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UNITED STATES SENATE

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COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

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CONFIRMATION HEARING OF GOVERNOR RICHARD W. RILEY

TO BE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

* * *

Washington, D. C.

January 12, 1993

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1 CONFIRMATION HEARING OF GOVERNOR RICHARD W. RILEY

2 TO BE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

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4 TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1993

5 U.S. Senate,

6 Committee on Labor and Human Resources,

7 Washington, D.C.

8 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in
9 room SD-430, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (chairman of the
10 committee) presiding.

11 Present: Senators Kennedy, Pell, Metzenbaum, Dodd,
12 Simon, Mikulski, Wellstone, Wofford, Kassebaum, Coats,
13 Thurmond, Durenberger, and Gregg.

14 OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR KENNEDY

15 The Chairman. We will come to order.

16 There are a number of confirmation hearings this
17 morning, and we followed a procedure which I think was
18 generally very acceptable to the other members of the
19 committee; that is, that we would forego opening statements,
20 and any of the members that want to make statements can do so
21 during the time which we will allocate to them. We will
22 instruct the staff to have 10-minute rounds. I have worked
23 out that procedure with Senator Kassebaum and talked with
24 other members, and it seems to be a desirable way to proceed
25 so we will have the maximum opportunity to hear from the

1 nominee. -

2 Just a very brief comment. Let me welcome the nominee to
3 this committee and to commend the President-elect for
4 nominating Governor Riley for this office as our commissioner
5 and leader of this country on education policies. I think
6 all of us who are aware of Governor Riley's exemplary career
7 as a Governor of the State of South Carolina are enormously
8 impressed by his achievements and accomplishments in the
9 areas of strengthening the educational system in the State of
10 South Carolina. He has demonstrated over the time when he
11 was Governor an extraordinary ability not only to outline the
12 goals for strengthening elementary and secondary education,
13 but a remarkable capability of building a coalition of the
14 business communities, the parents, the teachers, those that
15 are in the rural areas of South Carolina, to gain their
16 support for an educational program which I am hopeful he will
17 outline here today, but which produced absolutely extra-
18 ordinary results in terms of achievements for those students,
19 reducing the dropout rates, increasing salaries for teachers,
20 lessening the gap between Afro-Americans and white students,
21 and made the greatest academic advances for the State of
22 South Carolina than any State in the country over a period of
23 10 years.

24 This is really a remarkable achievement. We will have an
25 opportunity to hear from him. But I want to, just at the

1 opening comments, say how delighted we are with Governor
2 Riley's nomination and how we look forward to hearing from
3 him during the course of this hearing, and hopefully as he
4 assumes his new responsibilities, his own ideas about how we
5 as a country, all of us, Republican and Democrat alike, can
6 work to strengthen our educational system, mindful, obviously,
7 that this is primarily local-State responsibilities and that
8 our role is limited but, nonetheless, can play an extremely
9 important role in strengthening the education of young
10 Americans, which we all know is really the future of this
11 country.

1

12 [The prepared statement of Senator Kennedy follows:]

1 The Chairman. I would ask Senator Kassebaum if she
2 would add a word of welcome, and then we ask our colleagues
3 to make the presentation.

4 Senator Kassebaum. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 I do welcome you, Governor Riley, and am looking forward
6 to working with you as Secretary of Education. I will save
7 further comments until my questioning.

1 The Chairman. We welcome our two friends and colleagues
2 here this morning to make a presentation, a strong bipartisan
3 group of Senators that are joined to make a recommendation,
4 and we will follow the rules of seniority and hear from
5 Senator Thurmond.

6 STATEMENT OF HON. STROM THURMOND, A U.S. SENATOR
7 FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

8 Senator Thurmond. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Labor
9 and Human Resources Committee, it is a pleasure to be here
10 this morning to introduce Secretary nominee Richard W. Riley.
11 I want to join the chairman and the members of the Committee
12 on Labor and Human Resources in extending to Governor Riley a
13 warm welcome.

14 Governor Riley has a long and distinguished career. He
15 is a nationally recognized leader in the areas of public
16 education reform, nuclear waste disposal, and preventive
17 health care. He is now a senior partner with the dis-
18 tinguished law firm of Nelson, Mullins, Riley & Scarborough,
19 one of the oldest and largest firms in South Carolina.

20 Mr. Chairman, Richard Wilson Riley was born and raised
21 in my home State of South Carolina. He has a lovely wife and
22 4 children. After earning his undergraduate degree from
23 Furman University, he served in the United States Navy as an
24 operations officer on a mine sweeper. In 1959, he received
25 his juris doctorate from the University of South Carolina

1 School of Law and then served as a legal counsel to the
2 Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate.

3 From 1963 to 1977, Richard Riley served in the South
4 Carolina State Legislature. On January 10, 1979, Richard
5 Riley became the 81st Governor of South Carolina. During his
6 tenure, Governor Riley initiated many outstanding pieces of
7 legislation.

8 Among his most significant accomplishments was the South
9 Carolina Education Improvement Act of 1984. This Act was
10 judged the most comprehensive education reform measure in the
11 country by a Rand Corporation study. The Act called for
12 increasing the academic standards at all grades, improving
13 the teaching and testing of basic skills, improving the
14 training and evaluation of teachers and administrators, and
15 evaluating and rewarding schools for measurable progress.

16 Mr. Chairman, Governor Riley's administration was marked
17 by conservative fiscal management of government and progress
18 in job development and quality education. As Secretary of
19 the Department of Education, Governor Riley will again be
20 faced with this task. He will have to make wise use of
21 limited resources. He will be challenged with the respon-
22 sibility to redirect educational funding so that more goes
23 into the classroom and less into bureaucracy.

24 Mr. Chairman, I believe Richard Riley possesses all the
virtues necessary to be the Secretary of Department of

1 Education. He is a leader. He is capable, intelligent,
2 industrious, and honorable. He is a long-time friend and
3 colleague.

4 Mr. Chairman, I am happy to present Mr. Richard Wilson
5 Riley to this Committee and strongly support his nomination
6 to be Secretary of the Department of Education.

7 Thank you.

1 The Chairman. Thank you very much.

2 As you know, Governor Riley, Senator Thurmond is a
3 valued member of this committee and very much involved in
4 educational matters and other matters as well.

5 Senator Hollings?

6 STATEMENT OF HON. FRITZ HOLLINGS, A U.S. SENATOR
7 FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

8 Senator Hollings. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

9 In presenting Governor Riley, I harken the comment made
10 by President Ford when he took over from President Nixon. He
11 said, "The Nation's long nightmare has ended." And in that
12 sense, I have similarly a feel of relief and exhilaration
13 that our long nightmare in education nonsense is now ended,
14 because we really do have an Education Secretary.

15 Twelve years ago, as you well remember, they came to
16 town and said get rid of the Department of Education. And
17 after 2 or 3 years of that endeavor and feeling, they then
18 said, well, we will just cut the different programs from
19 their regular growth. We will just cut Head Start, we will
20 cut student loans, we will cut Title I for the disadvantages,
21 Title III for the minority colleges, impact the aid right on
22 down. And when that didn't satisfy them, then they came
23 along with gimmicks and slogans--vouchers, goals for others
24 to accomplish, choice, break-the-mold schools, all that kind
25 of nonsense.

1 We have got a gentleman here who will break the mold,
2 and has done so, in public education. At the very early
3 days, it was James Madison who said, "A public government
4 without public information or the means of acquiring it is
5 but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or perhaps both."

6 In answering that correspondence, John Adams said, "The
7 whole people should take upon themselves the education of the
8 whole people and be willing to bear the expense of it."

9 Governor Riley did just exactly that here in the past
10 decade. When we were all running around in circles hollering
11 "Read our lips," he was saying, "Feel our whips. He whipped
12 us into shape down there, and put on a 1 percent sales tax,
13 paid for the Education Improvement Act, set the goals with
14 respect to improving the education agenda all the way around,
15 incentives for principals and teachers, and putting in the
16 Office of Public Accountability. For those school districts
17 that were not keeping up to snuff, the State could come in
18 and bring them up to the par that they were expected to
19 perform.

20 As a result, I noted just in coming up that we have had
21 a 100 percent increase in the participation of our Parent-
22 Teachers Association. We have had over 6,000 industries in
23 South Carolina in business-education partnerships for
24 bringing about the improvement in education and over 120,000
25 volunteers for innovation.

1 I remember just exactly this time last year when
2 everybody was running around on the Senate floor, innovate,
3 innovate, we have got to have innovation. Somehow public
4 education couldn't even think of innovation.

5 I cited at the time 62 particular programs under Dr.
6 Barbara Gotteschmidt and Governor Riley's Education
7 Improvement Act, all synchronized, computerized through
8 Clemson University. We have now brought that up to over 103
9 innovative approaches to various problems in education.

10 We have got it going on in public education due to the
11 leadership of Governor Riley, and he has continued that
12 leadership with respect to instructing at the Kennedy School
13 at Harvard, the Carnegie Corporation, the Duke Endowment in
14 Education. He really is what was best presented by none other
15 than President-elect Clinton at the time of his announcement,
16 saying that, "I want to present to you my partner and my
17 tutor in education."

18 I think that that is exactly what we have, and I am sure
19 we all want to hear from him. I would ask consent that my
20 prepared statement be included in the record at this time.

21 [The prepared statement of Senator Hollings follows:]

22 / COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. Thank you very much.

2 Governor, you are introduced by two good friends of all
3 of us on these committees, and they are strong words of
4 endorsement and I know of friendship. We are very, very glad
5 to have both of them here today. We know they have other
6 duties and responsibilities, so we will excuse them if they
7 must be under way. We are grateful to both of them for
8 taking the time in joining with us.

9 I want to indicate just at this time how delighted the
10 committee is that we are joined by Senator Judd Gregg from
11 the State of New Hampshire. He has been selected and
12 appointed to the committee, and all of us on the committee
13 look forward to his service. We are delighted to have him as
14 a member of this committee.

15 I would ask Senator Kassebaum if she wanted to say a
16 word of welcome to Senator Gregg.

17 Senator Kassebaum. I, too, welcome Senator Gregg. It
18 is always a pleasure to add new members to the Labor
19 Committee, Mr. Chairman, and those who can give the time and
20 dedication to the important issues before this committee.

21 Senator Gregg. Thank you very much. I am certainly
22 looking forward to serving on the committee with my neighbors
23 from Massachusetts and all the members. This is a committee
24 that has had a tremendous amount of influence over the years,
25 and as Governor, I was very much impressed by some of the

1 activities of the committee. I look forward to working with
2 you.

3 The Chairman. Fine. Thank you very much.

4 Just before proceeding, Governor, I want to just take a
5 moment of personal recollection I remember very well. We are
6 sorry that your father isn't here. I would ask you to
7 introduce Mrs. Riley in just a moment.

8 We have had a long association with your father, who I
9 understand is 92 years young, and he was the State chairman
10 in the State of South Carolina going back to 1960, very
11 involved in my brother's campaign at that time. In the wee
12 hours of the morning, he called up and spoke to my brother
13 Bob and indicated that South Carolina had voted for President
14 Kennedy.

15 I checked the votes, and they reported 198,000 for my
16 brother, 189,000 for Richard Nixon. It was a close race,
17 9,000. And there was a single write-in down there. Someone
18 must have voted for Strom Thurmond. [Laughter.]

19 In any event, I think all of us in the family have known
20 that public service and involvement in public life has been
21 something that has been very much a part of the tradition of
22 your family going back for a long time.

23 I also noted that when you were running for Governor Mrs.
24 Riley told people that her name, Tunky, was derived from an
25 ancient word that, loosely translated, meant "future

1 Governor's wife." [Laughter.]

2 We asked the Congressional Research Service to look into
3 the source of this word, and we are told that it also means
4 "wife of the future Secretary of Education."

5 Would you like to present her at this time?

6 Governor Riley. Thank you, Senator. I might point out
7 that when she made the comment when asked where she got the
8 name Tunky and that it meant "future Governor's wife," I was
9 running at about 4 percent in the polls. [Laughter.]

10 That is the other important part of that story. It is
11 pleasure for me to present to the committee and those present
12 my wife Tunky. Tunky is a former teacher. She is very
13 active in the PTA in every level, as a parent, president of
14 the PTA in several schools. We both are lifelong members of
15 the PTA.

16 She was Chair of my Committee on Citizen Involvement
17 when we had the education reform movement going on in South
18 Carolina. Of course, that was a very important part of the
19 outreach of our effort. She did a grand job of that.

20 She is the mother of four, the grandmother of five, and
21 almost six. So it is a pleasure for me to have her with me.

1 The Chairman. You are very, very welcome, Mrs. Riley.

2 We would be delighted to hear from you now.

3 STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD W. RILEY, NOMINATED TO BE
4 SECRETARY, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

5 Governor Riley. Mr. Chairman and Senator Kassebaum,
6 Members of the Committee, I apologize for having the sniffles
7 this morning. This Washington weather is something I am
8 trying to get used to. But Senator Hollings tells me it is
9 just as bad in South Carolina. So I guess I am condemned to
10 that.

11 First of all, I want to say to all the members of the
12 committee that I am deeply honored and privileged to appear
13 before you here today as the nominee for the position of
14 Secretary of Education. It is a special honor for me that
15 the two U.S. Senators from my State--Senator Thurmond, who
16 serves on this committee, and Senator Hollings--both saw fit
17 to present me to the committee, and I thank them both for the
18 kind statements they made. They are gentlemen whom I respect
19 a great deal and have great affection for.

20 As Governor of South Carolina, I had the opportunity to
21 work very closely with Governor Clinton to reform our State's
22 and our Nation's education system, and I am so proud that our
23 shared experiences led him to appoint me to this post. And I
24 can think of no greater compliment.

25 If confirmed by the Senate, I intend to work very

1 closely with you as all of us join together to implement our
2 shared vision of effective and innovative and accountable
3 education systems.

4 I hope that the bipartisanship that marked both Governor
5 Clinton's and my approach to this challenge and approach that
6 led to work not only with Democratic and Republican Governors
7 working together, but with President Bush, that this approach
8 of bipartisanship will continue. There is no reason for
9 education to be anything other than a bipartisan effort if we
10 all want it to be most effective.

11 We have an essential mission to accomplish together. We
12 must reshape our approach to education to assure all of our
13 people are prepared for a high-performance, worldwide
14 economy, for maintaining international security, and for
15 meeting their obligations of civic responsibility.

16 Three objectives should guide us: one, to improve the
17 quality of education for all students; two, to assure access
18 and opportunity for each student to achieve successfully;
19 and, three, to build together the State and local, public and
20 private partners, the school and college capacity to help all
21 students to meet high standards across the Nation.

22 As a product of the public education system myself, I
23 want every American student to have what I had: access to a
24 quality education which enables them to pursue any career
25 they wish and to take on any challenge that they choose.

1 Giving our students the best education in the world is a
2 moral imperative, and especially an economic necessity.

3 As President-elect Clinton put it at a Chicago community
4 college speech, "Education is an answer to how all Americans
5 can make their lives better and how we can all make the
6 economy stronger."

7 As Governor of my State, I led the fight for a series of
8 reforms in South Carolina's schools. These reforms resulted
9 in one of the Nation's largest leaps in SAT scores, markedly
10 greater employment opportunities for graduates of our
11 vocational education system, a near doubling of the percentage
12 of high school students taking tough courses, and a percentage
13 meeting exit exam standards that was some 55 percent of the
14 kids who took exit exams in 1986, and some 97 percent in 1991.
15 passed the exam, and a significant increase in the number of
16 high school graduates going on to college.

17 My experience in education reform runs deeper than ideas
18 and legislation. The fight to reform South Carolina's school
19 system was a lesson in perseverance, in constituency mobili-
20 zation, and in coalition building--building support city by
21 city, parent, by parent, and then the political network to
22 rouse a resistant legislature to action.

23 The fight demanded of me just the kind of partnership
24 building that I hope to bring to the education debate at the
25 Federal level. I worked with business leaders, pointing out

1 to them that illiterate labor and unskilled employees made
2 their businesses less competitive, a fact they were all very
3 aware of. I worked with teachers, increasing salaries but
4 only in return for greater accountability.

5 I worked with legislators, winning votes one by one.
6 And I took my case directly to the people, the people who
7 mattered most, the mothers and fathers who wanted to do what
8 is best for their children. We raised higher expectations
9 for the children of our State, and we did all of this by hard
10 work.

11 The last decade has been a time of great action and
12 intellectual ferment in education at the State and local
13 level. The President-elect and I have been in the center of
14 this debate. As Chair of a Commission on Educational Quality
15 in the South, I worked with Governor Clinton--this was after
16 I was Governor--who brought education reform strongly to
17 Arkansas in the eighties. We worked to establish specific
18 education goals for the Southern States in 1988, and many of
19 these goals were ultimately embraced as the national education
20 goals in 1990.

21 Goals are particularly important in the area of
22 education, I believe, because of the bureaucratic jumble
23 created by the overlapping State, Federal, and local concerns.
24 If we cannot agree on the target, we simply will not hit it.
25 Achieving the national goals will require collaboration

1 across jurisdictions and across agencies in terms of action.

2 As a former Governor, I am committed to both the
3 diversity and the decentralization of this Nation's education
4 systems, and acutely aware of the contribution that the
5 Federal Government can and must make to their operations
6 without centralizing control.

7 I look forward to working closely with the Department of
8 Education's professional staff. I believe that the many
9 talented men and women at the Department of Education can be
10 a positive force for a national movement, setting the tone,
11 coordinating actions, providing information, and giving
12 support to the thousands of individual school systems and
13 colleges across the country that will ultimately carry the
14 burden of educating our students of all ages.

15 As our share of the partnership, we must craft a way in
16 which the Federal Government can support systemic reform
17 efforts in State and local districts and schools in order to
18 meet the goals.

19 You made an honorable attempt last year in Senate bill
20 2, I think, to design the same strategies, and I would hope
21 that we could all work together this year to complete this
22 important task.

23 We must also work together for the reauthorization of
24 the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the
25 reauthorization of the Office of Educational Research and

1 Senate, it will be my pleasure and honor to work together
2 with you as we move forward, bill by bill, to develop a new
3 approach, a participatory, positive approach, of turning a
4 Nation at risk into a Nation on the move.

5 I am very excited at the opportunity before us. We have
6 a mandate from the American people and the historic
7 opportunity to turn our best ideas into action.

