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Education: The Federal Role
Address by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Before the
National Federation of Teachers
Minneapolis, Minnsta
August 20, 1959

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a singular
privilege to be asked to speak to you tonight.

You know, I always feel at home with teachers.
After all, I'm a sort of refugee from a classroom.
And in the realm of public affairs, I honestly try
to carry on what you begin in the classroom.

propaganda for education and brainwashing for
freedom of choice. This is why, as a politician,
I am proud to count myself a teacher, carrying
on in the realm of public affairs what you have
begun in the classroom.

tonight
I salute you as teachers; I salute you also
as an important and articulate part of the American
labor movement. It is heartening to find teachers
who say, as you do, "our strength is our affiliation
with the AFL-CIO." And it is heartening that the
teachers in their embattled struggles, from Calumet
to New York, have had the support of the labor
movement, which for years has been in the forefront

of the struggle for public education as an essential requirement for political and economic democracy.

This is more than just a matter of mutual aid among those who work for a living, regardless of the color of their collars. Teachers in their fight for professional standards and for their rights as employees are also fighting the battle of the community for better schools. In this they have earned the support of all of us.

Within the labor movement your union has been a symbol of the importance of education and social

progress, and a powerful force against the
corrupting influence of those who have betrayed
the labor movement from within. Congress will
act this year to eliminate corrupt practices
without crippling legitimate union activities.
In treating the disease of corruption in unions,
we do not want to prescribe a treatment that
maims the patient in trying to cure the disease.

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~~But I am frank to say that the final bill is all
too likely to bear at some points the mark of
those who are more interested in punishing the
labor movement as a whole than in eliminating
the unsavory practices of a few discredited union officials.~~

Many years ago, when I worked in the field of workers' and adult education, I learned to appreciate all the more the crucial importance of public schooling in our democracy. I learned that the decisions of men and women as citizens, as voters, as union members rested in large part on the basic education they received in our schools.

This is true even more today than it was 20 years ago. For all the importance of science and technology in our educational system, in our lives and in our progress and survival as society we will stand or fall by our ability to

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cultivate human beings and train citizens. In the crucial competition for the preservation and triumph of freedom, we will stand or fall by our quality as a nation of citizens. This is the true meaning of educational systems to which you are devoting your lives. If you succeed, we cannot fail.

* * * * *

The greatest asset of any education system -- along with its students -- is not the classroom, nor the laboratory, the library nor the playing field. Its greatest asset is its teachers.

And by the same token, an education^{al} system cannot rise above its teachers. Through them flows the essence which a society imparts to its children.

The perilous world in which we live today forces us to reappraise both the educational structure and the educational tasks of our American society. We know that we are not doing as well as we can.

But to do better, we must understand clearly why we need to do better.

There is of course the direct competitive challenge of the Soviet Union. In fact, the very

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fact of Premier Khrushchev's forthcoming visit to the United States is a vivid demonstration of what a determined and well-financed educational drive has done to take a backward nation to a position of enormous strength and prestige in the world.

Among those of us most concerned with the massive challenge to our society from the Soviet Union have been our own scientists and engineers. Dr. Edward Teller and Admiral Hyman Rickover have repeatedly warned us that Soviet advances in science and engineering threaten actually to surpass achievements in our country.

It is not merely a question of what we ought to be doing in education. ~~It~~ has come down to a categorical imperative: we must consider education in terms of the life and death struggle among nations.

It should be sufficient to emphasize that we should set higher priorities on education because it is the right thing to do -- because education is an indispensable means for enriching the lives of people -- for raising the levels of human capabilities and for deepening understanding.

Yes, we are falling behind the efforts of other nations. ~~And~~ ^And equally important, we are falling behind our own needs, our own potentials. We are falling behind our own ideals.

Our own true needs and purposes, everywhere in the world, are to fulfill the real traditions and promise of America. As we do this, we grow stronger everywhere. As we fail to do this, we grow weaker everywhere.

rest

Because I have been chosen by the people to
serve them through their government, I propose
tonight to discuss with you some essential aspects
of the Government's role in educational affairs. I

tonight

do not intend to discuss with you what you ought to
teach, or how you ought to teach. These are questions
of the greatest public importance, to be determined
professionally within your profession. They are
not within the scope of government. The prime
responsibility of government is to marshal effectively
the material resources of the nation so that what ought
to be taught can be taught, taught well and taught
to every American -- taught to every American up
to the highest level of education he can attain.

