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Republican National Committee

Philip Kawior
Director of
Research

June 3, 1983

TO: CHAIRMAN FAHRENKOPF

ATTENTION: BILL PHILLIPS
Executive Assistant to the Chairman

THROUGH: WILLIAM I. GREENER, III *WIG*
Director of Communications

THROUGH: PHILIP KAWIOR *P/K*
Director of Research

FROM: RICHARD HANSEN *R.H.*
Issues Analyst

SUBJECT: EDUCATION BRIEFING: THE NATIONAL EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION

Contents of this briefing:

- I. President Reagan fires off letter to NEA president.
- II. Fact Sheet: The National Education Association
- III. Analysis

Appendices:

- Executive Summary of "Tuition Tax Credits: An NEA Policy Paper."
- "Education or Political Indoctrination?" by Gary L. Bauer, Deputy Under-Secretary of Education for Planning, Budget and Evaluation.
- Summary and Detailed Information of NEA-PAC contributions for 1977-78 and 1979-80 election cycles.
- "On School Excellence" by Edythe A. Fulton, president New Jersey Education Association.
- "Reagan Emphasizes Education Issues," David Hoffman, Washington Post, 5/31/83.

I. President Reagan fires off letter to NEA president.

On May 26, President Reagan fired off a letter to Willard H. McGuire, president of the National Education Association, in response to the NEA's accusation that the President made a "disgraceful assault" on the teaching profession at his May 21 commencement speech at Seton Hall University.

In that commencement speech, the President called for a merit pay system for teachers and said, "Hard-earned tax dollars should encourage the best. They have no business rewarding incompetence and mediocrity."

In his letter to McGuire, the President said, "My intent was...to raise my voice on behalf of the thousands of outstanding teachers whose compensation is held down by pay scales that fail to recognize and reward many distinguished teachers by paying them commensurate with their worth....(U)ntil the NEA supports badly needed reforms in salary, promotion and tenure policies, the improvements we so desperately need will only be delayed."

President Reagan, in his letter, also endorsed the "master teacher" concept espoused by Gov. Lamar Alexander (R.-Tenn). The plan would offer incentive payments of up to \$7,000 a year to teachers who qualify. The proposal was blocked in the Tennessee legislature this year because of opposition from NEA's state affiliate, the Tennessee Education Association. (Source: Washington Post, 5/27/83).

II. Fact Sheet: The National Education Association

- The 1.7 million-member NEA, composed mainly of teachers from kindergarten through the 12th grade, is the largest trade union in the United States and has an average of 4,000 members in every Congressional district in the country.
- About 43 percent of NEA members are Democrats, 28 percent Republicans and 29 percent independents, according to Ken Melley, the NEA's director of political affairs.
- The NEA leadership is opposed to most of President Reagan's education policies, including his proposals for tuition tax credits, education vouchers and a merit-pay system for teachers. (See Appendix: Executive Summary of "Tuition Tax Credits: An NEA Policy Paper").
- The NEA leadership has entered the nuclear arms debate by developing a biased pilot curriculum on the subject

of nuclear war which is being tested in 34 states.
(See Appendix: "Education or Political Indoctrination?"
by Gary L. Bauer, Deputy Under-Secretary of Education
for Planning, Budget and Evaluation).

- The NEA had 478 delegates at the 1980 Democratic Convention, about 10 percent of the total and more than any other single group. The percentage may be less in 1984 because of a change in rules increasing the number of officeholders mandated as delegates.
- NEA-PAC contributed \$1.5 million to candidates during the 1982 election cycle and expects to increase its contributions to \$2 million in 1984.
- In the 1980 election cycle, NEA-PAC contributed to the campaigns of 206 Democrat and 26 Republican candidates for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.
 - 89 percent of 1980 recipients of NEA-PAC contributions were Democrats and only 11 percent were Republicans, in contrast to the NEA membership ratio of 43 percent Democrats to 28 percent Republicans and 29 percent independents.
 - Of the 232 1980 NEA-PAC recipients, 145 went on to win the general election, for a winning percentage of 61 percent. NEA claims its winning percentage from 1972-82 to be 77 percent. Apparently, they do not include those candidates who lost in primaries, and other recipients who opted to retire or may have passed away, in their calculations. In addition, NEA-PAC made contributions in 1980 to 8 senators who were not up for re-election. If these 8 are not counted, the winning percentage rises to 65 percent. (See Appendix: Summary and Detailed Information of NEA-PAC contributions for 1977-78 and 1979-80 election cycles).
- The NEA will endorse a candidate for the 1984 presidential election in October of this year. It is expected to be long-time NEA ally Walter Mondale.

III. Analysis

The National Education Association is obviously a powerful political and financial force for the Democrats.

It appears, however, that a case could be made to the effect that the NEA leadership is not entirely in step with its membership, given the fact that, by NEA's own estimates,

only 43 percent of NEA members are Democrats, yet 89 percent of 1980 NEA-PAC recipients were Democrats. Fully 28 percent of NEA members are estimated to be Republicans, yet only 11 percent of 1980 NEA-PAC recipients were Republicans. It certainly is not reasonable to assume that all 29 percent of NEA's politically independent members would favor Democratic candidates, yet even if that 29 percent were added to the 43 percent of NEA's Democrats, it still totals only 72 percent, in contrast to the 89 percent figure for Democratic recipients of NEA-PAC contributions in 1980.

New Jersey is a state that leans to the liberal-moderate side of the political spectrum. The state features two Democratic U.S. Senators and Democratic majorities in both Houses of the Assembly and in its Congressional delegation. President Reagan has been the only true conservative to be successful state-wide in New Jersey in living memory. One could reasonably expect the state's NEA affiliate the New Jersey Education Association, to be strong in its criticism of President Reagan's education policies, perhaps pointing an accusing finger at him in the light of the findings of the National Commission on Excellence in Education -- as the NEA's national leadership has done.

However, NJEA president Edithe A. Fulton spreads the blame rather widely for the decline of educational excellence in her public statement on the subject. She focuses most strongly on local school boards. She does accuse the President of shrugging federal responsibility for the public schools, but criticizes the Governor and the State Assembly as well. She concludes that, "In the long run, it all depends on what the general public wants and demands." (See Appendix: "On School Excellence" by Edithe A. Fulton, president, New Jersey Educational Association).

Mrs. Fulton's comparatively balanced view contrasts rather sharply with the statements of NEA president Willard H. McGuire. Granted, the NJEA is only one of 51 NEA affiliates. But it does seem possible, if not likely, that many NEA affiliates and members would be open to reason to a far greater extent than the national leadership. The question arises, however, as to the extent the state affiliates and members are compelled to bow to pressure from the national leadership.

Tuition Tax Credits



An
NEA
Policy Paper

June 1982

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Several proposals before the 97th Congress, including one offered by the Reagan Administration, would divert federal tax dollars in order to provide a tax credit to parents for tuition paid to private and/or parochial educational institutions. Parents would be able to deduct up to 50 percent of their private school tuition—up to \$500—directly from their federal income taxes.

NEA is unalterably opposed to any legislation designed to provide tax credits for tuition paid to any private elementary, secondary, or postsecondary institution. We see such schemes as fiscally unsound as a matter of public policy. We also believe it to be unconstitutional.

Proponents of tuition tax credits claim it is unfair for parents to have to pay for their children's private education in addition to taxes for local public education. They call this "double taxation." This alleged double burden exists, however, only because these parents chose not to send their children to the public educational system provided for through tax dollars. If a homeowner decides to hire a private guard to protect that home, he or she doesn't get a tax credit for paying taxes for the public city police. Neither is a tax credit given for those who elect to join private swim clubs rather than use a public pool funded by tax dollars. Just like the private swim club or the private guards, private education expenses are a voluntary expenditure of funds, not double taxation. A more accurate example of "double taxation" would be citizens who pay taxes to support local public schools being forced, through tuition tax credits, to underwrite a dual school system. This double burden would fall most heavily on the elderly, single persons, and those with no children in school.

