

U. S. Congress.

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

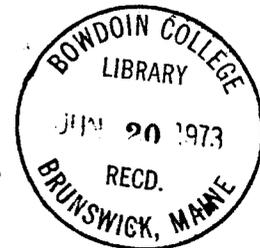
# Congressional Record

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make a clear, final decision on this constitutional question imperative if we are to survive as the powerful Nation we are now.

Mr. President, I deem these two proposals—S. 2444 by Senator COOPER and Senate Joint Resolution 95 by Senators STENNIS and MANSFIELD—major steps in providing answers to the complex, yet crucial questions which have arisen concerning the constitutional balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of the Government. They are questions which we can continue to ignore only at the peril of the continued viability of the intricate system of checks and balances which are so necessary to a stable government.

#### NEA ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1971

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I had the good fortune recently to participate in and address the annual convention of the National Education Association held in Detroit, Mich., June 26 to July 2.

At this convention, Mrs. Helen Bain, the outgoing president, presented an eloquent and thoughtful address on the needs and responsibilities of education. Mrs. Bain—who in my judgment has provided the Senate with excellent advice and counsel on both legislative and appropriation questions concerning education during her past year in Washington—emphasized the need to reorder priorities and the need for educators to become involved in the political process.

I ask unanimous consent that her excellent address be printed in the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that the very interesting and stimulating report of the NEA on governance and finance of public education be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ADDRESS BY MRS. HELEN BAIN

One arrives at this point in an NEA presidency with much to say and a concern that it be said adequately.

I began this year with a firm belief in the teachers of this country, with confidence in your ability, your courage, and your intelligence. I end this year with an even stronger conviction that teachers are the most important people in the world. You are my hope for a better future, and you are the hope of millions of people around this world as we work to improve society, both here and abroad.

The truism has become a necessity—education must solve our problems. It is apparent that education moves, changes, and improves best when teachers move it, change it, and improve it. Our profession through the National Education Association is a force to be reckoned with.

Teachers are on the move educationally and politically on the local, state, and federal levels. The influence which we have achieved is most encouraging. However, we are just beginning. We have not yet reached our full potential in serving the students and teachers of this nation. To reach that potential, we must continue to use our influence and to build our strength wisely.

Change enables us to meet the needs of teachers more effectively. The teachers have indicated their preference. The past year has been good for us, but bad for the AFT. We

continue to score impressive representation election victories. During this last year, NEA affiliates won elections in Seattle, Portland, Cincinnati, Louisville, and New Orleans, and every one of fourteen elections held in Ohio. The AFT conducted at least four disastrous strikes . . . Newark, Hartford, East St. Louis, and Minneapolis. The two major organizational goals of the AFT during the last year were the State University of New York and the statewide election in Hawaii. The teachers in both cases showed their wisdom, and produced victories for themselves, their state affiliates, and the NEA.

These victories show that the NEA is the teachers' best bet.

However, we will not become complacent. We must continue to improve the NEA so that we may become a greater power for changing the status of education. The Constitutional Convention is indicative of the profession's determination to do this.

For those of us here who will be delegates to the Constitutional Convention, I wish success in our deliberations. My prayer for us is that we possess the courage and wisdom to devise a strong structure for the United Teaching Profession.

We are now a large and complex organization governed by the delegates to this Assembly, and by the elected members of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee. This Assembly wisely saw the magnitude of that governance function when it approved full-time leave for the President, and then the President-Elect. We have taken many other positive steps in recent years in recognition of the size and complexity of our organization. Other actions must yet be taken. One, in particular, I call to your attention.

Immediate Past President George Fischer and President-Elect Don Morrison join me in recommending a two-year term for the NEA President. Each of us has seen something of the magnitude and of the responsibility of this position. We request this not for ourselves, but for the men and women who are yet to be elected. We know that the responsibilities grow each year, and the individuals who occupy this high office will find it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to represent you adequately and carry out the duties of the office in one year. No one acts or speaks more often in your behalf than does your President. In the interest of continuity, it is time that we elected our president for a two-year term.

An area not waiting for ConCon is the involvement of the Student NEA in NEA policy making. We have given the SNEA President the right to deliberate with the NEA Executive Committee. The Board of Directors has done the same thing for five SNEA Members. You will have an opportunity to vote for an amendment which will give them delegates to our Representative Assembly. This is necessary for them to have meaningful involvement, and I urge you to vote for it.

This past year, they have made many significant gains. Their efforts contributed to the passage of the 18-year-old vote in Congress. Active student involvement is a positive step toward strengthening change within the American system. The students also want to work within the system of the professional association to produce changes in American education. We must be sure that the NEA has a sound, viable structure.