I have no doubt that, if we can provide the material means, the education system and particularly its teachers can shape the content of education to express our highest intellectual and moral values.

In saying this, I do not imply that the quantity of education can take the place of quality. But quantity is everywhere a precondition of quality. When there are not enough classrooms and teachers, when teachers are grossly underpaid, when many students of ability are excluded from the educational process through lack of means, to talk only about quality of education without reckoning its costs and accepting responsibility

for meeting those costs would be a fraud.

On the contemporary scene, my friends, our quantitative defaults in education are surcharged with qualitative defaults. When we say, as a nation, that we cannot afford to do better, that it would be "inflationary" to spend more for education, we are not talking sound economics. We are talking nonsense, and worse, downright immorality. We are saying that we value frills and luxuries more than the goods and services most vital in our lives. And when our productive resources of manpower and machines, if fully used, could give us both the essentials and the luxuries, the moral

default of idle resources becomes even more apparent.

~~I know that all of you here are familiar with
this default. But evidently, the nation-at-large
is not, or it would take arms in righteous
indignation. And so I trust you will bear with
me, while I bring a few facts to the strengthening
of your cause.~~

You all know the dimensions of our
~~First, as to the~~ classroom shortage in the
public schools of the United States, ~~from the~~
~~kindergarten through the high school.~~

~~In 1955, the Department of Health, Education
and Welfare, on the basis of a comprehensive nationwide~~

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~~survey by the States and localities, reported a~~
~~classroom shortage of 312,000, as of the fall of~~
~~1952.~~

~~Between~~

~~(go on to next page)~~

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Since 1952

~~then and the fall of 1958~~ the number of classrooms built was

not much more than those required to accommodate increased

enrollments and replace classrooms abandoned as unfit or

obsolete. ~~The educators and the Government are not agreed~~

~~on the extent of the classroom shortage, but certainly 200,000~~

A 200,000-classroom shortage today
would be a conservative estimate.

To eliminate this shortage within five years, to replace

classrooms ~~abandoned~~ and to cover new enrollments of more

than 1.2 million/^{students}~~students~~ a year, requires about 107,000 new

classrooms yearly during the next five years. ~~At current~~

~~costs for classrooms and related facilities,~~ this would require

a five-year construction program of about 4 billion dollars

a year.

The States and localities, despite heroic efforts, have

in recent years been able to expend about 2½ billion dollars

a year for classroom construction. If, by the greatest efforts, they should average about 3 1/3 billion annually over the next five years, they could build 82,000 classrooms a year. This would still be about 25,000 short of the minimum need. By 1965 we would still be about 125,000 classrooms short.

If the Murray-Metcalf bill were enacted, and if funds thus made available were apportioned by the State and localities between capital outlays and teachers' salaries in accord with customary patterns, there would be about \$900,000,000 available for classrooms each year for the next four years. This would just about close the gap.

Second, as to the shortage of public school teachers, and the inadequacy of their pay.

In the spring of 1959, the consensus among leading educators was that the shortage of teachers in our public schools was about 140,000. Of this, about 40,000 were needed to reduce the student-teacher ratio to workable levels. And about 100,000 were to

replace teachers with insufficient training.

The task over the next five years, if realistically faced, is to recruit about 60,000 teachers a year to meet accumulated and accumulating needs, plus about 70,000 new teachers each year to replace those leaving the public school system. With this level of entrants into the teaching field, provided they are of high standard, it is estimated that the current qualitative shortage might be substantially eliminated five years hence.

It has been found impossible to recruit qualified teachers at this rate at prevailing levels of teachers' pay. Average pay in the public schools is now estimated at \$4,775; nearly one-fifth of all classroom teachers receive less than \$3,500; and only one-fifth receive as much as \$5,500. If we want the number and quality of teachers we need, we must be prepared to pay for them.

For the sake of justice as well as for the sake of recruiting qualified teachers, we need to increase teachers' pay in the public schools over the next five years about 50 percent. Such an advance would bring teachers' salaries close to parity without advancing pay in other comparable areas of work.

States and localities cannot carry all of this increased burden, even if they expand their efforts more ^{rapidly} ~~rapidly~~ in the years ahead than in recent years. The Federal Government, with greater resources of national revenue, must act in the national interest to assert the priority of the Nation's education system. To do this Federal contributions toward teachers' pay will need to become an established part of the finance base for education.

Enactment of the Murray-Metcalf bill, of which I am a sponsor, would go a long ways toward meeting the needs.

