

R E M A R K S

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

JUNE 26, 1969

*President
Phyllis
Stockhammer**John Lowell
Pres. Elect*

We all remember the old rhyme which goes, "for the
 want of a nail, the shoe was lost; for the want of a shoe,
the horse was lost; for the want of a horse, the rider was
lost; for the want of a rider, the battle was lost; for the
 want of the battle, the war was lost -- all for the want
 of a horseshoe nail."

Well, for the want of a book, the war -- against illiteracy,
ignorance, poverty and prejudice -- the only war America wants --
can be lost, all for the want of about as much as we spend per
day on the war in Vietnam.

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I am speaking, of course, about the unconscionable cuts in the revised Federal budget for education and libraries, and most especially about the elimination of all funds -- for Title II -- school libraries -- of the Elementary and Secondary Act.

As a former Vice President and as a United States Senator for sixteen years, I know how hard it is for an administration to develop the Federal budget, and I have taken part in many a Congressional struggle over appropriations.

I know the tremendous pressures which are generated by interest groups -- inside and outside the government -- in behalf of projects close to them.

Cuts ESEA Title 2 - 42 million to 0
99.2 in 77 1968

Budget Process

Battle of Books is on!

000880

↳ This morning, as a private citizen, a teacher, and certainly as a constant reader, all my life -- I say to librarians,

trustees, and all friends of libraries: Our response to the proposed budget cuts must be forceful and effective.

*The battle
for books
is on!*

↳ We must do a better job speaking out for the educational and library needs of this country.

↳ You need to dramatize what great and valuable strides have been made with the effective use of public funds -- how students and teachers

*Tell
your
story.*

have been helped -- and show persuasively what budget cuts for libraries will mean in human terms.

*Budget cuts strike
at Public, Private,
& Vocational Ed.*

↳ We must speak out, too, for new programs to achieve the total access to information that all Americans deserve.

*Information explosion
need of good library service*

"Library - Central Learning"

- 4 -

Some members of the administration seem to wonder why school libraries need to buy more books. ~~They already have books~~ ^{they say} (Or maybe I should say, "they already have the Encyclopaedia Britannica).

They don't understand that if outreach programs to serve the urban poor are curtailed, the consequent resentment adds fuel to the fires of ghetto protest -- one more example of false promises by the "Establishment", one more reason for distrust.

administration
They say, "These programs have 'low-priority'." I ask, low-priority for whom?

Low Priority
for
whom?

- 5 -

Not for educational leaders; leaders who know that ~~participatory~~
 the disadvantaged child needs to be able to match his learning
 abilities with printed and audiovisual resources that meet his
 needs exactly; -- not for teachers who have had the chance to
 find in "rich media resources" the key to unprecedented
instructional flexibility; and ^{surely} not low-priority for aware parents
middle class and deprived, urban, suburban, or rural, white
 or black who want their children to have the opportunity to learn
 to use their minds as tools instead of storehouses, and who
 have begun to see this happen, largely through Title II funds!

Further, I ask: Who sets the priorities for education, and
 who is listening to those who have the best right -- or think
they do -- to set the priorities?

When we say that three "I's" must dominate learning -- Inquiry, Independence, and the Individual -- are we just talking "educator talk"?

When we talk about instruction that will help pupils learn how to seek alternatives, adapt to change, and choose the tools that are best suited to the solving of the programs at hand, are we being "ivory towerish"? The answer is surely "no"!

Accepted to pass,
The administration has placed a low priority on education and libraries. ~~because it does not~~ surely it must understand the crucial importance of education in a democratic society-- the ability, opportunity, and, indeed, the necessity to learn and earn, to read and succeed!

It is up to Congress to engage in some adult education and correct the mistake.

Library cut \$125 million to \$46 million 66% cut
Office of Educ Budget Cut \$4.1 Billion to \$3.2 Billion for fiscal '78 25% cut.

My Smart Friend!

Education was at the top of the national agenda for the first time during the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

More public funds were allocated to schools and libraries than ever before in our history. During those years 3,600 new school libraries were created.

Now we have an opportunity to do more than preserve what has been created in the past, a chance to extend the frontiers of education. We are entering a post-industrial society in which Americans need total access to the books and other media provided by libraries in order to compete effectively, from the pre-school years onward.

Total Access

Open Society
Open Schools
Open Libraries
Open Minds.

↳ To achieve this concept of total access -- of total service -- a variety of new approaches should be tried. ↳ For example,

libraries and schools should be able to give books to children and young people who can't afford to buy them -- elementary,

secondary, and community college students. ↳ Every young person deserves books of his own to insure his reading skill, to help him in school, to help him in life.

↳ Libraries should also be able to give books to newly-literate adults that will help them retain their new skill, help them get jobs, and protect them from exploitation.

↳ Total access also requires a network of hundreds if not thousands of urban and rural neighborhood centers, "vest-pocket cultural centers", where all the arts may be sampled for greater renewal and refreshment of the human spirit. ↳ These centers should, of course, be linked to larger service systems within the city or state.

Library
of
the
future

- 9 - Sell BooksSeathis

↳ I even venture to urge that, in those towns and smaller cities where there are no bookstores, public libraries be encouraged to sell books -- another way to give our citizens total access to the riches of reading.

↳ We cannot afford to sidetrack, derail or delay other innovations already instituted.

↳ The proposed budget cuts will close to many ^{people} who are already deprived, the doors to the better lives they so desperately need and want. To sustain the cuts would not be just false economy, but heartlessly inhuman. What can be done?

↳ First, we can help educate the Congress.

↳ When his proposals for public education were defeated in the Virginia legislature, Thomas Jefferson said: "Legislators do not generally possess enough information to perceive the important truth, that knowledge is power, that knowledge is safety, and that knowledge is happiness."

but

We now know that Legislators must possess that information.

Remember that if a bond issue for new library construction is rejected by the hometown voters, it is taken as a clear sign by state legislators how the local citizens assess their priorities.

Start at the

In Washington, Congressmen consider the states' priorities in making their decisions on Federal assistance to education and libraries. Clearly, then, the place to begin is at home!

As you discovered in Newark and in the City of New York, articulate public outcry caused funds for the libraries' budgets to be restored and the closings averted.

so

Let us organize within the library profession, within districts, within the cities and towns, and in states. We must reach out to inform the public through newspapers, magazines, radio and television, what these cuts will mean especially to children. We can set up speakers bureaus, as do farmers, businessmen and public officials. Let us grasp every public forum to get your ~~and our~~ message to the people.

organize

Letters to Editor

L The National Citizens Committee to Save Education and
Library Funds under the Chairmanship of Dr. Detlev Bronk,
 President Emeritus of Rockefeller University, has formed to
 fight the specific cuts in educational and informational services
 under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the
National Defense Education Act and to fight for restoration
of the funds. Its purpose is to inform the public of the
present crisis in educational funding. I most strongly urge
 all of you to support the work of this national organization.

Unite
 Fight

L And this is important; do not think that getting out and
 plugging for library budgets undermines the ^{professional} status of the
 librarian. You have the best of all possible products to present
and promote, and you are making a valuable social contribution
by doing so. Remember, however, that it is your responsibility
to generate light as well as heat.

Guardians of
 Culture & Learning!

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↳ We all know that urban budgets and the tax base that supports them are strained almost to the breaking point, so that local taxation is not the whole answer to support for education and libraries.

↳ It is also important to remember that the direct benefits to business and industry of an educated citizenry are immeasurable.

↳ Those who benefit should be reminded of the benefit.

↳ We can draw on the resources of the private sector. Out of a Gross National Product of ^{over} ~~about~~ \$900 billion per year, Federal, state and local government handle less than a third through tax collection and public expenditures. In other words, \$600 billion dollars can be spent each year -- but there are many demands for a piece of this action.

↳ Educators must speak up. *Seek Business Labor Support*

↳ Business and labor leaders should have their "memo a day" asking: 'What have you done for education today?'

Let us therefore, earmark a portion of our Nation's vast resources to insure excellence in education and library service, since an educated, literate, informed public is a priceless national resource. Here is one way that it can be done. It is time to start a National Educational Trust Fund.