8 Mr. Chairman, it would be my pleasure to respond to
9 questions at this time.

10 The Chairman. Thank you very much. I would ask if the
11 staff would follow the time.

12 I asked the Congressional Research Service to do an
13 evaluation of the program. I am sure you are familiar with
14 it, but I think it is useful to have it as a part of the
15 record. I will put the entire report in the record.

16 [The report follows:]

17 / COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. It talks about raising student performance
2 by increasing academic standards. Course requirements for
3 high school graduation were increased. Passing grades in
4 four academic courses were required for students to
5 participate in extracurricular activities. It specified the
6 school day should be 6 hours, excluding lunch. Afro-American
7 history and South Carolina course work were to be required
8 for all pupils, job placement standards established for
9 vocational education. And they had a provision to strengthen
10 the teaching and testing of basic skills, a mandatory basic
11 skills examination be administered to pupils in the 10th
12 grade, with passage of it required for high school graduation;
13 stricter pupil promotion policies to be established; half-day
14 voluntary preschool program offered for 4-year-old children;
15 emphasis on early education and preschool, back when very,
16 very few people were talking about it; evaluating the
17 teaching profession by strengthening teacher training and
18 evaluation and compensation; post-secondary student loans for
19 prospective teachers provided with repayment canceled in
20 return for service.

21 The President has talked about the cancellation for those
22 that are going to be involved in areas of professional need
23 and this was a part of the program which you were involved in
24 just about 10 years ago.

25 Improving leadership management and fiscal efficiency of,

1 schools at all levels. The assessment center program
2 established to evaluate potential principals as well as train
3 and evaluate them; expansion of inservice training for school
4 administrators, working on administrators as well;
5 implementing the strict quality controls and rewarding
6 productivity. Performance incentive grants for schools were
7 authorized, the awards to be made on the basis of such
8 factors as achievement tests, some increase in improved
9 attendance, increased parental participation. Competitive
10 grants to LEA's for the implementation of instructional
11 innovations were authorized. Annual improvement reports were
12 required to be prepared for each school. Create more
13 effective partnership among the schools and parents and
14 communities and business; parental involvement in the schools
15 to be increased. And providing school buildings conducive to
16 improved student learning, assistance to be provided for the
17 renovation and repair of school facilities or to subsidize
18 the repayment of school curriculum with revenue bonds.

19 That is a comprehensive program, and I think what is
20 enormously instructive is the results that came in, which is
21 a significant increase in the ability and the achievements of
22 those students, the increased involvement of the parents
23 involved in those programs, reduction in dropout, greater
24 acceptance into institutions of higher learning, higher wages
25 for teachers. It is an extraordinary achievement and

1 accomplishment.

2 I will put the full statement in the record because I
3 think for all of us, not only on this committee but also for
4 the Senate and the American people, that is really an
5 extraordinary achievement.

6 I would like to cover three or four areas in my time.
7 We will have an opportunity. I am sure others will talk
8 about this. That first is on the issue of the direct loans.
9 That is the higher education. We incorporated a direct loan
10 program, a pilot program in our higher education bill last
11 year. Some of us have been involved in trying to fashion and
12 shape a direct loan program, myself since 1978, other
13 members, Senator Simon, Senator Durenberger, and others on
14 this committee and others in the Senate have been involved in
15 this program.

16 I don't know whether you have had a chance to review
17 that provision of the higher education bill that we passed
18 last year and the direct loan provisions, whether you have
19 any reaction if that size is about the right size, whether
20 you favor basically a pilot program on direct loans. Your
21 views on that issue?

22 Governor Riley. Senator, I am familiar basically with
23 the issue. I have not specifically reviewed all aspects of
24 the bill, the act that was passed.

25 It is of great interest to me that the direct loan

1 concept, based on information that I have received, would be
2 quite a savings in terms of money and also a lot of
3 administrative and other costs that result from the current
4 guaranteed loan program. And I am very much interested in it
5 for that reason and also the convenience of the young people
6 or students who would be getting the loans.

7 The pilot program that was approved in this Act last
8 year, I think, is the right approach to go about it. I think
9 it is best to get more information about it, and hopefully it
10 will bring forth the kind of information that would, with
11 President-elect Clinton's concept of having loans available
12 for students and that no student in this country be disallowed
13 the opportunity to go to college because of money reasons,
14 then hopefully that student could pay back through a portion
15 of their earnings coming at income tax time or through
16 service.

17 I very much like that concept. It will take lots of
18 work and so forth with the Department of Labor and Education
19 and others. And the direct loan is very much a part of that
20 program. So I am inclined to think that it is certainly a
21 very good direction to get further information in, and
22 probably a good direction to go, but I am not at this time
23 ready to say that it absolutely is the way to go, but I
24 certainly think the pilot program is a very good direction.

25 The Chairman. Well, we are encouraged by your response.

1 As you know, we have the Guaranteed Student Loan program that
2 goes through the banks. This was a direct loan program based
3 upon the Federal borrowing rates administered through the
4 schools and colleges, with the idea that a student might
5 indicate a percent of income, for example, 3, 5 percent of
6 the income over a 10-year period to repay. So that individual
7 might be able to go and be a school teacher, work as a police
8 officer, involve themselves in community work, so that they
9 would be able to involve themselves in various activities
10 where we have important needs at community levels and not be
11 indebted to the extent that they have over the period of time
12 and work this out in an actuarial way, which makes sense as
13 something that certainly, I think, should be tried.

14 On the National Service program, whatever is devised, as
15 I heard the President-elect talk about national service for
16 those that are going to be involved in national service,
17 members of this committee are enormously interested in it and
18 strongly support it on both sides of the aisle. There would
19 be an educational component, so to speak, that individuals
20 that might involve themselves in community service activity
21 might earn either vouchers for higher education or for a down
22 payment on a house.

23 That is in formulation at the present time. We don't
24 expect to ask you about the details of the President's program
25 because it hasn't been developed yet. But as an approach,

1 you are generally supportive of that concept?

2 Governor Riley. Absolutely. I think it is an uplifting
3 approach. It will take lots of careful action to put it in
4 place, but I absolutely support the concept.

5 The Chairman. Finally, because my time is moving along,
6 there were reports this morning printed in the newspapers
7 about the concerns of some of the various environmental
8 groups. I think questions have been raised concerning your
9 law firm's representation of clients who may have committed
10 serious violations of environmental laws. Some environ-
11 mentalists are concerned that the record of your law firm is
12 inconsistent with the Clinton-Gore administration's commitment
13 to protecting the environment.

14 Would you address these important issues?

15 Governor Riley. Well, first of all, Senator, my
16 philosophy is directly in sync with the Clinton-Gore concepts
17 in terms of the environment, and my record would reflect that
18 across the board. I am very proud of being an
19 environmentalist, and I have great care for the environment
20 and want to see that all of it is adequately protected and
21 properly protected.

22 The fact is I have received from the National Wildlife
23 Federation their top award--I think it is the Carney Award--
24 for work that I did in terms of nuclear waste, handling of
low-level nuclear waste and other forms of hazardous

1 materials. I have gotten awards from the Sierra Club and
2 others and always had strong support from environmental
3 groups.

4 The gentleman who raised the question that was in the
5 paper is a former opponent of mine for Governor and raised
6 these questions which he has a perfect right to do. My law
7 firm now has over 175 members. It is a very highly respected-
8 -and I am proud to say that--and honorable law firm. They
9 represent through all of these lawyers throughout South
10 Carolina and Georgia now both sides of every issue. We have
11 represented both sides of every environmental issue.

12 I personally, for the particular client that was
13 complained of, have never done any work with them. I don't
14 know the people. I might have passed them in the hall. I
15 have never talked to any of them on the phone or anything
16 else. But in a large law firm in that context, obviously
17 other lawyers are going to represent all sides of every issue.

18 My law firm, by the way, also received the top award in
19 America from the American Bar Association for pro bono work
20 in California last summer.

21 The Chairman. My time has expired.

22 Senator Kassebaum?

23 Senator Kassebaum. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

— 24 Governor Riley, I frequently agree with my colleague,
25 Senator Hollings, but I will have to speak to a comment he

1 made with which I don't agree, and that is, "A long nightmare
2 in education has ended."

3 I really feel that even though we might disagree with
4 various initiatives put forward under the Bush administration,
5 I think all of us would agree that President Bush really
6 heightened the debate about education and the importance of
7 education to this country. And for that, I think we are all
8 very grateful.

9 You spoke to partnership building, and certainly in your
10 8 years as Governor of South Carolina, you used partnership
11 building in the most constructive way to put forward what had
12 to be, as outlined in some detail by the chairman, a very
13 difficult education reform program that I know has benefited
14 your State and serves as a model for many other States.

15 I certainly would agree with you on tougher standards
16 for students, higher pay for teachers, rigorous admission for
17 students to higher education. These are all things that I
18 think we would identify as goals that we feel are important.

19 You have touched on the reauthorization of the elementary
20 and secondary legislation this year, which is going to be very
21 important for us as we examine various aspects of that
22 legislation that are important to the educational system as a
23 whole.

— 24 One thing that I have always felt strongly about is the
25 vital connection between education and community as

1 exemplified by our neighborhood schools, and the importance
2 of making each of our neighborhood schools the very best that
3 can be achieved.

4 Finally, a challenge which I hope that you will
5 undertake--and I think it is one that you have addressed and
6 cared about as Governor--is identifying opportunities for
7 cooperation, if not consolidation, among various Federal
8 programs serving children. Too often we hear--I know I have--
9 --from frustrated teachers as well as service providers that
10 are attempting to negotiate the seemingly insurmountable
11 barriers established around individual programs in an effort
12 to put together a package that makes some sense for a
13 particular child.

14 The Federal Government plays a relatively small financial
15 role in education. Even an expanded role would really pale
16 in comparison to what State and local governments pay. But I
17 think the key is making it work more effectively and using
18 those resources in a more accountable manner that are
19 available. And I would hope that as we look at this
20 reauthorization that might be something we could focus on.

21 Speaking of resources, my first question is education
22 spending. I think as we all know, the Federal amount is
23 small. About 7 percent of all money that is spent on
24 elementary-secondary education is Federal moneys. There is
25 talk of making Chapter 1 a general education aid fund

1 available to all students. In addition, President-elect
2 Clinton has talked about an \$8 billion national community
3 service college loan forgiveness program.

4 This is a very broad question and one you obviously
5 haven't had time to focus on, but you did have to match
6 moneys and programs in South Carolina. And I wonder if you
7 could talk just a bit about your view on the federal fiscal
8 responsibility to education and how this fits into the larger
9 picture of our need for deficit reduction.

10 Governor Riley. Thank you so much. I think all of us
11 realize that as this new administration comes into office, we
12 are coming in at a time of very significant deficit-debt
13 problems. That affects all departments. It affects not just
14 the Treasury and OMB and those who are directly related, but
15 it affects every department.

16 President-elect Clinton is very much interested in
17 paying attention to that in every decision he makes, and in
18 my judgment, he certainly will. And I will join him in that.

19 He also looks to the fact that while paying this debt
20 down and reducing the deficit is of paramount importance,
21 also we are short in what we have been investing in human
22 resources in this country. We are short in what we have been
23 investing in terms of job creation to get things going, the
24 infrastructure which can be related to education also. And I
will attempt, Senator, to work with him to try to make the

1 careful choices in terms of the Department of Education that
2 would be very sensitive to this deficit problem, but would
3 also be sensitive to the fact that the education of the young
4 people of this country is the only way for us to come out of
5 this economic hole that we are in. And if we do not have the
6 perception to look at the long-term investment of careful
7 expenditure of funds for our children's education, then I
8 think we will be in this deficit situation in a permanent way.

9 I realize that State and local support is the primary
10 way for those dollars to come, but I do think that we on the
11 Federal side can use the resources at our hand in a very
12 conservative way to advise State and local government how to
13 best utilize their funds to try to make the most out of the
14 system. And that is kind of what would be my general
15 philosophy as Secretary of Education.

16 Senator Kassebaum. One other question. Well, there are
17 many questions one could ask on education, but I would like
18 to ask about national testing. It is something that many
19 people speak to, but sometimes from a number of different
20 angles. And there doesn't seem to be any particular one
21 guiding purpose regarding national testing that I have heard
22 articulated perhaps in the way that I thought resonated with
23 some understanding. And I wonder if you could speak to your
24 thoughts on national testing.

25 You mentioned needing goals that could give us a

1 purpose, and if you have thoughts on national testing and the
2 purpose of it.

3 Governor Riley. Senator, for a number of years, of
4 course, we have had the NAEP testing, the National Assessment
5 for Educational Progress, which has been, I think, of some
6 help for us and has given us certainly some lines of progress,
7 or lack of progress in various areas of education.

8 I had the fortune of serving on the National Assessment
9 governing board representing the Governors as a Democratic
10 Governor--and the Republican Governor was Mike Castle--and in
11 there dealt quite a bit with that issue of testing.

12 The goals are, first, in my judgment, getting the
13 systemic educational progress in place. After goals, you
14 need standards and objectives to reach those standards. And
15 then you need assessment to be able to determine what is
16 working, what isn't working, what kind of progress we are
17 making, what resources are bringing forth the best fruit.

18 Yes, I think that there is a clear place in a results-
19 oriented education system approach to having very good
20 assessment.

21 I have been pleased that the NAEP test has been shaped
22 somewhat--and I was involved in that--to not just be the
23 multiple choice kind of testing, but to get into open-ended
24 questions, to writing samples, to problem solving that can be
25 determined. There are complications with some of that, but

1 as testing is improved and as standards are developed from
2 State to State, on a voluntary basis but with leadership from
3 the Federal Government and through the goals panel, I think
4 that we can develop a very good system of determining where
5 we are going and what is working well.

6 Senator Kassebaum. I will look forward to working with
7 you. I have always been concerned about labeling and
8 tracking students, and that is something that sticks with a
9 younger student sometimes. I think the more we can do to use
10 it as a resource tool to assist rather than somehow label it,
11 I would find it of value.

12 Governor Riley. Senator, if I might respond to that, I
13 absolutely agree with that, and I have been an outspoken
14 proponent of using testing to help the children. If you have
15 a test, I don't care what you call it, and it is out there
16 for political purposes or to make some point, to show on the
17 wall, to belittle somebody and try to drive them further, I am
18 opposed to that. I think in testing, you ought to examine
19 testing. If it is to help the person being tested, it is a
20 good test. If it doesn't, it is not.

21 Senator Kassebaum. Thank you, Governor.

22 The Chairman. I call on the Chairman of our Subcommittee
23 on Education, Senator Pell.

24 Senator Pell. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I
25 would ask unanimous consent that my statement be inserted in

1 the record.

2 The Chairman. It will, in its entirety. All statements
3 will be included in the record in their entirety as if given.

2

4 [The prepared statement of Senator Pell follows:]

1 Senator Pell. Governor, I was struck with your reference
2 to the maintenance of international security as being one of
3 the purposes of education because that is a point that is
4 rarely made. And the real strengths of our Nation are not
5 the machines of construction or the weapons of destruction or
6 the gold in Fort Knox. The real strength of our Nation is
7 the sum total of the education and character of our people.
8 This comes through very much in your statement.

9 As part of the last decade, we had several important
10 subject areas addressed in small demonstration programs.
11 They included environmental education, arts in education,
12 metric education, and consumer education, just to mention
13 these few. They are important areas that were lost in the
14 Consolidation Act of 1981, some years ago, obviously, and I
15 would be interested in your view as to how we might address
16 the need for improved education in these areas, recognizing
17 that the Consolidation of 1981 won't stick.

18 Governor Riley. Well, Senator, you get into the issue
19 of sending down Federal programs with instructions as to how
20 the money should be used, and I fully understand that and
21 understand that in many cases that is desirable. You do run
22 into then a difference on the State and local level as to
23 their freedom to use funds as they would like to use them.

24 It would be my hope that as the President-elect becomes
25 a true leader of education and all that makes it up, that he

1 and I perhaps would be able to provide the leadership to let
2 States and local school districts realize in terms of
3 research and experience all of the information available for
4 them, that arts in education is an absolute necessity. If in
5 this day and time we don't tap into the creative side of a
6 young person's brain in every possible way, then we are not
7 going to have the innovation, the growth experience
8 economically or culturally or any other way that this country
9 must have.

10 I would hope that we would set in motion the kind of
11 feeling out there, the belief in the arts, the belief in the
12 importance of science and math, the importance of history,
13 geography, or whatever, that the local decisions would then
14 become apparent with the kind of information we would
15 provide.

16 Of course, it is up to the Members of Congress to decide
17 what they would determine would have to be done with the
18 funds that are sent down. My inclination is towards more
19 flexibility and more leadership.

20 Senator Pell. Thank you for mentioning the arts. In
21 that connection, what do you visualize as the relationship
22 between the National Endowment on the Arts, the National
23 Endowment on Humanities, with your future Department?

— 24 Governor Riley. Well, they are not directly connected,
25 as I would understand it legally, but they are directly

1 connected in terms of the importance of the arts and the
2 importance of humanities in the education of an American, be
3 they young or old. And I would hope that those of us who are
4 speaking for the arts on every level and for humanities, in
5 this idea--you know, we have ridden this economic development
6 horse a long time, and it is a grand horse to ride to get
7 good things done for education. And we need to keep riding
8 it.

9 But I will tell you, you have got to, at some point in
10 time, have people support education for education's sake.
11 People have'to believe in the importance of education, the
12 importance of having their young people understand what this
13 world is all about, the good citizenship that Thomas Jefferson
14 and others talk about when they talk about education. So I
15 would hope that we would be saying the same kind of message
16 in terms of the arts and the humanities.

17 Senator Pell. I won't burden you further with these
18 questions, but when you are in office, this is an area of
19 some interest to many of us up here on the Hill.

20 I notice that in the last decade, a little over it, that
21 whereas the aid to students was three-quarters grants and
22 one-quarter loans, it has now reversed itself and is one-
23 quarter grants and three-quarters loans. In that regard, I
24 was wondering what your own thought was on how we can avoid
25 this almost prohibitive load that many students when they

1 finish college find themselves faced with. And this is no
2 derogation of the loan program, which is a wonderful one. It
3 was the creation of both Senator Stafford and myself and did
4 a great job on it.