NEA does not argue that private and parochial schools should cease to exist. Diversity and choice in education are well established principles which NEA fully supports. It is clearly the right of parents to send their children to private schools. However, philosophical and constitutional objections aside, NEA maintains that the federal government should not lavish billions of dollars on the education of only 10 percent of our nation's total school population, when the education of 90% is in jeopardy due to cutbacks.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY FOR PLANNING, BUDGET AND EVALUATION

EDUCATION OR POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION?

If America's parents are wondering in the aftermath of the Report by the Commission on Excellence in Education how and why America's education system is failing, they might not have to look much further than the national headquarters of the National Education Association (NEA).

The NEA is a teachers' union with over 1.7 million members. Unfortunately for those teachers, and for the country's youngsters, the national headquarters of the NEA appears to be in the hands of "freezeniks" who, instead of concentrating on basics in education, have initiated an incredibly obvious drive to bring political indoctrination into the classroom.

The NEA officials must have had tongue firmly planted in cheek when they recently developed a new curriculum unit on nuclear war with the title "Choices". Even a cursory examination of the material reveals that no choices exist in the curriculum. Instead, the curriculum seems carefully contrived to develop a mindset in our unsuspecting young people, by instilling them with fear, and to enlist them in a campaign to bring about unilateral American disarmament. (The NEA would disagree about the unilateral part, but does anybody believe similar courses are being offered in the Soviet Union?)

One of the stated purposes of the NEA course, which has been pilot tested in 34 States, is to help students deal with fear of nuclear war. Yet the course begins with huge doses of information on radiation sickness, fallout, global annihilation and graphic descriptions of the victims at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Clearly the material panders to and encourages fear.

War is hell, and "Choices" paints it that way in living color. What is conspicuous by its absence in "Choices" is balance. The threat of communism and the fact that the Soviet Union has engaged in the largest arms buildup in the history of mankind are not mentioned in the main text. The need for national security is buried under a mushrooming cloud of implications that war is unthinkable; ergo, we must disarm.

In recent years, the stirring quotes of such American heroes as Patrick Henry with his ringing declaration, "Give me liberty or give me death!" and Nathan Hale, the 21 year-old patriot who faced the enemy's gallows with the courageous statement, "I regret that I have but one life to give to my country!" have disappeared from many American textbooks and classrooms. We now see what is intended by some to take their place--leftist indoctrination aimed at turning today's elementary students into tomorrow's campus radicals.

Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers, pointed out a major and perhaps intentional flaw in the course material. Shanker observed, "Nothing is said about the 1930's, when the democracies compromised and neglected their own defense while Hitler armed. In that era the failure to arm led to war, not to peace. Likewise, there is almost no discussion of the near-universally accepted concept of deterrence...of Winston Churchill's idea that the best way to prevent war is to 'gather such an aggregation of force on the side of peace that the aggressor, whoever he may be, will dare not to challenge.'"

Frequently, I have the opportunity to pass by the National Archives on Constitution Avenue where the most venerated documents that record America's past are carefully preserved. Some, like the original Constitution, Bill of Rights, and Declaration of Independence, are displayed under temperature-controlled cases. Engraved on one of the pillars in front of the National Archives are these words: "The heritage of the past is the seed that brings forth the harvest of the future."

Every time I read the words on that pillar I wonder: what will the future bring forth from the seeds that are being sown in education today? Our forefathers struggled, at risk of life and property, to forge a system of government that guarantees individual freedom. But freedom is not self-perpetuating. Each generation must nurture the values by which our forefathers shaped our government.

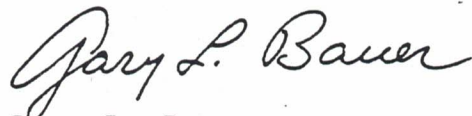
Next to parental and church influences, education plays the greatest role in shaping our values as well as developing our mental skills. Teachers have the awesome responsibility of helping each child reach his potential.

Good teachers have always taught civility, manners, and--dare I say it?--love of country. In government classes, they teach students that all who meet basic requirements of age and citizenship can vote, but they do not tell students, nor should they, for whom to vote. Students learn how to participate in their government, how to write their representatives to express their views, and how people are elected to office but they aren't, and shouldn't be, told what views to express.

Education officials in Washington are inescapably bogged down with budget and legislative priorities, but that is not where the real action is in education; it is in the classroom. Teachers, if they are faithful to their calling, are among the architects of Western culture. As trowels are to masons, textbooks are the tools of the trade. Of course, they don't ply them; they interpret them, expand upon them, and lead their students through them, precept upon precept, line upon line, to greater heights of knowledge and reasoning ability. To achieve that end, teachers need substantive textbook materials whose contents edify and elevate the mind--not material developed by a

union intended to produce Pavlovian resistance to the notion of peace through strength.

Repugnantly un-American by definition, political indoctrination does not belong in our classrooms. The NEA should get back on course, or they risk further undermining public confidence in public education. America's children and tens of thousands of dedicated public school teachers are being used as pawns. The NEA can stop further damage to the public school system by immediately halting the distribution of this heavily slanted material. Our children and teachers deserve better.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Gary L. Bauer".

Gary L. Bauer
Deputy Under Secretary for
Planning, Budget and Evaluation

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC

SUMMARY INFORMATION:

Gross Receipts: 1977-78 \$768,545 1979-80 \$628,618

Total Contributions: 1977-78 \$338,987 1979-80 \$283,585

OF CONTRIBUTIONS: 1977-78 \$338,987 1979-80 \$283,585

TO ALL CANDIDATES: 1977-78 \$338,987 1979-80 \$283,585

Democrats 171 206 \$324,687 \$258,385

President 2 \$7,600

Incumbents 169 \$153,085 \$205,958

Winners - Gen. Elec. 145 \$172,985 \$157,239

RANGE OF \$1,499 14 \$2,185 \$7,950

\$500-999 43 \$22,350 \$44,157

\$1,000-999 76 \$22,350 \$44,157

\$500 & UP 16 \$500 & UP \$500 & UP

Washington DC

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Gross Disbursements: 1977-78 \$407,635 1979-80 \$255,200

Total Independent Expenditures: 1977-78 \$0 1979-80 \$15,578

% of Total Contributions & Independent Expenditures to Gross Disbursements: 83.1% 31.0%

Number of Candidates: 1977-78 1 1979-80 1

House 160 192 \$266,687 \$206,548

Open Seat 42 24 \$95,200 \$35,827

Amount 1977-78 1979-80

Office Party State District

Contributions 1977-78 1979-80

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DETAILED INFORMATION:

Office Party State District

Contributions 1977-78 1979-80

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On School Excellence

by Edithe A. Fulton, president
New Jersey Education Assn.

National reports on excellence in education are raising fundamental questions about how America runs its public schools. How can we build quality while still leaving control of the public schools in the hands of local boards of education whose resistance is responsible for the status quo?

American tradition insists on local control. That means decisions made in each local district by its own board of education. But building educational quality will be costly. Local school boards are as likely to reject tax increases as to vote the programs and facilities needed for the 1990s and the 21st Century.

If the funds are not raised locally, they will have to come from the State or, more likely, the federal government. Ways must be found to keep control from shifting to the State and/or national level.

HOLDING THINGS DOWN

Obviously, local school boards will have to change their ways. In my memory, the main opposition to school improvement has come from local school boards and their state organization. Of course, there are progressive school boards, but many seem to view their role as holding things down rather than building excellence.

We will not have educational excellence without breadth and depth in the curriculum. Yet we have seen local school boards cut art and music throughout the elementary grades. Some school boards have even eliminated such programs in their high schools as foreign language and advanced-placement classes in math and science.

EXCUSE: COSTS

We will not have educational excellence without small class size. Yet we have seen local school boards let class size grow and grow, reducing the opportunity of the individual students for interaction and enrichment. In many districts, local school boards have even closed down neighborhood schools with the excuse that small class size is cost inefficient.

