

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Washington, D. C.

February 17, 1976

I am honored to be invited once again to participate in this conference of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. I recall our meeting ten years ago at the 50th Annual Convention in Cleveland, and I remember it well.

Today I have the privilege of seeing you again, with the same feeling of warmth and affection, and I hope that I can say something worthy of your attention.

As you may know, I am a refugee from the classroom -- and I never forget that. I have been a teacher, and in many ways I remain essentially a teacher. And because of that, I know that we agree on many things.

One of them is that we live in a time of fantastic change. And that fact is at the center of many of our difficulties. A boy or girl from your schools and classrooms experiences more changes in just one year than you or I -- in our youth -- experienced in ten, or than our parents experienced in 25 or 50.

When we perceive this change, especially its rapidity and intensity, we are compelled to ask just how much the human psychic make-up, the human nervous system, can bear. How much can it absorb? How quickly can it adapt?

The changes which have taken place in our society in the past few decades -- or even in the ten years since we last met -- are almost unbelievable. And more important, they are projected at us every hour of the day, not only by the newspapers and periodicals, the weekly and monthly magazines, but literally every fifteen minutes on television and radio.

When I was a boy growing up in South Dakota, the newspaper I received was the Watertown Public Opinion. Occasionally we got cosmopolitan and read the Sioux City Journal, and we had the Doland Times Record once a week. That was our news. And even when the radio came, we were still very much shut off from the world.

But today we are far from shut off -- the world envelopes us like a tidal wave. The news rolls over us, and more often than not it is not news of hope and development; it is news of collapse, catastrophe and failure. In that barrage of information, it is understandable that people become disturbed, that they become overwhelmed. Every hour of the day and night, on every newscast, in living motion and color, we are exposed to a rapid bombardment of change.

For example, the advent of nuclear weaponry has drastically changed the world and the way we look at the world. Who would have been informed about Angola twenty years ago? Who would have cared? Who would have been able to find it on a map? Yet today it is a matter of great concern to millions and millions of people, and to our young people in particular -- those whom change has made very sensitive, and indeed almost fragile.

We have witnessed incredible developments in our economy. No nation on this planet has known such prosperity as America, and that prosperity has brought change. It has forced us to consider fundamental questions, to decide whether or not people living in democratic freedom can maintain self-discipline and high moral standards in the midst of affluence and abundance.

Our very wealth itself becomes a challenge -- a challenge to discover whether self-restraint, prudence and a reasonable degree of moral integrity are only dependent upon times of trouble, depression or war. We are searching for an alternative to that kind of unity, searching to discover if peace can arouse within us the same dedication as battles do.

Moreover, the state of the economy has brought forth unprecedented problems. Never before have we had recession and inflation simultaneously, never in the history of mankind. Yet now it is a worldwide phenomenon. In the midst of this change, the old solutions no longer apply. Domestic remedies no longer are suitable for an interdependent world economy, and the old formulas no longer fit the facts.

As a result, we must be willing to experiment -- and that in itself will bring change. Freedom and democracy call for free thinking, for daring, for adventure, for a new sense of priorities. I tell the young people in my home state of Minnesota that what happens in the Middle East may be more important than anything that happens in the Middle West -- in terms of their day-to-day lives. And correspondingly, what happens in the Middle West, in the production of food and fiber, will have worldwide repercussions because America is a major food producer for the world.

John Donne, writing in the 17th Century, could never have known how well his words would apply to the 20th: "No man is an island, entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main." We now have incontrovertible evidence that this is true.

It could not be otherwise in an age when the mass media bring the world to our doorstep, and with it a change in our attitudes.

The Vietnam War is a case in point. It was the first war in our nation's history which was covered without censorship, and the experience was to become traumatic. Very few Americans cared about or understood that war when it began. Vietnam was a remote country, 10,000 miles away; we knew virtually nothing about its people, its culture, its religion, its geography or climate. But we knew about the fighting -- because it was brought right into our living rooms. It came directly into our lives, with all the ugliness, filth, degradation and horror intact. Americans were suddenly exposed, not to Jimmy Stewart or John Wayne marching into battle, but to young men from this country in a faraway jungle. The war came home to us with unbelievable force -- destroying our faith in ourselves, causing us heartache and pain, arousing our passions and emotions.

It was the inevitable result of an open and honest society. Indeed, if every nation in the world had a similarly open society, if every nation could have seen what we saw, that war would have stopped much sooner.

That experience taught us the alarming extent to which we can learn and perceive change from the media. But we have not yet fully come to grips with that lesson. If it is true that the media are

quick to reflect the changes in our society, it is also true that our young people are quick to follow the media -- for better or worse.

Our young people see enough people killed in an average week of television viewing to wipe out the neighborhoods they live in. They see the world of muggings, robberies, stick-ups and rip-offs, a world in which the rewards of crime are immediate and the threat of punishment is vague. It would be surprising if they were not affected, since the programs they watch are carefully constructed to be engaging, entertaining and exciting. But to see how they are affected by the changes in our society requires an extremely alert and sensitive parent, one who can understand how deeply our traditional beliefs in law, in justice, in religion and community have been shaken.

This is not to suggest that there is no hope for our children, no possibility of renewed faith in our society. I am not a prophet of doom, and I have better advice for our Bicentennial year. To those who say that America has reached a crisis of confidence, that we have arrived at a lack of trust in our nation so profound that we cannot recover, I say: let's look at where we have been and where we're going.

We ought to remember that when this Republic was begun, support for it was far from unanimous. There was hardly universal agreement. Only one-third of the people in the Colonies advocated breaking with King George, another third were simply waiting to see how it all came out, and another third were Tories. There was no widespread enthusiasm.

We ought to remember, when people criticize the present Congress, that 200 years ago the Continental Congress was in session trying to decide whether they ought to send any food to Washington's troops, along with cannons and munitions. When they finally decided to provide the shipments, only about half of it got there -- the rest was bled off into the black market. Yet out of that dissension and confusion came the nation which, with unity and purpose, rebuilt Europe after the Second World War.

Those who say that our young people are disaffected, that our younger citizens are apathetic about the electoral process, ought to recall that the average age of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was 36. Thomas Jefferson was 33. James Madison was 25. And Alexander Hamilton was only 17 at the time. Moreover, the numbers present for the signing of that document were well below the expected turnout. And for the debate over the new constitution, more than 90 people were invited -- of which 55 actually came, and only 39 stayed for the completion. By the time it was over, the founders didn't even have a quorum.

But in that early turmoil and debate emerged two of our finest traditions. The first was a pragmatic sense of experimentation, the will to innovate, the spirit of the pioneer with the courage to dare something new. The second was optimism, the belief that a thing can be done, the faith in ourselves, the institutions of our government and our society. And I am sure that all of you, in this audience of leaders of American life, will agree that we need those qualities today.

We need them because we will always need them, not because we face new and insuperable problems today which we have never faced before. America is no more problematical now than it ever was. In fact, if you want to be reminded of truly staggering problems, look again at our history.

*In the late 18th century, the ranking officer*  
The first chief of staff of the United States Army was a traitor in the pay of the Spanish Emperor. There was compromise on the issue of slavery throughout the 1800's. There was a terrible and bloody civil war between North and South. There was spectacular corruption in the period of Ulysses Grant which makes recent offenses look puny by comparison. There were massive pay-offs. The railroads were bribing legislatures. Monopolies were running roughshod over consumers and small businessmen.

In later years there was imperialism abroad and the rape of our environment at home. There was the incredible period of the Twenties, the aftermath of World War I, and the Great Depression which followed. There was our willingness to tolerate the inhuman behavior of Adolph Hitler until we faced a World War.

In short, there has never been a point in our history in which someone could not have said, "This is the end. We have reached a point at which our problems are too great. America as we know it is finished."

But you and I know differently. We know that America has passed through each and every one of those trials and emerged stronger for them. We know that out of the rape of our environment came the conservation movement. Out of the incredible mismanagement of our banks came the Bank Reform Acts. Out of the Civil War came the Emancipation Proclamation. Out of persecution and demagoguery came our guaranteed freedoms and human rights.

And out of it all came the most marvelous republic on the face of the earth -- the oldest living democracy with the oldest constitution, and yet one of the youngest nations on the globe.

