the Ozarks" and to attend the Passion Play. Tourism is the major, indeed the only, industry of Eureka Springs; one million persons visited the project area in 1968 alone, two million visitors are expected in 1970 with the number swelling to five million by 1975. The vast majority of these visitors will travel on Route 1226. At present, the road is only partly paved and very poorly constructed. Nighttime travel on the road is extremely dangerous.

The repaving project was proposed by the County Judge and was endorsed by the Governor of the State. Carroll County, despite its poor financial condition, considered the road project of such importance that it contributed \$45,000. The project was certified by the Governor of the State as contributing to the development of the region.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF GERALD L. K. SMITH

The application from the County and the certification and recommendation from the State of Arkansas in no way revealed that Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith was connected with the project nor that he was, in fact, the husband of Elna M. Smith. No mention of this fact was made during the meetings with the Federal Co-chairman for the Ozarks Regional Commission and the federal staff had no reason to inquire into the background of the Foundation since the public road to be improved did not enter the property of that Foundation. Furthermore, any investigation of the Foundation or its members would only have been in connection with construction details of the road project since we are advised that the First Amendment to the Constitution prohibits a federal agency from weighing the religious affiliation of any person in deciding whether to grant federal funds.

The Commission has received numerous requests to withdraw the funds for this project in view of the now known relationship of Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith to the Foundation. Concern has been expressed that proceeds from the Foundation will be used to promote other activities of Mr. Smith. Our investigation indicates that the Foundation in question uses all of its income for maintenance and operation of the projects and makes no contributions to the publications or activities of Mr. Smith. Donations solicited by the Foundation are used only for maintenance or improvement of the Eureka Springs projects and to help reduce outstanding deficits. There appears to be no

factual basis, therefore, to a contention that proceeds from the statue or play are in any way diverted to the personal activities of Gerald L. K. Smith.

In addition, Carroll County has executed a written assurance of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act which guarantees that "no person in the United States shall on the ground of race, color or national origin be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subject to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Recipient receives Federal financial assistance."

The overriding consideration, however, in declining to withdraw funds from this project on the grounds that Mr. Smith will enjoy some collateral benefit is the Commission's belief that such a withdrawal is contrary to the principles of the First Amendment. It was made clear that there was a pressing public need for the public improvements contemplated by this project. It is now equally clear that the only basis for revoking approval of this project would be the well-known beliefs of Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith. Thus, the Commission is being asked to halt the distribution of federal funds because of the religious intolerance of a citizen who could indirectly benefit from a public improvement project. Although the Commission strongly condemns the intolerant views publicly espoused by Mr. Smith, it does not feel that the objectionable nature of these beliefs can serve as a basis for rejecting a needed public project.

In view of the above considerations, the Commission has directed the release of funds for the completion of this project. The Commission would be happy to provide additional background information on this project should anyone so desire it.

JANUARY 19, 1970.

E. L. STEWART, JR.
Federal Co-chairman,
The Ozarks Regional Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STEWART: Thank you for your letter of January 6, with the enclosure.

Point 4 set forth in your report is reason enough to deny federal funds since, as you candidly state, "The need for repaving is occasioned by the fact that the road is heavily traveled by visitors desiring to see the statue and play operated by the Elna M. Smith Foundation." The play to which access is made easier is anti-Semitic. Surely there are enough highways in this country needing federal money for repaving so as not to permit the use of federal monies in this case.

I urge you to reconsider your decision.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

JANUARY 19, 1970.

HON. MAURICE H. STANS,
Secretary,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY STANS: I have received a letter dated January 6 from E. L. Stewart, Jr., Federal Co-chairman of the Ozarks Regional Commission.

I enclose a copy of my response to him and I urge you to exercise your authority to see to it that federal funds are not used to assist this highway project.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

MORE ON THE DECEMBER INDUCTIONS

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on Novem-

ber 20, 1969, 37 of my colleagues and I sent a letter to President Nixon requesting that the lottery just passed by both the House and Senate be applied to those draftees scheduled under the October quota but not yet inducted.

Since that letter, there has been additional correspondence with William E. Timmons of the White House which may be of interest to our colleagues. Unfortunately, the matter was not resolved so as to give the benefits of the lottery system to those who entered the service in late November and December, after the lottery was enacted. I do believe that the White House could and should have exercised greater understanding and compassion for these men.

The correspondence follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, December 22, 1969.

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KOCH: Thank you very much for your letter of December 16. The Administration has considered your request to cancel the induction notices for those men scheduled for the draft in October who have not yet actually entered the service. As you know, the Congress did not pass the lottery until November, and the common understanding was that the Administration would put it into effect as soon after passage as possible. With extraordinary effort the Administration will succeed in instituting the lottery on January 1. In anticipation of hoped-for Congressional passage of the legislation, as well as the somewhat reduced manpower needs of the Armed Forces resulting from Vietnam troop withdrawals, the President was able to cancel the draft calls scheduled for November and December.

As I explained in my earlier letter, the purpose of stretching out the period of induction of those scheduled to be drafted in October was merely to permit the adequate utilization of Armed Forces training facilities. Those scheduled for the draft in October were subject to the old system and were drafted under the old system and had no basis nor reasonable expectation of being subject to the new draft system, because Congress had not yet acted upon the implementing legislation. These men were scheduled for the draft under the old law and we do not believe have been dealt with unfairly. Indeed, we believe that it would be more unfair for those who have already entered the service under the October call to permit the cancellation of induction notices for the remaining people in the October call merely because of the happenstance that these remaining people have not yet entered active duty.

I hope the foregoing is responsive to the question raised by your letter.

With cordial regard,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS,
Deputy Assistant to the President.

THE WELL IS ABOUT TO GO DRY

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to discuss the forestry methods employed by the U.S. Forest Service, specifically the practice of clear cutting.

I agree with the concept of multiple use for our national forests, whereby the

rights and interests of the general public and the timber industry are served. But I do not consider the present policy to be one of multiple use. On the contrary, it appears that the present forest cutting methods are dominated by a single interest: the needs of the timber industry.

Certainly I recognize the increased needs of our Nation for housing materials but we cannot allow our national forests to become "tree farms" of dubious value to the general public and a possible threat to the environmental balance of our timberlands and adjacent areas.

I believe that we can only meet the future needs of our Nation for forestry products by providing for the best possible management of our forests, based upon the principle of sustained yield.

I have requested the Forest Service to reconsider carefully its policies and halt any forestry method which is not according to the original charge to the Forest Service—to preserve and protect our national forests for future generations.

The following editorial, which I fully endorse, analyzes the present danger in western Montana:

[From the Western News, Dec. 31, 1969]
SINGLE USE IS NOT MULTIPLE USE, THE WELL IS ABOUT TO GO DRY

The contemporary management of the peoples' forests by the US Forest Service in the Montana area, fails to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number of the American people by any standard of evaluation of the multiple use concept.

When the Forest Reserve and later the National Forests were established by Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt the action was taken as a desperate attempt by those in authority to preserve a natural resource which the plunderbund lumber industry of those days was ruthlessly razing in order to garner big and quick profits. Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Pinchot, and others of those early decades in conservation efforts, sought to establish a forest resource from the remnants salvaged by executive orders which would be preserved in perpetuity and be managed through selective cutting over the years in the interest of the American people.

They endeavored to establish ethics and common sense in management of the peoples' forests. For a long time it appeared the effort would be successful as the Forest Service functioned to guard the heritage. Meantime the privately owned forests were largely out off and disappeared. While this was in process the industry was content to permit the government to own and manage the national forests, thus escaping the responsibilities, including taxation, involved in private ownership of the resource. In recent years, however, as the supply of private timber disappeared, the lumber industry began to seek in ever increasing quantities the timber of the national forests. This demand has multiplied until now the industry is even hungrily looking for ways and means to secure timber of the national parks, the wilderness and primitive areas, which had been heretofore thought inviolate!

The selective cutting method of management would mean an annual cut of timber which would be commensurate with the annual growth. The cut and growth should go arm in arm, and falling in that, the cut exceeding the growth, sustained yield becomes a mockery. In order to achieve this purpose the Congress enacted a sustained yield statute which requires the Forest Service to assure a continuous supply of timber. Accel-

eration of the sustained yield cut, through artificial devices such as "allowable cut" is a neat bit of chicanery whereby the marrow of the statute is drained off.

The first principle in considering the National Forests should be recognition that the forests and forested areas are the property of the whole American citizenry, not of the Forest Service officialdom, not of the timber industry and its owners and workers, not of those who are privileged to use its range for their livestock, of the people who use it for recreation, for hunting and fishing, camping and similar pursuits, not of the prospector, or even the miner who benefits from the prospecting, or for any other similar special purpose; it is for one and all of those purposes, and when one is provided the use to the exclusion of all or any of the others, multiple use is extinguished—the law is violated—the future of the resource is endangered.

The forests are indeed a multiple use area. So long as all of these pursuits, or normally most of them, can be carried out, with as little friction as possible between them, and the areas are not damaged for all by any of them for the future success is achieved. Whenever one or some of these pursuits become the exclusive use of the forested areas, it constitutes an infringement upon the rights of the others, and multiple use as a concept of management perishes.

People of the Bitter Root, and elsewhere, are confronted with a situation whereby timber harvesting practices currently in use have become so aggravating that there has risen a storm of protest against the clear-cutting method of harvesting timber, with its deleterious ramifications. In this statement we will concern ourselves with the Bitter Root, although the condition festers in many other places.

May it be asked what possible multiple use can be made by the citizenry of their acreages which have been clear-cut until the terraced mountain sides resemble nothing more than the bleacher seats in a stadium? Multiple use?

The ravaged acreage does not permit normal use for grazing purposes for livestock under permit and it has leveled off feed possibilities for years to come and possibly forever for wildlife like elk and deer. Even the grouse have fled such ravaged areas. A multiplicity of logging roads have been dug in the fragile mountain sides among the areas which have been clear-cut of timber, shrubs, willow, grass. The acreage in such roads of themselves would rival the rest of the areas! The acreages are left difficult of ingress and egress by human beings as well as animals. They present a possibility of increased hazard of erosion; indeed there are already in many instances evidences of erosion resulting from this type of timber harvesting.

Multiple use of the peoples' property is non-existent in this betrayal of nature by those hired by the people to perpetuate it.

One of the prime arguments in favor of continuing this method of leveling the forests in their harvest is that unless we cut timber there will ensue economic chaos in the Bitter Root, people will be without jobs because lumbering operations will be shut down. This is faulty reasoning, because the wealth of timber that once was found in the Bitter Root is diminishing at a frightening rate. Many reliable observers tell us that there remains but a few more years of cutting ponderosa and but a few more thereafter of douglas fir in the Bitter Root. When these are gone greater attention will be directed toward lodge pole, alpine fir, and possibly lesser species which today represent lesser values, and not so long ago were written off as practically worthless.

The point is whether we desire to perpetuate our lumbering industry in this area over a long span of years reaching into decades, and hopefully forever, or whether we want to cut the timber completely now and wait until the new planted crop grows to

maturity? This latter represents a "cut out and get out" practice which was followed in other states, such as Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, which today have no large lumber industry. You can be sure that at the present rate of clear-cutting there will be no lumber industry in the Bitter Root a few short years hence. If such be the case, or even an approximation of the case, is it prudent to continue this heavy clear-cut, or would it be more wise to return to selective cutting whereby a much smaller harvest would be possible for many years to come? A few years back continuance of such a selective cutting method would have kept the industry going further.

With clear-cutting multiple use terminating for maybe centuries; with selective cutting the many multiple uses can be enjoyed as they are perpetuated. Take a look for yourself.

For clear-cutting look at the Willow Creek face, at the mountains back of Victor, at parts of St. Mary's, at Robbins Gulch, at the areas hidden behind the ridges in the Skalkaho drainage; at Blue Joint, at Trapper Creek, at a portion of the face of Ward Mountain, at the saddle between Warm Springs and Laird Creeks, and at any of the other clear-cuts of recent years; only a few of which have been mentioned. Those in authority should not take the word of somebody with an axe to grind; they should look at the shearing personally.

Some of these areas had previously been partially cut selectively. This left behind the material more recently subjected to clear-cutting. Now a second clear-cut will not be possible until the planted trees (if they grow well) reach a size making them practical for use as lumber. It takes a long time to grow trees like ponderosa and douglas fir in the Bitter Root. If you wait for them to become lumber-type trees nobody who reads this will be around. Nobody!

Of course some trees can be produced in a shorter time which could be turned into chips for the paper mill at Missoula, or elsewhere.

This is not multiple use.

Any old timer in the Bitter Root knows that the "high water" is coming earlier each year. The run-off comes earlier and lasts not nearly so long. There is evidence that erosion is playing havoc in many places. With the mountains denuded this is likely to become accentuated. Farmers and stockmen all point to tell-tale silt in their high ditches. Most all insist the forage in the public domain is becoming less and inferior. They find some large burned over areas like that affected by the Sleeping Child-Rye fire producing more grass than before but the clear-cut areas are making access by cattle next to impossible, reducing grazing because of acreage taken up by the logging roads and operations, etc. This demolishes the theory of multiple use so far as the livestock industry is concerned.

Nobody enjoying the beauty of nature is happy with camping or picnicking in a clear-cut area. The consequences of the clear-cutting interferes not alone with the aesthetic sensibilities, it interferes with practical camping out, with hunting, with fishing. It destroys the brouse of the wildlife for some years, though this early liability may be overcome as bushes develop which may hold back production of trees.

If erosion causes half the harm that many anticipate our clear-water streams are bound to suffer, just as sources of irrigation for farms are bound to suffer.

Multiple use for persons seeking enjoyment in camping, hunting, fishing, or hiking, diminishes due to clear-cutting, while selective cutting causes little or no obstacles, produces better brouse for wildlife, permits camping and hunting and fails to destroy natural beauty.

Some foresters and apologists for clear-cutting tells us it is a necessity in order to control diseases in our forests. Mistletoe is

blamed, it being proclaimed the clear-cuts are necessary to stop the death of trees caused by mistletoe. Mistletoe retards tree growth about 20 per cent and infests the forest by spreading tree to tree. This presents a pretext for clear-cutting all of the forest; if thy right eye offends thee, pluck out both eyes!

It can be assumed our forests have been affected by mistletoe for centuries, perhaps since the birth of forests. But only recently have we been obliged to cut down all of the forest in a given area because it has trees infected by mistletoe which retard their growth 20 per cent per year. Can it be that man's management of the forest have resulted in the mistletoe (and other disease threats) getting out of control? It is also noteworthy that in the Bitter Root the ponderosa is not affected by mistletoe. That's something to think about when the mistletoe is used as the reason for clear-cutting ponderosa and douglas fir from an area where some of the douglas fir are affected by the parasite!

If forests are selectively cut, like many were until the past decade, they left approximately 50 per cent of the volume of large healthy trees as a fast growing "head start" to become lumber trees for industry in the next rotation cut. Look at Lick Creek experimental forest as one of the examples still available—most of the others have been sheared by clear-cutting. Those trees with a "head start" would be able to be selectively cut much sooner than planted trees, the survival rate of which is debatable. And while the "head start" trees remained, growing toward maturity, they provided natural seeding for the future forest, making unnecessary artificial planting upon terraces dug out of the mountain sides, or elsewhere.

Under the selective cut system the woodsmen were extremely careful to protect reproduction and older age trees to assure industry a continuous supply of timber to be cut under a 30-year rotation system. The burning, terracing, slashing, piling brush, logs and other debris by bulldozer indicates that present day foresters, working under the clear-cut system, are neglectful of both the care of the soil or reproduction, or both.

It is submitted that the lumber industry will continue longer and jobs in the mills will last more years if the forest is cut selectively. The question is which is best, boom and bust, or smaller but certain persistency of the industry.

If it is clear-cut the forest will be gone until the new crop is planted and grown. The saws in the mills will become rusty from non-use; jobs will end.

Nobody knows for certain how artificial planting is going to work. In some "plantations" there appears to be a fair survival of planted trees, in others failure appears likely. Of course, the latter instances might be remedied by second, third or many plantings until sufficient trees "stuck."

If the clear-cut method is used and the planted forest grows to maturity 100 to 300 years hence, or is cut at an earlier stage for pulp chips, or other uses, would it mean then that it would be sheared off the land again and still another planting and waiting for another 100 to 300 years ensue? The guy with a job on the green chain would certainly have time to "take a five." The mill-owner may be able to find another "Bitter Root district" somewhere else, move his mill there, and "harvest" the timber there, but the country is getting smaller and the forests shrinking everywhere and competition for the remaining trees is bound to become fiercer.

The more contemporary forest practices of this area are studied the more patent it becomes that cutting has become a single purpose in management of the resource and that the theory of multiple use, once enacted into law by the Congress, has been abandoned in

all places where even the sorriest type of timber can be secured for the mills.

That which remains is a wasteland of roads, bulldozer tracks, bull thistles, burned or partially burned rejected trees, which constitute a mockery of multiple use.

Meantime the Congress is toying with proposed legislation to accelerate the timber cut in these United States! Accelerate forsooth! Such legislation would simply legalize the rape to which the national forests have been subjected already in answer to the hungry demand of the sawdust moguls. The latter have "a bull by the tail" in that they must continue to have timber to maintain their tremendous operations. These have been multiplied over the years as the stock of timber diminished. They are soon to face the end of "their access road" when the supply of timber is exhausted. Forest Service personnel has not proved equal to restraining the thirst for more and more timber, though forestry personnel cannot be oblivious to the diminishing supply. This is sad because until the past decade the Forest Service constituted the lone bulwark against rapacity in handling the national timber resource; without the Forest Service previous tendency to keep that resource enduring it would have long since been given over to the industry.

America, and the world, face a new, "Four Horsemen" and the time is running out as war, pollution of the soil, of the streams, lakes and even oceans, the accumulation of mountains of refuse of different types, destruction of birds and wild animals, sickening of domestic stock, and kindred abuses due to overpopulation, lack of care in husbanding our resources, bring us face to face with catastrophic wreckage of our environment. The question is being posed whether mankind can exist in the midst of the ruin wrought by insatiable greed.

Our forests are among the natural resources for which we provide utterly inadequate protection. The time, perhaps, is past when our country can remedy these situations, but it is imperative that citizens aware of the impending catastrophe speak up and challenge glaringly apparent outrages. It is the obligation that the responsibility of good citizenship imposes.

THE FIGHT WILL GO ON

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the torch which Joseph A. Yablonski so proudly carried has passed. Thousands of coal miners are determined that the battles he so valiantly fought shall not cease with his death. The torch has passed, but thousands and tens of thousands of coal miners will step into the breach to bear aloft and keep that torch burning brightly.

Jock Yablonski left us a great deal of unfinished business. At a coal miners' meeting in Washington, Pa., immediately following funeral services for Mr. Yablonski, his wife, and his daughter, it was resolved that the fight to clean up the union will go on. Regardless of how many threats and attempts at intimidation are launched, the coal miners will not rest until the reforms espoused by Mr. Yablonski are realized.

