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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE SECRETARY

April 18, 1984

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mike:

I want to take this opportunity to update you on the President's Academic Fitness Award Program.

I have enclosed a copy of the certificate and pin that will be presented to each student who qualifies for this award. As of April 16, 1984, we have recorded 133,465 students in more than 6,370 schools as eligible.

If you have not already received one, I am enclosing a copy of the promotional brochure describing the President's Academic Fitness Award Program. By the end of this year's program, there will be almost a million copies of this pamphlet in circulation.

Needless to say, I am quite encouraged by the results to date. The White House ceremony on May 11, 1984 will continue to dramatize President Reagan's commitment to the return of excellence in education.

Please let me know if I can provide you with any additional information.

Sincerely,

T. H. Bell

Enclosures



presented to

*In recognition of
Outstanding Academic Achievement
and Meeting the Standards of the
Presidential Academic Fitness Program*

Trace

U.S. Secretary of Education

Ronald Reagan

President of the United States

Principal

High School Years

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM:

PAM BAILEY *PAB*

SUBJECT:

MAILING ON SCHOOL VIOLENCE/DISCIPLINE ISSUE

I agree that IGA should do a mailing before the State of the Union. Attached is another version of the cover letter.

I also suggest they include the December 8th speech and the Task Force report.

[DATE]

DEAR:

In one of his recent radio addresses, the President discussed the need to restore order in our school classrooms if we're to be successful in achieving excellence in education. He asked all Americans to renew our commitment to school discipline.

You may recall that, in December of 1983, before the National Forum on Excellence in Education in Indianapolis, the President said:

"We need to restore good old-fashioned discipline. In too many schools across the land, teachers can't teach because they lack the authority to make students take tests and hand in homework. Some don't even have the authority to quiet down their class. In some schools, teachers suffer verbal and physical abuse. I can't say it too forcefully. This must stop."

Enclosed are some materials on this subject that you may find useful: the President's December 8, 1983 speech to the National Forum, his January 7, 1984 radio address, and the report to the President on school violence and discipline from a Cabinet-level Task Force chaired by Secretary Bell.

Sincerely,

LLV

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 17, 1984

*Pam Bailey
give me your
thoughts by noon
pls.*

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: LEE L. VERSTANDIG *llv*
SUBJECT: IGA COMMUNICATION ON SCHOOL VIOLENCE/
DISCIPLINE ISSUE

As a follow-up of our recent meeting on this subject, I have proposed to send out the attached letter and enclosures to state legislative leaders and those who serve as chairmen and ranking members on education committees throughout the country, as well as to the nation's Governor.

I'd like to get this out in advance of the State of the Union Address so that those recipients would have some details on one of the issues to be raised by the President in that message. I would appreciate your comments and suggestions.

by noon..

Attachments

DRAFT FOR MAILING ON SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND DISCIPLINE

Dear :

I am taking this opportunity to bring to your attention a subject which impacts significantly on our efforts to improve the quality of education - that being the issue of school discipline which deeply concerns parents, teachers and students alike. Earlier this month, President Reagan addressed this issue in one of his weekly radio messages after he received a report from Secretary Bell on school violence and discipline in a recent Cabinet meeting.

You may recall that, in December before the National Forum on Excellence in Education in Indianapolis, the President said,

"We need to restore good old-fashioned discipline.

In too many schools across the land, teachers can't teach because they lack the authority to make students take tests and hand in homework. Some don't even have the authority to quiet down their class. In some schools, teachers suffer verbal and physical abuse. I can't say it too forcefully. This must stop."

Enclosed are copies of recent releases on this issue. I hope you will find these materials useful when speaking to colleagues and constituents.

Sincerely,

LLV

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1984

REPORT OF THE CABINET COUNCIL
WORKING GROUP ON
SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND DISCIPLINE

FACT SHEET

I. Learning Depends on Good Discipline

- o A consistent portrait of an effective school has emerged from educational research. Order and discipline have been established as determining factors of a productive learning culture.

II. The Problem: Unruly Classrooms and Violence

- o The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) found that California teachers spend between 30-80% of their time on discipline.
- o A 1983 National Education Association (NEA) poll showed one half of all teachers felt that students' misbehavior interfere with teaching to a "moderate or greater extent."
- o An Oklahoma study indicates unruly classrooms led over one half of all teachers to consider quitting.
- o According to a National Institute of Education (NIE) study, three million secondary school students were victims of in-school crimes each month.
- o Eight percent of urban junior and senior high school students missed at least one day of school a month because they were afraid.
- o Although there have been improvements in some schools, the problems are still severe. A November 1983 report on the Boston School System showed 4 out of every 10 high school students had been the victims of robbery, assault and larceny during the course of the past year alone.

- o A NIE study showed 1,000 teachers were assaulted seriously enough each month to require medical attention and 125,000 were threatened with physical harm.
- o The number of teachers polled by the NEA who reported they were physically attacked during the preceding year increased 53% from 1977 to 1983.

III. The Impact on Minorities

- o Minority students are more likely to have their learning disrupted by unruly classrooms and to be victims of in-school crimes.
- o Minority students are more likely to attend a school in which discipline has broken down and learning has been disrupted.
- o Serious attacks on black, Hispanic, Asian and American-Indian students occur at a rate at least twice that experienced by white students.
- o Polls show that 80% of minorities believe disorder in the public schools to be a serious problem.

IV. The Reagan Administration Responses

- o President will focus the Nation's attention on the need for school discipline.
- o The Department of Education will conduct extensive research into the school discipline problem and disseminate examples of effective school solutions.
- o The Department of Justice will file "Friend of the Court" briefs in appropriate cases on the side of increasing the authority of teachers, principals and school administrators to deal with school discipline problems.
- o A national school safety center will be set up in the Department of Justice to work closely with the Department of Education on school safety problems.

Bob Teeter and I agree that economic issues alone will be enough to motivate the middle class/populist swing group to vote Republican in 1984. The President needs to present a mix of economic, social, and foreign policy issues to build a winning coalition.

This memo examines what we believe is the ideal social issue to stress in 1984: quality of education.

The President strongly supports all the social issue positions contained in the 1980 Republican Platform. However, political reality dictates that we can't press for all of them at once.

We must select our 1984 issues carefully, with an eye to two key considerations:

- 1) High negatives: Do certain social issues face opposition so broadly-based as to divide our coalition?
- 2) Can't win: Do they face opposition so well-placed as to make it impossible for the President to achieve success by election time?

Quality of education springs to mind as a no-lose social issue. Not only is the issue important in its own right, but it subtly addresses larger issues. Schools are a microcosm of society. Other social issues (crime, morality, etc.) can be woven into our campaign for quality education. With this issue we can demonstrate the President's commitment to middle class, populist values, and deliver tangible results by 1984.

With quality education as our theme, we will score points with every parent in the country. In addition, educational quality should be projected as a "women's issue."

Richard Viguerie suggests that we will suffer from the gender gap so long as women's issues are limited to liberal causes like ERA, "reproductive rights," and stopping the "arms race." Viguerie asks: isn't the low quality of our children's education a women's issue? Or safeguarding our children from crime and drugs?

As a family-oriented issue, education is important to the New Right. We may not be able to deliver for them on voluntary school prayer and abolition of the Department of Education, but we can deliver some basic, "old time education."

Emphasis on education will please the neoconservatives. While not numerous, they are influential. Neoconservatives are uncomfortable with much of the Reagan social agenda, but a Presidential call for a return to discipline, excellence, and traditional values in the classroom will rally them.

The country as a whole is persuaded that teachers no longer teach, students no longer learn, and discipline no longer exists. Johnny can't read, can't write, can't add, can't subtract. High school diplomas indicate nothing more than 12 years of reasonably faithful, nonbelligerent attendance. Even as learning wanes, drugs and crime flourish. More than 50,000 teachers are physically assaulted on campus every year. Each month, 11% of high school students are victims of robbery or theft.

Concern about education quality cuts across political and ideological lines. Interesting so does the consensus solution. Everyone from Jesse Jackson to Jerry Falwell is saying that the remedy is a return to the traditional curriculum taught by a traditional teacher in a traditional classroom. A 1982 Roper Poll indicates that 98% of Americans favor more stress in schools on teaching basics.

Burt Pines of the Heritage Foundation recently published Back To Basics, whose title

alone capsulizes the people's gut feelings about what needs to be done to restore education. Americans want an end to trendy liberal fads in the academy and a return to traditional values and the three R's.

