

There are other theories. For example, there is a school of thought that says lend the States money or guarantee their own bond issues. But let them assume the responsibility for their own problems for generations to come based upon their own capacity.

There is another school of thought which says that you ought to specially finance those States which are subject to immigration because they are carrying a national problem.

I have just made a speech on the floor, after various other things, which dealt with the fact that in one decade, from 1950 to 1960, 10 million people, largely Negroes, emigrated from the South into urban centers, and when you look at those figures, you begin to have some concept of the inflammatory material which has piled up in the ghettos and slums.

I wonder, gentlemen, whether you would be willing, if we could, perhaps get our staff to work with you, because you do represent a mosaic of ideas, to help us so that we might lay before ourselves and the Congress the range of plans and the pros and cons in each.

You would not have to agree with those pros and cons. You would have to, as educators, and that is what you all are, really say these are the pros and cons, and you could each adhere most strongly to your own ideas, but at least we would see in an authoritative way what are the pros and cons.

Would you be willing to do that, Dr. Heller?

Mr. HELLER. Senator Javits, that is a splendid idea. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has a leg up on that problem and they have already some comparative sheets. Perhaps you are thinking of something more extensive.

Senator JAVITS. I am.

Mr. HELLER. I think that would be a very good thing to have come out of these hearings.

Senator JAVITS. These hearings wrap up all the plans, those that you gentlemen have offered, as well—there may be others that have been testified to before us or will.

Mr. HELLER. I assume you are suggesting that the staff will put something before us for correction rather than to ask us to start from scratch.

Senator JAVITS. Exactly right. The staff will really do it so that we could present to Congress, based upon the authoritative review of such distinguished people as yourselves and others who have testified before us, what is the range of choice and what are the pros and cons of each. I see our chairman looking at something.

Representative GRIFFITHS. We already have this. Our staff has done this in volume 1. We will let them explain their methods.

Senator JAVITS. All right.

Could we then, Madam Chairman, submit what the staff has done to these four experts and get the benefit of their expertise, as we may find we ought to do a lot of revising?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes, very well.

Senator JAVITS. Now, Professor Ulmer, have a go at it.

Mr. ULMER. Well, Senator, I think you have the impression that I was willing to let things take care of themselves.

Senator JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. ULMER. It is just the opposite with me. I would like to deal with the problems, and I would like not to have the Federal Government avoid the problems that face us today.