We will not have education excellence if teachers are not granted the respect that their calling merits. Yet we have seen local

board members arrogantly grind teachers under their heels. Right at this moment, for example, 61% of the teachers in the Hunterdon community of Frenchtown are pondering their futures. Of the 18-teacher faculty, 11 have received dismissal notices. The Frenchtown board is playing games with its teachers and — worse — with the integrity of its public schools.

In Passaic County, Manchester Regional recently notified 38 of its 71 teachers that they might not be needed next year. When the time came for the board to vote, they were all rehired. The layoff threat served only to let teachers know that board members consider them pawns.

DISDAINFUL ACTIONS

In New Jersey, these disdainful actions are widespread. They destroy morale and trust in management's motivation.

One major recommendation of the National Commission for Excellence in Education is for universal computer education in the public schools. We do not see many school boards trying to comply. It's not uncommon for school boards to tell the PTA that, if parents want instructional computers in their schools, they should hold cake sales to raise the purchase price.

Of course, the spate of educational reports already on the record or still in the pipeline may not change anything. The President has shrugged off any federal responsibility for the public schools. He wants local school districts to pay the costs of keeping education abreast of the times so that he can keep putting the national treasure into Defense.

UP TO PUBLIC

At the State level, the Governor and Legislature still have not fully funded New Jersey's school aid formulas since they were enacted in 1976. This year's shortfall could total \$77 million.

So maybe local school boards can keep holding the lid down. Maybe they won't have to face the challenge of building excellence for the future. In the long run, it all depends on what the general public wants and demands.

Reagan Emphasizes Education Issues

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Reagan has launched a major new political push on education issues that foreshadows a larger "base-broadening" effort for a 1984 campaign designed to draw on traditional American family values and concerns, according to administration officials.

Although it is not certain that Reagan will seek another term, they said, he has decided to meet the Democrats head-on this summer and autumn.

The immediate goal is to carve out new territory for Reagan on education issues, such as merit pay for teachers, that are expected to figure prominently in next year's presidential campaign. "This is a dormant,

sleeping giant of an issue," a Reagan adviser said.

The long-range strategy is to expand the agenda for a Reagan reelection effort beyond the preeminent issues of the economy and foreign policy. "We want to hit on other subjects close to home," another administration official said.

"When we get to November, 1984," he said, "we want the American people to know [Reagan] stands for quality education, for law and order. Nobody is going to win or lose the presidency on an education platform, but we want to get back to basic values."

Republican pollster Robert Teeter, assisting the White House effort, added, "The notion of a good edu-

cation for your children is as strong a value as there is in this country."

The president's new emphasis on education came about, in part, because of polls done for the White House by Teeter and Richard Wirthlin. They show that, as economic worries have begun to ease, schools and education have surfaced as strong public concerns.

Because of the impact of foreign competition and the high-technology revolution, Americans are more concerned about the quality of education than at any time since the early 1960s, according to some polls.

That mood was reinforced by the recent report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, which found a "rising tide of medi-

See EDUCATION, A7, Col. 1

EDUCATION, From A1

ocrity" in public schools and called for many changes, including longer school days, more homework and higher teacher salaries.

Reagan was further drawn toward education as a political issue by the early effort of Democratic presidential candidates, especially former vice president Walter F. Mondale, to make it a primary point on which challenge to Reagan.

Three weeks ago, Mondale, an ally of the powerful National Education Association, called for an \$11 billion expansion of federal aid to education. Shortly thereafter, Reagan, in a commencement address at Seton Hall University in South Orange, N.J., fired back with an endorsement of merit pay for teachers. The NEA and other teacher organizations have long opposed that idea.

According to several administration officials, White House deputy chief of staff Michael K. Deaver has been instrumental in urging the president to emphasize education more.

That would be a contrast to the first two years of his presidency, in which Reagan's approach to education was characterized by budget cuts in many federally supported education programs. It was also defined by narrow issues, such as tuition tax credits, school prayer and the abolition of the Department of Education, that were directed at Reagan's conservative base of support.

But Reagan is now beginning to test approaches designed to reach a far broader audience of voters, according to administration officials and GOP strategists. In particular, he hopes to appeal to the blue-collar workers and Hispanics who were part of his 1980 coalition but who have since strayed.

This "base broadening," as one official called it, is the goal of Reagan's new emphasis on education issues. "Politically, what makes it very attractive is that it can be an umbrella to get to the issues of crime, drugs, foreign competition and retraining for jobs," Teeter said.

In his Seton Hall speech, his most recent formal news conference, remarks to a group of high school valedictorians and other appearances, Reagan has repeated his familiar calls for tuition tax credits and school prayer. But there have been significant new wrinkles in his comments on education that reveal the broader approach.

One was Reagan's declaration at Seton Hall that "teachers should be paid and promoted on the basis of their merit and competence." Polls done for the White House show that this idea enjoys strong public support.

He also endorsed the master teacher plan pushed by Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, who wants to offer \$7,000 incentive payments to certain teachers.

Teachers' unions oppose the merit pay and master teacher concepts on the grounds that they have not worked to improve the quality of education. The NEA claims Reagan is making a "disgraceful assault" on the teaching profession. And lobbying by Tennessee teachers has bottled up Alexander's plan.

Reagan has staked out his ground against the NEA and any Democratic candidate seeking the unions' support. Mondale and Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) are strongly identified with the NEA, but Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), Mondale's chief rival so far, is not.

Merit pay for teachers is not an issue likely to dominate the 1984 campaign, one administration official said, but is important because it is "the one on which we're diametrically opposed" to the Democrats.

"If the Democrats want the NEA endorsement, they will have to pledge loyalty to the teachers at the expense of parents. There are many, many more parents out there than teachers," the official said.

At the same time, Reagan seemed to have been thrown on the defensive about budget cuts in education, an issue seized by Democrats. Polls show that Americans generally are willing to pay more for education, and schools rank high on the list of activities they believe should be better funded.

The administration, however, has tried repeatedly to cut federal aid to education, which comprises about 10 percent of all school spending in the United States. Reagan has continued to insist, as he did at Seton Hall, that the huge expansion in federal aid over about the last decade "failed" to buy results in the classroom.

But Reagan has also recently dodged the question of his budget cuts. Asked about "cutbacks in

federal funding for education," Reagan told the valedictorians, "there haven't been cutbacks in funding for public education." Ignoring federal cuts he had sought, he said that total federal, state and local school spending amounted to \$116.9 billion this year, "and that's 7 percent more than last year."

White House officials emphasize, however, that Reagan hopes to capitalize on education not as a dollars-and-cents issue but as a reaffirmation of his commitment to traditional American values. Democrats, in contrast, hope to keep the limelight focused squarely on federal aid and the federal government's role in education.

A related issue not fully unfolded is Reagan's 1980 campaign pledge to abolish the Department of Education, established largely because of lobbying by the NEA. Congress has shown no willingness to dismantle it.

Some administration officials are considering a new approach. One said that Reagan's 1980 pledge to abolish the department is "long gone as an idea" but that the president could benefit by "giving it a different mission."

That mission, several officials said, could be linked to the education commission's report. They said they think that Reagan should establish a two-year "agenda of excellence" and order the department to carry it out. Reagan hinted at this approach at Seton Hall, saying that the government can "help set a national agenda for excellence in education"



Republican National Committee

Philip Kawior
Director of
Research

May 25, 1983

TO: CHAIRMAN FAHRENKOPF

ATTENTION: BILL PHILLIPS *by*
Executive Assistant to the Chairman

THROUGH: WILLIAM I. GREENER, III *WIG III*
Director of Communications

THROUGH: PHILIP KAWIOR
Director of Research

FROM: RICHARD HANSEN *R.H.*
Issues Analyst

SUBJECT: EDUCATION BRIEFING UPDATE

Contents of this briefing:

- I. President Reagan calls for a merit pay system for teachers, reaffirms belief that more federal spending is not the answer for better education.
- II. John Glenn on Education.

