

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: June 29 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: c.o.b. July 5SUBJECT: DRAFT SPEAKERS' KIT RE EDUCATION (Prepared by Dept. of Education)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	HARPER	☒	☐
MEESE	☐	☒	HERRINGTON	☐	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	JENKINS	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☒	McMANUS	☒	☐
STOCKMAN	☒	☐	MURPHY	☐	☐
CLARK	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
DARMAN	☐	☒	ROLLINS	☐	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☒	☐	VERSTANDIG	☐	☐
FELDSTEIN	☒	☐	WHITTLESEY	☒	☐
FIELDING	☒	☐	BRADY/SPEAKES	☐	☐
FULLER	☒	☐	<u>BAROODY</u>	☐	☒
GERGEN	☒	☐	<u>BAKSHIAN</u>	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/edits directly to Mike Baroody, Room 160, by July 5th, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
Ext. 2702



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

June 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mike Baroody
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of Public Affairs

FROM: Anne Graham *MG*
Assistant Secretary
Legislation and Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Speaker's Kit on Education

Attached is a suggested speaker's kit on education. The kit includes a draft speech, fact sheets on key education issues, and the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

Please let me know whether this material meets your requirements for the speaker's kit.

Enclosures

FACT SHEET

THE BUDGET

BACKGROUND

The Federal education budget has risen from \$4.04 billion in 1967 and \$4.51 billion in 1970 to more than \$15 billion in 1983.

FACTS:

The budget has never been cut under the present Administration. It has risen.

- * 1980—\$14.1 billion
- * 1981— 14.8 billion
- * 1982— 14.8 billion
- * 1983— 15.3 billion

Overall spending by the states, local school districts, private schools and parents and the Federal Government has increased since 1980, despite reductions in enrollment at all levels.

- * 1961—\$29.3 billion
- * 1971— 82.9 billion
- * 1981—199.8 billion
- * 1982—215 billion
- * 1983—230 billion (estimate)

By comparison, defense spending by the American people during this period was:

- * 1961—\$46.9 billion
- * 1971— 70.2 billion
- * 1981—153.7 billion
- * 1982—178.6 billion

BUDGET HIGHLIGHTS

Chapter I (Title I) ECIA-ESEA - Aid to disadvantaged children

- * 1981—\$3.105 billion
- * 1983— 3.160 billion

Aid to handicapped Children - Public Law 94-142'

- * 1981—\$1.025 billion
- * 1983— 1.150 billion

Vocational & Adult Education

- * 1981—\$782 million
- * 1983— 823 million (States are now matching this by \$12 for each Federal dollar).

Guaranteed Student Loans (college aid)

- * 1981—\$2.5 billion permitted 7.8 million loans
- * 1983—\$3.1 billion permitted 6.6 million loans
- * 1984—2.06 billion should permit 7.2 million loans

Note: GSL is a Government insurance program. Banks lend the money. More loans can be made with less money because of the drop in interest rates. The average loan size determines how many loans can be insured. This varies from year to year. Maximum loans are usually \$2,500 per school year.

MERIT PAY AND MASTER TEACHERS

The Problem

The National Commission on Excellence in Education highlighted the fact that we are not attracting enough bright and talented college students to the teaching profession. Many of the most able teachers are leaving.

The situation is aggravated by the teacher unions who insist on salary scales based only on years of experience and college credits earned. (The National Education Association adamantly opposes merit pay; the American Federation of Teachers is keeping an open mind.) There are not promotion opportunities nor career ladders for teachers. Distinguished teachers remain unrecognized and unrewarded.

The Commission recommends that teaching be "professionally competitive, market sensitive, and performance based." President Reagan agrees. He says, "One of the best ways to do this, and unfortunately it's opposed by some of the heaviest hitters in the national education lobby, is by rewarding excellence. Teachers should be paid and promoted on the basis of their merit and competence. Hard-earned tax dollars should encourage the best. They have no business rewarding incompetence and mediocrity."

The President went to Tennessee on July 14, 1983, to endorse Gov. Lamar Alexander's (R) effort to enact merit pay.

Facts

Studies show--

- ° Academic competence of those planning to teach has been declining.
 - Between 1973 and 1981 SAT scores for those planning to enter teaching dropped 58 points--60% more than the decline for all college bound seniors.
 - SAT scores of students intending to major in education ranked 32nd out of 35 intended majors.
- ° The most able teachers are the most likely to leave.
 - In North Carolina, 6 out of 10 of the highest ranking teachers left their jobs within 7 years while 6 out of 10 of the lowest ranking remained.
 - Nationwide, after three years' experience, 34% of those teachers who had scored lowest on verbal tests said they intended to remain in teaching while only 5% of the highest ranking planned to continue--for math, the figures are 29% and 3% respectively.
- ° The loss of mathematics and science teachers has been accelerating.

Proposed Solution

- ° A master teacher program or similar approach that bases salaries on performance.
- ° A peer review system to select teachers who should be advanced in rank.
- ° Legislation and funding at the state and local level for a master teacher program or similar incentive plan. Salaries of the most outstanding teachers should be raised gradually until they are competitive with other professions.

Historical Role

Education in the United States is administered by local school boards and augmented by state legislatures. The Federal role in education has been a very limited one historically, although this role was reversed during the past two decades. The role of the U.S. Government has been to provide an overview of the total education picture in this country as only the Federal government could provide. Thus, the Federal government has periodically surveyed the educational situation in this country and published statistics based on this survey.

The Growing Role

During the past two decades the Federal government has provided money for the education of certain groups who allegedly were not served properly by the state and local educational system. These groups included the handicapped, the disadvantaged, minority groups, and vocational students. However, in providing money for these groups, the Federal government intruded more and more into the administration of education, which has traditionally been a local and state matter. The Federal government told these educators how they had to run their programs through endless, time-consuming regulations, which tied their hands. Although the Federal government provided only 10 percent of all education funds, it had a much greater hand in controlling education than this small percentage would seem to indicate. The Federal control over education has been exercised primarily through categorical grants which spell out minutely how the Federal money has to be spent by local educators and which assign a strict monitoring role to the Federal government.

Reducing Intrusion

This Administration has had considerable success in reducing Federal intrusion into education by converting 30 categorical grants into block grants in FY 1981. This has given state and local educators a much freer hand to use Federal money where it is most needed. By reducing reporting requirements, it has

- Eliminated 306 pages of regulations from the Federal Register
- Saved 11,283,257 man hours of paperwork
- Saved \$1,105,252,117.

By reducing the Federal contribution to education from 10 to 8 percent, it has also had some positive impact on reducing Federal intrusion.

The principal agency by which the Federal government exercises unwarranted control over education is the U.S. Department of Education. This agency has mushroomed from a small Office of a few hundred employees to well over 5,000 during the past two decades of Federal intrusion into education. The Administration is planning to dismantle this agency in order to curb this intrusion. At the same time, it is attempting to convert the remaining categorical grants into block grants.

The Proper Role of the Federal Government

The Federal government has a proper role in education by providing an overall view or survey of education in this country, by funding certain research of national significance which might not be funded by states, and by providing national leadership or guidance in education. It should help meet the needs of disadvantaged, handicapped and minority students and protect the constitutional and civil rights of all students and school personnel. The latter, however, must be exercised in a spirit of cooperation, not control.

Fact Sheet
PARENTAL CONTROL
TUITION TAX CREDITS AND EDUCATIONAL VOUCHERS

Background

At the elementary and secondary level, parents too often feel excluded from the education of their own children by education bureaucracies. Parents who turn to private schools are burdened with a double payment — they must pay private school tuition in addition to taxes for the public schools. As a practical matter, the ability to choose and the opportunity to obtain a private education are made difficult if not impossible for many Americans — particularly those from low-and middle-income families.

President Reagan's Proposals

Last year President Reagan sent a bill to Congress proposing tuition tax credits for all parents, within eligible income limits, who choose to send their children to nondiscriminatory private schools. The non-refundable credits were to be phased in over a three-year period. Parents could claim a maximum of 50 percent of tuition paid for each child up to a maximum credit per child of \$100 in 1983; \$200 in 1984 and \$300 in 1985.

Revenue loss to the U.S. Treasury due to tuition tax credits is estimated as follows:

<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>
\$145 million	\$526 million	\$753 million	\$779 million	\$763 million

The beneficiaries would include the families of some 3.65 million students in non-public schools (10 percent of the total elementary/secondary school population), some 65% of which come from families with incomes below \$35,000.

This bill was never passed. It was resubmitted this year and has already passed out of the Senate Finance Committee to the floor of the Senate.

Voucher Plan for Disadvantaged

This year, the President proposed the "Equal Educational Opportunity Act," to permit states and localities to offer another kind of choice to parents whose children are selected for participation in the Federal compensatory education program, Chapter I of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act.

Chapter I helps meet the costs of supplemental educational services, like remedial reading, for millions of educationally disadvantaged children each year. In some cases, the parents of those children would prefer a greater range of educational choice in their selection of a school. Under this bill, in states or school districts which choose to provide the option, parents would be able to participate in a voucher program to exercise that choice at whatever school they felt provided the greatest educational opportunity for their children.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

Background

On August 26, 1981, because of the President's concern with the declining state of education in the Nation, Secretary of Education T.H. Bell created the National Commission on Excellence in Education, a bipartisan panel of the Nation's most eminent educators representing all aspects of American education. The Commission, headed by Dr. David Pierpont Gardner, was directed to examine the quality of education in the United States and to report its findings to the Nation and the Secretary within 18 months.

Summary of Report

Entitled "A Nation at Risk," the Commission's report reflects not only the collection and analysis of statistical evidence, but also the significance of those statistics to America's future.

Noting that "history is not kind to idlers," the Commission found that "...the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people." To place the 20-year decline of standards in an historical perspective, the report declared that "we have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge... We have, in effect, been committing an act of unthinking, unilateral educational disarmament."

Highlights of Findings

- ° The College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Tests demonstrate a virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980.
- ° High school curricula have been homogenized, diluted, and diffused to the point they no longer have a central purpose.
- ° Despite our massive investment in education, 13% of all 17-year-olds are functionally illiterate; the figure may be as high as 40% for minority youth.
- ° Teachers are drawn disproportionately from the bottom quarter of graduating high school and college students.

Recommendations

The Commission recommended strengthening state and local high school graduation requirements for all students by requiring at least five new basics:

- Four years of English
- Three years of mathematics
- Three years of science
- Three years of social studies (history, economics and government)
- One-half year of computer science.

It recommended strengthening the teaching profession by:

- Making teacher salaries competitive, market sensitive and performance based (merit pay).
- Lengthening the work year to 11 months and establishing positions which distinguish between beginning, experienced and master teachers.

The Commission recognized the primary responsibility of state and local governments in financing education.

