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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D C 20036 • (202) 833-4000

April (28-29)

321-9820

BETTIE J. BLACK, Director for Oklahoma
1403 East Fourth
Ada, Oklahoma 74820

March 31, 1983

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. President,

I have thought long and hard about writing this letter and have changed my mind many times, but I cannot in good conscience, not express my thoughts about this issue.

I decided, at the age of thirty, to enter a teacher education preparation program. My children were in first and fifth grades; my husband is a partner in a local business. With their help and support I was able to go to college and work part-time at a private pre-school. I graduated in 1967 and began teaching the following school year at the age of thirty-four. Since that time I have taught third, seventh, eighth grades, attained a master's degree and am presently employed as an elementary counselor. I have written programs and curriculum guides for the Oklahoma State Department of Education, co-authored programs in my local school system in Developmental K-1 and Gifted/Talented. I have been involved in my local district professionally, have served on board of directors of the Oklahoma Education Association, was elected to two terms as state vice-president, began a three year term as a member of the NEA Board of Directors in September, 1982 and serve as an evaluation team member for the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE).

I write all of this, not to impress you with my credentials, but to make you aware that I do have a background of varied experiences in this profession. I believe in public education and the contribution it has made to this country.

I don't know who a president consults about policies concerning education. Is it officials within the Department of Education? Do you consult with current practitioners? I am concerned about several of your positions concerning public education, such as: Tuition Tax Credits, elimination of the Department of Education and prayer in public schools. I know you are very busy and your schedule is obviously hectic; however, I will be in Washington, D. C. on April 28-29 and would appreciate your consideration of an interview with you or one of your aides. I can be reached at the above address or by telephone at the following numbers: Home: 405-332-1973 School: 405-332-2180. Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,

Bettie Black

Bettie Black

296-2100

Holiday
Inn
Central
Arriving
later today

332-5103
DON BLACK.

332-9300

Scheduling

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copy to Mike
McConnell

Date: sent 6/20

TO: _____

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

- ☐ Please respond on behalf of the President
- ☐ Please prepare a draft for Faith Whittlesey's signature
- ☐ Please prepare a draft for my signature
- ☐ FYI
- ☐ Let's discuss



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

THE GENERAL COUNSEL

JUN 8 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEPT of Ed
✓
DETERMINED TO BE
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect. 3.3(c)
BY NARA RW DATE 5-5-11

The Honorable Rex E. Lee
Solicitor General
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Solicitor General:

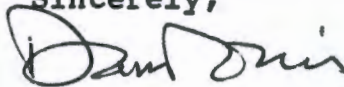
I personally want to urge you again to file an amicus brief in the case of Jaffree v. The Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County. As I explained to you in my letter dated February 8, 1983, in which I urged the filing of an amicus brief in the Eleventh Circuit, I believe this Administration should support Judge Hand's district court opinion.

Because the Supreme Court might summarily dispose of the case without requesting briefs on the merits and holding oral argument, the Administration must file its amicus brief prior to the Court's consideration of the jurisdictional statement if it wants to be sure of being heard. The Court over the last several years has seemed predisposed toward either denying certiorari in cases involving school prayer, or summarily disposing of such cases when they come up on appeal. Karen B. v. Treen, 653 F.2d 897 (5th Cir. 1981), summarily aff'd, 102 S. Ct. 1267 (1981); Collins v. Chandler Unified School District, 644 F.2d 759 (9th Cir. 1981), cert. denied, 454 U.S. 863 (1981); Meltzer v. Board of Public Instruction of Orange County, Florida, 548 F.2d 559 (5th Cir. 1977), rev'd in part, aff'd in part on rehearing en banc, 577 F.2d 311 (5th Cir. 1978), cert. denied, 439 U.S. 1089 (1979). Should the Department decide to wait and file a brief on the merits, the opportunity to file might never arise. However, if the Department files at the jurisdictional statement stage, it is much more likely that, as a courtesy to the Administration, the Court will decide to hear the case fully on the merits.

Page 2 -- The Honorable Rex E. Lee

In your letter dated March 1, 1983, you stated that the proper place for the United States to file a brief was the Supreme Court. We should not now allow this opportunity to slip by. School prayer is an issue of great importance to the President and the people of this country, and an amicus brief that presents the scholarly arguments on the constitutionality of school prayer can add vital assistance to the overall Administration efforts in this regard.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Daniel Oliver". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Daniel" and last name "Oliver" clearly distinguishable.

Daniel Oliver

IMPACT report

file

Public Advocate • 418 C Street, N.E. • Washington, D.C. 20002

Spring 1983

Topic:

**The National Institute of Education:
An example of what the Education
Establishment will do with unlimited
Federal largess**

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Notes

National Institute of Education: Cavalcade of Programs to Undermine the Family

Introduction

With every conservative initiative presented by President Ronald Reagan, the hue and cry of battle sounds anew in the halls of Congress and elsewhere. Under no previous Administration has Washington's "permanent structure" had to scramble so often in order to dodge the arrows of aroused taxpayers, represented by the President, intent on wiping out bureaucratic malfeasance. The "banner of bold colors" unfurled by presidential candidate Reagan must continue to be held firmly by all who adhere to the view that educational policies are best decided on the local level. The battle has just begun.

Some say that one federal agency that best demonstrates the extreme of intellectual arrogance in the hands of Big Brother government is represented by the National Institute of Education (NIE). Sadly, this **Impact Report** represents a not too flattering picture of an agency that funds extravagant, irrelevant studies (sixty three million dollars a year¹) on other extravagant studies conducted by esoteric researchers who work for other researchers who state that their statements are not or can not be construed as having any practical influence on their policies.

Education Secretary Terrel Bell's public statements to the contrary, the federal education establishment is growing.

The paradox is that this Administration's budget cuts and Reductions In Force (RIFs) have barely scratched Washington's tough skin. While there are 1,700 fewer employees at the (according to Bell) Department of Education, their payroll is up five million dollars and the overall budget is up several billion dollars.

This **Impact Report** highlights one component of the federal Department of Education — the National Institute of Education — because Secretary Bell and the Education Establishment contend that research and government-funded computer initiatives will have an increasingly important role, and receive special emphasis, in future federal education policy.

The National Institute of Education, however, is riddled with waste and programs to subvert family values, and fills no needed role. What few NIE programs distribute rather than subsidize research — the Educational Resource Information Center (ERIC) computer network and the NIE library — can be transferred to the National Center for Education Statistics. The remaining functions of NIE, including those sections of ERIC which subsidize rather than disseminate research, should be abolished.

"Freestyle": \$4.1 Million for National Behavior Modification

There are many programs that serve as clear examples of how NIE bureaucrats abuse our tax monies. The best example is *Freestyle* — a \$4.1 million effort to shape children's attitudes about "sexual stereotypes" through a 13-week television series. Among projects urged by federal planners were the singing of songs in the fourth grade instructing boys to "work with flowers and maybe grow some roses, or be a nurse who works with kids." Girls were supposed to be sailors, locomotive engineers, and "to wear a sword — and use it."

Freestyle is a multi-million-dollar abuse of NIE funds. Begun in 1975, the project lasted four years. From the initial "request for proposal" until the final completed studies in 1980, it is clear that NIE planners had one object in mind: a concerted national attack to destroy traditional family values.

The official evaluation of *Freestyle*, published by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, even admits this: "*Freestyle*," says the study, was designed to battle "stereotyped preoccupational and occupational knowledge and attitudes acquired from parents,"² and "*the values being challenged in the series were deeply rooted in the family.*"³

Originally designed to counteract both ethnic and sexual stereotypes, the consortium of education planners producing the series decided early in the program to drop ethnic stereotypes and primarily concentrate on feminist behavior modification. The theory, according to the researchers, was that a susceptible child (from ages 9-12), would see, for example, a girl fixing automobiles and therefore "learn" that it was OK for anyone who wanted to do mechanical things for a living.

Said Norton Wright, producer of the series, noting that the "instructional cargo" of the series was quite high: "The series gives youngsters knowledge about specific adult non-traditional occupations and family roles, as well as about non-stereotypical behaviors they can use when they encounter a career-oriented opportunity or dilemma — in a summer job, at home, in school, or in extracurricular activities." ⁴

Among "lessons" taught by *Freestyle* are the following:

- "Children will experience situations that counteract the prevailing myth that females will be taken care of by males and will not need to be employed."
- "Children will experience situations that depict the limitation sex-role stereotyping has placed on both male and female activities."
- "Boys will experience situations that evoke and reward nurturant (i.e., mothering) behavior."
- "Children will experience situations that encourage the development of positive attitudes towards girls in leadership roles." ⁵

According to NIE planners, the series reached approximately 1.5 million children on first viewing. However, multiple viewings were encouraged, and the entire series could be bought on cassette for a measly \$455 until 1983.⁶ The best summary of the effects of the series can be found in "Freestyle Follow-Up," published in the Department of Education's *American Education*, in December, 1980 (the following are statements from fourth graders):

- "Robert Gabaldon agrees that *Freestyle* was an eye-opener. 'I hemmed a pair of my own pants the other day. One leg looked pretty good, but the other one looked terrible, so I asked my mom to show me how to sew. I don't want to run around with cruddy-looking pants. And—what do you know—I'm still a real boy.'"
- "Maria Anaya says she plans to watch every episode when the series is rebroadcast this spring. 'My own brother has stopped bugging me about playing the tuba. He used to say that girls look stupid lugging a tuba around and he wanted me to get something dainty like a piccolo. Talk about stereotyping. . . .'"
- "Principal Clemit W. Hale recalls the day he made the mistake of going to Orona's classroom to ask for 'two big strong boys' to help move some books in the office. 'That's a stereotype!' the class chanted, reminding him girls can be big and strong, too."

Even Professionals Said "Too Much!"

American Education reported that many parents found *Freestyle*'s radical message objectionable. Among the objectionable material reported by *American Education* writer Judith Wagner were:

- a scene where a teenaged female mechanic and a middle-aged male mechanic spent several minutes "Under the hood of a disabled car—which objecting educators said was 'suggestive' (of a sexual encounter)"

- Another scene in the same program where the middle-aged mechanic explains the joys of divorce to the susceptible teenager, suggesting an attempt at teenage seduction;
- that there is a fear that the *Freestyle* doctrine that women must be assertive "might cause trouble between (rebellious) students and their parents." Parents may well worry about *Freestyle*. Writer Dr. John Long, a "psychologist and multicultural consultant," argues that "conflict (between children and parents) can be healthy because it leads to growth." Obviously, family fights were considered good fun.

As one elementary school principal told Wagner, *Freestyle* taught "baloney instead of basics." ⁸

Not all areas of America welcomed *Freestyle*'s radical message. Despite repeated attempts by *Freestyle* organizers, no Southern state educational broadcasting system accepted *Freestyle* for classroom use. Four Texas school boards — in Dallas, Fort Worth, Odessa and San Antonio — refused to allow NIE "researchers" to infiltrate their classrooms. The South, noted *Freestyle* coordinator Jerome Johnston, was a "location which might stereotypically be expected to be more resistant to messages of changing roles for women." ⁹

The National Institute Of Sex Education???