- I. President Reagan calls for a merit pay system for teachers, reaffirms belief that more federal spending is not the answer for better education.

In a commencement speech at Seton Hall University in South Orange, New Jersey on May 21, President Reagan said, in part:

- "We spend more money for education than any other country in the world - we just aren't getting our money's worth."
- "One of the best ways to do this, and unfortunately it is opposed by some of the heaviest hitters in the national education lobby - is by rewarding excellence. Teachers should be paid and promoted on the basis of their merit."
- "Hard-earned tax dollars should encourage the best. They have no business rewarding incompetence and mediocrity."
- "The road to better education... cannot be paved with more and more recycled tax dollars collected, redistributed and overregulated by Washington bureaucrats."
- "Perhaps the biggest irony about the problems facing American education today is the fact that we already know what makes for good schools... leadership from superintendents and principals, dedication from well-trained teachers, discipline, homework...."
- "All these things can be improved without increased federal funding and interference, and with only modest increases in local and state support."
- "There is much that the federal government can do to help set a national agenda for excellence in education... in the weeks ahead I will have more to say on this subject."

II. John Glenn on Education

- Response to Walter Mondale's \$11 billion education program:

"Just to put more money out, to go the traditional route and just say we'll float more money if we have a problem, I'd want to see things targeted more to what they're supposed to accomplish."

(Donald M. Rothberg, "Democratic Candidates Begin Criticizing Each Other," Associated Press, 5/20/83)

- Response to the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education (addressing the Ohio N.E.A.):

"The problem did not start with Reagan, but the administration's emasculation of federally funded programs made it worse." (Tom Diemer, "Glenn Gives Reagan Zero On Education, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 5/7/83)

"Reagan has called for cutting \$1 billion from the educational budget appropriated by Congress, slashing grant programs, educational incentives and vocational education efforts." (Gene Jordan, "Glenn decries mediocrity", Columbus Dispatch, 5/6/83)

"(Glenn proposed) 'a federal commitment to educational excellence' and 'giving students the skills they need to survive in a rapidly changing world.' That commitment should include 'training and retraining for the nation's workers, faced with changing jobs in a technological age.'" (Gene Jordan, "Glenn decries mediocrity," Columbus Dispatch, 5/6/83)

- From Announcement speech, 4/21/83:

"In our schools, children from poorer families are getting neither the help they need nor the skills they deserve. In our colleges, the Administration's shortsighted cutbacks in government loan programs -- our finest investments in the future -- our keeping many students from enrolling and forcing others to drop out."

"Together, we can prepare the children of today for the challenges of tomorrow by restoring funding for basic education, incentives for science education, and loans for higher education." (Press Release, Senator John Glenn, 4/21/83)

- In July of 1982, Glenn co-sponsored (with Rep. Dave McCurdy (D.-OK.) companion bills to address the shortage of qualified science and mathematics teachers. The bills would have:
 - Forgiven undergraduate student loans to prospective science and mathematics teachers if the recipients taught these subjects in elementary or secondary schools for at least four years.
 - Provided tax credits to businesses for providing summer positions to science and math teachers, and for sending employees who have teaching credentials into the schools as part-time teachers.

Comment:

Glenn appears headed for a "middle ground" position on education. On the one hand he decries Reagan "cuts" and calls for restoration of higher federal funding levels. On the other hand, he criticizes the Mondale big-spending approach and espouses a rather Reagan-like approach to the shortage of math and science teachers. Should Glenn, indeed, stick to the middle ground, he could well present the toughest opposition for President Reagan on this issue.



Republican National Committee

Philip Kawior
Director of
Research

May 18, 1983

TO: CHAIRMAN FAHRENKOPF

ATTENTION: BILL PHILLIPS *BP*
Executive Assistant to the Chairman

THROUGH: WILLIAM I. GREENER, III *WIG III*
Director of Communications

THROUGH: PHILIP KAWIOR *PK*
Director of Research

FROM: Richard Hansen *R.H.*
Issues Analyst

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP TO YOUR BRIEFING OF MAY 9 ON THE REPORT OF
THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

Contents of this briefing:

- I. Walter Mondale's \$11 billion education program
- II. Excerpts of President Reagan's response to a question on education at his May 18 news conference
- III. Legislative Update - education
- IV. "Education: The Sleeper Issue," David Broder, Washington Post, 5/15/83

I. The Mondale Proposal

On Monday, May 9th, Walter Mondale delivered an address at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government in which he attacked President Reagan's education policies. In sharply-worded rhetoric, he proposed his own five-point, \$11 billion-a-year program in response to the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

The Rhetoric:

- "Mr. Reagan slapped (the Commission) in the face."
- "... (I) n answer to (the Commission's) impassioned plea for educational excellence, Mr. Reagan proposes to dismantle the federal effort. That is an outrage."
- "Two weeks ago, the nation turned to Mr. Reagan. Two weeks ago, he turned his back on the country, its children, and its future. Those are tough words, but I believe them."
- "All across the spectrum, and all through the years (Mr. Reagan) has been no friend to the intellectual life of our nation. I believe Mr. Reagan is the enemy of excellence. And I intend to be a President for excellence."

The Proposal:

- A \$4.5 billion-a-year "fund for excellence" that would provide block education grants for local spending to improve teacher salaries, improve science and math teaching, develop computer technology courses, lengthen the school day and set up new programs for motivated students.
- A \$3 billion increase for expansion of Title I assistance for disadvantaged children in public schools, including bilingual education programs and programs for the handicapped.
- An additional \$1.5 billion for student aid programs designed to help students from low-and moderate-income families go to college.
- \$1 billion for an "Education Corps" and other programs to encourage more talented students to become teachers. Student loans would be forgiven for graduates who spend four years teaching critical subjects such as math, science, or languages.

- A \$1 billion allocation to modernize and strengthen science and research facilities and programs.

Comment:

Mondale's plan could increase federal spending for education by over 70 percent, from the \$15.1 billion Congress appropriated for fiscal year 1983 to \$26.1 billion.

Mondale has played his cards on this issue rather early in the game. Although his "throw more federal money at the problem" approach comes as no surprise, he is now on record with a plan, complete with numbers. We no longer have to speculate as to exactly where he will be coming from. The Administration and the Party now have more than enough time to weigh all the variables and formulate a strategy on the issue of education, especially if the Washington Post's contention (5/10) that "All six Democratic candidates for president take a similar line on the question of how to improve education" - proves to be the case.

Media Coverage:

The Mondale speech and accompanying proposal received minimal media coverage. No mention was made of Mondale on the three network news telecasts of May 9, according to the White House News Summary of May 10. The Washington Post covered the Mondale plan on page A2 on May tenth, while the New York Times relegated the story to page A18. Papers such as the Los Angeles Times, the Baltimore Sun and USA Today did not feature reports on Mondale on May 10.

II. Excerpts from President Reagan's response to a question on education at his May 18 news conference

- "... (E)ducation is not the prime responsibility of the Federal Government and the total budget for education in the United States is far greater than the defense budget."
- "... (T)he Federal Government actually provides less than 10 percent of the cost of education...one of the things that's wrong...is that for the 10 percent or less of funding, the Federal Government has wanted about 50 percent of a voice in dictating to the schools."
- "What (the National Commission on Excellence in Education is) talking about can be corrected without money. It takes some leadership, it takes some return to basics, it takes having students that now have to learn what they're supposed to learn in a class before they're moved on to the next class."
- "... (W)e've proven that throwing money at it isn't the answer, and the Federal Government can never match the funding of schools at the local and state level."
- "...I want to implement as completely as possible that plan (of the National Commission on Excellence in Education)... and it won't cost \$11 billion, which a nameless gentleman (Walter Mondale) has suggested he would advocate that we spend."