* * * * *

As we look to our school system to lay the base of a competent and informed citizenry, so we look to our colleges and universities for the development of our intellectual leadership. And here too we are falling short.

cut

~~I do not subscribe to the cynical view that belittles intellectuals. Whether in the sciences, or in education, or in the arts of human and social relations, or in the cultural arts, or in government, we must look to people of intellect for those creative innovations and achievements by which our society will progress and prosper.~~

The task of education in a democracy is to develop every intellect to the utmost of its capacity. It is a national disgrace that perhaps as many as 150,000 of our most gifted

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young people are barred from college because they cannot afford the cost.

The Defense Education Act of 1958 only scratches the surface of the need. At the time it was passed, I protested vigorously but in vain against its ~~niggardly terms and~~ grudging conditions. This is why I have proposed my Students' Aid bill, with appropriations for scholarships rising gradually to 184 million dollars a year by fiscal 1963. I have also proposed tax credits, up to \$450 a year for parents paying college tuition and fees.

Federal funds are also needed to assist the expansion of physical plants at colleges and universities, and for related purposes.

My friends, what are the main objections to an expanding educational program along these lines? Especially, what are the objections to the Federal participation which is essential to this expansion?

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The first objection is an offspring of the spirit of
segregation. My views on this subject are known to you all.
I am happy that the AFT has taken a similar view. As a one-
time teacher, I share your pride in your firm advocacy of the
advancement of school desegregation. I do not see how anyone
who is true to the vows of this profession can take any other
position. I note too that it has cost you the support of
some who would otherwise be your adherents. This is something
else that you and I have in common!

The second objection is that Federal aid would mean Federal
interference in the education process. In fact, by providing
federal grants to the States, which then could use the money
for either classroom construction or teacher salaries, we can
restore local control. How much control over education does a local
school district have when it is bonded to the limit, operating

on split shifts in aging, inadequate buildings with underpaid teachers who do not have minimum teaching qualifications? The legislation I have introduced to give federal aid to States for school construction and teacher salaries expressly prohibits any federal control. In 1950, as chairman of the Senate School Construction Subcommittee, I sponsored the bill which became law and now provides money for school construction in areas where families in federal service put too heavy a burden on local school facilities. Since that time Congress has appropriated more than \$1.8 billion for construction and operations of schools in such areas. There has never been the slightest hint of federal control in the administration of this money.

The third objection is that "we cannot afford the cost". This merits close attention, because of the fog of cultivated ignorance on this subject.

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What is the Federal Government now spending for education?

The amount proposed in the President's original budget for fiscal 1960 comes to only \$2.68 per year for every man, woman and child in the United States. It comes to only about six-tenths of one percent of the total proposed Federal Budget.

It comes to less than one-tenth of one percent of the estimated total output of goods and services of the United

States.

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This is indeed a sad commentary upon our scale of national values, as registered by the Budget of the Government of all the people.

We are told, however, that there are so many other essentials in the Federal Budget that there is room only for a token payment toward our educational needs. This is far from the truth. The truth is that, as we have the needs, so too we have the resources, if we will but use them.

There is no true economy in neglecting the greatest priorities of our national needs, among which education ranks very high. It has not been sound economy, even by the narrower and more traditional economic tests. The same restrictive thinking which has neglected the great priorities has led to policies which have repressed our general rate of economic growth.

The slowdown in the rate of economic growth since the end of the Korean war has meant idleness of men and machines which has cost the country tens of billions of dollars. As a consequence, tax revenues of **Federal**, State and local Governments, during the period 1953-1958 alone, were 30-35 billion dollars less than they would have been under conditions of full employment and normal economic growth. With these additional revenues, we could have met the great priorities of our national needs,

without budgetary deficits or inflation.

Those of us who have urged policies for economic growth for the past 3 or 4 years have been scoffed at, laughed at and chastised from the highest official places. Now I am glad to see that we have made some converts in those same places. The Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth, under the chairmanship of the Vice President, which at the end of June was sounding the alarms of inflation, now, less than two months later, has discovered that the "inflation" has been brought under control after all and solemnly proclaims the importance of economic growth. Now that we have converted them, I hope they succeed in converting those who make the Budget and the economic policies of the Government.

~~Both the threat of inflation and Federal budgetary deficits have been aggravated by the Government's repressive economic policies, which have held back economic growth and caused shortages in essential programs. We all know that the recent deficits in the Federal Budget have been greater than ever before, except when the country was at war, in spite of continued neglect of education and other national needs.~~

We should know, by now, that we cannot protect the Federal Budget

by neglecting the needs of the Nation.