We have a National Highway Trust Fund and a National Social Security ^{Trust fund.} Program.

~~The Highway Trust Fund is, as I am sure you know, based on a users' tax. You pay as you drive from fuel taxes. It is difficult to see how this can be applied to libraries and schools and adult literacy classes and educational TV and all the other means to create an informed citizenry.~~

~~Let~~ It is only right that our Nation's vast physical resources should be used to develop our most priceless resource, an economically and intellectually effective public. o

How about a fund deriving its income from exploitation ^{development} and sale of federally-owned oil shale deposits?

Is this not the time to direct this new revenue to a National Educational Trust Fund? or

On the model of Social Security legislation, a small contribution from employees and employers could provide a permanent and substantial cash flow to a National Fund.

Such a system of collection would have an important additional benefits in that, as national income increased, fiscal support for the Fund would automatically rise.

*Seans
Ofer*

Cabinet

As a member of President Johnson's Cabinet and from past and present employment as a teacher, I draw the inescapable conclusion that education in all its aspects -- from teaching basic literacy to the use of great computers in sorting and evaluating highly sophisticated data -- education deserves its full voice in the highest executive body of our nation. The Office of Education should be elevated to a Cabinet Level Department. I feel most strongly that when budgets for Federal investments in libraries and other educational tasks are being worked out, the Secretary of Education should be present to state the case for supporting the Nation's most important work.

A National Educational Trust Fund and a Cabinet level Department of Education would end the ad hoc, ex post facto efforts that have always provided too little and too late to meet our educational needs.

In the meantime, Congress must increase, not decrease the funds for education and libraries; it must not permit a starvation diet when there are so many hungry minds to be fed.

↳ For people are book hungry. ↳ You and I know how much ~~books~~ have meant to us, ↳ Around the world, students would rather go without food than without books. ↳ In underdeveloped countries there is even a blackmarket in textbooks; in Indonesia, for example, book-legging is commonplace.

↳ Keeping open these channels of communication -- preserving and expanding library service -- is the key to a larger purpose; a new age of Reason, Reconciliation and Renewal, before polarization takes command and we are frozen in an ice age of fear, distrust, confrontation, and violent reaction.

↳ Let us not go down in history as the generation that opened the doors to outer space, but closed the doors of the libraries.

E.B. Reynolds
in
American
History

black studies
& ethnic studies

*Carl Juni S. on
second draft -*

Draft

For the Want of a Book

Remarks by the Hon. Hubert

H. Humphrey

American Library Association

Atlanta City, N. J.

June 25, 1969

We all remember the old nursery rhyme which goes, "for the want of a nail, the shoe was lost; for the want of a shoe, the horse was lost; for the want of a horse, the rider was lost; for the want of a rider, the battle was lost; for the want of the battle, the war was lost--all for the want of a horseshoe nail."

Well, for the want of a book, the war--against illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and prejudice--the only war America wants--can be lost, all for the want of (one-tenth) the cost of a single super-sonic transport plane; or about as much as we spend per week on the war in Vietnam,

Check figures

I am speaking, of course, about the unconscionable cuts in the revised federal budget for education and libraries, and most especially about the elimination of all funds for Title II--school libraries--of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

As a former Vice President and as a United States Senator for sixteen

years, I know how hard it is for an administration to develop the federal budget, and I have taken part in Congressional struggles over appropriations.

I know the tremendous pressures which are generated by interest groups--inside and outside the government--in behalf of projects close to them.

This morning, as a private citizen, a teacher, and certainly as a constant reader, all my life--I say that librarians ^{trustees, and all friends of} must do a better job ^{of} speaking out for the educational and library needs of this country.

You need to dramatize what great and valuable strides have been made with the effective use of public funds--how students and teachers have been helped--and show persuasively what the Nixon budget cuts for libraries will mean in human terms.

Some members of the administration seem to wonder, "Why should school libraries buy more books? They already have a book." (Or maybe I should say, "they already have the Encyclopaedia Britannica").

They don't understand that if outreach programs to serve the urban poor are curtailed, the consequent resentment adds fuel to the fires of ghetto protest--one more example of false promises by the "Establishment," one more reason to distrust "The Man."

They say, these programs have "low-priority." I ask, ~~Low-priority~~
to whom?

~~MEDIA AND INSTRUCTION FOR THE 1970's~~

Not ^{to} with educational leaders; leaders who know that the disadvantaged child especially needs to be able to match his learning with combinations of print and audiovisual resources that suit his needs exactly; not ^{to} with teachers who have had the chance to find in rich media resources the key ~~unprecedented~~ to ~~undreamed~~ of instructional flexibility; not with aware parents, middle ~~class~~ ^{deprived} and ~~low-class~~, urban, suburban or rural, white or black who want their children to learn how to use their minds as tools instead of storehouses, and who have begun to see this happen, largely through Title II funds.

Further, I ask: who sets the priorities for education, and who is listening to those who have the best right--or think they do--to do so? When we say that the three "I's" must dominate learning ~~and the evolving learning program~~ Inquiry, Independence and Individualization--are we just talking "educator talk"? When we talk about instruction that will help pupils to learn how to generate alternatives, adapt to change, and choose the tools that are the best suited to the solving of the program at hand are we being "ivory towerish?" The answer by informed public opinion is "no".

Here's.
 The Nixon administration places a low priority on education and libraries because it does not understand the real meaning of security--the ability and opportunity to learn and earn, read and succeed.

Books and libraries are creative weapons in the war against illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and prejudice. This fact must be made clear and compelling to the Administration, the Congress, and the public.

I am proud to have been associated with President Johnson during the years when, for the first time, education was at the top of the national agenda, and when more public funds were allocated to schools and libraries than ever before in our history. During those years ^{3,600 new} ~~the number of~~ school libraries ~~were~~ *created.*
~~grew from 0,000 to 0,000~~

This growth was stimulated and insured by your efforts and dedication and helped greatly by the Knapp School Libraries Demonstration Project, the International Paper Company's campaign "How to Get the School Library Your Child Needs," and by ^{Encyclopaedia Britannica's} ~~Children-Books'~~ own School Library Awards--all of which grew out of the National Library Week Program, sponsored by the National Book Committee in cooperation with the American Library Association--a remarkable example of how public and private enterprise can team up in the public interest.

~~But, as former Commissioner of Education Francis Kappeler said, it~~

is a national disgrace that nearly two thirds of our schools still don't have adequate libraries. Hundreds of thousands of our children are still deprived of the books and other supplementary learning aids they need to

make the classroom experience more than a chore. And, to compound the problem, the proposed cuts follow the publication of new and improved Standards for School Media Programs.

What can be done?

When his proposals for public education were defeated in the Virginia legislature, Thomas Jefferson said: "Legislators do not generally possess enough information to perceive the important truth, that knowledge is power, that knowledge is safety, and that knowledge is happiness". We now know that Legislators must possess that information.

What we face is a problem in engineering--the engineering of consent. Remember that if a bond issue for new library construction is rejected by the hometown voters, it is taken as a clear sign by the state legislators how the local citizens assess their priorities. In Washington, Congressmen consider the states' priorities in making their decisions on federal assistance to education and libraries. Clearly, then, the place to begin is at home. As you discovered in Newark and in the City of New York, articulate public outcry caused funds for the libraries' budgets to be

restored and the closings averted.

Let us ~~also~~ organize within the library profession, within districts, within the cities and towns, and in states. We must reach out to inform the public through newspapers, magazines, radio and television, what these cuts will mean especially to children. We can set up speakers bureaus, as do farmers, businessmen and public officials. Let us grasp every public forum to get your and our message to the people.

And this is important; do not think that getting out and plugging for library budgets undermines the status of the librarian. You have the best of all possible products to present and promote, and you are making a valuable social contribution by doing so. Remember, however, that it is your responsibility to generate light as well as heat.

We all know that urban budgets and the tax base that supports them are strained almost to the breaking point, so that local taxation is not the whole answer to support for education and libraries. As innovations come along, and as services are extended to the poor, the migrant worker and to the illiterate adult, costs are bound to increase. There is a limit on how high taxes may climb before ^{local} tax payers dig in their heels and rebel.