5 Governor Riley. Senator, as an American citizen, I
6 thank you for your leadership in that area. It has meant a
7 lot to higher education in this country. And I am well aware
8 of the fact that the Pell grants have stayed relatively
9 consistent and the inflation has skyrocketed in terms of cost
10 of higher education. And the percentage has resulted as you
11 defined it, and that is certainly not good for the young
12 people of this country who need a higher education opportunity
13 more today than ever in the history of the country. And yet
14 it is much more difficult for them to achieve. We talked
15 earlier about ways of doing that.

16 It is my understanding that President-elect Clinton's
17 proposal that is now being examined and studied for having
18 this loan forgiveness for service and also methods of
19 repayment would leave in place the Pell grant system. And so
20 I think it is important for us to realize that it does carry
21 forward that same idea.

22 As far as the amount of the grants, I would thoroughly
23 agree with you that it is too low. However, we are again
24 faced with the very heavy anchor of the deficit and the
25 problems with that.

1 I am very disturbed, Senator, about the deficit in the
2 Pell grants themselves. I have heard numbers like \$1.5
3 billion or \$2 billion. Now, that is something that, should I
4 be confirmed and walk into the Department of Education and I,
5 too, am facing a very serious deficit, which is a debt that
6 we owe. And I don't know where we are going on that, but
7 certainly we need to do a better job of modeling in terms of
8 the cost of the program and to find out exactly where we are
9 in it. But it is a source of great concern to me.

10 Senator Pell. In connection with those young people who
11 do not have higher education, depending on vocational
12 education, going into the technician train of work, there is
13 the Vocational Education Act that provides the education and
14 training for a lot of the non-college-bound students. I was
15 curious, as we look at bringing more coherence and meaning to
16 many job training programs, what you think the Department of
17 Education could do in that regard.

18 Governor Riley. Well, I think that brings out a very
19 important factor to me, and that is the working together
20 between the Department of Education and in this case the Labor
21 Department. So many factors in the complexity of things in
22 this era are multi-departmental, and I think we make a great
23 mistake in trying to catalogue things into one department and
24 think that that is where it lies. That is not true. When you
25 talk about school to work, to have a smooth, seamless web

1 take place where a young person who is going into the work
2 market has the opportunity to get the strong educational,
3 academic educational background, and also the practical
4 background, and then move on into the work world in a very
5 smooth way without having a tremendous bump in the road. I
6 think that is extremely important.

7 It is important, then, for me to work with Bob Reich,
8 whom I have talked to at length about this issue. We will
9 have the grand relationship of working together, I will
10 assure you of that, to see that when these programs are
11 discussed and analyzed, that we will have a careful effort to
12 see that the education component fits well with the moving-
13 into-the-workplace component of apprenticeship, youth
14 apprenticeship program that has been talked about.

15 Senator Pell. Thank you very much. My time has
16 expired, but I would just say how glad I am that you are
17 being appointed to this job. I look forward to working with
18 you, and also how lucky the cause of education is in having
19 our chairman, Senator Kennedy, take the interest that he does
20 in it.

21 The Chairman. Thank you very much, Senator Pell.

22 Senator Durenberger?

23 Senator Durenberger. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Governor Riley, it is a delight to be here and to see
25 you sitting where you are. I have a longer statement that

1 elaborates on that.

2 But, for my colleagues, let me say that there was once
 3 something in this body called the Intergovernmental Relations
 4 Subcommittee, and I had the honor to serve all of you as
 5 chairman, when this side of the aisle was in the majority,
 6 and that is when I came to know Dick Riley, not so much as a
 7 governor, but as a person. For those of you who haven't had
 8 that pleasure yet, let me assure you that it will be a
 9 pleasure and it will be a delight, and beneath that sort of
 10 calm exterior is the kind of heart that you would like to see
 11 beating in all public servants. This is a very unique human
 12 being.

13 Having said that, let me also make an observation about
 14 your predecessor. There is something about southern governors
 15 these days, that we really frigid Yankees way up in Minnesota
 16 have never come to appreciate until the 1980's, and watching
 17 Dick Riley and watching Lamar Alexander and watching Bill
 18 Clinton at work, for those of us who care deeply about the
 19 role that public policy plays in education has filled at
 20 least this Senator with some anticipation about the fact that
 21 you together can deliver on moving a nation at risk to a
 22 nation on the move. And I know you mean that and I know you
 23 recognize the challenges.

24 But there is something in the record already in the
 25 South among the governors that proves that you can probably

1 get the job done, and I trust that it is our responsibility
2 to listen, as well as to lecture in the way that we will
3 during the course of these two hours.

4 The first question I wanted to ask I think was just
5 answered, and that is your relationship with Bob Reich and the
6 significance of the two of you and your responsibilities and
7 the relationship of education policy as broadly described,
8 some of which lies programmatically in labor and some lies
9 programmatically in education. But unless the two of you and
10 the President are as one, it is going to be difficult to get
11 the job done. So I appreciate just hearing it spontaneously
12 that you had been working.

13 The second is I want to ask you about school choice, as
14 it is called. I have a fetish for health care, as many people
15 know, and second to that is my fetish for reform in elementary
16 and secondary and even in higher education.

17 So I read a lot of the editors to the editor, and I think
18 if you measured all the letters to the editor in the New York
19 Times as one example in the last couple of months, there is
20 more on school choice than there is on health care. There is
21 more editorials on health care, because the New York Times
22 has decided they are for managed competition. But in the
23 body of that paper, there is more controversy on school
24 choice than anything else, so that seems to be a critical
25 challenge.

1 I come from a State which made the decision not only for
2 school choice, but choices within public education. I come
3 from the experience now in the last two or three years in
4 which choice was posited on the national agenda as a choice
5 between delivery systems, public schools, private schools,
6 rather than a choice within communities by parents, by people
7 in need of education, by the community itself structured as a
8 school district or whatever, choices in how to improve the
9 quality of education.

10 As I understand it, both you and the President-Elect
11 have been strong proponents of school choice in your own
12 States. Perhaps a general question for a starter is what do
13 you and the new President intend to do to clarify what we
14 mean by school choice, what its role in education reform
15 might be, and what should we be doing at both the Federal and
16 the State levels to affirm the role of parents in choosing
17 the schools or the education forum that their children will
18 attend?

19 Governor Riley. Thank you, Senator. I appreciate your
20 kind personal remark, and I enjoyed working with you in a
21 number of ways over the years, and one is certainly in the
22 area of infant mortality, where we have both worked in that
23 regard, and I thank you for your interest in that area of
24 young children.

25 Senator Metzenbaum. Would you bring the mike a little

1 closer, please?

2 Governor Riley. Yes, sir.

3 One of the main aspects of reform, in my judgment, is
4 giving citizens a feeling of ownership of the public education
5 system of their schools. This business of ownership I think
6 is very important. You hear it described in different ways,
7 empowerment. However, it is a feeling, though, that it is
8 their school and they are part of it and they support it.

9 The choice aspect of reform is a very important part of
10 a comprehensive package, in my judgment, of education reform.
11 It is not a silver bullet that is going to solve all problems
12 in every direction. I feel that choice in the public schools
13 is a proper aspect of this comprehensive package.

14 I oppose the voucher system, using public funds to go to
15 the private schools. I think that that pulls the rug out
16 from under the public school system, and I would hope that
17 having good choices, as you describe them, having real
18 choices, where parents understand what they are choosing,
19 where they have proper transportation systems worked out,
20 where choice is not in any way used or capable of being used
21 to bring about segregation or those kind of balances.

22 If all of those safeguards are in place and public
23 school choice is out there, I think it is a very important
24 part again of giving the parents the feeling of ownership and
25 actual control of their own children's destiny. So I do

1 support choice as one of the many aspects of education reform,
2 and I oppose the voucher system and choice in terms of the
3 private schools.

4 I will say this about private schools, that I strongly
5 support private schools. When we had the improvement in
6 public education in South Carolina, a strong interest was had
7 in the private schools, too. The parents there got more into
8 the schools. It was an education improvement, and by
9 improving the quality of public schools, I think it causes
10 the quality of the private schools to go up. And we were
11 proud to get our public schools in such good condition in
12 South Carolina, that, after a couple of years, we had 7,000,
13 8,009, 9,000 students that transferred from private school
14 back into the public school system, and in some cases finding
15 that their children had to have help to get caught up with
16 where the public schools were.

17 Senator Durenberger. Dick, if I might, I have just got
18 one minute left and I would like to just amplify on that a
19 little bit, and I will stick around for another round, if I
20 can.

21 Governor Riley. Excuse me.

22 Senator Durenberger. I remember before school choice
23 became a rhetorical buzz word of some kind, we had tuition
24 tax credits, not in this committee, but in another one on
25 which I served, Finance. I will never forget sitting with

1 Ted Bell when he was Secretary, talking to him about
2 segregation that exists now in the public school system by
3 economics, where the poor have no choice in where they live.
4 They are stuck with these kinds of schools. And I remember
5 not being able to quite persuade him that that was a reality.

6 In Minnesota, we have tried to rectify that by moving in
7 the direction of charter schools, where within a district,
8 parents, teachers and so forth can be empowered to create
9 schools and then parents to choose more appropriate schools,
10 so that people have choices within a community in which they
11 are stuck economically. What is your view on charter schools?

12 Governor Riley. Well, I take a similar position on
13 that, Senator, and that is that, within the comprehensive
14 reform package that I think is so important, the
15 comprehensiveness of it, that the charter school within the
16 public school system, under the school district umbrella, also
17 the very important safeguards to see that certain protections
18 are out there, then I also favor that as another mechanism
19 for careful attention. So I think that it to me is much like
20 the choice within the public schools. It is another option
21 that I think bears certain tremendous interest.

22 Senator Durenberger. Thank you very much. Thank you,
23 Mr. Chairman.

3 - 24 [The prepared statement of Senator Durenberger follows:]

1 The Chairman. Senator Metzenbaum?

2 Senator Metzenbaum. I am very delighted to welcome you
3 to our committee this morning, and I want to say that I feel
4 a sense of excitement and enthusiasm, because sometimes there
5 is a problem and you don't know what to do with it, and you
6 don't have the answer. Frankly, I don't know you as well as
7 some other members of the committee, but I have met with you
8 and I have read about you, and I have the feeling that you
9 are the person of the moment, and if ever there was a need
10 for a person of the moment to step forward and take on the
11 challenge, you are it, and I think you will be a hands-on
12 Cabinet member Secretary.

13 Other nations are getting ahead of us, no secret about
14 that, in the areas of education, and we are slipping behind
15 with respect to education in the field of math, science and
16 so many other areas. Our workers are going out into the field
17 to get jobs and they are lacking the skills. Some of them
18 are illiterate, which is incredible in this day and age, to
19 have the degree of illiteracy that exists in this country,
20 and yet very little is being done about it and has been done
21 for the last many years.

22 Your opportunity is unlimited, the challenge is great,
23 and I think that you will fill a void that very much needs
24 be filled for this country.

25 I was very pleased to hear you respond to Senator

1 Durenberger with respect to the matter of choice, particularly
2 with respect to the matter of using public funds for private
3 and parochial schools, which I strongly oppose. I think your
4 answer was very specific on that subject, and your record is
5 very clear on it.

6 Now, with respect to another aspect of your previous
7 activities, I strongly believe that parental involvement is
8 one key to ensuring success in the schools. We can see this
9 in the Head Start program, where the strong emphasis on
10 parental involvement is clear and is an important element in
11 the program's success.

12 I know that you were involved specifically in this area
13 in South Carolina. Can you give us your thoughts on what
14 makes for good parental involvement in education, and if
15 there are any specific actions which you believe we can take
16 to help local schools enhance the involvement of parents?

17 Governor Riley. Senator, I thank you so much for your
18 statement. I do think, as I said earlier about this ownership
19 factor, that the most important thing is for parents to
20 realize the importance of education. Now, that is no problem
21 for lots of parents. It is not problem for most parents.

22 But we know that there are many neighborhoods, there are
23 many areas of this great powerful country where that does not
24 take place, for a number of reasons. Parents might not have
25 had the opportunity to have an education themselves, and they

1 might be uneducated and they might want their children to
2 think that is not terribly important, subconsciously, even.

3 We have pockets or regions where getting parents
4 involved in schools is a problem of understanding the
5 importance of future difficulties that arise when children
6 don't have an education. The same thing with health care,
7 taking a child to a clinic, some parents--Gail Sheehy, in one
8 of her books, talks about the poor people's ability to
9 anticipate problems, because they are worried about paying
10 the rent, they are worried about getting food on the table
11 and getting bus fare.

12 So we have areas of this country, also the immigration
13 situation and kids moving into a region where they feel like
14 their language is different and they have to get accustomed
15 to it. We have got all of these things taking place in this
16 wonderful country, potential strengths that I think we can
17 develop and can bring into making us even stronger.

18 I will tell you, if we turn our heads on it; we are
19 going to be in serious trouble. We have got to get parents,
20 as Bill Clinton says, have this ethic for learning, and that
21 is awfully difficult for some parents, but that is probably
22 the most important thing, in my judgment, for early childho
23 development, for kids going into the first grade, the first
24 goal of the national goals.

25 So if we can develop in parents this ethic for learning,

1 this belief that this is the most important thing for this
2 child's future, the most important thing I can do is
3 participate in their school, to know their teacher, to talk
4 about their problems, that is the most important single thing
5 that I can do to help this child. If that kind of ethic can
6 be developed and can be shown and through leadership proven,
7 then I think we can have a tremendous movement in this
8 country of parent involvement, and that is more important
9 than anything else we are talking about in terms of education.
10 Senator Metzenbaum. Mr. Riley, one of the toughest
11 questions facing the school systems of this country is trying
12 to convince the community to provide the necessary tax
13 dollars in order to keep the schools open. At the same time,
14 there is a counterforce that is occurring in the country, and
15 that counterforce comes about by reason of the largest
16 corporations in America, some of which are the wealthiest
17 corporations in America, coming to South Carolina, to Ohio,
18 to California, to Utah, wherever, and saying we will locate
19 our corporation in your community, if you will give us tax
20 exemption. And understandably, community after community
21 joins in this race to the bottom and, as a consequence, the
22 educational system of this country is getting clobbered by
23 the loss of those tax dollars from some of the major
24 corporations of America.

I do not blame the corporate executives for making those

1 moves. It is part of their responsibility to try to operate
2 their company at the greatest amount of profit. I believe
3 very strongly the only way we can deal with this issue of
4 corporations getting tax exemption better in one area than in
5 another, and leaving one community for another by reason of
6 the tax exemption, is by Federal legislation.

7 I spoke with you about this when you were in my office.
8 I think the legislation should be specifically directed at
9 tax dollars for education for the schools. Are you prepared
10 to work with us to see if we can bring about some changes in
11 that which is the present situation concerning this matter
12 tax abatement, tax exemption?

13 Governor Riley. Senator, let me say in the beginning,
14 when I was Governor, I worked hard for economic development.
15 I don't think any governor worked any harder than I did. But
16 I never ever told a business leader that I wanted them to
17 come to South Carolina to get cheap labor and cheap land. We
18 have outgrown that, and that is what this education
19 improvement is all about. We are trying to get people who
20 are expanding and growing and vibrant companies that are
21 hunting for other places to do business.

22 The point that you make is a good point. The way we
23 handle it in South Carolina is we give certain incentives, and
24 that is perhaps something that we should look at as a region.
25 But I do, in terms of the Southeast, I have always made some

1 comments, as I was Governor, that Georgia, North Carolina and
2 Florida competing with each other was not the best way to
3 spend our efforts.

4 But the fact is, what we do in South Carolina, which I
5 think works fairly well, is we have certain incentives to
6 come in terms of tax abatement. We exclude the school taxes
7 across the board. They are paid from day one, and that is in
8 the State law and that is a State decision.

9 Now, you are asking about a Federal law that would
10 require a similar situation to what we have in South Carolina,
11 I would think, and I haven't analyzed that. It would appear
12 to me there might be some constitutional problems with that
13 and maybe some desirability problems, because I am a strong
14 believer in States controlling their own destiny in terms of
15 education. But I certainly would be a proponent for a State
16 taking that same position and exempting education from any
17 tax benefits.

18 I have never heard of an industry or an enlightened
19 business leader, I have never heard any of them complain
20 about that. They understand that their future, if it is the
21 kind of company that you want, is dependent on having good
22 education and they don't mind paying fair education taxes
23 right along with everybody else.

24 Senator Metzenbaum. I will return to that subject,
25 because I feel very strongly that some areas have not been as

1 enlightened as South Carolina and have provided tax exemption
2 for the schools. In fact, I would guess, without having made
3 a check, that the overwhelming majority of communities
4 provide total tax abatement, including the school dollars,
5 and I think I can draft something that is constitutional, and
6 I look forward to sharing my thoughts with you and see if we
7 can get you on board.

8 Governor Riley. Thank you, Senator.

9 Senator Metzenbaum. Now, schools in our large urban
10 centers face an alarming array of problems, inadequate
11 financing, deteriorating buildings, lack of adequate teaching
12 materials, violence, substance abuse and other problems
13 stemming from poverty.

14 Across the country, parents, teachers and administrators
15 in urban school systems are struggling to address these
16 problems and improve the quality of education in our cities.
17 Do you have any thoughts as to which the Federal Government
18 can work with urban schools and poor rural schools, as well,
19 to help them with their efforts to improve and provide their
20 students with a fair chance to succeed in life?

21 Governor Riley. Senator, that is a very broad question
22 that would require a very broad answer, and I would say that
23 that that is one of the more serious issues facing this
24 country now and it is impacted by all the problems of depth
25 out there.

1 An urban education policy is something that I think all
2 of us ought to be looking at. Again, it is local control, it
3 is State control, but certainly if you have disadvantaged
4 young people, just like if you have disabled young people, if
5 you have people who are part of this country and have special
6 problems not of their own fault, then certainly it has been
7 felt in years past that, through Chapter 1 and through other
8 Federal programs, that the Federal Government could
9 participate in trying to have a level playing field in the
10 field of education.

11 I think that is extremely important and I am extremely
12 interested and would begin immediately, as Secretary of
13 Education, to get into the depth of the urban school problem.
14 You have within an urban area many examples of wonderful
15 schools that work well and do a tremendous job and parents
16 are involved, even though it is poverty and poor kids, and
17 right near there you have a situation where drugs are
18 prevalent and the safety of the young people is a lot more
19 important than learning Shakespeare.