NIE funded a \$20,000 study on Sex Education and the Library written by sex educator Dr. Sol Gordon of Syracuse University. The following NIE version of a "quality sex education program" (sic) is the result:

NIE-Funded Sex-Education Goals

1. *Enhancing the self-concept* — with the knowledge that young people who feel good about themselves are not available for exploitation and don't exploit others.
2. *Preparing for marriage and parenthood* — understanding the interpersonal skills and responsibilities that strengthen family life.
3. *Understanding love* as the basic component of a person's sexuality, including help in deciding "how you can tell if you are really in love."
4. *Preparing for making responsible decisions* in critical areas of sexuality, based on a universal value of not hurting or exploiting others.
5. *Helping people understand the need for equal opportunities* for males and females. Schools have a responsibility to discourage sexism.
6. *Helping people develop tolerance and appreciation* for people who don't conform to the traditional norms regarding marriage and childbearing.
7. *Contributing to knowledge and understanding of the sexual dimensions of our lives* — this includes the realization that we are sexual beings from before birth, and continue to have sexual needs and build our sexual identities throughout life. It includes an appreciation for the wide range of sexuality, that sexual expression is not

limited to heterosexual, genital intercourse, and that sexual expression goes beyond reproduction. . . .¹⁰

Gordon adds insult to injury by denouncing "censors, book burners, [and] anti-sex education extremists [who] are well organized and vocal" and he vows to fight this threat with "community-minded people alert to extremist propaganda and political maneuvering. . . . It's time the 'silent' majority expressed itself vigorously, visibly and vocally." ¹¹

The NIE study favors "a special Sex Education section in the library divided according to age (children, young adults (and special categories (e.g., religion, venereal disease, female sexuality, etc.). Libraries are also encouraged to participate in National Family Sex Education Week (the second week in October). "The theme is always related to the question 'Are You an Askable Parent?' " Librarians are urged to write to the Institute for Family Research and Education, 760 Ostrom Avenue, Syracuse, New York 13210 — which, by coincidence, happens to be run by Dr. Sol Gordon.

So, the NIE, under the guise of aiding libraries, nonetheless urges libraries to promote sex in the stacks.

NIE also spent \$40,000 for an internal, year-long "research" poll of sex-education classes. The results have not been published.¹²

NIE: Haven for Radical Feminism?

Although NIE, according to the feminists themselves, is not the centerpiece of the \$40 million spent each year on feminist "education" programs, it, along with the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (WEEAP), can be considered equal partners in promoting feminism. In fiscal year 1980, a typical year, there were 125 separate grants in NIE designed to promote feminism.

In comparison to the \$40 million spent by the federal government on feminist programs the amount spent by NIE is relatively small. But its importance should not be underestimated. As noted earlier, in 1980 approximately 125 separate projects promoting feminism are funded by NIE each year, which is approximately 20% of the total number of NIE grants that year.

There is also close contact between NIE and WEEAP on projects; for example, although the Women's Educational Equity Communications Network, a "resource bank" for feminist researchers, is funded by WEEAP, it is part of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, one of NIE's "laboratories."

NIE has also given two grants to the National Institute for Community Development: one, for \$14,139, to fund a "Women's Educational Equity Colloquia Series"; and one for \$27,463 to administer WEEAP grants!

The chief NIE feminist recipients are:

The NIE's **Social Processes/Women's Research Team**. In Fiscal Year '79, gave away \$982,000. In 1980, the NIE awarded three-year contracts on "Research on How to Promote Sex Equity in Classroom Interactions." Current research projects included:

- "Understanding the social influences that promote sex inequities."
- "Development of improved theoretic bases for intervening" in classrooms that discriminate.

Feminist Education Spending FY 79 and FY 80

Department of Education		
	FY 79	FY 80
WEEAP	\$ 8,000,000	\$10,000,000
NIE	5,100,000	3,180,000
Vocation Education:		
federally dispersed	1,646,667	496,667
dispersed by states	1,059,745	5,137,576
Civil Rights Act, Title IV	9,500,000	13,200,000
Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE)	1,579,725	1,441,000
Consumer Education	190,939	unknown
Total, Department of Education	\$27,876,176	\$33,455,243
Other Federal Agencies		
National Institute of Mental Health	\$ 8,266,361	unknown
National Science Foundation	1,243,295	1,021,000
National Endowment for the Humanities	1,693,065	1,873,078
Community Services Administration	1,323,901	1,500,000
Office of Domestic Violence, HEW	unknown	1,200,000
Adolescent Pregnancy Programs, HEW	unknown	17,500,000
TOTALS	\$40,422,798	\$56,549,332

Source: *Federal Funding to Promote Sex Equity, 1980*, published by the Women's Educational Equity Communications Network, p. 5.

- Research on "socialization for new roles," i.e., promoting "positive student behavior in both sexes (e.g., caring, helping, and altruism), behavior that may have been associated with the female role only." It could be said that this research involved how to turn men into people who were open or less negative about effeminate behavior.

Minorities and Women's Programs provide money for minority and female education researchers — primarily graduate students. Funds went to graduate schools to help subsidize research, as well as a variety of minority lobbies, including funding of the National Council of La Raza (a leading Hispanic lobby, a lobby still searching for "NIE fellows"), and the Colegio Cesar Chavez. This NIE minorities and women's program had a \$3.4 million budget in FY 1980.

Other NIE feminist grants are included in **Teaching and Learning Grants; Grants for Organizational Processes in Education;** and miscellaneous proposals.

Two of the more notorious NIE feminist grants included:

1. \$27,500 for *Superwoman, Ms. or Myth: A Study of Role Overload*, a study whether "women can have 'it' all. . . the 'it' includes the pain, pleasure, and ower of the executive suite, the boudoir, and the children's room."

The "super-career-women-wives-and-mothers" gave these strategies for coping with stress:

- a. "Go home, put my feet up, and smoke a joint."
- b. Join "women's groups and be with women."
- c. "Get angry at meetings."
- d. "Divorce [your] husband."

One woman complained in this study that "when I go to conferences for my professional discipline, I'm usually propositioned three or four times. Particularly in the early '70s, that was a big thing. They had bets on whether they could take Miss Feminist to bed, could they lay women's lib?"¹⁴

The NIE-funded researchers conclude by stating, "although we would not call these people, superwomen, they are certainly Super American Women."¹⁵

2. \$94,000 for *A School Principal's Guide to Incentives to Promote Educational Equity for Girls and Boys*, which includes the following questionnaire entitled "Checklist on Sexism":

- Are feminist groups in the community encouraged to promote sexist practices?
- Do fathers participate equally in PTA activities such as organizing, planning events, record keeping, baking, etc.?
- Do school songs, holidays, symbols reflect anti-sexist concerns?
- Can girls and boys wear any comfortable, clean clothing they desire?
- If materials omit the contributions and struggles of women in our society, does the teacher supplement them with materials that provide this information?¹⁶

Answering "yes, always" to these questions rates an "A." This study was published in June, 1981, under the *Reagan Administration*.

- These proposals were not just "research," but designed to promote and encourage feminism and affirmative action.
- In a February, 1979, paper, NIE planners proposed that all grants — not just ones designed specifically to promote feminism — would be, as one objective, designed to promote affirmative action.¹⁷

NIE: Friend of The Unions?

There have been widely circulated reports for some time on the great influence that the liberal National Education Association has had over the Department of Education and still has even under the Reagan Administration. However there has also been a close working relationship established between the NIE and the American Federation of Teachers.

Although AFT studies on educational testing and school finance are objective, non-partisan studies, AFT was awarded a two-year, \$450,000 grant for the "Teacher Center Resource Network" designed to be an "educational exchange" between various AFT-sponsored teacher centers. (All of the teacher centers in the network are in cities represented by AFT.)

AFT's Teacher Center organizers were personally appointed by AFT president Albert Shanker, and paid with NIE funds to spread the teacher center concept throughout AFT locals in America. And, notes an AFT report, "it was hardly a coincidence that the AFT Teacher Center Resource Exchange was created the same year that the USOE Teacher Center Program initiated its activities."¹⁸

Also published by AFT were a "how-to" series of pamphlets, of which *How to Challenge the Bionic Teacher and Generate Six Million Ideas* is typical. The rather trivial pamphlet encourages a program "with appropriate Madison Avenue strategies," and urges teacher center organizers "to develop an ever-expanding mailing list."¹⁹

Basically, the NIE subsidized AFT local organizers to create programs that could only have participants from AFT locals involved. NIE, by subsidizing AFT support services, helped free AFT resources for organizing and lobbying.

NIE: Tool For Politics and Lobbying?

NIE funded a three-year, \$950,000 study by the Institute for Responsive Education on "Citizen Participation in Educational Decision Making." While the grant was allegedly for studying citizen lobbies, the most prominent project went beyond the fringe into supporting campaigns for more federal funds. Some examples:

- "Lack of information about rights and responsibilities is a common problem and one cause of people's powerlessness... it is because grassroots people lack the information they need to truly participate in policy decisions... that *A Grassroots Primer* has been put together. If people are informed, they will be able to act more effectively in advocating change." (Education for all People! p. 2)
- "Parents need information regarding the rights of their children with special needs to an appropriate public education. As they work to exercise their rights under these Federal laws, they need the services of trained advocates. It is difficult to work alone in insisting on full educational rights for your child."
- In supporting "children's rights to nutritional services" (i.e., to free lunches), parents should "hold training conferences to inform people how to get Federal funds."
- One chapter, "A Grassroots Guide to Getting Funds," is a detailed guide for how to develop winning strategies for winning grants for organizations, especially for groups that are "clearly political."²⁰

More Recent Programs at the NIE: The Waste Continues

In his April 3, 1982 testimony to the House Committee on Appropriations, then-NIE Director Edward Curran charged that 94 percent — over 55 million dollars — of the National Institute of Education's budget for fiscal year 1983 could not be touched by Reaganites in the NIE bureaucracy. The reason: the funds had already been allotted — under the Carter Administration!²¹

Shortly after his Congressional testimony, Curran proposed that the National Institute of Education be abolished. For his courage in daring to uphold the Reagan mandate of getting the federal government out of the business of running our schools and funding useless studies, Curran was fired by Education Secretary Terrel Bell. Later, Acting NIE Director Robert Sweet, looking at the flood of research commissioned by Democratic political appointees and career education bureaucrats, was still puzzled: "Educators, policymakers and researchers have indigestion," Sweet charged in an interview with *Federal Grants and Contracts Weekly*. "We have so much material (at NIE) we don't even know what we've got ourselves."²²

What sorts of studies has the NIE published under the Reagan Administration? **Public Advocate** researchers have examined NIE materials published between January and October 1981. The agenda of left-wing research in the Carter years is still being faithfully pursued, and the NIE still publishes studies that support big government, busing, and feminism, as well as materials that help to undermine the traditional values of the American family.

Anti-Family

Perhaps the most notorious of anti-family studies was a \$260,000 grant to the University of Wisconsin at Madison to conduct a study on the needs for "consumer education" (home economics) in the 1980s. Students would not need traditional values in order to make decisions, this study explained; instead, decisions should be made scientifically and objectively, through the techniques of "cost-benefit analysis." For example, a girl considering premarital sex needn't worry about whether or not the act was morally wrong, but only if sex "felt good." Making decisions, the authors explain, is not a process of acting on God-given standards; instead, students should "learn about all the options available to them. It may cost a

young girl more psychologically to use birth control than not to if she has been taught by her family that contraception is wrong." ²³

Once traditional values had been discarded, the personal or situational ethics could be used for a wide range of moral decisions. Children would not have to care for their parents in old age, because "large number of families are going *too far* in caring for older people. . . . Parent-caring is becoming a major source of stress in family life." ²⁴ But if children shouldn't support their parents, who should? The study praises the militant Grey Panther movement, "a national political and social force manned by thousands of active and enthusiastic older Americans," giving a slap to traditional nuclear family life. ²⁵ (See Table for a detailed breakdown of how situational ethics would apply to the question of whether to have sex before marriage.)