Legislative Update

Congressional committees have crowded their schedules in the last few weeks to finish up authorizing legislation by the May 15 deadline in budget law. The schedule for floor action in both chambers is up in the air on most education measures, as committee aides scramble to finish writing the reports that explain the provisions and intent of the bills.

May 15 also marked the deadline for action on the first concurrent budget resolution for fiscal 1984. The House had no problem meeting the deadline, having passed its resolution March 24. But the Senate, after about two weeks of floor debate, sent its measure back to the Budget Committee with a strict deadline of reporting a new measure to the full Senate by May 18.

RECENT OR UPCOMING ACTION...

Fiscal 1984
First Concurrent
Budget Resolution,
S. Con. Res. 27,
H. Con. Res. 91

After about two weeks of deliberation on a first concurrent budget resolution, the Senate May 12 defeated all the budget plans before it and told the Senate Budget Committee to come up with new measure by May 18. Even though the Senate May 6 approved an amendment to allow \$15.9 billion for education, compared with the Budget Committee's \$14.9 billion and the House's \$16.3 billion, the education budget is open to question again with this latest move.

Fiscal 1984
Education
Appropriations

The Senate Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations Subcommittee May 10 heard from witnesses on several education programs, including student aid and special education (ED, May 11). The House Labor-HHS-ED Appropriations Subcommittee May 23 and 24 plans to hear from education witnesses. Neither panel has set a date to draft a fiscal 1984 spending measure.

Fiscal 1983
Supplemental
Appropriations

The House Appropriations Committee May 18 is to take up the supplemental appropriations bill drafted May 3 by its Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations Subcommittee. The bill is being kept confidential until full committee action, so it is unknown whether the measure would cut education programs or give them extra money.

National Science
Foundation
Reauthorization,
H.R. 2066, S. 1087, S. 1024

The House May 12 approved a \$1.3 billion NSF authorization bill for fiscal 1984, allowing \$50 million more than the administration's \$180 million request for improving academic research equipment. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee May 9 announced approval of its \$1.3 billion bill, which leaves science education to the science and math bill pending before the Senate, S. 530 (ED, May 10). The Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee March 22 approved the administration's \$1.3 billion request verbatim. No date has been set for floor action on either Senate bill.

Mathematics, Science and
Foreign Language
Education Improvement,
S. 530, H.R. 1310

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee May 11 approved a \$425 million bill to authorize fiscal 1984 math and science education programs administered by the Education Department and the National Science Foundation. The House bill, passed March 2, would authorize the same amount for fiscal 1984 (ED, April 21).

Fair Insurance
Practices,
H.R. 100, S. 372

The Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee May 19 is to hold a hearing on the measure to bar sex-based insurance policies, such as those offered by schools and colleges. The House Energy and Commerce Committee May 17 may take up the House measure, after having dropped it from its daily markup schedule for nearly two weeks.

Foreign Language
Proficiency,
H.R. 2708

The House Education and Labor Committee May 10 approved the measure to authorize \$50 million for grants to schools and colleges to improve foreign language instruction (ED, May 11). The measure was approved earlier in the day by the Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education Subcommittee, after a hearing May 9. The Postsecondary Education Subcommittee May 5 passed the bill. No date has been set for floor action.

School Desegregation Aid,
H.R. 2207, S. 402, S. 1256

The House Education and Labor Committee May 11 approved the measure to re-establish the Emergency School Aid Act, which provided categorical aid to school districts before creation of the Chapter 2 block grant (ED, May 12). No date has been set for floor action. The Senate Education, Arts and Humanities Subcommittee this week may hold hearings on the idea. The latest bill, S. 1256, was introduced May 11 by Sen. Daniel Moynihan, D-N.Y. It is like the House bill, but would allow \$125 million in its first year, compared with the House bill's \$100 million.

Education: The Sleeper Issue

7

T. H. Bell is a mild-mannered man who understandably has kept a low profile as secretary of education under a president who promised to abolish the department Bell heads. But I have a hunch that Ted Bell is riding one of the big issues of 1984 politics—an issue that can make things tough for both Bell's boss, Ronald Reagan, and the leading Democratic presidential hopeful, Walter F. Mondale.

The issue, of course, is education—but more pointedly what the United States is going to do about the “rising tide of mediocrity” that the National Commission on Excellence in Education, appointed by Bell, said last month is threatening to engulf our schools and nation.

Bell is launching a series of regional meetings (the first was held May 13 in East Lansing, Mich.) aimed at “lighting a fire under the legislatures” in 1984 to improve teachers’ training, standards and pay, and to toughen the curricula of the country’s schools. The flames of that fire already are lighting up the country.

That’s not just my gut feeling, but the judgment of Robert Teeter, the Detroit-based Republican pollster. He told me that “You can see in the data that education is becoming a more and more important issue, involving peo-

ple’s concerns for their children’s economic futures and the country’s competitive position.” In its new and more potent form, he said, there is heavy emphasis on “academic quality, competency and accountability.”

Those were the keynotes of the recent commission report, one of a spate of studies helping focus this issue for public debate. Reagan responded by talking about prayer in public schools and tuition tax credits—issues that Teeter said are tangential to the rising public concern. Reagan also disparaged the federal role in education in such sweeping terms that Mondale was able to charge in a speech last week that the president had “turned his back on the country, its children and its future.” Instead of cutting back federal aid to education, as Reagan has tried repeatedly to do, Mondale said there should be a huge increase: \$11 billion a year.

Bell strikes a middle ground. He defends existing federal aid, saying the programs targeted on poor and handicapped children have been a “demonstrated success.” But he contends that the American taxpayers will not support the needed additional investment in education—by any level of government—“until we get the kind of changes the commission talked about”

to stiffen the intellectual standards for both teachers and pupils.

He has thrown his support behind a basic change in the method of paying teachers. He favors paying incentive salaries for “master teachers.” This would help attract the best college students into teaching and slow the drain of talented teachers into business and industry, he says.

Bell invited Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, a Republican, who is pushing the “master teacher” plan in his state, to be a featured witness at the East Lansing hearing. Bitter opposition from the Tennessee Education Association sidetracked Alexander’s proposal on a 5-4 vote in the state senate education committee last month. But it will be back on the agenda there in 1984—and, Bell hopes, in many other states as well.

The “master teacher” program is no panacea for all our education ills. But a poll taken by Peter D. Hart for the Tennessee citizens’ group backing Alexander’s proposal bears out Bell’s basic contention that the teachers’ unions may have to accept pay reforms and accountability if the schools are to gain new funds. Hart found, for example, that only 13 percent of those polled would support a tax increase to pay for across-the-board improvement in teachers’ salaries. But 57 percent

said they would support a tax increase to finance salaries “based on merit and geared to rewarding teachers who meet higher standards of competence.” About 61 percent endorsed Alexander’s specific proposal for adding a penny to the sales tax to finance his version of the “master teacher” plan.

Hart, as it happens, is Mondale’s pollster, too. And Mondale is very close to the National Education Association, which, since 1969, has adamantly opposed any form of merit pay based on “instructional performance.”

NEA’s contention is that there is no objective measure of teacher competence and that the imposition of differential pay would just cause dissension and wreck morale among teachers. But when Hart put those exact arguments to the voters in his Tennessee survey, they were rejected by a 56-24 margin.

Mondale, as everyone knows, seeks and expects the NEA endorsement in October. He proposed dozens of programs in his lengthy statement on education last week, but said nothing about merit pay. A spokeswoman said that Mondale thinks that kind of decision should be made by the local community.

For Mondale, as for Reagan, Ted Bell’s issue may prove a litmus test of presidential stature.