LETTER TO JOHN J. KMETZ

On November 24, 1969, Mr. Yablonski wrote a letter to John J. Kmetz, traveling auditor of the United Mine Workers of America, calling attention to certain fiscal irregularities revealed in the reports

filed by the UMWA with the Department of Labor. The rather strange and sizable "loans," and failure to make adequate explanation for them, is just one of the many financial puzzles which Mr. Yablonski attempted to unravel. Mr. Yablonski received no response to his letter of November 24, 1969, but the facts which he brought out in this letter are very significant and deserve both a response and analysis:

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA,
Clarksville, Pa., November 24, 1969.

Mr. JOHN J. KMETZ,
Traveling Auditor,
United Mine Workers of America,
Nanticoke, Pa.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: During the present campaign for the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America, I have been frequently questioned about the financial dealings of the local unions which are located in the district offices of our organization. Again and again, the local in Beckley, West Virginia, Local Union 7086, has been brought up. I have made a cursory examination of the limited financial records available and am deeply troubled by what I have discovered. I call these matters to your attention and urge that an investigation be undertaken pursuant to your duties in Article IX, Section 10, of the International Constitution.

Local Union 7086 lists its mailing address at Box 511, Beckley, West Virginia, and is located at Chilson Avenue at Raleigh Road in Beckley. These are identical addresses of the District 29 Office. According to the credentials granted it at the 1968 Convention, Local 7086 is the largest local in the United Mine Workers of America, with 24 delegate votes. Its dues receipts, however, indicate that there are 2,850 members in the local union, 2,400 of whom are pensioners. The remaining 450 working members are from more than 40 small mines scattered throughout the District. Despite the large number of working and pensioned miners in this local, all of its delegates at the 1968 Convention were International or District officials: George Titler, International Vice President; J. Carl Bunch, District 29 Secretary-Treasurer; Larkin Philpot, District 29 President; and James Leeber, Charles Neal and Leighton Farley, all District 29 employees. Two of these District employees, Leighton Farley and James Leeber, are officers of Local 7086, the Treasurer and Financial Secretary, respectively, and thus are charged with handling the local's money and financial affairs.

As you know, since 1959, locals have been required to file annual reports with the Federal Government. The first report ever filed by Local 7086, filed while George Titler was the President of District 29, showed an outstanding "loan" from District 29 in the amount of \$83,621.51. In my many years in this organization, I have never seen a "loan" of such size. Over the years, the local has made "payments on the loan" of \$17,000, \$9,000, \$8,500, \$5,700, \$3,000, and \$3,000 as well as an outright transfer of \$20,000 to District. But the District's reports have never acknowledged the existence of the loan or the receipt of \$71,200 listed above. I would like to know what has happened to this money.

Additionally, there would appear to be something unusual in the local's administrative and office expenses over the past six years. The local is housed in the District Office; therefore, the sharp rise in these costs is all the more perplexing:

1963	-----	\$1,354
1964	-----	8,025
1965	-----	8,004
1966	-----	6,761
1967	-----	8,314
1968	-----	31,540

Since none of these figures are itemized, particularly the one from 1968, and because that figure exceeds the administrative costs of almost every district (the administrative and office expense for all of District 29 in 1968 was \$28,008), I suggest that you scrutinize these expenditures closely.

When you are conducting your audit, I would also suggest that you make inquiry into the \$6,000 pension paid to Arthur Stamper, who, I believe, is the father of District Representative, Earl Stamper, during the period 1960 to 1968 and the inordinately high expenditures (for a local union) for professional fees and other matters.

I also suggest that you audit the books of Local Union 5997 in Welch, where District officials also exercise total control over the local's financial policies. District Representatives, Earl Stamper, John Grygiel, John Hollins, and Charles Phillips are respectively the President, Financial Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer of the Welch local. This local has apparently never held an election. The present officers were appointed by George Titler more than 10 years ago. This local, like the one in Beckley, began filing reports with the Federal Government in 1959. Its first report lists an outstanding loan from District 29 in the amount of \$45,882. But neither the loan nor the \$21,737.44 (made from 1959 to 1963) in payments were acknowledged in the District's Federal reports. Just as mysteriously as the loan appeared, it disappeared with an apparent balance of \$23,044.56 still remaining to be paid. I also note the highly irregular local expenditures for "organizing expense." Since 1959 (up to the end of 1967), Local Union 5997 listed \$32,222.12 as organizing expenses. As a member of the International's Organizing Committee, where I served with your father, I am unaware of any significant organizing activity in the Welch area, and, to my knowledge, no local union has ever borne the expense of such efforts.

I am waiting the results of your inquiries.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH YABLONSKI,
International Board Member.

INDEX TO PRIOR ARTICLES

Mr. Speaker, for purposes of continuity, I include herewith an index of those 1969 articles relating to the United Mine Workers of America which I have previously placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The death of Mr. Yablonski does not wipe these charges off the books, and the evils which were brought out by Mr. Yablonski during his campaign must be corrected.

INDEX OF MATERIAL RELATING TO UNITED MINE WORKERS INSERTED BY REP. KEN HECHLER, DEMOCRAT OF WEST VIRGINIA, INTO CONGRESSIONAL RECORD DURING 1969

March 6, H1505; False statements in United Mine Workers Journal pointed out.

March 31, H2383; Mine Safety article in March 28 New York Times Magazine.

April 14, H2545; Charleston Gazette series (April 7-12) on UMWA Welfare & Retirement Fund.

April 28, H3133; Hechler statement and Ralph Nader letter on UMWA Welfare & Retirement Fund, calling for Congressional investigation.

April 30, H3243; Report of UMWA Welfare & Retirement Fund with list of employees and salaries.

April 30, H3251; Judge Holtzoff's Decision on UMWA Welfare & Retirement Fund.

May 5, H3373; Special Retirement Fund for Top UMWA Officials; H3374; UMWA Replies to Criticism of Retirement Fund.

May 12, H3521; Louisville Courier-Journal Article on UMWA Retirement Fund.

May 15, H3717; Boyle and Owens families collected \$258,576 in salaries and expenses in 1968 from UMW.

June 4, H4476; Yablonski announces candidacy for UMW presidency; E4613; Nader letter to John L. Lewis.

June 9, H4579; Yablonski platform.

July 2, H5551; Hechler speech on physical attack on Yablonski.

July 15, H5952; Hechler letter to Boyle on safety legislation; Titler letter to Hechler and Hechler response.

July 15, H5954; Rauh letter (dated July 9) to Labor Secretary Shultz.

July 21, H6117; Rauh letter (dated July 18) to Shultz.

July 29, H6508; Article from Aug. 2 New Republic and Rauh letter (dated July 25) to Shultz.

Sept. 3, H7483; Article from Sept. 1 New York Times on Boyle family; H7484; Statement by Yablonski on Boyle Labor Day speech.

Sept. 17, H8096; New York Times article (Sept. 16) on Judge finds UMW Journal Biased; Transcript of Judge's ruling on UMW Journal case.

Nov. 25, H11392; Deposition of Boyle in connection with civil action filed by Yablonski.

Dec. 1, H11529; Audit Report of Labor Department on United Mine Workers.

Dec. 3, H11682; Hechler telegram to Shultz and Rauh letter to Shultz urging Labor Department action to insure honesty in UMWA December 9 election.

Dec. 4, H11806; Text of brief filed by Yablonski and others in U.S. District Court against UMWA and international officers.

Dec. 23, H12976; Challenge of UMWA election.

JANUARY 13 LETTER, RAUH TO SHULTZ

Mr. Speaker, I also insert into the RECORD the text of the January 13, 1970, letter from Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., on behalf of the two sons of Joseph A. Yablonski, to Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz:

RAUH AND SILARD,

Washington, D.C., January 13, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing on behalf of the two sons of Joseph A. Yablonski and the other surviving members of his family and on behalf of his supporters within the Mine Workers Union. I wanted to present their message to you orally, but you refused that request. I, therefore, have no choice but to deliver their message to you through this public letter.

The Yablonski family and the Yablonski supporters believe—and I share their belief—that the failure of the Labor Department to investigate the illegalities in the UMWA election contributed to the death of Jock Yablonski. Your repeated failure to intervene could not but have encouraged the most lawless elements to believe that the Yablonski group was defenseless. Three times, almost literally on bended knees, we begged for an investigation by your Department. Indeed, on the first occasion back in July, I warned you that the failure of the Department of Labor to enter the case would mean violence and more violence. But on that occasion, as well as on the two subsequent occasions, our pleas for Labor Department intervention fell on deaf ears. Each time you affirmed that you had the power to act and each time you stated that you would not exercise that power. Now three people have been brutally murdered and scores live on in fear.

Unfortunately, the indifference of the Labor Department to the scandalous conditions inside the UMWA continues. When I sought to speak with you in person or by telephone Sunday and Monday, I was told to "go through normal channels". I did go through normal channels and yesterday afternoon I gave your assistants all the time

and information they sought. But you will forgive me if I suggest that the time has come to stop "going through normal channels" and to get down to the hard reality of whether the UMWA is to continue to be above the law as it has been for so long.

I have a message for you from the Yablonski family and the Yablonski supporters. The latter met after the funeral and decided to go forward with Jock Yablonski's efforts to clean up the Union. Both the family and the supporters say this to you: Drop this lofty, above-the-battle approach to the UMWA and for once do a real long-overdue investigation of the Union.

Boyle and his crowd spent millions of UMWA dollars to reelect him. We ask that you examine every voucher and every expenditure of the UMWA during 1969. We ask that you interrogate all UMWA personnel (in the field and in the head office) and all the additional personnel added to the payroll during 1969; Boyle refused Jock Yablonski's request that he instruct UMWA employees to remain neutral and, on the contrary, made full-time campaigners out of every one of them. We ask that you look at the 5 editions of the UMW Journal which the U.S. District Court here and the Court of Appeals have ruled were utilized as campaign instruments for Boyle. We ask that you investigate the embezzlement of funds, the details of which we laid before you last summer and fall. We ask, especially, that you look into the way the appointed district officials used their power to force the election of Boyle, and we ask this particularly in view of the fact that a Labor Department law suit to provide for elected rather than appointed district officials has been waiting trial for an unprecedented 61 months.

We ask that you investigate the general corruption in this Union because it goes hand-in-hand with the election corruption. When a union gives over \$190,000 to the daughter of its president for doing nothing, it can hardly be expected that it will be careful with the funds that may be used to reelect that president. When the officers of a union set up a pension trust only for themselves and take out of the union treasury a million and a half dollars to do this, they can hardly be expected to be careful with the funds for their reelection. When union officers appropriate millions from the retired miners by siphoning their pension funds into the union treasury through the device of non-interest bearing deposits in the union-owned National Bank of Washington, they can hardly be expected to appropriate less for their own reelection.

Miners who dared to stand up—to advocate union reform, criticize union officers, organize into an oppositton group—and who refuse to be bought off were threatened with violence. We told you of the threats to the Yablonskis, the Pelligrinis and others who fought to oust the incumbents; we told you of the Boyle storm troopers breaking up a meeting in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania; we told you of the actual attack on Yablonski in June. An election under such conditions is a travesty.

We ask you to look at the widespread illegal voting of pensioners; almost 60,000 such pensioners are members of illegal locals that do not have the 10 working members required by the UMWA constitution. Even using Boyle's crooked figures, Mr. Yablonski received as many or more votes from the working miners as Boyle did. The wholesale voting of pensioners through illegal locals was a stand-out scandal even in this scandal-ridden election.

The election day offenses would likewise revolt any fair-minded man. The basis for these offenses was laid before election day when General Counsel Carey called the man printing the ballots and directed him to "get the job out as quickly as possible" as soon as he heard that Yablonski was going to ask the District Court to safeguard those

ballots. As District Court Judge George Hart put it, the ballots were handled "willy-nilly" and the officers of the UMWA "pay attention to the Constitution when they want to and when they don't they don't." From the moment that General Counsel Carey ordered the printer to speed up the printing of the ballots, there was one illegality after another, 86 election day violations are contained in the affidavit of Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski which has already been submitted to you. An additional group of election day offenses, bringing the number to over 100, is attached hereto and will be verified by Mr. Yablonski on his return here from Washington, Pennsylvania, where he is tending to the affairs of his family.

There can be no question but that a real investigation by the Labor Department can only result in new nominations and a new election. The election must be set aside because of the massive unlawful expenditures and violations up to election day, including the already judicially-adjudicated violations; because of the massive violations on election day; and because of the massive violations of the UMWA's Constitution in counting the votes from unconstitutional bogey locals of pensioners. The election must be set aside for each of these three reasons separately. Taken together, only a blind man could find that these massive illegal activities may not have affected the outcome of the election.

But even a new election is not the whole thing. What is at stake is bigger than a new election and bigger than the Labor Department. Five other agencies of the Federal Government are either actually engaged in investigations or affected by the conduct of the union officials. The Justice Department's Criminal Division is already engaged; a federal grand jury has been convened to investigate criminal acts by UMWA officials. The FBI is already engaged in seeking to apprehend the criminals who perpetrated a triple murder and now threaten others. The Internal Revenue Service is also involved; one obvious example is the case of Secretary-Treasurer Owens whose high-priced suite at the Carlton is paid for by the Union while he wilfully fails to pay any tax on this obvious income. The Comptroller General is also involved for the National Bank of Washington is a conduit for the illegal siphoning of pension funds into the Union. The U.S. Attorney in the District of Columbia has been requested by Judge Hart to investigate a possible violation of the federal obstruction of justice statute by Boyle.

All of these matters are interrelated. What is required is a joint operation by the full forces of the Federal Government. On behalf of the Yablonski family and the Yablonski supporters, I ask that a federal task force be created representing all of these governmental elements with a mandate to demonstrate that no organization can forever stand above the United States Government.

Some years back, people thought that the Teamsters Union was above the law. Two men were determined to see that that not continue—President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. The kind of dedication they brought to the clean-up of the Teamsters is required now. The working and retired miners have never been in greater need of help from their Government. They and all Americans who believe in clean, democratic unionism are waiting and watching.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

FURTHER ARTICLES CONCERNING JOSEPH A. YABLONSKI AND THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Mr. Speaker, there follow additional articles concerning Mr. Yablonski and the United Mine Workers of America:

CXVI—16—Part 1

[From the New York Times, Nov. 5, 1969]
COURT HEARS MINE ELECTION PLEA; UNION
AIDE TELLS OF EXTRA BALLOTS

(By Ben A. Franklin)

WASHINGTON.—A top officer of the United Mine Workers testified here today that he had ordered more than 50,000 extra ballots to be printed for use in the union's Dec. 9 election, which insurgent candidates have said they may lose by fraud.

John Owens, the 76-year-old international secretary-treasurer of the union, gave this testimony before Judge George L. Hart Jr. in Federal District Court.

Judge Hart is hearing a request by Joseph A. Yablonski, the insurgent candidate for president against W. A. Boyle, for an injunction that would require the union to follow certain "fair election" practices. The union leadership rejected last month Mr. Yablonski's request to lay down mutually agreeable election rules out of court.

ENOUGH PLUS TEN PERCENT

Under questioning today by Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Mr. Yablonski's lawyer, Mr. Owens said he had ordered the U.M.W. headquarters staff here to mail to each of the union's 1,350 locals enough ballots for each local union member, plus 10 per cent. He did not explain the excess number.

He also said that he had ordered the printer to run off 51,000 extra ballots to be retained at headquarters "because sometimes the ballots don't reach the locals" in time for the election.

Asked by Mr. Rauh if any of the ballots mailed out to locals in the last union election, in 1964, had failed to reach their destination, Mr. Owens replied, "I don't recall that we ever had any complaints."

Judge Hart said to Mr. Rauh at one point: "The Secretary of Labor can act ex post facto. If you want to say that's a funny way to do things I couldn't agree with you more."

Later the judge added, "If you are talking about a fair election, you're talking about something this court is powerless to do."

At another point Judge Hart said that U.M.W. officials had demonstrated by their testimony that "they pay attention to the [union] constitution when they want to and don't when they don't."

TABULATION OF RETURNS

That comment followed Mr. Owens's testimony that the union had failed to send to the membership after the 1964 election a detailed tabulation of the returns required by the union constitution.

After Mr. Owens said that the tabulation had not been distributed because "all the candidates agreed it wasn't necessary," the judge said, "The candidates can't waive the constitutional rights of the members. That's ridiculous."

Mr. Owens acknowledged today that perhaps as many as 600 voting U.M.W. locals were composed of retired men and did not have members "working in the mines." He said that 47 of the locals had fewer than 10 members active or retired.

The U.M.W. constitution says that accredited locals "shall be composed of 10 or more workers, skilled and unskilled, working in and around coal mines" or in coal-related industries.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 29, 1969]

U.S. STUDY SCORES MINE UNION HEAD ON
FUND HANDLING—AUDIT IS TURNED OVER TO
TAX AND JUSTICE AGENCIES FOR POSSIBLE
PROSECUTION—IMPROPRIETIES ALLEGED—
LABOR UNIT REPORT FOLLOWS CHARGES OF
CORRUPTION BY FOES IN DECEMBER 9 ELEC-
TION

(By Ben A. Franklin)

WASHINGTON.—The Labor Department announced today that a detailed Government audit of the financial affairs of the United Mine Workers of America had been referred

to the Justice Department and the Internal Revenue Service "for possible criminal prosecution."

The disclosure came only 11 days before the most bitterly contested election campaign for the U.M.W. presidency in the union's 79-year history.

A brief summary of the auditors' findings said that top officials of the union, including the president, had authorized expenditures in violation of the union constitution, had "not adequately disclosed" some transactions to the Labor Department as required by law, and had been so lax in handling union officers' expense payments that one unnamed official had charged the U.M.W. "for many years" for his vacations.

YABLONSKY VERSUS BOYLE

In the election campaign, union insurgents are seeking to unseat the president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle, and thus end a chain of executive succession that began in 1920 with the late John L. Lewis.

The Labor Department's announcement came amid a campaign of anti-Boyle charges of "nepotism, cronyism and corruption" leveled by Joseph A. Yablonski, the insurgent union labor leader. Mr. Yablonski is Mr. Boyle's opponent in the Dec. 9 election.

The Labor Department was reported to have debated the impact of its report and to have decided to release it now "because it was ready." The released information was in a five-page memorandum. The department did not release its detailed documentation of the case.

RETIREMENT FUND CITED

The department said that Mr. Boyle had made many financial decisions in violation of the union constitution "without prior approval or subsequent ratification by the international executive board." It said there had been "improper reporting" of loan accounts totaling \$1.4-million.

Further, the department said, the audit had found a \$1.5-million fund to finance the retirement at full salary of Mr. Boyle and the two other top officers, George J. Titler, vice president, and John Owens, secretary-treasurer. The existence of this fund was "never adequately disclosed in the annual financial report submitted to the Department of Labor" by the union leadership, the report said.