To maintain viability, the NEA must be kept on a sound financial basis. Our practice of spending an entire year's income within that year is not a wise practice. In some years, it has been necessary, but, as a practice, it has not allowed the development of reserves for the future, nor has it provided for emergencies within the year. This year's budget contains a modest beginning to establish such funds. I urge you to give your sup-

port to the need for such funds within a balanced budget.

I would like to share a new experience that I had this year. An employee strike against an employee organization though not unusual is always embarrassing, and the NEA is no exception. For the first time in my career, I found myself on the management side of the table. Your Executive Committee and I set the parameters for management before negotiations began, and we ratified the agreement after negotiations were completed. The role wasn't comfortable, but it was necessary. As officers, we had a responsibility to represent your interest and insure that your dues money was wisely spent.

The strike caused some confusion of roles, and I know this also occurred at the state and local level, but out of the confusion came learning. And, out of the impasse came resolution. Negotiations produced a settlement and contract satisfactory to both sides. You can be pleased with the contract which you have with your employees.

I have tried to serve as your president with a sense of responsibility that meets with the approval of the teachers of this nation. At this time, I am privileged to make this presidential report on our progress in achieving the priorities I placed before you in San Francisco last year. Events of this past year make the early achievement of these goals imperative.

Perhaps the greatest concerns of teachers throughout this country are the alleged oversupply of teachers and the inadequate financing of education.

Rising prices, generally poor economic conditions, and criticism of the schools are contributing to the serious cutbacks in school finance, which in turn forces teacher cutbacks. Our condition is properly called an underfunding of schools, not an oversupply of teachers.

There are many unmet needs:

Adequate early childhood education would call for far more teachers.

Vocational and technical teachers, and remedial teachers are greatly needed.

You and I know full well we need tens of thousands of additional teachers to reduce class size to manageable levels.

This year, teachers are not in oversupply, but schools are understaffed.

Teachers must take the lead in correcting these problems. Once again, the strength of public education depends upon a will and determination of the teachers to take the actions necessary to improve it. Fortunately, we have some means at our disposal to begin to take these steps.

First, you must this week give the NEA the authority necessary to act at the national level to correct the general underfunding of schools. The most significant single action you could take at this convention would be to direct the NEA to rejoin and resume leadership of the Emergency Committee for Full Funding. This spring, the NEA could not support the Hathaway amendment and it lost by four votes, and education lost 750 million dollars, 750 million dollars would go a long way toward the reemployment of our colleagues who are out of work.

Another significant way that we can help is through professional negotiations.

Last year, we identified as one of our priorities the securing of professional negotiation laws in every state. Although this has been an off year for many state legislatures, much has been accomplished. At the present time, approximately fifteen states are preparing to join the twenty-four which already have negotiation laws. Within the last two years, the number of locals with professional negotiation agreements has increased from less than 1,000 to 10,500, and the number of teachers covered by these agreements has increased eight times. These agreements have become increasingly important to teachers

in establishing their salaries, conditions of teaching, involvement in the determination of curriculum, and in the current situation, the protecting of job rights. This leads me to our goal of self-governance of the teaching profession.

This profession is determined to establish its own system of who comes in, who stays, and who leaves. We intend to see that this is based on true educational achievement, classroom expertise, and the judgment of our peers. During the last year, extensive work has been done to develop model legislation for self-governance. The effort will be accelerated during the coming year. We must be in the forefront of this drive.

Last year, you asked for a reordering of our national priorities. Our first move to give education the dignity and the importance it merits was to call for a Cabinet Post for Education. If you come to think about it, it is an absurdity that we are probably the only nation on earth which does not have a cabinet post devoted to education. From Norway to New Zealand, from Burma to Britain, every country has a minister of education. We, on the other hand, created an unmanageable bureaucracy called HEW, whose head has the impossible and conflicting tasks of devoting his attention to three separate and distinct areas of national concerns: health, education, and welfare. It is my view that one of the many reasons for the existence of the welfare mess lies in the organizational monstrosity of HEW. A Cabinet Post for Education would mean not only that there would be a man—or woman—at the President's council table whose sole advocacy and principal concern would be the cause of education in America, but it would also mean that responsibility could finally be put at the Cabinet level for federal educational policy.

This is not exactly a new idea. In 1921, a joint resolution passed by fourteen national organizations asked that "education be given recognition commensurate with its supreme importance to the Nation," and stated: "In view of the reorganization now pending, the present is a most opportune time for giving education its proper place in the Administrative Branch of the Government . . . we respectfully urge that the President of the United States use his great influence to bring about the creation of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the Cabinet." Some of the fourteen national organizations signing this resolution were the NEA, the American Federation of Labor, the American Library Association, the National Council of Jewish Women and the PTA.

That was 1921. The resolution expressed then is still appropriate today. A half century later, in 1971, we know that this resolution can be implemented only through political action.

