<u>Note: These notes are not meant to be a perfect transcript. They are intended to give an idea of the tone of the hearing.</u>

Education & Economic Opportunities Committee
Hearing on organization of the Department of Education

June 7, 1995

Panel #1

Testimony from:
Rep. John Boehner (R - Ohio)
Rep. Steve Gunderson (R - Wisconsin)
Gordon Ambach, Executive Director, Council of Chief State School Officers

Questions from the Committee:

<u>Rep. William F. Goodling, Chairman (R - Pennsylvania)</u>

Started the hearing by stating that "the days for a new federal program for every problem are over." His concern is how to we get rid of redundancy in government. He does not believe in eliminating programs by simply getting rid of a department. He also has no interest in "revenue sharing": the deficit is too large for that. [block grants?]

<u>Rep. William L. Clay (D - Missouri)</u>

At the start of the hearing, he stated that he supports a vigorous federal role in education, and that a Federal Department of Education best suits this.

Questions to Rep. Boehner:

Q. How do you propose turning the money saved into more teachers and facilities?
Are you going to create some vehicle for accountability of state expenditures in the block grants?
A. The bill contains a formula for the determining the amount of the grants for the states. Some measure of accountability will be included.
Q. What is the vehicle?
A. State education agencies will handle it. The legislature will determine what kind of agent.
Q. Are the people doing the accounting too close to the funds? Why not go directly to the local communities?
A. Some responsbility for federal tax dollars should be kept at the state level. Revenue sharing is not a good idea. [?] The idea that some federal agency is needed to do this is an idea from the last century.

Clay:

Long before the Federal government got involved, our education system was rotten. It was elitist and poorly funded. You call 28 kids in a classroom overcrowded? Clay went to a school where 4 or 5 classes worth of students were combined.

They had to create gimmicks, incentives to further national education (e.g., the National Defense System). Now you say give money to local governments. If they want control, they can raise the money.

<u>Rep. Mark Souder (R - Indiana)</u>

Questions for Mr. Ambach

Q. How do you feel about block grants?
A. Money that would have concentrated on disadvantaged children would have no focus: it would become a general aid fund.
Q. Block grants don't preclude aid to disadvantaged children.
A. The structure of the block grant must be known. Categorical programs are targeted here - both public & private school kids. One can't respond generally to block grants. Flexibility is good, but are there specific federal purposes to be served?

Questions for Rep. Boehner

Q. The civil rights enforcement will still exist. Won't you give maximum flexibility with these controls?
A. Education that children would receive might be better than education currently received. It's not about how many ivory towers we build, it's about the children.

<u>Rep. Tom Sawyer (D - Ohio)</u>

Sawyer acknowledges the revolutionary thoughts behind the two proposals. However, he draws an analogy to the last half of the previous century. Given the new standards of competition and industrialization at that time, money was given to expand communities from small educational bodies to large school districts. In 30 years a great transformation occurred in education, due to Federal intervention. He agrees with Ambach: the integrity of funding streams is not guaranteed with block grants.

Our schools have not done so bad: drop-out rates are down, and SAT scores are up.

<u>Rep. Sam Johnson (R - Texas)</u>

Questions for Mr. Ambach:

Q. You are a naysayer to the proposed changes - do you want Washington in charge? Have you seen any change from the Dept. of Education? What about SAT scores?
A. SAT scores are going up.
Q. That isn't what I'm seeing back in Texas.
[The gentlemen briefly argue over whether SAT scores are getting better or worse.]
A. I'm here to respond to the two proposals: if you want to know whether the proposals will serve students better, I believe we should keep a Secretary.
Q. What is the advantage?
A. A voice for education.
Q. It's not a pulpit for political aggrandizement - we're not making our money count.
A. We need to ask two separate questions - how much do you want to put into workforce, and how much into these other programs?
- An important function of the Secretary is inside the government. He advises the President about the effects of policy decisions upon education.

Rep. Matthew G. Martinez (D - California)

Questions for Rep. Gunderson
[Rep. Boehner has left the room.]

Q. Rep. Boehner gives us the idea that federal involvement has created a bad situation, that SAT scores are down, and that the public wants the Dept. of Education gone. This doesn't match the public opinion data.
A. I do not speak for Boehner, but I would not use poll statistics for a policy decision. I don't agree that there is no federal role. What is the federal role is the question. I want to design a structure that makes sense.

Rep. Martinez:

There are probably too many programs, and too many funds out there. However, look at the chart to the right.
[chart compares current structure of Dept. of Education to structure of programs under Boehner's proposal]
Wouldn't the change make a more complicated system? By the way, the Contract for America was constructed based on poll statistics.

We've seen school boards changed because they've done a lousy job. If we can enrich school districts after local boards mess up, shouldn't we?

Rep. Tim Hutchinson, (R - Arkansas)

Do you trust state or federal government? This is the question. [He quotes the size of the Dept. of Education]
He gives an example of what the Dept. of Education has

"given us:"
- A constituent of Hutchinson's asked for copies of a grant from the Dept. of Education. The constituent didn't get the information, and contacted Hutchinson. When Hutchinson tried to get the information, he was told that the grants "didn't exist." Several weeks ago, the constituent called again. This time, he provided the grant numbers and dates. Hutchinson contacted the Dept. of Education as a member of this committee, and tried to get the grant information again: this time he got numbers, dates, and amounts -- apparently the grants existed, but he got no further information.

- So, after several attempts from both the constituent and the Congressman, information on grants worth over a half million dollars was still unavailable. This shows more confidence justified in a local school board than the Federal government. In his mind, this is not an atypical situation, and he was glad to work with Rep. Boehner on hi s proposal.

response from Rep. Gunderson:

This happens with Federal departments in general. In his case, the Dept. of Labor did not get the figures for employment that he requested. It's not just the departments: what do you do with the functions that come from the regional offices responsible for some of these problems?

<u>Rep. Xavier Becerra (D - California)</u>

Ambach struck a good chord: at what level should we have education represented? At the highest level: a Secretary advising the President.

Earlier testimony from Boehner referred to better days for education in the past. Which schools were better in the past? Which students? We no longer have to worry about segregated schools, or kids going to school hungry (at least it's not as bad as it used to be).

The evidence is very clear that we have advanced. When groups who previously did not take SAT's begin to, their scores will be low, and average scores will go down -- that doesn't mean overall improvement has not occurred.

Questions for Rep. Gunderson:

Q. Rep. Boehner thinks we can save $440 million in administrative costs: how is this done?
A. You can't make the programmatic savings without the structural savings: we don't know how much we can save. The fact that Riley and Reich get along is good now, but

that may not always be the case with secretaries from these departments. The value of summer youth programs is the connection of work & education: why not do this coordination across the board?

Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R - Michigan)

Hoekstra supports Gunderson. Looking at D.C., Chicago, Detroit, and other inner cities, he thinks that it's not difficult to recognize that the state of education is not at the point of excellence, despite 5100 employees and a $33 billion budget at the Dept. of Education.

3 things should be gone through:
1) An in depth analysis of the value added by education programs
2) How do these programs this help teachers at the local level?
3) What is the vision for the federal role in education?

Hoekstra is disappointed that he can't go to a central authority, describe a problem region and ask "what should we do?"

Question for Rep. Gunderson:

Q. What models of success can we employ? Are there any? Does education provide this vision?
A. What do we agree upon? I think that no one wants a federally controlled curriculum. It's no accident that the new name would be education and employment. We want to prepare the workforce for competition in the global market.

[Rep. Souder announces that he has just received some data on SAT scores, and that they have declined since the '50's and '60's. True, there have been huge increases in students taking the test, but minority population scores are going up. Why do we still have low test score data?]

Rep. Dale E. Kildee (D - Michigan)

Kildee wants to see some "correct data" on SAT scores, and questions Souder's data?

He asks where the source of the problem is: is it the Dept. of Education, or social conditions?

For many, downgrading education is associated with the fear of the federal government. There's not a lot of bills produced on education, but the fear is still there.

Kildee mentioned that he was a teacher and state legislator in Michigan. He believes that education is a state responsibility, but a federal concern. We live in a mobile society, so it has to be a Federal concern. Performance in the global economy also makes it a Federal concern.

The federal government has to be aware of education. Companies can move facilities and equipment to places like Singapore, but the educated workforce stays with us.

Questions for Mr. Ambach:

Q. Just as the Dept. of Veteran's Affairs was elevated due to a demand for a strong voice, so was education. How will downgrading the department affect the voice of education?
A. It would impair it. Look at what the mission of each program is: how do we structure the programs? Only after that do you worry about how you strucure the organization. The ability to push through educational programs is associated with the strength of the voice representing education.

Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D - California)

As Hutchinson spoke of the Dept. of Education, she thought of problems in the Dept. of Defense. Does anyone think of getting rid of it?

While local communities are most important in education, there is a federal role. Education and training are different. Gunderson's proposal is a reasonable compromise for training, but it compromises education too much.

Questions for Mr. Ambach:

Q. How do we benefit from programs by the federal government?
A. Since the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the impact has been great on civil rights, disabilities, and women's issues. The score levels are generally up: with respect to the SAT's, no question that the scores are up since the Dept. was created. The scores have remained flat when looking over the past 30-40 years, but since 1980 they've risen.

Look at the rate of graduation from high school:
1910 - 10% graduation
1930's - 1 in 3
1950's - 55-60%
Today, it's close to 85% for people 31 or older.

[Chairman Goodling interrupts at this point to state that the figures from earlier decades mean nothing since the labor force did not require high school diplomas at the time.]