Republican National Committee

Philip Kawior
Director of
Research

TO: CHAIRMAN FAHRENKOPF
ATTN: BILL PHILLIPS
DATE: MAY 9, 1983
THRU: WILLIAM I. GREENER, III *WIG III*
PHILIP KAWIOR *PK*
FROM: RICHARD HANSEN *R.H.*
SUBJ: BRIEFING ON THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION
ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION & REACTION TO IT

Contents of this briefing:

Executive Summary

I. Summary of <u>A Nation at Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform</u>	page 2
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Appendices:

- A. Text of President Reagan's April 30th radio address
- B. Capsule brief on Federal Funding of Education
- C. Outline of the Fiscal Year 1984 Education budget request
- D. Members of the National Commission on Excellence in Education
- E. Washington Post article on the Commission deliberations

RH:sng

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Commission on Excellence in Education was established by Secretary of Education Terrel Bell in August, 1981, to study the problems of U.S. schools and to make recommendations for improvements. The 18-member commission was chaired by David Pierpoint Gardner, president of the University of Utah and president-designate of the University of California system.

On April 26, the Commission issued a strongly worded 36-page report entitled A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform. The commission concluded that "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people."

Among the Commission's recommendations were: more rigorous and measurable standards for our schools and universities, strengthened high school graduation requirements, longer school days and a longer school year, and improved preparation and higher salaries for teachers.

The Commission concluded that state and local officials have the primary responsibility for financing and governing the schools, while the federal government has the primary responsibility to identify the national interest in education.

There has been across-the-board support for the findings and recommendations of the Commission, from President Reagan to Willard McGuire, president of the National Education Association.

However, despite the Commission's conclusion that it is the primary responsibility of state and local officials to finance and govern the schools, reaction to the report in editorials, from politicians, and from education interest groups has generally followed the pattern of support for the report, coupled with attacks on President Reagan's education policies and a call for greater federal support for education.

There has been an unusual scarcity of comment from political figures to date, most likely due to the preoccupation of Congress with issues such as the nuclear freeze and Central American policies over the past couple of weeks. However, concurrent resolutions were introduced in both Houses of Congress on April 28th, which resolve that it is national policy that the federal government contribute to the support of education in the United States by, among a number of provisions, "the implementation of an effective federal role in education through a Department of Education..." What public comment there has been from politicians has been from Democrats taking the opportunity to attack Administration policies. Republicans have been virtually silent.

In his April 30th weekly radio address, President Reagan praised the Commission report and reaffirmed his commitment to restoration of parental choice and increased competition between schools through initiatives such as tuition tax credits, vouchers, and education savings accounts; and pointed out that big budgets are not the answer, that federal spending on education has increased 17-fold in the last 20 years.

Editorial comment in the nation's newspapers was overwhelmingly critical of the President's response to the Commission report, generally calling for greater national leadership and a larger federal role.

Within days of the Commission report's release, two other reports were released which drew similar conclusions. The first was a preliminary report by the National Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, made up of eight governors and 31 national business and education leaders. The final report is expected early this summer. The second report was released by the Twentieth Century Fund, a private research foundation chaired by Robert C. Wood, former H.U.D. Secretary.

It is important to note that the Commission report cites "the most recent" Gallup Poll of the public's attitudes toward the public schools (1982), which found that "public education should be the top priority for additional Federal funds. Education occupied first place among 12 funding categories considered in the survey - above health care, welfare, and military defense, with 55 percent selecting public education as one of their first three choices."

In conclusion, we should not be surprised to hear increased activity among Democrats and some Republicans in calling for greater federal support for education, and among Democrats attacking the President's education policies.

I. Summary of A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform

Conclusion

- o "Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world."
- o "If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war."
- o "We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament."
- o "The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people."

Indicators of the Risk

- o U.S. students were last seven times on 19 academic tests and never first or second, compared with students in other industrialized nations.
- o Some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate.
- o About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds are functionally illiterate.
- o As many as 40 percent of minority youth may be functionally illiterate.
- o Average verbal scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Tests (S.A.T.s) fell over 50 points from 1963-1980 and math scores dropped nearly 40 points during the same period.
- o Only one-fifth of 17-year-olds can write a persuasive essay and only one-third can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps.

Reasons for the Risk

- o Secondary school curricula have been homogenized, diluted, and diffused to the point that they no longer have a central purpose.
- o The amount of homework for high school seniors has decreased to the point where two-thirds report less than 1 hour a night.
- o The time spent on courses in science and mathematics by students in other industrialized nations is three times what even the most science and mathematics-oriented students in the U.S. spend.
- o In England and other industrialized countries, it is not unusual for academic high school students to spend 8 hours a day at school, 220 days per year. In the U.S., the typical school day lasts 6 hours and the school year is 180 days.
- o Too many teachers are being drawn from the bottom quarter of graduating high school and college students.
- o The average salary after 12 years of teaching is only \$17,000 per year.
- o One-fifth of all public 4-year colleges must accept every high school graduate within the state regardless of program followed or grades received.

Recommendations of the Commission

- o Strengthened high school graduation requirements, to include 4 years of English, 3 years of mathematics, 3 years of science, 3 years of social studies and one-half year of computer science. For the college-bound, 2 years of a foreign language.
- o More rigorous and measurable standards and higher expectations for academic performance and student conduct in schools, colleges and universities. Raised admission standards for 4-year colleges and universities.
- o More effective use of the existing school day, 7-hour school days and a 200- to 220-day school year.
- o Improved preparation of teachers and steps to make teaching a more rewarding and respected profession.
 - Aspiring teachers should be required to meet higher standards and to demonstrate an aptitude for teaching and competence in an academic discipline.
 - Salaries for teachers should be increased and should be professionally competitive.
 - An 11-month contract for teachers.
 - Incentives, such as grants and loans to attract outstanding students to teaching.

Responsibilities

- o State and local officials have the primary responsibility for financing and governing the schools.
- o The Federal Government has the primary responsibility to identify the national interest in education.

II. POLITICAL REACTION

- o On April 28th, identical concurrent resolutions were introduced in the Senate and the House which state: "Resolved...that it is the national policy that the Federal Government contribute to the support of education in the United States." Included in the resolution is the statement: "The implementation of an effective Federal role in education through a Department of Education, acting as a center for the interpretation of laws, for meeting national needs, for setting priorities, and for distributing Federal support for education."
 - Senate Con. Res. 29 was introduced by Senators Hollings (D.-S.C.) and Hatfield (R.-Oregon).

- House Con. Res. 118 was introduced by Reps. AuCoin (D.-Oregon), Simon (D.-Illinois), Coelho (D.-Calif.) and Miller (D.-Calif.)
- The resolutions were referred to the appropriate committees.
- o In the Democratic response to President Reagan's weekly radio address of April 30, Rep. Norman Mineta (D.-Calif.) charged that the President's education policies were marked by "chronic neglect." "The President does not seem to understand that it is his policies and his propositions that threaten public education in our nation as it has never been threatened before."
- o Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Kentucky), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, said, "As the president commends the commission for its work, I would like to see him back up these words by asking for more money for education, not less.... Reports are helpful, but actions, not words, are what really count."
- o Sen. Claiborne Pell (D.-R.I.) said, "On balance, the Commission has done a valuable and highly credible job....Yet it makes no specific reference to the Federal programs now in effect, and which are so seriously threatened by the proposals advocated by the Reagan Administration over the past two years."
- o In a letter to Senator Stafford (R.-Vermont), eight Democratic Senators called for Congressional hearings to "consider" the conclusions of the report. The letter was signed by Senators Kennedy (D.-Mass.), Pell (D.-R.I.), Randolph (D.-W.Va.), Eagleton (D.-MO.), Riegle (D.-Mich.), Metzenbaum (D.-Ohio), Matsunaga (D.-Hawaii), and Dodd (D.-Conn.).
- o North Carolina Governor James Hunt (D.) called on President Reagan to convene a meeting of the nation's governors to discuss the implications of the report.

