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REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION

ANNUAL CONVENTION

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

OCTOBER 10, 1975

I'M DELIGHTED TO BE HERE TODAY TO ADDRESS THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION.

As you all know, my interest in education is a long-standing one. I can think of no more important task that has been handed us than to give the young people of this country every possible opportunity for self-development in achieving lives of meaning and purpose. If we can accomplish this goal, then I am confident that the future of our nation is safeguarded.

THIRTY YEARS AGO, IF WE WERE MEETING AND WERE CONCERNED WITH PROVIDING QUALITY EDUCATION FOR OUR YOUNGSTERS, WE WOULD NOT HAVE ASKED THE QUESTION, "WHO CONTROLS EDUCATION?" THE RESPONSE TO THAT QUESTION WOULD HAVE BEEN OBVIOUS -- OUR LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND OUR PARENTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ESTABLISHING THE GOALS AND STRUCTURE OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

BUT, TODAY WE LIVE IN A WORLD WHICH IS DRASTICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH EXISTED THIRTY OR EVEN TWENTY YEARS AGO. IT IS A FASTER PACED WORLD, IN WHICH CHANGE PROCEEDS AT AN ASTOUNDING RATE.

IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS MOVE EVERY TWO-TO-FOUR YEARS, IN PURSUIT OF BETTER EMPLOYMENT OR IN RESPONSE TO THEIR EMPLOYERS' DEMANDS.

IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH SPOHISTICATED TECHNICAL SKILLS ARE REQUIRED FOR AN EVER INCREASING NUMBER OF JOBS.

AND IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH RESPONSIBILITY FOR ESTABLISHING THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF EDUCATION AND A STRUCTURE FOR

ACHIEVING THEM HAS BECOME MORE DIFFUSE.

When we ask, "Who Controls Education," our real question, in today's society, focuses on the relative roles of the Lay community, the professional education community, and the state and federal government. It is not an easy question to answer, for in a very real sense, as you have seen during this convention, all of them control education to some degree.

THIS NATION GREW UP WITH A DEEP FEELING, A STRONG BELIEF, ABOUT LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN. THAT BELIEF AND THAT FEELING ARE STILL STRONG, AND STILL VIABLE.

The homes of America's families are, of course, the bedrock of this commitment to quality education. Sir James Matthew Barrie, the distinguished Scottish dramatist and novelist — perhaps best known to generations of children through his creation of Peter Pan — forcefully described the crucial role of the mome in education when he said: MIGHTY ARE THE UNIVERSITIES OF SCOTLAND, AND THEY WILL PREVAIL. BUT EVEN IN YOUR HIGHEST EXULTATIONS NEVER FORGET THAT THEY ARE NOT FOUR, BUT FIVE. THE GREATEST OF THEM IS THE POOR, PROUD HOMES YOU COME OUT OF, WHICH SAID SO LONG AGO: "THERE SHALL BE EDUCATION IN THIS LAND."

THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT, DESPITE ALL THE CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE, QUALITY EDUCATION STILL OCCURS ONLY WHEN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY IS INTERESTED AND ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE EDUCATION OF ITS YOUNG.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS -- TEACHERS, PRINCIPALS, AND SUPERINTENDENTS -- OR STATE AND FEDERAL OFFICIALS TO ESTABLISH EDUCATIONAL GOALS OR PROGRAMS TO MEET THE SPECIFIC TRAINING NEEDS OF OUR YOUNG. LOCAL LAY INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION IS CRUCIAL TO ITS SUCCESS. But today education is not simply a local responsibility. The future of our Nation quite literally depends on the Job we do in providing a quality education for all our youngsters. Many of the problems which face our educational system transcend local interests. We are a mobile society; our youngsters may attend two, three, or even more schools in different parts of our Nation during their school years.

To ENSURE THE WELL-BEING OF OUR SOCIETY, WE HAVE A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT THESE CHILDREN -- NO MATTER WHERE THEY LIVE -- ACQUIRE SOME BASIC SKILLS -- IN READING, IN WRITING, AND IN REASONING MATHEMATICALLY.

FURTHERMORE, OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE AND DEDICATION TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL MAKES US AS A NATION ESPECIALLY CONSCIOUS OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL OUR YOUNGSTERS;

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-- WHETHER THEY LIVE IN THE GHETTOS OR AFFLUENT SUBURBS OF MAJOR CITIES;

-- WHETHER THEY ARE INTELLECTUALLY GIFTED OR RETARDED. -- OR WHETHER THEY ARE HEALTHY OR AFFLICTED WITH A PHYSICAL HANDICAP.