There is no question that the Republicans are on the right side of this issue, whereas the Democrats are on the wrong side. The contrast between the 1980 Republican Platform and that of the Democrats was clear. In 1980 the Democrats pursued their vacuous all-things-to-all people line ("The Democratic Party supports efforts to broaden students' knowledge and appreciation of other cultures, languages, and countries"). The GOP Platform, on the other hand, noted that schools were falling apart precisely because too many special interests were spoiling the broth, and pledged simply to "restore common sense and quality to education."

Minorities seem as enthusiastic about rigorous education as whites. President Reagan noted this in his trips to Providence-St. Mel High School in Chicago. Blacks of all political persuasions agree that basic skills are needed to escape poverty; and that those skills are not now being taught.

The trend is moving back in the direction of traditional education. Some 36 states have established minimum competency tests for promotion and/or graduation, almost all in the last five years. At least 12 states have tightened certification requirements for teachers in the last two years.

The back-to-basics movement is already bearing fruit. Scholastic Aptitude Tests rose slightly in 1982, the first increase after 19 straight years of decline. This encouraging sign comes on the heels of President Reagan's cutbacks in the rate of increase of federal aid to education, thus belying the Democrats' doomsaying.

President Reagan could lead the back-to-basics movement with rhetorical and programmatic support. The whole thrust of the movement is consistent with the traditional values shared by the President and the American people.

To be sure, the President is in tune with the public on most social/cultural/moral issues, but quality in education is unique because the issue is fresh and the political initiative is waiting to be seized.

The establishment does not openly oppose quality in education, as ^{it does} ~~they do~~ the school prayer amendment. Although three-fourths of the public supports an amendment, the media and judicial elite have effectively stymied any progress on this front. The voters come to learn this after hearing the rhetoric but not seeing any results. Politicians are expected to deliver, not merely posture on the issues.

The final report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education is due in late March. The report will offer concrete suggestions to immediately improve basic skills, science and math training, and tighten discipline. It is important that we emphasize that the Commission began its work back in August, 1981, long before education quality became a hot political issue.

There is a strong economic/jobs tie-in to the educational quality issue. The Conference Board reports that one-third of the companies it surveyed are forced to provide new employees with remedial education. We're not talking about high-tech companies that need their workers to operate computers, but firms that need their people to be able to read signs and manuals!

Boston's public schools and its local business community recently signed "The Boston

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Compact." The schools promised in specific terms to raise performance standards for high school graduates. In return the business community agreed to hire a set number of graduates each year. No doubt this agreement will serve as a model of public-private sector cooperation in the future. Other policy straws in the wind include the Apple Computer bill the President endorsed last year and various proposals by Democratic Sens. Bradley, Glenn, and Tsongas.

President Reagan has already advanced a six-part program for educational improvement in 1983:

- 1) Tuition tax credits
- 2) Optional use of federal education funds to institute voucher plans
- 3) Education Savings Accounts (similar to IRA's)
- 4) Block grants to improve science and math instruction
- 5) Adopt-a-school programs
- 6) A renewed battle against illiteracy

The President is in a good position to deliver on all of these issues in the next year or so. Success in pursuing these policy goals will reap benefits with the populist middle class. Proposal #4, for example, ties into the public's alarm about the low quality of our technical and scientific training. Concern over this issue has not been so intense since the Sputnik period, although this time our rival is seen as Japan, not the USSR. Proposal #6, our fight against illiteracy, is being spearheaded by Legree Daniels of the National Black Republican Committee, who is working closely with the Rev. Bob Billings at the Dept. of Education. They aim to unite schools, parents, and the business community in an all-out effort to make every student literate enough to hold down a job in today's technological world.

Even as we pursue our own objectives, we should take a look at what the opposition is up to. The Democrats are all for improving education, but only so far as the effort does not conflict with the demands of key Democratic interest groups, such as the National Education Association. When there is a conflict between quality education and the desires of the teachers unions, the Democrats cave in to the unions every time.

In terms of 1984, we should not let the Democrats get away with posing as champions of education at the same time they kowtow to pressure groups with private agendas separate and distinct from the cause of quality education.

An issue like teacher competency puts the Democrats' hypocrisy into sharp focus. Everyone agrees that teachers should be tested and retested to assure their ability and effectiveness. Conservatives support the idea, moderates support it, even liberal organs like the New York Times and The New Republic support it. Everyone, that is, but the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers. Consequently, we will never hear a supportive word out of Walter Mondale or any other Democrat who desires the 1984 nomination.

Similarly, everyone agrees that there should be extra incentives to science and math teachers, to alleviate the current shortage and to better prepare American youth for the competitive, high-tech world of the 1980's. Everyone, that is, except for the NEA and AFT and thus Walter Mondale and the rest of the hopefuls.

President Reagan fights for the common good, even if the struggle gores a few sacred cows. Mondale and the Democrats fight to assure that the vested interests and "iron triangles" that back them will receive a larger piece of federal pork. This is a theme that has emerged in the media without any help from us. We must help develop this idea. It can be potent for us in 1984. We can contrast Ronald Reagan's time-tested traditional values against the trendy, costly, special-interest oriented policies of the Democrats.

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Just as important, if we push now for quality in education, we can deliver demonstrable results to the voters by November, 1984.

Significantly, the most likely 1984 Democratic nominee--Walter Mondale--is also the most vulnerable to the charge of playing stooge for the NEA and the education establishment. Mondale is recalled as the Carter administration's leading proponent of a separate Department of Education. Joseph Kraft recently described Mondale as "the apple of (the NEA's) eye" in a column which disparagingly described how Mondale^{had} "won over the activist mafias" in the Democratic Party.

There are ways for the President to thrust the educational quality fight into the forefront of the public consciousness. For example, the President speak at an NEA convention. The leadership of the NEA is, in the words of a Post reporter, "dedicated to helping defeat President Reagan." The President would be there to speak over the leadership's heads, to the NEA rank-and-file and to the American people.

Catholic John Kennedy scored a dramatic political coup by speaking to Protestant ministers in Houston in 1960. John Anderson made headlines by advocating ^{attention for his program by} gun control in an appearance before the NRA in 1980. Ronald Reagan would win ~~praise for~~ good-naturedly aiming some blunt truths to an assemblage of hostile special-interest activists. His real audience--the silent majority--would be cheering.

The President has the ^{power} ~~prestige~~ and the stature to frame the educational quality issue in a way--Republicans and tradition vs. Democrats and the Great Society--that would be helpful to our side. We are already making progress, but the Democrats are trying hard to steal our thunder. We will have to work to keep the initiative for the next 20 months.

SYMBOLISM ACTION ITEMS

The public is confused about the education crisis. On the one hand, they feel sympathetic to conservative solutions, e.g. basics, discipline, higher standards. On the other hand, they believe that bold (and expensive) government programs can be made to work with the proper leadership. The bottom line is that Americans are pragmatic. Ideology does not get in the way of their pursuit of results.

- o The President should use his communication skills to gain the high political ground for the conservatives. As the National Commission on Excellence in Education observed last week, in the two decades prior to President Reagan's election, the nation "lost sight of the basic purposes of schooling," to the extent that we committed "unilateral educational disarmament," so that now we are engulfed "in a rising tide of mediocrity." This is powerful ammunition in the war of ideas.
- o The President should couch his crusade for educational reform and renaissance in terms of its benefits to the family and the future. Any event he attends should include concerned parents and hard-working children, with emphasis on the promise of a better life and a higher standard of living for all.
- o The President has visited high tech training/retraining centers, but he should continue to applaud the progress being made there. Even with economic recovery, millions of Americans will continue to find themselves in need of new skills in the high-tech world of the future.
- o The President could go to more black colleges to emphasize his commitment to the twin goals of excellence and equal opportunity. He could stress that higher productivity and improved innovation will be the rising tide that will raise all boats.
- o The President should not neglect the cultural concerns of the public re education. We should bear in mind that much of the "conservatism" of the public in regard to education concerns school prayer, dress codes, back-to-basics. In terms of the conservative goal of trimming back government spending on education, most Americans are opposed. They want to see more money spent on education, especially by the federal government. We have the advantage on the education issue only so long as we keep the focus on our opposition to liberal social engineering schemes and our support of traditional values. A presidential visit to a one room school which has escaped most of the liberal abuses of the 60s and 70s would be the perfect forum to air these cultural concerns.
- o We can score points with special constituencies (Catholics and fundamentalists) by symbolic actions in support of tuition tax credits and school prayer.
- o The President could stress the importance of ROTC as an example of how the military bolsters freedom and education simultaneously. ROTC also instills discipline.
- o The President could involve himself in the career counseling issue by talking with students about their career options. He could demonstrate that he is sensitive to women's concerns about labelling and tracking that pushes male students into high-paying careers and shunts women into low-paying jobs, or no job at all.