Situational ethics was not the only radical social change the authors would like to see taught to our children. Other innovations stressed as desirable and necessary include:

- **Values Clarification**, "a process of search and choice. . . supportive of the social, ecological, political and ethical imperatives of a post-industrial era. . . . Knowledge of value clarification methods will prepare

Cost-Benefit Model for Teaching Responsible Decision Making

Sample Question: Should I or shouldn't I engage in premarital intercourse?

Values That Define The Situation	Decision Options		Costs or Benefits of Decision	
			Costs ¹	Benefits ²
Society Community Parents School Religion Peer Group Other	A. Yes			
	1.	I'll prepare and get some birth control since I don't want a child now. . .	Guilt	Sexual expression without pregnancy
	2.	I won't use birth control since I want a child now. . .	Interrupted education	Wanted pregnancy
	B. No			
	1.	I'm not ready yet.	Guilt	Freedom from fear of pregnancy
	2.	I have other priorities right now.		
	3.	I haven't met the right person yet.		
	4.	I haven't had the opportunity.		
	5.	I don't want to before marriage. . . .		
	C. I don't want to think about it. ¹ (a decision not to decide)		Avoids the guilt issue since no responsibility is taken. Attitude is "I couldn't help it." Likelihood of unwanted pregnancy is highest here, thus a major cost results from "decision not to decide."	
	1.	Premeditation is unromantic, unfeminine, un-masculine.		
	2.	Nice girls/boys don't think about sex.		
	3.	If intercourse happens, it won't be my doing. It will be the fault of liquor, an eager partner, or the situation. I therefore retain a false innocence if intercourse happens this way. . .		

1. Paradoxically, many adolescents who think that premarital sex is immoral fall into this category. The option of birth control is not available to them since they have been taught that thinking about and having sex are immoral. Thus Option C is all that remains for these adolescents if they are sexually active.
2. Students should provide other examples based on their particular values and subcultural norms.
3. There may be a growing trend for adolescents to feel guilty when they say "no," especially in more liberal settings.

consumers for the prioritizing (sic) required in a post-industrial condition."

- **Behavior Modification**, desirable in order for "consumers to see their role as consumer fully integrated with their role as producer and citizen."
- **Collectivism**. "The consumer of the future, functioning in a fragile, closed system *must be brought to a new self-conception based on the collective good.*"²⁶

The NIE was quite worried about the possibility that parents might rebel against doctrines of morality imposed from Washington. In a \$35,000 study sponsored by the NIE-funded Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance at Stanford University, Sherry Keith, a professor of sociology at San Francisco State, explained that parents who dared to question state-imposed doctrines approving sex education, profane language, and "a non-religious, worldview" were wasting their time; these questions, she explained, were "surprisingly innocuous . . . in terms of the burning issues of the twentieth century."²⁷

If Keith saw radical changes and immorality imposed on children as being "innocuous," David Tyack and Myra Strober, Stanford graduate students, saw federal control of schools as necessary and desirable. In their report, "Women and Men in the Schools: A History of the Sexual Structuring of Educational Employment" (funded with a \$42,000 NIE grant, of course), Tyack and Strober attacked the application of traditional "moral principles" to teacher behavior as rules for hypocrites, "narrow standards of propriety . . . which the majority more or less frankly disavow for themselves but want others to practice . . . old-time rules governing the behavior of teachers sound like humor from *Mad Magazine*."²⁸

In the cultural universe inhabited by NIE employees, there is nothing controversial about (1.) the goals or methods of *Freestyle*, (2.) trashing traditional family values, or (3.) a collective behavior modification program for the masses in favor of more (not less) direction from the federal education bureaucracy.

Many Americans voting in the 1980 elections felt they were at the vanguard of a revolt against this type of arrogant thinking, with its boldy stated goals of the subversion of normal family living and its hollow claims to scientific expertise.

Congress Already Knows "Criticism of NIE Is Universal"

Critics of the NIE are not only conservatives, but also professional educators. Testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee's Subcommittee on Select Education on June 18, 1981, Lois Bader, Professor of Education at Michigan State and chair of the Research Commission of the College Reading Association, attacked NIE for the following reasons:

1. **Generalized results**: "Studies that are focused on four to six teachers and their students in schools in university communities; rarely have these investigators ventured into any inner-city classroom, even more rarely have they stayed very long."
2. **Bad research**: "The creation of a few heavily funded projects has resulted in the employment of large numbers of educational researchers who have not taught for even a year in a public or private school. Thus, at great expense, they investigate areas new and possibly interesting to them and others like

them, but of little value or new to those with experience in the field . . . These researchers have almost no credibility outside of their immediate circle. Their reports are ignored, and when they appear at large national conferences on expense-paid trips, their sessions are poorly attended. They hire each other as consultants and evaluators. They testify for each other. Some move back and forth between employment in NIE in Washington and employment in NIE funded units. The network of personal relationships is such that one wonders if impartial reviews of proposals and projects are possible."

Results produced by these studies, according to Bader, include:

- "Students who are paying attention learn more than students who are not paying attention."
- "Students should have the prerequisite knowledge to learn a task."
- "Students should know why they are praised or criticized."
- "Teachers' expectations influence the way they encourage students."

"The NIE . . . Is Esoteric . . . Incomprehensible . . ."

Another critic, James Walker, director of the Reading/Communication Skills Program, Northern Illinois University (DeKalb) and president of the College Reading Association, added that the audience for NIE research "appears to be other researchers" and notes that NIE technical reports are "replete with a jargon that I find incomprehensible after 19 years in the profession . . . If the writing is so esoteric as to render the product useful to only a limited number of colleagues, I question whether we can afford to continue on this course, given the situation of our economy." Walker added that NIE research was frequently so esoteric that it took anywhere from 20 to 25 years for studies to trickle down to classroom use.

NIE Gives \$860,000 To Justify Busing

The largest of the pro-busing studies was a three-year, \$860,000 grant to a team operating out of the Vanderbilt University Center for Education and Human Development Policy, led by Robert L. Crain and Willis D. Hawley. While this project is called an "assessment" of knowledge about desegregation, the report goes far beyond assessing into advocacy of pro-busing strategies.

For example, the fourth volume of the study, written by Meyer Weinberg, is called "A Practical Guide to Desegregation: Sources, Materials and Contacts," and is nothing less than a guide for pro-busing advocates to reach their colleagues on the left. For example, organizations which promise "technical assistance to desegregating school systems" include such familiar left-wing groups as:

- American Civil Liberties Union
- Children's Defense Fund
- NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund
- National Education Association Teacher Rights Department

- Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators

A section on individuals active in promoting desegregation includes telling resumes of expertise. Jon Chace, of the Community Relations Service of Philadelphia, is described as "active in building community coalitions in Wilmington, Delaware." Hayes Mizell, director of the Southeastern Public Education Project of the American Friends Service Committee in Columbia, South Carolina, is listed as "an expert on student rights, parent involvement, and *strategies for advocacy*." ²⁹

The NIE-funded report is also helpful in selecting the best union organizers from the National Education Association. Wally Young, of the Delaware State Education Association, is an expert "in forming a teacher coalition," while Al Smith of the Washington Education Association "has worked in South King County, Washington, to organize consortia of teacher groups... to support desegregation." ³⁰

Additional federal money, Crain and Hawley wrote, would also be needed in order to promote busing via "inservice" (teacher training) programs. Crain and Hawley knew that teachers might object to being fed the doctrines of Washington: "Little attempt should be made to directly change the attitudes of participants," Crain and Hawley said. Instead, teachers' minds should be molded to fit the whims of Washington: "Preaching is ineffective and often dysfunctional to program goals. *Training in behavioral responses is more effective.*" ³¹

Socialist Theory Gets Your Money, Too.

The NIE funded a \$38,000 study, published by the NIE-funded Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance at Stanford University, in which Stanford education professor Henry Levin advocated theories of "organizational democracy" similar to theories espoused by Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. Noting that workers and students are both oppressed by the "authoritarian regimes" of supervisors and teachers, Levin, drawing on the theories of nineteenth-century radical socialist Robert Owen, called for a school system in which the teacher would be largely replaced by students educating students in a "school republic." Further reduction in adult teacher authority, Levin wrote, would not only improve educational performance but also prepare students for a revolution in the workplace (in the transition to "organizational democracy"): "The role that must be relegated to schools must be considered one of the most crucial." ³²

CEMREL Proves It Gets Only Worse

About half of the NIE budget, some \$30 million a year, is spent on 17 educational laboratories and centers. What do these centers spend their money on?

CEMREL, a St. Louis laboratory, spent over \$30 million of tax money over 17 years. Part of this money paid for high living and good times for its government-subsidized staff. Among the blatant examples of waste found by the Department of Education Inspector General were:

- \$19,918 spent by former CEMREL president Wade Robinson on trips to Egypt;
- \$15,121 for a doctoral student who spent his federally subsidized salary attending classes instead of working;

- \$75,000 on staff travel expenses, including trips paid by taxpayers to Paris, Barcelona, Spain, and Disney World, as well as \$200 dinners in the finest restaurants in St. Louis and Washington;
- \$39,000 a year to pay the salary of one "full-time" staffer who was also paid a \$27,000 "full-time" salary by the University of Chicago.

When the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and *Globe-Democrat* first exposed CEMREL abuses, CEMREL president Wade Robinson was forced to resign. But Robinson wasn't given an unemployment check; instead, he was given a \$21,000 bonus — from tax dollars.

Even after CEMREL corruption was exposed, it took over 17 months — and a grand jury investigation — before the National Institute of Education cut off CEMREL funds. "The corporation's board of directors is still basically the same board that was responsible for the past abuse of taxpayer dollars and is not, therefore, a responsible contractor," charged acting NIE director Robert Sweet. ³³

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* went further: "The concept of federally financed regional educational think tanks being given carte blanche to develop new curricula and create new teaching methods is repugnant to those who favor local control of education. This is an idea whose time has come — and gone." ³⁴

NIE: English Is Not Spoken There

Other NIE studies were just as wasteful. As part of an \$810,000 contract to the American Institutes for Research in Washington, the NIE funded an explanation of why most bureaucrats are unable to use the English language. In "The Language of the Bureaucracy," Jance C. Redish correctly noted that "egregious examples of gobbledygook are easy to find" in regulations. ³⁵ The solution, however, was not one of simplifying legal language, or reducing regulations, but instead was one of providing *more* federal money for "research on job-related reading and writing skills" and for training bureaucrats in the English language. (One wonders how bureaucrats, many of them with Ph.D.'s in education or sociology, failed to learn how to write in their many years of schooling.)

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, funded under a \$1.3 million NIE contract to the Syracuse University Center for Applied Linguistics, published a study on "PR Prototypes: A Guidebook for Promoting Foreign Language Study to the Public," a report which explained how high school foreign language students, during their school day, would learn how to lobby for community support of foreign languages by badgering politicians and journalists, writing press releases and calling businessmen for donations. If you thought that lobbying politicians should not be part of the high school curriculum, Rosanne Gostovich Goyer and Lester W. McKim would disagree. "Community outreach and awareness building have a legitimate place in the regular activities of our classrooms," Goyer and McKim wrote; and students should have a key role in any public relations campaign: "Making contact with public officials and community leaders takes a special kind of effort. . . . Remember that students are your best promoters, especially if the parents of some of them are community leaders." ³⁶

If lobbying for more non-English language curricular is

acceptable, what is to prevent teachers — perhaps under the guise of civics lessons, or a study of union history — from teaching students how to lobby to stop federal budget cuts, or how to promote union-approved candidates?