WHAT WE NEED TODAY IS A NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY -- A POLICY WHICH ESTABLISHES EDUCATION AS A HIGH NATIONAL PRIORITY IN THE PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR HUMAN RESOURCES, AND WHICH WORKS TO ASSURE QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL.

THAT POLICY SHOULD PROMOTE MULTIPLE APPROACHES TO PROVIDING EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES THAT GIVE THE FULLEST RECOGNITION TO THE NEEDS, PPOBLEMS, AND ABILITIES AND INTERESTS OF EACH CHILD AND YOUNG PERSON.

THAT POLICY SHOULD ENCOURAGE INNOVATION IN EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES AND ADMINISTRATION. THAT POLICY SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD THE RECOGNITION

THAT OUR LOCAL COMMUNITIES NO LONGER CAN CARRY THE MAJOR SHARE OF THE ECONOMIC BURDEN OF EDUCATING OUR YOUNG, AND THAT GUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL REQUIRES A SUBSTANTIAL NATIONAL FINANCIAL

COMMITMENT,

THAT POLICY MUST, HOWEVER, ALSO RECOGNIZE THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND SOLID CAPABILITIES OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES. IT SHOULD ENABLE THEM, THROUGH THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE AND DEPENDABLE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE, TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN ANSWERS TO THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS THEY CONFRONT, SUBJECT TO THE ASSURANCE THAT AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY WILL BE PROVIDED FOR ALL CHILDREN TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION OF HIGH GUALITY. I WISH TO THANK THE MATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE SUPPORT WHICH IT HAS PROVIDED FOR LEGISLATION WHICH I HAVE INTRODUCED IN THE CONGRESS TO PROVIDE THE INSTITUTIONAL MEANS TO SET AND IMPLEMENT THIS POLICY. I AM SPEAKING OF THE BILL TO ESTABLISH A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

We are, as most of you know, the only major nation in the world that lacks a Cabinet-Level post in Education. We are the only major nation in the world in which there is no single department charged with the overall coordination and direction of our educational efforts.

AS A RESULT, OUR EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH NATIONAL EDUCATION PRIORITIES AND BETTER ADMINISTER OUR EDUCATION PROGRAMS ARE

SEVERELY HAMPERED.

WE NEED A NEW DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION:

-- TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN COORDINATING FEDERAL

-- To ESTABLISH CLEAR PRIORITIES AND FIRM POLICIES, IN COOPERATION WITH OUR STATES AND COMMUNITIES, FOR THE ORDERLY GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION'S EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND RESOURCES:

-- To STIMULATE INNOVATION AND COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE IMPACT OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE AND STATE AND LOCAL RESOURCES DEVOTED TO EDUCATION;

-- AND TO CARRY THROUGH THE COMMITMENT OF OUR PEOPLE TO EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION AS A SOLID INVESTMENT IN AMERICA'S FUTURE AND A GUARANTEED RIGHT OF ALL OUR CHILDREN AND YOUTH. Under my bill, the Secretary of Education would be the Nation's chief policy planner for education and its advocate at the highest levels of government. The establishment of a Department of Education would be the first step tomard a more responsible and more responsive execution of education policy. This Department would constantly prod the Executive Branch and the Congress to take a more systematic view of the strengths and weaknesses of our current education programs.

The time is long overdue for taking effective action to meet the urgent needs of so many children who have been denied the opportunity for a good education or who have learning disabilities. And, there is so much more we can and should be doing to expand lifetime learning and new career

TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR PEOPLE.

BUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IS NOT ENOUGH. WE MUST FACE REALITY: ADEQUATE FUNDING, OR THE LACK OF IT, HAS A CRUCIAL IMPACT ON THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION. THAT IS WHY I, AND AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF MY COLLEAGUES IN CONGRESS, VOTED LAST MONTH TO OVERRIDE THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF LEGISLATION PROVIDING VITALLY NEEDED APPROPRIATIONS FOR EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

TRADITIONALLY, OUR LOCAL COMMUNITIES, WITH SOME FEDERAL AND STATE ASSISTANCE FOR SPECIAL PROGRAMS, HAVE FUNDED THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN. THE MAJOR SOURCE OF REVENUE FOR THIS PURPOSE HAS BEEN LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES. This has meant that communities which were able to collect substantial property taxes have been able to spend more on education, while poorer communities have been lucky if they were able to meet minimum State per-pupil expenditure guidelines. Only a few States, such as Minnesota, have relieved local jurisdictions of this financial burden.