III. EDITORIAL REACTION

- o New York Times (5/2)
"Overcoming these impediments requires strong national leadership. Instead of exerting it, President Reagan blames the Federal Government for harming education."
- o Los Angeles Times (4/29)
"In terms of advancing the national debate, President Reagan was no help.... Prayer will not, we think, find the answers to the problems the commission outlined; leadership will."

o Wall Street Journal (4/28)

"The liberal educational reformers had a running field as open as it ever gets in the public-policy game, and they blew it. They failed."

o Washington Post (4/28)

"Though the Reagan Administration differs, the commission said there is a federal as well as a local obligation. And it will be expensive."

o Chicago Sun-Times (4/28)

"It's a national challenge. President Reagan flunks it.... He mounted his old hobbyhorse...tuition tax credits, vouchers, educational savings accounts, voluntary school prayer and abolishing the Department of Education. The report mentioned none of that nonsense."

o USA Today (4/29)

"It won't be easy. It will take more tax money - local, state and federal."

o The Daily Oklahoman (4/28)

"Money is not the pressing need to revitalize American education, but rather a rededication to the primary mission of the public schools - thorough grounding in the basics."

o Kansas City Times (4/28)

"How can Mr. Reagan...interpret the report as a nod for further federal retreat from supporting the schools? This is a classic example of listening but not understanding."

o Dallas Times - Herald (4/28)

"In actuality the federal government is the only possible vehicle for providing leadership on a problem as broad as education and with such obvious national implications."

o Seattle Post-Intelligencer (4/28)

"President Reagan's response was singularly unhelpful.... Congress must take a more positive view of the federal government's responsibility."

IV. INTEREST GROUP REACTION

- o National Education Association president Willard McGuire:

"It ignores or contradicts many of the priorities promoted by President Reagan.... We agree that there needs to be more money but disagree about where the money should come from.... The major reforms will require a big boost from the federal government..." (Philadelphia Inquirer, 4/27)

- o American Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker:

"We could not agree more with the proposals...Nowhere in the commission's report is there mention of the Reagan Administration's major ideas with respect to education: tuition tax credits, vouchers, school prayer, etc. The report...rebuffs the Administration by ignoring them..." (New York Times, 5/1)

- o National Association of State Boards of Education executive director Phyllis Blaunstein:

"We commend the Commission on Excellence... The 12 percent decline in federal spending for elementary and secondary education over the past two years clearly has had a major role in the educational disarmament which the Commission deplores. State and local support systems are unable to fill this void... at a time of... record unemployment and financial crisis. (Press Release, NASBE)

- o American Association of School Administrators executive director Paul Salmon:

"The more I read it, the more ecstatic I am....It flies in the face of many of the things the Reagan Administration has stood for." (Boston Globe, 4/27)

- o National PTA spokeswoman Lorie Nies:

"PTA leaders are curious about where the money will come from." (Rocky Mountain News, 4/27)

- o American Association of State Colleges and Universities president Allan Ostar:

"We are very concerned...about the need for higher standards for teacher education. But (we) think the federal government must step in with enough money to allow schools to raise salaries." (Higher Education Daily, 4/28)

- o National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities
president John Phillips:

"The commission...amassed a group of national statistics that suggest a set of national problems that beg for a national solution. Yet here is an ideological thing within which this Administration is operating that tried to minimize the federal role and maximize the state and local role."

(Higher Education Daily, 4/28)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Houston, Texas)

For Release at 12:06 pm EDT
(11:06 am CDT) SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1983

RADIO ADDRESS
BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

Roosevelt Room

My fellow Americans, I'd like to talk with you today about a subject of paramount concern to every American family -- the education of our children. You may have heard the disturbing report this week by the National Commission on Excellence in Education that I created shortly after taking office. Their study reveals that our education system, once the finest in the world, is in a sorry state of disrepair. We're a people who believe that each generation will stand upon the shoulders of the one before it, the accomplishments of each ever greater than the last. Our families immigrated here to make a better life, not just for themselves, but for their children and their children's children.

Education was not simply another part of American society. It was the key that opened the golden door. Parents who never finished high school scrimped and saved so that their children can go to college. Yet today, we're told in a tough report card on our commitment, that the educational skills of today's students will not match those of their parents. About thirteen percent of our seventeen-year olds are functional illiterates and, among minority youth, the rate is closer to forty percent. More than two-thirds of our high schoolers can't write a decent essay. Our grade is a stark and uncompromising "U" for unsatisfactory. We must act now and with energy if we're to avoid failing an entire generation.

Let me hasten to point out that America's children are just as smart today as they ever were. But most of them do less than an hour of homework a night. Many have abandoned vocational and college prep courses for general ones. When they graduate from high school they're prepared for neither work, nor higher education.

The study indicates the quality of learning in our classrooms has been declining for the last two decades -- a fact which won't surprise many parents or the students educated during that period. Those were years when the federal presence in education grew and grew. Parental control over local schools shrank. Bureaucracy ballooned until accountability seemed lost. Parents were frustrated and didn't know where to turn.

Well, government seemed to forget that education begins in the home where it's a parental right and responsibility. Both our private and our public schools exist to aid your families in the instruction of your children. For too many years, people here in Washington acted like your families' wishes were only getting in the way. We've seen what that "Washington knows best" attitude has wrought.

Our high standards of literacy and educational diversity have been slipping. Well-intentioned but misguided policy makers have stamped a uniform mediocrity on the rich variety and excellence that had been our heritage.

I think most parents agree it's time to change course.

We must move education forward again with common sense as our guide. We must put the basics back in the schools and the parents back in charge.

The National Commission for Excellence in Education recommends requiring four years of English in high school and three solid years each of math and science. It suggests more and longer school days, higher goals, and tougher standards for matriculation. Our teachers should be better trained and better paid. And, we must no longer make excuses for those who are not qualified to teach.

Parents, please demand these and other reforms in your local schools, and hold your local officials accountable. Let our parents once again be the rudder that puts American education back on course to its success through excellence.

There are things the federal government can and must do to ensure educational excellence, but bigger budgets are not the answer. Federal spending increased seventeen-fold during the same 20 years that marked such a dramatic decline in quality.

We will continue our firm commitment to support the education efforts of state and local governments. But the focus of our agenda is, as it must be, to restore parental choice and influence and to increase competition between schools.

We've sent to the Congress a tuition tax credit plan, and proposed a voucher system to help low and middle income families afford the schools of their choice. We've proposed education savings accounts to help families save for college education. We've sent legislation to the Congress that would create block grants for the training of math and science teachers, and another proposal would encourage those teachers to keep abreast of new developments in their fields.

We've also begun an effort to honor some of our finest math and science teachers. For the sake of all our children, our country, and our future, we must join together in a national campaign to restore excellence in American education. At home, in school, in state government and at the federal level, we must make sure we have put our children first and that their education is a top priority.

"Train up a child in the way he should go," Solomon wrote, "and when he is old he will not depart from it." Well, that's the God-given responsibility of each parent and the trust of every child. It is a compact between generations we must be sure to keep.

I would like to close with a special challenge to America's students who may think I just want to pile on more homework. Your generation is coming of age in one of the most challenging and exciting times in our history. High technology is revolutionizing our industries, renewing our economy, and promising new hope and opportunity in the years ahead. But you must earn the rewards of the future with plain hard work. The harder you work today, the greater your rewards will be tomorrow. Make sure you get the training and the skills you need to take advantage of the new opportunities ahead. Get a good education. That's the key to success. It will open your mind and give wings to your spirit. There's a dazzling new world waiting for you. My generation only discovered it. But you, by summoning all the faith, effort and discipline you can muster can claim it for America.

Until next week, thanks for listening. And God bless you.

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FEDERAL FUNDING OF EDUCATION

President Reagan's Fiscal Year 1984 budget request for Department of Education programs is \$13.2 billion. The House Budget Committee has voted for \$16.3 billion, while the Senate Budget Committee would allow \$14.9 billion. However, an amendment offered by Senators Stafford (R-VT) and Hollings (D-SC) subsequent to the release of the Commission report would add an additional \$1.5 billion, which would bring the Senate total for education spending to \$16.4 billion.