Conclusion

Very little changed in the National Institute of Education during the first months of the Reagan Administration. While nominally funding objective research, the National Institute of Education subsidized research that attacked traditional values, provided a "bulletin board" for union organizers to promote skills, and subsidized advocates of forced busing.

The National Institute of Education, though, is only a part of the massive federal education establishment. The causes funded by NIE grants and contracts are funded throughout the education establishment — and indeed, the federal government.

Abuses in federal education spending cannot be cured by quick fixes, or easy solutions. The only cure is to stop federal education research — by abolishing the National Institute of Education. The only cure to the cancer of increasing federal control of our local schools is to stop federal education research — by abolishing the National Institute of Education. The only cure to the cancer of increasing federal control of our local schools is to stop federal education spending — by abolishing the Department of Education.

All It Takes Is One Good Man . . .

Rather than put up with a policy that compromised America's goal of securing the best possible education for its young

people, NIE special assistant Lawrence Uzzell resigned to blow the whistle on these and other programs at the NIE. To date, as chairman of a special program funded by **Public Advocate** to abolish the NIE, Uzzell has written to over 250,000 people to tell them that the "permanent structure" of arrogant government power brokers is working mightily to stop the Reagan Administration from reforming educational policy in Washington, D.C.

In a commentary published in the *Wall Street Journal*, Uzzell makes the case for a broader attack on NIE existence:

"...Agencies like...the National Institute of Education...must go. As a rule of thumb, the more power a program's employees have to decide how and where to spend its appropriations, the more likely it is that the program should be abolished — even if it spends a lot less than the huge "formula grant" programs like Guaranteed Student Loans.

"Education research will not vanish if federal subsidies are cut to zero. More than 400 American colleges and universities have education departments, and there are scores of other institutions like the Ford Foundation and the Council for Basic Education which flourished long before the NIE.

"What would vanish with the NIE is the highly offensive practice whereby some citizens force others to subsidize ideological propaganda disguised as science.

"Unlike most populist revolts, the revolt against the NIE's educationists can reach beyond middle-class laymen. The real scientists and scholars, who compete with the educationists for research funds, are its natural allies. Ronald Reagan is its natural leader. It is still not too late for him to start leading."

This **IMPACT REPORT** has been edited by Eugene Delgaudio. Research materials prepared by Martin M. Wooster. Views expressed herein are not meant to construe endorsement of specific legislation before Congress. In 1982 **Public Advocate** supporters presented 300,000 signed petitions to the President and Congress demanding the abolition of the federal Department of Education. In 1983, 30,000 **Public Advocate** supporters have written President Reagan to do away with the National Institute of Education.

Other Studies and Discussions Presented by Public Advocate and still available:

Marching In Place: Why a Federal Education Agency Is a Bad Idea,
Impact Report (1981, \$3.00)

Why the Department of Education Should Be Abolished, a paper by
U.S. Congressman Larry McDonald (1981, \$3.00)

Should There Be a Taxpayers Bill of Rights?, a discussion between
former U.S. Congressman Jim Collins and former IRS
Commissioner Jerome Kurtz (**Register of Opinion**, Winter
1982, Free)

Should the Federal Elections Commission Be Abolished?, a discussion
between U.S. Senator Roger W. Jepsen and Common Cause
President Fred Wertheimer (**Register of Opinion**, Fall 1981,
Free)

Should There Be An Income Tax Credit for Tuition?, a discussion
between U.S. Senator Bob Packwood and U.S. Senator Ernest
F. Hollings (**Register of Opinion**, Summer 1981, Free)

*Should There be a Congressional Veto Procedure Governing
Executive Branch Rule-Making?*, a discussion between U.S.
Congressman Elliot Levitas and former U.S. Senator Jacob K.
Javits (**Register of Opinion**, Winter 1979, Free)

Write: Public Advocate, 418 C St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002
Attention: Eugene Delgaudio, Executive Director

FOOTNOTES

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Impact Reports are published periodically and are supplemented by various background files on issues.

Public Advocate of the United States, Inc.

Public Advocate of the United States, Inc. was formed in 1978 as an educational non-profit grass roots organization to promote limited government on the federal level and a reversal of excessive interference into the daily lives of the average taxpayer by free wheeling government agencies.

Public Advocate publishes a quarterly publication, *Register of Opinion*, that is mailed to its membership and national opinion leaders.

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Abolish National Institute of Education Project Chairman: Lawrence A. Uzzell

IMPACT report

Public Advocate

418 C Street, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Santa Barbara, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1983

RADIO ADDRESS
OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

Rancho del Cielo

9:06 A.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: My fellow Americans, this is a very special weekend in American life, a time specially set aside to honor our mothers and the mothers of our children. As we do, we acknowledge their role as the heart of our families and reinforce our families as the cornerstone of our society.

In our families, and often from our mothers, we first learn about values and caring and the difference between right and wrong. Those of us blessed with loving families draw our confidence from them and the strength we need to face the world.

We also first learn at home, and, again, often from our mothers, about the God who will guide us through life.

The mothers we honor this weekend, young or not so young, partners or alone, well-to-do or sometimes agonizingly poor, are as diverse as our varied population. But they share a commitment to future generations and a yearning to improve the world their children will inherit. They shape the America we know today and are now molding the character of our country tomorrow.

Since men seem to have written most of our history books, the role of women and mothers in our communities and families has not always been given its due. But the truth is the wild west could never have been tamed, the vast prairies never plowed, nor God and learning brought to the corners of our continent without the strength, bravery and influence of our grandmothers, great-grandmothers and the women who came before them.

Living through blizzards, plagues, prairie fires and floods, these women made homes and started families, organized churches and built schools. They served as teachers, field hands, physicians and the center of the family.

I was reading a book recently about Kansas frontier women and came across a passage that seemed to sum it all up. Esther Clark wrote, "Mother has always been the gamest one of us. I can remember her hanging onto the reins of a runaway mule team, her black hair tumbling out of its pins and over her shoulders, her face set and white while one small girl clung with chattering teeth to the sides of the rocking wagon and a baby sister bounced about on the floor in paralyzed wonder.

"I remember, too, the things the men said about Leny's nerve. But I think as much courage as it took to hang onto the reins that day, it took more to live 24 hours at a time, month in and out on the lonely and lovely prairie without giving up to the loneliness."

Of course, Leny's nerve and strength are echoed in modern-day women and mothers who face different but equally trying tests of their courage. There are mothers like Rachael Rossow of Connecticut, for example, and Dorothy DeBolt of California, who with their husbands have adopted between them 25 handicapped boys and girls in addition to their own children.

I had a chance to visit with Rachael and her family last month and I can tell you I've never seen a happier group. I know the strains on them must be great, emotionally and financially, but

MORE

not as great as the love they feel for each other. Of course, many millions of American mothers are quiet, everyday heroes struggling to stretch budgets and too often maintaining their families alone. Many also contribute to society through full-time careers and others are forced to work just to make ends meet. They're raising children in a fast-paced world where basic values are constantly questioned. Their monumental challenge is to bring their children into adulthood, healthy and whole, nurturing their physical and emotional growth while avoiding the pitfalls of drug abuse and crime.

The lives of American mothers today are far removed from the prairies, and yet they have a nobility about them, too. Government should help, not hinder parents in this task. And that's why our policies have been designed to restore the family to its rightful place in our society, combat the inflation that stole from family budgets, expand opportunity through a renewed economy and hasten the return of values and principles that made America both great and good.

On the economic front, I think we've made some solid progress in bringing relief to your financially-strapped families. When we took office, inflation was at 12.4 percent. But it's only been one half of one percent for the last six months. You can see a difference on the grocery shelves. A loaf of bread, for example, costs only two cents more now than it did in 1980. If we'd continued with the old rate of inflation, by now it would have cost 11 cents more. Milk is about 16 cents cheaper than it would have been, hamburger about 18 cents cheaper per pound, and the savings on a dozen eggs is as much as 50 cents. I don't have to tell the people who do the shopping how these savings add up.

But for those of you who don't, we estimate that a family of four on a fixed income of \$20,000 has \$1,700 more in purchasing power this year than they would have had under the old inflation rate.

The progress we're making with the economy, just like the national renewal we're seeing spring up all around us, is the product of our reliance again on good old-fashioned common sense, renewed belief in ourselves and faith in God.

Now and then I find guidance and direction in the worn brown Bible I used to take the oath of office. It's been the Reagan family Bible, and like many of yours, has its flyleaf filled with important events, its margins are scrawled with insights and passages underlined for emphasis. My mother, Nellie, made all those marks in that book. She used it to instruct her two young sons and I look to it still.

A passage in Proverbs describes the ideal woman, saying: "Strength and dignity are her clothing, and she smiles at the future. She opens her mouth in wisdom, and the teaching of kindness is on her tongue. Give her the product of her hands, and let her works praise her in the gates."

Well, that passage calls for us to recognize the enormous strengths and contributions of women, wives and mothers and indicates to me that society always needs a little reminding. Well, let us use this weekend as a symbol that we will always remember, reward and recognize them and use their examples of love and courage as inspiration to be better than we are.

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

END

9:11 A.M. PDT

March 30, 1983

WHY REAGAN SHOULD KEEP HIS WORD AND SHUT DOWN D.O.E.

File -

INTRODUCTION

Every American voter knew what to expect of presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. During the 1980 election campaign, he often used the cry "Abolish the Department of Energy!" to symbolize his pledge to curb Washington's burgeoning bureaucracy. Time and again he scored DOE programs as signal examples of the sort of government interventionism and excess he felt were at the heart of America's economic ills. For good reason did voters expect that DOE's abolition would be a top priority during the opening days of the Reagan Administration. Initial indications seemed to confirm this view.

Soon after taking office, Reagan appointed James B. Edwards, a former South Carolina governor, as Secretary of Energy. At an early press conference, Edwards vowed he had come to Washington to "work myself out of a job." On another occasion he even stated that once he succeeded in eliminating the energy agency, he would "spread salt on the earth" to make sure it never rose again. Yet it soon became evident that abolishing DOE would be easier said than done. While the President continued to assert that the energy unit's demise remained a priority, suspicions grew within the energy industry that the effort to abolish DOE enjoyed only half-hearted support from the White House.

Some of the President's own appointees at DOE were openly hostile to the notion of closing the department. Though they opposed the agency's regulatory activities, they wanted the research and development activities maintained. Some even defended DOE's subsidies for the commercialization of energy technologies--a practice sharply at odds with the President's free market philosophy. As a result, a form of guerrilla warfare developed, with top-level DOE officials pitted against the Office of Management and Budget. Whenever OMB tried to cut a program, the officials fought the

cuts through appeals and leaks of information to congressional committee staffs hostile to the Reagan philosophy. The situation was aggravated by the White House's delay in filling key slots at the department. As a result, Secretary Edwards was, for a time, the only Reagan appointee at DOE and had to rely on bureaucrats--a group hardly committed to the agency's demise--for advice and information.

There even was opposition to dismantling DOE within the energy industry. Firms heavily involved in government contracts were loathe to see the federal spigot turned off. Other firms, benefiting from special advantage through DOE regulation, were anxious to maintain their privileged position. Still others, fearing a proliferation of state energy agencies and an accompanying morass of contradictory state rules and regulations, took a "better a devil you know than one you don't" attitude, and lobbied for continuation of DOE's regulatory regime.

The strongest opposition to abolishing the Department, however, came from the Congress. While the agency had existed for only four years when Reagan took office, it had managed to develop a powerful clique of congressional patrons. To no small degree, this was the product of pork barrel projects carefully distributed in the home states of key legislators. Synthetic fuels plants, alternate energy projects, and research and development facilities became powerful arguments on behalf of the agency's continued existence.