The reported existence of this fund, financed by members' monthly dues, was denied earlier by U.M.W. spokesmen. The union pension paid to retired miners is \$1,800 a year. Mr. Boyle's pension is to be \$50,000, the same as his salary.

Government auditors, the report said, discovered that union officials had routinely paid the unverified expense vouchers of union executives, including a \$11,500-a-year hotel bill submitted by Mr. Owens, the secretary-treasurer, and "not shown as an expense payment."

"Some officials have claimed reimbursement for hotel expenses during periods when they were at their places of residence," the memo said, continuing:

"Some have claimed expenses for hotels and travel practically every day of the year, and some have claimed identical amounts for hotel expenses and automobile travel for every day spent in travel.

"An official, by his own admission, has spent varying periods of time on vacation and claimed expenses of \$20 a day for his entire vacation. Although the records were checked for only 1967 and 1968, the official said that this practice has been followed for many years."

TWO RELATIVES ADDED

The memorandum also added two names to the list of seven relatives of Mr. Boyle, Mr. Owens and Mr. Combs who have been known to be drawing compensation of up to \$54,866 a year from the union treasury. The two additional persons were identified

as being relatives by marriage of Harrison B. Combs Sr., a staff lawyer in the union's legal department.

In 1967 alone, the memo said, the combined salaries and expenses of Mr. Boyle, Mr. Owens, Mr. Combs and their nine brothers, sons, daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law was \$399,331.

Mr. Boyle, 64 years old, and a group of other union officials were on their way to Kentucky today for a weekend of campaign appearances there and could not be reached for comment on the report.

Mr. Yablonski, 59, reached at his Clarksville, Pa., home, said that while the release of the Labor Department memorandum "substantiates what I have been saying for a long time about Tony Boyle," the department appeared to have "only skimmed the surface."

He called for a further Government investigation of U.M.W. "loans" that he said had totaled \$5.5-million to two mine workers' district organizations in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee during Mr. Boyle's term.

The Labor Department audit, begun last March, covered the union's records only for 1967 and 1968. Mr. Boyle moved from vice president to president in 1963. Upon the death of the president, Thomas Kennedy, Mr. Boyle was elected to a five-year term in 1964.

Both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Boyle were picked for their roles by Mr. Lewis in 1960, upon his own retirement from 40 years in the presidency.

Mr. Lewis, who died last June 11 at the age of 89, has also come under attack recently by Mr. Yablonski as a "dictator."

Mr. Yablonski has been waging an aggressive campaign attack on alleged irregularities in the 200,000-man union and has repeatedly asserted that "we're going to send Tony Boyle to jail."

Mr. Boyle has denied any wrongdoing, has stressed union "unity" and has branded his opponent a "traitor." Mr. Boyle has contended that since Mr. Yablonski has been a member of the U.M.W. executive board since 1942 he is implicitly a party to the union practices he has been attacking, including nepotism and "staggering financial mismanagement."

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 3, 1969]

CONTROL OF THE MINE WORKERS

The Department of Labor has a statutory duty to ensure the integrity of union elections, a power it exercises by investigating complaints of irregularities and occasionally by setting elections aside and conducting new ones. But, as a policy matter, the government has avoided such intervention in advance of an election. However, it is being pressed to intervene in the United Mine Workers election set for Dec. 9. Given the charges of intimidation and fraud that have been made, given the allegation of challenger Joseph A. Yablonski that incumbent president W. A. (Tony) Boyle and his associates are using every resource available to them to continue in office and given the fact that a federal grand jury is investigating possible illegal use of UMW funds in Mr. Boyle's behalf, a strong governmental presence to guarantee an honest ballot would appear desirable.

Publication last weekend of a summary of a Labor Department inquiry into the financial affairs of the UMW under Mr. Boyle underscores the need to have the Labor Department devise ways to monitor this crucial union election. Mr. Boyle dismisses the audit as a "smear job," but the charges are serious and go to the heart of his opponent's allegations about the way the union's business is being conducted. The report suggests that salaries of officials are improperly fixed and raised, that expense accounts are padded, and that a \$1.5 million pension fund for

union officials has not been "adequately disclosed" in reports required by law. High officials have sons, daughters and other relatives on the payroll. In answer, union officials suggest that some mistakes may have been made in the handling of expense accounts, but otherwise assert that the Labor Department has uncovered nothing that could not have been discovered by an inspection of the public record. Mr. Boyle was upset about the release of the report 11 days ahead of the election. Labor Department officials say they released it as soon as it was finished. To have done otherwise, would have been unconscionably to withhold information that the public, and particularly the mine workers, have a right to know. In fact, the entire report should be released to permit the details to be debated while the electoral campaign is going on.

Mr. Yablonski wants the government to watch the election to insure its honesty and to avoid the violence he fears might occur in the mines should the result be left in doubt with ultimate control of the union left to be fought out in the courts. Associates of Mr. Boyle argue, but not very persuasively, that there is no need for governmental inspection since the elections are handled by the union's nearly 1,300 locals in accordance with procedures set out by the union constitution. We sympathize with the Labor Department's desire to avoid intervention in the conduct of most union elections but feel that an exception is indicated in this case.

It would not be necessary to place a government official in every local. Experience with Justice Department efforts to enforce the Voting Rights Act suggest that much can be done with teams of strategically placed lawyers and marshals who can give particular attention to known trouble spots and be available to move quickly into other areas. Numerous alumni of these official efforts to guard the general ballot against racial discrimination and intimidation could be called upon for possible service in the mines on Dec. 9.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 6, 1970]

DEATH OF A MINER

Violence is part of the tradition of mine unionism, and it was no secret to Joseph Yablonski, a man as rugged as the coal, that death might be the price of his challenge to the leadership of the United Mine Workers.

There is, of course, no evidence to support the assertion of Pennsylvania state police that his murder and that of his wife and daughter represented "an act of vengeance." Much less can anyone know whether Yablonski's distraught sons are right in charging that the deaths were the work of "professional assassins." The union has condemned the killings; perhaps it will post a large reward to help bring the murderers to justice. But the public will be glad that Attorney General Mitchell has assigned the F.B.I. to that probe.

Even the shadow of terror must be removed from union affairs, and that cannot be done until every fact in this monstrous tragedy has been brought to light. Jock Yablonski, defeated in last month's vote, already has a monument in the new Federal Mine Health and Safety Act. The strikes that began in many mines yesterday indicate that he may now have another as a martyr in the cause of union democracy.

YABLONSKI OF U.M.W. SLAIN WITH WIFE AND DAUGHTER

CLARKSVILLE, Pa.—Joseph A. Yablonski, whose unsuccessful challenge last year for the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America touched off the bitterest election campaign in the union's 79-year history, was found shot to death today, with his wife and daughter, in their secluded home here.

The state police said that all three had been murdered.

The police said that the body of the chunky, 59-year-old gravel-voiced union leader had been found sprawled on the floor of a bedroom.

On the bed, also in nightclothes, lay the body of his wife, the former Margaret Rita Wasicek, 57, a playwright. In another bedroom of the family's two-story fieldstone home, hidden by hedges from a country road, was found the body of their daughter, Charlotte, 25.

The young woman, a social worker, had left her post in a clinic in Centerville last year to work in her father's campaign.

Capt. Joseph Snyder of the state police told newsmen: "The decomposition of the bodies indicates they have been dead for several days."

Mr. Yablonski had been shot once in the back of the head. His wife and daughter had also been shot.

The bodies, on the upper floor of the recently refurbished home where signs of Christmas—a wreath on the door and cards in the windows—were still visible, were discovered by a son, Kenneth Yablonski, a lawyer who had been unable to reach the family by telephone.

Captain Snyder said telephone lines in the home had been cut.

The tiny community where the triple slaying took place is situated in soft-coal country near the Monongahela River, about 55 miles from Pittsburgh in the southwestern part of Pennsylvania.

The population of less than 1,200 is mainly composed of miners, many of whom are employed in the Robena mine, owned by the United States Steel Corporation.

ANOTHER SON IS BITTER

In Washington, another Yablonski son, Joseph Jr., known as Chip, expressed bitterness about the slaying, telling a reporter: "You guys just didn't believe how rotten this union was." Mr. Yablonski, a lawyer, was asked if he thought the union had anything to do with the death of his parents and sister.

"I'm convinced of it without even knowing," he said.

At United Mine Workers' headquarters in Washington, a statement on the deaths was issued through a spokesman by W. A. (Tony) Boyle, who defeated Mr. Yablonski in the balloting Dec. 9.

The spokesman said that Mr. Boyle was shocked at the news. The spokesman expressed assurance that the slaying had no connection with the union or last month's election.

Mr. Boyle's statement said, in part: "I do not know at this time what caused the deaths of Brother Yablonski, his wife and his daughter, but whatever the cause, the violent deaths of three members of the Yablonski family can only be called a tragedy."

OFFERS COOPERATION

He added, "As president of the United Mine Workers, I offer the fullest cooperation to the authorities of all facilities of our organization to try to resolve the cause of these deaths."

Mr. Yablonski's announcement last May 29 of his candidacy took union leaders by surprise. Standing in the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, the bushy-browed Mr. Yablonski, whose nickname was Jock, charged Mr. Boyle, the incumbent president, with "shocking ineptitude and passivity" in not pressing more vigorously for mine safety reforms and accused him of adopting an "abject, follow-the-leader posture toward the coal industry."

In the room at the time were Ralph Nader, the automobile safety and consumer advocate, who had recently criticized the leadership of the United Mine Workers for what he termed its lack of militancy on miner health and safety reforms.

Mr. Yablonski also charged that Mr. Boyle was running a "dictatorial" and "decaying" administration that was "riddled with fear."

AID IN WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Yablonski's campaign, in the days that followed, also drew the support of John D. Rockefeller 4th, the Democratic Secretary of State of West Virginia, and Representative Ken Hechler a Democrat from West Virginia who is a bitter critic of Mr. Boyle's leadership.

Today after learning of Mr. Yablonski's death Mr. Rockefeller said: "I was very strongly moved by his intensity and commitment to making the life of the coal miner better. And if the life of the coal miner does get better—and I think it will—Jock Yablonski will deserve a lot of the credit."

Mr. Hechler termed the slayings a "tragedy" and said:

"His candidacy helped spur a number of policy changes at the United Mine Workers headquarters and forced the top leadership to get behind the stronger coal mine health and safety legislation and other reforms at least prior to the Dec. 9 election.

"Coal miners throughout the nation owe Joseph Yablonski a lasting debt for his courage in speaking out for the rights of the rank and file coal miners to be represented by a clean and strong union."

The challenge posed to Mr. Boyle by Joseph Albert Yablonski was the first real one raised within the union since 1926, when John Brophy unsuccessfully opposed John L. Lewis, the union's fiery, long-time president who died last June 11 at the age of 89.

Mr. Boyle, who had held the presidency since 1963, was the head of a union with 110,000 active members and about 40,000 retired but voting members in more than 1,300 locals in 23 states and four Canadian provinces.

He had been groomed for the job by Mr. Lewis. However, although successful in negotiating larger wage increases in recent years, he found that his constituency was ahead of its leadership in demanding more bargaining emphasis on working conditions.

Among the rank and file demands were improved mine safety, a guaranteed wage that would compel operators to end the method under which miners can be called to work with little notice and receive pay for anywhere from one to six days a week.

NEW 5-YEAR TERM

In the balloting, Mr. Boyle was returned to office for another five-year term by a vote of 81,056 to 45,872 for Mr. Yablonski.

Mr. Yablonski, whose father was killed in a mine accident in 1933, was born in Pittsburgh on March 3, 1910. He began working in the mines in 1925, when he was 15 years old, turning his earnings over to his family.

After serving as a picket and union organizer, he was elected president of a local in 1934. Then he was elected to represent 15,000 workers on the executive board of District 5. He was a workers' representative in Washington from 1934 to 1942.

In the latter year he was elected to the international executive board, representing 35,000 miners from District 5, in a post that he has held continuously through seven elections.

CALLED TROUBLE SHOOTER

In 1958, Mr. Yablonski was also elected president of District 5, but was forced out by Mr. Boyle in 1966. He said several times during last year's campaign that his decision to oppose Mr. Boyle for the union presidency was made at that time. Mr. Yablonski had run without authorization from headquarters for the vice-presidency in 1964.

Over the years, Mr. Yablonski earned a reputation as a fair and effective trouble shooter.

His campaign against Mr. Boyle was marked by a series of lawsuits alleging un-

fair tactics and by an attack on Mr. Yablonski in a hotel in Springfield, Ill., where he was knocked unconscious by a karate blow to the neck.

After his defeat, Mr. Yablonski requested that the ballots and records of the election be impounded. He alleged that there had been voting irregularities, but his request was denied by the Labor Department.

He had expressed some fear for his safety during his campaign, and the incident in the Springfield hotel left him convinced there was a conspiracy against him.

But he was prepared for defeat in the election.

"If I lose," he said, "I'm still a member of the international executive board and I'll play the devil's advocate."

[From the Evening Star, Jan. 7, 1970]

TOWN USED TO TROUBLE—CLARKSVILLE MINERS SILENT ON SLAYINGS

(By James Doyle)

CLARKSVILLE, PA.—The slag-scarred hills of southwestern Pennsylvania are covered with snow these days, and the ruined earth beneath is deceptively peaceful. There is trouble in these hills, but a visitor could pass by and never know.

Jock Yablonski's big fieldstone house on the hill outside this town is framed by snow-topped trees—a quiet and lonely scene.

A single police car is standing by on the road below, and a lonely volunteer policeman is in front of the house. Once in a while a newsman from Washington or New York or Cleveland happens by, looks at the decorated Christmas tree through the living room window, circles the property and continues on his way. There are very few sightseers.

Clarksville was very quiet, as usual, yesterday. True, there were a few more miners on hand at the American station and at Steve Kochis' store than on the average day, because the nearby Gateway Mine was shut down. But the bars were quiet and the streets were emptied by the moist, biting wind.

TOWN USED TO TROUBLE

This town is used to trouble. It is used to the fact that fathers, husbands and brothers go into the ground every working day to scratch out the coal, to face the carbon monoxide and the methane and the chance of a spark that could kill everybody in the hole, and at the very least to face the debilitating effect of coal dust and the disease known as "black lung."

Things are better than they were. There was a time, in the 1930s when these men were boys, that the mines just shut down completely and the steel companies tore up or burned the towns. In those days, just across the Monongahela River from here, at places like Connellsville, men moved their families into the filth-ridden coke ovens that had been abandoned, and families existed in there for months, sometimes years.

The miners aren't saying very much about the Yablonski murders. Everybody here knew Jock and his wife and their 25-year-old daughter Charlotte, but for a long time now the Yablonskis have lived in a different world.

He was off campaigning against the United Mine Workers leaders much of the time last year, and even before that, when Jock was one of those close-in leaders himself, his life was elsewhere.

Many of the men just don't want to talk about Jock's murder with reporters; at least they don't want to give their names.

Joe Kreon is an exception. A short and rugged man with red face and curly white hair, Kreon is president of the local union, number 6330.

"When I heard about it, I cried. I'm not ashamed to tell you," he said, standing on the main street in front of the volunteer fire department.

"I hope to hell they catch the guy who did it, right away today," he added. "The black part of it is it looks bad for the UMW."

Kreon pointed to a bystander. "As he says, it looks like a professional job."

Kreon is on the union payroll and he doesn't think UMW President Tony Boyle or his colleagues had anything to do with it. He was standing at the firehouse at 1 p.m. because he had called a union meeting to see what the Gateway miners wanted to do about working.

Two roving pickets had showed up at the mine after midnight yesterday morning, telling the third-shift men to go home because of Jock Yablonski. Kreon was going to take a vote on whether the men should go back to work.

A third-shift miner arrived for the meeting and told about the night before at Gateway. "The pickets were late," he said. "I was on the company property and I already had my lantern when they come."

"I turn around and went back. We don't cross picket lines in this union. We never have and we never will."

More men were arriving. Kreon would tell each new group they couldn't use the firehouse "because the FBI and the state cops took it over."

"We got to use this place," he would say, pointing to the frigid interior of a vacant storefront.

KILLINGS DEPLORED

"It's a danged shame," said a tall, beefy man in a lumber jacket. He was talking about the killings.

"If they had something against him, why'd they go and kill his wife and the girl?"

"It's getting so's you can't run for office in this country," said another miner. "Like that guy who shot Kennedy."

"What about the guys behind the guys who done it?" asked a slender man who looked to be younger than the others, perhaps 40.

As more men gathered, Kreon began the business of the meeting out on the street.

"What are we going to do?" someone asked. "What do the sons want us to do?" Kreon replied, referring to a statement on the radio that Ken and Chip Yablonski had pleaded against any work stoppage sponsored by the UMW leadership.

"Go back to work," said a little balding man.

"I say that's what we do, at midnight tonight," Kreon said.

Now there were 30 or 40 men on the street and in the store. There are 400 men in Local 6330.

Kreon ushered everybody inside and started the meeting, which lasted 2 minutes and 35 seconds.

BACK TO WORK

As the men poured out, Kreon told a waiting reporter, "We took a voice vote. There were no abstentions. We go back to work at midnight."

One of the first men out the door had said to his departing brothers, "What the hell did you want to go and vote to work for?" He got no answer.

Kreon was asked what would happen if the roving pickets showed at Gateway mine. "That I can't say," he replied.

Down at Fredericktown, Yablonski's friend, Mike Trobovich, was sitting in the old Yablonski campaign headquarters organizing walkouts by telephone.

When he got the word of Local 6330's vote he shrugged. "Whose local is that, Kreon's?" he asked. "He's one of Boyle's dust committees. Send pickets to Gateway tonight for the third shift," he said to an aide.

In his lapel, Trobovich was wearing a black-and-white button with a skull and crossbones above a pair of black lungs.

"Stop Murder," it said.

CLOSE FRIEND THREATENED IN PHONE CALL (By Fred Barnes)

WASHINGTON, Pa.—Pennsylvania state police revealed today that two more expended bullets had been found in the bedroom of slain United Mine Workers insurgent Joseph A. Yablonski and there are strong indications the triple murder was committed with a pistol and a rifle.

Capt. Joseph Snyder said at his first briefing since the bodies of Yablonski, his wife and daughter were found Monday that a lead slug, probably .38-caliber, and a copper-jacketed bullet, probably .30-caliber, were found in the bedroom of Mr. and Mrs. Yablonski. Asked if this meant two persons were involved in the murders, Snyder said: "This could be supposed. It is not conclusive."

He also revealed that Yablonski was found with several unused shotgun shells under his body and apparently had been shot while he was reaching for a shotgun near the windowsill of his bedroom.

PELLIGRINI THREATENED

Snyder also said that a threatening phone call was received yesterday afternoon at the Cannonsburg, Pa., home of Marion Pelligrini, a UMW District 5 official and close friend of Yablonski.

The caller told Pelligrini's wife that the Pelligrini family was "next on the list," Snyder said.