So, where should we go from here -- and how?

Where would the money come from to do this job?

There are those who say that we should cut back on non-essentials, or at least on luxuries, in order to get the things we need most. If this were necessary, I would favor it.

There are those who say that we should raise tax rates or impose new taxes to support these essential programs. If this were necessary, I would favor it.

I would vote for either of these if that was the only way to get the schools and other things we need so greatly. But this approach seems to me to neglect the productive power -- the new technology -- which is the hallmark of America.

We cannot afford, in the space age, to divide scarcity. We need instead to plan to share abundance. Our needs are not for one kind of public service, but for many. Our needs are for more public services, as well as for more private economic progress.

What makes democracy stronger than totalitarianism is not superior

power to suppress one kind of progress in order to attain another. Our greater inherent strength, the great strength of democracy, is in the ability of free people to plan and use their free system, to sustain their values and serve their needs more fully than the totalitarians.

We do not seek to excel them in the taxes which the state, in one form or another, imposes. We can excel them in the energies which we voluntarily release and put to use in the service of all men.

But this voluntary release of our energies requires purposefulness and planning. It requires a concert of action at all levels, private and public, local, State, and Federal.

If we attain this concert, we can activate and maintain the 5 percent average annual growth rate urged by the Rockefeller Report and other competent studies. This growth rate would yield us, for the period 1958-1964 as a whole, about 400 billion dollars more of national output than would result from the low average annual growth rate of less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent from 1953 through 1957.

It would yield about 70 billion dollars in Federal, State and local revenues, at existing tax rates. In Federal revenues alone, the yield

would be more than 50 billion.

On this basis, we could not only do the education job, we could also enlarge social security, improve health services, clear slums and redevelop urban areas, expand national security efforts, and participate in international economic cooperation on a worthy scale -- and without inflation.

A Federal Budget geared to these tasks, in a fully expanding economy, while it would increase in dollars, would steadily shrink in relation to the total economy. The Budget would thus become less burdensome, easier to balance, and less inflationary.

We have the resources to meet our needs - and then some. The only question is whether we use them or let them languish. The only question is whether we can expand our thought, expand our action, expand our concept of private and public responsibility, to the challenge of the times.

We live not only in the space age of missiles, but also in the space age of economic and technical capabilities. We must lift our vigor and our courage to space-age proportions.

As we do so, our goal is not to outstrip another country or another

society. Our goal is to realize, fully and freely, the best of ourselves.

Our aim is not to outstrip an adversary. It is to show the world what a free society is capable of, not only in material things but in the riches of mind and spirit which have been the greatness of democracy.

Our task is to make ourselves strong, not to fight a war but to prevent one -- not to flaunt our strength, but to show that the strong can be also wise and patient and firm and persistent in the pursuit of peace.

American Federation of Teachers

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Chicago
Freddy

I am flattered that you have asked me to speak here. I feel wholly at home and among friends in this great assembly of teachers.

"Once a teacher, always a teacher," and although I forsook ~~the~~ teaching of political science ^{to practice it,} ~~for the practice,~~ I am always at heart a teacher, as my Senatorial colleagues would, ~~perhaps ruefully,~~ testify.

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of file

The process of democracy is at base a process of the education of free men for decisions by free will. This is what distinguishes democracy from dictatorship, ^{-- a dictatorship} which substitutes propaganda for education and brainwashing for freedom of choice. This is why, as a politician, I am proud to count myself a teacher, carrying on in the realm of public affairs what you have begun in the classroom.

abdication of responsibility

I salute you as teachers; I salute you also as an important and articulate part of the American labor movement. In these days when the enemies of labor, both from the inside of the labor movement and from without, have loosed a flood of anti-labor feeling and punitive legislation, it is heartening to find teachers who say, as you do, "our ~~greatest source~~ ^{and} of strength is our affiliation with the AFL-CIO." It is heartening that the teachers in their embattled struggles, from Calumet to New York, have

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had the support of the labor movement, ~~and that teachers, in turn, have stood shoulder to shoulder with the labor movement in fighting so-called "right to work" laws.~~

This is more than just a matter of mutual aid among those who work for a living, regardless of the color of their collars. Teachers in their fight for professional standards and for their rights as employees are also fighting the battle of the community for better schools, ^{and they have} ~~and earned~~ the support of all of us. ~~And the American labor movement, in its fight against demagogic anti-labor propoganda and punitive anti-labor legislation --~~