Even more important to the Congress, however, was the question of who would have jurisdiction over the department's programs if the department were to be abolished. A number of tasks would be performed by government (such as the maintenance of a Strategic Petroleum Reserve, or the production of nuclear weapons), whether or not a Department of Energy existed. Congress would continue to exercise a role in these areas through its appropriations and oversight functions. At present, the Energy and Commerce Committee in the House, and the Energy and Natural Resources Committee in the Senate, have primary jurisdiction over DOE. If DOE were eliminated, however, there would be no guarantee, particularly in the Senate, that these committees would retain jurisdiction over energy issues. Should jurisdictional boundaries change, some programs, their advocates fear, could be jeopardized.

This all has obscured the fact that the rationale for eliminating the Department of Energy remains as strong today as it was in 1980. As long as there is a Department of Energy, federal policy-makers will continue to view energy issues in isolation and will continue to interfere in the market to the detriment of the nation's energy consumers. The urge to regulate where no regulation is warranted, to subsidize where no subsidy is needed, and to send false signals to the energy market is simply too strong to resist. This is history's sad lesson. The only way to ensure

that there are no DOE programs and bureaucracies destabilizing the energy economy is to ensure that there is no DOE.

THE INHERENT DEFECTS OF DOE

The Heritage Foundation's 1980 Mandate for Leadership energy task force report concluded that

...the central problem is not found in any specific deficiency of the agency, but rather in the concept that such an agency is needed in the first place. This concept has its basis in the contention that the government can and should play a major, if not dominant role in the management of the energy market; a contention we flatly reject....The major deficiency of the Department of Energy is found in the fact of its existence.

The creation of a cabinet-level department with energy as its sole concern implies that government can manage energy resources more efficiently than the market can. History has shown this assumption to be fallacious. Recent experience with oil decontrol has demonstrated clearly that the market allocates energy resources far more efficiently than the government ever could and thereby maximizes benefits for energy consumers. DOE thus suffers from serious inherent defects.

Spiraling Intervention

DOE has a distorted view of the energy market. It sees energy issues in isolation, rather than as part of the economic whole. Problems thus tend to be exaggerated and there is a temptation to overreact. But because energy has such a pervasive effect throughout the economy, even small interventions have major consequences. As these become apparent, they are used to justify further "corrective" intervention, setting off an ever increasing regulatory spiral that never acknowledges that it was intervention and regulation that caused the problems in the first place.

Make-Work Regulation

The department seems to intervene in some cases merely to justify its own existence. This reflects the bureaucratic urge to tinker.

Typical was the department's response to the 1979 Iranian oil boycott. By coercing refiners into producing far more heating oil and diesel fuel than they would have otherwise, DOE caused a reduction in gasoline production just before the summer peak-driving season. This distortion in the production cycle, together with the gross misallocation of supplies caused by DOE rules, is widely recognized as the cause of the gasoline lines during summer 1979. The agency's policies magnified the nominal 5

percent loss of crude oil supplies into shortages of as much as 30 percent at the gasoline pump in some areas.

Had the market been allowed to function properly, supplies would have moved quickly to where they were needed, while refiners would have adjusted their product mix to meet customer demands. The market's efficiency was demonstrated in 1980, at the start of the war between Iraq and Iran, when a similar drop in world crude oil supplies was hardly noticed by consumers. The key difference was that during this "oil crisis" the market was allowed to function, free of panic buying inspired by regulation.

Distorting Research

The Department of Energy impedes the energy market by subsidizing some technologies while penalizing others. Since decisions to support one line of research rather than another stem from political rather than efficiency considerations, DOE's actions cause a further misallocation of resources.

In some instances, the agency's efforts even undermine the viability of those technologies that they seek to aid. In the case of alcohol fuels, for example, a DOE loan guarantee program, which carried with it a requirement that subsidized plants have an annual capacity of 5 million gallons or less, virtually ensured that the program would fail. Private firms engaged in power alcohol production had discovered already that a minimum annual capacity of 20 million gallons is necessary for efficient and profitable operation. But because DOE offered loan guarantees only to smaller plants, and investment bankers insisted on such guarantees before granting a loan, producers with viable projects were effectively barred from private capital markets by the very program intended to help them.

THE CASE FOR LIMITED FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT

Although government intervention in the energy market is unwarranted in most cases, there may be a need for the federal presence in two specific areas: energy emergency preparedness and long-term research and development (R&D). In both cases, the perceived need arises from what economists call "externalities." These are costs that must be accounted for, but that no individual, or group of individuals, can or will pay for. The classic example of an externality is national defense. No one individual or group has an incentive to assume responsibility for his share of defense, since the same total level of defense is needed, irrespective of what any individual chooses to pay. But it must be provided for somehow. It therefore falls on government to assume the chore and to assign costs to each taxpayer. To some extent, energy emergency preparedness, long-term R&D, and the nuclear fuel cycle carry external costs and benefits.

Energy Preparedness

In the case of energy security, the externalities arise from the government's broad duty to provide for national defense. To the general public and Congress, energy security has been synonymous with protection from the effects of an oil supply interruption. Consequently, most energy security programs aim at assuring adequate oil supplies, domestically and among the nations who have signed the International Energy Agency's shortage-sharing agreement.

Under the Carter Administration, the principal programs of energy preparedness included the expansion of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (initiated in the Ford Administration), the development of a rationing plan for times of severe interruption of oil imports, creating the Synthetic Fuels Corporation, and the development of a plan, in close cooperation with the International Energy Agency, for the international allocation of crude oil supplies in the event of another oil embargo.

These measures ignored the supply side of the oil equation. Senior officials of the Carter Administration, it seems, did not believe that much new oil remained to be discovered. The only means of ensuring energy security therefore seemed to be to "share the shortage." To ensure that the burden of the anticipated shortfall was equitably distributed, it was necessary, from the Carter viewpoint, for the government to manage the burden. This rationale provided much of the justification for the creation of a Department of Energy.

Such thinking was repudiated by incoming Reagan officials. For them, long-term energy security was to be achieved, in the words of Interior Secretary James Watt, by "conserve and conserve, and produce and produce." This was the role of the market. In their view, the Department of Energy was a barrier to this.

DOE's conservation programs had achieved few real energy savings. Worse still, the department's controls on crude oil prices encouraged overconsumption. Although major strides in energy conservation had been achieved, noted Reagan Administration officials, such progress could be attributed mainly to market forces--that operated in spite of, rather than because of, DOE's regulations.

International agreements to share shortages on the world oil market, moreover, were of little value since experience indicated that few nations would abide by them, should an embargo occur. Real security lay therefore in developing domestic energy resources--which only the private sector, through the market system, could accomplish. Until domestic resources were developed, the Strategic Petroleum Reserve would furnish ample protection against a catastrophic shortfall.

Energy security thus is no reason for a Department of Energy. Though the federal government might be needed to maintain the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, existing agencies, such as the Interior Department, could do this.

Research and Development

There is relatively widespread support for the argument that the government can play a useful role in sponsoring scientific research. "Pure" scientific research will ultimately yield significant benefits to society, even though it is impossible at the outset to determine just what those benefits will be or to whom they will accrue. Perhaps the most familiar example of this process is the space program, which gave society products ranging from Tang Breakfast Drink and Teflon to the sophisticated cardiac monitors now used in hospital intensive care units.

In addition to so-called pure research, however, many Americans accept the notion that there is value in federal sponsorship of "applied" research, that undertaken toward a specific end. Unlike pure research, applied research leaves little doubt as to its beneficiaries' identities and this often raises the question: "Why should they not bear the costs?"

In answer to such questions, advocates of a federal role in applied research argue that, in today's economy, such projects constitute part of the "infrastructure of commerce." As such, the support of applied science, as of ports and highways, is said to be within the legitimate scope of government.

While it is true that technology lies at the heart of the modern economy, even if some federal involvement is therefore appropriate, the degree of that involvement must be justified and the limits clearly set. The danger that federal research will become politicized, as has happened so often in the past, would suggest that the direct federal role be minimized to the greatest extent possible. Where should these limits be placed?

Recently, the notion has gained currency that direct federal research and development projects should be restricted to those that can be categorized as "high risk, high potential payoff." The basis of this is the assumption that a private firm would be hesitant to undertake projects of this kind because they lack near-term commercial potential--even though their long-term prospects might be significant. Fusion energy is an example of this. While promising virtually limitless energy, the most optimistic time frame for fusion still puts commercial plants well into the next century. Given the billions of dollars needed to conduct the experiments, no private sector firm would likely proceed on its own. But the potential benefits to society may well be enormous. Like national defense, fusion research is characterized by significant "externalities."

Only under extraordinary circumstances, however, can externalities provide justification for government involvement. The crucial factors are their magnitude and how they relate to other factors in the economy.

At the other end of the spectrum are so-called commercial demonstration projects. Popular during the Carter Administration, these projects are most often aimed at building "first of a kind" plants to test the commercial feasibility of a new process. The synthetic fuels projects proposed under Carter's Energy Security Act, and possibly the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, fall into this category.

In these cases, the rationale for federal involvement is weak at best. It is based on a faulty notion that the government can demonstrate commercial feasibility of a technology. Yet, a technology is commercially feasible only when the market provides it. If government subsidies are necessary for a technology to compete, then it clearly is not commercially feasible. Attempts to force a technology into the market prematurely are destined to fail, no matter how large its federal subsidy.

On rare occasions, however, national security reasons or similar purposes require the development of technologies even though they may not yet be economically viable. This can usually be accomplished through the construction of small bench-scale or prototype plants. Although the construction of an intermediate sized plant (as proponents of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor claim their project to be) may be required in some cases, it would never be necessary to construct a full-size commercial plant.

The Nuclear-Fuel Cycle

In one area of energy, the government unquestionably has a role: the nuclear fuel cycle. The term "fuel cycle" refers to the process whereby uranium or some other fissionable material is mined and enriched to make it suitable as a fuel, burned in a reactor, and finally processed to dispose of the radioactive wastes.

The main reason for a federal role here is the concern over nuclear proliferation. The U.S. government is the only body with the stability and longevity needed to oversee the long-term management of nuclear waste facilities, where several centuries may be needed to effect disposal. The federal presence has been dominant in the field ever since nuclear power emerged as a viable energy source. That presence will not diminish in the future. Nuclear weapons production will remain the sole responsibility of the federal government, as will uranium enrichment, the control of nuclear exports, and a host of other nuclear related matters.

This is insufficient, however, to justify the existence of a cabinet-level agency.

DISMANTLING THE ENERGY DEPARTMENT

There is no convincing rationale for the existence of a federal energy agency. Where the federal government should or might play an energy role, the functions could easily be assigned to other cabinet departments or performed by a lesser agency. More important, the orderly dispersal of the government's legitimate energy related functions could lead to a more realistic view of how energy issues relate to the greater economic whole, and a more rational policymaking environment.

Three options have been suggested for abolition of the Department of Energy. These are:

- * Outright abolition
- * Merger
- * Downsizing.

Each has its own advantages and disadvantages, but each must be considered in terms of its political feasibility. Indeed, political considerations, more than any other factor, must determine which option should be employed.

Outright Abolition

Outright abolition would mean the total elimination of the Department of Energy and the transfer of its legitimate functions to other cabinet agencies. Management of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, for example, may be assigned to the Interior Department and the nuclear weapons program to the Department of Defense, while the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission again could become independent. In the early days of the Administration, outright abolition was the option given the closest consideration. Outright abolition, however, appears politically infeasible. It ignites jurisdictional concerns within the Senate. And abolition would eliminate the focus for energy programs which Congress seems to want.