I am a student of history, and I think I know what has gone wrong with this nation. But more important, I think I know what has gone right. And I think that we are on the road to progress -- if we want to be.

If we want to, we are going to have to do some hard work and make some very tough decisions. Not all of them will be easy. Not all of them will be palatable. But they will be successful if we act in the best traditions of our past.

We can find a way out of this recession. We must find a way because the nation cannot afford it -- financially or spiritually. Some people are talking a lot these days about waste in government. And, admittedly, there is some waste in government, just as there is waste in each of our homes -- pairs of shoes that we can't wear or appliances which we will never use. Regrettably, we have lived in a society which taught and encouraged waste.

But there is a worse and more devastating kind of waste, and that is the senseless waste of human lives and resources. The waste of this recession in the last two years has amounted to \$200 billion -- and that doesn't begin to count the waste of hope, the waste of families broken and spirits crushed. In the period from

1974 to 1980, we will have lost one and a half trillion dollars in income which no one will ever see or receive, production that will never be marketed and revenues that will never be collected.

As I speak to you now, we are wasting 8 million people who want to work, but who are given no alternative except food stamps and the unemployment line. That is an intolerable situation. This nation ought to be able to put its working people on their feet if it can put a man on the moon.

And we can do it. But we are going to have to be willing to try new solutions, willing to run a risk, willing to take the criticism if results do not come immediately.

And we can mobilize every resource in this country to meet our energy needs. You can't open a newspaper these days without reading about the so-called "energy crisis." But you and I know differently. There is no energy crisis. We have all kinds of energy. We have enough coal alone to take care of the needs of this country for 300 years. God Almighty gave us the sun, and we ran the whole space program on solar energy.

What we think of as the energy crisis is really a crisis of national will -- not of resources. When World War II began, we didn't have so much as an ounce of synthetic rubber. But when the Japanese cut off the sea lanes, and with them our supply of natural rubber, you know what happened. Within one year your government, in cooperation with industry and labor, built the synthetic rubber plants -- and this country never once had a slow-down in production because of a shortage in rubber.

I am of the belief that we can do the things which have to be done. I am not here to tell you that it will be easy, or that it will be painless. But it can be done. Everyone knows that you can build character in defeat. I want America to get to work, to get together, and show the world that we can build character in victory as well.

I believe in our future because I have an abiding faith in America and her people. And I also have faith in the political process. But we have witnessed a decline in confidence in our election process. Despite all the money spent on campaigns, despite the enormous amount

of organizing and volunteer work, despite elections which promise the clearest ideological choice between candidates in our history -- only about 55% of America's eligible voters go to the polls, the lowest percentage in a quarter of a century.

In the 1972 presidential election, some 68 million Americans didn't vote. It is time to ask why. It is time to try to understand why the United States of America, with more opportunity for free voting, free participation and freedom of election, has the lowest voter participation in politics of any free country in the world.

I can't give you the final answer. I know that there has not been a mass rejection of the institutions of government. I know that there has not been an outburst of zeal for revolution. But I do see a pervasive disenchantment in our society, a national mood which presents a difficult challenge to educators.

Political expression is a direct function of education, and public education is a fundamental principle of our society. It is basic to our liberty, to the quality of our lives, to our pursuit of happiness. That is why educators have a vital interest in the political process. They have a special responsibility to counter the prevailing disenchantment with politics. They have a special reason to remember what Adlai Stevenson said about representative government: it's just like a well -- you get out of it what you put into it.

Teachers often forget that they are, in many ways, politicians themselves. They work for the public. They are on the public payroll, just as I am. Sometimes I have to remind school-board members, superintendents, principals, and teachers that they, too, are part of what they call "the bureaucracy." And when there is discontent or criticism of that group, teachers ought to ask themselves, "Where do I fit into that? Are they talking about me?"

Or if they find themselves discontented with politics, they ought to jump in with both feet and change what they don't like. Our system permits maximum freedom of participation, and it's time for those who are concerned to think about how they're going to participate. If they feel that politics is dirty, if they feel that they are clean, well, then they should get in with their bar of political Ivory Soap and clean it up or shut up. One or the other.

Without that kind of participation, we are not going to be able to guarantee the future of our educational institutions because they are up against threats from every side. The President's budget for fiscal 1977 requests \$6.1 billion for education programs of all sorts. That may seem like a lot of money -- but not compared to an economy of \$1.5 trillion. In fact, that budget request is \$400 million, or 19%, below enacted appropriations for fiscal 1976.

Almost twenty percent less money for education -- that should be enough to turn any educator into a political activist. Could your schools sustain a twenty percent cut in expenditures next year? Has anything gotten cheaper in the past year? Have the problems become fewer? Are the needs less pressing?

Of course not. If the President's budget were accepted, where would the additional funds come from? In the local community, the only way that you can raise money is from sales taxes and property taxes -- and in some areas, the state income tax.

That is the problem with Mr. Ford's notion of how to fund education. I believe in efficiency and consolidation, too. I believe in state and local administration of programs. But I've been around long enough, as both a big-city mayor and a school teacher, to know that it also takes resources. A city or a state is limited in what it can tax. I come from the state of Minnesota, and we raise a lot of revenue out there. But we cannot tax Exxon, we cannot tax Mobil, and we cannot tax Gulf and Western. We cannot tax the giants; we can only tax the people -- those who can least afford to pay, and who are already paying their full share.

That is why I get suspicious when I hear people saying that they want to put education entirely in the hands of states or localities. I listen to them, and I say, "That sounds fine -- if you'll send the money along."

But this administration has no intention of sending the money along -- that is why they cut the budget in the first place.

The proposed cuts would hit hardest in higher education, to be sure. But there is much that affects elementary and secondary facilities as well. The administration has proposed a consolidation

of major programs, including vocational education, education for the handicapped and library resources, into a block or consolidated grant.

This legislation is hardly new. As a matter of fact, it is the very same thing which was once known as the Educational Special Revenue Sharing Act when Mr. Nixon presented it in 1973, 1974 and 1975. It is almost embarrassing that the Administration is trying the same old plan once again. They tried it last year and they couldn't find a single member of Congress to sponsor it -- not one. They ought to have learned something from that. There are 535 members of Congress. And when no one in that body will consent to sponsor a bill, there has to be something wrong with it.

I am committed to the belief that if Federal aid to education is going to be effective, then state and local educational agencies must be able to set priorities and determine where and how money is to be spent. And we should help them to direct resources to areas of real need. We should encourage good educational management, and we should ensure that the students of this country have equal educational opportunity for a quality education. These are, and should be, constructive functions for the federal government.

However, I take an entirely different position from Mr. Ford in calling for fundamental changes in federal aid.

First, I strongly oppose federal program consolidation because the President's budget clearly translates that idea into sharp reductions. And in some instances it means outright termination of federal assistance.

Of course, the President has recently told you that he has "changed his mind" about the budget, and now intends to propose a modest increase in educational spending to help move his consolidation proposal through Congress. But in light of Mr. Ford's repeated vetoes, impoundments and rescissions of appropriations enacted by Congress for education, it is likely that this last-minute proposal will at best only cover increased costs due to inflation.

That is far from enough. The federal portion of our public resources devoted to education must not only cover the costs of

inflation. They must be substantially increased -- for the simple reason that education is the best and wisest investment this nation can make in its future.

By contrast, we are raising the expenditure for new weapons systems by \$9 billion this year alone, over and above inflation, in real increases.

Now, don't get me wrong. I believe in adequate national security. I have served on the National Security Council, and I am the only member of Congress who has. I don't believe in unilateral disarmament or in cozying up to the Soviets.

But I am a realist. I know that if you have to spread your money out over a long period of time, and make decisions about what you are going to do with it, then you have to ask yourself what your best buys are. And I've been doing a lot of comparison shopping lately.

We still have more than 450 B-52's, and we really don't need to put a billion and a half dollars into a B-1 this year. We still have the mightiest submarine fleet in the world, including the Polaris missile and the Poseidon. And even with the Trident missile underway, we still have the largest stable of MIRVed missiles in the world -- with more missile warheads than any other power. We have enough, in short, to annihilate every form of humanity on the earth.

So if I have to choose between laying off teachers or closing up vital services in our schools and holding back a little while on some of the new weapons expenditures, it's not going to take me long to make up my mind.