Pelligrini testified before a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C., in November concerning the alleged embezzlement of union funds for use in the reelection campaign of union President W. A. (Tony) Boyle, who defeated Yablonski last month in a bitter campaign.

Pelligrini told the grand jury that he had been asked to hand in a phony \$2,500 voucher for "organizing expenses" and that the money later was channeled into Boyle's campaign.

Snyder said FBI agents have been on hand monitoring operations at the investigation headquarters in nearby Clarksville, near the spot where the shootings occurred. Snyder said agents are officially a part of the case now and a field agent in charge was conferring with state police this morning.

Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell told the FBI last night to enter the case actively. Agents had been involved in the investigation earlier—but not on an "active" basis.

Dissident mine workers meanwhile were mounting a campaign today to "shut down America's coal mines" until union leaders take lie detector tests and disavow any part in the murders of the Yablonskis.

Capt. Snyder expressed some bafflement about the evidence in the case.

He said he was puzzled why assailants "who went in there to kill them would let the air out of the tires" of the cars in the driveway, "and also spend time cutting wires" which were telephone and television connections leading from the house.

He said he thinks Yablonski reached for, but never grasped, the shotgun near his bed.

He said Yablonski had the unloaded shotgun and a rifle in the bedroom. Earlier, police sources indicated the second weapon was a .22-caliber rifle.

Snyder said he couldn't state that caliber certainly, but that he is convinced the expended copper bullet was not from either Yablonski weapon, Yablonski's shotgun, he noted, was unloaded.

Snyder said police have interviewed many Yablonski acquaintances about the slayings, "and of course many of them are union officials" but he declined to name them.

Concerning the call to Pelligrini's home, Snyder commented: "Whether this was a crank call or something serious, I don't know at this time." He added that state police are now patrolling in the vicinity of the Pelligrini residence—and protecting the home here of Yablonski's son Kenneth.

Meanwhile, many mines in a three-state area were closed by a wildcat shutdown.

At a meeting of West Virginia miners in Monongah, W. Va., last night, 150 Yablonski supporters unanimously endorsed a shutdown until UMW district and national leaders take lie detector tests.

It called for all UMW International and district officers to voluntarily submit to lie detector tests and to state they were in no way involved in the murders.

In Washington, the UMW had no comment, but prepared to announce a \$100,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of Yablonski's killers.

Harry Patrick of Monongah, leader of the insurgent movement, said this morning, "We mean to keep the mines out. We are going to spread it until we've got them all out."

An estimated 50 organizers spread across the West Virginia and Pennsylvania coal fields, setting up roving picket lines.

By long tradition, miners will not cross a picket line at a change of shifts even if the line consists of one miner. It was this tactic that shut down a number of mines beginning at midnight Tuesday.

A telephone check indicated almost all mines in Northern West Virginia were closed today. The Associated Press and United Press International had spotty reports of shutdowns in Ohio and Pennsylvania, where 7,000 miners reportedly stayed home yesterday.

The figure was put at 10,000 today by UPI. The Yablonski family yesterday asked that the union leadership not call a memorial strike.

Key Yablonski aides said today they were contacting union insurgents in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia and southern West Virginia in an attempt to shut down mines in those areas.

UMW officials have denied that the murders were related in any way to the union or its recent presidential election.

"If they are so sure that the organization had nothing to do with the murder, all they have to do is answer one simple question," said a close friend of Yablonski, Mike Trobovitch of Fredericktown, Pa.—"What do you know about the killings? That's the only question."

The insurgents sent a telegram to UMW headquarters in Washington, D.C. demanding Boyle's resignation.

BOYLE SEES NO LINK

Boyle told a CBS radio newsmen today there was no link between the bitterly fought election and the shootings.

"The election is over. Why should anyone want to kill Yablonski, his wife and his daughter?" Boyle asked.

The union leader said he would welcome any kind of investigation of the union—"People say I have a corrupt union."

"I took over what John L. Lewis built up and it's no better or no worse than it was then," he said.

In Washington, Mitchell ordered the FBI to join state troopers and the local sheriff in the investigation.

"The investigation was being undertaken to determine whether or not the three deaths in any way involve federally protected rights of labor union members," Mitchell said. He acted after Pennsylvania Gov. Raymond P. Shafer telephoned him asking for federal assistance and after meeting with Joseph L. Rauh Jr., the Washington attorney who advised Yablonski in his court suits against Boyle.

Mitchell acted under a labor law provision protecting persons involved in union elections—a provision which Rauh had been citing for months as a reason for the government to move against Boyle.

Yablonski, 59, a member of the union's executive board, was found shot to death

at his Clarksville home on Monday. He had been shot five times.

His wife Margaret, 57, and his daughter Charlotte, 25, were also found dead, each with two bullet wounds. Police said they had been dead 3 or 4 days.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 7, 1970] MITCHELL ORDERS FBI TO JOIN INQUIRY INTO YABLONSKI SLAYINGS

WASHINGTON, January 6.—Attorney General John N. Mitchell ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation today to "actively enter the investigation concerning the death of Joseph A. Yablonski, his wife and his daughter. He acted under the Landrum-Griffin Act, which grants Federal protection in union elections.

Mr. Mitchell, in an announcement late in the day, said that he had ordered the inquiry "at the request of Gov. Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania" to "determine whether or not the three deaths in any way involved federally protected rights of labor union members."

"The F.B.I.," Mr. Mitchell said, "will also continue to cooperate with Pennsylvania state and local authorities in their investigation of the crime and will make available its laboratory, identification facilities and other resources."

The Attorney General's directive, issued at about 6:30 P.M., came two hours after Mr. Mitchell met with Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Mr. Yablonski's lawyer. During the meeting, Mr. Rauh asked for a "full F.B.I. investigation" of the murders.

After meeting with Mr. Mitchell for about 30 minutes, Mr. Rauh told reporters:

"I think the probabilities are clear here that this was an election-connected crime, and probabilities are all that's necessary for the Attorney General to act."

He said that state and local police forces would be unable to solve the crime "without access to the inside of this union, without undercover men all over the country."

Such help, he indicated, could be provided readily by the F.B.I.

After criticizing the Justice and Labor Departments for what he called "icy indifference" to the hotly contested union election and the slain candidate's request for Federal protection, Mr. Rauh said:

"The fight against the United Mine Workers was not over. It was just beginning when Joe Yablonski was killed."

He referred to two pending suits against the union leadership, one alleging corruption in the union and the other contesting the election won by Mr. Boyle.

UNION REWARD OFFER

CLARKSVILLE, Pa., Jan. 6.—The United Mine Workers of America, accused by the family of Joseph A. Yablonski of complicity in his murder and that of his wife and daughter here, will offer a "substantial" reward—perhaps \$100,000—for the apprehension and conviction of their killers, union sources said today.

An announcement of the award, which union officials in Washington said they began planning yesterday shortly after discovery of Mr. Yablonski's murder, is expected to be made tomorrow at union headquarters in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Yablonski was defeated by the union president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle, last month in the most divisive election campaign in the coal union's history.

Union officials said that the mine workers' 28-member international executive board, of which Mr. Yablonski was a member, was being polled by telephone today to obtain approval of the \$100,000 reward.

Union spokesmen disclosed the reward offer in response to a telegram to Mr. Boyle from Representative Ken Hechler, Democrat of West Virginia, who supported Mr. Yablonski.

ski's bitter struggle to reform the mine union and to oust its present leadership.

Mr. Hechler called on Mr. Boyle to post a \$100,000 reward. He said that that would be "in the best interests of all members of the U.M.W., whose status has been improved so much by Mr. Yablonski's efforts."

The Pennsylvania state police established a special 12-man substation at the volunteer fire department in this rural community today to coordinate what was described as "a major investigation" into the death of Mr. Yablonski, who was shot to death with his wife and daughter. Although the murders were discovered yesterday, it is believed that the shootings occurred on New Year's Eve.

But Capt. Joseph C. Snyder, the Troop B commander at nearby Washington, Pa., director of the murder investigation, said that the police so far lacked a "possible motive" or a single investigative lead, other than the nine bullets recovered from the murder scene.

No weapon and no expended cartridge cases were found, and there were no reports of any unusual visitors or activities in this remote southwestern Pennsylvania coal town of 1,000 persons.

Five of the nine bullets taken from the bodies of the victims during a post-mortem at the Washington Hospital and others dug out of the mattresses on which the sleeping Yablonski family was murdered were sent today to the state police crime laboratory in Harrisburg for ballistic tests.

The tests may disclose whether more than one weapon was used.

Captain Snyder said that until those tests were completed he "would not substantiate" assertions by other police sources here that there was circumstantial evidence there had been more than one killer.

LONG INVESTIGATION PREDICTED

In Harrisburg, James Cox, the state police public information officer, said today that "this is going to be a long investigation and—not at all to our liking—probably a very slow one."

An autopsy completed early this morning, about 12 hours after the bodies were discovered yesterday at about noon by Mr. Yablonski's oldest son, Kenneth, disclosed that Mr. Yablonski, 59, had been shot five times in his bed with a .38-caliber pistol.

It was an attack that the police said bore the marks of "an act of vengeance," and Mr. Yablonski's two surviving sons and the Washington County coroner, Farrell Jackson, an old friend of the murdered union official, were using such words today as "execution" and "assassination" to describe the killings.

A series of spontaneous miners' strikes broke out today in the coal fields south and west of Pittsburgh and at scattered mines in West Virginia and Ohio, where Mr. Yablonski had the greatest strength in his six-month election battle with Mr. Boyle.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 9, 1970]

"FULL-SCALE" INQUIRY INTO MINE ELECTION ORDERED BY SHULTZ

(By Ben A. Franklin)

WASHINGTON.—Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz ordered today a "full-scale investigation" of the United Mine Workers of America election in which Joseph A. Yablonski was defeated by the incumbent union president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle.

The order came as the union offered a \$50,000 reward for the apprehension and conviction of the killer or killers of Mr. Yablonski and his wife and daughter, who were found murdered in their home Monday.

Mr. Shultz's action followed an announcement by the union that it would waive all legal rights under the Landrum-Griffin Act and cooperate in the investigation, which it earlier opposed.

Agreement on the voluntary investigatory procedure was reached today during a conference of Assistant Secretary of Labor W. J.

Useery, Mr. Boyle and the mine workers' general counsel, Edward Carey. Spokesmen said the investigation would begin tomorrow.

Mr. Yablonski's sons, Kenneth and Joseph A. Jr., both lawyers, have charged that their father, mother and sister were murdered by "professional assassins" as an "out-growth" of Mr. Yablonski's campaign to oust Mr. Boyle.

The insurgent union candidate accused the union president during the campaign of being a "dictator" and an "embezzler of union funds."

Before his death, which the Pennsylvania state police believe may have occurred during the night of Dec. 30-31, Mr. Yablonski had also filed with the Labor Department 100 separate complaints of pre-election vote fraud by incumbent U.M.W. officials.

Last Dec. 18, he added to this other allegations of violations of Federal fair election laws affecting unions.

"INTEGRITY AND HONESTY"

At a news conference this afternoon in the basement of the union headquarters here, Mr. Carey, the union counsel, said the issuing of the invitation to the Labor Department to conduct its investigation "obviously would not be done if this were not an election held with the highest degree of integrity and honesty."

Secretary Shultz disclosed yesterday that the department was "reconsidering" its earlier position that it could not intervene in the election dispute until perhaps March or April, after Mr. Yablonski had exhausted appeal remedies.

The theory in the department is that Mr. Yablonski's death makes the statutory waiting period a moot point.

Mr. Carey said the reason for the \$50,000 reward and the waiver of all legal rights to delay a Federal investigation of the union election was "that a great deal of misinformation is being carried across the pages of the newspapers in the United States" and on radio and television.

"NO APOLOGIES"

"We make no apologies to anyone," the union lawyer said, "especially to those engaged in wild speculation."

Mr. Yablonski's lawyer, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., issued a statement declaring that "what is required now is a joint Justice and Labor Department investigation of corruption and violence in the United Mine Workers, and of the massive expenditures of union funds during the election campaign, as well as the election-day fraud."

On Capitol Hill, there were also demands for an investigation of the U.M.W. that would go far beyond the disputed election. Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, the assistant Republican minority leader, who was an author of the Landrum-Griffin Act, wrote to Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas, chairman of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, "strongly urging" a full-scale investigative review under all aspects of the act.

INQUIRY STUDIED

A Senate labor subcommittee headed by Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, was known to be reviewing the prospects of a major inquiry.

At U.M.W. headquarters, Mr. Carey said that the angry demands of Yablonski supporters that top union leaders submit to lie detector tests regarding the killings would be rejected as "a humiliation."

More than 20,000 pro-Yablonski miners were in the third day of a wildcat protest strike that began with the discovery of the murders.

Repeating earlier denials, Mr. Carey declared today that "I bet my very life that this [the murders] is not connected with the union."

[From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Jan. 9, 1970]

UMW THREATS IGNORED BY LABOR DEPARTMENT

(By Jack Anderson)

WASHINGTON.—Six months before Jock Yablonski was murdered in his bedroom, he pleaded with the Labor Department for a full investigation of attempts to intimidate him into dropping his campaign for the United Mine Workers presidency.

The appeal was delivered by his attorney, Joseph Rauh, who warned Secretary of Labor George Shultz that if the Government did not intercede, Shultz might have Yablonski's murder on his conscience.

PROPHETIC WARNING

This warning was made in a grim, private conversation between Rauh and Shultz after Yablonski had encountered his first violence. He had been knocked cold from behind by a karate blow after a meeting with miners in Illinois.

The next day, a rally organized by his supporters in Pennsylvania was broken up by a squad of goons waving placards supporting Tony Boyle, the incumbent union president.

During his private huddle with Shultz, Rauh made documented charges of these and at least 15 other election abuses, including threats against Yablonski's supporters. But the Secretary of Labor refused to order an investigation.

By the time election day arrived in December, Yablonski had produced detailed charges of more than 100 federal violations by the Boyle machine. On four separate occasions, the Labor Department was begged to step in with a full probe.

RELATIVES BITTER

Now, embittered Yablonski relatives are saying that the murder of the defeated union candidate, his wife and daughter would never have occurred if his enemies had not been encouraged by the Government's apathy.

Throughout the campaign, Yablonski was haunted by the threat of violence. He even posted guards at the door of the Washington news conference where he announced his candidacy.

He would not campaign at all in Tennessee, home state of pro-Boyle "thugs" who had beaten up dissidents at the union's conventions.

During the final months of the campaign, a mysterious car with Tennessee license plates was seen a number of times outside the Yablonski home, a farm in southwest Pennsylvania. Several times the car remained outside all night.

BORROWED FIREARMS

Yablonski and his wife both disliked guns and never kept them in their home. But after the ominous appearance of the Tennessee car, Yablonski borrowed several firearms from one of his brothers to keep in the house.

After Boyle won the election by a two-to-one margin, Yablonski charged the vote had been "stolen." A new appeal was made to the Labor Department to impound the ballots and begin an immediate probe into additional violations on election day.

In a private meeting with Rauh before Christmas, less than a month before the triple killing, department officials again refused.

Yablonski's aides also were told by the Justice Department that a federal grand jury in Washington had determined there was substance to his charge that money had been embezzled from the union treasury to be used in Boyle's campaign. Justice officials told the Yablonski aides, however, that they had decided not to seek indictments.

LEWIS LIEUTENANT

Jock Yablonski was a rugged man of 59 with a gravel voice and a gruff manner. He was a loyal lieutenant of John L. Lewis throughout the 40 years of Lewis's reign as

the Mine Workers' president. But things changed when Tony Boyle took over in 1963.

Until 78 men were killed in a dramatic mine explosion in Nov., 1968, Boyle sought no new federal mine safety standards. Yet coal mining is the nation's most hazardous occupation, more dangerous even than police work or fire fighting.

Under Boyle, the union was twice convicted of an antitrust conspiracy with the nation's biggest coal companies.

MANY MOTIVES

Yablonski was torn between his loyalty to the union organization and his desire to see the UMW again become a powerful champion of the miners' interests. Finally, he decided to break with Boyle.

Boyle has said that he believes Yablonski's murder had nothing to do with the bitter election campaign. But Yablonski's relatives and associates believe that, although he lost the election, there still were reasons why union hotheads might want to kill him.

Here are possible motives—

Despite his loss, Yablonski made the best showing by an insurgent UMW candidate in nearly 50 years. He also had pledged to continue the fight for reforms, possibly challenging Boyle again in the next election.

A group of rank-and-file miners, under Yablonski's leadership, had filed a \$16-million federal suit against Boyle and his fellow officers, charging misuse of the miners' dues. Yablonski and his associates felt that the suit had an excellent chance of succeeding.

Because of Yablonski's prodding, there was still an outside chance that the Labor Department might investigate his charges and throw out the December election.

Now that Yablonski is dead, along with his wife and daughter, it will be interesting to see whether the Federal Government will go ahead with the investigation Yablonski asked for but which the U.S. refused to conduct while he was alive.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 9, 1970]
LABOR DEPARTMENT TO HOLD INVESTIGATION OF MINERS' ELECTION AT REQUEST OF UNION

The Labor Department is launching a "full-scale investigation" of last year's bitterly contested United Mine Workers election.

Labor Secretary Shultz gave that word last night within hours after the embattled union asked the department to conduct a "thorough fact-finding investigation."

At the same time, the union also offered a \$50,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the killings of UMW official Joseph Yablonski, his wife and his daughter. The three were found shot to death in their Clarksville, Pa., home on Monday, less than a month after Mr. Yablonski had been defeated for the union presidency by incumbent W. A. (Tony) Boyle.

Meanwhile, miners' strikes aimed at pressuring law enforcement officials working on the Yablonski slayings were beginning to create a coal supply pinch for steel producers and some utilities.

In Washington, Edward Carey, general counsel for the UMW, said at a news conference that the request for an investigation by the department was made by Mr. Boyle and other union officers at a meeting yesterday with Assistant Labor Secretary W. J. Usery and Laurence Silberman, Labor Department solicitor.

"It is the desire of the officers that the Labor Department proceed immediately to determine that the election was conducted fairly and honestly," Mr. Carey said. "We have offered to make available to department investigators any and all material that the department considers essential to the investigation."

In a brief statement, Secretary Shultz said the union's request removed any "legal im-

pediments to immediate investigation" of alleged election irregularities under the Landrum-Griffin Act.

The union's request came as Secretary Shultz was considering a new request from Mr. Yablonski's attorney, Joseph Rauh Jr., that he investigate the election battle. On Dec. 25, the Labor Department denied a request by Mr. Yablonski that it impound ballots and records from the election and conduct an investigation of alleged irregularities.

At the time of his death, Mr. Yablonski was awaiting action by the union itself on his complaints of irregularities. Until yesterday, the Labor Department took the position that Mr. Yablonski, or any UMW member, must first exhaust internal remedies provided by the union before it would investigate.

Mr. Yablonski's backers believed the department had taken a too-narrow view of its power and responsibility under the Landrum-Griffin Act and should have stepped into the Mine Workers' battle even before the Dec. 9 election.