A Merger

Another approach is merging DOE's continuing functions with another cabinet department. There would seem to be two candidates: the Department of the Interior and the Department of Commerce. The course of U.S. energy policy would be quite different under each agency. If the merger were with the Department of the Interior, DOE's programs would likely focus on resource management and development. If Commerce were selected, trade and technological development undoubtedly would dominate.

Some proponents of a merger have suggested that DOE's functions be divided more or less equally between Commerce and Interior. Functions most concerned with resource management, such as coal leasing and maintenance of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, plus fossil fuel research would go to Interior; the nuclear, solar, conservation, and international functions would be transferred to Commerce. Most of DOE's statistical programs also would go to Commerce.

Merger could save money by eliminating redundant programs. For example, the Energy Information Agency currently collects a wide variety of statistics on oil imports. But these data are largely duplicated by statistics collected by the Customs Service. Such information gathering could be unified easily at Commerce, with the Customs Service providing the data and Commerce providing the computer capability and statistical analysis.

Merger also would lead to the better coordination of policies. For example, although responsibility for promoting U.S. coal exports rests with the Department of Commerce, the Department of Energy sets coal targets and is responsible for coal research. The Interior Department, on the other hand, oversees coal leasing. While the Reagan Administration's use of a Cabinet Council on Energy and Natural Resources has improved coordination to a degree, there still is considerable bureaucratic inefficiency. Most important, a merger with one or more agencies would allow energy issues to be considered within a broader context.

Downsizing

This final option would eliminate most of DOE's regulatory functions, while retaining research and development, plus some statistical capability, within the department. The new agency, which would be below cabinet rank, would be much like the Veteran's Administration or NASA and resemble the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) of the Ford years. This would reduce unnecessary personnel and could realize real savings to the taxpayer. There is still the danger that it would become a vehicle for pork barrel projects. It is less attractive, therefore, than the merger option, but still politically feasible.

CONCLUSION

No option for dismantling DOE, no matter how sensible or carefully constructed, will succeed if the political will to make it succeed is lacking. It is not clear that Congress or the White House has summoned that will. During the early days of the Reagan Administration, when officials were asked about abolishing DOE, the answer was always "after the budget and tax bills." Reagan Administration officials now admit privately that "abolition is not a priority."

For the energy industry too, eliminating the Department of Energy is not a priority. The fear of a proliferation of state energy agencies remains strong, and Reagan inspired reforms of regulatory programs have eliminated many of DOE's points of conflict with energy companies. With the general slowdown of economic activity, some of the same firms that were criticizing DOE's largesse a few years ago are now eagerly competing for their share of the federal pie.

Yet the original reasons for the agency's termination remain as valid today as they were two years ago. The DOE still promotes a distorted picture of energy issues. It still hinders the ability of the market to function. It still sends false and confusing signals through the economy. In short, it still has no reason to exist.

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White House Office of Policy Information

ISSUE UPDATE

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This paper, prepared for Reagan Administration officials by the White House Office of Policy Information, outlines the Administration's comprehensive program for education.

EDUCATION PACKAGE

On March 17, 1983, President Reagan submitted to Congress three bills -- education vouchers, education savings accounts, and student self-help grants -- that complete a comprehensive package of Administration initiatives to meet the nation's education needs. The objectives of this proposed package are:

- o To increase parental choice and control in the education of their children.
- o To enhance the ability of parents to meet education costs.
- o To improve the quality of education.
- o To help prepare our nation's young people for the high technology economy of the future through improvement of math and science education.
- o To expand educational opportunities.

The Proposals

Overall, the proposed comprehensive education package includes seven elements:

1. Tuition Tax Credits. The President has announced legislation similar to that which he proposed last year, allowing individual taxpayers to receive an income tax credit for up to 50 percent of tuition costs for each child in a nonpublic school. The credit would be limited to \$100 in 1983, \$200 in 1984 and \$300 in 1985 and thereafter.

The full credit would be available to families with adjusted gross incomes under \$40,000. The credit for families earning more than \$40,000 would be proportionally reduced, and phased out altogether for families earning \$60,000 and over.

In addition, the President's bill includes the same strong anti-discrimination provisions as were provided in the legislation reported out of the Senate Finance Committee last year. These provisions enjoy broad, bi-partisan support and will ensure that no credits are permitted to parents who send their children to racially discriminatory schools.

2. Vouchers. Chapter 1 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 gives money for compensatory education services to school districts based on the number of children from low-income families in attendance at their schools. The President has proposed that states or school districts be given the option of using these funds to provide vouchers to parents of educationally disadvantaged school children. These parents could then use the vouchers to: (1) enroll in compensatory education programs in schools located within their home district, (2) pay the cost of enrolling at public schools outside their home district, or (3) pay the cost of enrolling at private schools.

Under the President's proposal, Chapter 1 funds would continue to be allocated to states and school districts as under current law. The bill also prohibits the use of vouchers at private schools that discriminate on the basis of race, color or national origin.

3. Math, Science and Engineering Teaching. The President has proposed a four-part program to improve the nation's math, science and engineering teaching:

- (a) Block Grants -- Under the President's proposal, the Education Department would distribute block grants totaling \$50 million to the states to be used for training new secondary school math and science teachers. This effort would focus on imparting teaching skills to those who may already be expert in math and science but lack teaching experience, and upgrading technical proficiency in math and science for experienced teachers from other teaching fields. About 10,000 teachers could be trained each year.
- (b) NSF Teacher Qualifications Program -- Under this initiative, NSF would make awards to collaborative programs developed by local education agencies and institutions of higher learning to improve the qualifications of pre-college math and science teachers in their local areas. NSF would choose the best programs and pay 50% of their costs. A total of \$19 million would be set aside annually (\$14 million in 1983) out of existing NSF budget authority for this initiative.

- (c) Outstanding Teachers Award Program -- Under this program, NSF, with the assistance of the Department of Education, would provide awards for teaching excellence and achievement for up to 100 state-nominated, pre-college math and science teachers. Each winner's school would receive a \$5,000 grant to be used to improve its math and science program.
- (d) Presidential Young Faculty Awards -- Awards would be granted to outstanding young faculty (those who had received their PhDs within the last 7 years) for research in areas of critical needs in science and engineering. These awards would attract top quality scientists and engineers into academia, thus relieving the shortage of college faculty in these fields. Approximately 200 awards would be given each year by NSF.

4. Education Savings Accounts. The President is proposing legislation to provide for the creation of Education Savings Accounts (ESAs). The ESA would be a separate account that parents could establish for each child, in which they could save funds for the future post-secondary education expenses of their children. Parents would be permitted to contribute up to \$1,000 annually to each account, with the interest and dividend income accruing to such accounts tax free. The full benefit of ESAs would be available to families with incomes below \$40,000 per year; reduced benefits would be available for families with annual incomes of up to \$60,000.

5. Student Self-Help Grants. The President is proposing that student aid programs be restructured to encourage, and expand the opportunities for, student self-help. Under his plan, College Work-Study funding would be increased by 60%. Students seeking a Pell Self-Help Grant would be expected to contribute at least 40%, or a minimum of \$800, to the cost of attendance, as a prerequisite for receiving such grants. This self-help effort could be satisfied through summer and part-time earnings or through the expanded Work-Study program; loans, savings and other sources of funds, including non-federal aid, could also be used. At the same time, the size of the maximum grant would be increased from \$1,800 to \$3,000. In addition, available Guaranteed Student Loan funds would be focused on those who really need them, by requiring that all applicants, not merely those with family incomes above \$30,000, demonstrate need.

6. Adopt-A-School Program. The Presidential Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives has long been working to promote the establishment of such programs as "Adopt-A-School," in which private corporations, community organizations, and neighborhood groups "adopt" schools by providing funds, equipment and personnel to help those schools meet education needs. The Administration will continue to pursue efforts to develop interested private sponsors and match them with schools.

7. Adult Literacy. Private sector initiatives have been extremely successful in increasing adult literacy. To complement these efforts, the Administration will encourage colleges and universities to use the Work-Study program to permit college students to be paid for tutoring adult illiterates to read. Through the Secretary's Adult Literacy Campaign the Administration will provide information to potential private sponsors on how they can set up adult literacy programs.

Increasing Parental Choice

Parents are deeply concerned about America's education system. Far too often, they feel excluded from the education of their own children by education bureaucracies, credentialed but unrealistic "experts," and insensitive, faraway textbook manufacturers. Too often, the parents find the substantive themes taught to their children alien and even offensive, but their objections are frequently brushed away as ignorant interference.

If parents respond to this situation by trying to send their children to private schools, they are burdened with a "double payment," for they must pay private school tuition in addition to taxes to support the public schools. Therefore, many parents, especially those with low incomes, are effectively precluded from exercising their constitutional right to choose a private education for their children -- a right the Supreme Court upheld 60 years ago.

The Administration's proposed education package will help alleviate these problems by increasing parental choice and control over the education of their children. Tuition tax credits will soften the double payment inequity by, in effect, rebating the equivalent of part of their public school taxes to those who choose non-public schools. Vouchers for families of educationally disadvantaged children will provide special help for many with modest means. Taken together, these two proposals will greatly expand the opportunity for all Americans to exercise their right to select the kind of elementary and secondary education they want for their children, including the possibility of choosing private schools.

The President's proposed Education Savings Accounts (ESAs) will help expand choice at higher education levels as well. With the resources saved through the ESAs, parents will have greater freedom to choose the college, university, junior college, or vocational institution that they and their children really want. And as a side benefit, the ESAs will increase total national savings, further enhancing the prospects for economic growth.

Meeting Higher Education Costs

Closely related to the issue of choice is the problem of high educational costs. Even those parents who are able to make a choice for their children often do so only at great cost and sacrifice. Indeed, between 1978 and 1981, college costs rose by about 30%, making it increasingly difficult for qualified students from lower-and middle-income families to meet the cost of attending, despite very rapidly rising federal student aid. At the same time, many affluent families, who could better afford these costs, began relying instead on federal aid. As a result, fewer resources were left over for those in greatest need, while much of the costs of education were shifted to the taxpayers, many of whom have fewer, perhaps far fewer, financial resources than some of those whom they were aiding through their tax dollars.

The Administration's proposals to restructure higher education aid will remedy much of this unfairness. In particular, the proposals will enhance the ability of parents to meet education costs without imposing additional tax burdens on other citizens. For example, the proposed Education Savings Accounts will provide financial relief to Americans to help them pay for education at the post-secondary level, by allowing parents to keep more of their own money, rather than by increasing Federal spending.

Further, expansion of the Work-Study program will enhance the ability of students to contribute to their own education. But requiring a student self-help contribution prior to the receipt of a Pell Grant will increase student participation in the financing of that education, rather than forcing taxpayers to bear an even greater burden. Thus, this aid expansion, as well as the focusing of Guaranteed Student Loan funds on low-income students, will provide further financial relief to those students most in need without huge increases in the federal budget.

Improving Education Quality

The Administration's proposals can also be expected to improve the quality of education across-the-board, because the tax credits, vouchers and ESAs, by increasing the range of parental choice, will increase competition in education.

The vital role competition has played in our society, in providing quality goods and services at affordable prices, is well known. This economic principle applies to the provision of education as forcefully as it does to any other product or service. If a school has little or no competition, it may lack the incentive to improve its educational quality since its students, as virtual "captives," will have to attend the school regardless of its educational standards.

If, however, the students have additional options, the school will face the choice of either suffering an undesired drain on its enrollment to other institutions, or upgrading its standards in order to maintain its level of student attendance.