Fact Sheet
MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE

Background

Mathematics and science instruction and competency in this country have declined significantly. There is a shortage of math and science teachers.

SAT math scores have dropped 7% since 1963; only 50% of all graduating high school seniors take algebra 2, 25% trigonometry and 6% calculus. Only 40% take chemistry and 20% study physics.

The President has proposed legislation to correct the shortage of math and science teachers. He has also called for more stringent high school graduation requirements.

Scope of the Problem

Those entering the teaching profession are those scoring lowest on nationally administered tests. Those in the teaching profession are leaving for better paying jobs elsewhere. More specifically -

- o 80% of the states claim shortages of math, physics and chemistry teachers.
- o In 1981, 10,500 science and math teachers were not certified in those subjects.
- o Half of all vacancies are being filled by unqualified teachers.
- o Since 1973, 79% fewer individuals are preparing to teach math; 64% fewer are preparing to teach science.

Administration Proposals

To increase the number of qualified math and science teachers and encourage increased graduation requirements, President Reagan proposes that:

- o The Department of Education provide \$50 million in state block grants to assist in training 10,000 math and science teachers each year for four years.
 - Programs would be operated at the State and local levels.
 - Local education agencies (school boards, etc.) would require teachers trained under the grants to serve a "reasonable time" teaching.
- o The National Science Foundation would provide grants to support materials development, recognize excellence in science and math teaching and support outstanding university-level science and engineering achievers.
 - \$15 million in 1983 and \$19 million in 1984 for teaching research.
 - \$3 million for Presidential awards for science and math teaching excellence.
 - \$6 million in Presidential Young Investigators Research Awards.
- o The U.S. Treasury would provide tax incentives for donations of computers to schools.
 - Endorsement of statutory provisions permitting computer firms to exceed the limits of deductible charitable contributions when computers are given to elementary and secondary schools.

FEDERAL STUDENT FINANCIAL AID FACT SHEET

More than \$10 billion currently is spent on Federal financial assistance targeted to those who need help in paying higher education costs. Congress established most Federal student aid programs through the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Existing Student Aid Programs

- Guaranteed Student Loans

A 9 percent loan (expected to drop to 8 percent in September) made to a student by a private lender -- bank, savings and loan, credit union -- to help pay for a postsecondary education. The Federal government pays the interest while the student is in school -- and for six months after leaving school. An undergraduate student may borrow up to \$2,500 a year; a graduate student, up to \$5,000.

Loan volume has grown from \$1.2 billion in 1973 to an estimated 6.6 billion in 1983.

Because of the Administration's success in bringing down interest rates, the Education Department's cost in administering the GSL program has decreased by \$1.2 billion in the past year-and-a-half.

- Pell Grants

Awards to help undergraduates pay for education after high school. Grants do not have to be paid back. Maximum annual grant is \$1,800.

Costs have grown from \$122 million in 1973 to an estimated \$2.4 billion in 1983.

- Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG)

Funds to help undergraduates only. Colleges and universities may award grants up to \$2,000 per academic year.

Costs for SEOG have grown from \$210 million in 1973 to an estimated \$355 million in 1983.

- College Work/Study

Provides part-time jobs for undergraduates and graduate students. Administered by colleges and universities. Grants pay up to 80 percent of a student's wages; colleges pay remainder.

Costs for CW/S have grown from \$270 million in 1973 to an estimated \$540 million in 1983.

- State Student Incentive Grants

Federal funding (80 percent) is matched with each State's funding (20 percent). Purpose is to provide incentives to States to expand need-based student aid. Students must demonstrate need; grants are limited to \$2,000 per academic year.

-2-

Costs for SSIG have grown from \$20 million in 1974 (first year of operation) to an estimated \$60 million in 1983.

- National Direct Student Loans

A 5 percent loan made to undergraduate and graduate students by participating institutions. Federal government funds schools which set up revolving funds to provide loans to their students. Schools match the Federal capital contributions with 10 percent of their own. Amounts up to \$3,000 are for students in two-year institutions; a total of \$6,000 (including the first \$3,000) for an undergraduate moving into a four-year program. An accumulated amount to \$12,000 is available to graduate and professional students. Students begin repayment six months after leaving school.

The Federal capital contribution was \$286 million in 1973; an estimated \$178.5 in 1983. National total of revolving funds is at the \$550 million level.

New Administration Proposal

- A new philosophy will emphasize student self-help.
- Work/Study funds will increase by \$337 million and GSL loan volume will rise by some \$605 million.
- To supplement student and family resources the Pell (Self-help) Grant program will increase support by \$300 million and be modified to make awards more sensitive to education costs. Maximum award will go from current \$1,800 to \$3,000.
- In addition to assistance expected from the family, the student will provide 40 percent in self-help toward his/her educational expenses, including minimum of \$800.
- Self-help programs include a greatly expanded Work/Study program, GSL and NDSL programs.
- Work/Study will serve 40 percent more students in 1984 than in 1983; appropriations will rise from \$540 million to \$850 million.
- Aid through the GSL program is projected to increase in 1984 from the 1982 level by \$1.3 billion or 22 percent; a half billion dollars in loan money will be available through the Direct Loan program, without the addition of new Federal appropriations.
- Unsubsidized loans will continue to be available to all parents without a need test. Subsidized loans will continue to be available to all students with a need test to ensure that financial support does not exceed need.
- The Pell (Self-help) Program will significantly expand and will:
 - supplement student and family resources,
 - provide awards which are sensitive to education costs up to a maximum award of \$3,000 at schools costing \$7,200 or more,
 - offset the zero funding for the SEOG and SSIG programs,
 - promote the goal of "choice" as well as "access", and
 - continue to focus on the most financially disadvantaged students.

EDUCATION SPEECH

WITHIN A FEW MONTHS OF TAKING OFFICE, PRESIDENT REAGAN CREATED A BLUE RIBBON PANEL OF OUR NATION'S LEADING EDUCATORS TO LOOK INTO THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN AMERICA. THEY WERE GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS TO NOT PULL ANY PUNCHES. PRESIDENT REAGAN BELIEVED THAT EDUCATION WAS TOO IMPORTANT TO THE LIVES OF ALL OF US TO BECOME THE SUBJECT OF A WHITE WASH. HE WANTED THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH, AND HE GOT IT.

ON APRIL 26, THE COMMISSION REPORTED BACK TO THE PRESIDENT WITH THEIR REPORT, WHICH THEY APTLY TITLED: A NATION AT RISK. PRESIDENT REAGAN DIDN'T FLINCH FROM THEIR REPORT. CHARACTERISTICALLY, HE INVITED THE COMMISSIONERS INTO THE WHITE HOUSE, CALLED OUT THE MEDIA, AND SINCE THAT APRIL AFTERNOON HAS BEEN DOING ALL IN HIS POWER TO MAKE KNOWN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I HOPE THAT MANY OF YOU HAVE ALREADY READ ABOUT THEIR FINDINGS. AS PARENTS AND OF COURSE AS FORMER STUDENTS, YOU KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF A COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE THROUGHOUT THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, EXTENDING FROM THE TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM TO THE PRINCIPALS AND SUPERINTENDENTS AND TO SCHOOL BOARDS AND STATE LEGISLATURES. WHAT YOU MAY NOT KNOW IS THAT ALTHOUGH THE NATIONAL COMMISSION'S REPORT HAS ENERGIZED THE DISCUSSION OF QUALITY IN OUR SCHOOLS, MANY OF ITS FINDINGS SIMPLY CONFIRM WHAT PARENTS AND ELECTED OFFICIALS HAVE KNOWN FOR YEARS: WE HAVE ALLOWED A LAPSE IN SCHOOL POLICIES TO ERODE QUALITY.

LET ME READ YOU A STATEMENT OF CONCERN ABOUT QUALITY EDUCATION WHICH CAPTURES THE SPIRIT OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT. EDUCATION HAD BECOME "... A SYSTEM WHICH DELUDED SCHOOL CHILDREN INTO BELIEVING THEY WERE ACQUIRING REAL SKILLS, WHEN MANY OF THEM SIMPLY WERE NOT. IT WAS A SYSTEM THAT ENCOURAGED TEACHERS TO BELIEVE THEY WERE DOING THEIR JOB, EVEN AS MANY STUDENTS WERE FALLING FARTHER BEHIND." THE PROBLEMS WERE PRECISELY THOSE OUTLINED IN THE COMMISSION REPORT: SOCIAL PROMOTIONS, GRADE INFLATION, FAILURE TO USE ACHIEVEMENT TESTS TO DIAGNOSE ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND THE NEED FOR FURTHER WORK, IN SHORT A "VICIOUS SYSTEM" WHICH WORKED AGAINST THE GOAL OF QUALITY.

WHAT WAS CALLED FOR WAS A "COMPLETE REDESIGN" OF THE SYSTEM "TO FOCUS ON ACHIEVEMENT AND EXCELLENCE." THIS IS WHAT THE EXCELLENCE COMMISSION HAS CALLED FOR IN 1983 -- YET THE SPEAKER WAS RONALD REAGAN, IN 1978, PRAISING THE LEADERSHIP OF ONE COUNTY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT WHO TOOK STEPS REQUIRING COURAGE AND CONVICTION IN REDEDICATING HIS SCHOOL SYSTEM TO EXCELLENCE. THE RESULTS WERE RISING STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT SCORES OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, A SHARP CONTRAST TO THE GENERAL DECLINE OUTLINED IN THE EXCELLENCE REPORT.

IN THE TWENTY-ONE YEAR SPAN BETWEEN THE 1959-1960 SCHOOL YEAR AND THE 1980-1981 SCHOOL YEAR, FEDERAL SPENDING FOR EDUCATION -- MEASURED IN 1981 DOLLARS -- ROSE FROM \$58 PER PUPIL TO \$246 PER PUPIL IN OUR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS. TOTAL SPENDING PER PUPIL MORE THAN DOUBLED DURING THIS PERIOD -- AGAIN IN 1981 DOLLARS, RISING FROM \$1,308 PER STUDENT TO

\$2,635 BY THE 1980-1981 SCHOOL YEAR. TEACHER TO PUPIL RATIOS DECREASED FROM ONE TEACHER FOR TWENTY-SIX STUDENTS DURING THIS PERIOD TO ONE FOR EVERY NINETEEN. CONVENTIONAL WISDOM TELLS US THAT REDUCING THE SIZE OF CLASSES AND SPENDING MORE FOR A STUDENT'S EDUCATION OUGHT TO HAVE YIELDED RESULTS -- YET AT THE SAME TIME, STUDENT SCORES ON STANDARD ACHIEVEMENT TESTS ACTUALLY DROPPED BY MORE THAN EIGHTY POINTS ON AVERAGE.