IT IS NOT RIGHT THAT THE QUALITY OF A CHILD'S EDUCATION SHOULD BE MADE DEPENDENT ON THE WEALTH OR POVERTY OF HIS OR HER COMMUNITY.

THIS SITUATION CONTINUES TODAY, BUT IT HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY THE NEW FISCAL REALITIES OF THE SEVENTIES -- INFLATION AND RECESSION. LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES, EVEN IN AFFLUENT COMMUNITIES, HAVE REACHED THE SATURATION POINT. LAST YEAR, ALMOST 45 PER CENT OF THE SCHOOL BOND REFERENDUMS PROPOSED BY LOCAL JURISDICTIONS ACROSS THE MATION WERE REJECTED BY RESIDENTS FEARFUL OF EVER INCREASING TAX BILLS AND THE CONTINUING IMPACT OF INFLATION AND RECESSION ON THEIR POCKETBOOKS. AT LEAST ONE STATE, VIRGINIA, HAS CUT BACK ON ITS ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES FOR EDUCATION, AND IN OTHER STATES AND CITIES BUDGET-BALANCING SOON MAY OVERTAKE EDUCATION IN TERMS OF LOCAL PRIORITIES.

As a consequence of this belt tightening, needed school construction projects are postponed or shelved, and the special needs of certain of our children go unanswered.

INSTEAD OF MOVING FORWARD, WE IN FACT STAND STILL OR EVEN MOVE BACKWARD.

WE CANNOT GO ON THIS WAY, OUR OBSOLETE SYSTEM FOR FINANCING EDUCATION IS LITERALLY STRANGLING ALL OUR FINE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION FOR ALL OUR YOUNGSTERS, THE PROBLEM OF FUNDING IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM -- NOT SIMPLY A LOCAL OR STATE PROBLEM. TO SOLVE IT, WE NEED A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO INCREASING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO MEET THE BURDENS OF FINANCING QUALITY THE EDUCATION. WE NEED A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO INCREASING, FEDERAL INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION TO ONE-THIRD OF ALL PUBLIC RESOURCES. AS A FIRST STEP IN ESTABLISHING THIS TYPE OF FEDERAL COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION, I HAVE INTRODUCED THE NATIONAL

EDUCATION INVESTMENT ACT IN THE SENATE.

THIS LEGISLATION WOULD MEET THE SERIOUS PROBLEM OF INADEQUATE, OBSOLESCENT, AND RUN-DOWN SCHOOL FACILTIES, BY PROVIDING LOAN GUARANTEES TO LOCAL JURISDICTIONS FOR MODERNIZATION AND NEW CONSTRUCTION.

IT WOULD ESTABLISH A NATIONAL EDUCATION TRUST FUND, FROM WHICH PAYMENTS WOULD BE MADE TO STATE AND LOCAL JURISDICTION APPLICANTS WHICH AGREE TO SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE OR ELIMINATE THE TAXATION OF REAL PROPERTY FOR THE PURPOSE OF FINANCING ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.

THIS PROGRAM WOULD ENCOURAGE PROGRESSIVE TAX REFORM IN THE STATES. IT ALSO WOULD IMPROVE AND BALANCE PER PUPIL EXPENDITURES AMONG ALL LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS, WITHOUT PENALIZING HIGH EXPENDITURE DISTRICTS. THE TRUST FUND WOULD ENABLE SCHOOLS TO KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT FUNDS WOULD BE AVAILABLE, AND THESE RESOURCES WOULD BE FREE FROM ZEALOUS BUDGET CUTTERS. THE LEGISLATION ALSO PINPOINTS SPECIAL NEEDS OF CHILDREN WHICH FOR TOO LONG HAVE RECEIVED A TOTALLY INADEGUATE RESPONSE -- INCLUDING THE NEEDS OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN, AND OF EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN IN AREAS OF POVERTY. IT PROVIDES FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE INCENTIVES FOR MEETING THESE SPECIAL NEEDS.

FINALLY, THE ACT PRESENTS CLEARLY DEFINED MEASURES AND A DEFINITE TIME SCHEDULE FOR ADDRESSING ALL THESE PROBLEMS -- NOT THROUGH JUST PROVIDING MORE FEDERAL DOLLARS, BUT THROUGH USING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE AS LEVERAGE TO PROMOTE COUNTERPART EFFORTS BY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE PRIVATE INVESTMENT SECTOR. MOST IMPORTANTLY, FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THIS CONVENTION, THIS BILL TAKES THE BASIC VIEW THAT STATES AND LOCALITIES SHOULD BE ENABLED, THROUGH THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE AND DEPENDABLE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE, TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN ANSWERS TO THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS THEY CONFRONT IN GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD TO A QUALITY EDUCATION.