The whole incentive structure in education will thereby be changed -- and for the better. This in turn will improve the atmosphere in America's schools. Teachers and administrators will feel a strong impulse to respond to the needs and desires of students and parents, to innovate, and to perform to the utmost of their abilities. Such a basic structural change in incentives is likely to do more to improve education quality than anything else the government could do.

Math, Science and Engineering Teaching

Nowhere is improved education quality more critical than in the areas of math and science. Rapidly developing high technology, a strong economy, and the continuing need to improve U.S. national security will increasingly require a technically skilled work force. Yet objective measures have shown a steady decline over the last 15 years in the pre-college math and science skills that constitute the foundation for the necessary technical skills. Only one-sixth of high school graduates have taken junior and senior level courses in science and math, and many small U.S. high schools do not offer sufficient mathematics to prepare graduates to enter engineering schools.

Unfortunately, the training base to rectify this problem does not now exist. More than 40 states report "shortages" or "critical shortages" of teachers in science and mathematics. Moreover, states are revising graduation standards, as they should. But if all high school students were to take even one additional math or science course before graduation, an additional 34,000 teachers would be required. And at the college level, 10% of the engineering faculty positions are vacant.

The President's proposed math and science training programs will improve both the number and ability of the nation's math, science and engineering teachers. These proposals will do so consistent with this Administration's policy of federalism by allowing state and local entities to run the programs and individually design their structure to meet local conditions. In addition, the Presidential teaching award program will enhance pride in the math and science teaching profession by providing recognition for the many outstanding teachers already in this field. The award of funds to the schools of the winners will help to further improve teaching facilities. Finally, the Presidential Young Faculty Awards program will help bring energetic young engineering professors to colleges to fill vacant engineering positions.

Expanding Educational Opportunities

Finally, the President's proposals will significantly expand educational opportunities. Because of tuition tax credits and vouchers, many students, particularly those from low-income families, will have an educational choice for the first time. The ESAs and expanded Work-Study will increase the opportunity for students to benefit from a college education. For students from low-income families, these opportunities will be especially improved because of the increase in the maximum Pell Self-Help Grant award.

The expected enhancements in the quality of education, as a result of the competition the President's proposals would engender, will further expand students' opportunities. This across-the-board improvement in educational quality will, in turn, enhance students' abilities to move into successful careers. This will especially be the case in the math and science areas, where the President's teacher training and award initiatives will improve the prospects for today's students to graduate into the high technology jobs of the future.

Wider participation in the Adopt-A-School program will also expand students' opportunities to secure a high quality education. Through this program, corporations and other private sector groups can determine on a decentralized basis the particular needs of a single school and help to provide for those needs. The improved facilities, additional courses, or other benefits made available by the adopting organization will create new opportunities for the students at the adopted school. Of particular value will be the practical, in-school job training that many adopting corporations will provide -- training that may well lead to jobs in the adopting company itself.

Likewise, the adult literacy effort will expand opportunities to a whole class of adults previously denied access to a wide range of jobs and other activities. Needless to say, the ability to read can open whole new worlds to people. The expected gains will be especially great because the Administration will concentrate its efforts on those approaches that have been most successful in this area in the past.

Conclusion

The President's proposals will expand educational opportunities and improve educational quality. They also address a fundamental problem of our education system -- the need to expand parental choice and control. In so doing, they will make it more

possible for today's young people to participate fully and effectively in the world of tomorrow. As the President has said,

"As a Nation, we are dedicated to excellence in education. It means a better life for our children as individuals, and it further secures the liberty which we cherish."

The President's education package takes an important step in this direction.

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

June 9, 1983

*file
Nat
Ed.
Assn.*

NOTE TO MORTON BLACKWELL

Attached is the article I wrote on the National Education Association's effort to promote disarmament by the "West." As you can see, it has engendered some controversy.

Gary L. Bauer

Attachments

When Indoctrination Replaces Education

BY GARY L. BAUER
Guest Columnist

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 between the covers of some of their children's textbooks.

Of course, faulty books are not the only cause of mediocrity in education, but, in my opinion, they are a contributing factor, particularly if the subject matter is not within the bounds of the traditional basic curriculum. This can be the case even when the publisher of the book in question is a widely recognized organization like 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.

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 mind-set in our unsuspecting young people by instilling in them fear and enlisting 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 scenes 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.

Nowhere in the curriculum does the student get a comprehensive historical perspective on arms control and its success or failure. The historian Barbara Tuchman, writing in the *New York Times Magazine* in April of 1982, observed after chronicling the various unsuccessful efforts at arms control in this century, "I have engaged in this long and dreary survey in order to show that control of war in the form of disarmament or limitation of arms has been a fruitless effort."

Ms. Tuchman cites Salvador de Madariaga who served as chairman of the League of Nations Disarmament Commission and Disarmament Conference on why this is so. He said, "The trouble with disarmament was (and still is) that the problem of war is tackled upside down and at the wrong end. . . . Nations don't distrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they distrust each other. And therefore to want disarmament before a minimum of agreement on fundamentals is as absurd as to want people to go undressed in winter."

WE SHOULD not be surprised at the NEA's heavy-handed efforts to thrust a new ideology on America's children. 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 for 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 primary students into tomorrow's campus radicals.

It's not the schools' job to enlist students in a crusade for unilateral disarmament.

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 1930s, 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 not dare to challenge.'"

REVIEWING THE same material, the *Washington Post* points out that children are directed to "ascertain and publish the location of defense plants, research and development facilities and military bases in their area (why?)." Concludes the *Post*, "This is not teaching in any normally accepted — or for that matter, acceptable — sense. It is political indoctrination."

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 glass in 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 nation 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 schoolteachers 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.

• The writer, a native of Newport and a graduate of Kentucky's Georgetown College, is deputy undersecretary for planning, budget and evaluation in the U.S. Department of Education.

NEA Criticized For Curriculum On Nuclear War

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Staff Writer

A senior Education Department official has criticized the National Education Association for "an incredibly obvious drive to bring political indoctrination into the classroom" in a proposed curriculum on the dangers of nuclear war.

In a sharply worded article published in a department newsletter for youth groups, Gary L. Bauer, deputy undersecretary for planning, budget and evaluation, said the NEA had prepared "leftist indoctrination aimed at turning today's elementary students into tomorrow's campus radicals."

He was referring to "Choices," a curriculum "unit" on nuclear war that was tested recently by teachers in 34 states and was prepared in cooperation with the Union of Concerned Scientists, a group critical of nuclear power. The curriculum material was prepared for use in junior high schools.

"Even a cursory examination of the material reveals that no choices exist in the curriculum," Bauer said. "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 disarmament."

Phil King, a spokesman for the NEA, said yesterday that "everyone worked to keep political bias out of it" in preparing the curriculum material. "The unit is not intended to advance specific political positions," the report says in a note to teachers.

Administration Fires Back With Its Own Schoolbook on A-War

The war over the teaching of nuclear subjects in the classrooms of the nation's public schools is escalating. The principal target is a manual entitled "Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War," which was prepared by the National Education Association in collaboration with the Union of Concerned Scientists.

"Choices," which was purchased by 2,500 public school teachers and taught in a pilot project in 35 states, has stirred the wrath of Albert Shanker, president of NEA's rival, the American Federation of Teachers. He called it "lopsided propaganda," and President Reagan's preferred periodical, "Human Events," characterized it as "extremely misleading if not false" in its presentation of the relative strength of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Now the administration has joined the battle by way of a blast from Deputy Undersecretary of Education Gary L. Bauer, who writes in the department's newsletter that the material from "Choices" clearly "panders to and encourages fear." He regards it as "leftist indoctrination aimed at

turning today's elementary students into tomorrow's campus radicals."

Howard C. Ris Jr., a member of the Union of Concerned Scientists who worked on the book, insists that its only bias is "to prevent nuclear war" and that the views of such hard-line organizations as the Committee on the Present Danger are included. He says reports from the pilot program show that while a preponderance of students come out on the side of a nuclear freeze and de-escalation, a significant number were in favor of the Reagan policy of "peace through strength."

Besides, he points out, the administration is firing back with a manual of its own, aimed at schoolchildren from kindergarten through 12th grade and prepared by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).

"Emergency Management Instruction" reflects the administration's upbeat view that while nuclear attack may be the most extreme type of disaster, it is still "a manageable disaster," Ris says.

The FEMA book has been pilot-tested in 22 states and, according to one FEMA official, the agency is awaiting an evalua-

tion study from Far West Laboratories before fielding the manual in "nationwide deployment in public school by September, 1983."

Among the contentions that the Union of Concerned Scientists finds questionable: "People who happen to be close to a nuclear explosion probably would be killed or seriously injured . . . Most of the people

Mary McGrory BLAST

in the fringe area would survive." (The fringe area is described as "a few miles from the blast.")

And, this description of radiation effects from the "Teachers' Resource Manual" that is provided in the FEMA curriculum:

"The result is somewhat analogous to sunlight . . . Long-term exposure in one day can be harmful, while the same total

exposure distributed over a few weeks produces a nice tan."

FEMA suggests such student activities as visiting a fallout shelter, emergency drills and visiting a nearby nuclear power plant.

Robert McClure of the NEA, who supervised the six teachers "of diverse viewpoints" who composed "Choices," says it is an attempt to "provide students with information." Of the Bauer attack, he says, "It is unfortunate that a high-level member of the Department of Education is so distrustful of teachers."

Bauer comes from a trade association rather than an educational background. He worked in the Reagan campaign on education issues and at the Reagan White House in the Office of Policy Development.

His anti-"Choices" newsletter was his idea and was "cleared through normal channels" in the department. He received several congratulatory calls from friends on the White House staff, and a Washington Post account of his views elicited an "incredible" reaction from the press.

He said over the telephone that he does not think nuclear war policies should be

taught in public schools, which are not adequately teaching the fundamentals.

And what did he think of the FEMA pilot program?

Bauer said he had never heard of it. But he said he thinks that teaching children what precautions to take might be a good idea. He is "shocked" by people who do not agree with him that "civil defense is apple pie," something required of the government to "limit the damage if, God forbid, there was a nuclear exchange, accidental or otherwise."

His objection to "Choices" is that it increases the nuclear alarms of schoolchildren.

That the terror of a holocaust has hung over them with or without classroom instruction has been amply documented in several studies. Educators for Social Responsibility conducted a survey of 2,000 students in four states last fall, and it showed that 90 percent think there will be a nuclear war; 87 percent think they will not survive it.

But the administration plainly thinks that just talking about it is dangerous.

New coalition targets defects in education

By George Archibald
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

U/2/83

American public schools will not improve unless parents stop placing "blind trust" in educators and overcome their "sense of inferiority" in dealing with school officials, according to leaders of a new grass roots effort aimed at reforming the education system.

"It can't be (lack of) money. It's the way the schools are run and who is running them" that have caused teaching and learning to deteriorate across the country, said Marcella Donovan, director of the American Education Coalition, whose formation will be announced today.

The coalition has issued a 10-point manifesto calling for "an educational environment free of drugs, alcohol, violence or other harmful influences" and direct involvement of parents to resolve controversial school issues.

The manifesto also holds that "parents have the primary, inalienable right to educate their own children according to their own religious, moral and cultural values; they delegate but do not abdicate that right to schools and teachers." It states, "Superior teachers should be rewarded; incompetent teachers should be removed."

Donovan said the group, formed by more than a dozen pro-family, conservative and back-to-basics organizations, will produce "action kits" — step-by-step handbooks — which will guide parents on such topics as how to run for their local school board, how to evaluate textbooks and how to judge the performance of teachers and students.