In a related development, Sen. Griffin (R., Mich.) sent a letter to Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.) urging that the Senate Investigation Subcommittee he heads "undertake an investigation as soon as possible" of the Mine Workers' election. The investigation, the author of the Landrum-Griffin Act said, should be made "with a view to determining whether existing laws are adequate."

Though Landrum-Griffin "went a long way toward protecting the rights of rank-and-file union workers," Mr. Griffin said, "time and experience have indicated that some amendments may now be needed to strengthen the act."

Mr. Yablonski, who recently lost a bitter election for the presidency of the United Mine Workers, and his wife and daughter were found shot to death Monday at their home in Clarksville, Pa.

UNION LINK TO DEATHS DENIED

At his news conference, Mr. Carey rejected the charges of some Yablonski supporters that the slayings were connected with Mr. Yablonski's bid for the UMW presidency. "I'd bet my very life" they have "nothing to do with union activities," he said.

Among the material that Mr. Carey said the UMW would make available to Federal investigators are the election tally sheets from locals. "We will turn over every bit of evidence we have," he told reporters.

As to the election's fairness the UMW general counsel said: "We'll match it with any election in the U.S."

Steel producers acknowledged they are beginning to feel a shortage of coal supplies as a result of the widespread work stoppages at mines in southwestern Pennsylvania. The strikes, which began soon after Mr. Yablonski was murdered, also are affecting some electric utilities but not to so great an extent at this time, industry sources said.

With its huge Robena complex and Maple Creek mines shut, U.S. Steel Corp. cut production of coke by 25% at its Clairton, Pa., mill. A spokesman said the move came because the strikes "have reduced the supply of coal at Clairton," but he said there hasn't been any affect yet on steelmaking operations.

Coke is a residue distilled from coal and used in the production of iron. Most mills stockpile coke, so that a cut in coking operations wouldn't immediately affect iron-making.

The mills also maintain large coal stockpiles, but these have dwindled significantly at many mills because of frequent wildcat strikes by restive coal miners.

DOWN 27 PERCENT

Bureau of Mines statistics show coking-coal stockpiles nationwide are down 27% from a year earlier. Mills had an average 33

days' supply on hand as of Oct. 31, down from 45 days a year earlier.

"The wildcat strikes plus high coke demand have pre-empted the possibility of rebuilding stockpiles," the U.S. Steel spokesman said.

All four of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.'s mines were shut down, but a spokesman said the cutoff of supply hasn't yet affected mill operations. But he added: "If this continued unrest and wildcat strikes go on, sure, we're bound to be hurt." J&L is a unit of Ling-Temco-Vought Inc.

Republic Steel Corp., Bethlehem Steel Corp. and Youngstown Steel & Tube Co., a subsidiary of Lykes-Youngstown Corp., also have mines on strike.

A Bethlehem spokesman said, "Our supplies are adequate to support normal operations." He said that Bethlehem mines in southern West Virginia and Kentucky still are operating.

ANGRY OVER SLAYINGS

The strike by miners, who are angry over the slaying of Mr. Yablonski and his wife and daughter, appeared yesterday to be centering in southwestern Pennsylvania, though there were scattered reports of walkouts in parts of West Virginia.

A coal-industry spokesman said miners in Ohio and some in West Virginia returned to work yesterday. A spokesman at the Ohio Coal Association said only two mines, both owned by Valley Camp Coal Co., remain struck in the Ohio fields.

Mr. Yablonski was widely known in the Pennsylvania area, where he once served as president of Pittsburgh-based District 5 and as an international executive board member. In his unsuccessful campaign against W. A. (Tony) Boyle for the UMW presidency, Mr. Yablonski gathered his key aides from this area.

In large part, the current strikes stem from a call these aides put out for work stoppages aimed at pressuring law enforcement officials working on the Yablonski slayings. The Pennsylvania miners, sources said, want top union officials to submit to lie detector tests, while miners in northern West Virginia are saying they'll strike until arrests are made in connection with the murders.

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 10, 1970]
YABLONSKIS ARE BURIED, BACKERS TO PUSH FIGHT

(By Fred Barnes)

WASHINGTON, Pa.—Less than 90 minutes after slain United Mine Workers reformer Joseph A. Yablonski was lowered into his grave, about 75 of his most ardent supporters met in a grade school classroom here and pledged to go forward with their rebellion against the UMW hierarchy.

The dark-suited coal miners voted unanimously yesterday to continue their struggle to oust the current UMW leaders and reform the union.

The meeting appeared to create a renewed militancy among the rebellious miners by repairing the disarray that swept their ranks in the wake of Yablonski's murder.

The miners had come together for the funeral and burial of Yablonski, his wife and daughter. The Yablonskis were shot to death last week at their home in Clarksville, Pa., a tiny hamlet in the bituminous coal fields south of Pittsburgh.

DEFEATED IN ELECTIONS

Yablonski waged a campaign to wrest control of the UMW from union president W. A. (Tony) Boyle but he was defeated in the Dec. 9 election. Yablonski said the election was "stolen" and his two sons have charged that the slayings were an outgrowth of his election bid.

After the burial yesterday mourners gathered in the cafeteria of Immaculate Conception Catholic School for lunch. As word of

a miners' meeting spread, men filtered out of the cafeteria and into room 104 of the school.

Forty of them squeezed into desks, designed for the school children who ordinarily use the room, and the rest stood along the light-brown walls.

Most of those present came from the coalfields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio, where Yablonski found his strongest support. But some had traveled to the funeral of their fallen leader from as far as Illinois and western Kentucky.

Michael Trobovitch, of Fredericktown, Pa., a close friend of Yablonski, asked the group to "agree to go forward on all fronts as a memorial to Jock Yablonski." His proposal was greeted by shouts of approval.

"It seemed there was a feeling among the men that the only true memorial to Jock Yablonski was to keep up the fight to clean up the union," said Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Yablonski's attorney and the only non-miner to attend the meeting.

"What this meeting means is that the rebellion against Boyle will go on," he said.

Trobovitch and Elmer Brown, of Delbarton, W. Va., who ran for UMW vice president on the Yablonski ticket, outlined the program that the insurgent miners will work on in the immediate future.

The first step is to pressure the Labor Department to nullify the results of the Dec. 9 vote and order a new election. The Yablonski partisans charge that there was widespread vote-stealing and massive violations of labor law.

The death of Boyle's opponent does not change the situation, according to Rauh. "Since Boyle was illegally elected, he is an illegal president" and another man can run against him in a new election, he said.

\$18 MILLION SUIT PENDING

The second front of the challenge to Boyle and other top UMW leaders is an \$18 million suit filed Dec. 4 in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. It charges that Boyle and others have misused union funds and looted the UMW treasury and should repay the money from their own pockets.

Yablonski and eleven other UMW members are listed as plaintiffs in the suit. Rauh told the miners that others could join.

"I've already read that complaint," belated Edward Yevincey, a stubby miner from Greenville, Ky., "and nobody can keep me from being a plaintiff."

YABLONSKI MURDER'S AFTERMATH

As one reader points out today in a letter to the editor of The Star, the murder of Jock Yablonski—and the Labor Department's belated investigation of the United Mine Workers presidential election which preceded that bloody act—raise questions which go beyond that of identification of the killers.

It is important to know who killed Yablonski, and why. It is important to know if last month's UMW election, which the slain man lost by a two-to-one margin, was rigged. But these events may be only symptomatic of the malaise which afflicts not only the UMW, but some other unions.

The fundamental issues are these: Do our unions function in a democratic fashion? Does their leadership pursue the real interests of rank-and-file members? Is existing legislation adequate to safeguard the interests of the workers?

Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Act, is of the opinion that existing legislation is not adequate to the task. And a good case can be made for that assertion.

In the case of the UMW election, for instance, the Labor Department on December 25 denied Yablonski's request for an investigation into alleged irregularities on grounds that Title IV of the act requires a petitioner to exhaust grievance procedures within the

union before the government can intervene. This puts a union's leadership in the enviable and incongruous position of being the judge of its own honesty.

Now that the UMW has agreed to a Labor Department investigation of the election—but not to lie detector tests for union leaders—the government has an excellent opportunity to do some solid digging into how one union, at least, is run. The honest unionists who are in the great majority will be the first to gain from such an investigation.

Edward L. Carey, general counsel for the UMW, maintains he would "bet my very life" that the triple killing in Clarksville was "not connected" with union affairs. He may be right. But in view of what happened to Yablonski, his choice of words seems, at best, unfortunate.

[Form the New York Times, Jan. 10, 1970]
EULOGIST PRAISES YABLONSKI CAUSE—PRIEST URGES REFORM DRIVE AS SLAIN UNIONIST IS BURIED

(By Ben A. Franklin)

WASHINGTON, Pa., January 9.—Joseph A. Yablonski and his wife and daughter were buried here today on a bitterly cold and windy hilltop. About 1,000 mourners were urged to continue his struggle for reform in the coal fields.

Two funeral services were held for the murdered family. The largest was a Roman Catholic high requiem mass sung from the modern liturgy at the Church of the Immaculate Conception.

At this mass, Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, a long-time friend of the slain leader of a dissident faction of the United Mine Workers of America, spoke of the "noticeable" impact upon the usually impassive coal miners of the "assassination" of Mr. Yablonski; his wife Margaret, 57 years old, and their daughter Charlotte, 25.

BRIEF EULOGY

"It is obvious," Monsignor Rice said in a brief eulogy, that the miners "who expect it to be harsh and expect conflict to be hard," now "stand aghast at the deed which violated the serenity of the hamlet of Clarksville as the decades changed."

The murders, which were discovered Monday, are believed to have occurred the night of Dec. 30.

The clergyman urged the miners and Mr. Yablonski's two sons to "take heart" and to carry on "the great cause." Mr. Yablonski was defeated Dec. 9 in a union election in which he challenged the incumbent president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle.

The sons, Kenneth and Joseph A. Jr., both lawyers, were under police guard at the funeral.

ASSASSINATIONS RECALLED

The eulogist compared Mr. Yablonski's death with those of three other "famed and controversial" public figures during "the frightful decade of the nineteen-sixties"—President Kennedy, Senator Robert F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"But this was worse," Monsignor Rice said, "because there was the element of cold-blooded preparation, and the chilling and efficient—and it must have been premeditated—murder of two women."

Police officials and other persons familiar with the coal-mining communities have said that the aspect of the killings that has had the greatest impact on coal workers is the killing of Mrs. Yablonski and the daughter.

The Pennsylvania state police said today they were still without leads in their investigation of the killings.

Mr. Yablonski, who served for 27 years as a member of the union's international executive board, had intended to contest the election outcome in the courts on the ground of "massive" vote fraud favoring Mr. Boyle.

The murders here, the clergyman said, are

"a deed of infamy that had in it much of all that sickened us in the decade that is just finished, a decade in which our country was shocked and battered by an ugly war, by much domestic turbulence and by an almost unbelievable succession of assassinations."

"This Jock Yablonski was a strong and buoyant man," the priest said. "He was a man with a tremendous capacity for making friends. Like other strong men, he made enemies. It was necessary for him to tramp on toes. He wanted to win, and he was enveloped and caught up in a great cause. He died with his work unfinished, but with a ringing declaration almost with his last breath, publicly, that his work had to go on."

Monsignor Rice said that the murder of the two women added "a new and frightening dimension to American assassination."

"We are hardened in this country," he said, "but this is something new to us. This action, no matter what the motive, is disturbing and evil beyond words to describe. Why? We ask. Why? And who?"

"I pray that peace will come to the coal fields. Because the danger that lurks in the bowels of the earth—the danger that Jock Yablonski fought and tried to obviate for his beloved miners—that of itself is enough for men to have to bear," the priest said.

Mr. Yablonski's oldest son, Kenneth, 35, delivered an impromptu statement to the audience of about 700 in the large Gothic church here.

Standing before the three coffins arranged in the transept in the shape of a cross, Mr. Yablonski said: "My father said once, when asked why he ran, 'Because I owe it to the coal miners to give them a chance.'"

He read the names of 18 pallbearers, all of whom were described as active coal miners who had supported Mr. Yablonski's campaign.

In a list of "honor guard" members and in the front pew of the church there were representatives John Dent of Pennsylvania and Ken Hechler of West Virginia, both Democrats who supported Mr. Yablonski, and Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Mr. Yablonski's attorney and campaign manager.

Absent were any ranking officials of the miners' union which yesterday offered a \$50,000 reward for the Yablonski killers, in a bitter telegram from the two Yablonski sons earlier this week, the U.M.W. leadership was publicly asked to stay away from the funeral.

Earlier this morning, a separate, shorter service was held at a funeral home in Millsboro, a few miles from the Yablonski's home in Clarksville. About 500 persons, mostly miners, attended.

The temperature here was 1 degree above zero at noon when the funeral cortege finally reached the hilltop in the Washington Cemetery that is one of the highest points on the rugged horizon of Washington County. There was a 20-mile-an-hour wind and mourners huddled in a tent as the burial proceeded.

Afterward, two young West Virginia physicians, Drs. Hawey Wells of Morgantown and Donald I. Rasmussen of Beckley, members of the Physicians for Miners Health and Safety, which spurred a rank-and-file miners' campaign last year against health hazards in the mines, said that the most important lawsuit filed by Mr. Yablonski would not end with his death.

The suit, filed last month by Mr. Yablonski and 11 other plaintiffs in the United States District Court, in Washington, D.C., demands that Mr. Boyle and other top union officers make personal restitution and pay damages for millions of dollars in union funds, which the complainants allege the current leadership of the union misappropriated or spent for "personal aggrandizement."

Dr. Wells said that the 11 surviving complainants had agreed that the lawsuit should be "pressed vigorously to a conclusion."

MCCLELLAN WEIGHS INQUIRY

WASHINGTON—Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, said today he had ordered the staff of a Senate investigations subcommittee to begin a preliminary investigation of the slayings and the election.

Senator McClellan said in a telephone interview he would await staff reports on the preliminary inquiry before deciding whether to conduct a full-scale investigation. He added that if such hearings were held they would probably be secret to avoid conflict with other inquiries already under way.

[From the New York Post, Jan. 12, 1970]

A SAD SILENCE

Now a week has passed since the discovery of the slain bodies of Joseph Yablonski, his wife and daughter. The case remains unsolved and many questions are unanswered about the diligence with which the government will pursue the issues of corruption and oppression within the United Mine Workers Union that Yablonski challenged during his gallant, short-lived rebellion. But one thing is mournfully clear; the leaders of labor (and many other public men) have lapsed into shameful silence.

No major labor figure has uttered a word of public tribute to Yablonski's crusade or an expression of anguish over his death. No dignity of any union was present at his funeral or even sent a message for the occasion. Many rank and file coal miners have voiced a sense of deep loss, but the chieftains of organized labor remain mute.

The tragic irony is that, in public life, the men most urgently demanding action are such Senators as McClellan and Griffin who may envisage a result that discredits unionism. But the true discredit to labor stems from the failure of its leaders to exhibit any humane reaction to the death of a dedicated man. Whatever the identity of the killers may prove to be, Joe Yablonski surely deserved more from those who claim to care about the ideals and traditions of free unionism.

[From Hard Times, Jan. 12-19, 1970]

BOYLE'S LAW

(By James Ridgeway)

During the United Mine Workers election campaign Joseph Yablonski repeatedly asked the government for protection from union boss Tony Boyle, but was rebuffed. Yablonski had been pointedly warned by Boyle men in Kentucky to stay out of that territory. His agents received telephone death threats from Boyle supporters. Gangs of union-paid goons broke up Yablonski meetings. And Yablonski himself was knocked unconscious by a karate chop at one meeting. Still the government wouldn't protect him.

But last month attorneys from the criminal division of the Justice Department began to present evidence to a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C., leading towards indictments of high union officials for embezzlement of UMW funds. The grand jury was reported ready to indict. Then, mysteriously, the Justice Department withdrew the case, claiming union officials had returned the stolen money.

It's no wonder miners believe Yablonski, his wife and daughter were murdered on orders of union leaders.

Boyle has a long history of meanness and violence. He doesn't lose a chance to live up to his reputation for meanness. While Joseph Rauh, Jr., Yablonski's lawyer, was taking Boyle's deposition in connection with a suit against the union, Rauh's assistant snickered at one of Boyle's responses. Boyle screamed at the man, "You aren't going to laugh at me, you long-hair Commie. I'll throw you down."

In February, 1952, Charles Minton, a discharged UMW field representative, filed a \$350,000 damage suit against the union. Minton said he was ordered by Tony Boyle,

then "agent extraordinaire" for the UMW, to murder C. P. Fugate and Harry I. Turner of Wise, Virginia, the owners of the non-union Gladeville Coal Co. Minton claimed he had executed previous orders, and blown up some mines, including a substation at Gladeville. The suit was settled out of court.

Fugate and Turner brought a \$300,000 damage suit against the union, which, according to their attorneys, was settled out of court. Reached in Daytona Beach, Florida, Fugate remembered how his company's substations and tipples had been dynamited. Fugate said UMW people told him at the time that Boyle was threatening to kill him.

As a union insider, Yablonski may well have had the goods on Boyle. The real threat to his power was not so much in the election challenge as in a series of suits filed in federal courts. They charge that Boyle and John Owens, the UMW secretary-treasurer, violated their fiduciary duties as union officials by misappropriating and diverting \$18 million in UMW funds. For example, the complaint in this suit says the UMW loaned \$1.4 million to Lewmurken, Inc., a holding company with offices at UMW headquarters in Washington. Lewmurken in turn holds 30 percent of the stock in Rocky Mountain Fuel Co., a defunct coal outfit once owned by Miss Josephine Roche, a trustee of the UMW welfare fund. Lewmurken funds also went to help finance a non-union coal company.

Between 1963 and 1968, according to the complaint, the union paid \$68,894 for Owens' suite in Washington's Sheraton-Carlton Hotel.

The officers padded the payroll with their relatives. Antoinette Boyle, Tony's daughter, received \$40,000 a year for her work as an organizer in Billings, Mont., where there is little coal mining. Tony's brother, R. J. Boyle, got \$186,000 in salaries over five years; \$100,000 went for "Boyle" lighters so the boss could ingratiate himself with the rank and file. And more than \$5 million was loaned from the central office to various districts for Boyle's campaign.

HOWARD G. MAYES, AVIATION PIONEER, HERO, AND MAN OF VISION

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, West Virginia and the aviation industry lost one of their true pioneers and heroes in the passing of Howard G. Mayes, of Huntington, on January 15. Mr. Mayes not only carved a niche as an outstanding and courageous airplane pilot, he also established himself as a man of great vision. More than 30 years ago, Mr. Mayes battled for the construction of a regional airport midway between Charleston and Huntington—West Virginia's two largest cities—to serve the aviation needs of southern West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, and southeastern Ohio. Mr. Mayes was ahead of his time since people then were boxed in by narrow provincial thinking. Today, the very area Mr. Mayes staked out for this regional airport has been singled out by the Federal Aviation Administration as being best suited to meet the long-range airport requirements of the people of southern West Virginia.