POLICY ACTION ITEMS

- o "Teach the students, test the teachers" nicely capsulizes the conservative goal of reviving learning and discipline in the classroom by toughening the curriculum and assuring teacher competence through nationally standardized testing.
- o Teacher testing is a "stick" to improve educational quality. A "carrot" is the "master teacher" concept, whereby experienced and skilled teachers get higher salaries. This intriguing new idea should be actively pushed by the administration.
- o The National Commission on Excellence in Education just released its final report last month. Some of its recommendations were:
 - going to a seven-hour school day and an 11-month school year
 - raising college admission standards
 - establishing tougher minimum course requirements; cutting back electives
 - upgrading textbooks
 - more homework
 - end "social" promotions
 - lessening the paperwork burden on teachers
- o The President has submitted a seven-part educational reform package to the Congress:
 - tuition tax credits
 - vouchers
 - enhanced math, science, and engineering training
 - education savings accounts
 - student self-help grants'
 - adopt-a-school program
 - adult literacy program
- o The President still strongly supports school prayer. He still opposes busing and affirmative action.
- o The President might consider creating an education "superfund," perhaps drawn from public and private sources, which would enable the administration to directly assist worthy pilot programs.
- o As part of the administration's stress on conservative, traditional education, a program of "bicentennial minutes" could be created to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Constitution's drafting, which comes up in 1987. Each segment, describing the process leading up to its signing, would remind the public of the Founding Fathers' vision of limited government, checks and balances, federalism, etc. The realization that the President is the leader who most closely adheres to this great legacy would be inescapable.

Education is the ideal 1984 social issue. Everyone cares about our schools; everyone agrees they are in trouble. As for solutions to the crisis in the classroom, public opinion is still inchoate; but, we Republicans have on our side intuitive public sympathy for conservative, traditional, back-to-basics reform. If we can seize the initiative and frame the education issue according to our terms, then the GOP will have the political advantage re this "hot" issue.

At the same time, Americans are still impressed by bold, ambitious, Manhattan Project-scale initiatives to "win the war" against some domestic ill. If the Democrats get ahead of us on the education issue, the public may swallow their whole big-spending agenda before its cost or efficacy is even considered.

The President's education policy consists of two basic thrusts:

- o Programmatic - improving instruction, curricula, opportunity, etc.
- o Ethical - improving values, motivation, discipline, etc.

The programmatic thrust has received the most attention lately. The President has submitted to Congress a comprehensive package containing the following seven elements:

- 1) Tuition Tax Credits
- 2) Vouchers
- 3) Math, Science, and Engineering Training,
consisting of four major subsections:
 - a) Block grants
 - b) National Science Foundation teacher qualification program
 - c) Outstanding teachers award program
 - d) Presidential young faculty awards
- 4) Education Savings Accounts
- 5) Student Self-Help Grants
- 6) Adopt-a-School Program
- 7) Adult Literacy

This package strikes all the right policy chords. If enacted, it would increase parental choice, improve educational quality (specifically science, math, and engineering), expand opportunity, and meet the post-secondary expenses of those who really need the help.

The seven elements of the President's package are all excellent. However, we must be mindful of the following potential pitfalls as we advance this programmatic agenda:

- o Our new programmatic package obscures the programmatic education package Ronald Reagan advanced prior to his election. In 1980, for example, Ronald Reagan promised to abolish the Department of Education, cut back on school busing, and end the IRS "vendetta" against private schools.
- o There is a danger that we could be dragged into a bidding war with the Democrats over the funding and scope of new programs. Of course we would never try to compete with the Democrats to see who could spend more money, but now we are inviting the Democrats to come back with a bigger and more expensive counter-proposal.

- o We are in danger of losing our ideological bearings as we search for bureaucratic/technocratic/programmatic "quick fixes." Conservatives argue that the real problem with American education has nothing to do with funding or the lack of innovation. Conservatives stress the ethical side of education -- more specifically, the decay of authority, discipline, and morality in the classroom. While the President's commitment to key ethical issues, such as school prayer, remains firm, there is no denying that the aforementioned seven-part proposal shifts the focus from the ethical side of the education issue to the programmatic side. We never want to be in the position of advocating programs at all reminiscent of the Great Society.

"New ideas," therefore, are a two-edged sword. We want to be seen as forward-looking, but not at the expense of our treasured traditional values. We have to maintain a delicate balance between the "mossbacks" and the "trendies." We can't ignore new advances, but at the same time we can't trim our sails to suit the latest fad. For example, if we were to put too much emphasis on government programs to "solve" the education crisis, we would not only alienate our tradition-minded base, but we would still lose the "new ideas" constituency, because the Democrats would outbid us for their support.

We need a positive agenda of education reform and renaissance.

We want to employ new ideas to preserve the good old values.

We need to balance our programmatic and ethical thrusts to achieve a unified and cohesive policy front.

It would be great if the President could devote the next 18 months to delivering this message of new ideas and old values around the country. After all who could better explain the need for quality instruction in high tech and the basics better than the President? Unfortunately, the President has to manage all the other problems that confront the country!

Thus it is our responsibility to devise a feasible strategy for focusing public attention on our side of this critical issue. A few considerations:

- o Our campaign will be more effective if a specific individual takes the lead in advancing the President's programmatic and ethical agenda. We don't need an "education czar," but we need a focus person, a high profile advocate. We need to personify this complex skein of issues and themes. A committee or an agency won't do.
- o The Secretary of Education is not appropriate for the role of the President's special adviser on education reform and renaissance. First of all, the President has restated, as recently as March 18, his belief that the Department of Education should be abolished. Second, much of the public sees education professionals as part of the problem, not as part of the solution.
- o The focus person must be a man or woman of great stature who can simultaneously advance the programmatic and the ethical sides of the President's education vision. He or she must articulate the values and ideals of conservatism and at the same time build support for an all-out

effort to restore American educational and intellectual supremacy in the changing, high tech world.

The name that springs to mind immediately is George Will. He certainly meets all the criteria set forth above. However, there are other excellent people the President could bring into the White House to do the job.

The education advocate would of course coordinate closely with Secretary Bell. The Secretary of Education would still be charged with the daunting task of managing the Department. The education advocate's purpose would be more media-oriented: to articulate the President's message, clarify the public's perceptions about the administration and education and build support for new initiatives.

A few ideas for the education campaign come to mind:

- o Few people realize the depth of the federal government's commitment to education. The federal government will spend about \$40 billion in FY 83 on education programs of one sort or another. The Department of Education accounts for about \$14 billion. The rest comes from Defense, Labor, HHS, etc.
- o The federal government's commitment to basic research continues to grow, although we have not gotten the word out. We don't get credit for our effort because the money is scattered so widely. The education advocate could work with Jay Keyworth to inventory the federal effort and then they and the President could meet with influential university and foundation presidents to discuss common concerns.
- o Vocation and high tech training and retraining programs will continue to be significant. We need to couch our actions in terms of national security and economic competition.
- o The "master teacher" concept is one of the few genuinely new ideas in education. Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander has a good chance of pushing a master teacher bill through the state legislature. The education advocate could help focus attention on this.
- o An educational "superfund," perhaps drawn from public and private sources, could enable the administration to assist worthy projects. It is a fact of political life that we would get more "juice" out of a \$10 million grant to some innovative and creative project than we would out of the \$7 billion a year we allocate for student loans. Our image as student loan budget cutters is probably fixed; we need to plow some fresh ground.
- o We could coordinate the USIA's Democracy Project to heighten public and student awareness of American history and values. For example, the bicentennial of the Constitution comes up in 1987. Why not a series of "bicentennial minutes," each one reminding the public of the Founding Fathers' vision of Constitutionally limited government, checks and balances, federalism, etc. The education advocate could take the lead in explaining how the Reagan Administration carries on the conservative mandate of the Constitution.