She said the aim is to encourage more parental activism, particularly on issues such as sex education or instruction that might undercut moral and religious values taught at home.

"We even tell (parents) that they're going to face confrontation, but to stick with it," said Donovan, a former elementary and high school teacher. "We don't say, 'Hit 'em and hit 'em hard,'

we say, 'You may come up against confrontation, but if you can, work with the teachers and with the system because, of course, that would be more effective.'"

Donovan said the effort responds to the recent report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, which told President Reagan the "nation is at risk (because) the educational foundations of our society are presently being

***"It can't be (lack of) money.
It's the way the schools are
run and who runs them."***

eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people."

Despite the yearly expenditure of about \$215 billion on education by federal, state and local governments, the commission reported, "Some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate by the simplest tests of everyday reading, writing and comprehension." It said about 13 percent of all 17-year-olds and 40 percent of minority youth in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate.

The coalition will deal exclusively with public school improvement, according to Connaught

Marshner, director of the Free Congress Foundation's Child and Family Protection Institute, who helped form the new group.

"There are enough other conservative groups that are doing things to help private schools," Marshner said. "The conservatives have got themselves boxed into a corner where they're perceived as being against public education and this is our effort to get out of that box . . . and say, 'What can we do to help?'" she added.

Organizations that have joined the coalition so far include Save Our Schools, Citizens for Educational Freedom, the National Christian Action Coalition, the National Association of Evangelicals, the American Legislative Exchange Council, United Families of America and the National Pro-Family Coalition.

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file *Reportment*

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

May 2, 1983

NOTE TO MORTON BLACKWELL

As November 1984 draws closer, it is becoming increasingly clear that the "loyal opposition" intends to make education a major issue in the campaign. After testifying over a dozen times in recent months before Congress and having quite a few press encounters, several negative themes continued to come up by those who do not share the President's educational philosophy. As is so often the case, these themes resemble not at all the real facts.

Since you are on the "front line" in selling the President's program, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed document prepared by my office which attempts to provide you with succinct points to counter the most common myths on education.

Please do not hesitate to call me if you need additional information.

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

Enclosure

Myth #1. This Administration has made massive cuts in loans and grants to those seeking higher education.

- o The Administration has requested a 1984 budget for grants and loans which will provide more actual assistance to students than has ever been provided previously.
- o The Pell grant program has not been cut. New Pell grant proposals increase the funding level by about \$300 million with maximum grants increasing from \$1,800 to \$3,000. This is made possible by a distribution formula which assumes students should contribute to their educational support, and doubles the limit of educational costs which the grants may be applied to meet. This expands the range of choice available to the student applicant and permits poor students to attend schools never before open to them.
- o Over 2.6 million students and their parents obtained \$5.9 billion in Guaranteed Student Loans in fiscal year 1982. The Administration projects that, under its 1984 budget policy, borrowing will increase to \$6.6 billion (2.8 million recipients) in 1983 and to \$7.2 billion (2.9 million recipients) in 1984. This equals a 22% increase in just two years.
- o Reductions in Federal appropriations for the Guaranteed Student Loan program have been due primarily to the fall in interest rates, not to a reduction in the availability of loans.

Myth #2. Public schools are suffering under Reagan Administration policies.

- o The Administration's emphasis on reducing inflation and stabilizing the national economy has slowed down the growth in costs of public education and provided an improved setting for meaningful planning, conduct and evaluation of public school programs.
- o Across the board, programs proposed by the Administration for elementary and secondary education are designed to give local public school districts more flexibility than they have had in the past in administering Federal programs--and with a greatly reduced amount of paperwork. School officials are being freed to educate the children in the ways they think best.
- o Under the block grant program, public school funds are being distributed more equitably than they were under the previous categorical programs. School districts unable to compete successfully under the old programs are now receiving funds.
- o The President's budget for 1984 proposes that funding for disadvantaged and handicapped children are set at \$4.1 billion. In fact, this includes over \$1.0 billion for handicapped State grant programs, which, if enacted, would be the highest level of funding in the history of the programs.

Myth #3. Women and blacks have been harmed by the Administration's education program.

- o Women receive more individual awards in all student aid programs and receive higher average awards in all programs except Guaranteed Loans. Their proportion of aid (from 52% in NDSL to 60.4% in Pell) far exceeds their proportion of higher education enrollment (slightly over 50%).
- o A much larger proportion of blacks receive student aid (34%) than their proportion of higher education enrollment (10%).
- o The Administration has consistently requested additional funds for programs assisting historically black colleges and universities, enabling these institutions to become more financially viable and self-sufficient.
- o The Administration is targeting resources to assure that disadvantaged students receive adequate services and financial student assistance. For example, under the TRIO program, Federal assistance will be targeted to those institutions that enroll substantial numbers of students from families of low incomes. These institutions typically serve large numbers of minority students.
- o The Department is proposing an increase in funds for the Chapter 1 State grant LEA program. Chapter 1 funds are targeted to disadvantaged students of which minority students make up a sizeable portion.

Myth #4. School prayer will violate individual freedom of choice among students.

- o The Administration's proposed Constitutional Amendment specifically guarantees objecting students the right not to participate in prayer. Those who wish could be excused or remain silent without interfering with or denying the rights of those who choose to participate.
- o On the other hand, without the Amendment those who wish to pray have their freedom of choice violated. The far-reaching effect of two decisions of the Supreme Court has been to foreclose prayer on school property--even outside regular class hours--thereby taking religious freedom away from those who desire to pray.
- o The Amendment would restore to American citizens the freedom to choose to pray in public schools and institutions, subject to State law.
- o The Amendment will allow communities to determine for themselves whether prayer should be permitted in their public schools and allow individuals to decide for themselves whether they wish to participate.

Myth #5. A voucher program will adversely affect the poor and educationally disadvantaged.

- o The Administration's voucher proposal would enhance the educational choice and equality of opportunity for the poor and disadvantaged. Vouchers would give parents of the educationally deprived more options in where to obtain schooling for their children.
- o The voucher program would be optional. It will likely only be implemented in communities where parents of (educationally deprived) Chapter 1 students demand it. Thus, it is difficult to imagine how the program would adversely affect these children.
- o Parents would have access to the schools offering the best or most appropriate education for their children. The poor and the educationally disadvantaged currently have the fewest education alternatives available to them if they are dissatisfied--vouchers promote equity!
- o Schools would continue to be obligated to comply with all Federal civil rights laws. Vouchers would eliminate or, at least, diminish current economic barriers.

Myth #6. Quality education is not a priority in this Administration.

- o The Administration proposed and created a Commission on Excellence that raised public awareness to the issue of excellence and underscored the commitment to it. The Commission's activities have spurred a national debate on the meaning of excellence and on practical ways to achieve it in education.
- o The Secretary has demonstrated his commitment to improving the quality of education through projects funded under the Secretary's Discretionary Funds provided under Chapter 2. The include:
 - Secondary School Recognition Program: A nationwide program carried out in conjunction with the Chief State School Officers organization aimed at seeking out and recognizing exemplary schools.
 - More Effective Schools Project: A research project designed to provide a variety of policy recommendations which would increase the effectiveness of schools. These findings would in turn be disseminated nationally.
 - Excellence Through School Board Policies: A fact-gathering project conducted by the National School Boards Association analyzing existing policies relating to educational excellence; a guide and special monographs will be disseminated.

Myth #7. Education block grants are ineffective.

- o The Chapter 2 education block grant is in its first year. Preliminary indications are that:
 - The transition from categorical grants to block grants has been extremely smooth.
 - School officials are expressing widespread pleasure with the greater flexibility and simplicity of awards under Chapter 2.
 - States are using a smaller percentage of grant funds to administer Chapter 2 than they did under the previous programs--5% for the previous programs, 2% for Chapter 2.
- o The block grant program has resulted in:
 - The removal of 30 sets of regulations from the books.
 - A reduction at the State and local levels of 191,000 person hours in the time required to complete applications.
 - A reduction of 68,390 person hours in the time required to complete financial and performance requirements.
 - Administrative cost savings at the State and local levels of \$1.8 million.

Myth #8. The Administration isn't preparing America's students for the technology challenge of the future.

- o The Secretary of Education, through his Technology Initiative, is supporting projects aimed at increasing the capacity of States and localities to use computers wisely in schools--for computer literacy, computer-assisted instruction, and administration.
- o The Administration has proposed a new program, costing \$200 million over 4 years, to improve the quality of secondary level science and mathematics education. Funds would be used for scholarships to train additional science and math teachers. The Administration believes that this proposal addresses one of the most critical elements of the problem--the growing shortage of qualified science and math teachers in our high schools.
- o The National Diffusion Network program in the Department of Education is making a special effort to disseminate information about successful science, math, and technology programs already in place in schools. As a result of this effort, we would expect thousands of schools to adopt new programs in these areas that have been proven to be effective.

Myth #9. Tuition tax credits will benefit only the rich.

- o The Census Bureau found in its fall 1979 Current Population Survey that more than 50% of private school pupils came from families with incomes below \$25,000.
- o The Census Bureau also found that 81% of private school pupils came from families with income below \$50,000.
- o Unlike a tax deduction that provides greater benefits for rich families and individuals in higher tax brackets, a tax credit provides the same dollar benefit to all taxpayers.
- o The rich do not need a tax credit to enable them to send their children to private schools--they can already afford to do so. It is the low and middle income family that will gain more choice as a result of this tax equity proposal.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY

April 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM

TO : Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House

FROM : Robert J. Billings *RJB*
Director, Administrative Processing Unit

I am attaching a copy of a letter I received from Hans-Joachim Schilde. Hans is a very credible reporter. I have met him on at least two occasions while he has been doing political stories in the United States. He is a "friendly" reporter. If you can work anything out for him to see the President on his next trip, I believe he would give the President a good image in Europe. He works for Europe's Channel 1, which is the main channel on the continent. You will find his address in the letter. If you have any interest, please correspond directly with Hans. I wrote to his Oslo, Norway, address.

Thanks.

RJB:ms

Attachment

hans-joachim schilde

— foreign correspondent —

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Hagalivn. 17
Tel.: 17 18 21
Norway

219 Cuxhaven
Badehaus Allee 38A
Tel.: 38 938
Germany

dr. robert j. billings
us department of education
washington

Dear Bob,

oslo-22-3-83

Thanks again for the good time we had together in Washington.

Next time it would be nice to see your whole family.

Well-I think I have good news to you: a mercedes benz convertible

280 SL-380 SL-500 SL is between 10.000-20.000 US \$. Let me say

a good 2 years old nearly new car you can get for 10-13.000 \$

I can always help you finding a nice one. There is a very nice

possibility in travelling to europe with the Queen Elizabeth.

Then you just could take your new car with you back home. If you

go one way with the ship you get a free ticket by BA to Frankfurt

too. Doesn't that sound nice?

Bob-by the way-I am still wondering about the possibility through

Mårten Blackpool to see the president. I think the press in

Europe gets even worse. Couldn't we do 20 minutes on the issue of

his great character as a believing christian who feels the urge

to fight for our values. With other words give him the chance to

express himself to a large european audience. Just let me

mention it-I was the first german TV-Reporter who was invited

both to Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat.

Bob-take care-if I can help you let me know

God bless

your german friend

29 MAR 1983

Hans

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
NAE

TO: Morton Blackwell

FR: Jim Horgan, Office of Presidential
Correspondence, Rm. 93, x 2276

DT: 5/3/83

Attached is the correspondence received from your office in which you suggested a draft response to Dr. Gay of the National Association of Evangelicals. Dr. Gay received a thank-you from this office on behalf of President Reagan. I am enclosing a copy of that letter.