20 I cannot imagine anything being more important to us who
21 are interested in education than to see that the young people
22 of this country have a safe drug-free environment in which to
23 learn. That gets into this urban problem and not just there,
24 obviously, but I would certainly work with you and with
25 others to try to develop whatever plans we can to deal with

1 this very critical American problem.

2 Senator Metzenbaum. Thank you very much. My time is
3 expired, Mr. Chairman.

4

4 [The prepared statement of Senator Metzenbaum follows:]

1 The Chairman. Senator Coats?

2 Senator Coats. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Governor, I welcome you, also. We had a good talk in
4 our office and we appreciate your commitment to serving our
5 country in this position, and also the significant experience
6 you bring with you as a true education Governor, so we look
7 forward to working with you and discussing issues that
8 hopefully will bring about some real improvements in our
9 education system.

10 I would like to follow up a little bit on the choice
11 question with some comments, and then two specific questions
12 for you. Your opening statement indicated that you want
13 every student to have access to a quality education which
14 allows them to pursue any career they wish, and giving the
15 students the best education in the world is a moral imperative
16 and especially an economic necessity, and I would agree with
17 that.

18 But I really wonder what we tell an inner-city mother or
19 a low-income family or even a middle-income family, most
20 living in urban areas, who feel that they don't have the
21 opportunities that some of us have to provide that quality
22 education for our children, because we are not perhaps
23 pleased with the choice or the limited choice or perhaps no
24 choice that is available to us in the setting where they
25 might live.

1 I wonder if we really can say to them that we are going
2 to provide you, we are going to meet that moral imperative
3 and provide you with the quality education that you really
4 feel is best for your student, without giving them a choice
5 of where they send that student to school. Because the
6 reality is that many of our schools, particularly inner-city
7 schools, are dead ends for students. They don't provide
8 quality education. They are consumed with problems outside
9 of the educational criteria that many parents would want
10 their children to be engaged in.

11 Now, you have answered that question and I think it is
12 clear that the Clinton administration has taken their
13 position on that against expanding choice beyond the public
14 school system. I question, I guess, or challenge the
15 assertion that public money shouldn't be used for that. After
16 all, public money is not some money derived from anywhere but
17 the pocketbooks of taxpayers, and so low-income and middle-
18 income people living in cities, that is their money, and it
19 seems to me that we ought to offer them some opportunities
20 for their children to utilize their money in ways that they
21 feel would bring some kind of quality education to their
22 children.

23 But having said that, it is clear that if Secretary
- 24 Alexander, who made choice the centerpiece of his education
25 reform under the Bush administration, if he was not able to

1 accomplish that within an administration that was favorable
2 to it, we are certainly not going to be able to accomplish
3 that either in this committee or the Senate or the House or
4 with this administration, and it is clear that the educational
5 bureaucracy and the advocacy groups for public education are
6 not going to allow that to happen.

7 So my question, then, I have two questions: Number one,
8 do you think it would be possible for you to support some
9 type of demonstration program, whereby we would provide a
10 limited amount of grant money to jurisdictions or educational
11 systems that voluntarily agreed to engage in a demonstration
12 program for choice in, say, over a two-year period of time,
13 and we could then monitor what the results were?

14 If the fears of those who oppose choice beyond the public
15 school system proved to be realized, then we would have
16 empirical evidence that choice didn't work. But if those who
17 support choice, if we saw measurable results, perhaps we
18 could use that as a basis for fashioning something broader
19 that maybe would work, that would address the concerns that
20 those that don't support choice have.

21 We tried that. Senator Hatch offered and I joined him
22 in offering an amendment last year. It was defeated soundly.
23 I think it was just six sites and a very limited amount of
24 money for that. But don't you think it would make sense to
25 at least try it, to see if all these editorial writers and

1 educators and people who have examined our education system
 2 and advocate choice, to see whether or not there was some
 3 basis for their assertion that it might improve or reform our
 4 education system?

5 My second question is, if we can't do that--and we
 6 probably won't, because we weren't able to accomplish that in
 7 the last session of Congress--if we can't do that, then
 8 couldn't we at least not study what it is about private
 9 education that so entices parents and students and makes
 10 them, often at great financial sacrifice and personal
 11 sacrifice, choose a private school over a public school?

12 Now, I am not talking about a prestigious suburban
 13 private school. I am talking about choices that parents make
 14 to send their kids to inner-city parochial schools, inner-
 15 city schools that don't begin to have the facilities, don't
 16 begin to have the teacher pay, don't begin to have the
 17 administrative resources that public schools have, even some
 18 of our poorest public schools have.

19 What causes those people to say I believe what elements
 20 are present in that private education that aren't present in
 21 public education? And can we determine what those are--maybe
 22 you know what those are--and can we then at least try to
 23 incorporate those in public education, so that those who
 24 don't have a choice will at least have some assurance that
 25 their children will be receiving what those who can afford to

1 get outside the system are receiving?

2 Governor Riley. Well, you have several aspects to your
3 question, Senator, and let me see if I can deal with them.
4 First of all, I think that anything that any school, anybody,
5 public or private or whatever, is doing to help education is
6 worthwhile, and I favor all of that. I don't disfavor any
7 effort to improve education, hunt for a better way to do
8 things, whether it is in math or science or the arts or
9 whatever. So I encourage an openness of involvement in
10 activity and new ways and new thinking and in reform-minded
11 educational improvement.

12 I have thought about the public-private situation a lot,
13 and I am absolutely convinced that the bottom half of the
14 economic sector of this country would be terribly disserved
15 to pull large amounts of dollars out of the public education
16 system and go then into support of certain private education
17 systems.

18 Senator Coats. I understand that, and I understand that
19 is the position of the administration. But my question is
20 could we just try it, then, with a few areas, to see whether
21 or not their fears are well-founded?

22 For instance, I have a sizable education system in
23 Indiana that works very well with the public education system
24 and it works very well with the parochial education system,
25 and both have agreed that if there were a demonstration

1 program, they would both agree that they would use their
2 community as a test ground for two years and just see whether
3 or not these fears were founded. Would that not make some
4 sense to at least try it?

5 Governor Riley. That certainly sounds like a reasonable
6 request, and I would hate to be dogmatic in my answer,
7 because that is not my style. But I would say that if I
8 personally absolutely believed that it would be bad for the
9 public education system to go into this new method of
10 funding, shifting funds to the private schools, if I think
11 that is going to be bad for the public education system, I
12 don't think it is proper then for me to say that a test
13 program or a pilot program or anything else would be
14 worthwhile.

15 Now, I think this, I think there is some real benefit in
16 the concept of a feeling of some competition within the
17 system and, therefore, I feel that the choice concept within
18 the public school framework is worthwhile and very good. And
19 the idea of having a special effort of a special school would
20 fall under my feeling of using the charter school concept, as
21 Senator Durenberger was discussing in Minnesota, and I think
22 you could get the same benefits of a feeling of competition
23 and a feeling of innovative let's us get together and put the
24 resources in here and provide a school within the umbrella of
25 the public education system and make that work very well.

1 Senator Coats. Okay. I just personally don't understand
2 why we might not want to at least test the other, to see
3 whether or not the strong proponents of choice are right,
4 partially right, or whether the strong opponents of choice
5 are right or partially right. It just seems like an
6 experiment worth undertaking, particularly on a voluntary
7 basis, not forcing it on anybody. It would then give us some
8 empirical evidence to study as a committee, to determine how
9 we reform the system.

10 I think we keep talking in terms of the educational
11 system, but we don't talk in terms of the students and the
12 parents, and it is clear that students and parents are crying
13 out today for more choice and they are not getting it.

14 I guess my second question, because my time is running
15 out, is if we are not going to do that, can we identify what
16 it is that some of those private schools are offering that so
17 entices parents to make tremendous financial sacrifices to
18 send their kids there.

19 Let me just give you one example. There is a school in
20 Indianapolis, a parochial school in Indianapolis that is only
21 able to spend \$1,600 per student per year. That is a third
22 of what the public school system spends. They have a
23 dilapidated building, their teachers are underpaid. You can
24 count the administrators on one hand. Yet, there is a
25 phenomenal waiting list for inner-city people to send their

1 kids to that school.

2 It seems to me to make sense to say, well what in the
3 world is this school doing, at \$1,600 per pupil, that the
4 public school in the next block, inner-city, is spending
5 three times that amount, and no one wants to send their kids
6 there. Could we study what that parochial school is doing,
7 what are the elements there that cause parents to say I will
8 do anything I can, make any sacrifice I can to send my student
9 there, realizing that the expenditure per pupil is a third of
10 what they would get if the kids walked across the street to
11 the public school?

12 Now, there is something radically different between those
13 two schools, and it seems to me we ought to study what it is,
14 determine what it is, and if we are not going to allow
15 parents a choice or help them pay for it, then we at least
16 ought to try to take those elements that are present in that
17 school they are choosing and try to inject them into the
18 public education system, to make the school a viable school.

19 Governor Riley. Well, I will certainly advise anyone in
20 the Department of Education who is doing research on what
21 makes schools work better to look at all attempts to provide
22 good education. And you see situations as you described in
23 private schools, and you also see it in public schools. And
24 within the same area, you will see a public school that has
25 that same reputation, the same kinds of results orientation,

1 and there you have this sense of the importance of learning.
2 You have a disciplined situation where you can learn well.
3 And that is not peculiar only to private schools. You see
4 many, many public schools that have the same characteristics.

5 But, you know, I applaud a private school that works
6 well, whether it is religious-connected or purely private.
7 And that is a positive plus to our educational system. And I
8 would certainly advise my people to look at everything that
9 is done and try to advise them, the State and local school
10 districts, what they find works best.

11 Senator Coats. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 The Chairman. Thank you. I was interested in your last
13 comment, Governor, because in my own city of Boston we have
14 Tobin and King Schools in Cambridge, which parents are dying
15 to have their children in; Garfield School in Revere, which I
16 visited 3 weeks ago, a long list of people attempting to get
17 in, really one of the very, very interesting schools; and
18 Mason and Timelty Schools in Boston also are exemplary.

19 I just want to point out, Mr. Secretary, you can't do
20 anything anyway unless you change the law. The law 57-36 was
21 defeated last year. My good friend from Indiana may offer an
22 amendment, and then if that is the law, we will have to deal
23 with it. But, quite frankly, you are restricted in what you
24 are able to do just at the outset, so that all of us
25 understand it.

1 Secondly, I hope that you would mention to our friends,
2 we have had the school choice in Cambridge, MA, and it has
3 been extraordinarily successful, 10 years. Anybody who wants
4 to study it can go up there and study it. It has been extra-
5 ordinarily successful. But I am sure you have read the
6 Carnegie Commission report by Ernie Boyer, then a
7 Commissioner, what would be a Secretary of Education, that
8 talks about the disaster in terms of my own State. So we all
9 have been through this debate and discussion. I think we
10 know what is necessary for good schools. It is good teachers
11 and discipline and strong leadership, involvement of the
12 parents, strong academic standards. You have outlined it.
13 They have been the basis of your program. So we are
14 interested in your responses, and I just wanted to make the
15 record clear where we were.

16 I am going to follow what we have, and that is on the
17 seniority. Senator Dodd has also got a hearing with
18 Secretary-designee Cisneros up on the Banking Committee. We
19 will try to accommodate, if there are conflicts, on
20 confirmation hearings. Senator Dodd will be recognized.

21 Senator Dodd. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

22 I apologize, Governor, for not being down here at the
23 outset, but your colleague, hopefully, in the Cabinet, Henry
24 Cisneros, is before the Banking Committee this morning. So I
25 will be going back and forth and trying to cover both

1 hearings.

2 I am delighted as well, and statements have been made,
3 and I would ask, Mr. Chairman, that my opening statement be
4 included in the record.

5

5 [The prepared statement of Senator Dodd follows:]

1 Senator Dodd. This is truly, I think, a fine tribute to
2 Bill Clinton that he would ask you to serve as our Secretary
3 of Education. Your credentials in this field don't need
4 seconding from people on this panel. They speak for
5 themselves. And we are truly honored in this country that
6 you would take on this responsibility.

7 I am just going to ask you a couple of questions, if I
8 can. I know my colleagues are going to cover some other
9 ground.

10 Head Start is a program that is covered really by HHS
11 and not by Education as such, but clearly one--in fact, the
12 first educational goal for the year 2000 is that every child
13 start school ready to learn. And so obviously the issue of
14 Head Start, while it is not in your jurisdiction directly, is
15 an important element. And yet we know today the staggering
16 problems of children entering an educational system with
17 serious developmental problems. I think I mentioned in our
18 conversation I have a sister who teaches in the largest inner-
19 city public school in the State of Connecticut as an early
20 childhood development specialist. And it is staggering what
21 has occurred with these young children.

22 In the last few years, where it used to be that three
23 four might come to the school system with serious develop-
24 mental problems, she would tell you, were she here today, that
25 she is lucky to have two or three who don't enter the system

1 with serious developmental problems.

2 I wonder if you might just share generally--I know you
3 are going to be working with Secretary-designate Shalala on
4 these kinds of questions as well, but if you might comment on
5 what needs to be done. I know you have a great deal of
6 interest in it, but I would be interested if you might take a
7 few minutes and share with us some of the things you would
8 like to see happen in these new 4 years, so that we can
9 really grab hold of this issue, which, in my view, the
10 absence of doing so jeopardizes everything and anything else
11 you want to do from K through graduate school, in terms of
12 Pell grants and the rest, elementary and secondary schools.
13 If we don't grab the issue of early childhood development
14 problems, then it seems to me every other problem we face in
15 our educational system is in jeopardy.

16 Governor Riley. Senator, I thoroughly agree with you,
17 and I think my record would reflect that if there is another
18 chief interest that I have had in my public and private life
19 other than education, it has been really maternal, infant,
20 and child health and how those developmental areas connected
21 to health and nutrition play so heavily upon the capacity of
22 a 1st grader to learn.

23 My State had a history of a large percentage of our
24 people who were discriminated against in a lot of ways.

25 Other areas could say the same, I am sure. And so many

1 parents in our area really didn't have the opportunities to
2 have a good education, and a lot of people who were poor and
3 struggling to make it.

4 We had then a large percentage of our children who came
5 up in a difficult situation. We found then in the elementary
6 years and in middle school and in high school the great need
7 for basic skills work in the EIA. That was our first
8 attention to try to help these young people get a basic floor
9 of education.

10 The time to do that is when they are 1 year old, 2 years
11 old, 3 years old. Parents are the child's first teacher and
12 most important teacher. Anything we can do to help and
13 promote parents to work with their young people, that is ten
14 times more important than helping a child in the 10th grade.

15 I strongly support all those efforts. The Head Start
16 program has been a very successful program. I think it is
17 especially successful in my State because we pay careful
18 attention to it. That, as you point out, is under HHS. As we
19 were talking about Labor earlier and the apprenticeship
20 program, I will pledge to you to work closely with Donna
21 Shalala and HHS and have my Department work closely with them
22 to see that the component of Head Start and the early
23 childhood health and the WIC program in Agriculture, that we
24 work closely with them to see that these kids are ready for
25 the 1st grade. I think that should be the first goal, and it

1 is.

2 Now, I have just had to resign the chairmanship of a
3 task force with the Carnegie Corporation in New York dealing
4 with children 0 to 3, meeting the needs of young children,
5 really helping them be prepared for the 1st grade. It is a
6 special interest of mine. And the disabled children that you
7 mention, they need as level a playing field as is possible to
8 give them. And I would always be very sensitive to every
9 part of disabled problems for children, but disabled children
10 are very close to me.

11 Senator Dodd. Thank you very much. I know of your
12 background and interest in it, and I am grateful for your
13 response this morning.

14 Let me jump quickly to another area. I try in my own
15 State to speak in a public high school once a week. I have
16 spoken in virtually every public high school in my State in
17 the last 10 years. Yesterday I was at the Valley Regional
18 High School and last Friday at East Hartford High School,
19 juniors and seniors.

20 My Governor, Lowell Weicker, recently in a State of the
21 Union message highlighted what is a problem in our State in
22 terms of equity in education. Let me just share with you
23 statistically, and I have talked to you about this privately,
24 but I will share with you publicly here this morning. We
25 have a population of some 25.7 percent of minority students

1 in the State of Connecticut, and I suspect that the statistics
2 in my State are not dramatically different from others.

3 Eighty percent of those students live in 18 urban school
4 districts. Bridgeport has an 86 percent minority enrollment,
5 New Haven 82 percent, and Hartford 92 percent.

6 It is not an exaggeration, I would say to you, Governor.
7 As I have gone around my State, I could literally go blocks,
8 walk blocks, literally 20 blocks, and go from a high school,
9 a public high school that would dazzle you, absolutely dazzle
10 you, would rival college campuses in terms of the facilities
11 they provide, the ratio between students and teachers, the
12 language labs, the athletic facilities are stunning. And I
13 can literally take you for a walk. It is not a question of
14 going in a car ride, literally a walk to a high school in
15 Hartford or Bridgeport or New Haven where the facilities
16 don't even remotely come close to what is being offered blocks
17 away.

18 There is a case pending in Connecticut, and I wouldn't
19 expect you to comment on the case specifically, but it has
20 received some attention, Sheff v. O'Neill. Governor Weicker
21 has commented and asked our local communities to try and come
22 together and start to deal with the inequity issue. Obvio
23 quality is critically important. In your opening statement,
24 you make that case.

25 But I wonder if you might share with us this morning

1 what role you think the Federal Government should or could
2 play in the issue of equity as well, because I believe the
3 statistics in my State are not necessarily dramatically
4 different than they are in others.

5 Governor Riley. Well, that is a serious problem to deal
6 with. It is very difficult to deal with. When I was in the
7 State Senate in South Carolina, I guess in the early
8 seventies, I introduced the first resolution that dealt with
9 this issue of unequal spending. The Serrano case and the
10 Rodriguez case had just come out at that time. Of course,
11 there was a lot of shift in all that over the years.

12 I was impressed with the content of those cases and set
13 up in South Carolina the mechanisms wherein we developed an
14 educational act which attempts to equalize within our various
15 school districts in the State. We have State funds that, of
16 course, go back to the school districts, and the wealthy
17 school districts get a percentage of funds and the poor
18 school districts a percentage of funds which varies according
19 to that condition.