PERHAPS WE CAN SEE ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THIS DECLINE WHEN WE LOOK AT WHAT WE TOLD OUR STUDENTS DURING THIS PERIOD. BETWEEN THE 1965-1966 SCHOOL YEAR AND THE 1980-1981 SCHOOL YEAR, THE NUMBER OF AVERAGE A GRADES GIVEN OUR STUDENTS AT THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVELS ROSE FROM LESS THAN 15 PERCENT TO MORE THAN 20 PERCENT. THE PROPORTION OF STUDENTS GETTING C AVERAGES DROPPED FROM JUST UNDER 30 PERCENT OF THE STUDENTS TO SLIGHTLY LESS THAN 20 PERCENT. IN OTHER WORDS, OUR STANDARDS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR STUDENT PERFORMANCE WERE TELLING OUR CHILDREN THAT MORE OF THEM WERE DOING EXCEPTIONAL WORK AND FEWER WERE DOING AVERAGE WORK -- BUT THEIR SCORES ON SAT TESTS DURING THIS PERIOD DECLINED BY 77 POINTS ON AVERAGE. ALTHOUGH THE DECLINE WAS GREATER FOR SOME STUDENTS THAN FOR OTHERS, IT WAS ACROSS THE BOARD. WHILE WE WERE TELLING STUDENTS THEIR PERFORMANCE WAS IMPROVING BY SUBJECTIVE MEASURES SUCH AS GRADES, OBJECTIVE MEASURES OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENT INDICATED IT WAS WORSENING.

THIS IS WHAT IS MEANT BY GRADE INFLATION, LOW EXPECTATIONS, AND A LACK OF RIGOROUS STANDARDS CITED BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN ITS REPORT. RESEARCH FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION SHOWS THAT STUDENTS PERFORM BETTER WHEN TEACHERS SET HIGH EXPECTATIONS -- AND WHEN THEIR POLICIES ARE BACKED UP BY PRINCIPALS, PARENTS, SUPERINTENDENTS AND SCHOOL BOARDS. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT WE CAN BEGIN TO REVERSE THE DECLINE IN QUALITY EDUCATION BY SETTING HIGHER STANDARDS NOW -- WITHOUT ADDITIONAL SPENDING.

THE COMMITMENT TO QUALITY EDUCATION BEGINS IN THE OVAL OFFICE WITH OUR PRESIDENT. THROUGH HIS EMPHASIS ON STRENGTHENING PARENTAL CONTROL, POLICIES TO PROVIDE CHOICE TO MIDDLE AND LOWER INCOME PARENTS IN EXERCISING THEIR RIGHT TO EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES FOR THEIR CHILDREN, AND BLOCK GRANTS FOR FEDERAL EDUCATION AID TO THE STATES THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES HAVE BEEN PRECISELY WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS TO END THE DECLINE IN EDUCATION.

WHAT IS REMARKABLE ABOUT THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION'S FINDINGS IS THAT THERE IS VIRTUAL UNANIMITY IN MEETING ITS GOAL OF RESTORING QUALITY TO OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. A RECENT NEW YORK TIMES POLL SHOWS THAT A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS BELIEVE, AS THE COMMISSION WARNS, THAT TODAY EDUCATION HAS WORSENERED. ONE WOMAN RESPONDING TO THE POLLSTERS SUMMED UP THE MOST FREQUENT RESPONSE IN CHARACTERIZING WHAT HAS GONE WRONG: WEAKNESS IN TEACHING THE BASICS. TEACHER QUALITY

AND SCHOOL DISCIPLINE WERE CITED AS THE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES FACING QUALITY EDUCATION, BOTH FINDINGS ECHOED IN THE COMMISSION'S REPORT.

SEVEN OF EIGHT AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT OUR SCHOOLS NEED MORE EMPHASIS ON "BASIC SKILLS OF READING, WRITING AND ARITHMETIC" AND SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS, AS WELL AS ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION PROGRAMS, WHICH AS MANY OF YOU MAY KNOW IS INCLUDED IN THE PRESIDENT'S GOVERNMENT-WIDE STRATEGY TO PREVENT THE TRAGIC WASTE OF YOUTH DRUG ABUSE.

BUT PERHAPS THE MOST PROMISING FEATURE OF THIS POLL IS THAT EIGHTY-ONE PERCENT OF THESE AMERICANS ARE WILLING TO SUPPORT MEASURES FOR RESTORING QUALITY IN THE SCHOOLS WITH INCREASED TAXES, IF NECESSARY. BUT THEY WILL NOT SUPPORT THE STATUS QUO, OR THROW MONEY AFTER PROGRAMS WHICH ARE DEMONSTRABLE FAILURES IN ENSURING EXCELLENCE. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE WHAT THAT POLL WOULD SHOW TODAY IN THE WAKE OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT. I BELIEVE THAT AMERICANS CAN AND WILL SUPPORT QUALITY EDUCATION, BUT THEY WANT EDUCATION POLICIES THAT WILL YIELD QUALITY. THE FIRST CHALLENGE FOR EDUCATORS IS TO GIVE THE TAXPAYERS THEIR MONEY'S WORTH FOR OUR COUNTRY'S \$215 BILLION INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION.

THE EVIDENCE CITED IN THE COMMISSION'S REPORT IS A STUNNING INDICTMENT OF OUR FAILURE TO PURCHASE QUALITY. FOUR-FIFTHS

OF OUR SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLDS CANNOT WRITE A DECENT ESSAY; FORTY PERCENT CANNOT DRAW INFERENCES FROM READING; TWO-THIRDS CANNOT SOLVE MATHEMATICS PROBLEMS REQUIRING SEVERAL STEPS; THIRTEEN PERCENT ARE FUNCTIONALLY ILLITERATE. FOR MINORITY YOUTH, THE FIGURE MAY BE AS HIGH AS FORTY PERCENT.

HOW DID THIS HAPPEN IN A COUNTRY THAT SPENDS RECORD AMOUNTS ON EDUCATION EACH AND EVERY YEAR? LAST SCHOOL YEAR, ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, AMERICANS SPENT JUST UNDER \$200 BILLION FOR EDUCATION. THIS YEAR THE FIGURE WILL BE ALMOST \$215 BILLION. THOSE SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLDS MATURED IN DECADES IN WHICH FEDERAL EDUCATION SPENDING ROSE FROM \$700 MILLION ANNUALLY TO MORE THAN \$14 BILLION. THEIR DAY IN CLASS WAS SHAPED IN PART BY AN EXPLOSION IN FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS INTENDED TO IMPROVE THEIR SCHOOLING. FROM A HANDFUL IN THE MID-1960s, THESE PROGRAMS HAVE GROWN TO MORE THAN 100 TODAY -- AND THAT IS AFTER THE BLOCK GRANT OF 1981 -- IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ALONE. I DO NOT HAVE TO TELL THOSE OF YOU FAMILIAR WITH THE LANDSCAPE OF EDUCATION IN OUR COUNTRY THAT OTHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS REMAIN SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, PROGRAMS WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN BUT NEVER WERE CONSOLIDATED INTO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION UNDER THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION BECAUSE OF THE ENTRENCHMENT OF BUREAUCRATIC INTERESTS.

DESPITE OUR MASSIVE INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION, WE HAVE NOT PURCHASED EXCELLENCE FOR OUR SCHOOLS, OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR

CHILDREN, OR A PROMISING FUTURE FOR THE NATION. WE ARE, IN FACT, AT RISK, CHALLENGED BY A RISING TIDE OF MEDIOCRITY THAT SWAMPS TEACHERS AND STUDENT ALIKE, DISMAYS PARENTS, AND UNITES A BROAD SPECTRUM OF AMERICANS IN THE BELIEF THAT THE TIME FOR ACTION MUST NOT BE POSTPONED.

MANY ARE LIKENING THIS NEW CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION TO THE SPUTNIK-ERA, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT IF I COULD CHARACTERIZE THE PROBLEM I WOULD NEVER ONCE CALL IT A CRISIS. A CRISIS COMES ON ONE SUDDENLY AND DEMANDS SUDDEN ACTION. IN GOVERNMENT, IT IS FASHIONABLE TO CALL ANYTHING A CRISIS TO ATTRACT THE ATTENTION OF POLICYMAKERS AND GALVANIZE FORCES BEHIND SOLUTIONS. BUT THE CRISIS MENTALITY IN MAKING POLICY IS PRECISELY PART OF THE PROBLEM; FOR TOO LONG WE HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO THROW MONEY AT THE PROBLEM OF DECLINING EDUCATIONAL QUALITY IN SEARCH OF A MAGIC DOLLAR THRESHOLD BEYOND WHICH OUR EDUCATIONAL ILLS WILL VANISH. IN THE PROCESS, SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN SADDLED WITH CONFLICTING MANDATES AND PRIORITIES AT THE STATE AND FEDERAL LEVELS, AND HAVE LOST SIGHT OF EXCELLENCE.

THIS PROBLEM DID NOT COME UPON US OVERNIGHT. THIS IS NO SUDDEN CRISIS. A TIDE RISES SLOWLY, AND THE UNRESTRAINED GROWTH OF MEDIOCRITY WHICH THREATENS OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE IS THE RESULT OF A FAILURE TO REMAIN STEADFAST IN THE GOAL OF CHALLENGING ALL STUDENTS TO PERFORM AT THE BOUNDARIES OF THEIR INDIVIDUAL ABILITIES. IT IS A FAILURE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN

A CURRICULUM WHICH OFFERS A SMORGASBORD OF CHOICES BUT NO INTELLECTUAL NOURISHMENT, A FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THAT EXCELLENCE IS NOT ATTAINED WITHOUT RIGOROUS STANDARDS, MEASUREMENT OF RESULTS, AND CENTRAL PURPOSE, AND THE MISBEGOTTEN VIEW THAT AMERICA'S WEALTH CAN CURE ANY PROBLEM. WE CANNOT CLAIM TO BE SERIOUS ABOUT HIGHER STANDARDS WHEN TWO-THIRDS OF OUR STATES REQUIRE ONLY ONE YEAR OF MATHEMATICS AND ONE YEAR OF SCIENCE FOR A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA.

SOME OF YOU IN THIS AUDIENCE MAY BELIEVE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO BEFRIEND EDUCATION. YOU MAY HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT WE ARE ANTI-EDUCATION, THAT OUR BUDGET REDUCTIONS -- IN THE INTEREST OF AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY -- HAVE BEEN DRACONIAN, THAT THE COMMITMENT OF THE PRESIDENT TO DISMANTLE THE DEPARTMENT IS SHORTSIGHTED.

I WANT TO QUOTE WHAT FORMER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE JOSEPH CALIFANO HAS TO SAY ABOUT EDUCATION IN RECOUNTING HIS EXPERIENCES IN THE CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENT. "I CAME TO HEW ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE EDUCATION IN AMERICA, AND DETERMINED TO STEP UP FEDERAL FUNDING SHARPLY. I LEFT," HE SAYS, "ALARMED OVER THE DETERIORATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AMERICA AND TROUBLED BY THE THREAT TO ACADEMIC FREEDOM THAT THE FEDERAL ROLE, ENLARGED AND SHAPED BY SPECIAL INTERESTS, POSES."