But the price of excellence in education and library service must be paid.

Let us therefore, earmark a portion of our nation's vast resources to insure it, since an educated, literate, informed public is a priceless national resource. Here is one way that it can be done. In the years ahead, federally-owned oil shale deposits may be exploited successfully. This will generate billions of dollars in new federal revenue. When this occurs, I propose that the money be set aside as a "Trust Fund" for education and libraries. In the meantime, Congress must enlarge the pie for education and libraries; it must not permit a starvation diet when there are so many hungry minds to be fed. For people are book hungry. You and I know how much they have meant to us. Around the world, students would rather go without food than without books. In underdeveloped countries there is even a black-market in textbooks; In Indonesia, for example, book-^hegging is commonplace. I once suggested that, to satisfy this craving, every child in America who could not afford them, should be given books of his own to keep and enjoy.

I hope I am wrong when I suggest that the present trend toward the starvation of libraries may portend a new anti-intellectual virus in some sectors of our society. Many people are still afraid of new ideas, and look for strawmen to blame for some of the ugly confrontations which divide

generations, races and political factions.

If free inquiry is to be preserved, we cannot afford anything less than total access to the ideas and information in books which are so essential to rational discourse and productive dialogue.

We cannot afford to turn back the clock and put into reverse all the gains that have been made in providing the library services this nation needs.

Keeping open these channels of communication--preserving and expanding library service--is the key to a larger purpose; a new age of Reason, Reconciliation and Renewal, before polarization takes command and we are frozen in an ice age of fear, distrust, confrontation, and violent reaction.

Let us not go down in history as the generation that opened the doors to outer space, but closed the doors of the libraries.

June 25, 1969

MEMORANDUM

For: H.H.H.

From: Susan

Re: Proposed budget cuts in education - grist for your ALA speech

1. Total cut in OE budget: \$369,569,000.

2. Library assistance total cut: \$88,291,000. The breakdown

is:

** Library Services & Construction Act		
Title I (Public Libraries)	\$35 mill.	17.5
Title II (Public Library construction)	9.2 mill.	0
** Higher Education Act		
Title II-A (Library resources)	25 mill.	12.5
II-B (Library training)	8.2 mill.	4
II-C (Library of Cong. acq.)	7.4	4.5
** ESEA		
Title II (Library resources)	42 million	0

3. It's a bit difficult to accept the Administration's defense of the library cuts as an economy measure -- they represent 1/20 of 1% of the entire Federal budget.

4. The only favorable result of these unconscionable cuts is that

all education people -- higher education, elementary and secondary, vocational, NEA -- are now working together.

Please see ESEA, NDEA, PL 815-874, vocational education cuts on pp. 4,5.

Nixon Remarks
10-22-68

"America's school, university, and research and public libraries and the dedicated people who staff them constitute a vital education resource. They are the repositories of the American culture."

"Our nation's libraries fulfill at least two vital roles: first, they are the vital centers for research and study, particularly in technical and scientific fields; secondly, they assist many millions of Americans with increasing leisure time to learn the pleasures of reading, to improve their own store of knowledge and to appreciate the humanities and sciences."

"In a world where knowledge is the key to leadership, a modern progressive library system is a vital national asset."

THE SAME WEEK PRESIDENT NIXON PROCLAIMED NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK, HE SENT HIS BUDGET TO CONGRESS CUTTING ALL TITLE II ESEA FUNDS -- HE CUT TO ZERO FUNDS FOR LIBRARY RESOURCES -- BOOKS, SUPPLIES.

PROPORTIONATELY, NIXON'S EDUCATION CUTS WERE GREATER THAN ANY OTHER PROPOSED CUTS IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET.

JUN 18 1903

Dear John

Here is

second

draft

good luck

J. Robling

REMARKS

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
American Library Association
Atlantic City, 1
June 26, 1969

Draft--p. 1

For most of history, the future was something that happened to men--willy nilly, without much regard for personal or collective wishes.

^{Today,} ~~We,~~ ^{we} however, are determined to happen to the future. And we are the first society in history to possess the physical means to do so. We ~~do~~ command the means. We are learning how to harness ^{an} ~~the~~ new power to our hopes.

This meeting ~~text~~ of the American Library Association is representative of the general learning process ~~which~~ the human mind is now experiencing. No ~~longer~~ longer limited to the feeble energy of human and animal muscle power, increasingly freed of drudge labor by machine and computer, humans alive now ~~can~~ can exercise more power in creating the future than any preceding generation.

^{real} We have options that ^{previously} have been only dreams.

Our ^{therefore,} single purpose ^{full} should be investment of ^{our} historically incredible wealth in humans now living so that the power to shape the future is itself ~~is~~ shaped by ^{and with} wisdom.

That is our purpose. How do we achieve it?

*Let's start with education --
a number one priority in a democratic society*

One thing I learned in twenty-five years of elective office is that the most difficult program to sell is one based on the general good of humanity.

It's not that humans are against humanity,

On the contrary, everyone I know speaks well of humanity.

And I'd like to be on record that some of my best friends are humans.

*gah?
ugh?
hoo?*

~~But~~ ~~Yes,~~ we are all for humanity.

But ~~programs for~~ the good of humanity is ~~not~~ ^{abstract -} ~~an abstraction without a~~ ^{It has no} specific and concrete constituency.

So I would like to discuss briefly at this meeting the endowment of humanity with human constituents, the creation and use of mind-changing methods that work, the establishment and support of ~~its~~ institutional procedures to keep the nation's mind on the nation's first priorities. *(priority - service to people) - optional improvement?*

Everyone remotely connected with books and ~~libraries~~ libraries knows that we possess not enough of either, not enough to serve our needs for distribution of information and ideas. We have simply not invested enough of our wealth ~~in these~~ in books and libraries and the education of librarians. ~~We live in an information explosion without the~~

to harness
We live in an information explosion without the ~~means to harness it~~ people and institutions to harness it to our needs.

And now, to meet this crisis head-on, the present administration ^{has} decided to cut federal investment in making ~~the information available to our people~~ existing information available to the nation. *# insert*

With that kind of ~~crisis~~ response to crisis, we can look forward to solving all the ~~our~~ problems of the 14th century.

Our response to ~~that~~ that kind of ^{must} non-response ~~has got to~~ be ~~force~~ forceful and effective.

~~xx~~

First, where are our constituents?

They are everywhere, but ~~was~~ ^{all} who are concerned with the quality of ~~life~~ ~~now~~ ~~and~~ ~~then~~
[present and future] life ~~have got to~~ ^{must} tell them ~~about their stake~~ about their vital stake
in learning how to control their lives.

Dr. Scholl, the fellow who ~~xx~~ sold more corn plasters than any man in history had a motto suitable to our needs: "Early to bed, early to rise,
#Work like hell, and advertise."

~~And so solid state has been made in this direction~~

~~xx~~ think

I am sure there are brains and will enough in this Association--in the National Education Association, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Council on Education, the Modern Language Association--and all related organizations to put ~~x~~ together a unified and truly effective national lobby [in the interests of human wisdom.]

there certainly should exist in America ^a

More than ~~that~~ that, however, ~~this or another organization with of similar purpose should~~
~~get to the tax job of pulling the tax~~ ~~creating a~~ permanent ~~organization~~ institution which
has the ^{sole} [single-minded] purpose of serving our 200 million constituents by pooling the
resources of existing ~~i~~ organizations, and ^{would} from this resource base keeping ~~the national~~
Congress and everyone else informed of ~~what is needed to centralize~~ needs and
resources to meet them. ^{se needs.}

It should never be forgotten that the most important human ~~resource~~ resource is ~~not~~
~~the combination of~~ the combination of a determined mind, well-supplied with ~~superior~~
information and logic, and an institution through ~~it~~ to focus the resulting energy
where ~~it~~ it's needed.

We have everything ~~but~~ but the permanent institution. And ~~we~~ don't forget ~~the~~
catchy ^{Dr Scholl's} acronym. There's no harm ~~from~~ using Madison Avenue techniques in a good cause.

