At the outset of my remarks, I want to thank you and your staffs for your assistance to my subcommittee in the preparation of the Study of the United States Office of Education. In responses to difficult questionnaires and in candid testimony, your knowledge of state educational programs and problems was graciously offered to us.

Mountains of data collected from the Office of Education and from educators throughout the country could not all be put in the report. But all of it was studied carefully and was invaluable as background.

I want also to acknowledge the generous assistance we received from Commissioner Howe and members of his staff. Office of Education personnel made a material contribution to the study in testimony and in detailed interviews over many months.

Without this frank cooperation from you and your colleagues in the nation's educational community, a meaningful study could not have been completed.
Perhaps it is best first to say what the study is not. It is not an expose. It is not an effort to scourge or to whitewash a government agency. It is not concerned with personalities. And it does not report that which is wrong and neglect that which is right.

We sought to appraise objectively the operation of the Office of Education and its administration of a broad array of old, new and complex programs. I hope we succeeded.

In its 769 pages the study makes more than 150 recommendations, many quite specific and detailed. These were considered individually in formal meetings of the subcommittee. I am proud of the fact that every recommendation except one was supported unanimously. That one exception concerns the Division of College Facilities and was adopted by a 4 to 3 vote.

Basically the study examines in considerable detail the operation and the responsibilities of each branch and division of the four operating bureaus, Higher Education, Research, Elementary and Secondary Education, and Adult and Vocational Education. It treats in separate chapters several aspects of the Office:
its background and present organization; personnel and personnel practices; decentralization; regulations and guidelines, and planning and evaluation of programs. And it offers specific suggestions for improvement.

Obviously in the limited time I have I cannot discuss each of the recommendations, nor would you want me to. But I want to share with you my general impressions from the report and some of its specific recommendations. The study has not yet been published, although it is completed and in type. A printing resolution was approved yesterday by the House Administration Committee and publication is expected very soon.

It seems to me, two broad impressions are inescapable from the study. First, one of the great strengths of the Office of Education is its many dedicated, knowledgeable, and service-minded personnel. They are generally responsive to the Congress and to the large and varied needs of the school systems, the institutions, and the populations they serve.

Over the years I have been impressed by the quality of many of the educators who devote a significant portion of their careers to the Federal government's responsibilities in education. The study reinforces this impression.
No matter how well education programs are designed nor how fully they are financed, their effectiveness must depend heavily on the ability and dedication of those who administer them. The educators of America are generally high in their praise of Office of Education personnel.

Second, the greatest weakness of the Office of Education (and this is reflected in many of the recommendations) is that the responsibilities loaded onto the Office presently outweigh its capability of dealing with them.

Obviously there comes a point at which dedication and long hours cannot meet ever increasing demands. Throughout the study there appears to be too much for the Office to do with too few people and too little equipment. And surely not enough is being done when measured against the needs of education.

Education programs generally are inadequately funded by Federal, State, and local governments. Vocational education is still the stepchild of the Office of Education and the nation's school systems.
Education information needed for efficient planning is incomplete and late. Educators do not communicate effectively with the public or with each other. And the late funding of Federal programs produces severe difficulties at every level of our educational system.

Our recommendations, by definition, concern themselves with what can be done better, but we did not permit this to obscure the fact that a great deal is being done well...better, perhaps, than we have a right to expect with the budget limitations we have placed on the programs.

Probably no complaint was voiced more frequently in testimony, in questionnaires, in interviews, and in letters from across the country than the late funding of education programs. In the judgment of the subcommittee and, in fact, the entire educational community, this problem needs immediate attention and deliberate action.

As Commissioner Howe testified, "it is essential to look for appropriation practices which would prevent relationships with States and communities being conducted on a crisis basis." He's right.
Twenty-four members of the House have introduced resolutions instructing the House and Senate appropriations committees to report by May 1 of each year appropriation funds for educational assistance programs.