~~even if the source is the President of the United States himself -- is fighting to maintain one of the great forces of democracy in America.~~

~~Within the labor movement ^{since there has been a struggle} in the guise of helping the labor movement to purge the corrupting of its importance of education and social progress, and a influence of a few who have betrayed it, the anti-labor forces, with the powerful force against the corrupting influence of these President's backing, have pushed through the House a bill placing powerful~~

~~who have betrayed labor from within. Congress will act this year to and subtle weapons in the hands of labor's worst enemies. I am confident eliminate corrupt practices without crippling the legitimate union activities.~~

In treating the disease of corruption in unions, we do not want a treatment that cures the disease and ^{kills the patient.}
President's blessing, the final bill is almost certain to bear at many

~~those~~ points the trademark of anti-labor businessmen and anti-labor politicians, who are more interested in punishing the labor movement as a whole than in eliminating the unnecessary practices of a few discredited union officials.

Within the labor movement your union has been a symbol of the importance of education and social progress, and a powerful force against the corrupting influence of those who have betrayed the labor movement from within. Congress will act this year to eliminate corrupt practices without crippling legitimate union activities. In treating the disease of corruption in unions, we do not want to prescribe a treatment/^{that}maims the patient in trying to cure the disease. But I am frank to say that the final bill is all too likely to bear at some points the mark of those who are more interested in punishing the labor movement as a whole than in eliminating the unsavory practices of a few discredited union officials.

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 I learned to appreciate ^{all the more} the crucial importance of public schooling in our
 democracy. I learned that the decisions of men and women as citizens, as
 voters, as union members rested ^{in large part} on the basic education they received in
 our schools. ^P This is true even more today than it was 20 years ago. For
 all the importance of science and technology in our educational system, in
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The perilous world in which we live today forces us to reappraise the educational tasks of our American society. We know that we are not doing as well as we can.

But to do better, we must understand clearly why we need to do better. ~~The main reason for doing better is not the peaceful advance of Soviet education. Education is not primarily an effort to outdistance an adversary. Education is primarily an effort to~~ *enrich the lives of* ~~cultivate people -- to~~ *merely* ~~elevate their human capabilities by enlarging their knowledge, deepening their understanding, enriching their sense of values.~~ *and challenge*

It ~~When we note that we are falling behind in education, the chief significance is not that we may be falling behind some other nation. It is rather that we are falling behind our own needs, our own potentials, our own ideals. If, in education, we are true to ourselves, we cannot be false in our purposes and actions anywhere in the world.~~

Our own true needs and purposes, everywhere in the world, are to fulfill the real traditions and promise of America. *As* ~~When we fail to do this, we grow weaker everywhere.~~ As we do this, we grow stronger everywhere.

Because I have been chosen by the people to serve them through their

insert

INSERT AFTER WORDS ~~#Soviet educational drive~~ " need to do better."

There is of course the direct competitive challenge of the Soviet Union. In fact, the very fact of Premier Khrushchev's forthcoming visit to the United States is a vivid demonstration of what a determined and well-financed educational drive has done to take ~~it~~ a ~~back~~ backward nation to a position of enormous strength and prestige in the world.

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Among ~~those of us~~ most concerned with the massive challenge to our society from the Soviet Union have been our own scientists and engineers. Dr. Edward Teller and ~~Admiral~~ Admiral Hyman Rickover have repeatedly warned us that Soviet advances in science and engineering threaten actually to surpass achievements in our country.

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Yes, we are falling behind the efforts of other nations, and equally
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government, I propose tonight to discuss with you ^{some} ~~the~~ essential aspects of the Government's role in educational affairs. I do not intend to discuss with you what you ought to teach, or how you ought to teach. These are questions of the greatest public importance, to be determined professionally within your profession. They are not within the scope of government. The prime responsibility of government is to marshal effectively the material resources of the nation so that what ought to be taught can be taught, taught well, and taught to every American -- taught to every American up to the highest level of education he can attain.

I have no doubt that, if we can provide the material means, the education system and particularly its teachers can shape the content of education to express our highest intellectual and moral values.

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a fraud.

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I know that all of you here are familiar with this default. But evidently, the nation-at-large is not, or it would take arms in righteous indignation. And so I trust you will bear with me, while I bring a few facts to the strengthening of your cause.

First, as to the classroom shortage in the public schools of the United States, from the kindergarten through the high school.