Rep. Jim Greenwood (R - Pennsylvania)

Questions for Rep. Gunderson

Q. Mr. Clay expressed a concern: what about the responsibilities being passed to states? Suppose we are dealing with some of the inferior schools?
[Clay and Goodling take a few seconds to discuss the point that there was never a "golden age" of education, and that references to the 'good old days" is useless]
Do you have any concerns that the proposal would undermine the civil rights court decisions?
A. We refuse to repeal any existing civil rights laws, and instead wish to enhance their enforcement.
- We want to create a high profile general counsel in the new Dept., outside of the Dept. of Justice, and outside the general counsel for other issues. We still want to concentrate on civil rights.
Q. There's no new opportunities for states to create an elite school system, correct?
[to Mr. Ambach]
What does the Secretary say with that "voice" that the executive branch doesn't already know, that the constituents don't already know? What information needs to be conveyed to the state and local level?
A. The voice is different depending on the secretary: we will continue to see this as time goes on. The message which should be conveyed now is a need for competing in the global market. This is not penetrating to state and local levels: we have to move towards excellence and stronger quality.

Rep. Major R. Owens (D - New York)

Questions for Rep. Gunderson

Q. When Gingrich describes a "war without blood," he sets a certain tone: are you the 'general' against education? You voted to eliminate the Dept. of Education. Are you out for search and destroy, or for using the back door to destroy it through restructuring?
A. Some of my colleagues treat me as a liberal.
- Look at the whole GAO study for the positive things the reorganization does.
- The speaker supports my proposal, although I disagree with my party on education funding.
[Rep. Gunderson then reiterates the considerations from the beginning of his testimony].

Panel #2: Specialists from Congressional Research Service providing background on the Depts. of Education, Labor, & the EEOC.
Wayne C. Riddle, Leslie Gladstone, William Whittaker

Questions to the panel:

Rep. Goodling

Questions to Mr. Riddle

Q. Is what Gunderson and I proposed workable? We want to eliminate redundant effort.
A. [Riddle] There are nations that have federal departments of education + job training/employment (e.g. Australia, possibly New Zealand).
[Whittaker] There are constituent reasons why vocational education went into labor. Tensions between the two departments put apprenticeships within the Labor department - it would be useful to explore what could happen.

Rep. Clay

Q. How would you characterize student trends during the history of the Dept. of Education?
A. [Riddle] Marginal up or down change, slightly positive overall. Compared to 1980, things are better. Compared to the 1960's, things are a little worse.
Q. How about the claims of those who proposed the creation of the Department originally (or those who opposed the creation)?
A. Neither side's claims have actually occurred. The Dept. has mainly increased the visibility of education.
Q. We hear the about the increase the Dept. of Ed. employees.
A. It's actually down: while in HEW, the equivalent staff was higher by about 2000 employees.
[Goodling] Did the decrease come from 81-88? (Reagan administration) --> Riddle confirms.

Rep. Sawyer

Adult literacy and adult training combination is cited as an inappropriate division of regulation. Wouldn't they be better off staying divided?

Rep. Goodling

Q. One of my disappointments was that somethings were left out of the creation of the Dept. of Education. Consolidation hoped for was not brought about (e.g. Head Start, school lunches) -- why was this the case, other than politics?
A. [Riddle] Politics pretty much explains it.

COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

HEARING ON DEPARTMENTAL REORGANIZATION

JUNE 7, 1995
1:00 P.M.
2175 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

Panel I

The Honorable John Boehner
Member of Congress
U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Steve Gunderson
Member of Congress
U.S. House of Representatives

Mr. Gordon Ambach
Executive Director
Council of Chief State School Officers
Washington, D.C.

Panel II

Mr. Wayne C. Riddle
Specialist in Education Finance
Education and Public Welfare Division
Congressional Research Service

Mr. William Whittaker
Specialist
Economics Division
Congressional Research Service

Ms. Leslie Gladstone
Specialist
Government Division
Congressional Research Service

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

This proposal, offered by Representative Steve Gunderson and co-sponsored by Chairman Bill Goodling, calls for the consolidation of the existing Department of Education, Department of Labor, and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission into a single, Cabinet-level Department of Education and Employment. The proposal would create one comprehensive department by dramatically reducing the size of all three federal agencies. The new department will focus on a national strategy for the development of the Nation's current and future workforce and workplace needs.

The Department would be organized around three basic functions, each managed by an Undersecretary. The first, Workforce Preparation and Policy, would encompass elementary and secondary education, higher education, and adult workforce training. The second, Workplace Policy, consolidates current programs on safety, employee benefits, and workplace modernization. Such programs as the Pension, Welfare and Benefits Administration, the Federal Employees Compensation Act, the Unemployment Trust Fund, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Mine Safety and Health Administration would be transferred to this office. The third, Civil Rights, would consolidate all aspects of current employment discrimination laws including the programs of the EEOC, the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights, and the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance. This office would improve enforcement of employee discrimination laws through new dispute resolution mechanisms and other reforms which have not been identified. Along with these program transfers, proponents state that Head Start would also be moved to the new agency from the Department of Health and Human Services. Leadership of the agency would consist of the three Undersecretaries, a Secretary, and a Deputy Secretary.

Although the details of any programmatic or personnel changes have not been announced, supporters argue that restructuring will decrease bureaucracy and will provide services in a more efficient and effective manner through consolidation and elimination of programs. It encourages Congress and the Administration to continue debate on the value of specific programs within the context of the proposed departmental structure.

Mr. Gunderson claims that a $21 billion cost savings will be seen in the five year period following the consolidation of the agencies through administrative and program reductions.

"BACK TO BASICS EDUCATION REFORM ACT"

An educational reform proposal submitted by the G.O.P. House Education Task Force calls for the elimination of the Department of Education. This proposal, the "Back to Basics Education Reform Act," would abolish the department within one year of the date of enactment by repealing Goals 2000: Educate America Act, sections of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, sections of the Higher Education Act, and sections of the General Education Provisions Act and transferring the remaining programs to six federal agencies. Funding for all transferred programs would stabilize at FY95 levels for the length of authorization. Funding for education research, statistics gathering, or evaluation will be eliminated. Federal programs abolished by the Act would be replaced with two block grants distributed among the states.

The first, the Elementary and Secondary Block Grant, would provide $9 billion as a block grant to the States for any educational purpose. Governors will have discretion in determining how money will be allocated between school districts. All current federal regulations would be eliminated except those necessary to guarantee timely distribution of funds. The only federal requirement would be that no more than 2% of the funding be spent on administrative overhead.

The second, a $2 billion Post Secondary Education Block Grant, would create a similar "no strings" block grant to the States for higher education purposes. This block grant would have a similar requirement limiting administrative overhead to 2% of the funding and eliminating federal regulations except those necessary for the timely distribution of funds. Institutions of higher education eligible for this block grant include: four year bachelors degree-granting institutions and community and junior college granting associates level degrees. Graduate and professional students attending qualified institutions will also be eligible. Governors could allocate funding to private schools also, although they are not required to do so.

An Office of Economic Opportunity will be created under the Administration for Children and Families to take care of the administration of these grants. Under the plan, the office will be governed by a Director and at least two Assistant Directors, one for Childhood Schooling with responsibility for the Elementary and Secondary Education Block Grant and IDEA, the second for Advanced Schooling with responsibility for the Post-Secondary Education Block Grant, Pell Grants, Federal Family Education Loan program, and Howard University.

Representative Joe Scarborough, co-chair of the House Education Task Force which created the Back to Basics Reform Act, claims that elimination of the Department of Education will save $15 billion in the four years after the termination of the agency. The Act proposes replacing federal education funding with a tax cut to families and students.

FEDERAL EDUCATION LAWS TO BE REPEALED

Goals 2000: Educate America Act
Sections of Elementary and Secondary Education Act
Sections of the Higher Education Act
Sections of the General Education Provisions Act

DESTINATION OF FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS NOT REPEALED

Department of Health and Human Services
NOTE: administrative accounts transferred here would be cut by 30% to cap administrative employees
Federal Family Education Loan program
Perkins Loan Program
Pell Grant program
Individuals with Disabilities Education Act program
Jurisdiction over Howard University

Department of the Interior
Native American education programs will be consolidated and transferred as the Indian Education program.

Department of Justice
Civil Rights functions of the Department of Education.

Department of Defense
Impact Aid program

Department of Labor
Job Training programs

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE JOHN A. BOEHNER (R-OH)
STATEMENT BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
JUNE 7, 1995

Mr. Chairman: I am pleased to be in front of this committee today, where I got my start in Congress, to share with you my thoughts on the "Back to Basics Education Reform Act."

I am here today because I realize most of our nation's schools are broken. We have tried to fix them with more government, more money, and more bureaucrats in Washington -- and we have failed.

Not too long ago, America's schools were second to none. There was a time when a student came to a class with an apple for his teacher. Today, kids come to schools with guns and drugs in their book bags. America's classrooms are in crisis and have been in trouble for some time. And what have America's lawmakers done? We've passed feel-good legislation and paid lip service to education problems. We created a big new bureaucracy we called the "Department of Education" -- proving to the world that we care so much about education, we fund a huge agency with the word "education" in its title. And to fill this big new bureaucracy we hired thousands and thousand of bureaucrats who will never teach a class or help a kid with his homework.

These are the failed solutions of yesterday. We need better solutions for tomorrow.

We can and must improve America's classrooms. And we can start right here in Washington. First by getting out of the way of our nation's teachers, parents, and local officials. Then by freeing up federal dollars currently spent to maintain and manage a bureaucracy and spend it where our kids need it most.