~~Further~~ ^{further} To build that constituency clamoring for ~~books~~ and information ^{and ideas} ~~from any source~~
[^{any medium} through ~~other~~ media] this and similar associations should pursue lines of action which
have already shown merit.

^{have} I refer to Knapp School Libraries Demonstration ~~Project~~ Project, the International
^{the} Paper Company's campaign on "How to Get the School Library your Child Needs," and other
^{Similar} projects of ~~this kind~~ which grew out of the National Library Week Program sponsored by
the National Book Committee in cooperation with your American Library Association.

DRAFT--5

~~Executive Order~~

Such activity has already been successful in directing national attention to the ^{problems} ~~needs~~ you live with daily.

I would merely like to ~~see~~ witness more of the same ^{programs} [kind of working like hell] with ^{coordinated attack on problems} even more coordination of attack.

Although we have made great progress in ensuring public commitment to educational growth, Jefferson's words--after his proposals for public education were defeated in the ~~Virginia~~ Virginia legislature--are still appropriate. He said then: "Legislators do not generally possess enough information to perceive the important truth that knowledge is ~~the~~ power, ~~the~~ that knowledge is safety, and that knowledge is happiness."

It is clear that the time has come to prompt legislators at all ~~the~~ levels of government in the United States with ~~Jefferson's~~ Jefferson's words and with ~~new~~ new ideas for extending ~~the~~ public commitment to public needs in education and information ~~control~~ control.

It is time, that is, to lay the foundation of evidence and logic ~~that~~ upon which ~~will~~

DRAFT--7

to build a National Education Trust Fund.

Even ~~these~~ though as a nation we spend ~~some~~ over \$50 billion a year ~~on education~~
the funds are inadequate.
educating ourselves, ^{political} the process of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ allocating ~~these~~ these funds is
~~scattered~~ ~~incredibly~~ hardly ~~any~~ equal to the nation's needs.]

What we ~~need, worse~~ badly need, it seems to me, is a permanent national ~~trust~~ fund
~~to~~ from which states and local ^{bodies} agencies may draw ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to meet their specific needs
in education and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ distribution of information.]

We have a National Highway Trust Fund and a National Social Security ~~Trust~~ Fund. But
of what use is it to ^{drive} go at high ~~speed~~ speed from one place to another in ~~ignorance~~
ignorance? And does it not make a great deal of ^{humanitarian} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ and hard ~~any~~ economic sense to
to ~~invest~~ enhance the intellectual power of the entire populace so that ~~xxxxxxxx~~
retirement ~~year~~ years become a time of free inquiry ~~into~~ and sound reflection?

~~xxxx~~ How to pay for it? How to put ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ your money where your ideas
are?

nation. Consider just for a moment that practically within our lifetimes ~~we have~~ has this society begun to tap the brainpower of women.

And consider the ~~gain~~ open-end ~~accidents~~ dividends we will reap as a national society from ~~the~~ the brainpower of black Americans who have been deprived of their right to contribute and to benefit from such contribution.

A society which imposes upon itself the achievement of political and social justice ~~cannot~~ simply cannot ~~make~~ starve its ~~citizens of the power, as Jefferson said~~ citizens of power, as Jefferson said, that lies within knowledge.

We who have the means to ~~enhance~~ enhance that power ~~without limit~~ without limit have the responsibility to do so. ^{also}

~~And I would say that a political and social justice are inconceivable without an informed public!~~

So I hope that the proposed cuts in federal funds for libraries and for education in general ~~are~~ are just proposals and not portents.

If it is true that ~~some~~ some people are afraid of new ideas the reason is that they have not had opportunity to examine enough ideas--to get used to ideas and the facts and logic which support them.

Our ~~Republic~~ Republic was founded at the end of the 18th Century, the century of enlightenment following the century of reason.

Draft--11

It was founded by ~~these~~ ^{these} men who believed all ideas were open to free inquiry, that with the material for reason easily accessible, ~~reasonable~~ reasoning human beings ~~would~~ could ~~can~~ through reason conquer fear of unknowns and distrust of each other.

Books and libraries ^{and schools} are the lifeblood of reason.

It follows that we ~~cannot~~ achieve neither enlightenment nor reason nor yet justice without them.

Anna M. Rosenberg

ASSOCIATES

444 Madison Avenue · New York, N.Y. 10022 · Plaza 9-4811

Public Relations · Industrial Relations

June 16, 1969

Dear John:

Enclosed is my letter of June 10 and a copy of the draft of the speech for Mr. Humphrey to give at the ALA meeting in Atlantic City. As discussed today, here are two ideas which might make some news.

Mr. Humphrey could advocate every school child be given one book each year from kindergarten through college that would be the nucleus of a personal home library. If he did advocate this, he could comment on the joy of owning books.

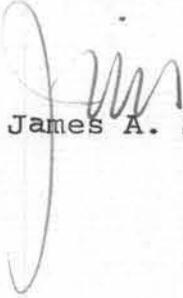
The other idea is to view with alarm any diminution of library hours and services. Many colleges are being asked by students to keep the libraries open longer. Of course, taking into consideration that these restrictions are due mainly to lack of funds from the cities, Mr. Humphrey has got to make a plea for more funds for libraries to hire the professionals needed to operate them. According to Mary Gaver, former president of the American Association of Librarians, with whom I talked after our telephone conversation today, additional funds for libraries have got to come from the states, as they need to assume a fairer share of the operating costs. Incidentally, she was very negative on the idea of any volunteer force for libraries.

June 16, 1969

Page 2

We are all still thinking about something news-worthy to incorporate in the speech and, if we get any better ideas before Thursday, I will call them into you. Since you are going to be leaving this Thursday, I hope you will send me a copy of the speech before you go.

Sincerely,



James A. Shellenberger

JAS/db

Encl.

Mr. John Stewart
The Office of the
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Federal Office Building #7
Room 6233
Washington, D. C. 20506

June 10, 1969

Dear John:

As I think you know, Encyclopaedia Britannica retained someone from the National Book Committee to work on the speech for Mr. Humphrey to give at the American Library Association meeting in Atlantic City on June 25. The first draft is enclosed.

I have no quarrel with this first effort, as far as it goes, except for the fact that it doesn't really say very much. The pencil notes are John Robling's and mine. The only news is on page 7, but this is old news and, as you know, was used in the recent campaign as well as in the speech given before the school administrators last January.

I don't think it is appropriate for us to try to suggest new ideas that might be picked up by the news media because we just don't know what Mr. Humphrey would want to say that might be new and startling, and that might be appropriate. Here is one idea along this line. Suppose Mr. Humphrey advocated a deduction from Federal and/or State Income Taxes for college and high school textbooks not supplied by public schools. This would be news. My suggestion is that you call me after you have a chance to read this over and we can discuss where we go from here.

June 10, 1969

Page 2

Luckily, we still have a little time on this and, while some of these thoughts in the draft might be well received by the delegates to the convention, I think this is too good an opportunity for Mr. Humphrey to receive major coverage of his speech if he will say something that will make news.

Sincerely,

James A. Shellenberger

JAS/db

Encl.

cc: John Robling

Fred Krueger

Mr. John Stewart
Federal Office Building 7
Room 6233
Washington, D. C.

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THE HONORABLE HUBERT H HUMPHREY

FEDERAL OFFICE BLDG #7 ROOM 6233 WASHDC

ATTENTION: MR JOHN STEWART

FOLLOWING TEXT DRAFT HUMPHREY REMARKS ATLANTIC CITY THURSDAY,
JUNE 26:

WE ALL REMEMBER THE OLD NURSERY RHYME WHICH GOES, "FOR THE WANT OF A NAIL, THE SHOE WAS OST; FOR THE WANT ON A SHOE, THE HORSEIZAS LOST; FOR THE WANT OF A HORSE, THE RIDER WAS LOST; FOR THE WANT OF A RIDER, THE BATTLE WAS LOST; FOR THE WANT OF THE BATTLE, THE WAR WAS LOST--ALL FOR THE WANT OF A HORSESHOE NAIL."