In 1955, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, on the basis of ^a comprehensive nationwide survey by the States and localities, reported a classroom shortage of 312,000, as of the fall of 1952. Between

then and the fall of 1958, the number of classrooms built was ^{not much} ~~only about~~ 12,000 more than those required ^{to accommodate} ~~for~~ increased enrollments, ^{and} ~~plus those~~ required to replace classrooms abandoned as unfit or obsolete. ~~This~~ would indicate a shortage of about 300,000 classrooms in late 1958. In contrast, the Office of Education in late 1958 reported about 140,000 ~~new classrooms were needed to take care of currently enrolled pupils.~~

~~This extraordinarily low estimate is a gross scaling down of requirements~~
~~The educators and the Government are not agreed on the extent of~~
~~to fit faulty and contrived concepts of budgetary feasibility. Certainly,~~
~~the classroom shortage, but certainly 200,000 would be~~
~~the current classroom shortage, judged even by minimum fair standards, is~~
~~a conservative estimate.~~
 at least 200,000.

To eliminate this shortage within five years, to replace classrooms abandoned (~~at even the low rates of recent years~~), and to cover new enrollments of more than 1.2 million students a year, requires about 107,000 new classrooms yearly during the next five years. At current costs for classrooms and related facilities, this would require a five-year construction program of about 4 billion dollars a year.

The States and localities, despite heroic efforts, have in recent years been able to expand ~~only~~ about $2\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars a year for classroom

construction. ^{by the greatest efforts,} ~~Even if~~ they should average about 3-1/3 billion annually

over the next five years ~~— a herculean effort relative to their resources —~~

~~the average annual construction would be only about 82,000 classrooms, or~~ ^{they could build 82,000 classrooms a year. This would still be}

about 25,000 short of the minimum need ^{of 107,000}. By 1965 we would still

be about 125,000 classrooms short ^{of our minimum needs}.

If the Murray-Metcalf bill were enacted, and if funds thus made available were apportioned by the States and localities between capital

outlays and teachers' salaries in accord with customary patterns, there

would be about ^{2 900,000,000} ~~3.8~~ billion dollars available ^{each year} for classrooms for ^{the next four years.} ~~a four-year period~~. This would build about ^{just about} 24,000 classrooms a year, or,

about enough to close the prospective gap. ~~But even after this four-year period, Federal assistance would still be needed.~~

Second, as to the shortage of public school teachers, and the inadequacy of their pay.

In the spring of 1959, the consensus among leading educators was that the shortage of teachers in our public schools was about 140,000. Of this, about 40,000 were needed to reduce the student-teacher ratio to workable levels. And about 100,000 were to replace teachers with insufficient training.

The task over the next five years, if realistically faced, is to recruit about 60,000 teachers a year to meet accumulated and accumulating needs, plus about 70,000 new teachers each year to replace those leaving the public school system. With this level of entrants into the teaching field, provided they are of high standard, it is estimated that the current qualitative shortage might be substantially eliminated five years hence.

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 But this rate of ~~high standard~~ teacher recruitment is demonstrably ~~impossible at current~~ *at this rate at prevailing* levels of teachers' pay. ~~While~~ average pay in the public schools is now estimated at \$4,775; nearly one-fifth ~~receive~~ *of all classroom* teachers receive less than \$3,500; and only one-fifth receive as much as \$5,500. If we want the number and quality of teachers we need, we must be prepared to pay for them.

For the sake of justice as well as for the sake of recruiting qualified teachers,
 A ~~modest objective~~ indeed would be to increase average classroom ~~teachers' pay~~ *we need to increase* in the public schools ~~to a level,~~ *over the next* five years hence, ~~somewhat~~ *about* more than 50 percent above the current average, or from \$4,775 to \$7,275.

Such an advance would bring teachers' salaries close to parity with advancing pay in other comparable areas of work. ~~With more teachers, better paid,~~
~~the annual salary bill would need to rise in five years by more than 5 billion dollars.~~

~~with their limited~~ ^{all}
States and localities cannot carry ~~a~~ ^{all} of this increased

burden, even if they expand their efforts more rapidly in the years ahead

than in recent years. The Federal Government, with greater resources of

national revenue, must act in the national interest to assert the priority

of the Nation's education system. To do this Federal contributions toward

teachers' pay ~~would need to start immediately at an annual rate of more~~ ^{and need to become an established}

~~than half a billion dollars and might need to rise to an annual rate of~~ ^{part of the finance base for education.}

~~more than 3 billion five years hence.~~

Enactment of the Murray-Metcalf bill ^{of which I am a sponsor,} would ~~bring us close to this~~

~~target.~~ ^{go a long way toward meeting the needs.}

As we look to our school system to lay the base of a competent and

informed citizenry, so we look to our colleges and universities for the

development of our intellectual leadership. And here too we are falling

short.