20 It isn't perfect. It doesn't equalize all across the
21 board, but it is an equalizing mechanism that certainly works
22 well and is fair.

23 Now, what you do about a school district line where you
24 might have a power plant on the line, people on one side of
25 the line have a very poor school district, and then where the

1 high assessed value is on the other side have a very well-to-
2 do school district. Those really are problems, I guess, that
3 need to be faced and looked at on the State level.

4 Kentucky, of course, faced it through a court decision.
5 I don't know in terms of the Federal Government, as far as
6 controlling those things, whether that is advisable or even
7 if a mechanism could be determined other than providing
8 information for the basic fairness of equal support for
9 education and the importance of it.

10 I don't know any easy answer where, again, there is a
11 silver bullet to all of a sudden equalize. I don't think
12 that is there, and our system is much more complex than that.
13 But I certainly would urge in every way that I could a spirit
14 of trying to equalize the basic tax structure within a State.

15 Senator Dodd. It is the tax structure, I agree, and the
16 equalization formula is important. There is also the
17 question of equity in a sense, where my concern is here, in
18 addition to the unequal funding, but also the staggering
19 disproportionality that exists between the minority community
20 and the majority community as represented in our schools.
21 And I realize that is not the end game. Abraham Ribicoff
22 used to say it well: It's not so important what happens when
23 you get on the bus, but when you get off the bus. And I
24 don't disagree with that statement.

25 But it is critically important that we understand that

1 we have got an explosive situation I think emerging, that if
 2 we don't begin to talk about it and address it--I mean, I get
 3 a sense a lot of people don't want to talk about this because
 4 it conjures up some memories of times past, and we have got to
 5 confront it. Ninety-two percent of a population, a minority
 6 population in Hartford, with communities just next door, and
 7 close to those numbers elsewhere, that is not healthy. That
 8 is not healthy, and that is looking for trouble, in my view,
 9 down the road.

10 Now, how you address it, whether it is by a court order
 11 or communities getting together and trying to figure out a
 12 way to do this so you avoid that tension that has existed in
 13 the past, but it is a critical question. Absolutely a
 14 critical question in terms of our society's ability to raise
 15 a generation that can understand those differences and work
 16 together as people with common goals.

17 Governor Riley. Well, let me make one other comment. I
 18 thoroughly agree with you, and my State has a large African-
 19 American population, over 30 percent, and a large school
 20 population.

21 When we got into the work of the Education Improvement
 22 Act, it involved everybody, and we had black parents and, of
 23 course, very active involvement of teachers, principals,
 24 superintendents, business people, and everyone.

We created then a separate budget for the EIA funds

1 which were funded on a penny sales tax on top of the basic
2 budget. It is a separate budget in the legislature, and then
3 it is used to provide what is needed out there to add to the
4 basic structure of education.

5 One of the real needs we had then were basic skills, a
6 large part of rural white and black kids that did not have an
7 opportunity to have a good education. And so those funds
8 were disproportionately used by the State to try to equalize,
9 and in some cases kids in a high-risk area would be 6
10 children to a teacher. We tried then to emphasize those
11 special needs that you are talking about, and I think with
12 proper leadership in this country, if we could get the States
13 and the communities to tune into the fact that you need funds
14 identified on the State and local level to deal with these
15 special problems, because they are going to get worse and
16 worse, and then they all of a sudden become the problem.

17 So I thoroughly agree with you and would do all I could
18 to try to provide leadership in that direction.

19 Senator Dodd. Well, Lord knows you know how to do it,
20 too. My time has expired and Mr. Chairman, I won't take the
21 nominee's time. But it is a local issue, and, in fact, one
22 that impacts as well the chairman of the committee. It has
23 to do with a grant last year from the Secretary's Fund for
24 Innovation, which had peer reviews on State--106 applications
25 for this around the country. I have a strong interest

1 because the peer review said that the proposal from
2 Connecticut happened to have been the best. Massachusetts
3 and Pennsylvania came in second and third. It ended up going
4 to a school that had--ours was a statewide proposal. It went
5 to a school district that has 250 kids in it in Texas about a
6 week before the election.

7 The Chairman. It completely undermined the peer review
8 process.

9 Senator Dodd. There is a GAO report coming out. I will
10 send you a note on it and a letter. I won't ask you to get
11 involved in it here today, but I want to let you know it is
12 coming, and it is one that I am going to watch very carefully.
13 I really care about it a lot.

14 The Chairman. I would second Senator Dodd in reading
15 through it. It really circumvented in the most callous
16 ideological way the results of the peer review process. I
17 won't take your time, but I appreciate the Senator raising
18 that issue.

19 Senator Gregg?

20 Senator Gregg. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Governor, you have certainly had a lot of good questions
22 today and a lot of good discussion. Having just come out of
23 the governorship myself, I have a lot of respect for what you
24 did and your efforts also in working with the National
25 Governors Conference.

1 I would like to ask you a few specific questions. Do
2 you support going to a longer school day?

3 Governor Riley. I was involved, in our reform in South
4 Carolina, in having more time in the day spent on learning,
5 and it amounted to probably what would be close to about an
6 hour a day additional classroom time.

7 Now, I don't have any fixed view, Senator, on a longer
8 day. I am concerned a lot about young people, especially in
9 high-risk areas where they have no supervision in the
10 afternoon, often working parents and that kind of thing.

11 The idea of getting the most out of the school system
12 for the children is one I would always entertain. We talked
13 of the summer months, and that is a similar kind of problem
14 as to a longer year, school year.

15 Senator Gregg. I would like to talk about that. The
16 Japanese have a 240-day year, the Germans 220 days. I think
17 the Swedes have 220 days. I think the English have about 210.

18 Do you think we should go to a longer school year? We
19 are no longer an agrarian nation. Eighty-five percent of our
20 people are not involved in agriculture.

21 Governor Riley. Well, in both of those questions are
22 things that I would not discard without consideration
23 because, as I say, anything that I am shown, regardless of
24 who shows it to me, that I think is going to be better for
25 children, I would take a close look at and would probably

1 support.

2 What we did is try to make better use out of those
3 summer months, and that is just make summer school meaningful;
4 and for young people who are having trouble in math or
5 science or whatever, to give them a real meaningful summer
6 school experience to beef up their next year's activity.

7 So I think we do need to make better use of school
8 buildings throughout the day and throughout the year and make
9 better use of our educational ability to educate, but I don't
10 have any fixed views on specifically longer days or longer
11 years.

12 The Chairman. If the Senator would yield, he may be a
13 soul mate with our good friend and colleague from Rhode Island
14 who has been talking about this issue for 30-odd years that I
15 have been here. And there has been established the National
16 Commission on Time and Learning to study this very issue. I
17 think it is going to report back in the next several months.
18 He just showed me something I already knew. Carrying in his
19 pocket, which he always carries with him, is every nation in
20 the world and how long their young people go to school and
21 how many hours in school. But I appreciate the Senator
22 raising it because it is an important point.

23 Senator Gregg. It is a pleasure to join the Senator
24 from Rhode Island on that issue.

25 Senator Pell. Senator Bingaman feels very strongly on

1 this issue, too.

2 Senator Gregg. Well, it just seems to be logical, you
3 know. If children in Japan go for 240 days, that is probably
4 why they are doing a little better on those tests.

5 I was wondering about another issue that we address
6 quite often in New Hampshire, and that is the issue of
7 alternative certification, bringing qualified people into the
8 classroom who have life experiences that can add to the
9 richness of a student's education. Do you support alternative
10 certification and allowing those types of folks who may not
11 have education degrees and haven't gone through the
12 professional curriculum of education to come into the schools
13 and teach?

14 Governor Riley. I do, under careful designation. The
15 way that we handle that in my State is we identified critical
16 need areas, whether they were math or science or chemistry,
17 foreign language or whatever. And then we would permit an
18 alternative certification for a period of time. I forget
19 whether it was 1 year or 2 years.

20 During that period of time, that person could take
21 courses in the evening and so forth and get some of the
22 education instructional background, but I do favor it unde
23 careful description of such an alternative.

— 24 Senator Gregg. Good. So you might support demonstration
25 grants in that subject, then. In South Carolina--

1 The Chairman. It is already in law, Senator. We passed
2 that as Chapter 5 of the Higher Education bill, \$25 million
3 in grants to go to States that want to develop alternative
4 programs.

5 Senator Gregg. And did Connecticut get one of those?

6 The Chairman. It hasn't applied yet.

7 Senator Gregg. In South Carolina, how many towns are
8 there that have two public high schools? How many cities or
9 towns in South Carolina have two public high schools?

10 Governor Riley. That have as many as two?

11 Senator Gregg. Right; in other words, have more than
12 one public high school.

13 Governor Riley. Dozens and dozens. I don't know--I
14 never have taken the time to count them, but a great many.

15 Senator Gregg. Well, maybe South Carolina is different
16 than New Hampshire, then, because in New Hampshire, we only
17 have one city that has more than one public high school.
18 Most of our cities have a single public high school. And I
19 suspect that is true of most rural States, that the com-
20 munities are not large enough to support two or three public
21 high schools, and as a result, the concept in those States of
22 choice within public high schools is really illusory, isn't
23 it?

24 Governor Riley. I think that's mathematically clear.

[Laughter.]

1 Senator Gregg. That being so mathematically clear,
2 then, it would be equally clear that if you are going to have
3 choice, you are going to have to do something other than have
4 choice within public schools.

5 Governor Riley. Well, in talking of high schools, for
6 those areas, again, you could have a charter school concept,
7 I am sure, developed if that were approved by the district
8 and the State. Some areas where choice works very well--I
9 think in Cambridge, Senator, there are two or three high
10 schools--

11 The Chairman. No; it is basically for the middle
12 schools, and there are nine schools.

13 Governor Riley. --nine--but where you have two or
14 three, sometimes that works pretty well in terms of a
15 competitive model, without having a dozen, if you see what I
16 mean. You can get to a pretty good competitive situation if
17 you just have two.

18 Senator Gregg. Well, I don't think it is possible in
19 many rural States, and I don't know a great deal about South
20 Carolina's school system, but I certainly know that in
21 northern New England, for example, Vermont, Maine and New
22 Hampshire, and in many of the western school systems in
23 Massachusetts, there is no alternative to the single public
24 high school, which is often a public high school that is a
25 collector high school for a large number of towns.

1 Thus, what you are basically saying, if you are only
2 going to support choice for public school systems, is that
3 you are only going to support choice for those people who
4 live in urban areas and that you are not going to allow rural
5 areas, and in many cases suburban areas, to have choice.
6 That's just a fact. As you'd say, it is a mathematical fact.
7 And it seems to me it is something you might want to consider.

8 Governor Riley. Well, Senator, you would, of course,
9 have the opportunity to have choice of the private schools.
10 That is a choice and a very legitimate choice. It would not
11 be a choice for poor families, perhaps, but it is a choice
12 for some.

13 Those families then have a greater responsibility than
14 ever to get involved in the public schools and make sure that
15 their child's choice is a good one because that is where they
16 are going to school, and that school would have a mixture of
17 family cultures and so forth, if there is just one school in
18 a community, and I think that for that parent to get involved
19 and make sure that public school is a school tuned in to
20 quality for their child I think can make a great difference.

21 Senator Gregg. But I think the preface of your statement
22 is the one that really concerns me, which is that for the
23 poor parent, or the middle-income, low-income parent in many
24 instances--even for the middle-income parent in many instan-
25 ces--choice is not an option under your philosophy of choice.

1 in rural or suburban areas.

2 Governor Riley. I think you are exactly right, and if
3 they had a voucher system, choice would not be an option
4 either. They would just have a poorer public high school to
5 attend, in my judgment.

6 Senator Gregg. Well, if we followed Mr. Coats' sugges-
7 tion of maybe doing a few demonstrations and seeing if that
8 actually occurs, we could actually get an answer to that
9 rather than having it be just handed dole.

10 Governor Riley. Well, again, I would say that this is
11 not a new issue for my consideration, and I have thought and
12 thought about it, and I really don't think that it would be
13 good for the public schools, so I really would not favor
14 spending money on trying to see that something is worthwhile,
15 when I am 100 percent convinced that it is not.

16 Senator Gregg. That certainly makes your position
17 clear, and I appreciate that. Thank you.

18 Senator Kassebaum. Mr. Chairman.

19 The Chairman. Yes, Senator Kassebaum.

20 Senator Kassebaum. Not to get into this debate, but for
21 the record I would just like to note that Milwaukee, of
22 course, has choice between public and private schools. That
23 is something that they have initiated, and this is the
24 beginning of their second or third year. So I think it does
25 give an opportunity--and that's a decision that was made in

1 Milwaukee--for many to observe the system at work.

2 Governor Riley. And Senator, as you point out, that is
3 a local decision.

4 Senator Kassebaum. That's right. It is, and it can be
5 made by any school district or State.

6 Governor Riley. That's right.

7 The Chairman. I would just say that in Indianapolis
8 there is an experimental program as well--we have mentioned
9 it--and in Cambridge, MA as well as in other communities of
10 the State. So we have had a pretty good opportunity.

11 I would just mention for our friends that I hope they
12 might have a chance to read this morning's paper, where we
13 had Secretary Lamar Alexander and Mr. Kearns out at American
14 University doing sort of a retrospective analysis of their
15 time here on education policy, and where they said that the
16 emphasis, stress, and focus on the choice issue polarized
17 education. I think generally, reading through those comments
18 and statements, from what they said--and they were strongly
19 for it--they thought it was basically counterproductive in
20 terms of moving other discussions and debate on other matters
21 which can really make a difference. That is just general
22 information for the membership, and maybe they are already
23 aware of it.

24 Senator Simon?

25 Senator Simon. Thank you.

1 First, I want to join in welcoming Senator Gregg here.
2 If Judd Gregg will just vote the same as his neighbor from
3 Massachusetts, he'll end up with a very good voting record in
4 this committee here.

5 Senator Gregg. I always appreciate the counsel of the
6 Senator from Illinois.

7 Senator Simon. I knew you would.

8 I welcome you here, Governor Riley. I remember going to
9 South Carolina for the inauguration of a long-time friend,
10 John West, as Governor of South Carolina and meeting a young
11 State Senator who they said was a real comer, who was real
12 going to contribute in the future. I did not anticipate I
13 would be here asking the Secretary of Education designate
14 these questions, but I am very pleased to see you here, and I
15 have followed your career with great interest.

16 I did note that you spent your Navy time on a mines-
17 weeper; you will find that is invaluable as you deal with
18 this committee. [Laughter.]

19 Let me make a couple of comments and then a couple of
20 questions. First, I was pleased with your response to the
21 chairman on the direct loan program. I think this is clearly
22 something that is needed, and I commend my colleague, Senator
23 Durenberger, for his help on this as well as Senator Kennedy
24 and Senator Pell, and Congressman Petri in the House and
25 others. It is a bipartisan thing.

1 One of the keys here is clearly to have IRS collection,
2 and the IRS has indicated they are not eager to do it, but
3 they are capable of doing it, and it is important that you
4 work with the Secretary of the Treasury as we move forward in
5 that area.

6 On the Pell grants, I agree with the comments of Senator
7 Pell. It is very interesting as you go back and look at the
8 old G.I. Bill after World War II, and you put an inflation
9 factor on it. It would amount to a grant today of an average
10 of \$8,100 per student. We are a long, long way from where we
11 were after World War II, and we have increased real income
12 in this country about two and a half times.

13 I was interested in your response to Senator Dodd on
14 Head Start and the need for really dealing in a comprehensive
15 way. What impressed me when Senator Kennedy was reading what
16 you did in South Carolina was the comprehensiveness of your
17 approach.

18 I think clearly we have to deal, as you said in response
19 to Senator Dodd, also with the home environment, and that
20 means that we have to get the National Literacy Act passed. I
21 am pleased that President Bush signed it, but it has been
22 languishing.

23 Twenty-three million adult Americans can't fill out a
24 job application form. We need that help at home, as you
25 indicated.

1 And you mentioned President-elect Clinton's "ethic for
2 learning" stress. I think it would be a great thing if, at
3 some point, not too far down in this administration, the
4 President of the United States would give an address to the
5 Nation on education and appeal to Americans who cannot read
6 and write or whose abilities are very, very limited, to go
7 out and seek help; that we utilize this human resource that
8 we have in this country much more effectively than we have.
9 And I am going to pass that suggestion along to the President-
10 elect, and if you feel so inclined if you could do it also, I
11 would appreciate it.

12 Let me ask more specifically, one of the great misfor-
13 tunes of the last administration--and I don't think it was a
14 planned thing; I think it is just one of these things that
15 occurred--well, it was not carefully planned--was the
16 announcement on minority scholarships. I think we have to
17 make it clear once again to colleges and universities that
18 diversity is a welcome goal. And while it is overwhelming
19 minority scholarships, there are historically black colleges
20 and universities that have scholarships for whites in order to
21 achieve diversity.

22 But there are college presidents and university presi-
23 dents out there right now who believe if they offer scholar-
24 ships for minorities in order to achieve diversity that they
25 are somehow violating the Federal law. I don't know if you

1 have had a chance--we chatted about it just briefly in my
2 office--but I don't know if you have had a chance to reflect
3 on this further. I would hope this is an area where we could
4 get clarification from your office very clearly and that we
5 sound a clear trumpet to the college and university presidents
6 of the Nation.

7 Governor Riley. Well, Senator, I agree with you that
8 certainly we need a clear statement on that. It is my
9 general feeling that scholarships which are intended to
10 expand access and diversity are within the purview of the
11 acceptable law of this country. I have not done an analysis
12 of the specific issue and analyzed the cases, or whatever.
13 It is somewhat of a constitutional question. However, that
14 is my general view. I think it has been anticipated that
15 these race-specific scholarships, which are intended not for
16 discriminatory purposes, but to correct discrimination of the
17 past and to open up more diversity, more opportunity, it is
18 my personal view that that is valid, it is good, and it is
19 legal.

20 Senator Simon. I appreciate that personal view, and I
21 agree with that completely. My hope is that you could have
22 your research people, your legal scholars, look at this
23 fairly quickly in your administration so that we can either
24 have a clear signal from you as Secretary of Education, or if
25 necessary, that we pass a statute saying that it is perfectly

1 legal for a school to offer assistance in order to achieve
2 diversity in the student body. If you could indicate that
3 that is going to be one of the things you are going to look
4 at early in your administration, I would appreciate it.