For Fiscal Year 1983, the 97th Congress approved a \$15.1 billion budget for education in the lame duck session, in contrast to the \$8.8 billion President Reagan had requested for FY 1983. However, the President's \$8.8 billion request was for a "Foundation for Education Assistance," in lieu of the Department of Education, which he wanted dismantled. Some education programs for FY 1983 were to have been included in the President's initial Federalism program, hence the Administration foresaw federal expenditures for education to be \$13.1 billion for FY 1983. Congress, of course, did not approve dismantling the Department of Education.

Jimmy Carter foresaw \$15.8 billion in federal spending for education in the FY 1982 budget, his last budget submission. Actual spending for FY 1982 totaled \$14.1 billion, following President Reagan's FY 1982 budget revisions. The level of federal spending for education had been \$9.1 billion in FY 1977 prior to Carter.

As the President has stated, federal spending for education has increased seventeen-fold, from the \$900 million level of the early 1960s to \$15 billion. A pivotal year was 1965 when "Great Society" legislation doubled federal spending for education from 1965 to 1966. By 1969, it had nearly doubled again. The Department of Education, a campaign promise of Jimmy Carter, was created in 1979.

FISCAL YEAR 1984 EDUCATION DEPARTMENT BUDGET REQUEST

Secretary T.H. Bell announced on January 31, 1983, President Reagan's Education Department budget request of \$13.2 billion for educational programs for fiscal year (FY) 1984. Secretary Bell stressed the Department will again strive to assist the disabled, the disadvantaged, and college students who demonstrate need.

Secretary Bell unveiled five new aspects of the FY 1984 budget:

1. Optional voucher program. This program would broaden opportunities for parents of educationally deprived students to send their children to schools that best meet their needs. At the option of local school boards or states, Title I funds would be distributed to the parents as vouchers, and parents would have the option of which school their children would attend. Details are still being formulated for this program.
2. Science and Math Initiative. The Initiative proposes a State Block Grant program to help states and local education agencies improve their science and math programs. This initiative is to increase the number of qualified math and science teachers, by retraining and improving their skills, in a period of one year.
3. Self-help efforts of needy college students. This is a new approach to student financial aid, which emphasizes a return to traditional roles of students and families in meeting college costs and which provides Federal aid to help overcome remaining financial barriers.
4. Tax Incentive program. This proposal encourages families to save money towards college costs. This is intended to eventually reduce Federal outlays and subsidies over the long run. The proposed legislation for Education Savings Accounts (ESA) would exempt interest and dividends earned on deposits to an ESA account if the funds were used for higher education expenses incurred by the student. This legislation is targeted to provide tax benefits for lower and middle-income families.
5. Tuition Tax Credits. President Reagan proposed tuition tax credit legislation in 1982. The legislation was reported out by the Senate Finance Committee, but was not acted on before the close of the 97th Congress. It would give parents who choose to send their elementary and secondary students to a non-public school a partial tax credit and would promote competition for excellence in the American education system. No credits would be permitted to those who send their children to racially discriminatory schools.

Secretary Bell stressed that the FY 1984 budget reflects the current economic situation and that the Federal deficit needs to be reduced.

The FY 1984 student financial aid budget places more emphasis on student self-help through loans and work. With this new philosophy comes an increase in the FY 1984 College Work-Study (CWS) program by 57%. The Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) loan volume shall also increase by 22% over 1982 figures. National Direct Student Loans will have a half billion dollars available for new loans without Federal appropriations. The Pell Grant program is projected to increase from \$2.4 to \$2.7 billion and grants will be adjusted to reflect current educational costs. During the 1982-1983 academic year, the maximum Pell Grant was \$1800, and for academic year 1983-1984, the maximum Pell Grant will increase to \$3000. Eighty percent of the Pell Grant program will be targeted towards students with family incomes below \$12,000.

The emphasis of the FY 1984 Education Department Budget in terms of student aid legislation will be towards families and students taking a more active role in financing a college education.

The Education Department plans to resubmit legislation to consolidate the vocational and adult education programs. The intent of this legislation is to enhance the role of vocational and adult education as an essential element in economic development. This legislation will increase flexibility for state and local education administrators.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

David P. Gardner (Chair)
President, University of Utah
and President-Elect, University
of California
Salt Lake City, Utah

Yvonne W. Larsen (Vice-Chair)
Immediate Past-President
San Diego City School Board
San Diego, California

William O. Baker
Chairman of the Board (Retired)
Bell Telephone Laboratories
Murray Hill, New Jersey

Anne Campbell
Former Commissioner of Education
State of Nebraska
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Emeral A. Crosby
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Charles A. Foster, Jr.
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Norman C. Francis
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A. Bartlett Giamatti
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INSIDE: THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

When Nobel laureate Glenn T. Seaborg was asked to serve on the National Commission on Excellence in Education, he at first refused. Gerald Holton, a distinguished physics professor at Harvard University, agreed to participate only after he was promised he could write a minority report. Even Education Secretary Terrel H. Bell had some misgivings when he put the commission together in August, 1981.

"I hoped it would have an impact," Bell said in a recent interview. "But it was a bit of a chance, a roll of the dice."

It was an insider commission, made up almost entirely of people with direct connections to education. Among its 18 members there was only one politician, former Minnesota governor Albert H. Quie, and one businessman, William O. Baker, the retired chairman of Bell Laboratories.

Nobody knew what, if anything, the politically diverse group would be able to agree on—or whether anyone would listen.

So almost everyone involved has been surprised with the overwhelmingly favorable response the commission's report, "A Nation at Risk," has received since it was released last week. It has been embraced by everyone from President Reagan to Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

This was due in large part to commission Chairman David P. Gardner's skill in guiding the commission through some perilous political waters. Gardner, president of the University of Utah and president-elect of the Univer-

sity of California system, knew Bell when the secretary was commissioner of education in Utah.

Gardner, according to several commission members, stayed in the background for months as the commission held hearings around the country, accumulating evidence. There apparently was never any serious disagreement about the dismal state of the American education system.

Several commissioners, however, have strong political views, and there were sharp disputes over how to deal with the problems. Yale President A. Bartlett Giamatti, for example, is an outspoken critic of the Reagan administration and a strong advocate of increased federal funding for education. Annette Y. Kirk, a former teacher, is an outspoken conservative and the wife of Russell Kirk, a well-known conservative writer and lecturer. She is an advocate of tuition tax credits and educational vouchers.

Giamatti, however, attended only one commission meeting, and was never a real force. Kirk and other conservatives like Yvonne W. Larsen, past president of the San Diego School Board, never felt it necessary to caucus independently. "It was Gardner's leadership," Kirk said. "He really tried to accommodate our views. He's a gentleman and a real diplomat."

Commissioners were given three staff-written drafts of the report in January. The drafts were flat and loaded with jargon, according to several commissioners. "What we wanted to say wasn't coming off. There was no drama, no clarion call," recalled Kirk.

Holton, a skilled writer, pro-

duced the next draft and many of the final report's most memorable lines, such as "History is not kind to idlers."

Seaborg, a chemist at the University of California at Berkeley, also left his imprint on the final document. He came up with the phrase: "We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament."

Baker of Bell Labs lobbied successfully for strong language about foreign competition and reforms in the education of gifted children. Quie had a strong influence on a section that gave advice to parents and students.

The report was supposed to be released April 7, but Gardner told Bell that the commission still didn't have a consensus after a working meeting in Chicago. Rather than call another meeting, Gardner resolved the remaining issues by long distance telephone calls.

A scathing critique of schools of education was reduced to a few lines. Paragraphs on the federal role in education were moved. In the end, all 18 commissioners and Bell endorsed all its findings.

At the long-embattled Education Department, the report is regarded as a major victory for Bell. "He knows the administration has given the department to the New Right," said one longtime department official. "But he really wanted to do something besides carrying Reagan's water to the Hill, which he thinks is his duty. I think he feels better about this than anything he's done since he came to town."

—Bill Peterson