The educational forces in this nation have mounted a nationwide campaign to achieve our goal. You met the leaders of these national organizations tonight. There are six others who have endorsed the idea, and several others will consider it at their national conventions. We are establishing statewide teams of our Big Six Coalition to be headed by our Board members in each state. You have already participated in two letter-writing campaigns.

With this kind of positive political action, I am convinced that we shall have a Secretary of Education before we reach our two hundredth birthday in 1976. That will insure that the federal government's share is more than the small fraction of the cost of public education which it is now paying—less than seven percent. It seems to me that by the time this nation is two hundred years old its federal government must be both willing and mature enough to pay for one-third of the cost of public schools. This will not only create a more just and equitable access to

education, it will help drastically to reduce the mushrooming cost of welfare and correctional expenditures.

It may sound incredible, but it is true that in the City of New York last year, with its eight million people, there were as many homicides as in about a dozen European countries with a population of some 140 million. These countries include Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the United Kingdom, with huge metropolitan concentrations in London or Amsterdam or Stockholm or Copenhagen, and elsewhere.

We simply cannot tolerate the possibility that this land of ours become one of the least civilized and most unsafe places on earth. Decent educational and employment opportunities will mean a better quality of life throughout this land, and with greatly reduced public costs of nonproductive welfare and penal expenditures.

Last year, I urged political action as the way to achieve these priorities. You were magnificent in your response. Examples of teacher power in the political arena are countless. Let me just mention a few.

*The teachers of California* helped put John Tunney in the U.S. Senate and George Murphy went into public relations work. Wilson Riles became the state commissioner of education, and whatever happened to Max Rafferty?

*The teachers of Alaska* conducted the most intense campaign in their history. From local school boards through a seat in Congress, they made their mark. Nick Begich, a former educator and an ardent supporter of education, was moved from the state legislature to the U.S. Congress.

*The teachers of Florida* helped bring to an end to the reign of Claudis Maximus Kirk and Ruben Askew became governor. In the process, they took care of a hopeful named Carswell and an incumbent named Cramer.

*The teachers of Washington State* voted and won, and Congresswoman May learned that it doesn't pay to oppose every piece of educational legislation. The district is now represented by Mike McCormack, who is a friend of schools.

*The teachers of Ohio* had had enough, so for the first time in their history they backed a candidate for governor. He won, and John Gilligan is pushing hard for better education.

Teachers worked for Republicans and Democrats, but always for education. NEA is a bipartisan organization. We are made up of good Democrats and good Republicans. Nothing would have pleased me more than to be able to report to you on the marvelous leadership in the cause of education by the President of the United States. This has clearly not been the case.

When I took office at this time last year, I felt that it would be in the best interest of education in this country for the NEA to make a real effort to work with Mr. Nixon's administration. As your president, I extended a friendly hand. It has remained extended and unwelcomed by him. My efforts in your behalf to confer with the President of the United States on the crucial educational needs for the millions of children in this nation were ignored. Further efforts to reach the President were made through Congressman Quile, George Schultz, Elliot Richardson, Sid Marland, Robert Finch, and many others.

One last effort was made in late April, when every member of the Board of Directors signed and sent to the President a letter requesting that he give us an opportunity to present our cause. As yet, there has been no acknowledgement of this request. The only word from the White House has been a refusal of the President to speak at this convention.

In this age of technological wonders, the lack of leadership, the lack of compassion,

and the lack of creative solutions at the highest levels in our national government are frightening. A lion's share of the nation's ills, frustrations, and failures must be placed at the doorstep of Richard Nixon.

When we look at our nation's vast resources and the failure of this administration to mobilize them for the country's benefit, it is frightening. As we look back over the last year, during which we combined the highest interest rates in a century with the worst unemployment in a decade and the most appalling inflation in a generation, it is frightening.

We must not accept these conditions. What is called for is effective action within our system to get our priorities straight, to streamline the apparatus of our federal government, and to commit our resources to achieve our true national objectives.

This is the most anti-education administration this country has had in many years. This administration has repeatedly made statements which were calculated to reduce confidence in public education. On rare occasions, Mr. Nixon has asked educators to serve on such task forces as urban education, higher education, and student unrest. In each instance, he had discredited and ignored the reports. It seems that the administration attacks the schools because that is much cheaper than financing them.

Our concern for the adequate financing of education is shared by the Congress of the United States, which felt strongly enough to override the President's veto of education appropriations.

Mr. Nixon says we need to know more about learning. He was not aware of the things you and I learned shortly after we first started into a classroom: That a hungry child cannot learn; That children cannot learn in an overcrowded and understaffed school; That schools cannot function in a constant state of financial crisis.

In 1968, Congress appropriated 60 percent of the authorized aid to education. In 1969, the ratio was 46 percent. In 1970, 37 percent, and this year, 36 percent. In other words, of the total amount authorized for education this year, only a little more than one-third will actually be spent.

