

'But What About The People?' Audience Applauded Taxes For Education

The following is the first in a series of excerpts from the book "But What About the People?" by former governor Terry Sanford, published at 1966 by Harper & Row, New York.

INVENTORY OF WEAKNESS

By TERRY SANFORD
This is the story of an American state not content with the quality and extent of the education available to its children. It is the story of a state dedicated to the proposition that its hopes for human progress depend on educated people.

It is an account of North Carolina's efforts from the beginning of 1961 through 1964, the term of one administration, to commit itself to education as the vital tool for the creation of new jobs, for the development of a more substantial and diversified economic structure, for the elimination of the causes of poverty, the easing of prejudices and racial discrimination, the fulfillment of individual aspirations, and the cultivation of all human capacities.

I believe that government is charged with the duty of providing the means for the fulfillment of the human spirit and the fruitful use of all talents. By starting with sound, meaningful education, we make it possible for each person to add to his own gift to his generation, to become a part of the progress of man. In turn, the individual makes the nation stronger, defends against its enemies, adds to its wealth, and carries forward its ideals and faith.

Essentially this is the account of how political leaders and educational leaders joined in a working partnership, each trusting the other, both intent on using education as the instrument for creative development of human resources.

The story does not intend to suggest that North Carolina knows all the answers, nor even to claim that it has found all the answers. It is the beginning of an answer one state has attempted to give to the question asked of itself, "But

what about the people?"

Education develops human resources. Human resources, in turn, make a nation whatever it is to be. It seemed to me, when I pondered running for governor of North Carolina, that education must of necessity be our primary concern. In the first place, we were behind in the comparative ratings with other states. This meant our children, generally speaking, started life with a competitive disadvantage.

Furthermore, education in the formal sense was not reaching enough people in any state, so even if we provided huge additional sums of money we would not be doing the job of total education. Even in those states and areas where comparative per pupil expenditures were high, far too many children were not benefiting very much.

I decided I would make it my business to improve our system of developing human resources. I decided I would run for governor and make education the star by which we would sail.

As a candidate and later as a governor, my first question was whether all children born in North Carolina had a fair chance to develop, compete, to achieve, to use fully all the talents with which God had endowed them. I really didn't need to ask the question because I knew the answer.

Too many were failing to achieve, develop, and compete. To do something about it I first had to pick out our weaknesses. Where were we failing the people? How? What might be done to correct these failures?

To help me define the needs and the action for school improvement, I leaned on many people. As a State Senator in 1953, I had been exposed to the policy and budget requests, and as the candidate stressing education as the primary need of the state I attracted much advice from school personnel and patrons. In addition, I and patrons. In addition, I read carefully the recent studies of

American education, especially those conducted by Dr. James Bryant Conant.

Out of this cross-section of information and advice I drew my own conclusions about our shortcomings, and made my own inventory of weaknesses. This inventory extended from our inadequate teacher salaries to our overcrowded classrooms; from the neglect of the retarded, the gifted, and the dropout to the lack of opportunity for the Negro; from the consolidated high school to our state universities. This inventory of weaknesses and failures enabled us to begin to shape a program of educational progress.

While taking note of our past achievements, and due credit for our accomplishments, it was appropriate to remember Heywood Brown's comment, "No body politics healthy until it begins to itch." We were preparing to make progress by listing our failures. But first we had to win the election.

As I traveled over the state seeking support, prior to announcing, the audiences began to take the school issue away from me. "We must improve our schools" brought the most applause. The senseless progress through education won the most favorable response at every stop.

I talked about roads and farm income and industrial development and water resources, and the audiences were interested. I talked about schools and they clapped.

One evening a lady stood up to ask, "Where are you going to get the money for all this stuff?"

"Where do you think we will get the money?" I told her. "From taxes!" The audience broke out in the best applause I had heard.

After we left, I turned to Bert Bennett who was scheduled to be my campaign manager. "Do you realize what we experienced tonight? Voters ap-

plauded when I said we would get new school money from taxes. That's remarkable."

Bert laughed. "Yes, but I wouldn't be too sure. They thought you said you'd get the money from Texas."

But he, Paul Thompson and Henry Hall Wilson agreed this was a dramatic development.