The money we have spent maintaining a federal Department of Education has not directly helped one child. Last year, the Department spent four-hundred and forty-four million, seven-hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars ($444,783,000) on administrative costs alone. $444,783,000! That's enough to pay the average cost of a yearly K through 12 education for seventy-three thousand, seven-hundred and eighteen (73,718) American public school kids.

To give you an idea of how much money that actually is, I brought with me a few 21st century school supplies.

With the money we spent to administer the Education's federal bureaucracy in this year alone, we could have purchased every public school student in the District of Columbia a new laptop computer, with a modem. And, a lifetime supply of computer disks. And still had enough money to hire 1,000 new teachers to teach them how to use this equipment. And set aside a $2,000 college scholarship for each child in DC public schools.

My friends, money spent on the federal education bureaucracy could clearly be put to better use.

Secretaries William Bennett and Lamar Alexander agreed with this sentiment when they appeared before Chairman Hoekstra's subcommittee in January to express their support for the rethinking of the federal role in education. Answering this call, a group of 21 freshmen and sophomores, as well as myself, joined together in a task force to develop a plan to do just that. After months of work, we have proposed the Back to Basics Education Reform Act.

We started work on this bill with one thing in mind -- improving the nation's education system so our children can compete in the global economy of the 21st Century. As a parent of two children in public schools, I do not believe we are heading down that path with the current federal education bureaucracy. In fact, I think we are in danger of condemning our children to mediocrity and an insecure future. It is clear that the current experiment of having the federal government heavily involved in education has failed and we must return to the ideal that people who are closer to the education system -- parents, teachers, school boards, states, and local communities -- can make decisions better than Washington.

The Department of Education currently administers a budget of $33 billion and has more than 5,100 employees. It has a multitude of costly regulations and mandates which require a mountain of paperwork from states and local school districts. Federal funding itself is spread over more than 240 programs, many of which are geared towards one special interest or another.

If we look at the state of education itself, we see that test scores have stagnated or deteriorated over the past sixteen years, while federal spending has increased from $14 billion to $33 billion a year. American children are falling behind their counterparts in other industrialized countries. It is clear that many of our children are not learning, especially those in the inner cities.

The current federal education bureaucracy doesn't work. It is foolish for us to maintain the status quo. For the sake of our children, we must find a better way.

We need local solutions, we need better books, we need caring teachers, we need parents who are empowered to improve their schools. We don't need more bureaucrats who couldn't find my home district, the Lakota Local School District, on a map -- let alone understand all of its problems. I would even suggest that we walk through the education bureaucracy and ask each employee, "is your job more important than a classroom teacher's? If it is not, then hit the road."

With all of this in mind, we on the Task Force asked ourselves several questions in developing our bill: what is the proper role for the federal government in education, if any? Which programs work? If a program doesn't work, can it be improved so that it does? Which services can be better performed by the states? Which services should be performed by parents, teachers, and local communities?

In answering these questions, we developed the following:

First, we consolidate hundreds of programs into two block grants -- a $9 billion grant for elementary and secondary education, and a $2 billion grant for post-secondary education. These grants have only one requirement -- that states send 98% of their funding to the local level. These block grants will give maximum flexibility to parents, states, and local communities to develop their education programs. Afterall, they are the ones who know what is best for their children and they can do it better than us in Washington.

We also maintain a handful of several existing programs. We decided these programs could be better administered by other agencies.

The Federal Family Education loan program, the Perkins Loan program, Pell Grants, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, and Howard University are transferred to the Department of Health and Human Services. In that Department, we have created an Office of Economic Opportunities within the Administration on Children and Families to administer these programs, as well as the two block grants. We also transfer Impact Aid to the Department of Defense and Indian Education to the Department of the Interior. Finally, we recommend that job training programs under the jurisdiction of the Department be consolidated into one or more block grants and transferred to the Department of Labor.

We also look ahead to the future of these programs. First, we ensure that no program is left on auto-pilot by having their authorizations end in the year 2000. We also propose that Congress evaluate whether some, if not all, federal funding in education can be replaced with a tax cut of equal value for parents and local communities. Local communities and states would rightfully be entrusted to find their own methods of school financing, instead of having parents send their hard-earned money to Washington, only to have it eaten up by the federal bureaucracy.

Let me make it clear that education will still be a national priority. But not every national priority needs a federal program and a federal department or agency. The federal government is not the sole repository of compassion or wisdom. I would argue that people in West Chester, Ohio; York, Pennsylvania; and St. Louis, Missouri, have more compassion and more wisdom because they are real people who make decisions for themselves and their children every day. They will come together, as they always have, in every community in this nation -- empowered to ensure their children receive the best possible education.

As a final thought, I want to thank you Mr. Chairman for your willingness to consider this proposal. I also want to thank my good friend, Steve Gunderson, for his valuable contribution to this debate. While the path his plan takes is different, its goal is the same -- a better education system for our children. Finally, I want to thank our colleague from Florida, Joe Scarborough, and my neighbor in Ohio, Steve Chabot, for their leadership on the task force, as well as our colleagues on this committee who served on the task force and gave much of their time and energy -- Sam Johnson, Tim Hutchinson, Mark Souder, Jim Talent, David Funderburk, Frank Riggs, and Lindsey Graham.

All of us share a common goal in ensuring that our nation's education system improves so our children can compete in the global economy of the 21st Century. We look forward to working with the members of the Committee in accomplishing this vital objective.

Thank you.

The Proper Federal Role in Workforce and Workplace Policy:

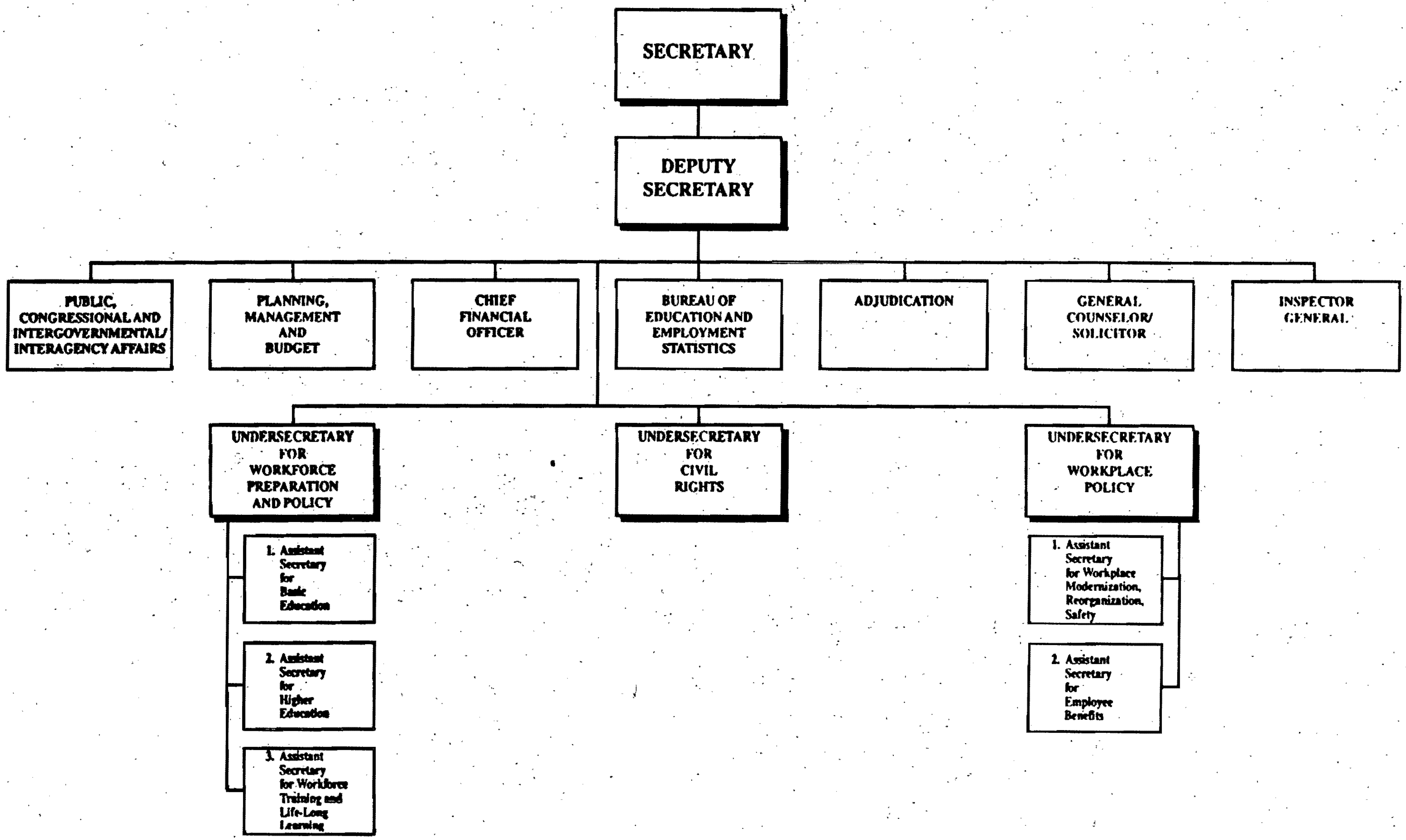
CREATING A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Congressman Steve Gunderson

Testimony Before the House Committee on
Economic and Educational Opportunities

June 7, 1995

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT



Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Clay and members of the Committee for the opportunity to come before you to discuss an initiative to fundamentally rethink the federal role in the areas of education and employment policy. After careful consideration of the fiscal implications of moving toward a balanced budget, Chairman Goodling and I have proposed to merge the Department of Education, the Department of Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission into a department presently titled the Department of Education and Employment.