5 Governor Riley. I will certainly indicate that to you,
6 and I will pass on to President-elect Clinton your and my
7 suggestion that he makes an important education speech.

8 Senator Simon. Good.

9 Governor Riley. And I join with you on that request.

10 Senator Simon. All right. I would hope that that could
11 be achieved.

12 Governor Riley. And that ought not to affect the
13 deficit at all, I don't believe. [Laughter.]

14 Senator Simon. Well, ultimately, it does affect the
15 deficit, as you've pointed out.

16 Governor Riley. It does, in a good way.

17 The Chairman. Would the Senator yield on that point?

18 Senator Simon. Yes, I'd be pleased to.

19 The Chairman. There are proposed regulations now that
20 are going through the administrative procedure process that
21 have been put out by Michael Williams on minority scholar-
22 ships. So you might find out where that is in terms of the
23 previous administration's compliance with the Administrative
24 Procedures Act so that something is not put into effect on
25 your watch which was triggered earlier, just so you have an

1 opportunity to study it anew. And I obviously support
2 Senator Simon's position, but it is in the process now under
3 the previous administration, so you may want to have someone
4 take a look at it and see what steps might be taken.

5 Governor Riley. Yes. Thank you, Senator.

6 Senator Simon. I concur with Senator Kennedy on that,
7 and what is going through the process, frankly, is kind of
8 fuzzy. That is why I think we need a clear trumpet.

9 Then, finally, if I could just add--Senator Gregg
10 brought this up, and as Senator Kennedy has indicated, there
11 is going to be a report before too long--I think we do have
12 to address this question of how many days in school--I know
13 Senator Pell disagrees with me on that--that was said in
14 jest, for the record. I think it is a very fundamental
15 thing, and how we address that in terms of the Federal
16 Government is not completely clear. I think there can be
17 carrots out there that clearly would be constitutional.

18 It is a decision that ultimately will rest with State
19 and local Governments, but I think there can be Federal
20 Government encouragement, and on the basis of what you have
21 said, I think that follows in line with your philosophy, if I
22 am correct.

23 Governor Riley. Well, I definitely think that, as
24 Senator Gregg was pointing out, the "time on task" issue is
25 extremely important, and the time in the day and the time in

1 the year that a young person spends in the learning process
 2 absolutely impacts the results. And I think we ought to do
 3 all we can to have as much time on task as we can within the
 4 system. Again, that is a local issue, a State issue, but
 5 certainly one that I would welcome the research capacity of
 6 the Department of Education and other ways of supporting
 7 analysis of those situations to be used.

8 Senator Simon. Let me just add again, I am very
 9 pleased. I think you are going to provide the leadership the
 10 Nation needs. I sense that the President-elect's comments
 11 about education are not simply campaign oratory, but there
 12 is a genuine, deep-seated commitment, and I think we have a
 13 chance to really do some great things for this country, and
 14 I'll look forward to working with you in this field.

15 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Senator Pell. To interrupt for a second, I think it
 17 might be interesting to find the statistics we have--deplora-
 18 ble ones--on a national basis or on a State by State basis.

19 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 The Chairman. Senator Thurmond?

21 Senator Thurmond. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 Governor Riley, again, we welcome you to Washington.
 23 we feel you will make an outstanding Secretary of Defense--
 24 Secretary of Education, that is.

25 Governor Riley. They are related, Senator. [Laughter.]

1 Senator Thurmond. While you are passing messages on to
2 the new President, you might tell him that Senator Simon and
3 I have worked on a constitutional amendment to mandate a
4 balanced budget, and we passed it out of committee two years
5 ago. It is on the calendar now, and if you will give a
6 little push to it, I think we can get it through.

7 Governor Riley, because of the success of the STAR
8 Schools program, I have been a strong supporter. South
9 Carolina Educational Television has received several STAR
10 Schools grants and has used these funds to generate innovation
11 and improved instructional programming for students through
12 the State.

13 What suggestions do you have for expanding access to new
14 technologies for students in grades K through 12, and have
15 you been informed of the accomplishments of the South
16 Carolina Educational Television Consortium and similar
17 entities around the country?

18 Governor Riley. Yes, Senator, I have. I am very proud
19 of the South Carolina Educational Television system. I think
20 it is probably as strong as any in this country, and I know
21 you join me in that sense of pride in it.

22 Actually, our SCETV has really been used to have a lot
23 of the television programs, even up in Alaska and other
24 places in the country, really coming under the STAR program,
25 so it is a quality system, and it gets educational capacity

1 out to all of our schools and to, certainly, adults, and it
2 is used in the technical education system and other ways.

3 The STAR School program is certainly one that rural
4 America is very interested in because I think they see
5 through the use of technology how you can have highways of
6 education going into schools with proper teaching support.

7 And I think it is a very important thing in the urban
8 areas that we have talked about here earlier, the serious
9 problems in some urban schools, the use of technology to help
10 us provide a more stimulating program there.

11 So I believe that the use of technology is extremely
12 important, and I think we have shown that through our
13 educational television system in South Carolina, and I agree
14 with you in your comments.

15 Senator Thurmond. Thank you.

16 I just have two more questions, since time is running
17 short. Governor Riley, according to the Wednesday, December
18 30th, 1992 edition of Educational Daily, total elementary and
19 secondary school enrollment is currently about 47.9 million.
20 Enrollment is expected to reach an all-time high of 51.5
21 million by 1996. This is an increase of over 9 percent. Do
22 you agree that we must begin now to address this increase
23 and do you have any particular ideas or suggestions as to how
24 we meet this increase?

25 Governor Riley. Well, those are numbers that we all

1 read, Senator, and must analyze, and certainly as Secretary
2 of Education, I would be very much tuned into what is
3 happening out there in terms of the demographics of the
4 public schools and in education generally.

5 The hard part of that is that much of the increase that
6 we are talking about will be children who need special
7 educational help, either because of language difficulties or
8 others. There is a lot of immigration. So you can see not
9 only this increase taking place, but it is an increase in
10 special needs which are more expensive than other students
11 might be.

12 So I think we need to carefully analyze what is happening
13 out there, and as we talk about a systemic approach to
14 fundamental change that is involved in providing education
15 for all children, we need to analyze who these increased
16 children are, and what we need to do to provide them the kind
17 of education they must have in this country.

18 Senator Thurmond. Thank you.

19 Governor Riley, as you know, South Carolina has been a
20 leader in Tech Prep, and the Tech Prep program at Tri-County
21 Technical College in Pendleton, SC has received national
22 recognition. Do you feel that if a student decides to pu
23 a vocational education that he or she should be properly
24 prepared for post-secondary occupational education?

Governor Riley. Yes, I sure do. The fact is, I visited

1 with Dr. Garrison and his people at Tri-County, Senator, and
 2 analyzed that program, and was very impressed with it. I
 3 spent the good part of a day there some few months ago. I am
 4 very interested in President-elect Clinton's interest in his
 5 youth apprenticeship programs that fit very well into the
 6 tech prep concept, the two-plus-two concept, to get young
 7 people in their last years of high school and their first two
 8 years after high school into this proper education for them
 9 to be contributing, successful citizens with good, high-
 10 paying, permanent jobs.

11 So I think that the Tech Prep program can be of great
 12 benefit to us as we look into those methods to do, as you
 13 said, provide the kind of education we must for a young
 14 person who is not on a college preparatory track.

15 You need to also have, in my judgment, a clear oppor-
 16 tunity all through those years of preparation for a young
 17 person to change direction. I think that is extremely
 18 important, and I think the Tech Prep program and others are
 19 sensitive to that.

20 Senator Thurmond. Any time I can be of assistance, I
 21 want you to feel free to call upon me, and since your lovely
 22 wife's name has been mentioned, I just want to say that
 23 has been a tremendous asset to you throughout your entire
 24 career, and I congratulate you.

Governor Riley. I thank you, Senator, and I share that

1 view of help and support, any way that I can be helpful to
2 you.

3 Senator Thurmond. Thank you.

4 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 The Chairman. Thank you very much.

6 Senator Wellstone?

7 Senator Wellstone. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Governor Riley, I too welcome you. When you came by the
9 office, and we discussed a variety of different ideas about
10 education, I felt really good about it; I felt like there was
11 lightning in the air. You don't treat ideas like an under-
12 taker. I think you have a lot of vision, and I think you
13 have a lot of commitment, and I think that's exactly what we
14 need right now.

15 When you are at the end of this process, let me just give
16 you some forewarning. It is a little difficult to ask some
17 of the questions that have already been asked, and I don't
18 want to do that. I would like to highlight some things that
19 have been said, and I hope it doesn't sound like mini
20 speeches; but I want to do a little bit of that, and then I
21 have a couple of very specific questions for you.

22 First of all, I just want to get out on the table
23 something that I have been thinking about that I think is
24 really important. I hope this is not Senatorial, but when we
25 talk about education in children, I speak about it with a

1 fair amount of indignation. I really believe that the
2 ultimate indictment of this last decade is the extent to
3 which, or the way in which, we have abandoned children and
4 devalued the work of adults who work with children.

5 I really believe that symbolic politics has been played
6 with children, with politicians wanting to have photo ops,
7 and talking about children and education over and over again--
8 --except when it comes to digging into the pockets.

9 The reason that I say that is that whether we are
10 talking about full funding for Head Start, or WIC, or early
11 childhood development, or making sure that we have a commu-
12 nity service program that might be one way that young people, men,
13 and women, can go on to school--and not so young; we have to
14 remember where the nontraditional students fit in--or whether
15 we are talking about the question that Senator Dodd raised
16 about equity in school financing and is there some Federal
17 role.

18 I just would urge you and I would urge the President-
19 elect that while we have to pay attention to deficit reduction
20 and need to bring that deficit down, we also have to make
21 sure that we begin to make an investment in education and an
22 investment in young people now. Otherwise we are going
23 pay the price over and over and over again. So I would just
24 call on you to provide the strongest leadership on this very
25 basic question.

1 After having said that, let me go to a few specifics, if
2 you will. I mentioned this to you earlier as kind of my
3 litmus test. As Secretary of Education, even though these
4 programs are not directly under your jurisdiction, will you
5 call for full funding for WIC? I believe that the most
6 important education program is that every woman expecting a
7 child should have a diet rich in vitamins, minerals and
8 protein so that her child-to-be will have the same chance.

9 So will you support full funding for Head Start, and
10 will you support full funding for childhood immunization
11 programs that have been badly neglected--just in terms of
12 leadership?

13 Governor Riley. Senator, certainly, I would say that I
14 absolutely believe in full funding of Head Start, full
15 funding of WIC. If we don't immunize children against
16 disease when we have the capacity to do it, that would be a
17 tragedy.

18 I say that, though, followed very closely, as I have
19 mentioned earlier and as you and I are very aware of the
20 financial situation in this country, and I am a person who
21 has great feelings about people, especially children, and
22 especially children with special problems. But I also have
23 great feelings about being very practical in terms of what we
24 can and what we cannot do, and I feel that we have got to
25 weigh those two things together.

1 If it were me, my leaning is in the area of human
 2 resources and investment in human resources, as you say, and
 3 I think that is always money well-spent. But perhaps we need
 4 to look at priorities. We need to look at alternatives. To
 5 do what you say would cost a very small amount of money in
 6 relation to the whole pie, and perhaps we ought to look at
 7 the whole pie very carefully and see that some of the funds
 8 that we spend, we could move more into this direction of
 9 investment in the future of young children.

10 Senator Wellstone. I thank you. And moving on--again,
 11 I think I'll put this less as a question because I am mind
 12 of the time constraints--we talked a little bit about
 13 community service when you came to my office, and I suggested
 14 to you that something I am very interested in as a former
 15 college teachers is that when we talk about community service
 16 as a way of paying off the debt, I guess there are two points
 17 I want to make.

18 One is let's not leave the nontraditional students out,
 19 the older students who are going back to school, who may not
 20 be able to do it upon completion and taking two years out.
 21 The other thing is that I think we should think about ways in
 22 which students, even before they go on to higher education
 23 might be able to accumulate credits toward paying off their
 24 debt by way of community services. I'd like for us to look
 25 at that in broader terms, and again I would just urge you to

1 make sure that this is not a program that all of a sudden we
2 say we don't have the resources to put into it, so that we
3 barely get started with it, when I think people all over this
4 country, including the large middle class, are looking for a
5 way to make sure that we can afford higher education.

6 A question on equity. Would you at least be able to
7 think about this conceptually, that there might be a way the
8 Federal Government--I know, Mr. Chairman, with the Chapter 1
9 Commission, there has been some discussion of this--that the
10 Federal Government might be able to play a role by way of
11 incentives through Chapter 1 funding, maybe through summer
12 institutes, circuit riders, and so on, to encourage States to
13 move more toward equity funding in per-pupil expenditure.

14 Do you see a way in which the Federal Government might
15 be able to play somewhat of a different role than we have
16 played in the past, given what Senator Dodd had to say, given
17 Jonathan Kozal's very powerful book, Savage Inequalities, and
18 given the fact that there is such a great disparity in the
19 per-pupil expenditure. It really makes the idea of equal
20 opportunity a lie in our country; it's not true that every
21 child has the same opportunity.

22 Governor Riley. Senator, I would certainly always be
23 willing to look at options that might be there in terms of
24 incentives for States and local districts to be tuned into
25 this business of equity, especially the equity financing

1 issue.

2 I really think it is more of a court question, perhaps,
3 than that. However, I would certainly be willing to talk
4 with you further and to examine the possibilities of something
5 in that regard.

6 I think one thing we certainly can do is what you and I
7 are doing right now, and that is communicating with people
8 about it and attempting, then, in a leadership way, to arouse
9 people's sense of equity, and I think that is a very powerful
10 sense in this country if we can properly arouse it.

11 Senator Wellstone. I appreciate that, and I only ha
12 one more question, but let me just add that that has always
13 been my concern, and if it is all right, Mr. Chairman, I'd
14 like to both submit my opening statement for the record and
15 also submit some questions to Governor Riley. I have a whole
16 set of questions about longer school days or longer school
17 years and national testing, and the reason I have these
18 questions has to do with in the absence of making some of
19 these other commitments, I am not sure whether or not that
20 really will work for children. I so appreciated your point
21 that the tests that are really worthwhile are the tests that
22 help children.

23 The last question: Do you see a role for the Federal
24 Government in teacher training? Every group of teachers that
25 I have met with always lays that out as one of their number

1 one, if you will, grievances, that the teacher training just
2 does not make sense, and we really need to take a close look
3 at what we are doing, both undergraduate and when teachers go
4 back during the summer.

5 Governor Riley. Well, if you look at business--and a
6 lot of people like to compare public responsibilities with
7 business approaches to things--the idea of professional
8 development, of continuing education, lawyers continuing
9 legal education, doctors, business people, it is a very
10 important part of their budget. And for a well-run business,
11 when things get tough, that is not what is cut.

12 It bothers me that in education decisions, one of the
13 first things we cut and one of the last things we seem to
14 give attention to is the resources that are necessary to have
15 professional development and teacher training programs.

16 I have a strong feeling about teachers. I think that
17 some people have spent too much time bashing teachers in some
18 areas, making comments about the teaching profession that are
19 unfair. I have been into lots of classrooms; I have seen
20 lots of teachers at work, and they are just as tuned into
21 these educational concepts as you and I and anyone else, or
22 more so. Everything we ever did for education in South
23 Carolina, teachers were involved, and it was not always
24 things that they were very supportive of, but they always
25 threw in for the good of education to help us.

1 So I am strongly supportive of those teachers out there
2 every day, teaching, teaching, teaching, when all of us are
3 out talking about education. And I say this--anything we can
4 do to help them keep abreast professionally with what is
5 happening, and the tremendous increase in learning capacity
6 that is needed, I think we ought to do it any way we can.

7 Senator Wellstone. Thank you, Governor. It will be a
8 real pleasure working with you.

9 Governor Riley. Thank you.

10 [The prepared statement and questions of Senator
11 Wellstone follow:]

12 / COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. Senator Wofford?

2 Senator Wofford. Governor Riley, I salute you for your
3 past leadership in South Carolina and for your future
4 leadership as our Secretary of Education. I believe our
5 education system is entering a time of reform and renewal,
6 and your appointment is a tangible sign to me that it is
7 going to be successful. For that, we are going to need
8 leaders of skill and innovation, and I believe in you and in
9 our President-elect, we have such leaders.

10 I have read a lot about you recently and have enjoyed
11 it--and some things by you. I particularly liked the story
12 by one of your aides who was talking about how there was a
13 certain descent into the political gutter that might be
14 useful in a forthcoming race or problem, and said, "I
15 suggested the ancient and honorable political tradition of
16 saying one thing and doing another. And you looked at me,"
17 he said, "as if I were from Mars."

18 I just look forward to the time when you look at some of
19 us, if we need to have that look, or some of the people who
20 will try to block the reforms that are needed, with that "as
21 if you are from Mars" look.

22 I appreciated your answers very much to the question
23 permitting and encouraging scholarships for diversity. I
24 appreciated your answer on the direct loan, especially
25 concern for loans that will be not fixed when you don't have

1 income right after college, but will be income-contingent
2 through your paycheck and your income when you have it, and
3 the program that was already authorized here in the Congress
4 from this Committee.

5 I appreciated your response on youth apprenticeships.
6 In Pennsylvania, before I got the chance to come here, we
7 were one of the four or five States that started trying to
8 adapt the German model in some pilot programs, supported by
9 the Federal Government in part and by our State Government.
10 They look very promising, and that experience may be of some
11 use to you.

12 And I appreciated your general response on the idea of
13 national service that our President-elect has been working on
14 for some years and that leaders in this committee, Senator
15 Kennedy and Senator Mikulski particularly, have been working
16 on.

17 In that regard, I don't know how far you have looked
18 into the current status of the work-study program. I would
19 like to call to your attention a General Accounting Office
20 study done at my request when I got here, because I was
21 interested in how many of those work-study jobs--about \$800
22 million, I believe, spent per year--were in community service
23 out in the community. The original vision of the work-study
24 program, as I understand it, was that most of those jobs
25 would be out in the community. The General Accounting Office

1 estimated that more than 95 percent of the jobs are on-
2 campus, helping the college budgets, but not making a
3 contribution to the community or providing opportunity for
4 community service to students in college or in summer.