A CAMPAIGN TO BUILD AND CONSOLIDATE
SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT
ON THE EDUCATION ISSUE

OUTLINE

I. THEMES

II. ACTION ITEMS

Presidential

Media Events

Fixed Forums

Created Events

Substantive Actions

Legislative

Cabinet/Further Study

First Lady

Vice President/Mrs. Bush/Surrogates

III. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

IV. CALENDAR

I. THEMES

- THE PRESIDENT HAS A BLUEPRINT FOR EXCELLENCE
- EXCELLENCE IS A MATTER OF POLICY, NOT PRICE ALONE
- THE PRESIDENT WILL FORGE PARENTS AND SCHOOLS INTO A PARTNERSHIP FOR EXCELLENCE

The public expresses seemingly contradictory attitudes on education. Various polls show that while the public does not want school budgets cut, it does not want federal control over education. The public would spend more for quality in schools, but despite record spending each year, a growing majority believes schools are getting worse.

These attitudes are complex but not contradictory. The President's campaign for excellence must be able to unify these elements to build and consolidate public support.

As the economic recovery takes hold, education will move toward the forefront of public consciousness. The release and saturation media coverage of the National Commission on Excellence in Education report, and other reports has cleaned the slate on the education debate and created a mandate for action. The Commission's report exposes the failed educational policies sponsored by our adversaries, and provides the potential for our initiatives to put them seriously on the defensive.

The essentially conservative recommendations of these reports logically support the educational reforms long advocated by the President. They are nonetheless susceptible to co-option by our opponents if we fail to act.

The only hope of blocking a new tide of ineffective Great Society special interest programs is for the President to seize the initiative. The President must energize the latent parent constituency for effective educational policies--back to basics, local control, discipline, and standards--against emerging anti-Reagan special interest coalitions.

The above outlines goals of our campaign/initiative for effective educational reform. Below are the themes of the President's blueprint for excellence. They unite the President's longstanding convictions, present administration actions, and critical areas of public concern.

The President calls for:

1. A campaign for educational renewal, uniting parents and teachers to reinvigorate education.

America's educational enterprise is our second-largest expenditure, at \$215 billion this year, almost equal to defense spending. Yet by losing sight of the basics, school discipline, reward of merit for teachers and students, we have squandered our massive investment--as recent reports from eminent panels show.

2. Reversing trends which have disenfranchised parents from their children's education.

The "educational-instructional" complex disenfranchises parents. Consolidation of school districts over the last twenty years and the rise of special interests means that parental influence has waned over such local issues as textbook selection, school discipline, curriculum, and even dress codes. The President has fought for two years to restore control to parents and local government.

3. Removing education from partisan politics by restoring local control and healing the rift between parents and teachers, schools and government.

Special interests, lobbies, and political activists scramble for their share of the \$215 billion Americans spend each year on education. This has polarized parents and teachers, schools and government. The President can work to remove some of the wedges that have splintered the educational consensus in America by calling for a reduction in federal intervention and creating positive conditions for working local partnerships.

4. Spending without thinking buys failure.

Any portfolio that is poorly managed fails to yield dividends. America invests record amounts each year in "human capital," but some schools get more for their money than others.

5. Recognizing the appropriate federal role.

The President's proposal to dismantle the Department of Education does not abandon necessary federal efforts in civil rights protection, aid to the handicapped and educationally disadvantaged, student aid, etc.

6. Addressing women's concerns about quality education.

There are two key constituencies we need to consider: mothers and female educators. Suburban mothers and female heads of households are concerned about quality of education. We can help ourselves with these groups by stressing our concern for education and vision of the appropriate federal role not as a budget issue, but an issue of quality and the policies needed to strengthen excellence. Important issues with mothers include discipline, violence, and drug abuse. Female educators include disproportionate numbers of women who entered the profession when other fields were closed. They can be expected to become prime beneficiaries of merit pay and master teacher policies.

7. A recognition that education is the major family concern of our time.

The future of our country is in our children and, parents aware of this, are willing to make great sacrifices for their children. They have a right to expect the schools to match their commitment by placing the interests of students first.

8. Eradication of crime, drug and alcohol abuse, and other signs of social decay in our schools.

According to a recent New York Times poll, people think that drug and alcohol abuse is the second greatest problem the schools face. This concern provides an opportunity for the administration to coordinate its efforts to fight crime, drug and alcohol abuse with its emphasis on quality education. The First Lady's commitment should be given a prominent role in the educational reform campaign.

9. Restoring the status and prestige of the teaching profession.

Uniform salary scales dominate the teaching profession. The President should advocate that states reward teachers based on merit, and establish Master Teacher positions. This concept, although opposed by teachers' unions, is popular with the rank and file, provided that the selection of Master Teachers incorporates peer review, as in higher education. Just as important in renewing teacher status and prestige is a Presidential call for parents and teachers to form a partnership to improve the quality of education.

10. Bolstering America's competitive edge in the world economy.

Business leaders point out the need for school graduates who are well-skilled in the basics. Beyond the classroom, the government can participate in a partnership to create effective job training and retraining programs.

11. A renewed emphasis on the basics.

The National Commission on Excellence in Education outlined a program of basics and an emphasis on academics for students and teachers alike, specifically high standards and competency testing. The President should urge states, school boards, and colleges to reform their curricula.

12. Preparing students for the responsibilities of citizenship in a Republic.

Basic education requirements set by state and local governments should include civics, our cultural and historical heritage, and an appreciation of our political and economic systems.

13. A broad vision of learning.

The President understands that the family, the church, the neighborhood, organizations like the Boy/Girl Scouts, Little League, and associations impart valuable lessons and a sense of community spirit.

II. ACTION ITEMS

PRESIDENTIAL

Media Events

A. Fixed Forums

1. Seton Hall University Commencement Address, South Orange, New Jersey, May 21.

This event, already on the President's schedule, is the logical place to start this campaign.

2. Fourth of July address to National Education Association Convention in Philadelphia.

The President would appeal directly to teachers to place students and learning first, support merit pay for teachers, remind Congress that their forebears at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia 200 years ago placed responsibility for education with the people and the states--not the Federal government.

It is important for us to distinguish between the liberal NEA leadership and the more conservative rank and file (three quarter of a million NEA members voted for the President in 1980). By "speaking over the heads" of the NEA elite, the President could drive a wedge into the organization that could help neutralize it in 1984.

The Philadelphia trip could also feature photo opportunities and brief remarks at key historical sites, e.g. the Liberty Bell.

3. American Federation of Teachers Convention, Los Angeles, July 3-8.

Following the NEA address, the President could deliver a similar message to the rival AFT.

4. National Conference of the Parent-Teacher Association in Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 12-15.

The convention theme is "where children come first." The President would ask parents and teachers to unite in improving the schools.

5. Cal Tech Commencement Address, June 10.

The President would emphasize the importance of math and science training. This is the ideal forum to draw attention to government-wide federal spending for education, especially research.

6. American Association of University Women, San Francisco, California, June 25-29.

This is the national convention, with 4,000 attendees. A good place to address the gender gap and educational equity for women.

7. American Library Association Convention, Los Angeles, June 25-30.

Twelve thousand members will attend. The President could stress literacy and decry the polarization in textbook selection and call for greater parental involvement.

B. Created Events

1. Tennessee State Legislature.

The President would praise the efforts of GOP Governor Lamar Alexander in proposing an ambitious program of education reform. His package, which failed in the legislature by one vote, included basic skills, Master Teachers, competency tests, school computer literacy programs, more math and science instruction and a center for excellence for the state universities.

The Tennessee affiliate of the NEA spent massive amounts to defeat Alexander's proposals. This site provides the President the opportunity to point out how the interests of special lobbies work against the interests of parents and students.

2. Address to Mississippi State Legislature.

The President could praise Governor Winter's educational reforms as exemplifying the new commitment of states to improve education using state resources. Once thought of as the least-socially developed state in the nation, Mississippi proves that the states will be fair and responsible without prodding by the Federal government.

3. Governors and Leaders of State Legislatures visit the White House.

The President could invite state leaders to meet with him at the White House. The President could outline the appropriate roles for state and local governments and call on state leaders to assume their rightful leadership roles. He could note that the Federal government seeks to help, but not control, education in America.

4. Adopt-a-school program.

Ruth Love, the black female superintendent of the Chicago public schools, has developed a model program of public-private sector cooperation to improve the heavily minority system.

5. Hispanics.

Since Hispanics are a key target group, with strong family and educational values, we suggest the President go to Garfield High School in East Los Angeles to meet with Jaime Escalante, a dedicated math teacher whose students scored in the top 2 percent in national calculus tests.