In order to establish the context of the proposal, it is useful to lay out the framework in which the 104th Congress acts. There are four over-arching considerations that are driving policy in the 104th Congress. First, there is a need to end the unfortunate history of federal deficits that is saddling future generations of Americans with debt. Second, we need to address the desire of many citizens for a more limited federal government that would intrude less in a range of domestic policy areas that would be better handled by states and communities or by the private sector. Third, we need to question the need for the numerous, sometimes duplicative, traditional federal programs, thereby addressing many who regard the existence of these programs with an open-minded skepticism. Fourth, we need to commit to a more effective, streamlined and accountable delivery of those services that should be maintained. This proposal has been framed in the context of these realities and is intended to respond to each of them.

At the same time, the federal government has a responsibility to respond to increasingly fierce international competition in today's global economy. U.S. competitiveness in this arena rests on a three-legged stool, with commensurate federal responsibilities in each of these three areas. The first leg, tearing down barriers to trade, has been fortified with the passage of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The second leg, modernization of the workplace, will require careful reexamination of federal rules and regulations that impact private sector efforts to modernize and reorganize. The intent here is to become more productive while maintaining legitimate federal involvement in important areas, such as ensuring worker safety. The third leg, ensuring a highly skilled workforce, will not be simple, but it is essential if we are to succeed.

Strange as it may seem, the budget crisis has helped to encourage the kind of fundamental reevaluation that is necessary. Much as the threat of international competition forced American business to reengineer and downsize in the 1980s and early 1990s, current fiscal pressures may serve as the necessary, if unpleasant, spur to take on this complex task.

But a comprehensive restructuring is unavoidable, and the key to success is not merely in deciding to restructure but in how the task is accomplished. For if we have learned anything from the experience of U.S. corporations that have restructured, it is that simply slashing expenditures without reexamining basic goals, missions and structures can severely impact service. It is essential that we serve the dual imperatives of eliminating duplicative or unnecessary spending while developing a more efficient and effective delivery system.

The question arises, however, why consolidate instead of eliminate? We can only ensure that our workforce preparation system will be effective if it is organized and coordinated out of one Department. It is difficult to expect that coordination if programs are spun off to several departments and agencies, especially considering the turf wars that can often emerge between Executive Branch Departments. A well-chosen secretary with a vision for the department will ensure that our workforce is as prepared as possible to meet the challenges of the modern workplace.

Addressing Economic Realities and Policy Concerns

Our proposal would merge the existing Department of Education, the Department of Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to create a new, coordinated department responsible for workforce preparation, workplace safety and modernization and effective civil rights enforcement. It does far more than simply eliminating the Cabinet-level status of the Department of Education and the Department of Labor or the independent agency status of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC). Under the leadership of Chairman Goodling, this proposal provides a new framework for the Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee to review key areas in our education and employment policy. This proposal addresses the current budgetary, political, as well as economic, realities that determine the context in which we act.

While we don't expect to introduce implementing legislation until the latter part of June, let me outline our basic direction.

When it comes to general administrative offices, significant savings can be achieved while providing substantial benefits from improved coordination. A single department does not need two Secretaries, two Deputy Secretaries, or as many of the other kinds of general administrative offices that exist in two departments and a separate agency, nor does it need the duplicative staff that serves these offices. A unified leadership structure, however, would allow for the first time a truly coherent vision of workforce and workplace policy in the United States.

But serious reform must go beyond the general administrative offices and penetrate at the level of the programs and their administration. Three Undersecretaries would oversee the major offices. The Undersecretary for Workforce Preparation and Policy would be served by three Assistant Secretaries, one overseeing programs related to Basic Education, a second overseeing programs for Higher Education and a third with responsibility for Workforce Training and Life-Long Learning. The Undersecretary for Civil Rights would oversee coordinated enforcement of our laws prohibiting discrimination in education and the workplace. The Undersecretary for Workplace Policy would be served by two Assistant Secretaries, one with responsibility for Workplace Modernization, Reorganization and Safety, and the second overseeing Employee Benefits.

Such a fundamental reorientation of responsibilities and organization cannot be implemented by simply replacing the nameplates on the front of buildings or changing office titles, especially in the context of a need to attain substantial savings in spending on federal bureaucracy. Building on the lessons from successful corporate efforts to reengineer and downsize, our proposal synchronizes office missions with organizational goals, takes important steps in programmatic revision, consolidation, or elimination, and establishes a three-year, phased-in planning process for administrative implementation and streamlining.

Fundamental restructuring administrative offices means taking an outdated, bureaucratic dinosaur characterized by incoherence and inefficiency and replacing it with a department that is prepared for its legitimate role in the 21st century. For example, it is simply inconceivable that a modern, efficient department that takes full advantage of the information revolution, and is cognizant of proper limits on federal authority, would require the 1,200 field offices that are a part of these 3 agencies! Based on a careful evaluation of the planned restructuring, we expect that billions of dollars in administrative savings are achievable over a seven-year period. Release of a study by the General Accounting Office (GAO) documenting the precise nature of these savings is expected by mid-June.

THE OFFICE OF WORKFORCE PREPARATION AND POLICY

The establishment of the Office for Workplace Preparation and Policy would provide coordination for the development of a coherent national framework for the preparation of a highly skilled workforce. While accomplishing this goal is far from simple, it is vital to our national competitiveness. There truly is an anxious class in this country. While we have the lowest jobless rate in 25 years, and many high-paying and high-productivity jobs are being created--including many in manufacturing--these positions require highly-skilled workers. This proposal would establish a seamless web of major preschool, K-12, and postsecondary programs that would be managed from this office.

The need for improved federal coordination is clear. Today, there is a huge mismatch between the basic skills encouraged by federal basic education programs and the requirements of either sophisticated workforce training programs or of the job market. Further, vocational education programs managed by the Department of Education are administered under one set of regulations, while youth training programs, such as those established in Job Training Partnership Act's Title II (b and c), are administered under different regulations by the Department of Labor. Another example: adult education and literacy programs are managed under one set of regulations by the Department of Education while adult training programs come with a different set of regulations from the Department of Labor. This is just the kind of nonsensical bureaucracy and waste that the American public finds so frustrating about the federal government.

The CAREERS Act of 1995, introduced by Subcommittee Chairman Howard "Buck" McKeon and passed in this committee on a bipartisan basis, would begin to address the programmatic confusion. The bill would consolidate over eighty separate job training funding streams into four block grants. While I am a cosponsor of this important legislation, and I have worked on and supported similar legislation for years, such reforms cannot be fully or effectively implemented without also addressing underlying management structures. Administration by a single Assistant Secretary for Workforce Training and Life-Long Learning would match program changes with an effective coordination and delivery system.

At the same time, we must rethink administration of basic and higher education. While polls show that the overwhelming majority of the American public continues to value a significant federal role in education, the public, parents and teachers also have little faith in federal prescriptiveness or regulation in this area. The current excessive federal intrusion in managing education programs needs to shift toward a federal role more focused on monitoring success and encouraging state and local accountability. In conjunction with departmental reengineering and implementation planning, this proposal would require a comprehensive reexamination of federal regulation that would focus especially on this area and would lead to greater limits on future federal intervention.

THE OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Office for Civil Rights is the second major office established under our proposal. This office would enforce all federal civil rights laws in education and employment currently handled by the Departments of Education and Labor, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), and federal agencies' EEO offices. Presently, the EEOC is the agency charged with enforcement of our private employment nondiscrimination laws and forms the backbone of the Office for Civil Rights. We believe it is vital to maintain the federal priority of enforcing our nation's nondiscrimination laws in education and employment. Unfortunately, the present system of enforcing discrimination charges is broken and requires a fundamental rethinking of the charge process, not just tinkering around the edges. Current statistics from the agency support this position. In FY 1994, the EEOC received 91,189 charges of discrimination. That represents a 53% increase over FY 1990. At the end of last fiscal year, the EEOC had a backlog of nearly 100,000 charges, and it took an average of 328 days to process a charge. Considering that justice delayed <u>is</u> justice denied, the status quo represents anything but effective enforcement of our civil rights laws.

The reforms envisioned in our proposal would streamline management and require screening and prioritization of charges, ensuring that resources are dedicated to those charges most likely to include incidences of actual discrimination. The proposal would encourage voluntary mediation, similar to the recently adopted EEOC proposal, as an alternative to traditional enforcement. Administrative savings would allow mediation on a wider scale than the current EEOC proposal, however. These reforms should accelerate charge processing and allow for a gradual reduction in the bloated case inventory. For example, a recent pilot study of voluntary mediation in four EEOC regional offices showed that 52% of the charges that went to mediation were successfully settled.

The Office for Civil Rights would be governed by an Undersecretary for Civil Rights. Subordinate to the Undersecretary would be the General Counsel for Civil Rights (GCCR), who would be appointed by the Secretary of the Department. The GCCR would be dedicated exclusively to enforcement of our employment and education civil rights laws, but would allow the Undersecretary and the GCCR to work as a team, instead of at cross-purposes as presently occurs. Like the current General Counsel at the EEOC, the GCCR would recommend to the Undersecretary which cases to litigate and carry out the Undersecretary's decisions to litigate private sector charges in the courts. Under our proposed changes, the GCCR would also litigate Federal sector employment discrimination cases before the Federal District Courts and prosecute administrative fund terminations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

We also intend to include a proposal by Employer-Employee Subcommittee Chairman Harris Fawell to reform the Federal-sector Equal Employment Opportunity process. The proposal would continue the process of informal employee-employer counseling in the Federal agencies, but each agency's charge investigation and resolution unit would be eliminated. Instead, Federal employees' charges would follow the same process as private sector charges, including charge screening prioritization and voluntary mediation. These changes would ensure an even playing field between the administrative processes involving Federal sector employees and private employees and would allow more resources to go toward charge processing.