Despite what some people will tell you, this country is not "as strong as its military." The military, for all its accomplishments, is just the cutting edge of the great strong blade of our people and our economy. This country is exactly as strong as its people. It is as strong as its workers, its productivity, and the health of its citizens. It is as strong as their education, as strong as the homes they live in and the cities they build.

You put that kind of strength together with an effective and powerful military establishment, and I will show you a strong and powerful nation.

We need nothing less than a whole new educational policy for this country. We need a commitment to guarantee to all of our children -- without regard to place of residence, family income or race -- the best education that this nation is capable of providing.

I will repeat to you what I said ten years ago. It was true then and it remains true now. There is no instance in recorded history where a nation has become insolvent or in any way damaged its fiscal system because of its investments in health or education. Because education means productivity. Education means opportunity. And education means progress -- or at least the hope of it.

Now, I don't mean to say that everything we are presently doing in education is all that it should be. You and I both know better than that. The decline in college entrance exam scores over the past ten years is ominous. It suggests to me that while we are trying to come up with new ideas in education, we ought also to be examining some of the old ones.

When I find young people coming into my classroom who can hardly read -- as I did in 1969 and 1970 -- when I find that some of them have no capacity to write their native language, when they are all too fluent in conversation but stumble over the written word -- then there is something definitely wrong.

I know that it is difficult to teach the old skills today in a world where the movies, the stereo set and the television have encroached on the written word, and where conversation is too often reduced to a string of cliches. But somebody has to learn how to read. Somebody has to learn how to write. And somebody has to learn systems of logic.

Moreover, secondary education is taking on ever greater importance as our college applications decline. An increasing number of our young people want to get into what they call "real life," whatever that means, and move directly into the job market after high school.

For many, the price of a college education has simply become too high -- especially when we have an Administration which is determined to cut back on student loans and fellowships, making the process of a college education even more difficult. These developments can only mean that an even greater responsibility is yours in secondary education.

It is, after all, secondary education which trains our young people for life -- and you and I know that we have a bigger job to do than ever before.

But there are some things which education cannot be expected to do. Our schools cannot shape the entire personality of a child, and our principals cannot become mothers and fathers for everybody. Too many times, our children have been simply pushed off into school in the belief that it is the one place where they can find love and care and understanding, as well as education. I may be old-fashioned, but I believe that there is no substitute for the family. And we need to examine what is happening to that family in contemporary society.

Nor can we ask our teachers to be policemen, although today many of them spend far too much of their time in just that function -- trying to enforce order. It is no secret why they have been relegated to that role: what any child does in school is going to be a reflection of what he or she has been doing outside of school, where students spend most of their time.

When millions of our children grow up in filth and ugliness and poverty, when they grow up in fear of hatred, when they are raised not knowing whether they are going to have a job -- much less a career -- then they are going to bring their environment to school with them. They are going to find powerful temptations in alcohol and other drugs, and in various anti-social forms of behavior.

I am worried about the solid wastes and toxic gases which pollute our air and water. I am worried about their physical effects and how they cause disease.

But, ladies and gentlemen, there is a far more insidious form of pollution in our society, in the environment of hate and bigotry and racism, in the environment of despair which comes from living in ugliness and degradation. There is a far more lasting disease which can be contracted from the blight of so many of our great cities.

So when people ask me to aid them in cleaning up the air and the water, I join them. But I ask them to bring the same militancy to cleaning up the environment in our cities, to providing decent health care and decent nutrition to our people.

America must understand that our children cannot be saved in the classroom. There is much to be gained there, and it makes a real difference. But the classroom will always be a reflection of the community. And if the community is rotten within, if the community is violent, if the community is torn by bitterness or asleep with apathy, then our schools will show it.

True quality education can result from nothing less than a rebirth in the thinking of this nation.

We have to remind ourselves that our schools are part of the community and the community is part of the school. And until educators begin telling people in the community that they can't go it alone, that they can't be held accountable for everything that goes on inside until they get some help from the outside, then education is going to be suspect.

But it need not be. We can rebuild the environment of community and family. We can restore our faith in each other and the trust between people and their government. There is as much need for that dedication in education as there is in politics, as much room for that pioneering spirit in our cities as in our suburbs. Whatever is wrong in our society, we have a system to set it right; whatever is best in our society, it is in our power to preserve. What we will to do, we can do.

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- Allen Walker
- Howie Strayton

Hugh O'Brien

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Orlen Kernan

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Eke Set

Hugh O'Brien  
Sports Foundation  
Program

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY 17, 1976

10 yrs ago

IT IS A PLEASURE TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TODAY, SOME OF YOU

MAY RECALL THAT JUST 10 YEARS AGO I ADDRESSED THE 50TH ANNUAL

CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS,  
*in Cleveland Ohio.*

L THE SAYING IS THAT THE MORE THINGS CHANGE,

THE SAME. HERE IT IS, TEN YEARS LATER, AND HERE I AM, BACK IN FRONT

OF YOU! - Still Senator. ~~at that~~ Change

L BUT ONE THING IS CERTAIN, L IN THE TEN YEAR INTERIM, WE HAVE SEEN

CHANGES AFFECT OUR SOCIETY AND OUR COUNTRY THAT HAVE ROCKED THE WORLD.

AND THE WORLD HAS ROCKED US, TOO.

*WAR - ended  
it got trouble in  
world.*

L WE HAVE SEEN THE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS GREATLY

STRENGTHENED FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR WOMEN, AND FOR MINORITIES.

L BUT MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE SEEN A DEBILITATING INFLATION AND

RECESSION, WITH ALL THE ATTENDANT CATASTROPHE THAT A DEPRESSION

REALLY WREAKS UPON OUR SOCIETY.

energy

-2-

↳ IN THESE 10 YEARS WE HAVE SEEN THAT OUR ENERGY SOURCES ARE NOT INFINITE. ↳ IN FACT, WE HAVE TO DEPEND ON OTHER COUNTRIES FOR AN INCREASING AMOUNT OF OUR FUEL RESOURCES.

Food shortage

↳ IN THE PAST DECADE WE HAVE SEEN THE POLITICS OF REFORM ENLIVEN MANY INSTITUTIONS. ↳ THIS MOVEMENT OF CHANGE HAS HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT ON OUR SYSTEM OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

↳ WE HAVE SEEN REFORM IN OUR POLITICAL PARTIES, REFORMS IN THE CONGRESS, AND LIMITS ON THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT. ↳ MILLIONS OF OUR CITIZENS BECAME INVOLVED IN THE GREAT SOCIAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME.

Rapid changes

↳ BUT WHEN SO MUCH CHANGES SO QUICKLY, THE HUMAN CONDITION IS BOUND TO BECOME A LITTLE INSECURE. ↳ AND OUR CITIZENS HAVE TRANSLATED THIS FEAR INTO MISTRUST -- NOT ALL OF IT UNWARRANTED.

REGRETFULLY, OUR MORAL STANDARDS HAVE TURNED INWARD. ↳ IN THE

Doubt Family, Church, Business, govt  
GRIP OF A SAGGING ECONOMY, OUR MORAL FIBER HAS SAGGED AS WELL.

Steve Sabo

SUDDENLY WE ARE FACED WITH THE GRIM REALITY OF HUNGER AT HOME  
AND STARVATION ABROAD. ~~WE DO LITTLE ABOUT IT.~~

THE CAUSES OF A FEW YEARS AGO, THOSE NOBLE PROJECTS FOR THE  
BETTERMENT OF ALL, HAVE MELTED INTO A TIREDNESS AND DISSATISFACTION  
THAT PERVADES THE NATION,

TOO MANY OF US FLY FROM RESPONSIBILITY, OR DROP OUT OR RUN  
AWAY FROM OUR OWN PROBLEMS, NOT TO MENTION THOSE OF OTHERS. DESPITE  
ALL THE RECENT STATISTICS ABOUT THE DEBILITATING EFFECTS OF ALCHOL,  
CIGARETTES, AND DRUGS, WE CONTINUE TO IMBIBE MORE, AND SMOKE MORE.

NOT ONLY ARE WE LITERALLY DIGGING OUR OWN GRAVES BY OUR HABITS, WE  
ARE MORALLY CREATING OUR OWN HELLS BY NOT WAKING UP TO THE MATTERS  
AT HAND.