I call the attention of my colleagues to the following article from the Jan-

uary 15, 1970, Huntington Advertiser, which cites also the fact that Mr. Mayes' son, H. J. Mayes, Jr., serves as regional manager for flight operations for United Airlines, based here in the Nation's Capital:

AVIATION PIONEER DIES AT 74

Howard G. Mayes, 74, an outstanding figure in Huntington aviation circles and World War I pilot, died this morning in a Huntington hospital. He was admitted as a patient Wednesday evening.

Mr. Mayes, of 106 Honeysuckle Lane, formerly managed what is now Huntington Downtown Airport in Chesapeake, Ohio, and had operated a Huntington hardware store.

It was July 2, 1918, when Mr. Mayes was shot down during an encounter with three German pursuit planes. Although he was only bruised when the plane crashed after an emergency descent from 8,000 feet, a picture of the aircraft showed it was "the most completely wrecked of any on record in which the pilot was not killed."

Captured by the Germans, he was released on Nov. 9, 1918, and returned to the United States to continue as a barn-storming pilot.

ACCLAIMED AS HERO

In 1928, landing for an air show at Cleveland, he was acclaimed for his courageous flying as he purposely wrecked his plane while landing to avoid a collision with another aircraft. The second plane was carrying passengers, one of which was the mother of Charles A. Lindbergh.

A son, H. J. Mayes, Jr., was named in 1964 as regional manager of flight operations for United Airlines in Washington. Carrying on his father's tradition in aviation, he learned to fly when he was 12 and received a pilot's license at age 16.

Mr. Mayes was born in Putnam County, a son of the late J. W. and Mary E. Mayes.

He was a member of the American Legion, the Masonic Lodge, Elks Lodge, Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association and Disabled Officers Association.

Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Margaret Dudley Mayes; two other sons, Robert and John W. Mayes, and two daughters, Ruth and Elizabeth.

SECRETARY LAIRD NAMED FOR 1970 "MINUTE MAN" AWARD

(Mr. MIZE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, Mel Laird, now serving as President Nixon's Secretary of Defense, has been named by the Reserve Officer's Association National Awards Board to receive the 1970 "Minute Man" award.

ROA National President Maj. Gen. Roy D. Free, in announcing the choice, paid tribute to Secretary Laird's long service in the Congress. Serving as a key member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee for many years, Mr. Laird was instrumental in securing passage of the Reserve Vitalization Act.

General Free said:

Few citizens, since the days of George Washington, have met more resolutely or competently their duty to protect our freedoms. Melvin Laird exemplifies the selfless, nonpartisan dedication to, and love of, country which has earned him the gratitude of every American. Our association is honored to invite for Melvin Laird the public acclaim which is his due.

Mr. Speaker, I might point out that the ROA, by honoring Secretary Laird, honors itself. Mel Laird has exemplified those principles which the ROA has long

cherished and worked to make more secure and better understood throughout America.

It has been said that a reservist is "twice a citizen." I could not agree more. Weekends, evenings, and vacation periods are selflessly given by each Reserve officer and man to promote our national security and our way of life. Long hours of study are routine for each reservist as he prepares for advancement and for his mobilization billet in case of national emergency. Mel Laird has devoted his working lifetime to the service of his country—and he has never failed to pursue and represent those ideals which the ROA works so very hard to promote.

Secretary Laird joins a select and distinguished company in receiving this high honor. Past recipients have been our distinguished Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Gen. David Sarnoff, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Mr. Bryce N. Harlow, Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, Senator JOHN STENNIS, Mr. Hugh M. Milton II, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Representative ROBERT L. F. SIKES, and Representative F. EDWARD HEBERT.

The presentation of the "Minute Man" award will be made at the ROA's 1970 mid-winter banquet on the evening of February 27, 1970. Reserve leaders will be assembled on that occasion from throughout the world to honor Secretary Laird.

I wish to add my personal congratulations to Mel Laird, and associate myself with the views of those presenting the "Minute Man" award to him this year.

SECRETARY HARDIN PRAISED FOR ACTION TO SPEED UP FARM PAYMENTS

(Mr. MIZE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin has announced that participants in the 1970 cotton, wheat, and feed grains programs will receive their total payments much earlier than in past years.

Recognizing the tight money situation in agriculture as well as elsewhere, the Secretary has assured farmers that payments will be in their hands, for the most part, as soon as possible after July 1, 1970. This is months earlier than has been the practice.

During these times of cost-price squeeze in agriculture, I feel that the Secretary should be commended for doing everything possible to assist farmers in financing their preparation for the 1971 crop year. I congratulate the USDA for this timely—and very human—response to the farmer's crucial need for operating capital next summer.

I insert the USDA release announcing the payments, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEWS RELEASE

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1970.—Final Wheat, Feed Grain and Cotton Payments Will Be Issued Earlier This Year:

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin today announced that final payments to par-

ticipants in the 1970 wheat, feed grain, and cotton programs will be made as soon as possible after July 1, 1970, and will be completed as much as two months earlier than in previous years.

The speed-up in payments recognizes the extreme financing problem faced by farmers and assures that many of them will receive their total payments much earlier than in the past. The step-up will apply not only to voluntary diversion payments but also those payments such as for feed grain and cotton price support and wheat certificates which were not included in the past in the earlier payments.

The plans now being implemented should put most of the approximate \$3.3 billion in 1970-crop payments in producers' hands by the end of July or by mid-August. In contrast during the past few years, producers waited until after Sept. 1 for about 45 percent of the payments. Previously only a little more than 10 percent were made in July and only about 12 percent of the total came under the advance payment provisions.

For example, a feed grain program in Iowa who diverted acreage above the minimum for participation and who earned total payments of \$2,000 could have received about \$250 of his payment early in previous years. Under the rules prevailing in the past, he would have waited until after August 25 for the remaining \$1,750 of his payment. This year, he can expect to get all of his payment in July or August. In the past, participants earning about 2/3 of the feed grain payments were in States where final payments were not started until late August.

Arrangements now being made will accelerate preparatory work in order to issue approximately four million eight drafts to producers as rapidly as possible. The early payment operation will be consistent with good program administration and will be subject to appropriate Congressional funding action. Acceleration of payments will also depend on somewhat earlier certification of compliance by those producers who, in the past, have waited until July 1 or later to certify.

Officials noted that though cotton and feed grain payment computations could begin for individual producers as soon as their compliance with program provisions is known, wheat payment computations cannot be made until after July 1 because the law provides that the wheat payment be based on the parity price as of that date. Payment rates for both cotton and feed grains have been determined and announced earlier.

HOWARD SHULTZ MILLER, FORMER CONGRESSMAN FROM KANSAS, DIES JANUARY 2

(Mr. MIZE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to inform my colleagues that Howard Shultz Miller of Hiawatha, Kans., who represented the First District of Kansas in the 83d Congress, died on January 2.

I am sure there are many Members who remember Mr. Miller when he was here as a member of the Kansas delegation. He had always been active in soil and water conservation matters in Kansas and worked to advance measures of this type in Congress.

The 13-county district he represented was then the First District of Kansas. All 13 of those counties are now in the Second District which I have the honor of representing. Mr. Miller was my constituent. He was held in high regard by all who knew him.

Former Congressman Miller is survived by three of his children—Dr. Russell R. Miller of Hiawatha; Wendell Miller of Omaha; and Mrs. Ernest Hohnbaum, also of Hiawatha.

The family wishes to establish a memorial in his honor at the Soil Conservation Society of America, headquartered at Ankeny, Iowa.

As a part of my remarks, I wish to include a short biography of Howard Miller as it appeared in the Congressional Directory for the first session of the 83d Congress in 1953:

HOWARD SHULTZ MILLER

Democrat, of Hiawatha, Brown County, Kansas; born in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, February 27, 1879, son of Mahlon and Jennie Shultz Miller; attended district school and high school of Sabetha, Kansas; graduated from University of Nebraska College of Law with LL.B. degree in 1901; married Fluta Roberts, now deceased, of Morrill, Kansas, September 30, 1908; three living children, two boys, Wendell and Russell, and one girl, Isabel (Mrs. Ernest W. Hohnbaum); member of Congregational Church; past master Morrill Masonic Lodge; president of Walnut Creek Watershed Association; member, board of directors of Hiawatha Hospital Association, Nemaha Cooperative Elevator Company, Morrill Kiwanis Club, and others; farmer, lawyer, and stockman; elected to the Eighty-third Congress November 4, 1952.

CUNNINGHAM LAW WORKING WELL BUT WE CANNOT REST ON OUR LAURELS

(Mr. CUNNINGHAM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the problem of offensive, sexually oriented advertisements sent indiscriminately through the mails has long been, as you know, a matter of grave concern to this body. It has for years been a matter of the utmost individual concern to me, and I have given the highest priority to solving this problem. You no doubt recall the dedicated efforts of our Postal Operations Subcommittee in conducting hearings in past sessions in various locations throughout the country. Through these hearings we gathered extensive data on the undesirable results of mass mailing of the pandering type of advertisement.

The applicability of the criminal postal obscenity law, 18 U.S.C. 1461, has been narrowed by decisions of the Supreme Court which have taken an increasingly restrictive view of what type of material may be classified as obscene and thus made subject to the general prohibition against introduction of obscenity into the mailstream. In light of the narrowing compass of the postal obscenity law, I, as well as other Members of this body, introduced bills designed to provide a measure of relief to those who receive sex-oriented advertisements that they find offensive. The bills which I proposed—based on the time-honored principle that a man's home is his castle—would have enabled the addressee of mail which he believed to be morally objectionable to have the Post Office Department prohibit the sender from making further mailings to the addressee. One bill which I authored authorized the addressee to determine the moral offensive-

ness of the mail he had received was passed by this body in the 88th Congress. Another which I authored authorized the addressee to determine if the mail he received was obscene was passed by this body in the 89th Congress. In both cases the vote in favor of passage was overwhelming. Yet neither bill was passed by the Senate.

The threat to impressionable youngsters which was posed by the ever-swelling torrent of vile, licentious advertising continued to grow. Hundreds of thousands of adult citizens—many concerned for the welfare of their minor children, and themselves revolted by the lurid and indecent nature of such mail—wrote to the Congress and the Post Office Department imploring the Government to take effective action. Fortunately there were those in Congress—and I am pardonably proud to count myself in the forefront of these—who were unalterably committed to meeting the needs of the people—to giving our citizens the protection they so urgently needed and so completely deserved.

In the 90th Congress, in January 1967, I introduced yet another bill to deal with the foul matter that was polluting the Nation's mailstream and invading the privacy of millions of Americans who were shocked and disgusted by receipt of this trash. Again this bill was designed to have the individual citizen decide whether mail received by him or any child of his was obscene. If he so decided he could have the Post Office Department issue a prohibition against the mailer. If the mailer persisted in mailing to the addressee in violation of the prohibition, he would have been subject to a court order of compliance.

It was apparent to me that new tactics were necessary if we were to achieve passage of this much needed remedy by both branches. Accordingly, when the postal revenue and Federal salary bill for 1967 was being heard by our committee, I obtained the amendment of that bill by having a composite of Mr. OLSEN's revenue bill and my obscenity bill added to it. This amendment was changed in some respects by an amendment presented by the gentleman from California (Mr. WALDIE). His amendment was designed to insure that the addressee's determination of the pandering character of advertisements which he had received would be binding on the Government.

The revenue and salary bill, as thus amended, was passed by this body and sent to the Senate. Mr. WALDIE and I testified before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee in behalf of the amendment, which was designated as title III of the revenue and salary bill. I made it perfectly clear in my testimony that this body was determined to provide the people of this country statutory protection against unwanted pandering advertisements, and that adverse consideration by the Senate committee would not be easily accepted. I pointed out that passage of the entire revenue and salary bill might be jeopardized if once again the provisions to deal with pandering mail were not given the consideration they urgently cried out for. I insisted on this position in the conference as I was a conferee.

I know there were those in the Senate who felt that no limitation should be imposed on the right of the advertiser to use the mails, no matter how strongly particular addressees might object to receiving mail from particular advertisers. And some Congressmen were frustrated by a sense that title III did not go far enough in that it did not completely bar dissemination of offensive matter, but merely gave effect to the requests of individuals who did not want to receive such mail. However, I firmly believed that title III represented an approach that would meet any constitutional test and which would allow people who wanted it to receive it. But to those who did not want to receive it to use a tool to stop its delivery into their home.

Well, Mr. Speaker, it gave me great satisfaction to see long years of effort produce the legislation which I knew the people needed and which I believed, upon excellent legal advice rendered from many sources, would withstand the onslaught of attack on its constitutionality. Title III was passed as part of the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 which was signed by the President on December 16, 1967. Title III, by its own terms, became effective in mid-April 1968. Mr. Speaker, I believe sufficient time has now elapsed since that effective date for us to evaluate the operation of title III; to see if all the effort expended to get this legislation was really as worthwhile as we thought it would be; and to see if those who doubted the worth of this legislation may now be presented with evidence which may change their minds.

Title III was inserted in the United States Code as section 4009 of title 39. Section 4009 provides that the recipient of any pandering advertisement which is sent through the mail and which offers to sell matter which the addressee, in his sole discretion, believes to be erotically arousing or sexually provocative may request the Post Office Department to enter an order prohibiting further mailings to him by the sender of the advertisement. Any of the addressee's children under 19 years old, living with the addressee, may be included in the protective scope of the prohibitory order. Upon receipt of the order the mailer must immediately refrain from maintaining or transferring any mailing list bearing the names of the protected persons. Also the mailer may make no further mailings to those persons, effective on the 30th day after his receipt of the order. Violation of the prohibitory order issued by the Post Office Department may lead to a court order directing compliance, and violation of the court order may be punished as contempt of court.

In administering section 4009, the Post Office Department has from the beginning applied the statute in a manner consistent with the intention of those of us who composed and passed the law. The Department examines the addressee's request to see if it is based on an advertisement—an offer to sell. But the Department in no way interferes with the judgment of the addressee that the matter offered for sale is erotically arousing or sexually provocative. The order issued by the Department forbids any further

mailing whatsoever from the sender of the pandering advertisement to the complaining addressee and any children included in the protective scope of the order.

The Department has placed the basic administration of the statute in the hands of the postmasters of certain major post offices that are known as postal service centers. A request by a postal patron for a prohibitory order is channeled to the postal service center for the area of the patron's address. The postmaster of the appropriate service center, acting as the delegate of the Postmaster General, then duly processes each request and issues the order. The Department has distributed various posters and printed forms to post offices throughout the country to alert postal patrons to the availability of the statutory relief and to assist the citizen in obtaining that relief. In addition, news stories and press releases have helped publicize the statute. Most of us are aware of the cooperation of the Post Office Department in furnishing us with printed forms to distribute to our constituents. I also know that many of us have utilized our newsletters to our constituents to counsel them as to the statute and familiarize them with the form that is used for requesting prohibitory orders.

What has been the public response to this program? Well, Mr. Speaker, I am gratified to say that it has been as extensive and favorable as I anticipated. From the beginning of the statute's operation in mid-April 1968, through the end of December 1969, the Post Office Department has received a total of 406,108 requests for prohibitory orders. This certainly substantiates our belief that the American people wanted relief from the intrusion of offensive pandering mail. This fact is all the more clearly demonstrated when one breaks down that total into separate figures for calendar years 1968 and 1969. During the 8½ months this law operated in 1968, the Department received 113,429 requests for orders. In calendar year 1969, the Department received 292,679 requests. The number of requests keeps increasing steadily as our citizens find that this pandering advertisements statute is available and provides the most effective remedy currently available to protect the individual from receiving sexually oriented mail which he does not want. I should say at this point, Mr. Speaker, that there were some individuals who argued against passage of this statute because of the broad discretion it gives to addressees. They believed it would be extensively applied, not against pandering, sexually oriented advertisements but against the direct-mail advertising of business which was not at all involved in sexually oriented merchandise. Again I am pleased to report that the experience of the Post Office Department indicates no significant misapplication of the statutory remedy by addressees.

As it does so often when faced with new burdens of increasingly heavy proportions, the Post Office Department has responded magnificently to the administrative challenge of a program which obviously has grown to gigantic dimensions and which gives every indication of con-

tinuous, dramatic growth. The total number of prohibitory orders issued in 1968 and 1969 is 324,568. Not all the difference between number of orders requested and number issued represents a backlog in processing. In many instances requests have been made which cannot properly result in issuance of an order under the law. The administrative mechanism, under the overall supervision of the Department's general counsel, has been established within the existing departmental framework and capacities. However, if the program continues to grow as indicated, the Department undoubtedly will require comparable increases in personnel assigned to the program, and establishment of new operational units exclusively devoted to the effective functioning of the pandering advertisements statute.

Some of these pressures on personnel and on processing techniques will likely also be experienced by those involved in obtaining court enforcement of prohibitory orders which have been violated. In addition to the Justice Department, U.S. attorneys' offices, and the Federal courts, this aspect will also involve the Post Office Department. The Post Office general counsel received all cases wherein violations of prohibitory orders have been found to have been committed. His office must process these cases for transmission to the Justice Department. The total of violation cases processed by the general counsel's office in 1968 and 1969 is 2,602. Due primarily to court backlogs, a comparatively small number of court enforcement orders has been issued to date. No violation of these court orders has yet been reported.

Some mailers of large numbers of pandering advertisements have taken advantage of the statute's provision for an administrative hearing on the question of violation of the prohibitory orders. This, of course, poses another heavy burden for the Post Office Department, which uses its regional counsel as hearing officers.

A challenge to the statute was mounted by several mailers who brought an action before a three-judge Federal district court in the central district of California. The court decided that the statute was constitutionally valid. The mailers have appealed this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, and the case will be heard this term. There appears to be every reason to hope that the constitutionality of the statute will be upheld by the Supreme Court, just as it was upheld by the district court.

To sum up, Mr. Speaker, I think those of us in Congress who had anything to do with achieving passage of the pandering advertisements statute can be proud of the results achieved so far by its operation. I personally am highly gratified by these results and by the efforts of all those dedicated Federal employees involved in the administration and enforcement of section 4009. From my own experience I can testify that it was a long, hard fight to get this legislation. It is extremely pleasing for me to see these efforts now repaid by the success of the statute. The need for section 4009 existed and still does exist. To meet that

need we produced a constitutional piece of legislation which has caught on with the people in a big way. Our citizens know a good thing when they see it. They recognize the value of section 4009 and are beating a path to the post office to take advantage of the law's protections.

Now that we see how section 4009 is working, the Congress should not, Mr. Speaker, just rest on its laurels. The purveyors of unwanted and offensive sexually oriented advertising are not resting, nor are they throwing in the towel. The more we can do to give protection to individuals not wanting this mail in their homes, the better off our citizens will be. I was in the forefront in presenting and fighting for the type of legislation that we finally achieved in section 4009. I intend to remain in the forefront of the fight to give complete protection to our citizens against "assault through the mails." It was in accordance with this intent that I introduced H.R. 10877, the postal rate bill, title II of which provides new measures of protection which would be available upon request to our citizens. We have made great progress in the battle to defend the privacy of our citizens against the onslaught of unwanted erotica. Let us take encouragement from our initial success—achieved despite dire predictions of disaster—and continue to expand and perfect the arsenal of weapons available to the millions of decent Americans who want to keep pornographic advertisements out of their mailboxes and out of reach of their children.