PLEASE NOTE THE PRESENT TENSE OF THE VERB "POSE." THIS ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO REDEFINING THE FEDERAL ROLE IN EDUCATION IN WAYS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF EDUCATORS AND PARENTS. PRESIDENT REAGAN REMARKED ON RECEIVING THE COMMISSION REPORT PRESENTED TO HIM AT THE WHITE HOUSE THAT HE WAS HEARTENED TO NOTE THAT ITS RECOMMENDATIONS ARE CONSISTENT WITH HIS PLEDGE TO REDEFINE OUR PRESENCE IN EDUCATION. THE COMMISSION'S REPORT OUTLINES A LEADERSHIP ROLE FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND A SPECIFIC ROLE IN PROTECTING CIVIL RIGHTS, EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE HANDICAPPED, STUDENT ASSISTANCE, AND KEY AREAS OF NATIONAL NEED. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE COMMISSION REPORTS, SHOULD IDENTIFY AND FUND PROGRAMS THAT ARE IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST IN EDUCATION.

THIS ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED, FOR THE EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED, TO STUDENT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, TO PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND THE MAJORITY ALIKE, TO RESEARCH IN KEY AREAS, AND TO THE LEADERSHIP FOR EXCELLENCE THE PRESIDENT HAS EXERCISED FOR YEARS. NO ONE SHOULD FORGET THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN CREATED THIS COMMISSION TO MAKE ITS REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IN AND OF ITSELF AN EXERCISE OF LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION THAT HAS NOT HAD ANY EQUAL IN WASHINGTON FOR YEARS.

JOSEPH CALIFANO CITED TWO FACTORS IN THE REASONS WHY HE LEFT HEW DISAPPOINTED OVER THE PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVING EDUCATION.

CALIFANO NOTED THAT HE WARNED PRESIDENT CARTER NOT TO CREATE A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION BECAUSE ANY SECRETARY OF EDUCATION WOULD BE SUBJECT TO DAILY PRESSURES FROM CONSTITUENCIES WHOSE NARROW INTEREST IN "PROTECTING PET PROGRAMS" WOULD CLASH WITH THE INTERESTS OF THOSE THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD SERVE -- STUDENTS.

CALIFANO BELIEVED, AND I SHOULD ADD STILL BELIEVES, THAT "THE PRESSURES OF LOCAL POLITICS, CLOSE TO PARENTS OF THE CHILDREN IN SCHOOL, ARE PREFERABLE TO THOSE OF NATIONAL POLITICS WHERE ORGANIZED GROUPS MORE EASILY LOSE SIGHT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE TEACHERS IN TEACHING AND CHILDREN IN LEARNING."

REDEFINING THE FEDERAL ROLE IN EDUCATION IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE. IT IS AN EDUCATIONAL ISSUE, AND IT MUST BE DONE IN WAYS THAT MEET THE EXCELLENCE COMMISSION'S GOALS OF "MINIMAL INTRUSION AND ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN" ON THE SCHOOLS. ONE OF THE ILLUMINATING FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION IS THAT TIME IN CLASS SHOULD BE SPENT ON LEARNING, AND THAT EDUCATORS SHOULD BE LEFT AS FREE AS POSSIBLE TO CONCENTRATE ON TEACHING AND LEARNING.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONSOLIDATION AND IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1981 MEETS THESE GOALS WITH ITS BLOCK GRANTS TO THE STATES. WITH THE PASSAGE OF THIS ACT IN 1981, 30 SETS OF REGULATIONS WERE REMOVED FROM THE FEDERAL REGISTER. 190,000 HOURS HAVE BEEN SAVED AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS IN COMPLETING APPLICATIONS,

AND 68,000 HOURS HAVE BEEN REDUCED FROM THE BURDEN OF FINANCIAL AND PERFORMANCE REPORTS TO WASHINGTON. \$1.8 MILLION DOLLARS HAVE BEEN SAVED, YET THIS IS WITH ONLY A HANDFUL OF THE PROGRAMS ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. FURTHER BLOCK GRANTS SUPPORT THE GOALS OUTLINED BY THE COMMISSION REPORT, WILL ASSIST THE STATES, RETURN EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING TO THE "PRESSURES OF LOCAL POLITICS" WHERE THE PARENTAL VOICE IS STRONGER, AND SPEED THE RECOVERY OF OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

NOR ARE TUITION TAX CREDITS FOR PARENTS WHOSE CHILDREN ARE ENROLLED IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS AT ODDS WITH THE COMMISSION'S CALL TO PARENTS TO HOLD THEIR ELECTED OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORMS. TUITION TAX CREDITS GIVE MIDDLE AND LOWER INCOME PARENTS THE POWERS THE AFFLUENT ALREADY POSSESS: TO CHOOSE THE SCHOOLS THEY BELIEVE OFFER THE BEST PREPARATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

MIDDLE AND LOWER INCOME PARENTS ARE DISPOSSESSED OF EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE OVER THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION BY VIRTUE OF THEIR INCOMES, CAUGHT BETWEEN THE HARD WEDGES OF A VISE WHEN IT COMES TO CHOICE OF SCHOOLS. WEALTHIER FAMILIES, AS THOSE OF YOU FAMILIAR WITH EDUCATIONAL ISSUES KNOW ALL TOO WELL, CAN AFFORD TO SELECT THEIR HOMES PARTLY BY NEIGHBORHOOD. DID ANY OF YOU FAIL TO ASK THE REALTOR WHETHER THE LOCAL SCHOOLS WERE GOOD BEFORE YOU BOUGHT YOUR HOUSE? IF YOU ARE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS CONSIDER YOURSELF LUCKY, DOUBLY SO IF YOU PURCHASED YOUR HOME BEFORE THE DISASTROUSLY HIGH INTEREST RATES LEFT BY THE

CARTER ADMINISTRATION WRECKED THE DREAM OF HOME OWNERSHIP FOR MILLIONS. YOU CAN AFFORD TO IN EFFECT SELECT GOOD SCHOOLS WHEN YOU DECIDE WHERE TO BUY. THOSE WITH LIMITED INCOMES CANNOT.

YOU CAN ALSO AFFORD TO PROVIDE YOUR CHILDREN WITH A PRIVATE EDUCATION IF YOU SENSE THAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN YOUR DISTRICT ARE NOT DOING THEIR JOB. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT IN THE NEXT SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION YOU WILL DO A BETTER JOB OF MAKING CERTAIN THAT PEOPLE WHO ARE COMMITTED TO EXCELLENCE WILL GET YOUR VOTE -- ALTHOUGH THIS IS A CRITICAL STEP IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM WHICH EVERY CITIZEN, WHETHER PARENT OR NOT, WHETHER A STUDENT IS IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SCHOOLS, WILL IGNORE AT HIS PERIL. YOU KNOW THAT IT CAN BE A FEW YEARS BEFORE THOSE ELECTIONS ARE HELD. IN THE MEANTIME, A CHILD CAPTIVE IN A POOR SCHOOL LOSES CRITICAL YEARS WHICH CANNOT BE REGAINED, YEARS IN WHICH THAT CHILD DESERVES A QUALITY EDUCATION.

IT SHOULD SURPRISE NO ONE THAT MINORITY PARENTS, FACED WITH DETERIORATING NEIGHBORHOODS AND INEFFECTIVE SCHOOLS, FAVOR TUITION TAX CREDITS BY A WIDE MARGIN. THEY KNOW THAT EDUCATION HOLDS THE KEY TO THE GOLDEN DOOR OF OPPORTUNITY FOR THEIR CHILDREN. IT IS MANIFESTLY UNFAIR TO BURDEN THESE FAMILIES WITH TAXES FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND THEN LIMIT THEIR EXERCISE OF ALTERNATIVES WITH PRIVATE TUITION FEES ON TOP OF KEEPING THE FAMILY TOGETHER BY PROVIDING FOR THE BASICS.

IT IS FINE FOR THOSE WHO ARE COMFORTABLE WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD THEY HAVE CHOSEN AND THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOL'S QUALITY TO ARGUE THAT TUITION TAX CREDITS ARE UNNECESSARY; BUT, IT IS ALSO THE HEIGHT OF HYPOCRISY TO DENY TO OTHERS WHAT WE CONSCIOUSLY CHOOSE FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN -- GOOD SCHOOLS.

WE MUST CONSTANTLY FIND AND SEEK OUT WAYS TO STRENGTHEN PARENTS' HANDS IN EDUCATION. THE SIMPLE PROSPECT OF EMPOWERING MIDDLE AND LOWER INCOME PARENTS TO CHOOSE ALTERNATIVES WILL FORCE PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS AND POLICYMAKERS TO PAY ATTENTION TO PARENTS AND TO IMPROVE QUALITY. MINORITY ECONOMISTS SUCH AS WALTER WILLIAMS AND THOMAS SOWELL ARGUE THIS POINT FORCEFULLY, BUT NOTHING BRINGS IT HOME SO MUCH AS A DRAMATIC REVERSAL IN BLACK PARENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION CITED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES POLL I MENTIONED EARLIER. FIVE YEARS AGO, LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF BLACK RESPONDENTS FELT EDUCATION HAD WORSENER. TODAY, MORE BLACK PARENTS BELIEVE EDUCATION IS WORSE THAN EVER BEFORE. IN INNER CITIES, MINORITY ENROLLMENTS IN PRIVATE EDUCATION HAVE RISEN STEADILY. IN MANY PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, MINORITY STUDENTS ARE NOW A MAJORITY. I CANNOT BUT WONDER HOW MANY OF THESE CHILDREN WOULD BE IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS IF THEY HAD MAINTAINED THEIR COMMITMENT TO QUALITY, AND I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT PROVIDING TUITION TAX CREDITS TO MIDDLE AND LOWER INCOME FAMILIES WILL FORCE REFORMS BY THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE COMPETITION WILL SPUR EXCELLENCE. SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS TOO MUST BE CHALLENGED

TO PERFORM AT THE BOUNDARIES OF THEIR INDIVIDUAL ABILITIES IF WE ARE TO HAVE EXCELLENCE, AND TUITION TAX CREDITS WILL GIVEN THEM THE INCENTIVE TO DO SO IF THEY WANT TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN THEIR STUDENTS.