JOHN DONNE SAID:

"NO MAN IS AN ISLAND, ENTIRE OF ITSELF: EVERY MAN IS A  
PIECE OF THE CONTINENT, A PART OF THE MAIN...."

IN A WORLD WHERE EVERY CATASTROPHE CAN BE TRANSMITTED INTO OUR  
LIVING ROOMS, IN BLOOD-CURDLING -- LIVING -- COLOR IN A MATTER OF  
SECONDS, THIS NEVER HAS BEEN MORE TRUE.

L THINK OF WHAT THIS DOES TO OUR YOUNG.

*Our Young*

L OUR TEENAGERS CAN SEE ENOUGH PEOPLE KILLED IN AN AVERAGE  
DETECTIVE PROGRAM TO WIPE OUT THE NEIGHBORS ON THEIR STREET. THEY  
CAN SEE ENOUGH PEOPLE WIPED OUT ON THE NEWS TO MAKE THEM REALIZE  
THAT THEIR MORTALITY IS VERY FRAGILE INDEED.

L THEY ARE AFFECTED BY THE CHANGES IN OUR SOCIETY PROBABLY MORE  
THAN WE KNOW. AND OUR FAITH IN THE SYSTEM, IN JUSTICE, IN RELIGION,  
~~with family, in business,~~  
IN ANYTHING THAT MAN TRADITIONALLY BELIEVES IN, IS NOT GIVING THEM  
MUCH OF A PEG TO HANG THEIR MORAL HATS ON.

But Bicentennial of 1776 is a  
chance for Prosperity - <sup>if you have been</sup> ~~where we are~~  
~~where we are going~~

h WE ALL MUST TAKE STOCK OF WHERE WE ARE, AND AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

L TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO OUR NATION WAS IN ITS INFANCY } THIS IS A YEAR

IN WHICH WE SHOULD ALL TAKE PRIDE } BUT CAN WE? AND WHAT ARE WE

GIVING OUR CHILDREN TO BE PROUD OF? not 24 yrs

h WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT THE 24 YEARS REMAINING IN THIS

CENTURY MAY BE DECISIVE IN THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION.

h IN 24 YEARS THE CHILDREN WHO NOW ARE IN YOUR CHARGE WILL BE

OLD ENOUGH TO BE REPRESENTATIVES, SENATORS, AND EVEN PRESIDENT.

h SOMETIME IN THE NEXT QUARTER CENTURY WE WILL LEARN WHETHER

WE CAN SURVIVE AS A STRONG, FREE NATION, AND AS A PEOPLE.

h IN ANY EVENT, THE NEXT FEW YEARS ARE GOING TO TAKE SOME HARD

WORK. } THEY WILL NOT BE PALATABLE IF WE ALL JUST SIT BACK "AND

WATCH IT HAPPEN." } WE HAVE TO ACT. } WE HAVE TO DO OUR LEVEL BEST.

so what to do

Brantner, Pioneer  
- optimism  
- faith

h WE MUST FIND A WAY OUT OF THIS RECESSION THAT HAS PUT MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS OUT OF WORK AND CAUSED UNTOLD HARDSHIP

FOR THE POOR AND THOSE ON FIXED INCOMES, Cost Billions

h WE MUST MOBILIZE EVERY AVAILABLE RESOURCE TO FEED THE HUNGRY, CLOTHE THE NEEDY, AND CLEAN UP OUR CITIES.

h WE MUST MAKE ADEQUATE HOUSING, HEALTH CARE, JOB TRAINING, PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION AND, OF COURSE, EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

h WE MUST CONSERVE OUR ENERGY SUPPLIES IN ORDER TO REDUCE OUR DEPENDENCE -- OUR GROWING ADDICTION, REALLY -- ON FOREIGN OIL IMPORTS.

h I HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF TAKING THE "CANDIDE" APPROACH TO LIFE. BUT I AM AN OPTIMIST BY NATURE. IF I WEREN'T, I WOULDN'T HAVE THE STRONG DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT HAS BEEN UNDER SO MUCH CRITICISM LATELY.

Pol Process

-7-

h I HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA AND IN HER PEOPLE AND I BELIEVE WE  
CAN TACKLE THE MYRIAD OF PROBLEMS THAT BESET THIS COUNTRY.

h BUT THE ONLY WAY I SEE US ACCOMPLISHING OUR LONG-HOPED-FOR  
GOALS AND MEETING OUR HARD-EARNED OBJECTIVES IS THROUGH OUR

POLITICAL PROCESSES. AS DISTASTEFUL A WORD AS IT HAS BECOME,

POLITICS STILL IS THE ONLY GAME IN TOWN, MY FRIENDS. IT IS THE  
WAY TO GET THINGS DONE IN OUR SYSTEM.

h IT IS THE LIFE BLOOD OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.

h IT IS THE VEHICLE OF CHANGE, BRINGING FORTH NEW IDEAS, NEW  
CONCEPTS OF GOVERNMENT, AND NEW LEADERS.

h IT IS THE MEANS BY WHICH CONFLICTS AND COMPETING INTERESTS  
OF DIFFERENT GROUPS, REGIONS, GENERATIONS AND CULTURAL LIFE-STYLES  
ARE RESOLVED.

h IT ENABLES US TO CHOOSE FOR OUR LEADERS INDIVIDUALS WHO WILL  
REPRESENT WHAT WE TRULY ARE, PROTECTING OUR RIGHTS AND INTERESTS,

h WE ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHANGE THESE LEADERS, AT THE BALLOT  
BOX, WHEN THEY FAIL TO CARRY OUT THESE RESPONSIBILITIES,

~~and~~ OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM ENABLES EVERY CITIZEN TO PARTICIPATE.

h IN FACT, WE ALL MUST PARTICIPATE TO MAKE SELF-GOVERNMENT WORK THE  
WAY IT SHOULD. WE SHOULD BE THANKFUL THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT

TO PARTICIPATE -- A RIGHT DENIED MOST OF THE PEOPLE ON EARTH,

AND YET, AT A TIME WHEN CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS AND  
GOVERNMENT IS NEEDED MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, THERE HAS BEEN A

DANGEROUS DECLINE OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT AND THE

POLITICAL PROCESS. THIS DECLINE IN CONFIDENCE IS REFLECTED VERY

CLEARLY IN RECENT VOTING TRENDS.

*Need  
involvement*

L IN THE 1972 ELECTIONS, WHEN BOTH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WERE SAYING THE ELECTION PRESENTED THE CLEAREST IDEOLOGICAL CHOICE BETWEEN CANDIDATES IN HISTORY, ONLY 55 PERCENT OF AMERICA'S ELIGIBLE VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS -- THE LOWEST PERCENTAGE IN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY. L SIXTY-EIGHT MILLION ELIGIBLE CITIZENS DID NOT VOTE.

L IN THE 1974 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, A SURVEY BY THE CENSUS BUREAU FOUND THAT ONLY 45 PERCENT OF THE VOTING AGE POPULATION ACTUALLY VOTED. L THAT WAS 10 PERCENT BELOW THE TURNOUT IN THE 1966 AND 1970 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

L SADDEST OF ALL ARE THE STATISTICS ON REGISTRATION AND VOTING BY YOUNG PEOPLE 18 TO 20 YEARS OLD L 63.6 PERCENT OF 18 TO 20 YEAR OLDS DID NOT BOTHER TO REGISTER AT ALL IN 1974.

OF THOSE WHO DID REGISTER, ALMOST HALF DID NOT VOTE IN THE  
ELECTION. ONLY 20.8 PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE 18 TO 20 YEAR OLDS VOTED  
IN 1974 -- JUST SLIGHTLY MORE THAN ONE OUT OF FIVE.

THE CENSUS BUREAU SURVEY ALSO ASKED PEOPLE WHY THEY HAD NOT  
REGISTERED TO VOTE. THEIR RESPONSES ARE QUITE SHOCKING.

BY FAR THE GREATEST NUMBER -- A FULL 12 PERCENT -- SAID THEY  
WERE NOT INTERESTED, JUST DIDN'T GET AROUND TO IT. OTHER REASONS,  
SUCH AS NOT BEING A CITIZEN, NOT KNOWING WHERE OR HOW TO REGISTER,  
OR NOT HAVING TRANSPORTATION, WERE CITED BY ONLY VERY SMALL  
PERCENTAGES OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED THE QUESTION.