The Commission would be retained in the office as a Presidentially-appointed panel, but its work would be more focused. Instead of making decisions on individual charges, the Commission would work with the Undersecretary to set long-term employment civil rights policy. The Commission would advise the Secretary -- through policy reports -- on suggested improvements in case administration, educational tools elaborating on the employment discrimination charge process for employees, employers and litigants, and suggestions for areas where an investigation of systemic charges would be helpful.

THE OFFICE OF WORKPLACE POLICY

The Office of Workplace Policy is the third major office established under this proposal. Within it, the Office of Employee Benefits would administer such programs as the Pension, Welfare and Benefits Administration (PWBA), the Federal Employees Compensation Act (FECA), and the Unemployment Trust Fund (UTF).

Also within this major Office, the Office for Workplace Modernization, Reorganization and Safety would include the functions carried out presently by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA). Under legislation being developed by Chairman Cass Ballenger, the mission of this office would be reoriented away from an obsolete and rigid, sometimes even counter-productive, one-size-fits-all, rule-based enforcement system to one that focuses on the only results that should really count: improved workplace safety. We envision greater use and funding of flexible, voluntary and incentive-based compliance. At the same time, we envision more education and outreach to ensure that those managers and employees in more of our nearly 7 million workplaces understand their responsibilities under our mine and workplace safety laws and how to better comply. The goal of such a change would be to accommodate the modernization and reorganization of American workplaces that employers are undergoing, while maintaining important worker protections.

IMPLEMENTING THE MERGER

As noted above, the key to successful restructuring is to provide for careful planning, implementation and evaluation. According to a 1993 study by the Wyatt Company of organizations that downsized in the early 1990s, 61% of the 531 organizations surveyed managed to reduce costs and 46% increased profitability. And while there are distinct differences between the private sector and the Federal government, the lessons are adaptable to the federal sector.

Our legislative proposal will include a planning and implementation component which will set the overall goals and mission of the new department. Included within this component will be the basic structural design of the department, cost savings and implementation spending targets, and implementation reporting requirements.

Implementation will require a planning task force comprised of those who know the departments and agencies best: the Secretaries of Education and Labor and the Chairman of EEOC, the Office of Management and Budget, appropriate White House personnel and the Administrator of the General Services Administration. These people will be responsible for managing the consolidation, pushing decision making down to the lowest administrative level possible while remaining true to the Congressional mission. We foresee frequent consultations with reorganization experts on how best to accomplish the goals set by Congress. Congress will serve as the overseer, reviewing the periodic progress reports completed by the task force. This will allow Congress to guide the task force if it strays off-track without micro-managing the implementation process.

CONCLUSION

The kind of fundamental reevaluation and reengineering of the federal government implied in this and other proposals currently under consideration is long overdue. Everything we've seen in our work so far suggests that this kind of effort won't be easy. But bringing our education and employment programs and laws into the modern era is essential for our nation's competitiveness in the next century.

This need not be a partisan exercise. Good ideas for fundamental reinvention of the federal government can come from both sides of the aisle. I would hope that the Clinton Administration and my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in both the House and Senate will be open-minded and will avoid reflexively defending the obsolete, bureaucratic structures of the status quo. We can only benefit from a truly bipartisan effort to create the kind of federal government that the American people admire for its modern, progressive structure and its service to the average taxpayer.

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Testimony before the

House Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities

Organization of the Federal Government for Education

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June 7, 1995

Mr. Chairman, Minority Leader Clay, members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to discuss the organization of the federal government for education and, particularly, the role of the United States Education Department. I am honored to join distinguished Members of Congress on this panel.

The Importance of Education for the Next Century

The central question for the Committee and for our country is what value and importance must our nation place on education for the 21st Century. One of our nation's most astute economic and social analysts, Peter Drucker, answers the question in a November 1994 Atlantic Monthly article. Drucker calls the 21st Century, the century of the knowledge society and writes: "Education will become the center of the knowledge society, and the school is the key institution." Knowledge, its distribution and the capacity of all members of our nation to use it, is the major asset. For individuals, for companies, for armies, for domestic government -- the key is knowledge. Attention to education and continuing learning to develop and use knowledge is central to assuring civic responsibility in our democratic republic; economic productivity and quality of life; security and capacity for world peace. Federal organization for education must help prepare our entire population for this future.

Each proposal for organizing the federal government for education must meet two tests. First, does the organization position a leader with the "voice" for education at a level which reflects the importance and value of education for the nation. Second, does the organization provide for coherent and efficient services to students, parents, and the educators who serve them.

The place of education in the federal government must reflect Drucker's vision. And, it must reflect the strong opinion of the American people in favor of federal investment in education and a Department of Education. Should there be a Cabinet level official representing education? Should federal education programs be placed in one agency which has the central purpose of education? The answer to both questions is "yes," whether or not there is a downsizing of federal funds for education and/or restructuring of programs during this Congress as, for example, in the proposed Careers Act and other potential block grants.

Mr. Chairman, I speak this afternoon on behalf of the state education agencies and their commissioners, superintendents, secretaries and directors throughout the United States. Our organization is non-partisan; it does not endorse or support candidates. We represent all state chiefs, whether they are elected or appointed, whether Republican or Democrat. For 75 years our purpose has been to provide advice and assistance to the

Congress and the Administration on how best the federal government can assist the states and localities, the students, parents, and educators to improve education.

I speak also on the basis of 40 years of experience in working with the federal government on education policy. My first experience in Washington was in the Eisenhower Administration. I served in three summer internships between 1956 and 1960 assisting with reports and speech writing for then-Commissioner Sam Brownell and in the implementation of the National Defense Education Act. I worked from 1961 to 1964 as a legislative specialist and program planner under U.S. Commissioners of Education Sterling McMurrin and Frank Keppel. For 20 years in New York State, I had major responsibility for operating federal programs as Executive Deputy and then Commissioner of Education for that state. I have served with our Council since 1987.

The value of federal initiatives in education is being challenged seriously. It is very important for this discussion to have a brief reminder of the long-term impact of federal interventions in education over two centuries. Consider the following contributions in chronological order: the early Land Grants of the Northwest Ordinance and other rights to timber and mining revenues which provided support for the spread of primary and secondary education across the land in the 18th Century; the Land Grant Acts of the 19th Century which established our entire state college and university system; Vocational Education and Vocational Rehabilitation Acts at the time of the first World War which provided the nation's earliest interventions to connect schools, businesses and farms for employment preparation; the GI Bill which enabled the single greatest expansion of access to post-secondary education the world has ever seen; the Act for construction of community colleges during the expansion of those institutions in the 1960s; the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provided for the first time either for states or for the national government, supplemental school revenues for extra services needed by economically disadvantaged children; Head Start; the impact of the Civil Rights Act against segregation and for opening opportunities; and, federal action for students with disabilities, which has resulted in more than a million students now being served than 20 years ago.

These federal initiatives have all had important, long-term impacts. The focus in the last 30 years on improving performance of economically disadvantaged children has led to substantial increases in high school graduation rates and, particularly, an increase in achievement levels for minority students that has closed the gap between minority and majority students by half. The results are not good enough, certainly not enough to prepare for international competition and to assure that all of our citizens are well-prepared for the knowledge society. But federal interventions have worked effectively for individuals and our nation. The most recent stress on standards and quality and pushing for excellence throughout the system is now the most important nation-wide education thrust. We must have a federal organizational structure to carry that mission.

A Department of Education and Secretary

Our Presidents, whether Republican or Democrat, need to have in their Cabinets a Secretary whose prime focus is education and who is co-equal with other Secretaries. The Education Secretary's role is to advise the President and the Congress on policy for education and to assure that the essential connections between education and economic development, education and security, education and welfare reform, education and health policy, education and environmental protection, education related to telecommunication and other governmental policies are effectively presented and implemented.

At the highest levels of Administration, there must be a spokesperson for our unique, vast, and decentralized education system with the capacity to advocate when federal action in education is appropriate to meet nationwide needs and when it is not. The spokesperson must be a voice for education to the nation and an advocate inside government on the connections among education and other services. The Secretary must help design the right partnership among local, state, and institutional authorities and the federal government to assure our education resources support national purposes when appropriate, while at the same time the government channels certain national resources to support local and state initiatives and improvement under state and local control.

The importance of a Department of Education and its Secretary is, first and foremost, advisor to the President and Congress providing co-equal status for education with other Cabinet portfolios. If the position of Education Secretary is to be eliminated or merged with another Cabinet authority, the message is loud and clear that in preparing for the 21st Century, the United States does not consider education to be important enough to be represented directly at the President's table. I know of no other nation, either industrialized or developing, planning to downgrade education in that way.

The second point to be considered for organizing the federal government for education is coherence and efficiency of the current or anticipated federal programs. Your Committee began this year with a broad review of federal programs. As you stated in January, Mr. Chairman, it was timely and appropriate to examine all of the current efforts and consider restructuring. Your Committee is doing that now in deliberations on the Careers Act. You will soon be considering some parts of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act and, perhaps, other education block grants. The budget and appropriations processes include downsizing the federal government with provisions for reconsideration of the number of programs, their size and structure.