TUITION TAX CREDITS WILL NOT HARM THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. NOT ONE CENT FOR TUITION TAX CREDITS CAN COME FROM FUNDS EARMARKED FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AT THE FEDERAL, STATE, OR LOCAL LEVELS. THE CREDITS SIMPLY ALLOW THE TAXPAYER TO KEEP SOME OF WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN EARNED, AND WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN OWED TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE, IN ORDER TO ALLEVIATE THE DUAL BURDEN OF TAXES THAT WILL CONTINUE TO BE PAID FOR THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND PRIVATE TUITION FEES.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ALSO PROPOSED AN OPTIONAL VOUCHER PROGRAM FOR EDUCATIONAL AID TO THE DISADVANTAGED UNDER TITLE I. THIS VOUCHER, WHICH CAN BE IMPLEMENTED AT THE STATE OR LOCAL LEVEL, ALLOWS THE PARENTS OF EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN TO APPLY THE BENEFITS OF FEDERAL AID TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS OTHER THAN THOSE TO WHICH THE STUDENT IS ASSIGNED, OR TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS. FOR OUR TITLE ONE SCHOOLS, THIS MEANS A CHALLENGE TO MEET THE TASK OF RESTORING QUALITY. THIS ALSO BRINGS EDUCATION A LITTLE CLOSER TO THE PRESSURES OF LOCAL POLITICS AND ENLISTS PARENTS IN THE STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME THE EDUCATIONAL BARRIERS THEIR CHILDREN FACE.

I HAVE SPOKEN AT LENGTH ABOUT THE FEDERAL ROLE, THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE, AND HOW OUR POLICIES MEET THE GOALS

OUTLINED IN THE COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE REPORT. LET ME ADD THAT I BELIEVE THE STATES WILL RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE AS WELL. ALREADY IN MICHIGAN THE 38 PERCENT INCOME TAX INCREASE SIGNED INTO LAW BY GOVERNOR BLANCHARD MEANS BETTER PROSPECTS FOR THE FINANCING OF EDUCATION IN MICHIGAN. FLORIDA, MISSISSIPPI, TENNESSEE, AND CALIFORNIA ALSO HAVE SERIOUS REFORMS UNDERWAY. THEIR ABILITY TO RAISE REVENUE FOR THE REFORMS HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC POLICIES.

FIRST, THIS JULY TAXPAYERS WILL RECEIVE THE FULL BENEFIT OF THE PRESIDENT'S 25 PERCENT REDUCTION IN FEDERAL INCOME TAXES. IF YOU CAN CONVINCE YOUR TAXPAYERS AND PARENTS THAT YOU ARE SERIOUS ABOUT EDUCATIONAL REFORM, THE RESOURCES ARE THERE TO CARRY THEM THROUGH. SECOND, THE ECONOMIC RECESSION WHICH WROUGHT HAVOC WITH STATE BUDGETS IS ENDING. THE INFLATION RATE FOR THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS IS UNDER FOUR PERCENT, IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION OF 1980. IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THIS YEAR, OUR GNP ROSE BY MORE THAN 3 PERCENT -- THE LARGEST QUARTERLY RISE IN TWO YEARS AND THE END OF FOUR YEARS OF "STAGFLATION." BEFORE THIS QUARTER, WHEN THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES TOOK HOLD, THERE HAD BEEN NO GROWTH IN THE GNP SINCE 1979.

HOUSING STARTS ARE UP TO AN ANNUAL RATE OF MORE THAN 1.7 MILLION. AUTO SALES IN APRIL WERE UP 32.5% OVER THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR. MORTGAGE RATES ARE AT THEIR LOWEST POINT

IN TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS, AND THE STOCK MARKET SEEMS TO REACH NEW RECORDS EVERY MONTH. UNEMPLOYMENT IS STILL TOO HIGH BUT IS FINALLY DROPPING. WE ARE ENTERING A PERIOD OF LASTING, NON-INFLATIONARY GROWTH THAT WILL MEAN A SOLID FISCAL BASE FOR EDUCATION. I MIGHT MENTION THAT PER-PUPIL SPENDING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IS PROJECTED TO INCREASE TEN PERCENT THIS SCHOOL YEAR, WELL AHEAD OF THE RATE OF INFLATION, AT LAST.

BUT TO UNITE THESE FACTORS INTO A DRIVING FORCE FOR EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT -- PARENTAL DEMANDS AND AWARENESS, THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT, AN IMPROVING ECONOMY -- STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS MUST TAKE SPECIFIC STEPS. THEY MUST BE ASSERTIVE, BOLD, AND PREPARED TO OVERCOME CERTAIN POLITICAL OPPOSITION FROM ENTRENCHED INTERESTS WHO TREMBLE AT ANY PROSPECT OF A CHANGE IN THE STATUS QUO.

FIRST, TAKE A GOOD LONG HARD LOOK AT THE BLUEPRINT FOR REFORM IN THE EXCELLENCE COMMISSION'S REPORT. THIRTY-TWO SPECIFIC STEPS ARE OUTLINED, AND I CHALLENGE ANYONE IN THIS AUDIENCE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THESE REFORMS ARE COSTLY. THEY ARE NOT. THE COMMISSION HAS THROWN A GLARING LIGHT ON THE FAILURE OF EDUCATION TO MEASURE UP TO EXPECTATIONS, AND WHAT STANDS IN BOLD ILLUMINATION AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF POOR QUALITY ARE POOR POLICIES. THE COMMISSION'S REFORMS ARE BY AND LARGE ISSUES OF POLICY, NOT PRICE.

RAISING COLLEGE ADMISSION STANDARDS, STRENGTHENING HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS, IMPLEMENTING THE FIVE NEW BASICS, EASING THE REGULATORY BURDEN ON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, ASSIGNING MORE HOMEWORK, CHANGING TEACHER TRAINING AND CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS TO REFLECT MORE ACADEMIC COURSEWORK INSTEAD OF EDUCATIONAL METHODOLOGY -- WILL THESE COST THE BILLIONS NEA PRESIDENT WILLARD McGUIRE ASKS FOR? NO. WE SPEND THOSE BILLIONS NOW, BUT NEED TO LEARN THE LESSON THAT ANY INVESTMENT PORTFOLIO, POORLY MANAGED, WILL NOT YIELD THE EXPECTED DIVIDENDS.

MERIT PAY FOR TEACHERS IS A MUST. THERE IS NOT ONE STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY WHICH PAYS TEACHERS ONE PENNY MORE FOR DOING A GOOD JOB AT WHAT THEY WERE HIRED TO DO: TEACH. TEACHER SALARIES ARE DETERMINED BY THE AMOUNT OF TIME THEY HAVE SPENT IN THE CLASSROOM AND THE ACADEMIC CREDENTIALS THEY CAN AMASS DURING THEIR CAREERS. MAYBE THIS IS WHY THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA FOUND THAT 6 OUT OF 10 OF ITS MOST ACADEMICALLY ABLE TEACHERS PLAN TO LEAVE THE PROFESSION AFTER ONLY A FEW YEARS, WHILE 6 OUT OF 10 OF ITS LEAST ABLE TEACHERS INTEND TO STAY ON IN THE CLASSROOM. WE NEED TO BUILD INCENTIVES INTO THE TEACHING PROFESSION BY REWARDING COMPETENCE, DIAGNOSING THROUGH COMPETENCY TESTS THOSE TEACHERS WHO NEED EXTRA HELP, AND MAKING IT EASIER TO REMOVE THOSE WHO DO NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY SKILLS TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE TEACHING OF OUR CHILDREN.

SOME COMMENTATORS CLAIM THAT THIS WILL TAKE ADDITIONAL BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. WELL, THE LADUE SCHOOL DISTRICT IN MISSOURI HAS HAD A MERIT PAY PROGRAM IN PLACE SINCE 1954. THE TOP PAID TEACHERS MAKE \$40,000 A YEAR, AND THE LOCAL TAXPAYERS SUPPORT THE SYSTEM. IF SOME SCHOOLS CAN DO IT, MORE CAN. IT TAKES A REALIGNMENT OF PRIORITIES IN TEACHER PAY. IT ALSO TAKES A SYSTEM LIKE THAT USED IN HIGHER EDUCATION, WHERE THE TEACHERS THEMSELVES HAVE SOME SAY IN HOW MERITORIOUS TEACHERS ARE CHOSEN AND REWARDED.

PROVIDING MERIT PAY FOR TEACHERS WILL COST MONEY, AND SO WILL LENGTHENING THE SCHOOL YEAR, AS THE COMMISSION URGES. I BELIEVE THAT GOVERNORS MUST BRAVE THE OPPOSITION OF TEACHER UNION LEADERS, APPEAL TO THE PROFESSIONALISM OF TEACHERS THEMSELVES, AND RECOMMEND THAT STATE LEGISLATURES ESTABLISH NEW LAWS TO PROVIDE INCENTIVES FOR MASTER TEACHER SALARIES, FOR CURRICULUM REFORM, AND FOR MORE TIME TO LEARN. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN BE PHASED IN BY INCREMENTS, WITH EACH YEAR'S BUDGET.

I BELIEVE THAT EVERY SCHOOL BOARD IN OUR COUNTRY SHOULD SET HARD-NOSED POLICIES THAT SPELL OUT WHAT IS EXPECTED OF STUDENTS, PARENTS, AND FACULTY. THEY OUGHT TO PRESCRIBE THE COURSEWORK THAT IS REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION, HAVE COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATIONS TO MEASURE THE RESULTS, AND POLICIES TO REWARD DISTINGUISHED PERFORMANCE IN TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND PARENTS.

WE CAN'T AFFORD A DON'T BLAME YOU, DON'T BLAME ME, BLAME-
THAT-FELLOW-BEHIND-THE-TREE APPROACH TO PASSING THE BUCK
FROM GOVERNORS TO MAYORS, LEGISLATURES TO SCHOOL BOARDS,
SCHOOL BOARDS TO SUPERINTENDENTS, SUPERINTENDENTS TO PRINCIPALS
AND PRINCIPALS TO TEACHERS AND TEACHERS TO PARENTS. THE
COMMISSION HAS ADVICE FOR PARENTS, FOR STUDENTS, FOR EDUCATORS,
AND FOR POLICYMAKERS, BUT I WILL TAKE A LITTLE LICENSE WITH
THE BOTTOM LINE: WE MUST SET STANDARDS WHICH CHALLENGE
EVERYONE TO PERFORM AT THE BOUNDARIES OF THEIR ABILITY.
THAT, IN A WORD, IS EXCELLENCE. THOSE OF YOU WHO STUDIED
WALTER MONDAY'S QUICK-FIX SOLUTION FOR EDUCATION DELIVERED
AT HARVARD RECENTLY MAY HAVE NOTICED A VIOLATION OF THE
FIRST RULE OF SCHOLARSHIP: NOWHERE IN HIS ADDRESS DOES
WALTER MONDALE, WHO CLAIMS TO HAVE EDUCATION AS HIS FOREMOST
CONCERN, EVER ATTEMPT TO DEFINE EXCELLENCE AND HOW TO
ATTAIN IT.