6. Visit to a high tech school, such as Oxon Hill High School in Oxon Hill, Maryland.

This school has a program for gifted and talented students specializing in math and science. It has high minority enrollment. It uses a computer donated by Hewlett-Packard. Oxon Hill has been used by the USIA to showcase American technology.

7. Excellent Students.

The President could invite high school National Merit Scholars, the U.S. Science and Math Olympiad Team (that won the 22nd International Mathematics Olympiad) and championship debate teams to lunch at the White House. Follow-up meetings could be held with selected teachers, principals, high school newspaper editors, etc.

8. Address a local PTA.

This could be done with advance planning, or it could be spontaneous, done along with some other event that brought the President on the road.

9. Visits to select local schools which have improved academic performance, cut down drugs and violence.

Note that the school year ends in just a few weeks.

10. High School Commencement Address.

The President could visit a public high school, preferably in the South, and give a commencement speech praising the "back to basics" movement, which is especially popular in the South.

11. Office of Private Sector Initiatives.

OPSI could encourage private sector support for schools which are working to upgrade academic quality, and compile a data bank which would generate sites for future presidential events.

12. Charity/Civic organization.

The President could meet with the heads of the United Way, Goodwill, Elks, Kiwanis, Lions, etc., to forge a partnership that would expand educational and vocational opportunities for the disadvantaged.

13. Career/Vocational Education.

The President could visit a high-quality vocational educational program with proven success in placing its graduates in jobs. A good example is the Fashion Institute of Technology in Los Angeles, which has a high percentage of minority students and places 95 percent in jobs.

Substantive Actions

A. Legislative

1. Tuition Tax Credits.

A bill will reach the floor of the Senate before the end of the month. The President should continue to lobby for passage in the Senate and consideration in the House as a measure to strengthen parental control and influence in education.

2. Math and Science Teacher Development Act of 1983.

The Administration's proposal has been eclipsed by passage of a \$425 million bill introduced by Perkins in the House and a \$250 million Senate bill. The compromise likely to emerge from conference will be near the \$400 million mark. The impact of a veto on the educational events must be carefully evaluated.

3. Amendments to Bilingual Education Act.

The Administration endorses greater flexibility for states in administering services to children with limited English. Although opposed by organized lobbies, the amendments have support from minority parents. Hearings in the Senate in late summer, House in the next month.

4. Increase in Pell Grants for Needy Students.

This is part of a package to reform student financial assistance and includes a 60 percent increase in college work-study funds which creates jobs for youth.

5. Block Grants in Adult and Vocational Education.

Consolidates overlapping adult and vocational education programs. Hearings have been held, but bill needs a push to go forward. Place high priority to complete hearings and move to mark-up in House.

6. Optional vouchers for the disadvantaged.

Bill to provide federal aid for optional vouchers to be used at public or private schools for educationally disadvantaged children. Will be introduced by Senator Denton. Bill requires tremendous public support for passage and indication of priority by the Administration.

7. School prayer amendment.

Needs wider margin of public support to secure passage, but should be tied to family issues, drug abuse prevention and school violence, and general social decay.

Other legislative items are pending, but these are of high priority and can be incorporated in the educational events. It should be noted that hearings are planned in several committees on various reports regarding the condition of education. Administration officials will be testifying during the month of June.

B. Cabinet/Further Study

1. Public School Tax Credit.

Provide a tax credit directly to parents who enroll their children in public schools. This will restore a revenue base to states and localities

so that they can carry out quality educational reforms under the close observation of the taxpayers.

2. H.R. 83.

A bill proposed by the late Congressman Ashbrook to allocate two percent of Federal revenues directly to the states for education.

3. Dismantling the Department of Education.

This issue must be resolved. It will not be possible to draw major attention to the President's education initiatives without offering a definition of the Federal role in education. Options include: merger, dispersal, or continuation. The public must be persuaded that the overriding objective of the Administration is not to cut the budget, but to improve education. Alternate vehicles for delivering Federal financial support could be developed and implemented without onerous Federal intervention and control in what should be a family and local issue.

4. Merit Pay for Teachers/Master Teacher Program.

Evaluate Presidential endorsement of state action to provide merit pay for teachers based on the "master teacher" concept. Although teachers' unions oppose this, the rank and file would welcome the increased pay, status and prestige that come with these programs, provided the selection process incorporates a faculty review similar to that used in higher education.

5. New Basics.

As per the recommendations of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, the President could advocate that states incorporate the five "new basics" into the curricula of their high schools. These are: four years of English; three years each of social studies, science, and mathematics, and one-half year of computer instruction for all graduates.

6. Competency Tests for Teachers and Students.

The President could consider advocating that states or local education agencies establish competency tests for teachers and students to measure achievement, diagnose and remedy weakness, and end grade inflation and social promotion.

7. School Discipline and Crime.

The White House Task Force on Drug Abuse Prevention should concentrate its efforts on successful partnerships between parent groups and schools to prevent drug abuse and minimize school disruption.

8. Deregulation.

Continued deregulation and relief from the paperwork and administrative burdens on teachers will give them more time to spend on actual teaching.

FIRST LADY

Drug Abuse Prevention.

Because parents single out drug and alcohol abuse as a major factor in academic decline, we recommend concurrent events featuring the First Lady in schools with successful prevention programs. Schools can be identified which combine parent and student peer groups, and also those which have prevention programs sponsored by the Department of Education.

VICE PRESIDENT/MRS. BUSH/SURROGATES

As our educational reform campaign gets rolling, the persuasive talents of the Vice President, Mrs. Bush, the Cabinet, and other Surrogates will be utilized. For example, Mrs. Bush's efforts to fight illiteracy can be expanded upon.

Public Affairs Officers in the agencies should be required to develop coordinated surrogate plans through the White House Office of Public Affairs. The Federal government spends about \$45 billion annually on education programs, of which only \$15 billion passes through the Department of Education. The remaining amount is scattered among other agencies, who should work harder to publicize their contribution to the President's overall effort.

III. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. Per pupil spending in public education up 10 percent.

A combination of declining enrollments, reduced inflation, and changing patterns of school finance result in dramatic increases in spending per student. Overall, public education spending will rise nearly 7 percent in the 1982-83 school year.

2. Student Aid.

The Administration's FY 84 budget request provides more actual assistance to students than ever before. Total student loan spending is up 22 percent in two years.

3. Block Grants.

Consolidation of more than 30 categorical aid programs in elementary and secondary education. The National Commission on Excellence in Education report recommended reduced Federal interference and administrative burdens. The 1981 block grant legislation has saved state and local education agencies millions of dollars by reducing red tape.

4. Needs Test.

The President signed legislation implementing a needs test for guaranteed student loan applicants whose families have adjusted gross incomes of \$30,000 a year or more.

5. National Commission on Excellence in Education.

Focused attention on the problems confronting American education.

6. Secretary's Technology Initiative.

A program to bring together educators, experts in new technology, and publishers of educational materials to identify potential applications of microcomputers in education.

7. Internal Management Reforms.

Reduced the number of personnel at the Department of Education, including the number of assistant secretaryships. Made consolidations for efficiencies; cut down on waste, fraud and abuse.

8. Women.

Although women are only slightly more than 50 percent of the higher education enrollment, they receive 52 percent of all national direct student loans and 60 percent of all grants to needy students (Pell grants).

9. Minorities.

Thirty-four percent of all black higher education students receive federal aid.

10. Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Funding for these institutions was increased by \$20 million as a result of President Reagan's Executive Order.

Parents Choose Quality Education

The California School Voucher Initiative

State Directors
LeRoy Chatfield
Roger Magyar

1537 Hood Rd., Suite D
Sacramento, CA 95825
916/921-0575
916/444-8725

31 Oct 1983

Dear Mike,

I want you to think of gentle warmth on a sunny day, of wispy clouds highlighting the blue sky, and of laughter from happy children filling the air. The laughter makes the scene complete. But the only reason those damn kids are happy is that they have learned to READ, WRITE, AND COMPUTE thanks to the voucher farsighted adults provided.

We have a good proposal. It is just what RR would want for America--and especially California. And here is why it is in your self-interest to help us.

NEA has issued its hit list: Republicans are prominently featured. The best GOP defense is a good offense. Once we have qualified our voucher initiative, NEA will devote millions to defeating it; those millions cannot be used to oppose re-election of real Americans.

I'm sure you agree the scheme is brilliant in its simplicity and certainty of success. All we need to implement it is about \$500,000--a mere pittance when compared to the benefit it will provide.