WELL, FOR THE WANT OF A BOOK, THE WAR--AGAINST ILLITERACY,

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IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND PREJUDICE--THE ONLY WAR AMERICA WANTS--CAN BE LOST, ALL FOR THE WANT OF (ONE-TENTH) THE COST OF A SINGLE SUPER-SONIC TRANSPORT PLANE; OR ABOUT AS MUCH AS WE SPEND PER WEEK ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

I AM SPEAKING, OF COURSE, ABOUT THE UNCONSCIONABLE CUTS IN THE REVISED FEDERAL BUDGET FOR EDUCATION AND LIBRARIES, AND MOST ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FUNDS FOR TITLE II--SCHOOL LIBRARIES--OF THE ELEMNTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT. ORIGINAL 1970 BUDGET REQUESTS FOR MAJOR LIBRARY PROGRAMS

UNDER THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT AND HIGHER EDUCATION ANT AMOUNTED TO \$134.5 MILLION. REVISED BUDGET COMES DOWN TO \$46 MILLION. EQUIPMENT AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL LIBRARIES WOULD BE REDUCED OR ELIMINATED ALTOGETHER.

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AS A FORMER VICE PRESIDENT AND AS A UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR SIXTEEN YEARS, I KNOW HOW HARD IT IS FOR AN ADMINISTRATION TO DEVELOP THE FEDERAL BUDGET, AND I HAVE TAKEN PART IN CONGRESSIONAL STRUGGLES OVER APPROPRIATIONS.

I KNOW THE TRMENDOUS PRESSURES WHICH ARE GENERATED BY INTEREST GROUPS--INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT--IN BEHALF OF PROJECTS CLOSE TO THEM.

THIS MORNING, AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN, A TEACHER AND CERTAINLY AS A CONSTANT READER, ALL MY LIFE--I SAY THAT LIBRARIANS, TRUSTEES, AND ALL FRIENDS OF LIBRARIANS MUST DO A BETTER JOB OF SPEAKING OUT FOR THE EDUCATIONAL AND LIBRARY NEEDS OF THIS COUNTRY.

YOU NEED TO DRAMATIZE WHAT GREAT AND VALUABLE STRIDES HAVE BEEN MADE WITH THE EFFECTIVE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS--HOW STUDENTS AND TEACHERS HAVE BEEN HELPED--AND SHOW PERSUASIVELY WHAT THE

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BUDGET CUTS FOR LIBRARIES WILL MEAN IN HUMAN TERMS

SOME MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION SEEM TO WONDER, "WHY SHOULD SCHOOL LIBRARIES BUY MORE BOOKS? THEY ALREADY HAVE A BOOK."

THEY DONT UNDERSTAND THAT IF OUTREACH PROGRAMS TO SERVE THE URBAN POOR ARE CURTAILED, THE CONSEQUENT RESENTMENT ADDS FUEL TO THE FIRES OF GHETTO PROTEST--ONE MORE EXAMPLE OF FALSE PROMISES BY THE "ESTABLISHMENT," ONE MORE REASON TO DISTRUST "THE MAN."

THEY SAY, THESE PROGRAMS HAVE "LOW-PRIORITY". I ASK, LOW-PRIORITY TO WHOM?

OT TO EDUCATIONAL LEADERS; LEADERS WHO KNOW THAT THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD ESPECIALLY NEEDS TO BE ABLE TO MATCH HIS LEARNING WITH COMBINATIONS OF PRINT AND AUDIOVISUAL RESOURCES THAT SUIT HIS

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NEEDS, NOT TO TEACHERS WHO HAVE HAD THE CHANCE TO FIND IN RICH MEDIA RESOURCES THE KEY TO UNPRECEDENTED

INSTRUCTIONAL FLEXIBILITY; NOT WITH AWARE PARENTS, MIDDLE CLASS AND DEPRIVED, URBAN, SUBURBAN OR RURAL WHITE OR BLACK WHO WANT THEIR CHILDREN TO LEARN HOW TO USE THEIR MINDS AS TOOLS INSTEAD OF STOREHOUSES, AND WHO HAVE BEGUN TO SEE THIS HAPPEN, LARGELY THROUGH TITLE II FUNDS.

FURTHER I ASK: WHO SETS THE PRIORITIES FOR EDUCATION, AND WHO IS LISTENING TO THOSE WHO HAVE THE BEST RIGHT-OR THINK THEY DO- TO DO SO? WHEN WE SAY THAT THE THREE "IS" MUST DOMINATE LEARNING - INQUIRY, INDEPENDENCE AND INDIVIDUALIZATION-ARE WE JUST TALKING "EDUCATOR TALK"? WHEN WE TALK ABOUT INSTRUCTION THAT WILL HELP PUPILS TO LEARN HOW TO GENERATE ALTERNATIVES, ADAPT TO CHANGE, AND CHOOSE THE TOOLS THAT ARE THE BEST SUITED

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TO THE SOLVING OF THE PROGRAM AT HAND, CAN WE BE ACCUSED OF BEING IN AN IVORY TOWER? THE ANSWER BY INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION IS "NO".

THERE NOW APPEARS TO BE A LOW PRIORITY ON EDUCATION AND LIBRARIES. THIS IS APPALLING SINCE BOOKS AND LIBRARIES ARE CREATIVE WEAPONS IN THE WAR AGAINST ILLITERACY, IGNORANCE, POVERTY AND PREJUDICE.

HIS FACT MUST BE MADE CLEAR AND COMPELLING TO THE ADMINISTRATION, THE CONGRESS, AND THE PUBLIC.

I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON DURING THE YEARS WHEN, FOR THE FIRST TIME, EDUCATION WAS AT THE TOP OF THE NATIONAL AGENDA, AND WHEN MORE PUBLIC FUNDS WERE ALLOCATED TO SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES THAN EVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY. DURING THOSE YEARS 3,600 NEW SCHOOL LIBRARIES WERE CREATED.

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THIS GROWTH WAS STIMULATED AND INSURED BY YOUR EFFORTS AND DEDICATION AND HELPED GREATLY BY THE KNAPP SCHOOL LIBRARIES DEMONSTRATION PROJECT, THE INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANYS CAMPAIGN " HOW TO GET THE SCHOOL LIBRARY YOUR CHILD NEEDS," AND BY ENCYCLOPAEDI A BRITANNICAS OWN SCHOOL LIBRARY AWARDS--ALL OF WHICH GREW OUT ON THE NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK PROGRAM, SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL BOOK COMMITTEE IN COOPERATION WITH THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION--A REMARKABLE EXAMPLE OF HOW PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CAN TEAM UP IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

IT IS A NATIONAL DISGRACE THAT NEARLY TWO THIRDS OF OUR SCHOOLS STILL DONT HAVE ADEQUATE LIBRARIES. HUNDREDS OF THOUSAND OF OUR CHILDREN ARE STILL DEPRIVED OF THE BOOKS AND OTHER SUPPLEMENTARY LEARNING AIDS THEY NEED TO MAKE THE CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE MORE

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THAN A CHORE.

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AND, TO COMPOUND THE PROBLEM, THE PROPOSED CUTS FOLLOW THE PUBLICATION OF NEW AND IMPROVED STANDARDS FOR SCHOOL MEDIA PROGRAMS.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

WHEN HIS PROPOSALS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION WERE DEFEATED IN HE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE, THOMAS JEFFERSON SAID: "LEGISLATORS DO NOT GENERALLY POSSESS ENOUGH INFORMATION TO PERCEIVE THE IMPORTANT TRUTH, THAT KNOWLEDGE IS POWER, THAT KNOWLEDGE IS SAFETY, AND THAT KNOWLEDGE IS HAPPINESS". WE NOW KNOW THAT LEGISLATORS MUST POSSESS THAT INFORMATIONM

WHAT WE FACE IS A PROBLEM IN ENGINEERING--THE ENGINEERING OF CONSENT. REMEMBER THAT IF A BOND ISSUE FOR NEW LIBRARY CONSTRUCTION IS REJECTED BY THE HOMETOWN VOTERS, IT IS TAKEN AS A CLEAR SIGN BY THE STATE LEGISLATORS HOW THE LOCAL CITIZENS ASSESS

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THEIR PRIORITIES. IN WASHINGTON, CONGRESSMEN CONSIDER THE STATES PRIORITIES IN MAKING THEIR DECISION ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO EDUCATION AND LIBRARIES. CLEARLY, THEN, THE PLACE TO BEGIN IS AT HOME. AS YOU DISCOVERED IN NEWARK AND IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, ARTICULATE PUBLIC OUTCRY CAUSED FUNDS FOR THE LIBRARIES BUDGETS TO BE RESTORED AND THE CLOSINGS AVERTED.