I do not subscribe to the cynical view that belittles intellectuals.

Whether in the sciences, or in education, or in the arts of human and social

relations, or in the cultural arts, or in government, we must look to ~~the~~ ^{the people of}

intellectuals for those creative innovations and achievements by which our

society will ~~stand or fall.~~ ^{progress and prosper.}

The task of education in a democracy is to develop every intellect to the utmost of its capacity. It is a national disgrace that perhaps as many as 150,000 of our most gifted young people are barred from college because they cannot afford the cost.

The Defense Education Act of 1958 only scratches the surface of the need. At the time it was passed, I protested vigorously but in vain against its niggardly terms and grudging conditions. This is why I have proposed my Students' Aid bill, with appropriations for scholarships rising gradually to 184 million dollars a year by fiscal 1963. I have also proposed tax credits, up to \$450 a year for parents paying college tuition and fees.

Federal funds are also needed to assist the expansion of physical plant at colleges and universities, and for related purposes.

My friends, what are the main objections to an expanding educational program along these lines? Especially, what are the objections to the Federal participation which is essential to this expansion?

The first objection is an offspring of the spirit of segregation. My views on this subject are known to you all. I am happy that the AFT has taken a similar view. As a one-time teacher, I share your pride in your

your firm advocacy of the advancement of school desegregation. I do not see how anyone who is true to the vows of this profession can take any other position. I note too that it has cost you the support of ^{some} many who would otherwise be your adherents. This is something else that you and I have in common!

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FEDERAL AID -- NOT FEDERAL CONTROL -- A persistent argument against any federal school aid proposal warns of "creeping" federal control in education. In fact, by providing federal grants to the States, which then could use the money for either classroom construction or teacher salaries, we can restore local control. How much control over education does a local school district have when it is bonded to the limit, operating on split shifts in aging, inadequate buildings with underpaid teachers who don't have minimum teaching qualifications? The legislation I have introduced to give federal aid to States for school construction and teacher salaries expressly prohibits any federal control. In 1950, as chairman of the Senate School Construction Subcommittee, I sponsored the bill which became law and now provides money for school construction in areas where families in federal service put too heavy a burden on local school facilities. Since that time Congress has appropriated more than \$1.8 billion for construction and operations of schools in such areas. There has never been the slightest hint of federal control in the administration of this money.

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM -- Under the School Support Act which I am sponsoring with Senator Murray, the federal government would provide each State with \$25 per school-age child the first year, \$50 the second year, \$75 the third year and \$100 for following years. This would come to about \$1.1 billion the first year and would level off at about \$4.7 billion. That looks like a lot of money -- but it is not enough to take care of our school needs, even by the standards of the U. S. Office of Education which tries to justify the "penny-wise, pound-foolish" policies of the present Administration. I am also sponsoring a comprehensive Youth Opportunity Program including college scholarships based on merit and need and tax credits to help families or individuals paying tuition for advanced education.

Recent public opinion polls show that more than 70 per cent of the American people favor federal aid for education. We have an obligation to provide good educational opportunities for America's young people. We must fulfill our responsibility to the present and future generations of school children.

orig 14

States.

This is indeed a sad commentary upon our scale of national values, as registered by the Budget of the Government of all the people.

We are told, however, that there are so many other essentials in the Federal Budget that there is room only for a token payment toward our educational needs. This is far from the truth. The truth is that, as we have the needs, so too we have the resources, if we will but use them.

There is no true economy in neglecting the greatest priorities of our national needs, among which education ranks very high. It has not been sound economy, even by the narrower and more traditional economic tests. The same restrictive thinking which has neglected the great priorities has led to policies which have repressed our general rate of economic growth.

The ^{slowdown in the} ~~phenomenally low~~ rate of economic growth since the end of the Korean war has ^{meant idleness of men and machines which has} cost the country tens of billions of dollars, ~~in the form of~~ ~~idle men and idle machines.~~ As a consequence, tax revenues of Federal, State and local Governments, during the period 1953-1958 alone, were 30-35 billion dollars less than they would have been under conditions of full employment and normal economic growth. With these additional

revenues, we could have met the great priorities of our national needs, without budgetary deficits or inflation.