PRESIDENT REAGAN CHARACTERIZED EXCELLENCE IN 1978 AS AN
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM DEDICATED TO ACHIEVEMENT. THE COMMISSION
HAS REAFFIRMED THAT DEFINITION. I JUST OFFERED IT TO YOU
IN A NUTSHELL. WE ARE NOT PROPOSING AN ELITIST SYSTEM OF
EDUCATION. WE ARE PROPOSING THAT GIFTED AND TALENTED
STUDENTS, SLOW LEARNERS, THE AVERAGE, THEIR TEACHERS AND
EDUCATION ADMINISTRATORS REDEDICATE THEMSELVES TO DOING THEIR
BEST WITH THE RESOURCES THIS COUNTRY PROVIDES FOR EDUCATION.

THE FEDERAL EDUCATION BUDGET FOR THE CURRENT YEAR IS LEVEL-FUNDED BECAUSE PRESIDENT REAGAN RECOGNIZED THE IMPACT OF THE RECESSION ON SCHOOL BUDGETS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. I SAY BUDGET, WHEN IN FACT WE ARE OPERATING UNDER A CONTINUING RESOLUTION, A PECULIAR CREATION OF THE CONGRESS WHICH MIRRORS THE BUCK-PASSING GAME I OUTLINED A MOMENT AGO. A CONTINUING RESOLUTION SIMPLY KEEPS SPENDING GOING ACCORDING TO PAST BUDGET PRIORITIES, ALTHOUGH IF YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO THE CONGRESS LATELY YOU WILL HAVE NOTICED THAT MOST OF THE DISCUSSION OF EDUCATION IS ABOUT NEW CHALLENGES. IF THE CONGRESS IS SERIOUS IN ITS COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION, ITS FIRST TASK IN RESTORING EXCELLENCE IS TO GO TO WORK WITH THE PRESIDENT IN SETTING AN ESTABLISHED BUDGET. THE BUDGETARY AUTHORITY OF THE CONGRESS IS ONE OF ITS PRINCIPAL POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, YET THAT AUTHORITY HAS YET TO BE RESPONSIBLY EXERCISED IN GIVING US AN EDUCATION BUDGET.

BUT THAT IS A PROBLEM PECULIAR TO WASHINGTON, D.C. AND I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THERE ARE OTHER STEPS STATES AND LOCAL OFFICIALS CAN TAKE NOW TO BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THESE REFORMS. GOVERNORS SHOULD APPOINT BLUE-RIBBON TASK FORCES IN EVERY STATE, COMPOSED OF LEADING CITIZENS AND EDUCATORS, TO GO ABOUT SETTING PRIORITIES FOR IMPLEMENTING THE COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE REFORMS. ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS THESE PANELS SHOULD DO IS GET THOSE BASICS BACK INTO THE CURRICULUM. WHEN THIRTY-FIVE OF OUR FIFTY STATES REQUIRE ONLY ONE YEAR

OF MATHEMATICS AND ONE YEAR OF SCIENCE FOR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, THEY CANNOT GO TO THE TAXPAYERS AND PLEAD FOR MORE MONEY TO SUPPORT QUALITY EDUCATION.

THE CITIZEN TASK FORCES SHOULD OVERSEE THE EFFORTS OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN CHANGING THE EDUCATION REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHERS, UPGRADING HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS, AND GUIDANCE FOR LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS AND SUPERINTENDENTS IN MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF EXCELLENCE.

FINALLY, THE GOVERNORS SHOULD USE THEIR FINDINGS FOR A STATE OF EDUCATION REPORT EACH YEAR. THE PUBLIC DESERVES TO KNOW WHETHER THEIR ELECTED OFFICIALS WILL ACKNOWLEDGE AND MEET THE CHALLENGE OF IMPROVING THE SCHOOLS. RHETORIC CANNOT MATCH PERFORMANCE, AND THIS REPORT SHOULD DEMONSTRATE WHAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN, AND WHAT RESULTS ACHIEVED, IN REVERSING THE RISING TIDE OF MEDIOCRITY.

PARENTS WILL FUEL DEMANDS FOR EXCELLENCE. EDUCATION MUST MEET THE CHALLENGE, OR RISK LOSING AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW QUALITY AND CAPTURE PUBLIC SUPPORT. IN THE MONTHS AND DAYS AHEAD THE PRESIDENT WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR REFORM AND FOR EXCELLENCE. WE WILL DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO STRENGTHEN THE ROLE OF PARENTS IN THEIR CHILDREN'S

EDUCATION, AND TO RAISE THEIR EXPECTATIONS FOR REFORM. THOSE IN EDUCATION MAY HAVE IGNORED OR SHRUGGED OFF THE SUBTLE INDICATIONS OF DECLINING QUALITY OVER THE YEARS, BUT NONE OF US CAN NOW IGNORE THE TIDAL WAVE OF PARENTAL DEMAND THAT WE DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. OUR CHALLENGE IS TO BE ON THE CREST OF THAT WAVE.

EDUCATION IN OUR COUNTRY IS THE KEY TO OPPORTUNITY, TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF MERIT, TO THE STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THE VITALITY OF OUR REPUBLIC. ITS DECLINE MEANS THAT THE NATION IS AT RISK: PARENTS WILL NOT TOLERATE THAT RISK ANY LONGER. NOR, I HOPE, WILL YOU.

#

Commission on Excellence in Education Report -- Does Implementation
Require More Funding?

A central thrust of the Commission on Excellence in Education report is moving to a more rigorous and demanding curriculum for America's students. The report noted how requirements have changed in the last half century.

- o In the 1930's, the industrial arts requirements for high-school graduation were 4 years of English, 2 years of higher math, 2 years of science, 3 years of history, and 1 year of Government.
- o Presently, thirty-five of our States require only 1 year of math for a high-school diploma, and 36 require only 1 year of science.
- o The National Commission on Excellence in Education recommends the following requirements for graduation: 4 years of English; 3 years of mathematics; 3 years of science; 3 years of social studies; and 1/2 year of computer science.

Significantly, the majority of the recommendations made by the Commission could be implemented by local school boards in the next school year with little, if any, new funding required. These recommendations include:

- o Assigning more homework for students and strengthening discipline codes.
- o Filling the present school day with academic instruction rather than electives and so called "frill courses".
- o Accrediting teachers through rigorous testing of general intelligence and knowledge in specific subject matter. Teachers should have to pass stringent state teacher exams to determine their fitness to teach.
- o Pasing salaries on performance and need. High quality learning comes from high quality teaching. And high quality teachers ought to be paid what they are worth.
- o Limiting federal funding and regulation of education.

The letter to parents in the Commission report states in part: "...help your children understand that excellence in education cannot be achieved without intellectual and moral integrity coupled with hard work and commitment."

The implementation of the major recommendations of the Commission on Excellence Report are possible now. It simply requires the reordering of priorities, and the determination to act.

Office of Policy Development
June 3, 1983

An Increased Federal Role is Not the Way to Achieve Quality Education

In a 1982 Gallop Poll 52% of those surveyed want the Federal Government to have less influence in determining the educational program of the public schools and 45% of parents interviewed would send their children to a private school if the tuition were free.

Education is in essence a local, private matter and can be most effectively handled at those levels. Interestingly, forty seven studies of achievements of students in Title I (compensatory education) with a cumulative federal expenditure of over \$37 billion have shown that there is little significant sustained academic improvement over nonparticipants. The least costly models often result in the greatest academic gain.

Many federal funding programs have simply failed to produce improved performance. Paradoxically, those who have demanded and continue to demand federal programs and funding are now prominent in the ranks of those who react with dismay at the results.

Public education represents the largest single tax-based system of cash flow in the U.S. The 1982 expenditure for defense was \$179 billion, while the 1982 education cost was \$215 billion (10% Federal), more than 20 times the amount spent in 1945. During the decade of the 1970's, five million fewer students required 200,000 more teachers and 66 billion more constant dollars to provide them an education.

Based on various Gallup polls conducted over the past ten years what parents want for their children is:

- o Vandalism-free and violence-free schools;
- o A carefully structured curriculum which emphasizes reading, writing, phonics, spelling, penmanship, mathematics, geography, history, science, art, music, and physical education;
- o Training in good citizenship through student government, civics, teaching of patriotism and leadership;
- o Positive character training through the teaching of courtesy, respect for self and for the rights of others, kindness, integrity and honesty.

Achieving these objectives does not require greatly increased expenditures. Nor does it require central direction from Washington. What it does require is concerned parents, dedicated teachers, and able administrators committed to working together to achieve these goals.

Office of Policy Development
June 3, 1983

- o Myth: "This Administration has made massive cuts in Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL) and grants to those seeking higher education."

Facts:-New Pell grant proposals increased by almost \$300 million.
-Over 2.6 million students and parents obtained \$5.9 billion GSLs in 1982, \$6.6 billion in 1983 and \$7.2 billion in 1984, a 22% increase in just two years.

- o Myth: "Public schools are suffering under Reagan Administration policies."

Facts:-Reducing inflation and stabilizing the national economy has slowed the growth in public education costs.
-Proposed federal funding for disadvantaged and handicapped children in public schools is \$4.1 billion, the highest level of funding in the history of the programs.

- o Myth "Women and blacks have been harmed by the Administration's education program."

Facts:-Women receive more individual awards in all student aid programs and receive higher average awards in all programs except Guaranteed Loans.
-A much larger proportion of blacks receive student aid (34%) than their proportion of higher education enrollment (10%).

- o Myth: "School prayer will violate individual freedom of choice among students."

Fact: The Prayer Amendment would restore the freedom to choose to pray in public schools and institutions.

- o Myth: "A voucher program will adversely affect the poor and educationally disadvantaged."

Fact: Vouchers would give parents of the educationally deprived more schooling options for their children, at the same time complying with all Federal civil rights laws.

- o Myth: "Education block grants are ineffective."

Fact: The Administration has removed 30 sets of regulations at the state and local level; 191,000 person hours required to complete applications have been removed; 68,390 person hours have been removed to complete financial and performance requirements.

- o Myth: "Tuition tax credits will benefit only the rich."

Fact: Fifty percent of private school pupils come from families with incomes below \$25,000. These families will gain more choice as a result of this proposal.

The Administration's programs are helping not harming the quality of education in America. Moreover, these programs and proposals are expanding opportunity and choice for parents and students.

Mondale Outlines School Plan To Meet Educators' Critique

By DUDLEY CLENDINEN

Special to The New York Times

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 9 — Walter F. Mondale came to Harvard today to attack President Reagan's response to a Federal commission's report on the plight of American education and to announce the Mondale solution: An \$11 billion program of Federal aid with an emphasis on local control.