LET US ORGANIZE WITHIN THE LIBRARY PROFESSION, WITHIN DISTRICTS, WITHIN THE CITIES AND TOWNS, AND IN STATES. WE MUST REACH OUT TO INFORM THE PUBLIC THROUGH NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, RADIO AND TELEVISION, WHAT THESE CUTS WILL MEAN ESPECIALLY TO CHILDREN. WE CAN SET UP SPEAKERS BUREAUS, AS DO FARMERS, BUSINESSMEN AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS. LET US GRASP EVERY PUBLIC FORUM TO GET YOUR AND OUR MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE

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AND THIS IS IMPORTANT; DO NOT THINK THAT GETTING OUT AND

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PLUGGING FOR LIBRARY BUDGETS UNDERMINES THE STATUS OF THE LIBRARIAN.

YOU HAVE THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE PRODUCTS TO PRESENT AND PROMOTE, AND YOU ARE MAKING A VALUABLE SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION BY DOING SO. REMEMBER, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO GENERATE LIGHT AS WELL AS HEAT.

WE ALL KNOW THAT URBAN BUDGETS AND THE TAX BASE THAT SUPPORTS THEM ARE STRAINED ALMOST TO THE BREAKING POINT, SO THAT LOCAL TAXATION IS NOT THE WHOLE ANSWER TO SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION AND LIBRARIES. AS INNOVATIONS COME ALONG, AND AS SERVICES ARE EXTENDED TO THE POOR, THE MIGRANT WORKER AND TO THE ILLITERATE ADULT, COSTS ARE BOUND TO INCREASE. THERE IS A LIMIT ON HOW HIGH TAXES MAY CLIMB BEFORE LOCAL TAX PAYERS DIG IN THEIR HEELS AND REBEL.

BUT THE PRICE OF EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION AND LIBRARY SERVICE MUST BE PAID.

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LET US THEREFORE, EARMARK A PORTION OF OUR NATINS VAST
RESOURCES TO INSURE IT, SINCE AN EDUCATED, LITERATE, INFORMED
PUBLIC IS APRICELESS NATIONAL RESOURCE. HERE IS ONE WAY THAT
IT CAN BE DONE. IN THE YEARS AHEAD, FEDERALLY-OWNED OIL SHALE
DEPOSITS MAY BE EXPLOITED SUCCESSFULLY. THIS WILL GENERATE
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN NEW FEDERAL REVENUE. WHEN THIS OCCURS,
I PROPOSE THAT THE MONEY BE SET ASIDE ASA

A National Citizens Committee to save education
and library funds, under the chairmanship of Dr. Detlev
Bronk, President Emeritus of Rockefeller University, to
fight for the restoration of these funds. The purpose of this
Committee is to inform the public of the present crisis
in educational funding. I urge all of you to work with citizens
at the grass roots level and to cooperate with this national
committee.

National Citizens Committee to

NEWS

Save Education and Library Funds

ROOM 1810, ONE PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016/PHONE: 689-8920

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1969

LEADING CITIZENS JOIN FIGHT TO RECOUP SCHOOL AND LIBRARY FUNDS

New York, N. Y., June 6 -- Formation of a nationwide committee of citizens to Save Education and Library Funds was announced today by Dr. Detlev Bronk, who will chair the committee.

Dr. Bronk, past president, National Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Board of the National Science Foundation and president emeritus of The Rockefeller University, said that the committee has been formed because of a "deep concern" about the proposed reduction in Federal appropriations for education in the coming fiscal and school year. These proposed reductions are almost one billion dollars below the 4.1 billion actually appropriated for the current fiscal year and \$370 million below the original Johnson budget published in January. Nearly 25% of the \$370 million cutback for Office of Education activities would come out of the major programs designed to upgrade school, college and public libraries to minimal levels of adequacy.

(more)

"We hope it will be noted," said Dr. Bronk, "that the initial letters of the committee's name, which forthrightly expresses its purpose, spell SELF, because in fact every American citizen, whether he knows it or not, has a strong self-interest in maintaining the library development momentum that Federal support has made possible since it was initiated in the Eisenhower Administration.

"Everyone has a stake in this: the businessman, the technician, the college student, the parents of school children; and all responsible citizens concerned for the future quality of American life. If these cuts recommended by the Bureau of the Budget are not overridden by aware and knowledgeable people, education, manpower, economic and scientific development will suffer."

Dr. Bronk noted that only \$3.2 billion, or slightly more than one and one-half percent, of the total Federal budget was recommended for programs administered by the Office of Education. "In the face of enormous problems, all of which call for more and better education, rather than less, this attempt to assign low priority to educational programs and learning opportunities seems unbelievable. These propositions are still before the Congress for debate, and we intend to let Congress know why we feel that the funds for education and libraries must be restored.

"Reading is the key to learning and lifetime development. People who are not equipped for independent, continuing learning will run the risk of becoming obsolete. Children who don't read drop out. Drop-outs cannot find work. Those without jobs add to the many social problems of the day in terms of ignorance, poverty and lack of upward movement.

"We are going to try to help make the people aware of all this," Dr. Bronk continued, "so that they can let the Congress know that it would be a tragic mistake to limit reading opportunity and learning opportunity. The loss of books and other

(more)

teaching aids for our schools would be a backward step this country cannot afford. Improvement of educational opportunity for all American children, wherever they live, must be a national responsibility; local communities are hard-pressed even to maintain present inadequate levels, and most of them are losing ground."

According to the committee, should the cuts prevail, the amounts available would be unreasonable in terms of the needs. For instance:

- # A mere \$12.5 million would be available for college libraries at a time when more than one hundred new community colleges are being established each year, from scratch, and new knowledge needs to flow faster to a record student body.
- # Money for public library services would be reduced to \$17.5 million, while funds to replace antiquated public library buildings would be entirely eliminated.
- # Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act received almost \$100 million in 1968, was funded for \$50 million in 1969 and will be reduced to zero for 1970 unless action is taken now.
- # Another program proposed for total elimination is Title III of the National Defense Education Act which provides materials and equipment for elementary and secondary schools, both public and private, for a loss to these schools of \$79 million in Federal funds plus additional state and local matching funds.

This at a time when modern instruction and learning depend more heavily than ever before on books and other school library resources.

(more)

The current Administration recommendation proposes the appropriation of only one-third of the money allocated for major library programs in the earlier fiscal 1970 Johnson budget. The Johnson budget had already cut library programs by allocating roughly only a third of the funds authorized. In other words, only about 11% of the money the Congress had intended libraries to have would be available for them.

The National Citizens Committee to Save Education and Library Funds will aid members of the public to take appropriate action, with suggestions in newspaper ads, leaflets and other publicity. Vice-chairmen of the committee include William Bernbach of Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc.; William Nichols, senior consultant and former publisher of This Week; Mrs. Raymond Young, former president of American Library Trustee Association; Mrs. Evelle Younger, Trustee, Los Angeles Public Library.

* * *

Detlev W. Bronk

Detlev W. Bronk was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee and chairman of its Panel on International Science from 1957-63 and has been Consultant-at-large since 1963.

Dr. Bronk, formerly president of The Rockefeller University, and of the Johns Hopkins University, is now chairman of the Board of Directors, New York State Science and Technology Foundation and trustee of several academic institutions. He has also served as chairman of the National Research Council, chairman of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. One of America's most honored scholars, Dr. Bronk has just received, from Columbia University, his 53rd honorary degree.