MHO CONTROLS EDUCATION? WELL, BASICALLY, ALL OF US DO IN ONE RESPECT OR ANOTHER. THE FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY IS TO SET BASIC EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR OUR ENTIRE NATION -- TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL -- AND TO FACILITATE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS GOAL AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL.

BUT IN DEMANDING THE BEST EDUCATION FOR OUR CHILDREN, WE MUST ALSO DEMAND THE BEST OF OUR SOCIETY. VALUES IMPARTED IN THE CLASSROOM OFTEN SEEM HYPOCRISIES IN THE OUTSIDE WORLD. BY IINTENSIVELY EXAMINING WHAT, HOW, AND WHY WE TEACH OUR CHILDREN, WE MAY DISCOVER ANSWERS TO EDUCATION'S ILLS THAT ALSO CAN HELP HEAL THE SICKNESSES OF OUR SOCIETY.

AT ROOT, WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE UNIQUE WORTH AND THE KINSHIP OF EVERY MAN AS A FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH IN EDUCATION AND AS A BASIC EXPLANATION OF WHAT AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT.

THE EDUCATION OF A CHILD IS THE SUM TOTAL OF THAT CHILD'S NATIVE ABILITY, THE EXPERIENCE IN AN EDUCATION SYSTEM, AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THAT CHILD LIVES AND GROWS -- THE NEIGHBORHOOD, THE COMMUNITY, AND THE NATION, AND INDEED, THE WORLD. HE IS CONDITIONED BY IT.

THE BEST IN EDUCATION -- FACILITIES, TEACHERS, BOOKS -- IS DIMINISHED BY THE INADEQUACY OF THE SURROUNDINGS AND THE INADEQUACIES OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT. -19-

YOU HAVE A GREATER RESPONSIBILITY THAN JUST TO ADVOCATE BETTER TEACHERS, TEACHING METHODS, MODERNIZATION OF SCHOOL PLANT AND FACILITIES, AND THE USE OF THE MOST MODERN TECHNIQUES, INCLUDING MODERN EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY. THE TRUE EDUCATOR MUST BE A SPOKESMAN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, A CRUSADER AGAINST THE EVILS OF POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION, AND AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNITIES THAT ARE WHOLESOME AND SAFE. AS AMERICA CELEBRATES THE BICENTENNIAL OF ITS DECLARATION OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, IT IS WELL TO REMEMBER THE VITAL ROLE OF EDUCATION IN MAKING THIS DECLARATION A LIVING REALITY FOR ALL GENERATIONS.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF A TRAGIC CIVIL WAR, AS A REUNITED NATION SOUGHT TO FIND ITS DIRECTION AFTER DECLARING THAT IT -20-

COULD NOT CONTINUE HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE, AN EX-SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS, ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP, IN A MAJOR ADDRESS, CHOSE A SURPRISING TOPIC. SPEAKING AT YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA, IN 1881 -- THE SITE OF THE FINAL BRITISH SURRENDER TO THE CONTINENTAL ARMY 100 YEARS EARLIER -- MR. WINTHROP FOUND THE KEY TO PROGRESS IN FREEDOM TO BE A FIRM COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION.

THESE WERE HIS WORDS:

SLAVERY IS BUT HALF ABOLISHED, EMANCIPATION IS BUT HALF COMPLETED, WHILE MILLIONS OF FREEMEN WITH VOTES IN THEIR HANDS ARE LEFT WITHOUT EDUCATION. JUSTICE TO THEM, THE WELFARE OF THE STATES IN WHICH THEY LIVE, THE SAFETY OF THE WHOLE REPUBLIC, THE DIGNITY OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, — ALL ALIKE DEMAND THAT THE STILL REMAINING BONDS OF IGNORANCE SHALL BE UNLOOSED AND BROKEN, AND THE MINDS AS WELL AS THE BODIES OF THE EMANCIPATED GO FREE.

LET US RESOLVE, IN THIS 200TH YEAR OF OUR NATION'S FOUNDING, THAT ALL OF OUR PEOPLE SHALL, INDEED, "GO FREE" --THAT EDUCATION IN AMERICA SHALL BECOME THE FINEST IN THE WORLD.

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