Mr. Nixon's educational promises far exceed his educational performance. By definition, Mr. Nixon is an underachiever.

I do agree with Mr. Nixon on one thing, however. There should be accountability. This should include presidents, too. Any President who vetoes educational funds and calls them inflationary, and fights for obsolete weapon systems and calls them progress, should be held accountable. Mr. Nixon has called for our accountability for over thirty months. In November of 1972, we shall call for his.

For my conclusion, I have chosen one of our most important goals—the work in the area of human relations on local, national and international levels. I am very pleased with the activity and the movement in developing human relations programs and the considerable accomplishment of both our state and our local associations. There are now forty state associations with active human relations programs. We have over 2,000 local associations throughout this country which have established local human relations programs.

On a national level, we have had an active part in at least two significant decisions which have been made this year. We now have a rule from the highest court in this land concerning the integration of our schools. Many of the points made in the NEA brief presented in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case were found in the final decision of the Supreme Court. We should take pride in having had a part in the establishment of this ruling, which clearly establishes the guidelines for the effective integration of

our schools. We are all well aware that this is not a southern problem alone—it is a national problem. National leadership—strong, consistent, and just—is needed.

We also had an important role to play in designing major features in Senator Mondale's integration bill. Our efforts helped to bring the administration's proposal in line with more effective legislation.

Last year's action item No. 4 called for the invoking of sanctions and censure of any state or local school district which refused to terminate the misuse of the National Teacher Examination. I urge you to report any such violations to the President and to the Executive Committee.

For the first time at an NEA Convention, provisions have been made to accommodate minority caucuses. Those minority groups which have requested space for caucusing are Black, Mexican-American, American Indians, and Women. Although there are more women in education, they are in the minority in positions of leadership in the school system across this country.

In closing, I would like to urge you to accept a challenge to work with all teachers around the world in an effort to achieve world peace.

We must, as a nation, as well as individuals, learn to live and work together with one another in peace. As a nation, we must strive to live in peace with other nations. Every avenue of person-to-person contact should be explored. Teachers must not assume that someone else will do this. We must do our share. For these reasons, we paid an official visit to the Soviet Union last fall as guests of the Soviet teachers' organization. This spring, they returned the visit. Other exchanges are planned. Each is undertaken in the hope that some greater human understanding will result—that these exchanges will be, no matter how small, at least a positive contribution to world peace.

I had the opportunity to meet with a representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to discuss treatment and release of our prisoners of war. We were seeking to make contact with the teachers of the People's Republic of China, even before the Ping-Pong event.

We must assume a responsibility to work actively for world peace. We are well aware of the horrible alternative. We educate children for the future. We must also work to insure that they have a future. We must give leadership in bringing all of the world's teachers together in order to improve the world's method of solving our problem.

We will live together better in this world if we start thinking more of people. This is one thing the students have been saying to us. We ought to listen and heed the message.

We must humanize our approach and our outlook. We must keep people in mind as we take our actions.

Let us this week turn our attention to the real issues of education and the human agenda of this nation and world.

#### NATIONAL FOUNDATION PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION

In 1976, the Nation will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a free republic. We as a nation should establish this as the target date for renewal of the Nation's commitment to education and extending the power of that commitment to the Nation's schools.

In recent years, schools in the United States have undergone radical changes in their use of materials, their physical environment, their use of the subject matter or content available to them, their staffing patterns, their clientele, and organization. They have shifted their emphasis from programs based on conventional wisdom to ones which find roots in knowledge. A basic and vital component of education, which many

citizens are demanding be revised, relates to a rethinking of the purpose of schools and the values which direct the purpose.

#### EDUCATIONAL BIRTHRIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN CHILD

Every American child must be prepared to live a happy, healthy, and productive life in this increasingly complex world. This is his birthright. It requires an educational program which stimulates his development of human understanding and guarantees his command of fundamental processes of learning.

These are the essential rights to be pursued through the public schools for every child:

Right to the development of skills and understanding of human relationships;

Right to the knowledge of basic principles of personal health and guidance in the formulation of good health habits;

Right to an understanding of his government and the relations with other nations and knowledge of how to participate as a citizen;

Right to attain the skills of communication, reading, writing, and arithmetic so that he functions in this age of daily newspapers, tax forms, consumer credit and the like;

Right to be prepared for gainful employment through continuous opportunity for career development;

Right to be prepared for personal fulfillment and worthy use of leisure.

#### A RENDERING OF EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES

A newly recognized principle is emerging as a result of the concerted effort of educators, students, and community members. This principle, simply stated, is that schools should reflect the best of culture—its essentially humane nature. Some school-related implications can be noted in the following call for a humane program.