* * *

6/4/69
43
jc

For Further Information - Contact:

John S. Robling -- (212) 689-8920

Anna M. Rosenberg

ASSOCIATES

444 Madison Avenue · New York, N.Y. 10022 · Plaza 9-4811

Public Relations · Industrial Relations

June 10, 1969

Dear John:

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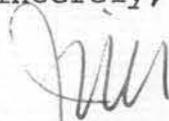
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Sincerely,



James A. Shellenberger

JAS/db

Encl.

cc: John Robling
Fred Krueger

Mr. John Stewart
Federal Office Building 7
Room 6233
Washington, D. C.

Draft

For the Want of a Book

Remarks by the Hon. Hubert

H. Humphrey

American Library Association

Atlanta ^{ic} City, N. J.

June 25, 1969

We all remember the old nursery rhyme which goes, "for the want of a nail, the shoe was lost; for the want of a shoe, the horse was lost; for the want of a horse, the rider was lost; for the want of a rider, the battle was lost; for the want of the battle, the war was lost--all for the want of a horseshoe nail."

Well, for the want of a book, the war--against illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and prejudice--the only war America wants--can be lost, all for the want of (one-tenth) the cost of a single super-sonic transport plane; or about as much as we spend per week on the war in Vietnam,

I am speaking, of course, about the unconscionable cuts in the revised federal budget for education and libraries, and most especially about the elimination of all funds for Title II--school libraries--of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

As a former Vice President and as a United States Senator for sixteen

Check figures

years, I know how hard it is for an administration to develop the federal budget, and I have taken part in Congressional struggles over appropriations.

I know the tremendous pressures which are generated by interest groups--inside and outside the government--in behalf of projects close to them.

This morning, as a private citizen, a teacher, and certainly as a constant reader, all my life--I say that librarians ^{trustees, and are friends of} must do a better job ^{of Librarians} of speaking out for the educational and library needs of this country.

You need to dramatize what great and valuable strides have been made with the effective use of public funds--how students and teachers have been helped--and show persuasively what the Nixon budget cuts for libraries will mean in human terms.

Some members of the administration seem to wonder, "Why should school libraries buy more books? They already have a book." (Or maybe I should say, "they already have the Encyclopaedia Britannica").

They don't understand that if outreach programs to serve the urban poor are curtailed, the consequent resentment adds fuel to the fires of ghetto protest--one more example of false promises by the "Establishment," one more reason to distrust "The Man."

They say, these programs have "low-priority." I ask, *Low-priority* to whom?

~~MEDIA AND INSTRUCTION FOR THE 1970's~~

Not ^{to} ~~with~~ educational leaders; leaders who know that the disadvantaged child especially needs to be able to match his learning with combinations of print and audiovisual resources that suit his needs exactly; not ^{to} ~~with~~ teachers who have had the chance to find in rich media resources the key ^{unprecedented} ~~to undreamed~~ of instructional flexibility; not with aware parents, middle ^{class} ~~and low class~~, urban, suburban or rural, white or black who want their children to learn how to use their minds as tools instead of storehouses, and who have begun to see this happen, largely through Title II funds.

Further, I ask: who sets the priorities for education, and who is listening to those who have the best right--or think they do--to do so? When we say that the three "I's" must dominate learning ~~and the evolving learning program~~ Inquiry, Independence and Individualization--are we just talking "educator talk"? When we talk about instruction that will help pupils to learn how to generate alternatives, adapt to change, and choose the tools that are the best suited to the solving of the program at hand, are we being "ivory towerish?" The answer by informed public opinion is "no".

Here's
 The Nixon administration places a low priority on education and libraries because it does not understand the real meaning of security--the ability and opportunity to learn and earn, read and succeed.

Books and libraries are creative weapons in the war against illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and prejudice. This fact must be made clear and compelling to the Administration, the Congress, and the public.

I am proud to have been associated with President Johnson during the years when, for the first time, education was at the top of the national agenda, and when more public funds were allocated to schools and libraries than ever before in our history. During those years ^{3,600 new} ~~the number of~~ school libraries ~~grew from 0,000 to 0,000.~~ *were created.*

This growth was stimulated and insured by your efforts and dedication and helped greatly by the Knapp School Libraries Demonstration Project, the International Paper Company's campaign "How to Get the School Library Your Child Needs," and by ^{Encyclopaedia Britannica's} ~~Children-Books'~~ own School Library Awards--all of which grew out of the National Library Week Program, sponsored by the National Book Committee in cooperation with the American Library Association--a remarkable example of how public and private enterprise can team up in the public interest.

~~But, as former Commissioner of Education Francis K^eppel said, it~~

is a national disgrace that nearly two thirds of our schools still don't have adequate libraries. Hundreds of thousands of our children are still

deprived of the books and other supplementary learning aids they need to

make the classroom experience more than a chore. ^{And, to compound the} ~~problem,~~ the proposed cuts follow the publication of new and improved Standards for School Media Programs.

What can be done?

When his proposals for public education were defeated in the Virginia legislature, Thomas Jefferson said: "Legislators do not generally possess enough information to perceive the important truth, that knowledge is power, that knowledge is safety, and that knowledge is happiness". We now know that Legislators must possess that information.

What we face is a problem in engineering--the engineering of consent. Remember that if a bond issue for new library construction is rejected by the hometown voters, it is taken as a clear sign by the state legislators how the local citizens assess their priorities. In Washington, Congressmen consider the states' priorities in making their decisions on federal assistance to education and libraries. Clearly, then, the place to begin is at home. As you discovered in Newark and in the City of New York, articulate public outcry caused funds for the libraries' budgets to be

restored and the closings averted.

Let us ~~also~~ organize within the library profession, within districts, within the cities and towns, and in states. We must reach out to inform the public through newspapers, magazines, radio and television, what these cuts will mean especially to children. We can set up speakers bureaus, as do farmers, businessmen and public officials. Let us grasp every public forum to get your and our message to the people.

And this is important; do not think that getting out and plugging for library budgets undermines the status of the librarian. You have the best of all possible products to present and promote, and you are making a valuable social contribution by doing so. Remember, however, that it is your responsibility to generate light as well as heat.

We all know that urban budgets and the tax base that supports them are strained almost to the breaking point, so that local taxation is not the whole answer to support for education and libraries. As innovations come along, and as services are extended to the poor, the migrant worker and to the illiterate adult, costs are bound to increase. There is a limit on how high taxes may climb before ^{local} tax payers dig in their heels and rebel.

But the price of excellence in education and library service must be paid.

Let us therefore, earmark a portion of our nation's vast resources to insure it , since an educated, literate, informed public is a priceless national resource. Here is one way that it can be done. In the years ahead, federally-owned oil shale deposits may be exploited successfully. This will generate billions of dollars in new federal revenue. When this occurs, I propose that the money be set aside as a "Trust Fund" for education and libraries. In the meantime, Congress must enlarge the pie for education and libraries; it must not permit a starvation diet when there are so many hungry minds to be fed. For people are book hungry. You and I know how much they have meant to us. Around the world, students would rather go without food than without books. In underdeveloped countries there is even a black-market in textbooks; In Indonesia, for example, book-^legging is commonplace. I once suggested that, to satisfy this craving, every child in America who could not afford them, should be given books of his own to keep and enjoy.

I hope I am wrong when I suggest that the present trend toward the starvation of libraries may portend a new anti-intellectual virus in some sectors of our society. Many people are still afraid of new ideas, and look for strawmen to blame for some of the ugly confrontations which divide

generations, races and political factions.

If free inquiry is to be preserved, we cannot afford anything less than total access to the ideas and information in books which are so essential to rational discourse and productive dialogue.

We cannot afford to turn back the clock and put into reverse all the gains that have been made in providing the library services this nation needs.

Keeping open these channels of communication--preserving and expanding library service--is the key to a larger purpose; a new age of Reason, Reconciliation and Renewal, before polarization takes command and we are frozen in an ice age of fear, distrust, confrontation, and violent reaction.

Let us not go down in history as the generation that opened the doors to outer space, but closed the doors of the libraries.

June 25, 1969

MEMORANDUM

For: H.H.H.