And nine members of my subcommittee have introduced resolutions for a joint committee of the education and appropriations committees of the House and Senate to grapple with this problem and recommend a solution. The study supports this effort and suggests a possible answer would be appropriations one year in advance of the fiscal year in which the school year begins. However, we also document the need for improvement of the Office of Education administrative machinery so that allocations may be made much sooner after the legislation becomes law. There is delay in both the legislative and executive branch; the timely funding of Federal education programs therefore becomes a joint responsibility of the Congress and the Office of Education.
The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has reported an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education act calling for forward funding. Perhaps it could prove helpful to ESEA programs, but the problem of late funding exists in virtually all education programs. Broader action is required before we eliminate the crisis atmosphere from the financial aspects of Federal aid to education.

While nearly all of the witnesses praised the efforts of the Office of Education to administer the many large, new Federal programs, they questioned the necessity for the mountains of paperwork accompanying them. Massive proposals and elaborate reports are required, frequently with tight deadlines or at inconvenient times to mesh smoothly with the operations of schools and educational agencies.

Burdensome administrative requirements reduce the usefulness of Federal programs to those school districts and colleges most in need of assistance. Small colleges and most of the nation's school districts do not have the administrative staffs to cope with the numerous applications and reports.
They seldom have personnel familiar with the highly stylized project descriptions found in successful applications for grants. If they are large and if they can afford it, they seek a "consultant" who knows the right jargon "creative", "innovative", "bold", "imaginative" -- with a record of obtaining grants for other schools -- or they forego the benefits the Congress intended for them. Thus impetus is given to the growth of this new profession -- "grantsmanship" -- referred to more and more in a less kindly way -- the "five per centers." To be frank this is a development some of the subcommittee looks on with concern. Disturbing evidence of the seriousness of the problem is pointed out in the report.

An increasing number of major institutions and large school districts employ full-time professional personnel simply to keep track of the numerous programs scattered throughout the Federal government and to prepare proposals to obtain funds. The Office of Education alone has 76 programs and many education programs in other departments and agencies.
When a proposal can cost more to submit than the grant award would yield (as occurred to at least one institution), then it seems to me that we must take a closer look at what is being required of schools and by whom. We cannot permit form to take precedence over need, for when attractively bound applications phrased in professional proposal jargon become ends in themselves, the intent of the legislation will have been perverted as its letter is carried out.

Frequent changes in Office of Education forms, reports, deadlines, requirements, and procedures also create major difficulties for educational agencies and institutions. These problems should decline significantly as programs mature and as Office of Education personnel develop a greater understanding of the operations, resources, and needs of institutions, school districts, and State agencies.

The serious lack of adequate, regular, and current "evaluations of programs" cannot be cured as easily by experience and mutual understanding. The Office of Education puts most of its funds into actual program operation leaving little for detailed
evaluations so necessary if the Congress, education administrators, and the Office are to know how well program goals are being met. And the nation needs to be kept informed of the results of its multi-billion-dollar-a-year investment in better education.

A greater commitment of manpower and resources needs to be made to the evaluation of programs. We must discover as early as possible what works and what doesn't so we can spend wisely every dollar available to us.

The report explores changing relationships among Federal, State, and local education agencies. Three general areas are discussed: the relative degree of policy making responsibility that should rest at Federal, State, and local levels in nationally-financed educational programs; the status of the Office of Education in the Federal hierarchy, and the extent to which, if any, Federal aid has meant Federal control. Only for the latter, Federal control, was the sub-committee able to reach a clear evaluation. On the other two, additional views of individual members are included in the study. I will express my own conclusions on these in a few moments.
Perhaps the major concern of the educational community and the public generally during the decades of heated debate on Federal aid to education was whether it would result in control of our public schools, historically the responsibility of State and local authority.

Statute prohibits an agency of the Federal government from exercising any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution. The overwhelming majority of State Commissioners of Higher Education, Chief State School Officers, local public and private school administrators and student financial aid officers reported that this prohibition was being reasonably observed.

In our study in response to the question as to whether the Federal prohibition against "direction, supervision, or control" was being adequately or reasonably observed, the questionnaires revealed:

One hundred percent of the States Commissioners of Higher Education said Yes.