Instructional programs aimed at developing the full range of human capacities, not just the intellectual; evaluation for the purpose of improving instruction, not for comparing children; and school organization that frees the student and the teacher to focus on learning, not the clock or the semester—these are some of the components of a humane education, an education that gives every individual a personal vision of what he might become rather than forcing him to come up to standards devised in other days for purposes that are no longer pertinent.<sup>1</sup>

It is not enough for schools to function as sorting agencies. Nor is the complex social fabric served by a populace which has only facts and figures at its command. The concept of schooling most appropriate for the present is not the one that looks only at the past for its structure and content. Schools must move dramatically toward a climate which promises the learner and society that, indeed, there is a good life and that it is reflected in the schools of the United States. This good life is characterized by a set of values which guarantees the worth of the individual, promotes the benefits of freedom, respects individual and group decision-making as inherently human processes, and promises the development of potentials for all.

Education, therefore, has a double task: (1) to teach content-knowledge, skills, and values, and (2) to teach this in such a way that the student is motivated to use his developing ability to make decisions or choices that will lead him toward the realization of his full potential. In addition, the schools must be concerned with helping the student utilize his competency to reach his goals.

It is assumed that a basic purpose of our society is to provide maximum assistance and opportunity within a democratic structure for an individual to realize his full potential

as a person. If this assertion is accepted, it follows that education, a formal institution of our society, should contribute toward this goal of self-realization. Self-realization implies that the individual must accept responsibility for his own fulfillment—that is, he must make the necessary choices, and he must choose what to him seems to be in the direction of self-realization.

To achieve a society based on this value position and, simultaneously to strengthen programs for achieving the traditional goals of learning will be a major undertaking for the nation's schools. Any such effort toward social change will be expensive. However, it will be less expensive in the long run than failure to achieve these goals.

This is a call to reorder educational priorities—to construct a humane system of schooling for all the nation's youth. This is a call for the national government to join with the state and local school systems to support a nationwide standard of education through a national foundation program.

#### A NATIONWIDE CRISIS

This call comes amid a nationwide crisis in education. In states where substantial increases in revenue are not forthcoming, schools are planning for cutbacks in programs and staff. Nationwide, many teachers and teacher aides are unemployed.

The crisis is seen in the frustrations of parents, pupils, and teachers as they recognize the slow pace by which we are meeting the objectives of education. It is evidenced in taxpayers' frustration with the rising costs of schools. State and local tax sources have not been able to underwrite the very real national needs for more and better education for an increasing number of pupils. The financial crisis stems, in part, from the inability or unwillingness of state and local educational agencies to effect meaningful changes because of political and provincial interests as well as because of insufficient financial resources. It stems from the failure of a nation to agree on the goals and objectives of an educational program and to price realistically the basic ingredients of an educational program to meet the national needs. The crisis will not be resolved without substantial federal support and without substantial federal intervention to stimulate change.

#### EDUCATION, A NATIONAL PRIORITY

The importance of improving education as a national priority is compelling.

Education is a significant factor in improving national economic growth by assuring the supply of a highly trained work force and stimulating the market for consumer goods.

Education is basic to the eradication of poverty and hunger, and to the improvement of health and physical fitness.

Education is a powerful tool to promote civic participation within the democracy and to preserve law, nationally and internationally.

Education is important to the development of man's ethical character and the enrichment and enlargement of his personality.

The school is one of the many important influences on youth today. Therefore, because the school is the one basic public institution which is concerned with the total development of child to maturity, the nation must commit its human and financial resources to school improvement.

#### TAX BASE IS REGRESSIVE

The state and local tax bases are constrained by mounting taxpayer resistance to further increases, especially in local property taxes.

Public schools are still supported largely from the most inelastic and regressive of the major tax sources, the property tax. The bases of sales and income taxes expand faster than the economy. The basis of the prop-

<sup>1</sup> *Schools for the 70's: A Call to Action.*

erty tax does not expand automatically—it expands only when new buildings are added to the tax rolls. Otherwise, property must be reassessed to keep in line with rising property values. In 1971 more than one-half of school support came from the property tax. The impact of the property tax on family income is almost three times greater for the family with less than \$2,000 per year than for the family with over \$15,000 per year. All state and local taxes which provide more than 90 percent of public school support are regressive, with the burden on the lowest income family under \$2,000 at about twice the burden on the highest income family (over \$15,000). Among all tax sources, only the federal taxes are progressive—that is, the burden on low income families is about one-third of that on higher income families. Further support for needed improvements must come from largely federal tax sources.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SUPPORT PROGRAM

Historically, local school systems carried the major financial burden of school support. In the 1930's every state provided significant financial aid to local schools. A pattern has evolved of relationships between the states and their local educational agencies which, simply stated, calls for setting educational program standards and the sharing of support based partly on the relative ability of the local taxing units. This pattern is called the state foundation program. The program sets forth the educational program to be financed, qualifications for professional staff, and, in some states, the salaries, numbers of pupils per teacher, numbers and kinds of special teachers, and other staff for supporting services, unit allowances for textbooks and other instructional materials, and standards for transporting pupils and maintaining and operating school facilities. The standards set represent a compromise between the standards of educational excellence and standards of educational deprivation. They are described as "an acceptable minimum," "a floor below which no school system can go," and they generally fall somewhere between the highest and the lowest in the range of practices which exist in a state.