FIGURES LIKE THESE SUGGEST THAT LOSS OF CONFIDENCE  
MAY BE THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING GOVERNMENT TODAY.

PEOPLE DOUBT THE ABILITY OF THEIR GOVERNMENT TO GOVERN AND THEIR

LEADERS TO LEAD, AND THEY ARE NOT AT ALL SURE THAT GOVERNMENT CAN

ACT WITH THE FORCE AND IMAGINATION NECESSARY TO MEET THE PROBLEMS

ON THE NATIONAL AGENDA. POLLSTER GEORGE GALLUP SAYS THAT, "IT

IS DOUBTFUL THAT AT ANY TIME IN THIS CENTURY POLITICS HAS COMMANDED

SO LITTLE RESPECT."

THOSE OF US WHO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE DON'T NEED POLLS TO TELL

US THIS. WE CONSTANTLY ARE HEARING REMARKS FROM OUR CONSTITUENTS

LIKE, "I WOULDN'T TRUST A POLITICIAN IF HE TOLD ME THE SUN ROSE

IN THE EAST."

DISENCHANTMENT WITH OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM SHOULD NOT BE

OVERSTATED, HOWEVER. THERE IS HOPE AND A SOLID BASIS FOR REFORM.

PEOPLE MAY VOTE LESS, RATE POLITICIANS BELOW USED CAR SALESMEN  
IN PUBLIC ESTEEM, WITHDRAW FROM POLITICS, PICKET AND DEMONSTRATE, TURN  
AWAY FROM THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES, AND SOME EVEN EMIGRATE, BUT  
NOTHING TRULY REVOLUTIONARY APPEARS TO BE HAPPENING.

*Institutions of Govt - the Court*  
h I SEE NO MASS REJECTION OF THE CONGRESS OR THE OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENCY. NOR DO I SEE PEOPLE GRASPING FOR EXTREME SOLUTIONS.

h UNDERNEATH IT ALL, I THINK MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE IN THE ULTIMATE  
ABILITY OF AMERICA TO RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS AND TO CONTINUE TO PROGRESS.

h THEY HAVE FAITH IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, IF NOT IN MANY OF  
THE OFFICE HOLDERS.

h THEY HAVE FAITH THAT THE GOVERNMENT, WITH THE RIGHT LEADERS,  
CAN BE MADE TO WORK EFFECTIVELY AND THAT EVEN OUR MOST INTRACTABLE  
PROBLEMS LIKE INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT AND ENERGY SHORTAGES WILL  
YIELD TO CREATIVE AND ENERGETIC LEADERSHIP.

THIS IS WHAT WILL BE DEMANDED OF OUR PUBLIC LEADERS THROUGHOUT  
THE COMING YEARS. AND PUBLIC EDUCATION IS ONE OF THE VITAL AREAS  
WHERE STRONG LEADERSHIP IS SO BADLY NEEDED.

PUBLIC EDUCATION -- AND THE RIGHT TO IT -- IS ONE OF THE  
CORNERSTONES OF OUR SOCIETY. THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES THAT  
ABOUND IN THIS COUNTRY STAND FIRM AS ONE OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT  
YARDSTICKS FOR ASSESSING THE QUALITY OF LIFE WITHIN THIS COUNTRY.

THERE IS NO WAY THAT THE CONGRESS IS GOING TO LET OUR CHILDREN  
GROW UP WITHOUT THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES THEY COUNT AS THEIR  
OWN. FOR EXAMPLE, LAST SEPTEMBER BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS VOTED  
OVERWHELMINGLY TO OVERRIDE THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF THE EDUCATION  
APPROPRIATIONS BILL FOR FISCAL YEAR 1976.

↳ AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE CONGRESS FEELS THE SAME WAY THIS YEAR. I AM APPALLED AT THE ADMINISTRATION'S BUDGET REQUESTS ↳ THEY FAIL COMPLETELY TO EVEN KEEP UP WITH CURRENT NEEDS.

↳ THE PRESIDENT'S FISCAL YEAR 1977 BUDGET REQUESTS A \$6.1 BILLION OUTLAY FOR EDUCATION DIVISION PROGRAMS UNDER CURRENT LEGISLATION. THIS IS \$1.4 BILLION, OR 19 PERCENT, BELOW FISCAL YEAR 1976 ENACTED APPROPRIATIONS.

↳ THESE PROPOSED CUTS WILL HIT PRIMARILY HIGHER EDUCATION -- DOWN \$765 MILLION; TITLE I ESEA -- DOWN \$150 MILLION, AND IMPACT AID -- DOWN \$355 MILLION.

↳ IN FACT, THE BUDGET REQUEST IS HIGHLY MISLEADING ↳ IT IS INFLATED BY INCLUDING TWO YEARS' FUNDING FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, AT \$539 MILLION A YEAR, INSTEAD OF A SINGLE YEAR'S FUNDING AS WITH OTHER PROGRAMS.

↳ THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PROPOSED THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE MAJOR PROGRAMS OF ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED, AND LIBRARY RESOURCES INTO A BLOCK OR CONSOLIDATED GRANT.

↳ THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION IS ENTITLED THE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT.

↳ BUT THE 1977 BUDGET REQUEST ALREADY ASSUMES THAT THIS CONSOLIDATION WILL TAKE PLACE.

↳ THE ADMINISTRATION'S BLOCK GRANT PROPOSAL IS SIMILAR TO THE EDUCATION SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING CONSOLIDATED GRANT PROPOSALS BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE BUDGET REQUESTS FOR 1973, 1974 AND 1975.

h I FRANKLY CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION IS  
INTRODUCING THIS BLOCK GRANT REQUEST ONCE AGAIN. THEY TRIED  
THIS LAST YEAR, AND WORD HAS IT THEY COULD NOT EVEN FIND A  
SPONSOR IN CONGRESS!

h I AM COMMITTED TO THE BELIEF THAT IF FEDERAL AID TO  
EDUCATION IS TO BE EFFECTIVE, THEN STATE AND LOCAL EDUCATION  
AGENCIES MUST BE ABLE TO SET PRIORITIES AND DETERMINE WHERE AND  
HOW THESE MONIES ARE TO BE SPENT,

h WE SHOULD HELP STATES AND LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS DIRECT RESOURCES  
TO THE AREA OF REAL NEED. h WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE GOOD EDUCATIONAL  
MANAGEMENT. h AND, WE SHOULD ASSURE THAT THE STUDENTS OF THIS NATION  
HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO OBTAIN A QUALITY EDUCATION. h THESE SHOULD  
BE THE CONSTRUCTIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

↳ BUT I TAKE A DECIDEDLY DIFFERENT POSITION FROM PRESIDENT FORD, IN CALLING FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

↳ FIRST, AND FOREMOST, I STRONGLY OPPOSE PRESIDENT FORD'S VIEW OF FEDERAL PROGRAM "CONSOLIDATION" BECAUSE HIS BUDGET CLEARLY TRANSLATES THAT TO MEAN "SHARP REDUCTION" OR EVEN "TERMINATION" OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE.

THE PRESIDENT HAS TOLD YOU THAT HE SUDDENLY HAS CHANGED HIS BUDGETARY MIND AND NOW PLANS TO PROPOSE A MODEST INCREASE IN EDUCATIONAL SPENDING TO HELP SELL HIS CONSOLIDATION PROPOSAL TO CONGRESS. ↳ THIS IS SOME WAY TO RUN A BUSINESS! BUT IN LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PAST VETOES AND RESCISSIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS ENACTED BY CONGRESS FOR EDUCATION, IT MAY BE THAT THIS LAST-MINUTE PROPOSAL WILL, AT BEST, ONLY COVER COST INCREASES DUE TO INFLATION.

↳ IT IS URGENT THAT THE FEDERAL PORTION OF PUBLIC RESOURCES DEVOTED TO EDUCATION BE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED -- FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT EDUCATION REPRESENTS A VITAL NATIONAL INTEREST; IT IS A SOLID INVESTMENT IN A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

It is URGENT THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THESE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES BE DEVOTED TO EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY WITHIN STATES. It IS PROFOUNDLY WRONG THAT THE QUALITY OF A CHILD'S EDUCATION SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE DEPENDENT ON THE WEALTH OR POVERTY OF HIS OR HER COMMUNITY.