Seventy-eight percent of the Chief State School Officers said Yes.

Ninety-six percent of the Student Financial Aid Officers said Yes.

Seventy-eight percent of the Local school
administrators said Yes.

And ninety-five percent of the Independent School Administrators said Yes.

However, let me add: This does not answer the question of the extent to which federal involvement influences State, local, and institutional policy decisions through categorical program limitations, regulations, reporting requirements, and matching provisions and guidelines. These subtle forces could be even more pernicious than overt efforts to impose Federal control.

Someday I hope, also that there will be some uniformity in the matching provisions which are required in the various laws. As you well know, one legislative program may require 50-50 matching; another 1/3-2/3; another 80-20, or 90-10. There is no question in my mind that this does exert some federal control at the state level. The educational leaders in a state might well decide that a particular program should have highest priority in that state. But the State Legislature may decide that this top priority item must give way to that program with the most favorable Federal matching provision. Thus the educational leaders might prefer one program but the state budget bureau and
State Legislature would look most favorably on that program that would return 8 federal dollars for every two state dollars and not on a program that produced one federal dollar for every two state or local. This is not the best way to determine priorities in education and improve quality and equality of opportunities.

In my judgment, and that of the Subcommittee, Federal involvement must recognize that the ultimate authority and responsibility for education rest with the States and their local educational agencies. Yet, at the same time, Federal involvement and national goals would have little significance if there were no influence at all. How much and what kind of influence is good? How do we learn to strike the best balance?

The study suggests a number of actions. Existing categorical programs should be reviewed to determine whether they do meet the Congressional intent of keeping the Federal government a junior partner in the educational enterprise. Future legislation should reflect full consideration of the extent to which
categorical limitations and matching requirements influence State and local decisions.

It is clear from the study that the Office of Education should establish procedures for the drafting of regulations and guidelines that permit timely consideration of the views and recommendations of those being affected.

There is increased Congressional concern since "guidelines" can have the force of law, but procedures required for the promulgation of "Federal regulations" approved and published in the Federal Register are not observed in issuing guidelines.

One of my colleagues feels so strongly about this that he has threatened to offer an amendment to each bill that would require the Office of Education to submit its guidelines before Congress would appropriate the funds authorized under the enabling legislation. And, of course, the administration of uniform guidelines in all 50 states was one of the most controversial issues in the debate on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
When the members of the House learned that guidelines were being drawn up for only seventeen states, they voted overwhelmingly for my amendment which would require the uniform administration.

Another important conclusion I've reached is that the Congress itself should broaden and make more meaningful its dialogue with the educational community. This should include studies such as the one we have just completed that relied so heavily on the views and experiences of State, local, and institution administrators; seminars; informal conversations; more frequent hearings outside Washington; visits to schools, institutions, and administrative offices throughout the country, and the creation of advisory councils to the Congress to focus the most experienced and informed educational opinions on legislative proposals.
The study expresses, in my judgment, the overwhelming determination and desire of responsible educational administrators of the nation that the Federal government should be the junior partner in fact as well as in platitudes and political platforms. This issue was highlighted this spring in House consideration of amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Should administration of Title III, ESEA, be wholly, partially, or not at all in the hands of State educational agencies.

As you know, the House amendments to Title III provide funds to be administered under a State plan by State educational agencies instead of by-passing State departments of Education.

We did not amend Title III just because we had nothing else to do with your time and money. As we were gathering material for the study of the Office of Education, testimony before my Special Subcommittee on Education (and in field hearings) was overwhelmingly in favor of transferring the administration of Title III of the ESEA to State Departments of Education.
In addition, three great national associations of people closest to the schools, the National Education Association, the National School Boards Association, and the Council of Chief State School Officers support state administration of Title III funds. Sentiment in favor of state administration of Title III funds can be summed up in the words of Dr. Bernard Donovan, Superintendent of New York City Schools, and in the words of Dr. Leon Minear of the Oregon Department of Education.