Once accepted, these standards are priced and specific costs calculated—frequently on the basis of classroom units. The state's share generally consists of a flat amount or a percentage of the unit cost supplemented by the amount per classroom unit which is still lacking if the local agency makes a reasonable effort to support its own schools.

The elements and level of the state foundation program vary widely among the states, and no two states have exactly the same foundation program. However, there are common thrusts.

The foundation program sets a guaranteed amount of financial resources to purchase school services available to pupils in all school systems throughout the state. To this extent, it equalizes educational opportunity.

The foundation program shares state tax receipts, thus partially relieving the local property tax base. To the extent that the formula provides more funds to school systems with lower property tax paying ability, it equalizes the burden of school support among taxpaying communities.

The foundation program deals with the question of how—and if so, how far—a local educational agency can go beyond financing the standards set in the foundation program in terms of encouraging local leeway in some instances, and limiting leeway in others, by establishing tax rate, budget, or expenditure ceilings, and procedures for extending the ceilings.

The foundation program is a powerful lever for influencing the local educational agencies to undertake programs and reforms they would not otherwise do.

The processes some states use in developing state foundation programs are representative of the best in democratic procedures. A broadly representative study group is convened comprised of citizens, legislators, educational experts, and practitioners. All interested groups are heard. Experts are consulted. Findings and recommendations are disseminated and legislation introduced. The process is one of establishing a consensus on educational goals, standard, program objective, and willingness to pay the price.

The state education associations have played a dominant role in establishing, reforming, and increasing the state foundation programs. We now propose to extend this influence of professional educators to the federal level.

In recent years, the role of the federal government in supporting programs for public elementary and secondary education has been primarily to grant relatively small amounts of money for a large number of programs with the purpose of stimulating state and local educational agencies in their attempts to solve specific educational problems of national concern.

We propose that the dialogue and processes basic to establishing a National Educational Foundation Program begin now with a view to reaching agreement upon (a) the educational program essential to every American; (b) the basic components of an improved educational program; (c) a plan for sharing the costs between the federal government and the state and local governments; and (d) a plan for evaluating the total educational effort. We urge that the National Educational Foundation Program be operating and fully funded by 1976.

#### EXHIBIT A—WORKING PAPER NO. 1—OBJECTIVES OF A NATIONAL FOUNDATION PROGRAM

The proposed educational objectives of a National Educational Foundation Program on which the dialogue may begin are to:

1. equalize educational opportunity so that each student is provided a fair share of certain basic educational services and opportunities without wide variation caused by his residence in a rich or poor community or a rich or poor state;
2. integrate schools to relieve the social and intellectual handicaps of racial isolation;
3. provide early childhood education, including kindergarten for all five-year-olds, nursery school for three- and four-year-old children, day care centers for children without a parent at home during the day, and special education from birth for children with exceptional mental and physical handicaps;
4. modernize vocational programs to help youth be ready for employment;
5. provide modern school plants to facilitate the flexible educational programs needed in today's schools;
6. expand and strengthen programs of adult education in basic education, career development, and cultural and recreational enrichment;
7. consolidate inefficient school systems and promote multi-district arrangements to provide essential school services;
8. provide to needed numbers of qualified staff (classroom teachers, specialists, aides, and administrators) pay sufficient to support a moderately good standard of living;
9. increase development and use of technology to assist instruction and coordinate the efforts of isolated innovative programs toward achieving major impact on the nature of schooling;
10. provide programs of inservice teacher education based on the improvement of instruction within the concept of the school as a humanistically-oriented social institution;

11. provide for research, development, and evaluation necessary to the maintenance of a truly responsive relation between school and society.

Some standards for the operation of public school programs can be agreed upon as a basis for determining the cost of achieving the improved educational program which the objectives suggest. It is assumed that all pupils receive at least the basic elementary and secondary school program. In addition, five programs are identified where specialized and intensive services are required. These include early childhood education programs, programs for the severely mentally and physically handicapped, programs for pupils with severe social and emotional problems, remedial and compensatory programs, and vocational education. Two other programs, summer school and adult education, extend catch-up and enrichment opportunities to youth and adults.

A. Basic elementary and secondary program (grades 1 to 12):

1. Sufficient staff services including classroom teachers, teacher aides, specialists, administrators, and custodians and other non-professional school workers.