MINNESOTA HAS FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS DEVELOPED A PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM TO UTILIZE A STATEWIDE INCOME TAX IN EQUALIZING PER-PUPIL EXPENDITURES AMONG SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

NATIONWIDE, WE NEED TO ESTABLISH A NEW EDUCATION POLICY FOR AMERICA -- A POLICY TO GUARANTEE THAT ALL CHILDREN AND YOUTH, WITHOUT REGARD TO CIRCUMSTANCES OF RESIDENCE, FAMILY INCOME, OR RACE WILL HAVE A FULL AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN A QUALITY EDUCATION.

AND IT IS MOST URGENT THAT WE BEGIN SPENDING THE MONEY IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT YIELDS RESULTS.

WE NEED TO MAINTAIN ACCOUNTABILITY FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE  
EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AT ALL LEVELS -- FOR OUR STUDENTS, FOR OUR  
TEACHERS, FOR OUR PRINCIPALS, FOR OUR STATE COMMISSIONERS, AND  
FOR OUR ELECTED OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

WE NEED TO SET PRIORITIES, TO ASSESS THE NEEDS OF OUR YOUTH,  
TO PLAN, AND TO EVALUATE OUR PERFORMANCE.

*Reading  
writing  
math*

AS I SAID LAST YEAR, IN INTRODUCING THE NATIONAL EDUCATION  
INVESTMENT ACT, "IT MUST NOT BE THE FUNCTION OF THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT TO DICTATE THE ANSWERS, BUT RATHER TO PROVIDE A STRONG  
INCENTIVE FOR THE STATES AND LOCAL JURISDICTIONS TO FIND  
EQUITABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS" TO THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS  
OF OUR CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND ADULTS.

BUT THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT REMAINS THAT DECISIVE FEDERAL ACTION

IS REQUIRED TO ADDRESS CRITICAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING SCHOOL

DISTRICTS ACROSS THE NATION -- AND THIS ACTION MUST BE TAKEN NOW,

h THIS IS WHY I BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET REQUESTS FOR  
FISCAL YEAR 1977 REPRESENT A FAILURE OF NATIONAL POLICY TOWARD  
EDUCATION.

h ~~BY CONTRAST, A FORWARD-LOOKING BUDGET CAN HAVE A SOLID,  
POSITIVE IMPACT ON OUR PEOPLE. IT CAN PROVIDE TRUE DIRECTION  
AND HOPE -- IN TERMS OF INCREASED ASSISTANCE AND COMPASSIONATE AID,~~

h ~~YET~~ PRESIDENT FORD'S BUDGET MESSAGE SLASHES AWAY AT SO  
MANY OF THE PROGRAMS THAT MEET THE VITAL NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE --

SUCH AS HEALTH CARE FOR OUR ELDERLY, UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION,

youth employment  
AND OTHER HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAMS, community mental

health centers, neighborhood health  
clinics, drug & alcohol clinics -

OF COURSE, THE CONGRESS ALREADY HAS OVERRIDDEN PRESIDENT

FORD'S FIRST VETO OF THIS NEW SESSION CONCERNING H.E.W.

APPROPRIATIONS, AND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR MORE FUNDS

AIMED WHERE THEY ARE NEEDED.

*Emergency Public  
Interest*

YOU AS PRINCIPALS -- THE LEADERS OF OUR NATION'S YOUTH --

CAN HELP US FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT.

*h* IF YOU THINK GOVERNMENT IS OVERLOADED WITH STALE IDEAS,  
AND INEFFECTIVE PROGRAMS, THEN BRING US YOUR FRESH IDEAS, YOUR  
SOCIAL CONSCIENCE, YOUR VISIONS FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE.

*h* YOU AS SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS ARE IN A SINGULARLY  
UNIQUE AND EXPERT POSITION TO ADVISE US ON THE NEEDS OF EDUCATION.

*h* YOU ARE THE ONES ON THE FIRING LINE.

TELL US WHAT MUST BE DONE AND KEEP AFTER US UNTIL IT GETS  
DONE, GET INVOLVED AND HELP US DO THE JOB,

*h* THIS IS NOT SIMPLE RHETORIC, 1976 IS A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION  
*h* YEAR. IN NOVEMBER WE WILL BE CHOOSING A PRESIDENT WHO, FOR THE  
NEXT FOUR YEARS, WILL BE DIRECTING THIS NATION'S RESPONSE TO  
CRITICAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, ENVIRONMENTAL  
*health, educ, housing, cities.*  
POLLUTION, AND ALL THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE ENERGY CRISIS.

~~THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES, PRESIDENT FORD AND MR. REAGAN,  
WILL RUN ON A PLATFORM OF DISMANTLING OR DRASTICALLY CUTTING  
FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR THE POOR AND HELPLESS IN OUR SOCIETY,~~

~~THEY WOULD HAVE US "LIBERATE" CONSUMERS FROM THE FEDERAL  
PROTECTIONS THAT WORK TOWARD KEEPING OUR WORK PLACES SAFE AND  
HEALTHY, OUR FOOD PURE AND UNADULTERATED, OUR DRUGS SAFE AND  
EFFECTIVE, OUR AIR AND WATER UNPOLLUTED,~~

↳ THEY WOULD HAVE US BE PERFECTLY SATISFIED WITH A SEVEN PERCENT OR HIGHER NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR AT LEAST THE NEXT TWO YEARS. EVIDENTLY, THEY CONSIDER IT BETTER TO PUT PEOPLE ON WELFARE THAN TO PUT PEOPLE BACK TO WORK.

↳ THE PRESIDENT IS PROPOSING HEAVY CUTS IN ALL SOCIAL PROGRAMS -- PROGRAMS THAT REPRESENT THIS NATION'S COMMITMENT TO MAKE THE AMERICAN DREAM A REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS, NOT JUST FOR THE PRIVILEGED FEW.

↳ MY PARTY, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, REJECTS THAT PHILOSOPHY. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY IT BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE. IT EXISTS TO SERVE THEM. IT ACCOMPLISHES THINGS WHICH WOULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED IN ANY OTHER WAY.

↳ AND, IF GOVERNMENT SOMETIMES SEEMS REMOTE OR UNCARING -- IF IT DOES NOT ALWAYS SERVE THE PEOPLE AS WELL AND EFFECTIVELY AS IT COULD at least OR SHOULD, OUR SYSTEM PROVIDES FOR ORDERLY CHANGE.

THE PEOPLE CAN MAKE THEIR GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABLE AND EFFECTIVE  
IF ONLY THEY CARE ENOUGH TO GET INVOLVED AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

*But*

IF THEY "JUST AREN'T INTERESTED" ENOUGH EVEN TO VOTE, THEY HARDLY  
CAN COMPLAIN WHEN THINGS DON'T GO EXACTLY TO THEIR LIKING.

I URGE YOU TO INVOLVE YOURSELVES IN THE NATIONAL DEBATE  
ON THESE CONFLICTING PHILOSOPHIES OF GOVERNMENT IN THIS ELECTION

YEAR,

*Congress*

I ESPECIALLY URGE YOU TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH WHAT IS GOING ON  
IN CONGRESS, BECAUSE THAT IS WHERE THE ISSUES WILL BE DEFINED  
MOST CLEARLY. THE OUTCOME WILL BE EXPRESSED IN LEGISLATION THAT  
WILL AFFECT EACH OF YOU DIRECTLY AND INDIVIDUALLY.

I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE WITH SOMETHING I SAID TO YOU TEN

YEARS AGO,

H.G. WELLS SAID THAT CIVILIZATION IS A RACE BETWEEN EDUCATION AND CATASTROPHE. WE SEE EVIDENCE OF THIS EVERYWHERE.

THE YOUNG IN OUR HIGH SCHOOLS ARE COPING WITH PROBLEMS THAT THEIR OLDER BRETHREN DID NOT HAVE TO FACE.

TOO MANY TEACHERS ARE FINDING THEMSELVES PLAYING THE ROLE OF POLICE OFFICER RATHER THAN EDUCATOR.