Terry Sanford

Why not talk about taxes? Of course better schools for our children would cost us more money. Why not make it a part of the campaign speech?

From then on we never failed to suggest the possibility of new taxes, and the promise never failed to get warm applause.

After two primary elections, I was the Democratic nominee. It appeared that the Republicans had the best chance to win North Carolina since 1928, and after two hard campaigns we faced still another. There wasn't to be any coasting in, as often had been the situation.

It was late on election night when we breathed easy.

Now it was time to go to work.

When, in February of 1961, the printed budget was handed to me for formal presentation to the General Assembly, a staff aide from the Budget Division sent over a suggested Budget Message dealing with each section of the budget. The public school budget was described by the aide, in so many words, as "a good and forward-looking education budget." To that I added, in so many words, "But it is not good enough. We must provide all the money requested by the Board of Education, and I will prepare a second budget message with recommendations for the new tax sources which will be required."

Even with the claim of a mandate, raising taxes is not easy. It is perhaps indicative of how much we take schools for granted that parents who will seek out the best pediatrician for their child, buy toys and clothes far beyond any reasonable standard of need, and generally give their boy or girl the best they can possibly afford, will complain about paying taxes. Yet, taxes are the price of schools, and a good education is the greatest gift we can give our children.

We had to have the new taxes. In March 1961, I delivered my second budget message to the General Assembly. I asked it to remove all exemptions to place the tax on food. I told the legislators that the existing budget was totally inadequate to achieve the goals for public education which we had set for our state. I told them, "the quality we seek cannot be delivered by the General Assembly, although only you can start the march."

The 1961 General Assembly had the courage to vote this tax increase for support of public education, the largest that had ever been voted in the history of the state. The credit properly belongs to Lieutenant Governor Lloyd Philpott and legislators such as the finance committee chairmen, Senator Tom White and Representative Shelton Wicker, who fought day and night for new school taxes, and

the appropriations chairmen, Tom Woodard and Jim Strickland who skillfully shepherded through the budget items.

Nobody likes taxes, but we are learning that ignorance is the most oppressive tax of all. The new money raised the salaries of teachers and public school personnel by about 22 per cent the very first year, supervisors' and superintendents' salaries about 30 per cent.

To reduce the ratio of teachers to pupils, we increased teaching positions by five per cent and added 43 assistants for local superintendents.

The state library allotment per pupil was doubled and the allotment for instructional supplies was raised by more than a third.

The new money provided an allotment for clerical assistance in local schools.

In-service training for the professional improvement of teachers was provided, and additional scholarship loans for teachers authorized.

A curriculum study and research program was set up and \$200,000 was appropriated to conduct an experiment in merit pay for teachers.

Funds for Industrial Education Centers were greatly increased and the vocational rehabilitation program was revitalized. An appropriation

was made to support state-level administration of the National Defense Education Program.

Higher education was not neglected. Faculty salaries were raised about ten per cent, over a thousand new positions for the higher education system were budgeted, and state grants for community colleges were increased from \$3.25 to \$4.00 per student quarter hour of instruction.

At one point in the discussions, someone had said to me, "Surely, you don't contend that paying a teacher more money will make her a better teacher." The strange thing is that I have now observed that paying a teacher more money does make her a better teacher. At least the way we paid her had this result. We put teachers first.

The new tax produced tangible and significant results in every classroom in the state. Morale was much better, the spirit was much lifted, the teachers were working harder and were determined to do their part. They would "show" the legislature.

I am convinced that we would have obtained many of the intangible results even if we had lost the legislative battles. The point is that the political leadership was fighting, and fighting hard, for the improvement of the schools.