Clair Burgener thinks it is a fine idea. I talked to John Rousselot about it, and he said he liked it--except for the part about raising money. I think you should go for it.

Tax credits have a long way to go. Also, they don't offer much compared to our voucher which will be worth at least \$2000. What we do in California will change the shape of education across the nation. Remember: of all the words of mice and men, the saddest are "it might have been".

One other thing: whose idea was it to use Army Rangers in Granada? Did Ed do that? The Marines do not need help when on the attack (perimeter security is another matter). I commend the President for his action. But next time let's purify the means. Chesty Puller didn't have any trouble in Nicaragua before, and his followers will do just as well this time.

Yours for Competition & Choice,

Roger

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NEWS RELEASE

1 NOV 1983

Leaders of the California School Voucher Initiative campaign have begun collecting money and organizing volunteers to qualify their voucher proposal for the November 1984 ballot.

A voucher system would provide every child in California with a certificate worth at least \$2000. Parents would use the voucher to pay for a quality education at the public or private school of their choice. Schools, in turn, would have the vouchers redeemed by the state for cash.

At about 90% of the private schools in the state, the voucher would pay the full cost of educating a child. But public schools would continue to enjoy a substantial funding advantage over private schools by receiving additional money from federal, state, and local sources.

The initiative protects private schools from bureaucratic overregulation, and guarantees larger vouchers for children with handicaps or special transportation needs.

LeRoy Chatfield, a key member of Governor Jerry Brown's administration, and Roger Magyar, formerly a special assistant to Governor Ronald Reagan, are spearheading the bipartisan effort that already includes 300 active supporters state-wide.

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Parents Choose Quality Education is the official name of the Sacramento-based organization. According to Chatfield and Magyar, the drive to obtain 630,136 signatures will not begin until the campaign has 2000 volunteers and \$250,000 in the bank.

By aiming for the November 1984 ballot, the group expects to benefit from attention presidential candidates devote to the issue. President Reagan has long advocated vouchers to give parents more control of their children's education.

By giving all parents a choice, vouchers will end the public school monopoly over middle and lower-income families. Competition, not more money, will force public schools to improve their service.

"Throwing away more tax dollars on public schools will not reform those schools," Chatfield stated. "Private schools do a superior job of educating children for about half the cost of public schools. Whenever they have a problem, public educators insist the solution is more money. It is time for public schools to work smarter--not more expensively."

The campaign received a big boost when a recent Gallup Poll revealed a majority of Americans now favor educational vouchers. These poll results, along with publication of several studies detailing the dismal record of public schools, confirm that the time is right for reform.

more...

"Public education in California is almost a case of consumer fraud," charged Magyar. "Our students consistently rank below average when compared with pupils nation-wide. We have a dropout rate approaching 33%. A third of our prospective teachers can't pass basic proficiency exams. And each month, more than 4000 crimes are committed in California's public schools."

A voucher system will force public schools to compete with other public schools and with private schools. All schools will have to provide quality education in well-disciplined, drug-free, safe, cost-efficient classrooms. If they don't, parents will use vouchers to choose better schools for their children.

"Most children are captives of our public schools," continued Magyar. "Arguing that middle and lower-income parents can choose to send their kids to private school if they are dissatisfied with public schools makes about as much sense as telling those parents to buy a Mercedes-Benz if they don't like the car they now drive."

"Our present system of education is elitist because only the rich have the money to guarantee themselves a choice. Vouchers will permit all parents to have a choice."

People who want to learn more about the voucher campaign should contact Parents Choose Quality Education, 1537 Hood Road, Suite D, Sacramento 95825; or phone 916/921-0575.

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THE CALIFORNIA SCHOOL VOUCHER ACT

Who Wants Educational Vouchers?

1983 Gallup Poll Results:

National Opinion	51%	YES
Private School Parents	64%	YES
Public School Parents	48%	YES
Democrats	52%	YES
Republicans	48%	YES
Independents	52%	YES
Blacks	64%	YES

We Need Your Help Today!

Parents Choose Quality Education
THE CALIFORNIA SCHOOL VOUCHER
1537 Hood Road, #D
Sacramento, CA 95825
(916) 921-0575

THE SAD RESULTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Believe it or not!

- Private school students score two grade levels higher in achievement tests than do public school students.
- One out of four California public high school seniors failed a recent state test of academic proficiency.
- 28% of public high school juniors and seniors nation-wide cannot understand simple literacy tests.
- 70% of private school students enroll in academic programs; only 34% of public school students do the same.
- California's public school students consistently rank in the bottom half of students nation-wide.
- Only 3% of writing assignments in public high schools are one paragraph or more in length.
- 66% of public high school seniors devote no time or less than one hour to homework each day.
- 25% of the math courses taught in four-year colleges are remedial.
- At age 9, 81% of public school students enjoy reading "very much"; by age 17, only 42% feel the same way.
- 35% of those taking the California teacher proficiency exam last year failed.
- 32% (one out of three) of the students in California's public high school class of 1981 had dropped out by the time the class graduated.
- Taxpayer spending in California for public education averages almost \$100,000 for a class of 30 pupils; the large majority of private schools spend less than half that amount and do a better job.
- 20% of public school students are afraid of being assaulted at school.
- More than 4,000 acts of violence or other crimes are committed each month in California's public schools.
- 22% of students are afraid to use the restrooms in public schools.
- 12% of public school teachers are afraid to control misbehavior or troublemakers in the classroom.
- 5,000 teachers are assaulted each month in the United States.
- Vandalism in public schools costs California taxpayers more than \$2,000,000 each month.

Commonly Asked Questions

Q: How will the voucher plan work?

A: Parents will receive certificates worth at least \$2,000. This certificate (voucher) will be used to pay for education at a school, public or private, that best suits the needs of their child. Public schools will no longer have virtual monopoly control over millions of middle and lower-income families. Schools that do not produce quality education will lose students and go out of business--or they will be forced to improve. Giving parents the ability to choose and requiring schools to compete will enable us to replace mediocrity with excellence.

Q: Will vouchers destroy the public schools?

A: No. On the contrary, it will save them. Public schools are destroying themselves with their dismal performance. Families that have the money are taking their children out of public schools. Right now, about 1 out of every 8 students is attending private school (K-12). During the past five years, while the number of public schools has decreased, the number of private schools has increased by approximately 50%! It is easy to see that parents and taxpayers are rapidly losing faith in our public schools. A voucher system will produce the reforms necessary for public education to survive.

Q: How urgent is the need for reform?

A: It may be too late already. The State's Little Hoover Commission predicts that, without reform, California "may one day observe a literal collapse of the whole educational system." The National Commission on Excellence in Education has recently described public school performance as "...a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people."

Q: How will vouchers create reform?

A: When all parents have the ability to choose where their children attend school, public educators will no longer have a captive audience. Schools that have incompetent teachers or inadequate curriculum will lose students; and those bad teachers will lose their jobs--even if they have tenure. Schools that have excellent instruction and a quality curriculum will attract students; and those good teachers will be paid more money--even if they don't have tenure. Today, public schools don't have to compete because most parents don't have a choice. Vouchers provide choice and competition.

Q: Will public schools have enough money to compete with private schools?

A: Yes. Public schools will have significantly more money than a large majority of private schools. In addition to the \$2,000 voucher, public schools will receive another \$4.3 Billion in federal, state, and local money; that sum provides nearly \$1,100 per pupil more to public schools. \$3,100 is much more money than most private schools receive; yet with few exceptions, private schools do a superior job of educating children.

- Q: Will vouchers be worth enough to pay private school tuition?
- A: Yes. A \$2,000 voucher is sufficient to pay costs at about 90% of the private schools in California.
- Q: Will vouchers destroy neighborhood schools?
- A: No. The initiative specifically protects the existence of neighborhood schools and gives neighborhood families first opportunity to register for those schools.
- Q: Will vouchers go to Nazi and KKK schools?
- A: No. The initiative specifically prohibits vouchers for schools that advocate unlawful behavior. In addition, no voucher school may promote racism or sexism.
- Q: Will it violate the Constitution if some parents choose to send their children to church-related schools?
- A: No. Constitutional law experts at the nation's leading law schools agree that the voucher proposal is constitutional. Moreover, G.I. Bill benefits and Cal Grant assistance are popular existing government voucher programs that permit recipients to study at church-related institutions.
- Q: Will government regulation destroy the independence of private schools?
- A: No. The initiative includes a constitutional prohibition that protects private schools from new regulations. This limitation on regulation is essential because already the success of private schools in attracting students is creating pressure to control private education with the same bureaucratic red tape that has crippled public education.
- Q: Will vouchers help children from lower-income families?
- A: Yes. The present system denies lower-income families any choice; only families with money have a choice. The initiative prohibits discrimination based on family income, it provides lower-income students with scholarship aid sufficient to pay all costs at expensive private voucher schools, and it includes funds for special transportation needs of lower-income families. A voucher system offers far more benefits to children of lower-income families than our existing public school system does.
- Q: Will vouchers protect children with handicaps?
- A: Yes. The initiative specifically provides for students with physical handicaps or learning disabilities.
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Text of the Initiative

The following section shall be added to Article IX of the California Constitution:

Section 17. Purpose. The people of California have adopted this section to improve the quality of schools, to maximize the educational opportunities of all children, to increase the authority of parents and teachers, to restore local control of education, and to control the costs of education.