MANY YOUTH APPEAR TO BE TAKING THE OPTION OF SIMPLY DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL. IN HIS BOOK SLUMS AND SUBURBS, JAMES BRYANT CONANT DESCRIBED THE SITUATION OF MANY YOUTH ON THE STREETS FACED WITH TOTAL IDLENESS, AS "SOCIAL DYNAMITE,"

SO, SOME COMMENTATORS ARE SAYING THAT WE MAY BE LOSING THE RACE IN TERMS OF LEARNING. YOU KNOW THAT IN SOME AREAS, COLLEGE-BOARD SCORES HAVE BEEN DROPPING FOR ALMOST A DECADE.

IT DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN OUR COUNTRY,

PERHAPS OUR WHOLE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION CAN MAKE USE OF A FEW  
NEW IDEAS. THE SCHOOLS ARE PART OF THE COMMUNITY; AND IT IS CLEAR  
THAT THESE TWO STRUCTURES MUST WORK EVEN HARDER TO GET TOGETHER  
ON MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN,

AND, IT ALSO IS CLEAR THAT FRESH THINKING IS NEEDED ON  
DEVELOPING STRONG INCENTIVES AND A VARIETY OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS  
SO THAT YOUNG PEOPLE WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE THEIR  
EDUCATION, LEADING TO A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA,

BUT YOU ARE THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE THE BEST INSIGHTS  
ON THESE ISSUES AND SOME POSSIBLE ANSWERS. I WOULD LIKE TO  
HEAR FROM YOU,

OUR CIVILIZATION -- LIFE HERE IN AMERICA -- IS IN DESPERATE  
NEED OF YOUR POSITIVE INPUT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE ISSUES OF  
THE TIMES.

WE REALIZE, MORE AND MORE, THAT THE BASIC ISSUE IS THE QUALITY  
OF LIFE IN THIS COUNTRY. CIVILIZATION MAY HAVE LOST A FEW ROUNDS  
TO CATASTROPHE, BUT IF WE UNIFY, WE CAN ONCE AGAIN GET OUR YOUNG  
PEOPLE -- AND OUR OLDER PEOPLE -- ON THE UPHILL ROAD TO A TRULY  
GREAT AMERICA, AN AMERICA WORTHY OF THE NOBLE IDEALS OF OUR  
FATHERS, AN AMERICA WHICH FULFILLS THE PROMISE OF OUR FIRST TWO  
CENTURIES AND OPENS A SHINING VISTA OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE FOR ALL  
MEN AND WOMEN. THE SHAPING OF SUCH AN AMERICA, UNDER GOD, IS OUR  
PRIVILEGE AND DUTY.

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NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Washington, D. C.

February 17, 1976

It is a pleasure to appear before you today. Some of you may recall that just 10 years ago I addressed the 50th Annual Convention of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

The saying is that the more things change, the more they stay the same. Here it is, ten years later, and here I am, back in front of you!

But one thing is certain. In the ten year interim, we have seen changes affect our society and our country that have rocked the world. And the world has rocked us, too.

We have seen the equal protection of the laws greatly strengthened for young people, for women, and for minorities.

But more recently we have seen a debilitating inflation and recession, with all the attendant catastrophe that a depression really wreaks upon our society.

In these 10 years we have seen that our energy sources are not infinite. In fact, we have to depend on other countries for an increasing amount of our fuel resources.

In the past decade we have seen the politics of reform enliven many institutions. This movement of change has had a profound impact on our system of politics and government.

We have seen reform in our political parties, reforms in the Congress, and limits on the powers of the President. Millions of our citizens became involved in the great social issues of our time.

But when so much changes so quickly, the human condition is bound to become a little insecure. And our citizens have translated this fear into mistrust -- not all of it unwarranted.

Regretfully, our moral standards have turned inward. In the grip of a sagging economy, our moral fiber has sagged as well.

Suddenly we are faced with the grim reality of hunger at home and starvation abroad. We do little about it.

The causes of a few years ago, those noble projects for the betterment of all, have melted into a tiredness and dissatisfaction that pervades the nation.

Too many of us fly from responsibility, or drop out or run away from our own problems, not to mention those of others. Despite all the recent statistics about the debilitating effects of alcohol, cigarettes and drugs, we continue to imbibe more, and smoke more. Not only are we literally digging our own graves by our habits, we are morally creating our own hells by not waking up to the matters at hand.

John Donne said:

"No man is an island, entire of itself: every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main...."

In a world where every catastrophe can be transmitted into our living rooms, in blood-curdling -- living -- color in a matter of seconds, this never has been more true.

Think of what this does to our young.

Our teenagers can see enough people killed in an average detective program to wipe out the neighbors on their street! They can see enough people wiped out on the news to make them realize that their mortality is very fragile indeed.

They are affected by the changes in our society probably more than we know. And our faith in the system, in justice, in religion, in anything that man traditionally believes in, is not giving them much of a peg to hang their moral hats on.

We all must take stock of where we are, and as soon as possible. Two hundred years ago our nation was in its infancy. This is a year in which we should all take pride. But can we? And what are we giving our children to be proud of?

We must face the fact that the 24 years remaining in this century may be decisive in the future of this Nation.

In 24 years the children who now are in your charge will be old enough to be Representatives, Senators, and even President.

Sometime in the next quarter century we will learn whether we can survive as a strong, free Nation, and as a people.

In any event, the next few years are going to take some hard work. They will not be palatable if we all just sit back "and watch it happen." We have to act. We have to do our level best.

We must find a way out of this recession that has put millions of our fellow citizens out of work and caused untold hardship for the poor and those on fixed incomes.

We must mobilize every available resource to feed the hungry, clothe the needy, and clean up our cities.

We must make adequate housing, health care, job training, public transportation and, of course, educational opportunities available for all our citizens.

We must conserve our energy supplies in order to reduce our dependence -- our growing addiction, really -- on foreign oil imports.

I have been accused of taking the "Candide" approach to life. But I am an optimist by nature. If I weren't, I wouldn't have the strong desire to participate in our political system, especially when it has been under so much criticism lately.

I have faith in America and in her people. And I believe we can tackle the myriad of problems that beset this country.

But the only way I see us accomplishing our long-hoped-for goals and meeting our hard-earned objectives is through our political processes. As distasteful a word as it has become, politics still is the only game in town, my friends. It is the way to get things done in our system.

It is the life blood of our representative democracy.

It is the vehicle of change, bringing forth new ideas, new concepts of government, and new leaders.

It is the means by which conflicts and competing interests of different groups, regions, generations and cultural life-styles are resolved.

It enables us to choose for our leaders individuals who will represent what we truly are, protecting our rights and interests. We also have the right to change these leaders, at the ballot box, when they fail to carry out these responsibilities.

Our political system enables every citizen to participate. In fact, we all must participate to make self-government work the way it should. We should be thankful that we have the right to participate -- a right denied most of the people on earth.

And yet, at a time when citizen involvement in politics and government is needed more than ever before, there has been a dangerous decline of public confidence in government and the political process. This decline in confidence is reflected very clearly in recent voting trends.

In the 1972 elections, when both presidential candidates were saying the election presented the clearest ideological choice between candidates in history, only 55 percent of America's eligible voters went to the polls -- the lowest percentage in a quarter of a century. Sixty-eight million eligible citizens did not vote.

In the 1974 Congressional elections, a survey by the Census Bureau found that only 45 percent of the voting age population actually voted. That was 10 percent below the turnout in the 1966 and 1970 Congressional elections.

Saddest of all are the statistics on registration and voting by young people 18 to 20 years old. 63.6 percent of 18 to 20 year olds did not bother to register at all in 1974. Of those who did register, almost half did not vote in the election. Only 20.8 percent of eligible 18 to 20 year olds voted in 1974 -- just slightly more than one out of five.

The Census Bureau survey also asked people why they had not registered to vote. Their responses are quite shocking.

By far the greatest number -- a full 12 percent -- said they were not interested, just didn't get around to it. Other reasons, such as not being a citizen, not knowing where or how to register, or not having transportation, were cited by only very small percentages of those who answered the question.

Figures like these suggest that loss of confidence may be the most serious problem facing government today. People doubt the ability of their government to govern and their leaders to lead, and they are not at all sure that government can act with the force and imagination necessary to meet the problems on the national agenda. Pollster George Gallup says that, "It is doubtful that at any time in this century politics has commanded so little respect."