Anticipated Federal Education Responsibility

Usually the Congress first establishes the functions or roles of an agency and, then, designs an organizational structure to match them. Now both organizational structure and programs are being considered simultaneously. Deliberations on program review and restructuring will go on for several months, but it appears that even under the most sweeping proposals, the following functions and programs will remain:

1. Advocacy for the importance of education and the need for improving the quality of student achievement. This mission was central in the report, *"A Nation at Risk"* of President Reagan's Administration. It was reinforced with the establishment of national education goals under President Bush and further reinforced through bi-partisan action incorporating the goals and strategies to achieve them in legislation last year. The "bully pulpit" role has been practiced regularly by Republican Secretaries for 12 years and Democrat Secretaries for four years. Chairman Goodling in statements earlier this year urged a federal focus on excellence in our educational system as companion to the objective of equity. This federal role of advocacy is backed by continuing responsibility for collecting statistics, providing research on practice in education, and reporting on progress to the nation.

2. Targeting of federal funding to students who are economically disadvantaged, who have disabilities, who are immigrants or of limited English proficiency, or whose enrollment is related to a federal installation which causes a federal education "impact." This includes continuation of the major programs and concepts under Title I, the Improving America's Schools Act, IDEA, and Impact Aid.

3. Preparation of students for the work force, including encouragement for integrating academic and occupational education, and stronger connections between education and business.

4. Support of states and localities to improve student achievement through professional development, technology, and more challenging standards, curriculum development, and assessments.

5. Post-secondary student loans and grants.

6. Support for the research capacity for colleges and universities to expand knowledge and improving health, social, economic, environmental, and security practices.

7. Enforcement of civil rights and rights of disabled persons related to education.

Although not in each and every proposal for reform, these functions are likely to prevail through the 104th Congress with restructuring and downsizing or without. To administer them effectively, it is essential to organize them in a Department of Education and not scatter them among several agencies or subordinate them in a merged education and employment agency. Two reasons are important.

Organizing for Education Functions

First, it is essential that these several functions are coherently administered around the central mission of assisting states, localities and institutions to improve education quality and access to their services for all Americans. From the state and local perspective, it is essential to have as streamlined an administrative relationship with one federal agency for these several functions as is possible. The primary responsibility for education is with the states and the localities. The federal role is supplemental. States and localities must be enabled to link federal support and programs effectively with state and local resources. Great strides in consolidation were made in the last Congress which must be advanced.

Second, these functions need to be in a single department in order to attract top level educators and officials to administer the programs and advise the President and Congress. The level of position within the federal structure is important. I commented earlier about the necessity of Secretaries co-equal with other Secretaries to advise the President. Persons such as Secretary Ted Bell, Secretary Bill Bennett, Secretary Lamar Alexander, and Secretary Richard Riley would not likely have taken the position of leadership at the federal level in education if that position had not been at the Cabinet table. The key second tier leadership roles in education at the federal level will not attract top flight personnel, such as Deputy Secretaries David Kearns of Xerox, Ted Sanders Superintendent in Ohio and soon-to-be President of Southern Illinois University, or Governor Madeleine Kunin, unless their roles enable them to contribute significantly to the education challenges of the nation. Well-qualified leadership at the federal level is critical to the nation's best interest. To advance education excellence in America requires the best of our talent for leadership. The federal organizational structure must assure this.

The United States Department of Education has changed considerably during its 16 years. A report on the Department, its functions and its changes was made to the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, May 23, 1995 by Under Secretary of Education Marshall Smith. I urge members of the Committee to review that report with respect to the restructuring and improvement in capacity of the agency which has been downsized substantially since its establishment. From the state perspective, the administration of new programs authorized by Congress just last year has established a new and more productive partnership among the federal, state, and local levels of education. The Goals 2000 program has no regulations; it offers the superflex waiver provision and program consolidation. Within a year, that program has moved rapidly to implementation in 48 states and all of the extra-state jurisdictions. A 49th state will join the program shortly. Implementation of the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of the Improving America's School Act has also gone smoothly with minimum of paperwork and, with the former, an solid display of joint Department of Labor and Education administration.

Depending on additional legislation this year, further adjustments in the Department may be in order, but I urge the Committee to focus now on consolidating the education programs and organizing the federal education role within the Education Department, rather than moving to Department abolition or merger.

Comment on Two Proposals

Mr. Chairman, may I conclude my testimony by commenting on the organizational provisions of the two proposals discussed today. I have great respect for the members who have prepared these proposals and the work to prepare them, but I must respectfully disagree with major premises and provisions of both proposals. I have already addressed the two central points for organizing education at the federal level for preparing the "knowledge society." Let me note the ways in which the proposals will impair rather than advance federal education services to students, parents, and educators who serve them.

First, with respect to the proposed Back to Basics Education Reform Act which shuts down the Department, restructures programs, and reassigns them to several agencies. In this proposal, most programs go back to the Department of Health and Human Services. The proposal is in many respects a return to the pre-1979 Department of Health Education and Welfare (D/HEW), but without the "E." It does not recreate an Office of Education and a Commissioner of Education within HHS, but locates the education programs reassigned to HHS to the Director level under the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families. The proposal sends Impact Aid to the Defense Department; Indian Education to Interior; Civil Rights to Justice; and, Job Training to Labor. Elementary and Secondary Education programs, now in one department, will be handled by six different federal agencies.

As your Committee has deliberated on the Careers Act and nutrition programs, and as the full House of Representatives has worked on the provisions of the "Contract," the majority has strongly advocated placing greater responsibility for federal programs with the states and localities. The federal role is meant to be streamlined and enable states and localities to function more effectively. If the Department of Education is broken up and the pieces scattered to six federal agencies, the net result is completely contrary to the objective of better serving states and localities. Dispersing the functions will cause incoherence, not consolidation. Instead of one coherent state plan, there will be burdensome, inefficient federal paperwork and multi-agency monitoring. Each state will have to negotiate for its local districts and schools six times over with no point for reconciliation on administrative issues over the full set of programs except to go all the way to the White House. This is not going to help parents, teacher, and local officials provide better services to third graders or any other students.

If you reduce the federal education role, do not downsize and disperse, downsize and consolidate administratively. Keep the functions within a single agency with a Secretary accountable for the local, state, federal partnership.

The Back to Basics Education Reform Act proposal has other features which require full debate, but this afternoon I focus only on the organizational issues. The summary of the Act is clear -- shut down the Department, disperse the reduced programs, review the remainders with the expectation of "replacing the funding with a comparable tax cut to families and students." I respectfully recommend that this solution does not match the needs of our nation in the 21st Century for either the right federal organization or investment in education.

Second, with respect to the proposal for merging the Departments of Labor and Education and the EEOC, I note that this proposal does provide consolidation rather than dispersal of education programs. The proposal is built around two premises: 1) that for the improved workforce preparation, it is necessary to merge the two agencies, and 2) that the role of the federal government in education is primarily workforce preparation. On the first premise, I suggest the current demonstration of joint administration of the School-to-Work Opportunities Act signals that workforce preparation programs of education and labor can be effectively administered and consolidated without a merger of the two Departments. More can be added to that cooperative administrative structure.

There is a deep concern about the second premise. The federal government's interest in education is not limited to workforce preparation. The American public's interest is also in improving student basic skills and problem solving; providing safe and drug-free schools; preparing for civic responsibility and literacy; assuring strong values through education; equitable access and educational opportunity for economically disadvantaged and disabled children; and, assuring civil rights. Interests in post-secondary education include research and general education, as well as preparation for employment. These interests may ultimately be linked to workforce preparation, but they must not be organizationally subordinated to that mission.

If Drucker is right about the centrality of education and the school in the next Century and the American people are right in their priority for education, there must be room in the Cabinet for a full voice on education, not a half voice shared with employment issues. Both education and employment issues merit a full voice. In my view, if these Departments are merged, the attention to education will be subordinated to the issues of labor and employment. The Labor Secretary has a portfolio which includes crisis resolution responsibilities with respect to economic disruptions, collective bargaining, maintaining the nation's economic strength against threats to production or breakdowns of service and the Secretary has vast responsibilities for workplace environments, unemployment compensation and pension rights. The role of the federal government in education will be pushed to the background if merged with these functions. The different statutory portfolios of the two Departments will subordinate education.

We might test the issue this way. During the past 16 years, if Labor and Education Departments had been merged, what is the likelihood that Ted Bell, Bill Bennett, Lamar Alexander or Dick Riley would have served in that Secretarial role. Whether one agrees or disagrees with their positions, they have provided important voices for education in the President's top circle. I served under the structure of a Department of Health, Education and Welfare with education the junior partner. In no case over the entire period for that Department did the Secretary ever have primary focus on education, not up against social security, welfare or health services or research. Even if one agrees that, within the HEW structure, education had reasonably good attention during 1953-1979, we must address the question of whether the subordination of the voice for education in any merged agency now is the right federal structure to support "the knowledge society" of the 21st Century.

The existence of an Education Department and the position of Secretary has elevated attention to education for both Republican and Democrat Administrations in the past 16 years. The nation must not lose that presence in future Administrations.

Since 1979 when the USED was established,, one of the most significant influences on the drive for improving quality and student achievement in American education has been a close analysis of international competition in economics, military status, and education. We are comparing ourselves on student performance. We are comparing ourselves on classroom and school practices in other countries. We need also compare ourselves on the commitments that governments in industrialized trading partners and in the developing world are making in education investment, educational policy, and governance. None of them is pulling back on their national commitment for education. None of them is closing down a Department or Ministry of Education. They are, in fact, increasing their national investment in education. They know that if they can gain an edge in education, they will gain in productivity and in their capacities as knowledge societies to strengthen their economies and quality of life.