DAILY CROSSWORD

ACROSS

1. A great amount: slang
7. Cloak
10. Settled routine
11. Chic
12. Common verb
13. Something lost in more ways than won
14. Constellation
15. Tellurium: sym.
16. Chess piece
17. Call for attention
18. Stone in biblical breastplate
20. Poker stake
21. King of Judah
22. Oriental dwelling
24. Gesture of indifference
27. Rock garden plant
31. Knave of clubs
33. Type of world
34. Roman garment
37. Except that
40. Sacred bull
41. Inlet
42. Bone
43. Easily sued
44. Storage place
45. Purchase
46. Finish
47. Not level
49. King

DOWN

1. Like a giant in fairy tales
2. Something unrefined
3. Attend to
4. Pneumonia
5. Leveled
6. Tennis term
7. Once more
8. Explode
9. Central Am. timber tree
12. Legendary
16. Greek letter
17. Rodent
19. A fish
23. Of the Far East: abbr.
25. Java tree
26. East of Ala.
28. John or Jane
29. Insecure
30. Dirty opossum
32. Type of ticket
34. Ticker
35. Think
36. Dizzy
38. Baseball teams
39. East of Miss.
44. Prickly seed coat
45. A little hum bug
48. A contraction

Yesterday's Answer

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Television Today

- WUNC (Ch. 4)**
- 8:55 News
 - 9:00 U. S. History
 - 9:30 Phys. Science
 - 10:00 World History
 - 10:30 Mathematics
 - 11:00 Decisions 1966
 - 11:30 Glory Trail
 - 12:00 Aspect
 - 12:30 Mid-Day News
 - 12:45 Sign Off
 - 3:30 French-Teach
 - 4:00 Industrial Education
 - 5:00 What's New
 - 5:30 Aspect
 - 6:00 News
 - 6:15 Discovery
 - 6:45 Friendly Giant
 - 7:00 Nutrition
 - 7:30 What's New
 - 8:00 Arts: Theatre
 - 8:30 French Chef
 - 9:00 Turn of Century
 - 9:30 U. S. History
 - Since 1865
 - 10:15 Basketball: UNC vs UVA
 - 11:45 Sign Off

- WUNC HIGHLIGHTS**
- THE ARTS: USA—THEATRE—8:00 p.m.**—"Folkways, Festivals and Free Theatre" Concentrating on the varied theater audiences in the United States, and the diverse theatrical fares available to them, this program visits some of the well-established standards—such as the Cohasset Music Tent, Massachusetts, and the Westport Country Playhouse, Connecticut—where Broadway actress Tammy Grimes talks about her experiences playing the summer circuit.
- THE FRENCH CHEF—8:30 p.m.**—"Ham Dinner in Half and Hour" Julia Child notes that there comes a time when you have no time, yet it's company time! She illustrates how to solve this dilemma—with a chic, but quick, three-course meal.
- THE TURN OF THE CENTURY—9:00 p.m.**—"Music in the Air" Max Morath re-

- 7:00 My Three Sons
- 7:30 Combat
- 8:30 McHale's Navy
- 9:00 F Troop
- 9:30 Peyton Place
- 10:00 The Fugitive
- 10:00 Dateline, Sports & Weather
- 11:00 Starlight Theatre: DESERT FOX: James Mason

- WRAL HIGHLIGHTS**
- COMBAT!—7:30 p.m.**—Keenan Wynn guests as a pilot who crash lands behind German lines with Lt. Hanley aboard.
- WTVD (Ch. 11)**
- 6:00 Aspect
 - 6:30 Home Briarhopper
 - 7:00 Today Show (c)
 - 9:00 Captain Kangaroo
 - 10:00 Eye Guess (c)
 - 10:30 Real McCoys
 - 11:00 Andy of Mayberry
 - 11:30 Paradise Bay (c)
 - 12:00 Love of Life
 - 12:25 CBS News
 - 12:30 Search Tomorrow
 - 12:45 The Guiding Light
 - 1:00 Peggy Mann
 - 1:30 As World Turns
 - 2:00 Password
 - 2:30 House Party (c)
 - 3:00 Another World
 - 3:30 Edge of Night
 - 4:00 Secret Storm
 - 4:30 Match Game (c)
 - 5:00 Woody Woodpecker
 - 5:30 The Rifleman
 - 6:00 Evening News
 - 6:30 CBS News (c)
 - 7:00 The Munsters
 - 7:30 Daktari (c)
 - 8:30 Red Skelton (c)
 - 9:30 Petticoat Junction
 - 10:00 Andy Williams (c)
 - 11:00 Late News
 - 11:30 Tonight Show (c)
- WUNC-FM (91.5 mc)**
- 6:00 Dinner Hour Music—Turina: Impression of Spain, Op. 20, 47; De Falla: Three Dances from the Three-Cornered Hat.



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