Those of us who hold public office don't need polls to tell us this. We constantly are hearing remarks from our constituents like, "I wouldn't trust a politician if he told me the sun rose in the East."

Disenchantment with our political system should not be overstated, however. There is hope and a solid basis for reform.

People may vote less, rate politicians below used car salesmen in public esteem, withdraw from politics, picket and demonstrate, turn away from the major political parties, and some even emigrate, but nothing truly revolutionary appears to be happening.

I see no mass rejection of the Congress or the office of the Presidency. Nor do I see people grasping for extreme solutions.

Underneath it all, I think most people believe in the ultimate ability of America to resolve its problems and to continue to progress.

They have faith in our political system, if not in many of the office holders.

They have faith that the government, with the right leaders, can be made to work effectively and that even our most intractable problems like inflation and unemployment and energy shortages will yield to creative and energetic leadership.

This is what will be demanded of our public leaders throughout the coming years. And public education is one of the vital areas where strong leadership is so badly needed.

Public education -- and the right to it -- is one of the cornerstones of our society. The educational opportunities that abound in this country stand firm as one of our most important yardsticks for assessing the quality of life within this country.

There is no way that the Congress is going to let our children grow up without the educational opportunities they count as their own. For example, last September both Houses of Congress voted overwhelmingly to override the President's veto of the Education Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1976.

And I am confident that the Congress feels the same way this year. I am appalled at the Administration's Budget requests. They fail completely to even keep up with current needs.

The President's fiscal year 1977 Budget requests a \$6.1 billion outlay for Education Division programs under current legislation. This is \$1.4 billion, or 19 percent, below fiscal year 1976 enacted appropriations.

These proposed cuts will hit primarily Higher Education -- down \$765 million; Title I ESEA -- down \$150 million, and Impact Aid -- down \$355 million.

In fact, the budget request is highly misleading. It is inflated by including two years' funding for vocational education, at \$539 million a year, instead of a single year's funding as with other programs.

The Administration has proposed the consolidation of the major programs of elementary, secondary and vocational education, education for the handicapped, and library resources into a block or consolidated grant.

The proposed legislation is entitled the Financial Assistance for Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

But the 1977 Budget request already assumes that this consolidation will take place.

The Administration's block grant proposal is similar to the Education Special Revenue Sharing consolidated grant proposals by the Nixon Administration in conjunction with the budget requests for 1973, 1974 and 1975.

I frankly cannot believe that the Ford Administration is introducing this block grant request once again. They tried this last year, and word has it they could not even find a sponsor in Congress!

I am committed to the belief that if Federal aid to education is to be effective, then State and local education agencies must be able to set priorities and determine where and how these monies are to be spent.

We should help states and local school districts direct resources to the area of real need. We should encourage good educational management. And, we should assure that the students of this Nation have equal opportunities to obtain a quality education. These should be the constructive functions of the Federal Government.

But I take a decidedly different position from President Ford, in calling for fundamental changes in Federal aid to education.

First, and foremost, I strongly oppose President Ford's view of federal program "consolidation" because his Budget clearly translates that to mean "sharp reduction" or even "termination" of federal assistance.

It is urgent that the federal portion of public resources devoted to education be substantially increased -- for the simple reason that education represents a vital national interest: it is a solid investment in a better future for the United States.

It is urgent that at least some of these additional resources be devoted to equalizing educational opportunity within states. It is profoundly wrong that the quality of a child's education should continue to be dependent on the wealth or poverty of his or her community.

Minnesota has for the past several years developed a progressive program to utilize a statewide income tax in equalizing per-pupil expenditures among school districts.

Nationwide, we need to establish a new education policy for America -- a policy to guarantee that all children and youth, without regard to circumstances of residence, family income, or race will have a full and equal opportunity to obtain a quality education.

And it is most urgent that we begin spending the money in such a way that it yields results. We need to maintain accountability for participants in the educational process at all levels -- for our students, for our teachers, for our principals, for our State commissioners, and for our elected officials and representatives.

We need to set priorities, to assess the needs of our youth, to plan, and to evaluate our performance.

As I said last year, in introducing the National Education Investment Act, "it must not be the function of the Federal Government to dictate the answers, but rather to provide a strong incentive for the States and local jurisdictions to find equitable and constructive solutions" to the educational needs of our children, youth, and adults.

But the fundamental fact remains that decisive Federal action is required to address critical problems confronting school districts across the Nation -- and this action must be taken now.

This is why I believe the President's budget requests for fiscal year 1977 represent a failure of national policy toward education.

By contrast, a forward-looking budget can have a solid, positive impact on our people. It can provide true direction and hope -- in terms of increased assistance and compassionate aid.

Yet, President Ford's budget message slashes away at so many of the programs that meet the vital needs of our people -- such as health care for our elderly, unemployment compensation, and other human resource programs.

Of course, the Congress already has overridden President Ford's first veto of this new session concerning H.E.W. appropriations. And we shall continue to fight for more funds aimed where they are needed.

You as principals -- the leaders of our Nation's youth -- can help us fight the good fight.

If you think government is overloaded with stale ideas, and ineffective programs, then bring us your fresh ideas, your social conscience, your visions for America's future.

You as secondary school administrators are in a singularly unique and expert position to advise us on the needs of education. You are the ones on the firing line.

Tell us what must be done and keep after us until it gets done. Get involved and help us do the job.

This is not simple rhetoric. 1976 is a presidential election year. In November we will be choosing a President who, for the next four years, will be directing this Nation's response to critical problems such as unemployment, inflation, environmental pollution, and all the various aspects of the energy crisis.

The Republican candidates, President Ford and Mr. Reagan, will run on a platform of dismantling or drastically cutting Federal programs for the poor and helpless in our society.

They would have us "liberate" consumers from the Federal protections that work toward keeping our work places safe and healthy, our food pure and unadulterated, our drugs safe and effective, our air and water unpolluted.

They would have us be perfectly satisfied with a seven percent or higher national unemployment rate for at least the next two years. Evidently, they consider it better to put people on welfare than to put people back to work.

The President is proposing heavy cuts in all social programs -- programs that represent this Nation's commitment to make the American dream a reality for all Americans, not just for the privileged few.

My party, the Democratic Party, rejects that philosophy. The Federal Government is not an independent entity. It belongs to the people. It exists to serve them. It accomplishes things which would not be accomplished in any other way.

And, if government sometimes seems remote or uncaring -- if it does not always serve the people as well and effectively as it could or should, our system provides for orderly change.

The people can make their government accountable and effective if only they care enough to get involved and do something about it. If they "just aren't interested" enough even to vote, they hardly can complain when things don't go exactly to their liking.

I urge you to involve yourselves in the national debate on these conflicting philosophies of government in this election year.

I especially urge you to keep in touch with what is going on in Congress, because that is where the issues will be defined most clearly. The outcome will be expressed in legislation that will affect each of you directly and individually.

I would like to close with something I said to you ten years ago.

H.G. Wells said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. We see evidence of this everywhere.

The young in our high schools are coping with problems that their older brethren did not have to face.

Too many teachers are finding themselves playing the role of police officer rather than educator.

Many youth appear to be taking the option of simply dropping out of school. In his book Slums and Suburbs, James Bryant Conant described the situation of many youth on the streets faced with total idleness, as "social dynamite."

So, some commentators are saying that we may be losing the race in terms of learning. You know that in some areas, college-board scores have been dropping for almost a decade. It does not bode well for the future of education in our country.

Perhaps our whole system of education can make use of a few new ideas. The schools are part of the community; and it is clear that these two structures must work even harder to get together on matters of common concern.

And, it also is clear that fresh thinking is needed on developing strong incentives and a variety of education programs so that young people will be encouraged to continue their education, leading to a high school diploma.

But you are the men and women who have the best insights on these issues and some possible answers. I would like to hear from you.

Our civilization -- life here in America -- is in desperate need of your positive input and involvement in the issues of the times.

We realize, more and more, that the basic issue is the quality of life in this country. Civilization may have lost a few rounds to catastrophe, but if we unify, we can once again get our young people -- and our older people -- on the uphill road to a truly great America, an America worthy of the noble ideals of our fathers, an America which fulfills the promise of our first two centuries and opens a shining vista of freedom and justice for all men and women. The shaping of such an America, under God, is our privilege and duty.

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