5 I wonder whether you have given any thought to how that
6 resource might be used, and how you could either persuade, by
7 carrot or by stick, most of those opportunities to be in
8 community service?

9 Governor Riley. Senator, I am interested in your
10 observation. I think in a time of budget problems that we
11 are now having, we need to look at all of our resources out
12 there. We need to look at old people. Fortunately, people
13 are living longer, and they have longer years of production
14 and health. I always encourage that, and that is a tremendous
15 resource that is out there to help in so many ways.

16 The young people who then are paying back for their
17 college, or for whatever other reason are serving the
18 community, are a tremendous resource, and that is so much
19 more valuable to us when we need it so badly.

20 I am familiar with some of these programs, such as the
21 Service Corps at my school, Furman University in Greenville,
22 SC. We have something like 2,500 students, and we have
23 1,500 to 1,600 young men and women at Furman who belong to
24 the Service Corps and volunteer three or four hours a week,
25 helping the retarded, the senior citizens, the poor, children

1 with mental health problems, and so forth. Can you imagine
2 what it would cost to have those 1,500 bright, sensitive,
3 caring young people, out in a community, serving the needs of
4 the community every week?

5 I strongly support those kinds of programs. We talked
6 about an ethic for learning, and there should be an equal
7 ethic for service. I would be inclined to agree with your
8 observation--I am not familiar with how that program is
9 working in effect, but I would certainly be inclined to agree
10 with your sentiment that it should be serving people instead
11 of institutions.

12 Senator Wofford. A lot of those people in colleges that
13 I've talked to in Pennsylvania would love to have the option
14 to practice their ethic of service, not filing papers in the
15 admissions office, but out in the community. So it is a
16 resource that is already there if we want to reach out and
17 find a way to persuade the college administrations to make
18 use of those funds for community service instead of for their
19 filing clerks or other such assignments.

20 The ethic of service at the lower level, it seems to me,
21 is something that will be important for you to look to, and I
22 would be very interested in your forthcoming leadership
23 how, from K through the 12th grade, service learning, as it
24 has come to be called, can be expanded in this country so
25 that people are ready for the intense, full-time experience

1 of national service.

2 There are a lot of interesting experiments on that going
3 on. It seems to me teaching citizenship by lectures and
4 classroom is a case where--that's the long way to do it, by
5 and large, and it is a "learning by doing" dimension. If you
6 can give some leadership to promoting learning citizenship by
7 getting students from kindergarten on to do things that give
8 them the ethic of service and responsibility and citizenship,
9 I think it could be a big part of your leadership that I'm
10 looking to.

11 Governor Riley. Well, I would certainly support that
12 fully, and I am very appreciative of your background with the
13 Peace Corps and your personal involvement for service over
14 the years.

15 If there is any aspect that young people could obtain in
16 their learning years, it is this idea of good citizenship,
17 this idea of community service, of caring for each other.
18 And I think there is a craving out there right now for it,
19 and I think Bill Clinton touched on that, and he tuned into
20 it. When he was out, talking about students having the
21 opportunity to go to college on the one hand, and the
22 obligation and the responsibility to serve the community
23 whatever in payment for it, as I looked into the eyes of the
24 young students, young college people out there, even the
25 traditional, older students, people who were tuned in, they

1 were absolutely linked up with that idea. So I think it is
2 out there if we can just develop it and key into it.

3 Senator Wofford. Minnesota has been a leader in
4 developing the techniques of that service learning at the
5 lower grades. Pennsylvania has been doing it now, and
6 Maryland, under Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, has now required a
7 certain number of hours of community service for graduation.
8 I think that is a movement that is going on in a number of
9 school districts in Pennsylvania that needs your support and
10 attention.

11 Good luck.

12 Governor Riley. Thank you, Senator.

13 The Chairman. Just to continue, I want to pay tribute
14 to Senator Wofford for all of his good work in helping this
15 committee before he came to the Senate in developing the
16 community service program.

17 In Springfield, MA, we have kindergarten children
18 folding napkins for the feeding program sponsored by the
19 nonprofits and various church groups. Fourth-graders adopt a
20 senior citizen and call the person every day and just talk to
21 them for five minutes on the telephone and visit them on
22 Valentine's Day and their birthday. Seventh-graders visit
23 nursing homes and to the pantomime of the rabbit and the
24 hare. It is a spectacular little program when you watch it
25 and see what a difference it makes in terms of the seniors.

1 And then the eighth- through twelfth-graders go after
2 school to places where there are day care programs for
3 parents who are working, and they work with the children on
4 reading. Many of them write books, and the books that the
5 kids write are more desired than the ones that are actually
6 being printed.

7 So I agree with you there is an enormous interest and
8 desire out there.

9 Another element is the appropriateness of including the
10 volunteerism into the curriculum for credit. Some colleges
11 and universities are doing it; some are not. I think this is
12 a higher education policy issue. But we have found in my own
13 State a number of outstanding schools--Boston College, among
14 others--that now, with Teacher Corps volunteers, are involved
15 in the kinds of activities that they are involved in, and
16 tying them into their academic programs in a very creative
17 way, and it is making an enormous difference. Stonehill
18 College, Bunker Hill Community College and others are doing
19 that, and it is another interesting question.

20 I don't know whether others have additional questions,
21 but I'd like to just mention two final areas. Senator
22 Kassebaum?

23 Senator Kassebaum. Go ahead.

24 The Chairman. Senator Pell?

25 Senator Pell. I have just one question, and that is did

1 I hear correctly that you think standards as well as goals
2 should be adopted by your Department?

3 Governor Riley. Senator, it is my feeling that goals
4 certainly should be adopted and the mechanism for arriving at
5 standards also through the goals panel and the mechanisms
6 devised through that body. As far as standards themselves,
7 that would be coming forward with standards. Of course,
8 everything is voluntary as far as the States are concerned,
9 and I think it is worthwhile, certainly, for the Federal
10 Government to be involved in a very meaningful way in
11 standards. But obviously those standards are voluntary
12 the States to accept or not--but with proper leadership, I
13 think that a national standard can be arrived at.

14 As far as putting it into the legislation, Senator, I am
15 not exactly sure of your question, but as I understood, I
16 think S.2 set up the mechanism for coming with standards, but
17 not standards themselves.

18 Senator Pell. Thank you, and my own personal view is
19 that we should push along in that direction; that that is the
20 correct direction.

21 Thank you very much.

22 Governor Riley. Thank you, Senator.

23 The Chairman. Senator Kassebaum?

24 Senator Kassebaum. Mr. Chairman, I have some questions
25 that I would like to submit on behalf of Governor Pete

1 Wilson, Senator Dole and Senator Hatfield. I think Senator
2 Wilson's questions are particularly meaningful in light of
3 his dedication to education, but also the funding problems of
4 the State of California. So I will just submit those for the
5 record, and I look forward to working with you, Governor
6 Riley. I think that you are someone who has certainly been
7 caring about education as well as very much attuned to what
8 is necessary in the legislative arena to also accomplish what
9 can be achieved.

10 Governor Riley. Thank you.

11 [The questions of Governor Wilson, Senator Dole and

12 Senator Hatfield follow:]

13 / COMMITTEE INSERT

1 Senator Wellstone. Mr. Chairman, with your permission,
2 I have a lot of questions, but I will put them in writing to
3 the Governor.

4 The Chairman. Well, we are going to invite everyone to
5 make sure they get their written questions in today so that
6 we can permit the designee to respond to those questions.

7 Senator Wellstone. Tomorrow?

8 The Chairman. Tonight, I think, is probably best.

9 [The questions of Senator Wellstone follow:]

10 / COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. I have other questions, too. One is how
 2 we are going to be able to attract minority teachers. We
 3 have various different proposals in terms of teacher educa-
 4 tion, but how we're going to be able to really get quality
 5 minority teachers. I think Senator Wofford talked about the
 6 income contingency in direct loan programs, and I'd like to
 7 get into defining that somewhat, and also some of the teacher
 8 training programs. But I will submit some questions; it's
 9 nothing that you haven't in general talked about here, but
 10 just in terms of particular interest.

11 I want to include in the record some superb letters of
 12 endorsement of the Governor from the National Education
 13 Association, National PTA, National Alliance of Businesses
 14 and others. All of them comment about the ability that
 15 Governor Riley has demonstrated in building coalitions and
 16 bringing people with diverse views together, trying to find
 17 common ground and moving the whole process forward. This is
 18 enormously positive and very, very commendable, and I am sure
 19 you have a sense of satisfaction with those kinds of endorse-
 20 ments.

21 [Letters follow:]

22 / COMMITTEE INSERT

1 The Chairman. Governor, I heard the story, that when
 2 you announced your education program in South Carolina, that
 3 a fellow Governor, Mark White, of Texas sent you a pair of
 4 cowboy boots because he said that the voyage was going to be
 5 long and that you needed the strength and the sturdiness of
 6 those cowboy boots. And I understand you responded by saying
 7 you were going to wear them, and did, until you enacted your
 8 education program in the State of South Carolina.

9 I am just wondering whether you are going to dust those
 10 boots off again. [Laughter.] We don't need a commitment on
 11 that, but--

12 Governor Riley. Well, Senator, I think that's a good
 13 idea. I might add that the debate in the House was some 12,
 14 13 weeks, oftentimes going all night long; the debate in the
 15 Senate was five or six or seven weeks. I wore those boots
 16 the whole time, and I swore that if it failed, I was going to
 17 continue to wear them until it came back up the next year, and
 18 we passed it then. So I am grateful to finally take them
 19 off. [Laughter.]

20 The Chairman. Well, we'll leave that question up in the
 21 area. You have been wonderful in responding to all the
 22 questions. I will look forward to supporting enthusiastically
 23 your nomination.

24 We will, with the cooperation of our Republican col-
 25 leagues, vote on the 19th on the nomination, so that it will

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Dave Durenberger

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. School Choice:

I agree with you that the debate in recent years over private and religious school choice has been unfortunately polarizing and divisive. As you know, both President-elect Clinton and I are unalterably opposed to using federal funds to support a family's choice of a private school, while we both support choice within the public sector. We also acknowledge the importance of private schools in America.

As I indicated during my confirmation hearings, I believe that our efforts--federal, state and local--must be directed toward improving significantly the quality of all schools, so that all students will have an opportunity to achieve high standards. This requires a strategy that is comprehensive and systemic, which raises standards and links them to improved curriculum and assessment, strengthened teacher preparation and professional development, accountability and greater flexibility for schools. We must also strengthen parental involvement and ownership of schools, and we must provide children and youth with the health and other human services they need in order to be able to take advantage of the educational opportunities provided to them. If we do these things on a system-wide basis, for all schools, then I believe we will give the American public what they want--high quality schools, any one of which would be worth choosing to attend.

In the context of these strategies, choice within the public education system can play an important role by increasing parental involvement and ownership and by spurring healthy competition among public schools. Public school choice must also be accompanied by an effective information and outreach system, so that all parents and students are aware of the choices available to them. Transportation must also be readily available, so that schools are accessible to all students.

2. Charter Schools:

Minnesota has a good track record of providing choices to its student and their families through a variety of means, including interdistrict choice, alternative learning programs, and postsecondary enrollment options.

Charter schools are another means for providing choices, and for strengthening parental and educator ownership of their schools. Within the context of the systemic reforms I described previously, I favor efforts to experiment with the charter school concept, provided adequate safeguards are in place to ensure that this does not become a vehicle for providing public

funds to what otherwise would be a private school, nor used to resegregate students.

I would be interested to hear your ideas about how we can work together to devise an appropriate federal role in this area.

3. Health Care and Other Services:

Health centers located in or near schools could provide cost-effective services for youth in our country, particularly preventive health care. This is important when large numbers of our children do not have health insurance and do not have access to health care. The schools are a logical place to deliver care to children. How these centers operate should be determined by the local community and state officials. Currently, there are an estimated 350 health centers in elementary, middle and high schools throughout the country. These centers are providing vital services. I would hate to see the provision of these services impeded by any stalemate that could develop over an abortion issue. Once I take office, I would welcome an opportunity to speak with you further in reference to your concerns.

4. Direct Lending, Contingent Repayment and the Demonstration Project:

I agree that the provisions of the Higher Education Amendments which provide for a demonstration of the direct loan and income contingent repayment concept are quite consistent with the ideas President-elect Clinton advanced during the campaign. The existence of these provisions will enable us to get a quick start on this effort.

As you know, the Administration's final proposal for this program is currently under discussion and development. As the planning progresses, I will look forward to receiving your suggestions.

5. National Service

The National Service concept was an important piece of the signature idea of the Clinton/Gore campaign. As currently envisioned, national service would simultaneously broaden opportunity for education, training, and economic empowerment, emphasize individual responsibility to give something back for this increased opportunity, and build community by bringing people together to address urgent national needs.

Because there are students who may be in need of federal financial assistance, but who, for any number of reasons, are unable to commit themselves to national service, I believe that the program should be based on voluntary, rather than mandatory, participation.

Neither President-Elect Clinton nor I believe that national service should replace existing federal loan and grant programs. Pell grants and other federal financial assistance programs play an important role in helping to finance the education of students in need. They should

remain in place.

6. New American Schools Development Corporation (NASDC):

The private sector certainly has an important role to play in stimulating and supporting research and development on new and innovative schools. It is difficult for me to know how active a role in support of NASDC either President-elect Clinton or I will play. The lessons learned from these experiments will be closely followed for possible dissemination.

7. Education Reform in General:

The federal government must work in tandem with the state and local levels to develop and achieve high standards and goals for building a high-performance educational system for the 21st century. Similar to what we did in South Carolina, we need to form a partnership with parents, teachers, communities, business leaders, and education leaders at all levels in order to make reaching our common goals everyone's responsibility.

The federal government should take a leadership role and provide a national platform for advocating and promoting these goals. We have a special challenge to act together on federal strategies to achieve these goals. This will require actions across agencies. It will require less fragmentation and red tape. I will call on the employees in the Department of Education to devote their talents and energies to these same ends. They have vitally important contributions to make, and I intend to work with them to build a department that provides both the leadership and the support that educators throughout the country need and deserve.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Barbara Mikulski

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. Interagency Coordination, Particularly with HHS:

I agree with you that our nation is facing a health care crisis, especially with respect to young children. As you may know, one of my most important priorities in public life, along with education, has been infant mortality and health care. I have had a long-standing interest in preventive health measures.

The Department of Health and Human Services has a critical role to play with respect to the national education goal of ensuring that all students are healthy and ready to start school, as well with the health of children and youth more generally. I support Head Start and childhood immunization programs that contribute to the national goal, as well as efforts to locate health services in or near schools. If confirmed, I will look forward to working very closely with Secretary Shalala on these issues, and to ensuring that the efforts of the Departments of Education and Health and Human Services are closely integrated.

2. Canton Middle School Students' Concern About Crime in School:

I hope you will tell the children at Canton Middle School that together we must do everything possible in the coming years to change the climate of fear and violence that exists in too many schools today. I hope you will also tell them that I need their help and ideas to make the changes that will lead to safe schools. As you know, safe schools is one of the six National Education Goals. If we don't make our schools safe in the coming years, it will be very hard to reach the other educational goals.

I look forward to being a part of a broad-based effort to combat violence and crime in the schools. This effort must involve all pertinent agencies in the federal government working closely with states and communities, because unsafe schools are caused by factors that occur largely outside of schools. We need to alleviate the conditions that lead to crime and to punish swiftly when it occurs.

President-elect Clinton supports new forms of punishment for young offenders, such as boot camps, that break the cycle of crime early and teach young offenders the values of responsibility and self-discipline through the kind of tough love measure found in the military. Yet punishment and security measures are just one part of the solution. Beyond this, the long-term challenge is to restore hope in ALL our young people, to restore their belief that hard work and study will prepare students for good jobs and a good future. This requires several actions. We need to improve our schools. We need to make sure that all our students have access to good schools. We need to make sure all students are prepared to enter school. We need to make sure that we give them the support they

need for success.

I think also that the changes in the higher education finance system, including income-contingent pay back, national service and youth apprenticeship programs that the President-Elect has proposed can have a dramatic benefit on the lives of young people and reduce the influences that lead to criminal behavior. I believe it will help give young people a sense of hope and connection to their communities by learning the values of citizenship and responsibility through meaningful service.

3. Role of Community Colleges in Preparing High Tech Workforce

I expect that community colleges will play a very, and increasingly important, role in the preparation and training of our workforce. As you know, President-elect Clinton made workforce preparation and training a central feature of his strategy for long term economic improvement. One component of this strategy is the creation of a national youth apprenticeship program, which will involve students in paid work and in classroom based learning, for the last two years of high school and in most cases additional years of postsecondary education. While these programs must be designed locally in order to succeed, I anticipate that community colleges will play an important role in providing the postsecondary training. I also expect that community colleges will be one of the major training providers for dislocated workers and for those who need to upgrade their job skills.

If confirmed, I will work closely with Secretary Reich and Secretary Brown to bring about the collaboration between the education, business and job training communities that will be needed to prepare our workforce for a high tech future.

4. Gender Discrimination:

A primary mission of the Department of Education is to ensure that all Americans are afforded equal educational opportunities, regardless of what race, sex, national origin, religion or disability. Like you, I recognize that discrimination is an issue which permeates every level of American society. Special concerns have been raised in reference to the education of female students, especially in the areas of math and science. If confirmed as Education Secretary, I have every intention of working to guarantee that all Americans have equal educational opportunities in general, and particularly in those areas which will prepare our country for the next century. My efforts will be focus on students at every level.

5. What is your view on how to continue to include older Americans in your education platform?

I think it will be very important to involve older Americans in all levels of education—both for the development and growth of their knowledge and skills and for the benefit of younger generations. This last decade it has become clear, as people have lost their jobs in a fast-changing workplace, that this nation must have a commitment to lifelong learning. If confirmed as Secretary of Education, I will work to end the fragmented system of programs and policies that treat education as a series of isolated events. Instead, I want to see in place an integrated system that considers education to begin before a child enters kindergarten and continues throughout the life of the individual. Older Americans must be a part of this system.