*Inset
14 A*

Both the threat of inflation and Federal budgetary deficits have been aggravated by the Government's repressive economic policies, which have held back economic growth and caused shortages in essential programs. We all know that the recent deficits in the Federal Budget have been greater than ever before, except when the country was at war, in spite of continued neglect of education and other national needs.

We should know, by now, that we cannot protect the Federal Budget by neglecting the needs of the Nation.

So, where should we go from here -- and how?

~~The programs which I have outlined would, if carried forward, lift Federal outlays for education from 479 million dollars in the President's original fiscal 1960 Budget to about 5½ billion five years hence. On a per capita basis, allowing for a growing population, the increase would be from \$2.68 to close to \$27.~~

With such increases, educational outlays would be a considerably larger portion of the likely Federal Budget five years hence than they are

INSERT 14A

Those of us who have ~~emphasized~~ urged policies for economic growth for the past 3 or 4 years have been ~~chastised~~ scoffed at, ~~and~~ laughed at and chastised from ~~the~~ from the highest official ~~sources~~ ^{places}.
Now I am glad to see that we have made some converts, ^{in those same places.} The Cabinet Committee on Price Stability ^{for} ~~and~~ Economic Growth, under the chairmanship of the Vice President, which ~~is~~ at the end of June was sounding the alarms of inflation, ~~is~~ now, less than two months later, has discovered that the "inflation" has been brought under control ^{after all} and ~~that the~~ ~~proclamation of economic policy is a memorandum which~~ solemnly proclaims the importance of economic growth. ~~It is if the rest of us needed to be told~~
Now that we have converted them, I hope they succeed in converting those who make the Budget and the economic policies of the Government.

now. They should be, for they are now small out of all proportion to the need.

Where would the money come from to do this job?

There are those who say that we should cut back on non-essentials, or at least on luxuries, in order to get the things we need most. If this were necessary, I would favor it.

There are those who say that we should raise tax rates or impose new taxes to support these essential programs. If this were necessary, I would favor it.

I would vote for either of these if that was the only way to get the schools and other things we need so greatly. But this approach seems to me to neglect the productive power -- the new technology -- which is the hallmark of America.

We cannot afford, in the space age, to divide scarcity. We need instead to plan to share abundance. Our needs are not for one kind of public service, but for many. Our needs are ~~not only~~ for more public services, *as well as* ~~but also~~ for more private economic progress.

What makes democracy stronger than totalitarianism is not superior power to suppress one kind of progress in order to attain another. Our

greater inherent strength, the great strength of democracy, is in the ability of free people to plan and use their free system, to sustain their values and serve their needs more fully than the totalitarians.

We ^{do not seek to} ~~cannot~~ excel them in the taxes which the state, in one form or another, imposes. We can excel them in the energies which we voluntarily release and put to use in the service of all men.

But this voluntary release of our energies requires purposefulness and planning. It requires a concert of action at all levels, private and public, local, State, and Federal.

If we attain this concert, we can activate and maintain the 5 percent average annual growth rate urged by the Rockefeller Report and other competent studies. This growth rate would yield us, for the period 1958-1964 as a whole, about 400 billion dollars more of national output than would result from the low average annual growth rate of less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent from 1953 through 195⁷~~8~~.

It would yield about 70 billion dollars in Federal, State and local revenues, at existing tax rates. In Federal revenues alone the yield would be more than 50 billion.

On this basis, we could not only do the education job. We could also enlarge social security, improve health services, clear slums and redevelop urban areas, expand national security efforts, and participate in international economic cooperation on a worthy scale -- *and without inflation.*

A Federal Budget geared to these tasks, in a fully expanding economy, while it would increase in dollars, would steadily shrink in relation to the total economy. The Budget would thus become less burdensome, easier to balance, and less inflationary.

We have the resources to meet our needs -- and then some. The only question is whether we use them or let them languish. The only question is whether we can expand our thought, expand our action, expand our concept of private and public responsibility, to the challenge of these times.

We live not only in the space age of missiles, but also in the space age of economic and technical capabilities. We must lift our vigor and our courage to space-age proportions.

As we do so, our goal is not to outstrip another country or another society. Our goal is to realize, fully and freely, the best of ourselves.

Our aim is not to outstrip an adversary. It is to show the world

what a free society is capable of, not only in material things but in the riches of mind and spirit which have been the greatness of democracy.

Our task is to make ourselves strong, not to fight a war but to prevent one -- not to flaunt our strength, but to show that the strong can be also wise and patient and firm and ^{persistent} ~~forebearing~~ in the pursuit of peace.



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