VIEWING THE WELFARE ISSUE FROM THE INSIDE

(Mr. ASHBROOK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on August 8, 1969, President Nixon in a TV speech dealt with the welfare crisis across the Nation and proposed a number of proposals for welfare reform. In his address the President stressed that his family security plan was not a "guaranteed annual income." His disclaimer notwithstanding, there are those among us who believe that the administration's plan has all the trimmings of the guaranteed annual income idea. For instance, Mitchell Ginsberg, director of the New York City welfare agency, stated:

There is irony in it, of course . . . in the fact that here, coming from a Republican, is something that amounts to a guaranteed annual income.

Recently I received a letter from a lady who works in a welfare office, is opposed to the guaranteed annual income proposal, and is deeply concerned about the moral erosion which is fostered by welfare abuses. Unlike some of our social planners, her exposure to the welfare scene has been considerable, and her judgments based on extensive firsthand information.

As the issue of welfare reforms will be in the limelight for some time to come, the actual experiences of this welfare

worker are worthy of consideration and for that reason request that her unsolicited letter be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

Re Welfare.

Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I read the article by Amer. Conser. Union in our newspaper dated: January 11, 1970, regarding Welfare, and I agree 100%.

You see, I work in a Welfare Office, and have for quite some time (God forbid), and I see the moral erosion it is causing, and the sad part of it is, where is it going to end? When the U.S. runs out of money?

I see adults bring their aged parents in; the whole family comes along. "One parent can support 10 children, but 10 children cannot support one aging parent." They usually drive up in a good car.

I see hundreds of young girls coming in to apply for Medical Aid for their unborn, illegitimate child. I see little infants, and Toddlers—unwanted, after they are born.

I see husbands deserting their families, and dumping them off into welfare rolls, and starting a new family. Not long ago a child, 9 yrs, starved to death * * * simply because the mother took most of the welfare check, and gave it to her boy-friend who lived in the same house.

Only God knows the "Moral Erosion" caused by welfare, which is far more important, than money payments.

It used to be, people came in, and respectfully asked for Welfare. Now they "demand" it. They say they are entitled to it.

"Ask not what one's country can do for it, but what one can do for their country." I am not a Democrat. Politicians say "Welfare buys a lot of votes." I don't think America can afford that luxury any more. Do you?

I wrote Pres. Nixon and stated that I was against a Guaranteed Income, and he replied that most people were. It's hard to believe this is 1970—not 1870. But then people were not afraid of hard work. After my husband's (1944) death, I reared two little girls, ages 7 months and 2 yrs. alone. Now they are an asset to their country, and God.

I pray for my country.

Respectfully yours,

THE TAX REFORM BILL

(Mr. ASHBROOK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, upon signing the tax reform bill on December 30 of last year President Nixon commented that Congress had passed an unbalanced tax measure which was both good and bad. The President had the concurrence of the highly respected columnist and publisher, David Lawrence, at least as far as the undesirable aspects of the bill are concerned.

The Daily Jeffersonian of Cambridge, Ohio, carried, on December 24, the Lawrence column which reviewed the liabilities of this important piece of legislation. As can be seen, Mr. Lawrence's objections are not superficial and his concern over its ensuing effects should be considered for future corrective action.

I request that the column, "Tax Reform Bill, A Destructive Measure" by David Lawrence, appearing in the Daily Jeffersonian of December 24, 1969, be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

TAX REFORM BILL, A DESTRUCTIVE MEASURE
(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon faces the most crucial decision he has had to make on domestic problems since he was inaugurated—whether to sign or veto the so-called "tax reform" bill. It's a choice between a reduction of taxes that can result in a recession and taking a firm stand that will prevent deficit financing of the government and serious handicaps to business development.

For the "tax reform" bill is a hodgepodge of what seems on the surface to be politically "popular" but in reality could be repudiated in the next election if the voters are given the real truth about the causes of higher and higher prices and the curtailment of the purchasing power of the dollar.

The "tax reform" bill is in certain respects a destructive measure. It disturbs many a business which has set up pension benefits. It discourages those property owners who now will have to ask higher prices in order to offset the increase in taxes on capital-gains.

Theoretically, the bill distributes more money for individual spending. But prices are bound to rise and the present inflationary trend will be maintained. While the bill cuts some tax rates, others are increased. On the whole, the federal budget will be adversely affected and deficits will continue, thus helping to depreciate the dollar.

Hitherto the emphasis has been on restraining inflation, but the new tax bill is bound to enlarge its scope. While collecting more revenues through new tax rates, the proposed law calls for more federal disbursements which use up the greater tax receipts and leave a deficit besides.

Only a few days ago, the national planning association through its chief economist predicted that the nation is flirting with a recession and "inflation is apt to be excessive next year, even with high unemployment." Also, the consumer index just issued by the federal government shows that prices are steadily going up and the dollar's value keeps on going down.

Under these circumstances, the President is in a position, after analyzing the "tax reform" bill for the American people, to tell the country how the increases in revenue obtained by imposing heavier taxes on business and on the higher income groups are wiped out by new appropriations.

Most members of Congress who voted for the measure thought it would bring them votes in the election next November. But if times are bad and the money saved by tax reduction is offset by price increases, the voters are likely to blame the Democratic party, which seeks to retain control of both Houses.

Will the President have the courage to veto the "tax reform" bill? It is not easy to tell whether the electorate will perceive the reasons for the spread of inflation. But certainly a President can give the facts to the public and refuse to take the risk in signing the new tax bill. He can, if he wants, apply a "pocket veto" by not signing the measure for ten days while Congress is in recess and explaining then why he feels it would be harmful to the economy. He could, on the other hand, sign the bill and, while pointing out some of its good provisions, call for prompt repeal of those sections which can be expected to intensify an era of excessive spending.

Beneath it all, too, is the effect of the new tax measure on business operations in America. Incentive is in many ways impaired. There will be an adverse impact on the normal operations of the economy. Increasing tax rates, for instances, on the high incomes of talented personnel may look attractive as a revenue-raising device, but the companies which employ those individuals will have to move up salaries substantially.

This, together with labor union demands, can result in raising prices on goods to be sold.

It is tragic that the Congress of the United States has tried to change important parts of the tax structure so hastily instead of appointing a commission of disinterested experts to devote at least a year to careful study of alternatives. To modify arbitrarily tax laws that were in the main written 30 years ago and have been imbedded in the economic system for such a long time requires a nonpolitical approach governed by only one consideration—the public interest as a whole.

TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA

(Mr. MILLER of Ohio asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the production of wheat in the United States in 1967 totaled 45,730,000 short tons—14 percent of the world figure.

THE LATE HONORABLE
JOHN B. HYNES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the people of Boston, in particular, and countless of thousands throughout the country, were saddened in the death of Hon. John B. Hynes, former mayor of the city of Boston.

During his service, Mayor Hynes gave the people of Boston outstanding, courageous, understanding, and humane leadership. He enjoyed widespread confidence and respect in his private and public life.

John Hynes was a fine family man and a distinguished public official.

His service as mayor came at a time when great changes were being made in the future development of Boston and in Boston's being a leader among the cities of our country in meeting the problems of today and in decades to come. Mayor Hynes gave the leadership to Boston that was outstanding and constructive.

His advice was constantly sought by the mayors and governing bodies of other cities.

Despite the prominence he achieved, John Hynes, a dear and valued friend of mine for years, was a simple, a good man—a secret of his greatness.

If anything will be said of John Hynes, it is that he "was not only a great man, but he was a good man."

At the funeral mass, presided over by the Most Reverend Jeremiah F. Minihan, auxiliary bishop of the archdiocese of Boston, the Reverend Father Francis J. Gilday, S.J., delivered the eulogy.

The eulogy of Father Gilday was a touching story of the life of John Hynes. Among other things, Father Gilday said:

All of Boston, all of this entire area, has lost a great civic representative.

John Hynes was a man who dedicated his life to the service of the public—unselfish, unstinted service. A man who relied upon the Almighty God with a prayer morning, noon, and night.

No person was too small, no problem too big for his personal effort and timely diplomacy, he was a man geared to serve and to lead.

He was at his best serving quietly behind

the scenes, labouring personally against injustice and for social progress for the poor.

And in speaking of John Hynes as a husband and father, Father Gilday eloquently said:

He was a model husband and a model father, a model public servant and, in many ways, a model man whose way of life was an example to us all.

The intensity of John B. Hynes' love for Boston is endowed by a poem he wrote entitled, "Boston," which I enclose in my remarks.

For my colleagues from Massachusetts, and for Mrs. McCormack and myself, I extend to Mrs. Hynes and her loved ones, our deep sympathy in their bereavement.

BOSTON

(By John B. Hynes)

Don't you love this city by the open sea,
This city that mothered the Home of the Free?

Don't you love this city with its wrinkled brow,
And its streets laid out by the wandering cow?

Don't you love this city with its spires and domes,

With its gilded crosses and its Godly homes?
Don't you love this city with its customs old,
And its wisdom to know the dross from the gold?

Don't you love this city and its Bunker Hill,
And its age-old shrines of glorious thrill?
Don't you love this city, the old and the new,

With its grip on the things that are lasting and true?

Don't you love this city with its air of grace,
Its delight with beauty and disgust with the base?

Don't you love this city when the shadows fall,
And the birds wing home to the Common mall?

Don't you love this city when the dawning sun,

Bursts from the sea where the codfish run?
Don't you love this city when the wind's in the east?

And the smell of the deep is the free man's feast?

Don't you love this city with its gales and snow,

With its summer warmth and its autumn glow?

Don't you love this city when its trees so bare,

Are laced in blossoms fragrant and fair?

Don't you love this city where knowledge waits,

For those who walk through its library gates?

Don't you love this city and the things we prize,

The preacher dauntless and the scholar wise?
Don't you love this city where art is long,

With its principles true and its faith so strong?

Don't you love this city where the fleeting years,

Have left a trail that heartens and cheers?

Don't you love this city where the color ban,
Has long since vanished like the school rattle?

Don't you love this city with its mingled strains,

Where men are equal and where harmony reigns?

Don't you love this city where roots go deep,
In the soil of the land where the martyrs sleep?

Don't you love this city born of struggle and strife,

Where the false is interred and truth given life?

Don't you love this city and its grand old name,
That swells the heart as we think of its fame?
Don't you love this city wherever you roam,
And who is not proud to call it home?
For Boston is Boston and forever she'll stand,
A tower of truth in a truth-loving land.
Forever she'll stand for all that is just,
'Til the world is no more and all is dust.
So love old Boston from her head to her toes,
Be one of her gallants, be one of her beaux.
Be one who will shout in tones firm and clear,
She's the most Gracious Damsel in the whole hemisphere.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina (at the request of Mr. RUTH), for 2 weeks, on account of illness.

Mr. BURKE of Florida (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for the week of January 19, 1970, on account of official business.

Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for January 19 through January 26, on account of official business.

Mr. LLOYD (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for January 19 through January 29, on account of official business.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for January 19 through January 30, on account of official business.

Mr. GROVER (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. YATES (at the request of Mr. ZABLOCKI), for Monday, January 19, 1970, on account of attending a funeral.

Mr. WOLFF (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today and the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. FARSTEIN (at the request of Mr. ADDABBO), for balance of the month of January on account of official business.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania), for Monday, January 19, 1970, on account of official business.

Mr. CORMAN, for Monday, January 19, 1970, on account of official business.

Mr. FOUNTAIN (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, January 19, 1970, on account of official business until 1:15 p.m.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. PATMAN, for 30 minutes on today; Wednesday, January 21; and Thursday, January 22; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. PERKINS, for 30 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ANDERSON of California), to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. REUSS, for 60 minutes, today.
Mr. FLOOD, for 15 minutes, today.
Mr. RARICK, for 10 minutes, today.
Mr. MONTGOMERY, for 60 minutes, on January 21.

Mr. FLOOD, for 60 minutes, on January 27.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. OLSEN and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MICHEL and to include an article.
Mr. McCLURE, immediately prior to the passage of H.R. 6244 today.

Mr. ASPINALL preceding the colloquy on H.R. 11372.

Mr. GRAY to extend his remarks immediately following passage of H.R. 12795 on the Consent Calendar today.

Mr. McCORMACK (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) to extend his remarks in the body of the RECORD and to include extraneous material.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. RUPPE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CONTE in five instances.
Mr. QUILLIN in four instances.
Mr. BERRY.
Mr. PELLY in two instances.
Mr. POFF.
Mr. GOODLING.
Mr. TAFT.
Mr. CUNNINGHAM in five instances.
Mr. MORSE.
Mr. CONABLE.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. UTT in two instances.
Mr. BOB WILSON in two instances.
Mr. HOGAN in two instances.
Mr. ASHBROOK.
Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN.
Mr. DELLENBACK.
Mr. DERWINSKI.
Mr. LIPSCOMB.
Mr. BROCK.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ANDERSON of California) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. POWELL in two instances.
Mr. OTTINGER in five instances.
Mr. RODINO.
Mr. FARSTEIN in four instances.
Mr. HOWARD.
Mr. KASTENMEIER in two instances.
Mr. RARICK in three instances.
Mr. MIKVA in six instances.
Mr. FUQUA.
Mr. BROWN of California.
Mr. WOLFF.
Mr. DINGELL in two instances.
Mr. ULLMAN in 10 instances.
Mr. LOWENSTEIN in five instances.
Mr. RYAN in three instances.
Mr. HUNGATE in two instances.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 20, 1970, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

[Submitted during adjournment on Jan. 13, 1970]

1440. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated September 9, 1969, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a cooperative beach erosion control study of Revere and Nantasket Beaches, Mass., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved July 3, 1930, as amended and supplemented (H. Doc. No. 91-211); referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed, with illustrations, pursuant to Public Law 91-144.

[Submitted Jan. 19, 1970]

1441. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting the results of the examination of financial statements of Federal Prison Industries, Inc., for the fiscal year 1969 (H. Doc. No. 91-213); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

1442. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting notification that his proposals relative to post-secondary education will be transmitted early in 1970, in accordance with section 508 of the Higher Education Amendments of 1969 (Public Law 90-575); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

1443. A letter from the Director of Science and Education, Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report relative to assisting States to provide additional facilities for research at the State Agricultural Stations for fiscal year 1969, pursuant to the provisions of section 10, Public Law 88-74; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1444. A letter from the General Sales Manager, Export Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report of agreements signed for foreign currencies under Public Law 480 for November and December 1969, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 85-128, and in addition, certain copies of agreements reported November 10, 1969; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1445. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report on disbursements for the first quarter of fiscal year 1970, pursuant to the provisions of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act (Public Law 91-171); to the Committee on Appropriations.

1446. A letter from the Assistant Administrator, Department of State, Agency for International Development, transmitting the semiannual report on architectural and engineering fees in excess of \$25,000 for the period January 1 to June 30, 1969, pursuant to section 102 of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

1447. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a report of Army aviation personnel above the grade of major with the average monthly flight pay authorized by law to be paid such officers for the period July 1-December 31, 1969, in accordance with the provisions of section 301 (g) of title 37, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1448. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to establish the authorized strength of the Naval Reserve in officers in the Judge Advocate General's Corps in the grade of rear admiral, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1449. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Housing), transmitting notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of the following facilities projects proposed for the Army Reserve at Baton Rouge, La., Clarksdale, Miss., and Seattle, Wash., pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1); to the Committee on Armed Services.

1450. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Housing), transmitting notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain projects proposed for the Army National Guard, in accordance with the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1), to the Committee on Armed Services.

1451. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Housing), transmitting notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of the project proposed for the Marine Corps Reserve at Lubbock, Tex., pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1); to the Committee on Armed Services.

1452. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a report on the enforcement of title I of the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968, covering the calendar year 1969; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1453. A letter from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting a report on the fees and charges which the department proposes to collect to guarantee the land acquisition and development costs for new communities, pursuant to title V of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (New Communities Act of 1968); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1454. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting the report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for July–September 1969, pursuant to section 10(d) of the Small Business Act, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1455. A letter from the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, transmitting the first annual report on truth in lending for the year 1969, pursuant to section 114 of the Truth in Lending Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1456. A letter from the vice president of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting the company's report for the year 1969 (December estimated); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1457. A letter from the Secretary of Labor and the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting report on seasonal unemployment in the construction industry, pursuant to section 402 of title IV of the 1968 extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

1458. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to complement the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1459. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report on implementation of section 507(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1460. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report of disposals of foreign excess property for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of section 404(d) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1461. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting the 1969 Annual Report of the General Services Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1462. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting the annual report on the activities of the U.S. General Accounting Office during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of section 312(a) of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1463. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the Hawk missile systems provided to

Far East countries; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1464. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on improvements needed in selecting military personnel for formal school training by the U.S. Army, Europe; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1465. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need to improve performance standards for more efficient use of civilian production personnel in the Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1466. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the management of civilian hiring limitations and recruiting by the Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1467. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need for better coordination among, and guidance of, management evaluation groups in the Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1468. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on improved procedures needed for obtaining facilities for U.S. Naval Support Activity, Naples, Italy, by lease-construction method, Department of the Navy; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1469. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the readiness of selected units of the Reserve Components of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1470. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the prices negotiated for rock-crushing plants for use in the Republic of Vietnam, Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1471. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the change proposed in interest rate criteria for determining financing costs of the Federal power program, Department of the Interior; Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1472. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the audit of financial statements of the Veterans' Canteen Service for fiscal year 1969, Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1473. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on improvements needed in the management of aircraft modifications, Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1474. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the economies obtainable by increasing days at sea of oceanographic research and survey ships, Environmental Science Services Administration, Department of Commerce; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1475. A letter from the Sergeant at Arms, U.S. House of Representatives, transmitting a report of sums drawn pursuant to sections 78 and 80, title 2, United States Code, and the application and disbursement of the sums and balances, if any, pursuant to the provisions of title 2, United States Code, section 84; to the Committee on House Administration.

1476. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report on donations received and expenditures made from the fund entitled "14XB563 Funds Contributed for Advancement of Indian Race, Bureau of Indian Affairs," during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of 82 Stat. 171 (25 U.S.C. 451); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1477. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the 13th annual

report on the status of the Colorado River storage project and participating projects, pursuant to section 6 of the authorizing act of April 11, 1956 (70 Stat. 105); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1478. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed concession contract for the Yellowstone National Park, under which Hamilton Stores, Inc., will provide facilities and services for a 30-year period, pursuant to 67 Stat. 271 and 70 Stat. 543; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1479. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the report of the Attorney General with respect to proceedings instituted before the Subversive Activities Control Board during the period January 1, 1969, through December 31, 1969, pursuant to the requirements of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, as amended January 2, 1968; to the Committee on Internal Security.