Charging that President Reagan has "turned his back on the country, its children and its future," the Democratic former Vice President called for a national "fund for excellence" to correct the grave decline in educational quality cited by the commission.

"Two weeks ago, the National Commission on Excellence in Education presented its report to President Reagan," Mr. Mondale said at a news conference at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. "In response, the President slapped them in the face."

The commission report warned that the "educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and as a people." The commission called for tougher requirements in basic high school subjects, higher college admission standards, longer school days, more homework, higher teacher salaries and financial incentives to persuade "outstanding students" to become teachers.

The Reagan Administration has cut back on financial aid in a broad number of educational programs, and after accepting the report of the commission, appointed by the Administration 21 months ago, the President said he did not plan any new costly initiatives to deal with the problems it had described.

Instead, he urged again the need for tuition tax credits, educational savings accounts, voluntary school prayer and the abolition of the Department of Education.

Mr. Mondale, who has made education an issue for years and is a leading contender for his party's Presidential nomination, said in a position paper:

"Unless we act boldly, our nation's position in the world will decline. Unless we recommit our schools, colleges and research centers to excellence, no strategy to get America's competitive edge back has a chance to succeed."

He Defers to Communities

The Mondale proposal embraced the spirit and main recommendations of the commission report, but attempted to strike an image of balance between Federal money and local control. The proposal identified specific areas where new funds were needed in the educational system, but claimed to defer to local communities the responsibility for deciding what excellence means, and how the money should be spent.

"They can deal with this in the ways that they think can best achieve excellence in their communities," Mr. Mondale said. "I'm not going to try to define excellence for them."

As President, Mr. Mondale said, he would ask every community to create its own commission on excellence in education, and those commissions would identify the needs of the local schools. But Mr. Mondale's plan calls for most of the Federal funds to be spent at the college and graduate school level, and the public school funds are all seem to be earmarked to help poor and disadvantaged students.



Associated Press

Walter F. Mondale speaking yesterday in Cambridge, Mass.

University research facilities in math, chemistry, astrophysics and earth sciences need \$4.5 billion to be modernized, Mr. Mondale said.

Another \$3 billion should go into expanding the Title I assistance program for disadvantaged children in the public schools, he said, to strengthen bilingual education and programs for handicapped children, to enforce the civil rights laws, and to expand talent search programs "to identify more talented low-income students and help them go on to college."

**FRESH IDEA:
GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND**

CLASSIFIED ADS
work better for you in
The New York Times
Call (212) 354-3900

Energy Dept. Accused Of Payments Violation

WASHINGTON, May 9 (AP) — The Energy Department paid more than \$32,000 in living expenses to a staff lawyer in apparent violation of Federal personnel regulations, Representative Albert Gore Jr. said today.

Mr. Gore, a Tennessee Democrat, said the payments were made to J. Michael Tabor, a lawyer who was technically assigned to the department's Dallas office but actually worked in Washington.

Mr. Gore said that from October 1981 to last January, the agency paid for \$26,000 of Mr. Tabor's expenses in Washington, including \$7,500 in apartment and hotel bills, \$11,000 in meals, \$1,000 in laundry costs and \$1,000 in commuting expenses. In addition, the Congressman said, Mr. Tabor received \$6,945 for air travel, including weekend trips to Dallas and other trips to Tulsa, Okla., Phoenix, Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York.

In a letter to Energy Secretary Donald P. Hodel, Mr. Gore called the travel reimbursement "an outrageous example of waste and mismanagement and total disregard for D.O.E. and Federal personnel manual requirements regarding the travel and the detailing of employees."

Mr. Tabor was said to be not immediately available to talk to a reporter. Jim Merna, an Energy Department spokesman, said the department had received the letter but probably would not respond until a subcommittee hearing scheduled for May 23.

Edith Imre

MALE EVER
RONA
W/NEER

ic portable with one-
memory correction,
eed cushion, snap-in
printwheels.

ORIGINALLY
\$595.95
NOW ONLY
\$349.95*

ORONAMATIC®
2500

Made in
U.S.A.

155 2nd STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011
(212) 244-2388

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
 CRAIG L. FULLER
 DAVID R. GERGEN

FROM: RICHARD G. DARMAN *Rich*

SUBJECT: Education Briefing Kit

You may recall that -- what perhaps seems to have been a decade ago -- I promised to do a brief summary of our education program. The intent was to have this available as a complement to detailed fact sheets on individual elements of the program.

I suggested the paper ought to be a 2-pager. In the intervening decade and a half, the problem has grown so large that I have had to take the first 3 pages to describe it (lifting freely from the Commission report). So you will find the 2-pager attached as pages 4 and 5.

I forward this now for whatever use it may be in the further development of PR materials. (You'll recall that it was due by June 15th. So, whatever else may be said of it, it's early.)

EDUCATION

(A) THE PROBLEM:

With the President's approval, the Secretary of Education established the "National Commission On Excellence in Education." The bipartisan Commission confirmed what the President and many others had suspected: American education is not living up to the standards of excellence Americans should expect and demand.

(1) "A Nation At Risk"

The Commission cited the following as indicators of America's being "A Nation At Risk":

- International comparisons of student achievement reveal that on 19 academic tests American students were never first or second and, in comparison with other industrialized nations, were last seven times.
- Some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate by the simplest tests of everyday reading, writing, and comprehension.
- About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate. Functional illiteracy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent.
- Average achievement of high school students on most standardized tests is now lower than 26 years ago when Sputnik was launched.
- Over half the population of gifted students do not match their tested ability with comparable achievement in school.
- The College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) demonstrate a virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980. Average verbal scores fell over 50 points and average mathematics scores dropped nearly 40 points.
- College Board achievement tests also reveal consistent declines in recent years in such subjects as physics and English.
- Both the number and proportion of students demonstrating superior achievement on the SATs (i.e., those with scores of 650 or higher) have also dramatically declined.
- Many 17-year-olds do not possess the "higher order" intellectual skills we should expect of them. Nearly 40 percent cannot draw inferences from written material; only one-fifth can write a persuasive essay; and only one-third can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps.

- There was a steady decline in science achievement scores of U.S. 17-year-olds as measured by national assessments of science in 1969, 1973, and 1977.
- Between 1975 and 1980, remedial mathematics courses in public 4-year colleges increased by 72 percent and now constitute one-quarter of all mathematics courses taught in those institutions.
- Average tested achievement of students graduating from college is also lower.
- Business and military leaders complain that they are required to spend millions of dollars on costly remedial education and training programs in such basic skills as reading, writing, spelling, and computation.

(2) Declining Standards

The Commission also cited the following as indicators of declining standards:

- Secondary school curricula have been homogenized, diluted, and diffused to the point that they no longer have a central purpose.
- The amount of homework for high school seniors has decreased (two-thirds report less than 1 hour a night) and grades have risen as average student achievement has been declining.
- A 1980 State-by-State survey of high school diploma requirements reveals that only eight States require high schools to offer foreign language instruction, but none requires students to take the courses. Thirty-five States require only 1 year of mathematics, and 36 require only 1 year of science for a diploma.
- "Minimum competency" examinations (now required in 37 States) fall short of what is needed, as the "minimum" tends to become the "maximum," thus lowering educational standards for all.
- One-fifth of all 4-year public colleges in the United States must accept every high school graduate within the State regardless of program followed or grades.
- In England and other industrialized countries, it is not unusual for academic high school students to spend 8 hours a day at school, 220 days per year. In the United States, by contrast, the typical school day lasts 6 hours and the school year is 180 days.
- In many schools, the time spent learning how to cook and drive counts as much toward a high school diploma as the time spent studying mathematics, English, chemistry, U.S. history, or biology.

- A study of the school week in the United States found that some schools provided students only 17 hours of academic instruction during the week, and the average school provided about 22.
- In most schools, the teaching of study skills is haphazard and unplanned. Consequently, many students complete high school and enter college without disciplined and systematic study habits.
- Too many teachers are being drawn from the bottom quarter of graduating high school and college students.
- The teacher preparation curriculum is weighted heavily with courses in "educational methods" at the expense of courses in subjects to be taught.
- Half of the newly employed mathematics, science, and English teachers are not qualified to teach these subjects; fewer than one-third of U.S. high schools offer physics taught by qualified teachers.

(B) WHERE THE SOLUTION IS NOT TO BE FOUND

The solution is not to be found in a return to the discredited policies of "throwing federal money at the problem." Indeed, the problem has increased in spite of the following facts:

- The total expenditure for all levels of education in the U.S. has increased more than 600% during the past 20 years, from \$29.3 billion in 1961-62 to \$215.0 billion in 1982-83.
- Education spending represented 3.4% of the GNP in 1951 and 7.0% in 1982-83.
- Total public per pupil expenditures have nearly doubled in constant, non-inflated dollars during the past 20 years.
- The average annual salary of instructional staff in public schools increased (in non-inflated dollars) from \$16,418 in 1961-62 to an estimated \$20,114 in 1981-82, a 23% increase during the past 20 years.
- From 1951-1981, the number of public school students increased 75% but the number of teachers increased 157%.

(C) WHERE THE SOLUTION IS TO BE FOUND

The Commission and the President believe that the solution to this problem can best be advanced by focusing attention on two basic themes:

- (1) "BACK TO BASICS: EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION" and
- (2) "A BROADER VISION: THE LEARNING SOCIETY."

The first theme -- back to basics -- underlines the importance of both basic educational standards and basic educational values. It emphasizes:

- basic skills;
- basic discipline;
- basic standards of, and rewards for, excellence;
- basic attention to parental involvement and local control.

The second theme -- the broader vision of a learning society -- reflects an appreciation that education is not simply the province and responsibility of the schools. It is also, inescapably, the province of:

- the home,
- the church,
- the community, and
- the workplace.

Education for excellence in a fast-changing world demands attention to basics both in the schools and in the larger social context.

(D) ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

(1) To advance the pursuit of excellence, the President strongly endorses the basic recommendations of the Commission:

- that state and local high school graduation requirements be strengthened -- giving special emphasis to the "New Basics" (English, math, science, social studies, and computer science);
- that schools, colleges, and universities adopt more rigorous and measurable standards;
- that significantly more time be devoted to learning the New Basics;
- that the preparation of teachers be improved and the rewards for teacher excellence be increased; and
- that citizens hold educators and elected officials responsible for implementing necessary reforms -- recognizing that school officials must lead in developing community support, and that states and localities have the primary responsibility for school finance.

(2) To help reform the education system -- in areas where the federal government can make a direct contribution -- the President has advanced these programmatic initiatives:

- tuition tax credits -- to strengthen the pluralistic character of the educational system, while also providing competitive incentives for excellence;
- education vouchers -- to give parents more power and discretion in assuring that educationally disadvantaged students receive the best possible compensatory services;
- grants for improved teaching of math and science -- to prepare for the rapidly changing world of high technology and a services-oriented economy; and
- education savings accounts -- to provide tax incentives to help middle and lower income parents save for future investment in their children's education.