(1) **A CHILD'S RIGHT TO A VOUCHER.** Every child of elementary and secondary school age residing in California is entitled annually without charge to an educational voucher worth at least \$2000. Vouchers will be used in grades kindergarten through twelfth to pay for instruction, supplies, facilities, and other services or equipment provided by schools entitled to accept vouchers.

(2) **PUBLIC SCHOOLS.** Every Public School shall be entitled to redeem vouchers upon satisfaction of requirements set forth by law.

(a) **ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.** In addition to voucher revenues, Public Schools shall utilize amounts received from the federal government and other state or local funds as provided by law.

(b) **NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS.** Governing boards of local school districts may designate attendance areas for Public Schools located within the district. Children residing within the attendance area of a Public School shall have first opportunity to register for space in that school; but, such registration shall not be mandatory. When registration of its attendance area's residents is completed, a Public School with space available must enroll other children residing within the district on a first come, first served basis; after district residents have had an opportunity to register, schools with space available may enroll students residing outside the district. No district may deny its residents permission to attend school outside the district.

(c) **EXCESS FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT.** Excess facilities and equipment owned by Public Schools may be rented to Private Schools.

(3) **PRIVATE SCHOOLS.** Every Private School shall, upon satisfaction of requirements set forth by law, be entitled to redeem vouchers as full or partial payment for educational supplies, services, equipment and facilities provided.

(a) **LIMITS ON REGULATION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS ENTITLED TO REDEEM VOUCHERS.** Private Schools shall be entitled to redeem vouchers upon filing a statement indicating satisfaction of those state and local requirements for hiring, employment, curriculum, facilities, and administration that applied to Private Schools on July 1, 1982; neither the Legislature nor local jurisdictions may augment such requirements. No Private School shall lose eligibility to redeem vouchers except upon proof of substantial violation of this section after notice and opportunity to defend. No Private School shall be ineligible to redeem vouchers because it teaches moral values, philosophy, or religion.

(b) **ADMISSIONS.** Admissions to Private Schools that accept vouchers shall be based on criteria established by each school other than race,

color, national origin, ethnic background, physical handicap, or family income except as provided in subsection (4d).

(c) PROHIBITED ACTIVITIES. Private Schools may not advocate unlawful behavior, expound the inferiority of either sex or of any race, nor deliberately provide false or misleading information describing the school.

(4) FINANCING. Vouchers shall be funded with amounts budgeted for elementary and secondary education by state government and local school districts. Nothing required or permitted by this section shall be deemed to repeal or conflict with Section 8 of this Article or Section 5 of Article XVI.

(a) ANNUAL CHANGES. Each fiscal year the value of vouchers shall be increased or decreased in accordance with the annual change occurring in the California Consumer Price Index, as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, for the preceding calendar year. The percentage increase in the value of vouchers shall be at least forty percent of the percentage increase in the California CPI; the percentage decrease in the value of vouchers shall be no more than forty percent of the percentage decrease in the California CPI, subject to the limitation of subsection (1).

(b) VOUCHERS OF EQUAL VALUE. Vouchers shall be of equal value for students of similar grade level, except that the Legislature shall increase the value of a voucher when necessary to provide for educational costs attributable to physical handicap or learning disability, or when necessary to fund the cost of reasonable transportation for children from lower-income families.

(c) PROMPT PAYMENT. Vouchers submitted to the state shall be redeemed promptly. The Legislature shall provide for allocation of the voucher in case of transfer or termination of enrollment; it may also establish reasonable requirements for verifying enrollment.

(d) PROTECTION OF LOWER-INCOME FAMILIES. A Private School that accepts vouchers must establish an Educational Trust Fund in each year that its charges for tuition and related services exceed the value of a voucher. Ten percent of the value of each voucher redeemed by the school during the year shall be contributed to the Fund. The Fund shall be used to assist only students from lower-income families; after the entire amount in the Fund has been awarded to lower-income students, a school may include family income among its admissions criteria. Any amount in the Fund not used by the end of the school year shall be returned to the state. The voucher plus Educational Trust Fund assistance shall be accepted from lower-income families as full payment for tuition and related services. Private Schools that accept vouchers may also utilize additional funds to provide assistance to students who are not from lower-income families.

(e) LOWER-INCOME FAMILIES DEFINED. For the 1985-86 school year, lower-income families shall be those whose adjusted gross income, as defined by the Franchise Tax Board, is \$14,400 or less in the 1983 calendar year. For school years thereafter, eligible families shall be those whose adjusted gross income two years earlier is fifty percent or less of the median average adjusted gross income for joint returns as computed for that year by the Franchise Tax Board.

(5) **ACADEMIC PROGRESS AND DISCIPLINE.** A pupil who uses a voucher at any school may continue therein unless he or she is deriving no substantial academic benefit or is responsible for serious or habitual misconduct. With fair notice and procedures, each school may establish and enforce a code of conduct and discipline, and regulate its academic dismissals. No pupil enrolled in any school that accepts vouchers shall suffer unfair discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin, ethnic background, gender, or family income.

(6) **TRANSITIONAL PROVISION.** The Legislature shall promptly implement this section, ensuring full eligibility for vouchers of at least one-half of all pupils no later than the 1985-86 school year and of all pupils in the 1986-87 school year.

(7) **SEVERABILITY.** If any provision of this Section, or the applicability of any such provision to any person or circumstances, shall be held invalid, the remainder of this Section to the extent it can be given effect, or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby, and to this end the provisions of this Section are severable.

HOW DOES THE SCHOOL VOUCHER ACT BECOME LAW?

850,000 registered voters must sign petitions to qualify the California School Voucher Act for a statewide election. *Parents Choose Quality Education* is a grassroots organization of volunteers who are determined to gather the signatures needed to give our children better schools.

You can help!

HOW MUCH MONEY IS NEEDED?

Parents Choose Quality Education must raise \$250,000 before circulation of signature petitions can begin. It is expensive to coordinate a statewide organization, print petitions, and pay for postage. But, compared to the 13.8 billion dollars of taxpayers' money that public schools will spend this year, the cost of reform is a bargain.

We need your financial support now!

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

This is how you can support the school voucher movement:

- 1) Become a dues paying member of *Parents Choose Quality Education*. \$30 per year. Join now!
- 2) Purchase a \$125 share in our school voucher campaign fund.

If only 2,000 supporters buy one share, we will have enough money to begin circulating petitions.

- 3) Tell your friends about *Parents Choose Quality Education*. Give copies of this brochure to parents and taxpayers you know from schools, churches and synagogues, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Little League, soccer teams, service clubs, your office, etc.
- 4) Arrange speaking engagements for us to explain to others how school vouchers will improve our schools.
- 5) Mention us in your newsletters and newspapers so that parents and taxpayers who want to join the school voucher movement know how to reach us.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Phone home (____) _____ office (____) _____

I want to help the California School Voucher movement.

- Enclosed is my membership fee of \$30.
- I will purchase _____ share(s) in the school voucher campaign fund. I enclose \$ _____.
- I will also help by doing the following:

Mail to: *Parents Choose Quality Education*
THE CALIFORNIA SCHOOL VOUCHER
1537 Hood Road, #D
Sacramento, CA 95825
(916) 921-0575

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

SUBJECT: Reagan Scholarship Proposal

The Department of Education has proposed the establishment of "Reagan Scholarships" in response to the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education. Such a plan would call for private corporations to initially raise 100 million dollars with a long range goal of 500 million. This fund would provide scholarships of \$2,500 annually for 10,000 graduating high school seniors (50,000 if the 500 million were attained). These awards would be based on merit as opposed to the general practice of economic need. Such a program would most benefit the middle-income student as almost half of college freshmen in the top fifth of their high school class come from families with incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000.