From: Susan

Re: Proposed budget cuts in education - grist for your ALA speech

1. Total cut in OE budget: \$369,569,000.

2. Library assistance total cut: \$88,291,000. The breakdown

is:

	LPJ	FY '90 Nixon
** Library Services & Construction Act		
Title I (Public Libraries)	\$35 mill.	*17.5 million
Title II (Public Library construction)	9.2 mill.	0
** Higher Education Act		
Title II-A (Library resources)	25 mill.	12.5
II-B (Library training)	8.2 mill.	4
II-C (Library of Cong. acq.)	7.4	4.5
** ESEA		
Title II (Library resources)	42 million	0

3. It's a bit difficult to accept the Administration's defense of the library cuts as an economy measure -- they represent 1/20 of 1% of the entire Federal budget.

4. The only favorable result of these unconscionable cuts is that

all education people -- higher education, elementary and secondary,
vocational, NEA -- are now working together.

Nixon Remarks
10-22-68

"America's school, university, and research and public libraries and the dedicated people who staff them constitute a vital education resource. They are the repositories of the American culture."

"Our nation's libraries fulfill at least two vital roles: first, they are the vital centers for research and study, particularly in technical and scientific fields; secondly, they assist many millions of Americans with increasing leisure time to learn the pleasures of reading, to improve their own store of knowledge and to appreciate the humanities and sciences."

→ "In a world where knowledge is the key to leadership, a modern progressive library system is a vital national asset."

THE SAME WEEK PRESIDENT NIXON PROCLAIMED NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK, HE SENT HIS BUDGET TO CONGRESS CUTTING ALL TITLE II ESEA FUNDS -- HE CUT TO ZERO FUNDS FOR LIBRARY RESOURCES -- BOOKS, SUPPLIES.

PROPORTIONATELY, NIXON'S EDUCATION CUTS WERE GREATER THAN ANY OTHER PROPOSED CUTS IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET.

E S E A

	FY'68	FY'69	FY'70 Nixon Request	Diff. '69-70	Diff. peak LBJ-Nixon
I (underprivileged children)	\$1,191 billion	1,231 million	1,226 million	+102million	+35million
II (Libraries books, supplies)	99.2 million	42 million		-\$42million	-99.2
III (Supplementary educational centers)	187.8 million	165.8 million	116.3 million	-49.5 million	-71.5
V (Strengthening State Departments of Ed.)	29.7	29.7	29.7	0	0
VI (pre-school & school programs)	52.6	78.8	85.8	+7	+33.2
VII (Bi-lingual education)	-	7.5	10	+2.5	+10
VIII (drop-out prevention)	-	5	24	+19	+24

N D E A

III (Equipment & remodeling schools)	78.7	78.7		-78.7million	-78.7
V (Guidance counseling and testing)	24.5	17		-17 million	-24.5

<u>Program</u>	FY'68	FY'69	FY'70 Nixon Request	Diff. '69-70
Education Professions Development	\$ 163.8 million	171.9 million	166.4 million	-5.5
Teacher Corps	13.5	20.9	31.1	+10.2
PL 815-874 (Aid to <u>impacted areas - construction</u>)	414.2 million	520.8 mill	202.1	— 318.7
Vocational Education	251.8	248.2	279.2	+31

TOTAL Proposed cut in OE budget: \$369,569,000

TOTAL cut in Library Assistance: \$ 88,291,000

after

House

Figures from House Education and Labor Committee, used by Chairman Perkins on Floor

All figures refer to FY 1970 and are expressed in millions

Program: ESEA

Johnson Request for App.

Nixon Request

~~House~~ cuts

Title I (underprivileged children)	1,226.0	1,226.0	0
II (Library supplies books)	42.0	0.0	42
III (Supp. ed. centers innovation)	172.9	116.4	56.5
V	29.75	29.75	29.75
VI (pre-sch. + school)	33.7	33.7	0
VII (Bi-lingual ed.)	10.0	10.0	0
VIII (Drop-out prevention)	24.0	24.0	0
Total	1,538.4	1,410.2	128.25

Program: NDEA

Title III (Equip. + remodeling)	0.0	0.0	0
V (Guidance counseling + testing)	12.0	0.0	12
Total	12.0	0.0	12

Program: Higher Ed

II-A	25.0	12.5	12.5
II-B	8.25	4.00	4.25
II-C	7.40	4.50	2.90
Total	364.9	339.8	19.65

Cuts elsewhere

Program: Higher Ed. Facilities

Total	167.0	60.0	107.0
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Program: Library Services

Title I	35.0	17.5	17.5
II	9.2	0.0	9.2
III	2.3	2.3	0
Total			26.7

Program: EPDA	146.2	136.2	10.0
Program: Voc. Ed.	277.5	277.5	—
Program: Impacted Areas			
P.L. 815	15.17	15.17	
P.L. 874	300.0	187.00	113.0
Total	315.17	202.17	

Program: Teacher Corps, Operation and Training

	31.1	31.1	—0
--	------	------	----

4/16.60

S 520
S 5387

HEW b
FY 70

total
369, 569, 000

Impacted
(P.L. 815
P.L. 874)

\$113 million

Vocational

no cuts

ESFA

I

no cut

II

42 mill. (100% cut)

III (Innovation)

56.5 mill.
56,483,000*

IV

no cut
29.7 (100% cut)

V

no cut

VI

"

VII

"

VIII

NDEA

VA Guidance

12 mill (100% total cut)

Ed Prog. Dev. Act

~~10~~

10 mill

Library Assistance

Library Resources Instruction
LSC Act

I

\$17.5 mill cut

II

9.2
9,185,000 (100% cut)

HEA

II A

cut 12.5
12,500,000

II B

4,24,250,000

II C

2,856,000

19,606,000 cut

7.4
2.8
4

ESEA ^{stat}

II

42 mill cut 100

Teacher Corps

no cut

* Supp edk se c/s

June 25, 1969

MEMORANDUM

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is:

	<u>CUT</u>	<u>LPJ</u>	<u>FY'90</u> <u>Nixon</u>
** Library Services & Construction Act			
Title I (Public Libraries)	17.5	\$35 mill.	\$17.5 million
Title II (Public Library construction)	9.2 (100% cut)	9.2 mill.	0
III no cuts (2.3)			
<u>Total cuts</u>	26.7		\$26,685,000 cut
** Higher Education Act			
Title II-A (Library resources)	12.5	25 mill.	12.5
II-B (Library training)	4.25	8.2 mill.	4.25
II-C (Library of Cong. acq.)	2.85	7.4	4.5 4.5
** ESEA			
Title II (Library resources)	42 (100% cut)	42 million	0

3. It's a bit difficult to accept the Administration's defense of the library cuts as an economy measure -- they represent 1/20 of 1% of the entire Federal budget.

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V (Strengthening State Departments of Ed.)	29.7	29.7	29.7	0	0
VI (pre-school & school programs)	52.6	33.7 78.8	33.7 85.8	0 +7	+33.7 ○
VII (Bi-lingual education)	-	10 7.5	10	0 +2.5	+10 ○
VIII (drop-out prevention)	-	24	24	0 +24	+24 ○
<u>N D E A</u>					
III (Equipment & remodeling schools)	78.7	78.7 0	○	0 -78.7 million	-78.7 ○
V (Guidance counseling and testing)	24.5	27 12	○	-12 -27 million	-24.5

<u>Program</u>	FY'68	FY'69	FY'70 Nixon Request	Diff. '69-70
Education Professions Development	\$ 163.8 million	146.2 171.9 million	166.4 million 134.2	5.5 -10
Teacher Corps	13.5	31.1 20.9	31.1	10.2 ○
PL 815-874 (Aid to <u>impacted areas - construction</u>)	414.2 million	315,167 520.8 mill	202,167,000	113 318.7
Vocational Education	251.8	277.5 248.2	277.5 279.2	○ +31
Higher Ed Facilities		167.	60.00	-107
Higher Ed I (Scholarship Grants, Grants, Homework Study)				
TOTAL Proposed cut in OE budget:	\$ 369,569,000			
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