Dr. Donovan said: "If anybody has to veto us at all, I would prefer it to be the State and not the Federal government."

Dr. Minear remarked: "We strongly object to direct federal-local administration of Title III. It is felt the State Departments of Education are closer to the needs of local school districts than is the U. S. Office of Education. State Departments of Education can make sounder decisions concerning proposals, which, in turn, will result in projects closely geared to the needs of the state."
These opinions found support in Minnesota and Florida, Wisconsin and Kentucky, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Utah, Arkansas, Connecticut, Massachusetts -- in short, all across our nation.

And I just might note that both major political parties have spoken firmly on the subject of local control of education policy. Every Democratic Party national platform from 1944 to the present contains specific reference to avoiding federal interference with state and local control of educational policy. Republican National Platforms stressed the same point in most election years.

In my opinion, it requires astonishing arrogance to assume that all good judgment and wisdom reside in Washington, that educators in Washington alone are innovative, or the best and only judges of what is innovative or creative. I believe that the people in my state, the people in my school district, know more about their needs, their priorities, than the Office of Education in Washington or the Committee on Education and Labor in the Congress. The same is true for other states.
And the evidence is clear that local and state school administrators (who are responsible for the effective and efficient operation of our elementary and secondary education), these men and women recommend and even urge that the administration of Title III be transferred to State Educational agencies.

In the same spirit, the Congress amended Title V of the ESEA act by allocating 100 percent of Title V funds to State agencies. As you recall, the original bill reserved 15 percent of these funds for administration by the National Commissioner of Education. It seemed to me and to a very large majority of my colleagues in the House of Representatives that -- if we intended to strengthen the State Departments of Education -- then they should control Title V money, all of it.

For those of my colleagues (a minority) and for those in the Office of Education who argue that State Departments of Education are weak and not geared up to administer Title III, I suggest that the way you strengthen the 10 or 12 who are weak is not to by-pass them, not siphon off their best personnel, but to give them the authority, the funds, and the responsibility.
Ten years ago the Office of Education was described by someone as "a statistic gathering agency, presided over by a spinster who issued reports that were never read." Yet today, ten years later, there are more than 3000 employees in the Office of Education. The Office is administering 76 programs through four bureaus at a cost of almost $4 billion. How has this change come about? By giving the Office of Education the authority, the responsibility, and the money.

In short, the ESEA act builds on tradition and looks to a future in which the imagination of local officials will not be hobbled by lack of those funds which the Federal government can help to provide. It seems to me that we can look forward to the 1970's as a period in which the power and authority of State and local agencies will increase in order that these agencies may carry the burdens imposed by our aspirations, by our ideals. State Departments of Education must look to the time when they will be called upon to make more and more difficult decisions and carry out policies in a greatly expanded range of action.

The accusation that State Departments of Education are not so imaginative as the Office of Education in Washington is hollow. I, for one, do not
know of a single so-called innovative program emanating from the Office of Education in Washington that was not carried on in at least one local district and sometimes in dozens for many years.

A shortage of funds can look like a shortage of ideas. But we must be alert to causes and effects. And I have heard no explanation why local educational agencies will suddenly cease being imaginative and innovative when their applications for funds require approval of their State educational agency rather than approval of the Commissioner of Education in Washington.

The fact is that they will continue to be as imaginative and as innovative as the local members make them. There is certainly nothing in the entire ESEA act that inhibits innovation. Rather, it helps provide funds to permit good ideas to become a reality.

I want to express to you directly my personal appreciation for your individual assistance and the help of your organization during the debate in the House.
The study does show a sharp difference of opinion in conclusions reached by Subcommittee members on Title III. There are additional views, but there is no subcommittee recommendation. Meantime the Administration has been carrying on an intensive lobbying campaign to try to persuade the Senate to accept their views on Title III. The conflict over administration of Title III and the Secretary's and the Commissioner's decision to by-pass State Departments of Education illustrate again the fundamental issue that arises over many educational programs; the degree of responsibility and policy decisions that would serve the nation best at federal, state and local levels.