At the present time 50 million dollars is awarded by corporate contributions through the National Merit Scholarship program. This proposal could be used as a supplement to this existing program or as an entirely new one. Supplementing the existing program will avoid many difficult problems such as testing methods and can begin quickly. An entirely new program, however, would be easier to identify with the President.

These scholarships are in line with Administration goals by utilizing private sector funds and awarding excellence in educational achievement. The Office of Policy Development provided comments favorable to the proposal while OMB voiced dissent, noting that it would encourage Congressional action for a similar program where the Federal government would match private funds.

We should resolve the OMB concerns soon if you wish to move forward with this proposal, setting up a new program rather than supplementing the existing National Merit Scholarship program.

cc: Edwin Meese III
Richard G. Darman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG L. FULLER

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Education proposal regarding a private sector initiative for "Reagan Scholarships"

There are several attractive features of the Department of Education proposal for a private sector initiative for merit-based scholarships:

1. It does not involve any new federal spending but draws exclusively on private sector contributions;
2. It emphasizes scholarships based on merit. The overwhelming bulk of financial assistance to post-secondary school students is now based on need, unlike the conditions two decades ago. This is consistent with our drive for excellence in education. As Plato remarked centuries ago: "What is honored in a country will be cultivated there."
3. It is consistent with our emphasis on private sector involvement in responding to problems rather than relying exclusively on government.
4. Despite the generous array of financial assistance programs that have developed over the last decade, securing a college education is still an expensive business for most families and students.

The idea strikes me as having much possibility but it needs some additional fleshing out in determining how it would best be implemented. Has this idea been discussed with any individuals in the business community? How does this proposal relate to other similar private sector initiative programs, if there are any? Jim Coyne would be the best authority on this.

I would appreciate seeing what other reactions you receive to this idea.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

September 16, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG L. FULLER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR CABINET AFFAIRS

FROM: JOHN COGAN *jc*

SUBJECT: EDUCATION DEPARTMENT'S PROPOSED PRIVATE SECTOR INITIA-
TIVE FOR REAGAN SCHOLARSHIPS

This proposal to invite the business community to raise funds for scholarships based on merit has some attractive elements but should not be pursued at this time.

My primary concern is that a Presidential call for private capital to finance scholarships and improve education will lead to legislation establishing Federal matching requirements. Currently, there is considerable Congressional sentiment for Federal-private matching requirements. Such a provision is contained in the pending \$425 million Math and Science Education bills. The Administration is not now backing these bills. Supporters of these bills, which are \$375 million over the President's proposal, would seize upon the President's support for Education's proposal as support for this aspect of their bill. Moreover, Senator Quayle has discussed even larger funding for the Math and Science private/public linkage provision. He would certainly feel he had Administration support were Education's proposal to be announced. In short, a Presidential announcement will unleash this powerful but pent-up sentiment.

Because of this concern, we cannot support the proposal at this time. It must be considered in the same context as the President's 1985 Budget and legislation program. Secretary Bell's 1985 request has just arrived. It is vastly in excess of the ceilings provided by the Budget Review Board and includes a wide array of new spending initiatives. It would be highly inappropriate to make any decision on the merit scholarship proposal outside the decision making process for the main elements of the President's program.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY

August 24, 1983

THE UNDER SECRETARY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CRAIG L. FULLER

Subject: Proposed Private Sector Initiative for "Reagan Scholarships"

The President could advocate upgrading of American education by initiating a strong and visible effort to secure business community contributions for college merit-based scholarships.

Background

Present Federal financial aid policy for college students is solely addressed to equity goals, ensuring access and choice for postsecondary education. While some academically talented students do receive Federal aid, they do so on the basis of financial need.

The recent report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education has encouraged us to reexamine what the nation is doing for its more gifted students--those who include the Nobel laureates and inventors of the future so critical to our economic growth and progress of our society. Most such students are from middle-income families. Almost half of all college freshmen in the top fifth of their high school class come from families with incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000 annually.

Proposal

The President could call on leaders of business to develop a plan that would initially raise \$100 million (perhaps rising to \$500 million in five years) for merit-based aid to graduating students going on to college. This investment would support four-year scholarships of \$2500 annually for 10,000 high school graduates (rising to 50,000 graduates if \$500 million is available.)

The President would appoint a "Scholarships for Excellence Committee," including business leaders, university scholars and presidents, education association representatives, and chaired by someone such as Walter Wriston. The Committee would develop a plan for donations:

- o to existing scholarship programs--such as the National Merit Scholarship--or
- o to a new program created with a nationwide base.

Supplementing existing programs would avoid issues of testing and selection, could be carried out quickly, and would use agencies already known and respected in higher education. If a wholly new program were created, it would be necessary to deal with questions of selection procedures, use of tests and other details, but it would be easier to identify the initiative with the President.

Existing State and Corporate Scholarships

There is some merit-based scholarship aid available, although none provided by the Federal Government's programs or with its leadership. We have found about \$265 million in merit awards by States, but in two-thirds of the cases the amount is dependent on financial need and, in the other third, the average annual merit-based grant is less than \$350 per student.

Some \$50 million, mostly from corporate contributions, is used for 9,000 awards made each year by the National Merit Scholarship program, College Scholarship Service and Citizens Scholarship Foundation with annual per student awards averaging \$1300.

In short, existing aid provides little reward for academic excellence and recognizes only a small fraction of our high school graduates.

The \$100 million corporate contribution proposed in this memorandum equals less than one-tenth of one percent of post-tax profits for the Fortune "1000" largest corporations in 1982. Present tax law permits up to ten percent in philanthropic contributions, before taxes, yet the corporate average is only about two-thirds of one percent in donations to domestic organizations for all purposes!

Advantages of a Presidential Scholarship Initiative

Such a Presidential initiative would be highly attractive:

- o It would assist middle income Americans in putting their sons and daughters through college.
- o It would involve no Federal funding.
- o It could actually reduce Federal funding requirements for college financial assistance if provision is made to deduct the scholarship amount from each student's calculation of "need."
- o It would call on the private sector to make an investment that would clearly be in their own long-term interests.
- o It would represent a firm commitment to the goal of excellence which the National Commission has set before us.

The initiative would exercise Federal leadership in keeping with Administration philosophy, while providing an opportunity to identify the President with a measure that would enjoy wide popularity with our constituency. In fact, the proposed Committee that develops the overall plan could name the awards "Reagan Scholarships" in the President's honor.


Gary L. Jones

Delivered to MKD - 8/16 - 7:20 pm
COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 16, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER *CF*

SUBJECT: President's Academic Fitness Award

I have been meaning to discuss this matter with you. I thought you might consider it while in California and we can discuss it when we all return.

I have a few education related events proposed or scheduled that we might consider using to kick-off the President's Academic Fitness Award Program.

ACTION

- _____ put together a kick-off proposal
- _____ not what I had in mind
- _____ other:



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

July 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE CRAIG L. FULLER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR CABINET ADMINISTRATION

SUBJECT: President's Academic Fitness Awards

As we discussed earlier, outlined below is a proposal to establish a President's Council on Academic Fitness and a President's Academic Fitness Award to be given to students who reach high levels of academic accomplishment:

1. The Council

We propose that a Council, patterned after the President's Council on Physical Fitness and the President's Council on Employment of the Handicapped, be established to help to direct a nationwide effort to recognize and reward high levels of academic attainment. The Council membership could come from among the following groups:

Secondary School Principals
Elementary School Principals
The Presidential Scholars Commission

2. The President's Academic Fitness Award

For years, the President's Council on Physical Fitness has set high standards for youth to meet in order to win a fitness award. Students work hard to earn recognition in meeting a nationally-recognized standard.

We propose that the newly-created President's Council on Academic Fitness set the standards for qualification for an academic fitness award. By involving elementary and secondary school principals in the membership on the Council, we can gain their essential cooperation. If the program is successful, we will want the thousands of individual schools across the Nation to participate. This will require the cooperation of the principal in each of these schools.

If this proposal is approved by the President, and after the new Council members are appointed, the Department of Education would work with the Council to set the standards for the academic fitness award that would be given on behalf of the President to all students who qualify.

Motivation has always been a problem in education, and this program should be very helpful in meeting the need to make academic excellence a high priority in the minds of our youth.

T. H. Bell