I close by urging that before the Committee or the House takes action on major restructuring of the Education Department, you complete deliberations with the Senate and the President on the functions for the federal government in education. Let the form follow the function and let both anticipate the importance and value of education in the coming Century.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify. I will be pleased to respond to questions.

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Education Department: Debate Over its Cabinet Status

Testimony Before the House Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities

Wayne Riddle
Specialist in Education Finance
Education and Public Welfare Division
Congressional Research Service

June 7, 1995

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Wayne Riddle; I am a Specialist in Education Finance with the Congressional Research Service, and appreciate your invitation to share with the Committee brief highlights from our recently completed CRS report, *Education Department: Debate Over its Cabinet Status*. I would like to recognize the other CRS staff who contributed substantially to the preparation of this report -- James Stedman, Susan Boren, Liane White, and Laura Monagle.

This report was prepared because of the current congressional interest in reconsidering the Federal role in education policy, and/or the status of the Department of Education. We wanted to provide background information on the establishment and evolution of the Department of Education, to aid Members in their review of its status. The Congressional Research takes no position with respect to proposals to either change or maintain the Cabinet status of the Department of Education.

When considering these or other proposals to modify the Department of Education's status, the distinction between: (1) eliminating the Department of Education's position in the Cabinet, and (2) terminating the Federal education assistance programs now administered by ED, should be kept in mind. Proposals to remove the Department of Education from the Cabinet may vary widely in the extent to which they would maintain the Department of Education's current programs, to be administered by a successor, sub-cabinet agency, or by a variety of other departments or agencies.

While serious consideration of the concept began with President Carter's 1976 campaign promise to propose creation of the Department, there was interest on the part of several Members of Congress in creating a Department of Education as early as the 19th Century. Beginning in the mid-1960s, with a substantial expansion of the Federal role in education, congressional proponents of these proposals expressed concern that education programs and issues received insufficient Presidential and national attention among the other, much larger programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and that non-HEW education programs were too widely scattered among other Federal agencies.

The Carter Administration proposal to establish the Department of Education was introduced in 1978, and was passed by the Senate during the 95th Congress, but opponents prevented floor consideration of that bill by the House. The Department of Education Organization Act, P.L. 96-88, was adopted after extensive congressional debate in 1979. Both the initial and conference versions of the final legislation in the 96th Congress were passed in the Senate by much larger margins than in the House -- for example, the House approved the bill initially by a vote of 210-206, while the Senate adopted the legislation by a margin of more than 3-to-1.

The new Department was created primarily from the former Education Division of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. While some other programs were combined with these, such as Vocational Rehabilitation, many Federal education programs, such as Head Start and school lunch programs, were not transferred to the new Department. One program, the Department of Defense Dependents' Schools, was scheduled to be transferred to the Department after 1980, but this was blocked by subsequent legislation.

There were unsuccessful efforts to eliminate the Department of Education in the period soon after implementation of the Department of Education Organization Act in 1980. In particular, the Reagan Administration proposed that the Department be replaced by an independent, sub-cabinet, Foundation for Education Assistance. However, none of these proposals received extensive congressional consideration

Our report provides a brief history of congressional consideration of the Department of Education Organization Act, but focuses primarily on the major arguments made by both proponents and opponents of this legislation. Where possible, we analyze the development of the Department since 1980 with respect to these arguments. We also provide information on the range of possible alternatives to the current Cabinet status of the Department of Education, plus possible advantages and disadvantages of maintaining its status.

In general, advocates of a Department of Education in the late 1970s argued that establishment of the Department:

- would bring virtually all Federal education programs under one agency, reducing duplication, increasing efficiency and enhancing the coherence of Federal education policy;
- would lead to a substantial increase in Federal financial support of education;
- would increase the effectiveness of Federal aid to education;
- would raise the educational achievement and attainment levels of American students; and
- would give the Federal education agency a status similar to that in other major nations.

In response, many opponents of the Department's establishment argued its creation:

- would result in domination of Federal education policy by the National Education Association and other education professional organizations, or by State and local school system officials;
- would substantially increase Federal education agency staff and administrative expenditures;
- would lead to much greater Federal influence over State and local education policy; and
- would weaken the broad coalition supporting social welfare programs through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I will briefly summarize the results of our analysis regarding these arguments.

Funding and Staff

- Funding for Department of Education programs has increased by almost one-third, after adjusting for inflation, since it was established. Its current funding level is greater than that of 6 other Cabinet departments. Nevertheless, the Federal **share** of total education revenues, at both the elementary and secondary and postsecondary level, has fallen substantially, because revenues from non-federal sources have risen more than Department of Education funds.

- Since its establishment, its total number of staff has decreased by approximately one-third, while the number of programs it administers has grown by approximately one-half. The number of Federal staff in the Department of Education is much lower than for any other Cabinet department.

- Estimates of trends in Department of Education administrative costs depend on assumptions regarding treatment of the costs of administering the Direct Student Loan program. **Excluding** costs for administering Direct Student Loans, current departmental management expenditures are virtually the same as those of FY1980, after adjusting for inflation. If Direct Student Loan administrative costs are **included**, departmental management costs have risen to approximately one-quarter above FY1980, with adjustment for inflation.

National Attention to Education Issues

- Since the creation of the Department of Education, there has generally been more visible, extensive, and continuous national debate over education issues than in the past. Highlights of this activity have included the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, the National Education Summit Conference in 1989, the setting of National Education Goals, and more recent debates over standards and systemic reform. While the cause for this increased national attention to education issues cannot be determined with certainty, it seems likely that the existence of the Department is at least partly responsible for this trend.

  However, most of the reform efforts arising from these debates have been initiated by the States, and such influential entities as the National Education Goals Panel are dominated by representatives of the States, not the Federal Government. Thus, while Federal involvement in education policy debates is generally more visible than in the pre-1980 era, the relative Federal financial role has actually declined substantially since that time, and Federal influence over policy has to a large extent been limited to exhortations to the States. There is more evidence of an enlarged State role than of increased Federal influence over education policy.

Educational Outcomes

- With respect to the educational effects of establishment of the Department, we reviewed broad trends in educational achievement, attainment, and participation over the past 15 years, including scores on tests of the National Assessment of

Educational Progress, rates of postsecondary education participation, and participation in Advanced Placement programs by high school students. In general, these trends have been either essentially unchanged, or marginally positive, since 1980. Nevertheless, the extent to which these trends can be linked to the existence of the Department of Education is unclear.

Consolidating the Administration of Federal Education Programs

- The Department of Education has not brought together in a single agency virtually all Federal education programs. This result was determined by the exclusion of several Federal education programs in the original Carter Administration proposal and congressional action on it, and the lack of major additional transfers of programs to the Department of Education since 1979. The potential overlap of Department of Education programs with those of other Federal agencies has probably increased since 1980 in such areas as vocational education and job training, science education, and early childhood education.

Program Effectiveness

- It is not clear that Federal education programs overall have become either more or less effective since establishment of the Department of Education. Many factors -- lack of clarity regarding program goals, the variety of programs, demographic trends, policy shifts at all levels of government, measurement difficulties, and so forth -- make such a blanket determination virtually impossible.

International Comparisons

- Many other nations have a national department or ministry devoted solely to education. However, major foreign nations with a federal system of government, similar to that of the United States, either have a department that is responsible for education plus other fields, such as science or labor, or no national ministry responsible for education.

Range of Alternatives

- Possible alternatives to the current Department of Education include: (1) abolishing the Department of Education, terminating its programs and activities; (2) abolishing the Department of Education, transferring some or all of its programs and activities to other Federal agencies; (3) abolishing the Department of Education, reconstituting it as an independent, sub-cabinet agency with responsibility for some or all of its current programs; or (4) merging the Department of Education with other current or new Cabinet agencies, transferring some or all of its programs and activities to the newly configured agency.

Possible Effects

- Major potential effects of removing the Department of Education from the Cabinet may include the following: there might be less national attention to, and debate over, education policies, but this might send a symbolic message that the Federal role in education will be one of assistance, and not intrusion; direct savings from simply downgrading the Department of Education would be relatively small, but the likelihood of reduced Federal education funding over the next several years may be increased; the momentum of current standards-based, systemic reform efforts in many States might be diminished; and consolidation of the Department of Education with another department, such as Labor or Health and Human Services, might improve the effectiveness of Federal human development programs.

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Testimony of Leslie W. Gladstone
Analyst in American National Government
Congressional Research Service
Before the
Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities
U.S. House of Representatives
June 7, 1995

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, I am pleased to be here today to present on behalf of the Congressional Research Service a brief historical overview of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to enforce the antidiscrimination provisions of Title VII of the Act that proscribe discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin[1]. Bars to discrimination on the basis of age were added in 1967 and on the basis of handicap status in 1973 and 1990.

The Commission created 30 years ago is a successor to the Fair Employment Practices Commissions (FEPCs) set up in 1941 and 1943 by executive order of President Franklin Roosevelt. Although discrimination against minorities and women long had existed here and elsewhere in the world, the need to end such practices in the United States became especially pressing at the beginning of the second World War. As it quickly became necessary to use all available workers in war-related efforts, the government stepped in to end discriminatory practices by Federal defense contractors with regard to the hiring of blacks. The FEPCs created under the executive orders barely outlasted the war, however, and were disbanded by 1946, due to congressional opposition.[2] Although President Truman's 1948 civil rights program proposed an FEPC, one was not enacted, and the matter was not revived until 1963, following the massive civil rights protests of the late 1950's and early 1960's.[3]

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[1] P.L. 88-352, 78 Stat. 253, 42 U.S.C. §2000 *et seq*.

[2] *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*. Vol. XX. 1964. p. 343.