Another area of interest: The Subcommittee also turned its attention in the study to the most neglected area of American education -- vocational and technical training.
In the world's most highly technological society, with severe shortages in many skills, only a fraction of our high school students can take vocational courses even if they want to. And many of these courses do not meet the minimum demands of commerce and industry for workers. Public and private vocational training opportunities are simply inadequate to meet the basic needs of our economy.

The price we pay for this neglect is heavy in terms of the stability of our society at large and the well-being of millions of individuals within it. The pockets of poverty are lined with people who have no marketable skill. The social and monetary costs can be seen in the growing welfare roles; the increase in crimes against property by those who have none; in the alarming disintegration of the ghetto family, and, perhaps, in the rioting by those who have no stake in today or tomorrow.

The study found a serious need to strengthen the vocational leadership capabilities of the Office of Education with staffing adequate to its heavy responsibilities and the increasing needs of our school systems. It was repeatedly emphasized to the Subcommittee
that while the Vocational Education Act of 1963 was a major advance, more imagination, manpower, and resources must be devoted to creating vastly greater vocational education opportunities.

We mount crash programs to teach skills to a few thousand of those condemned to poverty by the lack of them. Yet every year we pour into these economic backwaters of the untrained many hundreds of thousands more. The continued failure to meet the country's vocational education needs would feed the poverty areas of tomorrow with the neglected of today. And the cost to our economy and our society would be far higher than if we met our responsibility to all of our youth as we meet it to some.

One final point: The study highlights the need to raise education in the Federal structure to a position equivalent to the importance accorded it in our national life. This year more than two and one-half million teachers will instruct 57 million full-time students at a cost of $52 billion. Education is the nation's number one business.

But now if I may go back to the Office of Education. As we spend about $11 billion in federal funds on education, training and related activities, only slightly more than one-third of this, approximately $4 billion is under the jurisdiction of the Office of Education.
The Office shares its education and training mission with ten Cabinet-level departments and 15 other Federal agencies, 14 of which spend more than $100 million a year.

We accord Cabinet status to commerce, to housing and urban development, to law enforcement, to labor, to foreign relations, to the treasury, and to transportation; yet we consign education, larger than each, to the subordinate rank of "Office" within a huge, sprawling department that encompasses major health, social security, and welfare activities as well. And education's national spokesman is a Secretary with multiple concerns and necessarily divided loyalties.

While denying a full, clear voice to education in the highest council of our government, we fragment the responsibility by tucking parts, pieces, and
segments into nooks and crannies throughout the Federal structure with neither unity of purpose nor common goal to bind them into an effective focus of effort. This forces a multiplicity of contacts upon already burdened State, local, and institution administrators in their quest to participate fully in national education programs. Education at every level is severely handicapped by this fragmentation. A visit to Washington in regard to education programs by a school Administrator too many times requires a visit to many offices and delays piled on delays.

Education and manpower training require Cabinet status to present to the President and the Congress their clear needs and importance in virtually every aspect of our country's life.

Departmental status as I see it would help reduce the confusion and overlapping of the present bureaucratic maze and permit a better allocation of human and financial resources at the Federal level. It would permit the President and the Congress to oversee more effectively the discharge of the Federal government's responsibilities to education. And a Secretary of Education, as a member of the President's Cabinet, would be able to voice the nation's commitment to education with greater authority, higher prestige, and more effectiveness.
In summary, the Study of the Office of Education reflects the attention, the commitment, and the concern of the nation for its educational system. While it deals with just one-third of the Federal education responsibility, it reports the difficulties and the successes, and it attempts to make constructive recommendations for reducing problems and increasing achievement.

As we improve our education system, as we increase the opportunities to learn, as our teaching becomes more effective, we will be building a nation of men and women equipped to cope successfully with the challenges of life in the age of missiles, nuclear energy, and space. We are working at the heart of our country's future. To falter, to do less than the impossible, to fall short of meeting our fullest responsibilities is to fail our nation in its most vital need.

If this nation should last a millennium, let it be said that these were the years when American education served the future most faithfully with imagination and dedication.