6. National Service:

President Clinton's National Service proposal is an exciting undertaking. In fact, this concept was an important piece of the Clinton/Gore campaign. No proposal evoked wider or more enthusiastic responses than linking national service to broadened access to education, training, and opportunity. As currently envisioned, national service would simultaneously broaden opportunity for education, training, and economic empowerment, emphasize individual responsibility to give something back for this increased opportunity, and build community by bringing people together to address urgent national needs.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Paul Simon
to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. As I mentioned to Senator Pell, I am well aware of the fact that the Pell grants have stayed relatively consistent while the costs of higher education have skyrocketed. I am in agreement with President-Elect Clinton's proposal that a National Service Trust Fund and income-contingent repayment should exist independently of the Pell system currently in place.

2. I am pleased to learn of your efforts to see that the Office of Civil Rights fulfills its duties with respect to ability grouping and tracking. I agree fully with you that grouping and tracking practices, as presently employed, often lead to inequities based on race, gender, or social class. This is in part because these practices reinforce lower expectations for certain classes of students, expectations which often become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

One of the most important strategies for addressing this problem is to set high standards for what all students should know and be able to do, provide all students with an opportunity to meet these standards, and encourage states to hold schools accountable for their success. This is a strategy we have used quite effectively in South Carolina, and, if confirmed, I will work to apply it nationally.

If confirmed, I will also review the efforts of OCR in this area, and ensure that the Office is fulfilling its obligations in this area.

3. I am aware that Congress took important steps to reduce the default rate and the problems it creates through the Higher Education Amendments last year. While I have not yet had a chance to study each of these provisions in detail, I agree strongly with the general direction they provide. At the same time, I share your concerns about the limitations in default rates as a measure of quality. I am particularly concerned about the potential impact of these measures on Historically Black Colleges and Universities and other institutions working hard to serve low-income populations. I will pay very careful attention to these concerns in the implementation of these provisions. I would welcome your thoughts on how best to balance these concerns.

4. I agree with you that foreign language education and international understanding are important to national security and economic competitiveness. I have been impressed by your longstanding commitment to strengthening education in these areas, and agree that more must be done to strengthen teaching and expand learning opportunities in these areas. I have not yet determined the most appropriate roles the Education Department might play in these areas, and I would be interested to hear your ideas about the most appropriate leadership strategies for the Education Department.

5. I appreciate having your concerns about Impact Aid brought to my attention. If confirmed, I

will look into the general matter as well as the specific case you raised as soon as possible after becoming Secretary of Education.

6. Improving adult literacy levels will be a priority for me. Significant improvements in this area are a necessary part of an overall strategy to improve our Nation's economic competitiveness and the opportunities open to millions of Americans. During the election campaign, President-elect Clinton spoke often of the need to improve adult literacy, and of his own substantial efforts on behalf of adult literacy in Arkansas. As Governor of South Carolina, my wife Tunky, and I were involved in efforts to expand adult education programs and reduce illiteracy.

If confirmed as Secretary of Education, I will give high priority to implementing the provisions of the Adult Literacy Act and other federal programs aimed to breaking the intergenerational cycle of illiteracy.

7. I believe in and support Historically Black Colleges and Universities. The issue of whether the coordination responsibility of HBCUs should be shifted from the Department of Education to the Executive Office of the President is not one that I have had a chance to study appropriately. I will, however, give this issue proper attention over the next several months.

8. Again, I recognize and support the need for HBCUs to be as strong as possible. I am not totally familiar with the finer details of the HBCU Capital Financing Act, but will look into this issue at your request.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Tom Harkin

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. Rural Schools

I pledge to you a commitment that I will not advocate for any policy that would undermine rural schools. Rural education was a serious concern to me as Governor of a state with many rural areas. Rural education has long been a serious concern of mine and I will be attentive to the unique problems of poor, rural districts (or schools). I would very much appreciate hearing your views about what we can do to elevate the discussion/debate/concerns about rural education to a much more visible level.

2. Gender Equity

A primary mission of the Department of Education is to ensure that all Americans are afforded equal educational opportunities, regardless of race, gender, national origin, religion or disability. I am aware of the research document differences in male and female participation in classroom discussions, and the limited participation of females in math and science. These are serious problems, both because they limit females' opportunities for further education and high skill employment, and because they deprive the nation desperately needed talent.

If confirmed, I intend to use the resources at my disposal within the Education Department and to work closely with other agencies, such as the National Science Foundation, to address these problems.

2. P.L. 94-142

I am supportive and in agreement with your statement of the basic principles of existing Public Law 94-142. All children are entitled to a free and appropriate public education with the use of supplementary aids and services in a setting that is least restrictive. My job is to enforce the law as it is written. Thank you for supplying supplemental information on this issue. I have reviewed President-Elect Clinton's statements and support his positions.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Paul Wellstone

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. Equity Financing

While serving in the South Carolina state legislature in the early seventies, I was a leader in developing the Education Finance Act equalizing financing across school districts in the state.

The question of equalization is extremely complex, and there are no magic bullets that will automatically resolve the issue, especially at the federal level. The federal government must create a climate that supports state equalization efforts. I would be interested in exploring the possibilities of incentives the federal government can use to encourage states to take such action.

2. Teacher Training

None of our systemic reform efforts will succeed unless we find ways of providing substantial support to classroom teachers, in the form of continuing professional development and other opportunities for growth. The federal government already plays a role in this process, for example, through the Eisenhower Math and Science Program. Provisions for professional development were also included in Title V of the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. As we work together to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, I believe we must work to build a significant and coherent federal role in supporting teachers and improving their capacity to help all children achieve high standards.

3. National Community Service

As you know, President-Elect Clinton has made the National Service concept an important part of his campaign.

Your ideas for accumulating and transferring service credits and for ensuring that non-traditional students can participate deserves further consideration. A specific proposal for the National Service Trust Fund is still under development.

Service activities are important for citizens of all ages.

4. Testing and Standards

Standards should be voluntary, challenging and national but not federal. We need a system of national standards and assessments to raise expectations for student performance and give direction to local, state and federal reform efforts. I do not support a single national test, but a national system of evaluations that are voluntary to states and localities.

5. Head Start

Of course, the Department of Education does not directly administer the Head Start program. I am, however, firmly committed to supporting the healthy development of infants and children, and helping all children arrive at school ready to learn. I pledge to work closely with the Secretaries of Health and Human Services, and Agriculture to coordinate efforts across our Departments.

6. Meeting with Educators

I am always willing to listen to committed education professionals. When the time comes, be sure to contact me regarding this proposal. Barring any serious scheduling conflicts, I will look forward to such a meeting.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Nancy Kassebaum
to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. Local vs. State and National Control

I agree that the most important work of education reform must be done at the local level. Educators, parents and local governing bodies must do the hard work of restructuring our schools, and they must have the discretion and flexibility to carry out that task.

The role of state vs. local governments in education reform varies significantly from state to state, and I will respect those differences if confirmed as Secretary of Education. The federal role must be to stimulate, support and guide state and local efforts, and to provide assistance to those students with special needs.

2. Federal Intrusion

In my experience as Governor, the cumulative effects of federal regulations of schools were more significant than any of the effects of particular regulations. Together with state and local rules and regulations, they create an environment which impedes fundamental change, because educators believe that "they" won't let us undertake significant innovation. One specific example of this is the regulations governing Chapter 1. Historically, they have focused on accounting for the allocation of resources rather than on the results they achieve for students.

3. Outcomes

Under the Education Improvement Act, we used a variety of outcome indicators to judge school performance, including measures of student achievement in each quartile, student and teacher attendance, and parental satisfaction. These measures are being expanded to include a reduction in the dropout rate and a measure of problem-solving skills. High performing schools received awards in the form of discretionary funds, to be used for further school improvement as the school saw fit. School districts which persistently failed to meet performance expectations received technical assistance to help develop and implement improvement plans. If this failed to correct the problems, they were identified as academically deficient and the superintendent was subject to removal.

4. School Delivery Standards

I fully understand and appreciate the concern of those Members of Congress, educators and others who believe that school delivery standards must be developed in order to assure that all students have an opportunity to achieve high, national standards. Without a level playing field, higher standards will otherwise work to the detriment of the most disadvantaged students in the Nation. At the same time, I share the concern of those who fear that, unless we are very careful, school delivery standards will become an additional layer of input regulations. I am very much in

agreement with those who believe we must move from an emphasis on regulating inputs to a focus on outputs, as we did in the Education Improvement Act in South Carolina and a follow up piece of legislation Target 2000.

If confirmed, I will work to devise a variety of strategies to help ensure that all students have an opportunity to reach high national standards.

5. New Programs

I share your concern about the proliferation of small, categorical programs. If confirmed, one of my priorities will be to look for ways in which existing programs can best be coordinated at the federal level, so they can be effectively integrated in local schools.

President-elect Clinton has proposed a small number of very important and exciting new programs, such as a systemic education reform package, Youth Apprenticeship and National Service Trust Fund. I intend to vigorously support these, and to help shape them so that they effectively build upon existing, related federal programs.

6. Coordination of Programs

I recognize that addressing many educational issues, in early childhood development, workforce preparation, and other areas, will require careful coordination across agencies and Cabinet departments. I will work very closely with the other Secretaries and agency heads in developing coordinated planning, regulation, implementation and reporting procedures, and will insist that this spirit of cooperation extend throughout the Education Department.

7. Direct Loan Program

I understand your concerns about the cost and administration of the direct loan program. All who have worked on these issues are well aware of how complex an effort this is. As you know, the President-elect is developing more detailed plans for the National Service Trust Fund, including the direct loan component. The cost and administrative concerns you have raised will be taken very seriously in the design of the President's proposal.

8. National Community Service College Loan Forgiveness Program

The purpose of President-elect Clinton's program is to make sure that every American who earns the right to attend college has access to the resources to do so. Equally important, we want to emphasize that along with the opportunity to attend college comes the responsibility to give something back to the community. As I said during my testimony, one of the things that has impressed me most about this proposal is the way it has so clearly touched a responsive chord among college students and their parents throughout the country. They are eager and anxious to be part of something that is bigger than themselves.

With respect to students who attend trade school, I agree that the high default rate in many of these schools is a serious problem, one which must be addressed if we are to get control of the program

costs. If I am confirmed, this will be one of my priorities as we work to strengthen the management of our postsecondary aid programs.

As I indicated in my testimony before the Committee, there is still much work to be done in designing the overall program and legislative proposal. I will make sure that the concerns you have raised will be address fully during this process, and I look forward to working with you on these issues.

9. Federal Role in Setting College Standards

When the Federal government provides almost \$20 billion in financial aid for students attending institutions of higher education, it is important for it to ensure that students receive a quality education with those funds. We must keep in mind that our system of higher education, with a strong history of academic freedom and institutional diversity and autonomy, remains the envy of the world. While the federal government should not dictate what colleges teach, there is an important role for it to play in providing information about program quality and impact. I understand that the 1992 Higher Education Amendments take extensive steps to ensure that schools offer quality programs. I look forward to reviewing and enforcing those provisions and using them to guide our actions.

10. Higher Education Legislation

I applaud the bipartisan efforts and hard work of the committee in reauthorization of the Higher education programs. Although I have not yet had the opportunity to study it in detail, I have heard praise for the legislation.

As you know, an important piece of President-elect Clinton's campaign was the National Service Trust Fund, which is intended to broaden access to higher education, and enable students to repay their loans either through service to their community or as a small percentage of their income. A proposal to is under development at present. The 1992 Higher education amendments contain provisions to support, in some fashion, the basic provisions of this pledge—direct loans, and income contingent payment. To the extent that this proposal cannot be implemented through existing legislation, I expect that we will ask the Congress to consider the necessary legislative provisions.

11. Income Contingent Loans

I understand your reservations about the income-contingent loan concept. I also believe that the concept has enormous potential, as a way of reducing the immediate repayment burden many students would otherwise face when they complete college. The 1992 Higher Education Amendments contain provisions for a demonstration program combining direct loans with income-contingent repayment. This demonstration program will provide an important opportunity to learn about the best ways of designing an income-contingent repayment program.

12. Waste, Fraud and Abuse in GSL Program

The management of the GSL program is a major concern. If confirmed, one of my top priorities

will be to substantially strengthen its management. I look forward to reviewing the report and its recommendations in detail. The 1992 Higher Education Amendments put into place many of the steps required to strengthen the program, and I intend to implement them. I will use our authority available to me to eliminate waste, fraud and abuse in the program. If I discover that additional authority is needed to complete this task, I will immediately seek such authority from the Congress.

13. State Oversight of Federal College Aid Programs

I view these provisions of the Higher Education Act Amendments as a critical tool for reducing waste and improving quality. I understand that the Education Department is developing a comprehensive plan to implement these provisions. If confirmed, one of my early priorities will be to review these status of these plans, ensure their speedy and effective development, and then implement them as soon as funding becomes available.

14. Student Aid Data Collection

The absence of adequate data on students participating in federal student aid programs has been a serious problem for more than a decade. We cannot effectively manage these programs, nor eliminate abuse, unless we have sound, comprehensive and accurate data system. As is the case with the other management tools provided for by the Congress, I will move to develop and implement the data system.

15. School to Work Transition

President-elect Clinton made Youth Apprenticeship, a part of an overall school-to-work transition program. I support this effort, because we must provide a more engaging program for those high school students without immediate plans to attend college. Unless we do this, we will not achieve a high skills, high wage economy for our future.

No single level of government or agency will be able to build a nationwide school-to-work transition program. The primary responsibility belongs at the state and local level, where elementary and secondary education, postsecondary education—especially community colleges—business and labor must work together. At the Federal level, the Departments of Education, Labor and Commerce, as well as other agencies, must play important roles.

The Education Department has the potential to be a significant partner in creating a school-to-work transition system nationwide. Within the Office of Vocational and Adult Education, there are a number of programs to build upon, such as the Tech Prep program and its current collaboration with the Department of Labor in supporting the development of voluntary industry skill standards. I look forward to building upon these and other related efforts.

In addition, a major requirement for an effective school-to-work transition program is a high performing elementary and secondary education system, one which enables all students to achieve high standards. Of course, the Education Department has a critical role to play here, through its support of the development of voluntary national standards and assessment, its support for systemic reform at the state, local and school level, and through the provision of support to students with

special needs.

I look forward to working very closely with the Congress in designing ways in which the Education department can most effectively carry out these roles.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Bob Dole

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. National Service

The concerns you raise regarding the President-Elect's national service proposal are appropriate and some of the same ones we are deliberating. I would be very interested in hearing your views about them.

2. Flexibility

I would welcome the opportunity to offer states and districts some flexibility for many programs along with appropriate accountability, especially as a way to keep states and districts meet the National Education Goals.

3. Fragmentation

As a former Governor, I've long been troubled about the fragmentation in and among federal programs which require coordination. There are important roles for the Education and Labor Departments, as well as other federal agencies, in school-to-work and workforce training issues. I expect to work very closely with the Secretary's of Labor and Commerce in the design and implementation of these programs to ensure that the components each of us is responsible for are well managed and carefully coordinated. I will also strongly encourage the necessary coordination at the state and local level, among elementary and secondary education, postsecondary education, other state and local agencies, and business.

4. National Tests for Teachers

Governor Clinton has said he will not support national testing of teachers, that it should remain a state decision. I support NAEP and the work being done by the National Education Goals Panel to encourage the setting of standards and the development of new assessment systems. Both President-Elect Clinton and I strongly support the National Education Goals and are committed to providing leadership necessary for achieving them.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Mark Hatfield

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. Community and Junior Colleges Liaison

I will work as quickly as I can to fill the position of Liaison for Community and Junior Colleges.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Governor Pete Wilson

to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. ESEA

Reauthorization of ESEA will be one of my first priorities as Secretary. I consider it a real opportunity to think about issues, like the one you mentioned, in a better way. I would be very interested to know your views.

2. Fragmentation

As a former Governor I've long been troubled about the fragmentation in the federal government. This has been especially problematic with respect to programs serving children and their families. I am committed to doing what I can to bring about the necessary coordination among agencies of the federal government to better serve the children of our country.

3. National Education Goals

President-Elect Clinton and I strongly support the National Education Goals. We are currently considering a number of proposals which will build on the efforts of the previous Administration, including more flexibility for states and districts.

Answers to Questions Submitted by Senator Dan Coats
to

Secretary-designate Richard Riley

1. National service

I agree with your observation that President-elect Clinton's National Service program is consistent with the provisions of the demonstration program authorized in the 1992 Higher Education Amendments. These provisions offer an important foundation upon which to begin to build the President-elect's program. The specific questions you raise are important ones, and are part of the discussion's underway right now to further shape the President-elect's proposal. I would be very interested to hear any advice you may have to share with respect to those issues.

2. Direct Lending

Thank you for bringing to me attention your concerns about the design of the direct loan pilot program. If confirmed, I will quickly look into this. Let me assure you of my intention to follow Congressional intent as this program is designed and implemented.

3. School-Based Clinics

I believe that there are clear advantages to consolidating services to children and families at or near the school. As you indicate, schools are at the center of most communities; and one of the most effective vehicles for reaching students and families most in need of comprehensive, integrated services.

I understand your concerns about diverting attention away from the primary academic mission of schools. I agree with you that it is important to not place the burden of delivering these services on teachers. This is not, and should not be, their job. Instead, the social and human service agencies and their staffs should be responsible for providing consolidated services and it should be designed in ways compatible with local community policies and goals. If these safeguards are provided, then I believe that providing these services at or near a school can enhance the academic mission of schools, by addressing the noninstructional needs of students which otherwise interfere with their learning.

4. Department of Education--Budget Reduction

I have not yet had the chance to study the Education Department's budget carefully enough to determine where budget or staff reductions might be most appropriate. I would welcome any suggestions you might have regarding this matter.

5. Merit-Based Pay/Alternative Certification

Providing incentives to schools with improving high performance, and allowing for alternative teacher certification in carefully designated shortage areas have been important components of South Carolina's education reform plan, and have contributed to its overall success. President-elect Clinton endorsed both of these concepts during his campaign. I would welcome your ideas about how these might be incorporated in a federal effort to support comprehensive and systemic state education reforms.

6. Federal Family Education Program

As we further develop the President-elect's proposal for a National Service Trust Fund, we may need to review the entire structure of the student loan program. In this context, you raise two important and interrelated questions which merit careful study. I understand that the current guaranteed student loan program already has inherent risk sharing for banks and guarantors. This risk is strongly related to the very strict collection requirements. I agree that we should look very carefully at whether we have incentives in the loan program properly placed, so that we have the best possible guarantee that diligent collection practices are carried out.