2. Compensation, fringe benefits, and civil and employment rights for school employees equal to those of comparable workers in private employment.

3. Free textbooks and access to adequate libraries, instructional materials, and technological support.

4. Adequate and safe school facilities permitting flexible teaching arrangements, laboratories, libraries, offices, gymnasiums, lunchrooms, auditoriums, etc.

5. Safe facilities for transporting pupils between home and school and between the school and the community.

6. Inservice training programs for instructional improvement and for institutional reform.

7. Extended day school programs for children without a parent at home during the day or as needed to provide wholesome recreation and enrichment opportunities for pupils.

B. Early childhood education:

1. A full session kindergarten for all five-year-olds.

2. Nursery or prekindergarten for three- and four-year-olds, in a program initially centered on children from low-income concentrated on children from low-income

3. Day care centers for children without a parent at home to provide a safe, healthful, and stimulating environment for young children while parents are at work.

4. Special education programs for children with acute physical and mental handicaps who would benefit from early special education.

5. A parent education program where necessary to teach parents to understand and to guide child development.

C. Provision of educational services for mentally and physically handicapped pupils:

1. School housing and transportation facilities with special physical equipment to meet the needs of severely handicapped pupils.

2. Additional staff services of specialized persons.

3. Additional diagnostic and corrective treatment programs and facilities.

4. Family counselling and parent education as needed.

5. Provision of early vocational skill development programs.

D. Provision of educational services for pupils with severe social and emotional difficulties:

1. Provision of special schools for pupils who cannot be accommodated in programs in the regular schools.

2. Additional specialized services in diagnostic and therapeutic areas.

3. In-house custodial care where necessary.
4. Early vocational guidance and training.
- E. Provision of remedial and compensatory programs:
  1. Provision of additional services on an individual basis if necessary.
  2. Increased diagnostic and corrective treatment services.
  3. Provision of additional cultural enrichment experiences.
  4. Provision of increased communication with parents and the community.
  5. Early vocational guidance and training programs.

F. Career development:

1. Provision of modern facilities and equipment for vocational training.
2. Flexible scheduling to permit expanded work-study programs.
3. Increased vocational guidance and job placement services with follow-up in early job experiences.
4. Expanded curriculum to provide broad offerings in the high school.

Two additional programs warrant consideration for support in the National Educational Foundation Program.

Summer school programs for enrichment, acceleration, or remedial work are desirable extensions of the regular school year. Students can achieve a full year or a half year's work in one course in 30 days in summer school when longer class periods are scheduled. For example, a full year's reading course can be covered in summer school. The summer school program should be free to all youth.

Adult education programs provide instruction in subjects from basic language skills, crafts and arts, high school extension work for school dropouts, enrichment, and career development opportunities. Consideration must be given to subsidizing the cost of instruction in adult education programs lest adult education opportunities be denied to those citizens who need it most and are least able to meet the costs.

Under the pressures of personnel and financial shortages, state and local school systems have long neglected evaluation of existing educational programs and the development of improved programs. We propose to set aside 10 percent of the federal share of the foundation program to finance the evaluation of the existing and proposed school organizations, structures, programs, teaching methods and materials, testing, facilities, and teacher training, and to design and test improvements.

EXHIBIT B—WORKING PAPER NO. 2—ESTIMATED COST OF THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION

The cost of a moderate standard of quality education in 1976 is estimated at \$72.4 billion in current prices. This amount is 95 percent of the current annual outlay of \$76.4 billion for national defense. The cost estimate includes:

Current expense and capital outlay and debt service for 48.4 million pupils in average daily attendance during the regular school year and 10 million each in summer school and adult education;

Programs for youth from nursery school through high school, summer school, and adult education programs;

Special programs for pupils with severe physical and mental handicaps, emotional maladjustments, and racial isolation;

Intensive vocational training beginning in the secondary schools;

Programs for pupils facing severe cultural and/or racial isolation.

Costs are estimated for target groups of pupils as follows:

1. A guaranteed basic elementary and secondary education in grades 1 to 12: 30 million pupils at \$1,200 each, \$36,000,000,000.

The estimated cost per pupil in average daily attendance for the basic elementary and secondary school program of \$1,200 is

calculated to provide an average of one professional staff person to 20 pupils and an average instruction staff salary of \$10,500. It includes all current expenses, capital outlay, and debt retirement.

2. Early childhood education for children ages 3-5 years; 5 million pupils at \$1,200 each, \$6,000,000,000.

3. Education services for severely mentally and physically handicapped youth: 800,000 pupils at \$2,400 each, \$1,900,000,000.

4. Educational services for severely socially and emotionally maladjusted youth: 600,000 pupils at \$2,400 each, \$1,400,000,000.