(3) To provide visible leadership for responsible educational reform, in those areas where the primary responsibility is at the local level, the President is highlighting programs and performance that merit special commendation:

- merit pay programs to reward especially able and skilled teachers;
- "adopt-a-school" programs to bring the worlds of work and education more closely together;
- Presidential awards for scholastic fitness to reestablish respect for standards of excellent performance; and
- a "National Diffusion Network" to identify exemplary education programs and help foster their widespread adoption.

(4) To strengthen the communities and workplaces that are both supportive of and supported by school-based education, the President is also advancing programs to:

- reduce drug abuse and crime;
- increase employment in areas of high youth unemployment; and
- improve job training and retraining.

Details on these initiatives are available as supplements to this summary.

1. Education is fast becoming a front page issue. 85% of Americans regard improvements in education as a top national priority. The Commission on Excellence's report has given this a hook; and there have been many editorials and commentaries, including a recent speech by Walter Mondale.

2. The President has been criticized for responding to all of this by speaking only about prayer and tuition tax credits. Also, some have seized the report as an excuse to argue for greater Federal spending. There is more that can be said.

3. President should be positive, upbeat about education; cognizant of report's findings and recommendations; and offer his own positive recommendations.

4. Points to be made:

- The bad news: We know that achievement scores have been declining steadily and dramatically over the last 15 years, despite the fact that we spend more money per child for education than does any other country in the world; and this decline has paralleled increased Federal involvement and expenditures. BUT

- Many Americans know the bad news and are acting on it. Our capacities for self renewal are becoming more and more evident.

- States and local authorities are moving to set things right. There is a great deal of positive activity going on. Americans are taking their educational fate into their own hands.

- Evidence of this is (a) increased emphasis all over the country on the basics, on competency testing, on raising standards; (b) states are making initiatives and raising revenues to support improvements -- witness efforts in Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina and others; (c) there is a shift in the general mood and in the governing ideas about education. We are returning to an emphasis on basics and abandoning what more and more recognize to be empty ideas of the recent past.

- There is a free choice/parental choice agenda This involves tax credits, vouchers, prayer, bible reading. Continue to press for these. But in addition, we should speak about a good schools agenda: for all schools, public and private, improvements can be made if local officials and parents want them, which will not require more Federal funding and with it greater Federal involvement and interference.

- We know what makes for good schools: leadership from superintendents and principals, discipline, homework, testing, and time on tasks. Many improvements therefore can be made without increased Federal funding and only modest increases in local and state support.

- Most Americans feel teachers should be rewarded on the basis of merit and competence. This is not the position of the NEA, the country's largest teachers' lobby and union, nor is it the position of Mr. Mondale. This is the weak point in the Mondale/NEA view, and where they are most vulnerable. We should emphasize that excellence should be rewarded and incompetence not rewarded.

- Mondale's point recommending block grants for excellence for the states is sound enough, but he is a Johnny-come-lately on this point. This is the kind of suggestion liberals would have screamed about years ago.

- The Administration should meet with responsible public school officials such as AFT, NASSP, and the School Boards Associations, stipulating that they may not agree on the free choice/parental choice agenda but there is much to be talked about on the good schools agenda (AFT is a much more sensible organization than is NEA).

- Consider the possibility of a nationally televised address in which the President speaks to the children of America about education, values, homework, television and their teachers. Consider as well instituting a yearly report by the Secretary of Education on the State of the Union in educational achievement, a "how are we doing" report.

- We must emphasize that education is critical to America because not only do we need education to become competitive economically and in terms of military security and technology advance, but in addition because our educational system is the way our democracy works. We educate in service of the ideal of liberty, for the exercise of free citizenship. Our system is a threat to radical regimes.

- Finally, it is critical that the great momentum by this report and the deep and abiding interest of the American people in education be seen as an asset to this Administration, not a challenge to it. The Commission report, its recommendations, and the values that lie under it, are much more consonant with the President's view of the world than that of the liberal Democrats. This is an issue for this Administration to gain on, not one for the Democrats.

1. Education is fast becoming a front page issue. 85% of Americans regard improvements in education as a top national priority. The Commission on Excellence's report has given this a hook; and there have been many editorials and commentaries, including a recent speech by Walter Mondale.

2. The President has been criticized for responding to all of this by speaking only about prayer and tuition tax credits. Also, some have seized the report as an excuse to argue for greater Federal spending. There is more that can be said.

3. President should be positive, upbeat about education; cognizant of report's findings and recommendations; and offer his own positive recommendations.

4. Points to be made:

- The bad news: We know that achievement scores have been declining steadily and dramatically over the last 15 years, despite the fact that we spend more money per child for education than does any other country in the world; and this decline has paralleled increased Federal involvement and expenditures. BUT

- Many Americans know the bad news and are acting on it. Our capacities for self renewal are becoming more and more evident.

- States and local authorities are moving to set things right. There is a great deal of positive activity going on. Americans are taking their educational fate into their own hands.

- Evidence of this is (a) increased emphasis all over the country on the basics, on competency testing, on raising standards; (b) states are making initiatives and raising revenues to support improvements -- witness efforts in Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina and others; (c) there is a shift in the general mood and in the governing ideas about education. We are returning to an emphasis on basics and abandoning what more and more recognize to be empty ideas of the recent past.

- There is a free choice/parental choice agenda. This involves tax credits, vouchers, prayer, bible reading. Continue to press for these. But in addition, we should speak about a good schools agenda: for all schools, public and private, improvements can be made if local officials and parents want them, which will not require more Federal funding and with it greater Federal involvement and interference.

- We know what makes for good schools: leadership from superintendents and principals, discipline, homework, testing, and time on tasks. Many improvements therefore can be made without increased Federal funding and only modest increases in local and state support.

- Most Americans feel teachers should be rewarded on the basis of merit and competence. This is not the position of the NEA, the country's largest teachers' lobby and union, nor is it the position of Mr. Mondale. This is the weak point in the Mondale/NEA view, and where they are most vulnerable. We should emphasize that excellence should be rewarded and incompetence not rewarded.

- Mondale's point recommending block grants for excellence for the states is sound enough, but he is a Johnny-come-lately on this point. This is the kind of suggestion liberals would have screamed about years ago.

- The Administration should meet with responsible public school officials such as AFT, NASSP, and the School Boards Associations, stipulating that they may not agree on the free choice/parental choice agenda but there is much to be talked about on the good schools agenda (AFT is a much more sensible organization than is NEA).

- Consider the possibility of a nationally televised address in which the President speaks to the children of America about education, values, homework, television and their teachers. Consider as well instituting a yearly report by the Secretary of Education on the State of the Union in educational achievement, a "how are we doing" report.

- We must emphasize that education is critical to America because not only do we need education to become competitive economically and in terms of military security and technology advance, but in addition because our educational system is the way our democracy works. We educate in service of the ideal of liberty, for the exercise of free citizenship. Our system is a threat to radical regimes.

- Finally, it is critical that the great momentum by this report and the deep and abiding interest of the American people in education be seen as an asset to this Administration, not a challenge to it. The Commission report, its recommendations, and the values that lie under it, are much more consonant with the President's view of the world than that of the liberal Democrats. This is an issue for this Administration to gain on, not one for the Democrats.

SL

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Who Ruined the Schools?

"If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war." You bet. The quote from the National Commission on Educational Excellence aptly describes the wreckage of the public school system. But if an unfriendly nation didn't cause it, who did? The commission demurred on the touchy issue of responsibility, but we don't see much headway being made on the problem until a better understanding exists of who and what have been responsible.

So it's good to be able to call attention to another report that brings us closer to answering the mysterious riddle of who ruined the schools? The report is the work of a task force of educators assembled by the prestigious Twentieth Century Fund. The fund study says you can blame the federal government, you can blame the federal judiciary and you can blame the teachers' unions.

The federal government, by forcing schools to comply with its programs, "has swelled school bureaucracies," the report says, and has "forced state and local governments to reallocate substantial portions of their scarce revenues." And exhibit A in this regard is federally mandated bilingual education programs, the source of one of the most bitter public-policy debates in recent years. The report says the "failure to recognize the primacy of English is a grave error" and calls for transferring federal bilingual aid into English programs for children who need them. In fairness, we should note that the report praises the government's past efforts to desegregate schools and give help to poor and handicapped children, and it believes the government should continue to provide funds for specialized education.

The report says judges tried to desegregate school systems because politicians had failed to act, but says the presumption that the judiciary itself could run a school system "was often harmful." The evidence, we might note, is on display in Boston.

Then there's the unions. The Twentieth Century Fund says what we all know is true: The schools will rise or fall on the quality of their teachers. But the report says teachers' unions have used their power to protect poor teachers from public scrutiny; they remain in the system, teaching poorly. While defending the idea of collective bargaining, the fund says that creating standardized pay scales with small regard for a teacher's classroom performance "has not only made it difficult to encourage promising teachers or dismiss poor ones; it has forced many of the best to leave teaching for more financially rewarding work."

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, has expressed a serious interest in doing something about this problem. The National Education Association, a bigger and extremely politicized union, displays no such interest.

There was a point, about five years ago, when one could have said that the failure reflected in test scores was the result of an honest mistake made by well-intentioned educators with new ideas. Yet they persisted, acquiring more power in 1980 in a cabinet-level Department of Education. We don't think the people who "reformed" American education over the past 20 years should be allowed to so easily forget that well after the problem was recognized, tens of thousands of kids went over the falls and are now floating around in the workplace, in their 20s, making childlike errors in simple spelling, pronunciation, the reading of instructions and arithmetic. As a result, they're con-

signed to seeking moronic jobs and enduring personal humiliation.

The Twentieth Century Fund's report is also aware that its proposals "are costly." Whenever we get to the bottom of these current expressions of concern about the state of the schools, the point is always made that it will cost more money. And nearly all the commentaries we've read on the subject inevitably note that the Reagan administration has made cuts in federal education spending.

Let's get a few things straight about spending. Between 1970 and 1981, federal tax collections from individual incomes rose more than 300% to \$333 billion, personal tax payments to states and localities went up 380% and property taxes doubled. In large part this money paid for the Great Society's inflation-indexed entitlements programs. In other words, taxpayers gave the advocates of these programs the wherewithal to create the kind of society they wanted; the problem was not that the taxpayers were stingy, it was that the programs were misguided.

We have little doubt that most people are willing to entertain the idea of spending more money on their children's education—if they get their money's worth. And there is evidence that the process of putting quality back into education is under way in many places. But as the siren song goes up again, promising smarter children in return for more money, we suggest that parents reply: Reform now, money later.

Education: The Sleeper Issue

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to stiffen the intellectual standards for both teachers and pupils.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.