[3] Ibid.

As constituted under Title VII, the commission is a bipartisan body of five commissioners appointed for five-year terms by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. From this five-member body, the President designates one member as chairperson and another as vice-chair. The chairperson serves as the administrative officer of the commission. The President also appoints a general counsel.

COMMISSION JURISDICTION[4]

As presently constituted, the Commission has broad jurisdiction, but limited powers.[5] It is authorized to cover the employment and employment-related activities of employers in private industry with 15 or more employees, labor unions with 15 or more members, employment agencies, State and local government agencies, and Federal departments and agencies. In enforcing equal opportunity in the private sector, the EEOC is mandated to receive complaints of discrimination, to investigate them and, if it finds reason to believe that a charge is true, to seek to eliminate discrimination through conciliation or settlement through negotiation. If unsuccessful in this effort, the EEOC may file a civil action in Federal district court. On its own initiative and without receipt of a complaint, the Commission also may investigate private sector patterns or practices of discrimination and issue charges.

In cases where private sector complaints are filed from State and local jurisdictions having fair employment practices (FEP) laws, the EEOC must defer resolution of the complaint to the State or local FEP agency.

When a complaint is filed against a State or local government, the EEOC is required to follow the same enforcement procedures in resolving complaints as applied in the private sector, except that the Justice Department must institute any court actions against such respondents.

With respect to Federal employees and applicants, the agency from which the complaint is filed follows EEOC-mandated procedures, first investigating, finding cause or dismissing the case, and (if cause is found) attempting conciliation or settlement. In this instance, the role of the EEOC is limited to reviewing appeals from department or agency decisions. Complainants in both the public and private sectors have the right under Title VII to file private civil actions in the Federal courts if their complaints are not resolved by the EEOC or, with respect to Federal employees, by their department or agency.

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[4] Materials in this section are based on U.S. Library of Congress. *Civil Rights Protections in the United States: Brief Summaries of Constitutional Amendments, Federal Laws and Executive Orders.* Report No. 93-148 GOV by Leslie W. Gladstone. Washington, 1993.

[5] Until, 1972, the commission was limited to receiving complaints, informally conciliating them, and gathering data.

LEGISLATIVE CHANGES IMPACTING THE COMMISSION

In the years since 1964, the mandate and duties of the Commission have been increased repeatedly, as law on employment discrimination has been widened.

Amendments to Title VII include:

—the *Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972*,[6] extending coverage of Title VII to employees of Federal, State and local governments, educational institutions, and any business or union with 15 or more workers;

—the *Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978*, prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions;[7] and

—the *Civil Rights Act of 1991*, enacted to counter the effects of nine Supreme Court decisions that restricted both the scope of coverage and the remedies of Federal laws prohibiting discrimination in employment.[8]

Other legislative and executive changes include: *Executive Order 12067*,[9] which abolished the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council and transferred to the Commission its responsibilities for providing coherence and direction to the Government's equal employment efforts.[10] A second transfer of authority under *Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1978*,[11] moved Federal equal employment functions from the Civil Service Commission to the EEOC. Under the Reorganization Plan, authority for the following executive orders and statutes were transferred from the Civil Service Commission to the EEOC:

—*§717 of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, which prohibits discrimination in employment in the Federal Government on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

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[6] P.L. 92-261, 42 U.S.C. §2000e *et seq.*

[7] P.L. 95-555, 42 U.S.C. §2000e *et seq.*

[8] P.L. 102-166, 42 U.S.C. §2000e *et seq.*

[9] June 30, 1978.

[10] These include application of strong uniform enforcement efforts throughout the Government, development of standardized data collection procedures and joint training programs, sharing related data among agencies, and development of uniform methods and priorities for complaint and compliance reviews.

[11] 5 U.S.C. app.

—*Executive Order 11478*,[12] which spells out U.S. policy for providing equal employment opportunity in the Federal Government through affirmative action programs in Federal departments and agencies;

—the *Equal Pay Act of 1963*[13], as applied to the Federal sector;

—the *Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967*, amended,[14] §15 as applied to the Federal sector; and

— *§501 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973*[15] prohibiting employment discrimination in the Federal Government against individuals with disabilities.

On July 1, 1979, responsibility for private sector enforcement of the *Equal Pay Act of 1963* and the *Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967* was transferred from the Department of Labor to the Commission. The former prohibits sex-based pay differences where substantially equal work performed in the same establishment under similar working conditions requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility. The latter prohibits employment discrimination against workers or applicants 40 years of age or older. In addition to employers, the Age Discrimination Act covers activities of employment agencies, and both Acts cover activities of labor organizations.

The *Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990*[16] also is enforced by the EEOC. Since July, 1992, employers of 15 or more workers have been covered. Title I governs private employers, State and local governments, employment agencies, labor organizations, and joint labor-management committees. The Act prohibits employment discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities and requires that employers make reasonable accommodations for such qualified individuals if so doing does not create undue hardship.

AGENCY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Although the Commission was created with limited authority and its resources have not always kept pace with its added responsibilities, it has been credited with making important contributions toward the reduction of discrimination. The courts have upheld most of its policies outlawing overt and individual acts of employment discrimination. The Commission also has been successful in getting the courts to outlaw many of the subtle and systemic forms of discrimination. In addition to reducing discrimination against black

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[12] August 8, 1969.

[13] 29 U.S.C. 206.

[14] 29 U.S.C. 621.

[15] 29 U.S.C. 791.

[16] 42 U.S.C. 12101 *et seq.*

Americans, the Commission also has helped reduce discrimination against women and members of other racial minority groups, as well as against those of certain national origin and religious backgrounds.

In this regard, perhaps the Commission's most widely known effort has been its promulgation of employment guidelines.[17] The guidelines interpret antidiscrimination laws and explain the way the Commission will rule is presented by charges covered under the guidelines. The sex discrimination and the employee selection guidelines are very detailed and have been credited with having had an important impact on employment practices.

Although these guidelines do not have the force of law, the courts frequently have relied on them in upholding charges of discrimination. For example, the employee selection guidelines upheld by the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* (401 U.S. 424, [1971]), marked the first time the Court had occasion to dispose of a discrimination matter under Title VII and pass judgement on employee selection guidelines. In commenting on the guidelines, the Court unanimously supported the EEOC.

The Commission also has been successful in obtaining agreements that require respondents to provide relief to large numbers of minority and/or female employees and to take action to overcome the present effects of past discrimination. Among these are the American Telephone and Telegraph Company consent decree and the Steel Industry settlements. Such settlements, because of the size of the companies and the number of employees involved, as well as the size of the settlement, tend to have effects far beyond the direct participants.

While many believe that the most overt forms of public discrimination in the United states have been eased, they also believe that bias, nevertheless, remains one of our most intractable problems as a society. Over the course of its 30-year existence, the Commission has generally been regarded as an important player in reducing such bias. Reasonable people may differ on how the Government should address the problem of discrimination generally, and employment discrimination specifically. The Commission has provided a forum for dealing with these issues. As we move toward greater diversity as a multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society, the Commission may be expected to continue as a resource in easing the strains of that process and working toward some kind of equitable balance.

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[17] Guidelines issued by the commission include *Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex* (37 Federal Register 6836, April 5, 1972), *Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Religion* (32 Federal Register 10298, July 13, 1967), *Guidelines on Discrimination Because of National Origin* (39 FR 10123, March 18, 1974), and *Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures* (35 Federal Register 12333, August 1, 1970).

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 7, 1995

Contact: Kathryn Kahler
(202) 401-3026

STATEMENT BY U.S. SECRETARY OF EDUCATION RICHARD W. RILEY
regarding the importance of sustaining President Clinton's veto of the rescissions package

There are times in a nation's history that will be remembered as turning points, occasions when the nation, through its elected representatives, says which direction it wants to go. The President's veto of the shortsighted rescissions package is such a time.

America has the opportunity to move forward and continue to invest in education and opportunity for its young people and its future. Or it can slam the door on students, close off access to higher education and the promise it holds, and betray the large majority of Americans who have grown up and raised their children to believe in the American Dream.

The cuts in this rescission package are misguided. They are not what our students and children need, and they are not what America wants. Our country can not afford that kind of balancing act.

We must achieve a balanced budget, but we can do so without sacrificing what has made this country the greatest in the world -- the opportunity for every person to be what they want to be.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 7, 1995

Contact: Kathryn Kahler
(202) 401-3026

STATEMENT BY U.S. SECRETARY OF EDUCATION RICHARD W. RILEY
in response to the Goodling/Gunderson proposal
to merge the Departments of Education and Labor

For America's students to succeed in today's ever more complex, technically sophisticated information age, our nation must have a sharp focus on education. Shifting the focus away from education, as the Goodling/Gunderson proposal would do, is a shortsighted and counterproductive response to meeting the future needs of our children.

Creating a mega-bureaucracy in which essential education issues are given short-shrift and ultimately defunded, is simply the wrong way to go. In contrast to this proposal, the Department has been pursuing a dramatic reorganization plan that cuts costs, streamlines operations, and improves efficiency.

From a purely practical and financial standpoint, this merger proposal will not reduce the deficit in any significant way and would do nothing to improve education. The amount of actual overlap between the two departments is minimal, and studies have shown that cost-savings are infinitesimal or non-existent.

We need to reduce the nation's budget deficit, but this proposal doesn't help. Until we address the education deficit, there will be no long term solution to the budget deficit.

To create a more secure future, we don't need any more unrealistic quick fix proposals or bureaucratic shuffles. We need increased investment in education, and a cabinet secretary whose sole function is to address this challenge.

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