1480. A letter from the Chairman, Subversive Activities Control Board, transmitting a report on the progress made by the Board in conducting hearings for the period from January 1, 1969, to December 31, 1969, pursuant to section 12(1) of the Subversive Activities Control Act as added by section 9(b) of Public Law 90-237; to the Committee on Internal Security.

1481. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting the 24th annual report of operations under the Federal Airport Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, pursuant to section 18 of the act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1482. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting a report on permits and licenses for hydroelectric projects issued during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, financial statements of proceeds, and the names and compensation of persons employed, pursuant to the provisions of section 4(d) of the Federal Power Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1483. A letter from the Executive Director, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting a report on backlog of pending applications and hearing cases as of November 30, 1969 pursuant to section 5(e) of the Communications Act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1484. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of the publication, "All Electric Homes in the United States, January 1, 1969"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1485. A letter from the Acting Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board, transmitting the annual report of the Board covering fiscal year 1969, pursuant to section 205 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1486. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the eighth report on identical bidding in advertised public procurement during the calendar year 1968, pursuant to section 7 of Executive Order 10936 issued April 24, 1961; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1487. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders entered in cases of aliens who have been found admissible to the United States, pursuant to the provisions of section 212(a)(28)(I)(ii) of the Immigration and Nationality Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1488. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders entered in cases in which the authority contained in section 212(d)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act was exercised in behalf of such aliens, pursuant to the provisions of section 212(d)(6) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1489. A letter from the commander, Congressional Medal of Honor Society, United States of America, transmitting its annual financial report for the calendar year 1969, pursuant to Public Law 88-584; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1490. A letter from the national secretary-treasurer, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, transmitting proceedings of the 88th annual national encampment held in St. Louis, Mo., August 17-21, 1969, and a report of audit of the accounts of the national organization for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 83-605; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1491. A letter from the chairman, board of directors, Future Farmers of America, transmitting a report on the audit of the accounts of the Future Farmers of America; the Future Farmers Supply Service and the National Future Farmer Magazine, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1969, and a copy of the combined statement, pursuant to the provisions of section 2 and 3 of Public Law 88-504; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1492. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Postmaster General to negotiate and enter into rental agreements with postmasters for quarters at fourth-class offices; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1493. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting an annual report on scientific and professional positions established pursuant to the provisions of 5 U.S.C. 3104(c); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1494. A letter from the Director of Personnel, U.S. Department of Commerce, transmitting a report of scientific and professional positions established, pursuant to the provisions of section 3104(c) of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1495. A letter from the Librarian of Congress, transmitting a report of scientific and professional positions established, pursuant to the provisions of section 3104(c) of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1496. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a report with respect to certain civilian positions established during the calendar year 1969, pursuant to section 3104(c) of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1497. A letter from the Acting Director, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, transmitting the annual report for the calendar year 1969 on scientific or professional positions, pursuant to section 3104(c) of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1498. A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, transmitting information relative to the census of agriculture conducted at 5-year intervals in accordance with title 13, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1499. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting a report on positions in grades GS-16, 17, and 18 for calendar year 1969, pursuant to section 5114 of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1500. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a report that the GS-17 positions allocated by section 5108(c) (3) have not changed since the report last year, pursuant to section 5114(a) of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1501. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a report on positions in grades GS-16, 17 and 18, during the 1969 calendar year, pursuant to sec-

tion 5114(a) title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1502. A letter from the Chairman, Railroad Retirement Board; transmitting a report for the calendar year 1969, on positions in grades GS-16, 17, and 18, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 5114 (a); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

1503. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation; transmitting a report entitled "Territorial Highway Study—Guam, American Samoa, Virgin Islands," prepared in accordance with the requirements of section 29(b) of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968, Public Law 90-495; to the Committee on Public Works.

1504. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Economic Development, Department of Commerce, transmitting notification that the annual report of the Economic Development Administration for 1969 will be transmitted by the end of January 1970; to the Committee on Public Works.

1505. A letter from the Federal Co-Chairman, New England Regional Commission, transmitting the annual report for the fiscal year 1969, pursuant to section 510 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; to the Committee on Public Works.

1506. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority; transmitting the 36th annual report, covering the activities of the TVA during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968 and ending June 30, 1969; to the Committee on Public Works.

1507. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting the annual report on grants vesting title to equipment for fiscal year 1969, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 1893, and rule XL of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

1508. A letter from the Chairman, the Renegotiation Board, transmitting the 14th annual report of the Renegotiation Board, required by section 114 of Public Law 870, 84th Congress; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1509. A letter from the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives, transmitting a list of reports which it is the duty of any officer or department to make to Congress, pursuant to the provisions of rule III, clause 2, of the Rules of the House of Representatives (H. Doc. No. 91-210); to the Committee on House Administration and ordered to be printed.

1510. A letter from the director, legislative commission, the American Legion, transmitting the proceedings of the 51st annual national convention of the Legion held in Atlanta, Ga., August 26-28, 1969 (H. Doc. 91-214); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

1511. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the combined statement of receipts, expenditures, and balances of the U.S. Government for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of 31 U.S.C. 1964 edition supplement II, section 1029 and 31 U.S.C. 66b; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1512. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the financial management of Bureau of the Mint operations needs improvement, Department of the Treasury, pursuant to the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 53), and the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950 (31 U.S.C. 66); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture.
H.R. 485. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 with respect to wheat; without amendment (Rept. No. 91-787). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2036. A bill to remove a cloud on the titles of certain property all located in Malin, Oreg., and owned by the city of Malin, Marian H. Peck, Merrill, Oreg., Marion R. Rupert, Malin, Oreg., and Blanche Fields, Malin, Oreg.; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91-788). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 9882. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell reserved phosphate interests of the United States in certain lands in Florida to the record owners of the surface thereof; with amendments (Rept. No. 91-789). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 13106. A bill to extend for 3 years the period of time during which certain requirements shall continue to apply with respect to applications for a license for an activity which may affect the resources of the Hudson Riverway, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 91-790). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2012. A bill to amend the act of October 25, 1949 (63 Stat. 1205), authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey a tract of land to Lillian I. Anderson; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91-791). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3908. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth B. Borgnino; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91-792). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 5365. A bill to provide for the conveyance of certain public land held under color of title to Mrs. Jessie L. Gaines of Mobile, Ala.; without amendment (Rept. No. 91-793). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALEXANDER:
H.R. 15435. A bill to provide for orderly trade in footwear; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BENNETT:
H.R. 15436. A bill to amend chapter 73, retired serviceman's family protection plan, title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 15437. A bill to require that public schools throughout the United States achieve equality of integration; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:
H.R. 15438. A bill to establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, and for other purposes; to

the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 15439. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide under the retirement test a substantial increase in the amount of outside income permitted without loss of benefits, but with a requirement that income of all types and from all sources be included in determining the amount of an individual's income for purposes of such test; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 15440. A bill to authorize a family assistance plan providing basic benefits to low-income families with children, to provide incentives for employment and training to improve the capacity for employment of members of such families, to achieve greater uniformity of treatment of recipients under the Federal-State public assistance programs and to otherwise improve such programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey:

H.R. 15441. A bill to amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act; to the Committee on Judiciary.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 15442. A bill to permit State agreements for coverage under the hospital insurance program for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EDMONDSON:

H.R. 15443. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to entitle veterans of World War I and their widows and children to pension on the same basis as veterans of the Spanish-American War and their widows and children, respectively; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

By Mr. HUNGATE:

H.R. 15444. A bill to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, as amended; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. LENNON:

H.R. 15445. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 15446. A bill to provide a program of national health insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 15447. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the making of grants to certain medical and dental schools, which are in dire financial distress, to enable such schools to continue, without curtailment, certain service functions, programs, and activities which are in the national interest; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 15448. A bill to provide for the establishment of not less than seven regional law enforcement academies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 15449. A bill to amend the Export Administration Act of 1969 to provide that a provision relating to the disclosure of confidential information shall not apply to Communist-dominated nations; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. STAGGERS (for himself and Mr. SPRINGER):

H.R. 15450. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to establish a code system for the identification of prescription drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 15451. A bill to establish a Joint Committee on Environmental Quality; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WATTS:

H.R. 15452. A bill to clarify the treatment process considered as mining in the case of

ball and sagger clay; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BENNETT (for himself, and Mr. BERRY, Mr. BURLISON of Missouri, Mr. CARTER, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, and Mrs. MAY):

H.R. 15453. A bill to amend the act of June 27, 1960 (74 Stat. 220), relating to the preservation of historical and archeological data; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 15454. A bill to amend the act of June 27, 1960 (74 Stat. 220), relating to the preservation of historical and archeological data; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 15455. A bill to establish the Hell's Canyon-Snake National River in the States of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BENNETT:

H.J. Res. 1045. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide that no child shall be deprived of education or otherwise be forced to attend a school not chosen by such child when such child is not in the school nearest the area of residence of such child; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MELCHER:

H.J. Res. 1046. Joint resolution to provide for the appropriation of funds to assist school districts adjoining or in the proximity of Indian reservations, to construct elementary and secondary schools and to provide proper housing and educational opportunities for Indian children attending these public schools; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BUCHANAN (for himself, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. CRANE, Mr. BUSH, Mr. CARTER, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. McKNEALLY, Mr. MICHEL, Mr. PRICE of Texas, Mrs. REID of Illinois, Mr. ROTHE, Mr. SCHNEEBELI, Mr. SHRIVER, Mr. STEIGER of Arizona, Mr. TAFT, Mr. TEAGUE of California, Mr. UTT, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. WEICKER, Mr. WYATT, Mr. WYLIE, and Mr. WYMAN):

H. Res. 778. Resolution to express the sense of the House with respect to peace in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CRANE (for himself, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. ASHBROOK, Mr. BELCHER, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, Mr. BURKE of Florida, Mr. BURTON of Utah, Mr. CEDERBERG, Mr. CLANCY, Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN, Mr. DEL CLAWSON, Mr. COLLIER, Mr. DEVINE, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, Mr. FREY, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. KING, Mr. KUYKENDALL, and Mr. LLOYD):

H. Res. 779. Resolution to express the sense of the House with respect to peace in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. Res. 780. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. EVINS of Tennessee:

H. Res. 781. Resolution providing funds for the operation of the Select Committee on Small Business; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MORSE:

H. Res. 782. Resolution to express the sense of the House with respect to peace in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. Res. 783. Resolution to provide addi-

tional funds for the expenses of studies, investigations, and inquiries authorized by House Resolution 152; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PATMAN (for himself and Mr. BARRETT):

H. Res. 784. Resolution to provide additional funds for the expenses of the studies, investigations, and inquiries authorized by House Resolution 152; to the Committee on House Administration.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 15456. A bill for the relief of Carlos Barrera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 15457. A bill for the relief of Margerite de Barrera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 15458. A bill for the relief of Domenico Martino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. CHISHOLM:

H.R. 15459. A bill for the relief of Giuseppa Montalbano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 15460. A bill for the relief of Rosa Montalbano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATHIAS:

H.R. 15461. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Dorothy M. Turner, and her sons, John and Calvin Bakos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 15462. A bill for the relief of Dr. Maria Concepcion Curbelo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

271. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, relative to using the Marine Hospital in Detroit for the treatment of youthful drug offenders; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

272. Also a memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, relative to retaining the exemption from Federal taxation of the interest received from State and local governments upon their obligations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

365. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the City Council, Waco, Tex., relative to giving special recognition to the Honorable W. R. (Bob) Poage on the attainment of his 70th birthday; to the Committee on Agriculture.

366. Also, petition of the common council of the city of Buffalo, N.Y., relative to designating January 15th as a national holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

367. Also, petition of the mayor and common council of the city of Plymouth, Wis., relative to taxation of interest on the obligations of a state or political subdivision; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

368. Also, petition of Joyce Middleton and others, Charleston, S.C., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

369. Also, petition of Eugene Lynch, Oak-

land, Calif., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

370. Also, petition of Daniel Edlord Le Veque, Sheboygan, Wis., relative to proposed legislation concerning the practices of insurance companies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

371. Also, petition of Daniel Edlord Le

Veque, Sheboygan, Wis., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

372. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, York, Pa., relative to opposing subsidies for falling newspapers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

373. Also, petition of the president of the

New Jersey Jaycees, Jamesburg, N.J., relative to support of the bill, H.R. 10867, dealing with obscene and pornographic mail; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

374. Also petition of the Board of Supervisors, county of Los Angeles, Calif., relative to establishing uniform welfare provisions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE GREAT STONE FACES

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 19, 1970

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the January edition of the Elks magazine contains an article entitled "The Great Stone Faces" by Lucille J. Goodyear. This is an excellent history of Mount Rushmore and I recommend it to all my colleagues. At this point, I include the article, which is as follows:

THE GREAT STONE FACES

(By Lucille J. Goodyear)

With great dignity, the gigantic stone faces of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt lookout over the Black Hills of South Dakota. On the granite face of 6000-foot Mount Rushmore, carved in dimensions symbolic of greatness, four great Americans are memorialized who upheld the rights and dignities of the common man.

Portrayed through these likenesses are the beginnings and trials of our Nation during its first century and a quarter. Washington represents the fight for liberty and the birth of the Republic. Jefferson is the expression of this country's political philosophy. Lincoln embodies the preservation of the Union, and Theodore Roosevelt depicts the expansion and conservation of the Nation as it is today.

The idea for these awe-inspiring carvings came into being in 1923 when Doane Robinson, State historian for South Dakota, suggested a monument in the picturesque Black Hills. The monument he had in mind would honor notable heroes of the old West: Jim Bridger, John Colter, and Kit Carson.

Two years later he found a sculptor competent enough to carve a mountain. This was Gutzon Borglum, an artist then at work sculpturing a Confederate memorial on Stone Mountain in Georgia.

The idea of having Western heroes was quickly rejected by Borglum as being much too regional. He thought the project should have more national significance—suggesting Washington and Lincoln. A year passed before the final selection was made. Borglum won the first bout of the fight!

Whereas Robinson had suggested the unusual granite formations known as the Needles as the best place for the monument, Borglum continued to look for a more suitable setting. After much searching he selected the mountain named after Charles E. Rushmore, a New York lawyer. He selected this mountain because it was smooth-grained granite, it dominated the surrounding terrain, and it faced the sun most of the day.

According to Borglum's estimates, the total cost of the project would be about \$500,000, with a completion time of five years. Backers were not too interested in pledging the needed money as too many people thought the carving of a mountain was a

sacrilege—an out-and-out desecration of God-made beauty. Fund-raising efforts proved quite fruitless until May of 1927, when the White House announced that President Coolidge would vacation in the Black Hills.

It was arranged that the President would have the opportunity to hear first-hand discussions of the proposed carvings and make an appearance at Mount Rushmore. In his speech he showed his approval and interest by promising federal aid for the undertaking. Congress allocated \$250,000, which was matched in nickels and dimes of school children from all parts of America.

All phases of the job were under the watchful eye of the talented Borglum. He made a time-consuming study of presidential portraits and pictures, taking note of even the most minute details of the facial features. Models were made on the scale of an inch of model to a foot of mountain area.

The lighting studies he made gave him an idea of how the figures would look during every season of the year, every change of lighting and atmosphere. As the granite could not be "carved" in the true sense of the word, he had to plan meticulous drilling charts, which involved a great deal of study and thought.

Drilling for the first head, that of Washington, was begun on October 24, 1927. The blasting was done in such a way as to leave a great rough, egg-shaped mass. It was possible to dynamite within an inch or two of the intended surface, and occasionally this was done. But generally, blasting was not carried on closer than six inches to the surface. It was not practical to dynamite too near, because the charges had to be so small and the holes so close together that little, if any, labor was saved. Measuring, blasting, drilling, splitting, and smoothing was the ordinary work cycle. The term "carving" was only a figure of speech in this gigantic project. Borglum was said to use dynamite much like a surgeon would use precision instruments.

Despite financial difficulties during the depression, the Washington head was dedicated July 4, 1930. Two years later the work came to another halt because of dwindling funds. Senator Norbeck came to the rescue with a grant from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The \$50,000 grant was matched with funds from the Rushmore appropriation.

Again work was resumed. In spite of financial setbacks that time and time again threatened the work, Borglum continued with complete dedication, too involved in bringing his patriotic dream to a reality to give much thought to finance.

By 1939, all four heads were dedicated and only the finishing touches had to be added, but the great Borglum was not to see the actual completion. Death came to him early in 1941.

Having worked at his father's side for the final nine years, Lincoln Borglum was appointed superintendent to oversee the completion of his father's dream. The original plan had called for the statues to be "carved" down to the waist, but this idea had

to be abandoned because of diminishing funds.

Borglum's son spent the last of the funds on Roosevelt's face (which was never completed), finishing the lapels and collar of Washington's coat and putting some final touches on Lincoln's head. The vast enterprise came to an end in October of 1941, after 6½ years of actual work since the project's inception.

It should be noted that the fourteen years were not continuous work-days as work could not go on during the winter months, and there were times when men could not continue their work due to financial difficulties.

It might also be noted that Borglum's estimate was a very poor one—the project actually took fourteen years to complete, and cost \$989,992.32, including \$836,000 in Federal appropriations.

The carvings were an incredible task. And as studies have shown, the granite in this location erodes at the rate of less than one inch in 100 thousand years—thus assuring that if our civilization should perish, archaeologists of the future would be certain that these magnificent heads were representative of the "gods" of our time. Borglum purposely left a 3-inch layer of granite for weathering, enough so the faces will look their best in 300,000 years.

The stone faces are the largest ever carved, bigger than those of the Sphinx, the Statue of Liberty, or the Colossus of Rhodes. You could stand inside of Lincoln's eye, or take a stroll of 20 feet along Roosevelt's mustache. The figures have noses that are 20 feet long, mouths measuring 18 feet across, and eyes that measure 11 feet wide. The eyes have a penetrating quality due to the 22-inch projection for the pupil of each eye. This projection was just one of the many touches of Borglum's genius, for they truly give a life-like quality to the eyes.

Movement of the sun changes the shadows on the faces, giving them different expressions that make them look as if they have suddenly come alive.

Looking at the "giants of America," no one can deny that Mount Rushmore National Monument is truly one of the most inspiring feats of both sculpturing and engineering in history. It is also a "shrine for democracy"—dedicated to four of America's greatest leaders, and given to the world through the genius of a great and dedicated artist.

However, Gutzon Borglum felt differently about it. Although he carved the figures to the scale of men 465 feet tall, he did not intend that the memorial should be merely the expression of one man's talents or a monument known only for its gigantic proportions. To Borglum, and those who worked with him, "a monument's dimensions should be determined by the importance to civilization of the events commemorated."

Borglum was right. Looking at the near life-like features of these faces one feels a great surge of pride—pride in these great men and their deeds, and pride in a country that can boast of such fine leaders.