5. Provision of remedial and compensatory education: 4,000,000 pupils at \$2,000 each, \$8,000,000,000.

6. Vocational education: 8,000,000 pupils at \$1,900 each, \$15,200,000,000.

7. Summer school programs for 50% of pupils enrolled in the school system: 24,000,000 pupils at \$100 each, \$2,400,000,000.

8. Adult education programs: 15,000,000 students at \$100 each, \$1,500,000,000.

Total cost of the National Educational Foundation Program, \$72,400,000,000.

SHARING THE COST

The total cost of the National Educational Program is estimated at \$72.4 billion. State and local outlays for public schools from state-local tax sources which now stand at \$41.5 billion<sup>2</sup> would rise moderately to \$48.3 billion by 1976 to meet the state-local share of two-thirds of the cost of the program. This proposal calls for a dramatic increase in the federal share to \$24.1 billion—up from \$2.9 billion today—to meet one-third of the total educational outlays.

ALLOCATION AMONG THE STATES

The proposed plan for distribution of \$23.2 billion to the states is that one half of the federal funds be distributed on the basis of the states' share of the national total of pupils as follows:

1.0 times the number of pupils in nursery and kindergarden programs; plus 1.0 times the number of pupils in the basic elementary and secondary school program; plus 2.0 times the number of pupils needing programs for the severely mentally and physically handicapped youth; plus 2.0 times the number of pupils needing programs for the severely socially and emotionally handicapped youth; plus 1.7 times the number of pupils needing full-time remedial or compensatory programs for pupils from low-income families; plus 1.6 times the number of secondary school pupils in vocational training programs; plus 0.08 times the number of pupils enrolled in summer school; plus 0.08 times the number of pupils enrolled in adult education programs.

We propose that 40% of the funds be distributed to the states on a formula which combines the pupils in programs as weighted above; a state ability factor calculated by dividing personal income for the U.S. by the states' personal income; plus a state effort factor calculated by dividing the percent that the state's state-local revenues for schools are of state personal income by the national percent all states' state-local revenues for schools are of national personal income.

We propose that the remaining 10% of the federal funds be distributed to the states on the basis of unweighted pupils to be expended solely for research, development, evaluation of school programs, and dissemination of promising results.

APPROPRIATION OF FEDERAL FUNDS

We propose that the federal funds required be appropriated annually one year in advance and that a trust fund be established to assure periodic payment of amounts due the states.

<sup>2</sup>Includes current expenditures, capital outlay, interest and debt retirement less federal revenues.

We propose to delegate to the Secretary of Education the responsibility for the development of nationwide estimates of program cost factors and to charge the Secretary with the collection from the states of numbers of pupils enrolled in the program areas.

We propose to delegate to the Secretary school officer in each state to develop a plan for distributing the federal funds to local educational agencies which is based on the local agencies' needs for funds as measured by numbers of pupils in programs weighted by program costs and on the ability and effort of the local school agency to support the school program at the foundation amount of \$1,200 per pupil from the available state and local resources.

We propose to require that the chief state school officer account annually to the Secretary of Education for the program enrollments, funds spent by target program areas, and progress made of the evaluation of on-going programs and the development of improvements.

We propose to require full enforcement of Title V of the Civil Rights Act and full compliance with the orders of the Federal courts.

We propose to continue all existing federal grant programs until 1976 when the full federal share of the National Educational Foundation program is appropriated. From that date forward we proposed to continue only federal funds provided under PL 815 and 874.

VETERANS BILLS SIGNED BY PRESIDENT NIXON

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I welcome the news that President Nixon has signed into law H.R. 3344, regarding direct home loans to veterans, and H.R. 943, providing group mortgage insurance for paralyzed veterans. Enactment of H.R. 3344 changes the conditions under which the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration sells loans on the commercial money market. This paves the way for resumption of the direct home loan program for veterans in credit-short areas which are mainly rural.

This direct home loan program is separate and distinct from the well-known GI loan guarantee law under which most veterans are eligible for a guarantee on their home loan. In counties where commercial credit is tight, veterans can apply for a direct loan from the Government when private financing is not available for the GI bill guarantee. The Veterans' Administration administers a revolving fund in which there is about \$560 million available for lending.

I have expressed to the Senate earlier my conviction that this legislation, H.R. 3344, was not absolutely necessary for the VA to begin again their direct home loan program. But now that it has been signed into law by the President, I am confident that the VA will begin approving these loans, of which there are some 2,000 from all over the country backed up in the pipeline.

I am also gratified to learn that H.R. 943 has been signed into law. This program will provide Government financing for mortgage insurance for these veterans who live in specially adapted housing. It means that a paralyzed veteran will no longer have to suffer the mental anguish and uncertainty of not knowing whether his family will lose their house in the event of his death. If the veteran dies, the benefits of the policy would be payable to the holder of the mortgage