

A MODEST PROPOSAL

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Mr. President, Kristopher Kat Pro Tem, Members of Kit-Kat, Friends ---

In Rousseau's formulation, a self-governing people perform all the acts of government. The survival of self-rule depends on it. In his classic work, The Social Contract, Rousseau claims:

When they (the People) are preoccupied with commerce and the arts, and with the search for gain; when they become flabby and comfortloving, then it is that men substitute payment for personal service. The citizen surrenders part of his profits that he may be left free to increase them at his ease. Once give money instead of service and you will soon be in chains. The word finance belongs to the language of slaves. In the true city it is unknown. ¹

Our understanding of self-rule is quite different today. Nonetheless, that principle is at the core of our national vision and our political structure. My theme this evening is the relationship between citizen and society; this matter of self-government.

Those who took part in the establishment of this nation shared some basic concerns and values. They valued self-rule, they valued liberty, they valued equality, and they valued justice. They pronounced for the common good, for the rule of law, the rights of man, individualism, and the general welfare. But how does one reconcile values such as these that naturally collide?

1. Jean Jacques Rousseau, "The Social Contract" in Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume, and Rousseau (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), p. 259.

Liberty - equality

Justice - the common good

Rule of law - rights of man

Individualism - the general welfare

How do we decide? We chose the people as our instrument.

The historical place of the principle of self-government in America is secure: "Even prior to the Revolutionary War, great emphasis was placed on government by the people." ² Our founding documents and the debates surrounding them established the primacy of the people. We "rest all our political experiments," wrote Madison, "on the capacity of mankind for self-government." ³

The Declaration of Independence established that the decision as to the new form of government would be made with the consent of the governed. And so, on September 17, 1787, 200 years and two months ago this day the blueprint for our society was adopted. It began:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

That document spelled out how self-rule would work in this nation. Not through Rousseau's ideal citizen who personally carries

2. John H. Strange, "The Impact of Citizen Participation on Public Administration," Public Administration Review (1972), p. 457.

3. James Madison, The Federalist Papers, Number 39 (New York: Modern Library), p. 243

out the functions of government, but through a series of institutions and relationships providing for consent of the governed.

Today, I believe the relationship between the citizen and the society is endangered. It is endangered because consent of the governed is in jeopardy. I will develop that contention by dividing this paper into three parts: (1) a conceptual basis for consent of the governed; (2) the dangers to consent; and (3) a modest proposal. Concept, dangers, proposal.

First, the concept.

Madison was to the structure of the government what Jefferson was to its ideals. Jefferson gave expression to the guiding principles; his confidence in their survival rested on the people. In his classic letter to William Charles Jarvis on September 28, 1820 he declared:

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education. ⁴

The responsibility, then, for the survival of the principles, in Jefferson's view, rested with the people. Society should bend its efforts to the development of the virtuous, knowledgeable citizen.

Madison developed the structure with systemic safeguards. He believed man to be neither innately good nor innately evil but with the capacity for both. The system of government, he believed,

4. Wilson Whitman, Editor, Jefferson's Letters (Eau Claire, Wisc.: E. M. Hale and Company), p. 338.

should be built to discourage excesses and withstand them when they occur. An elaborate system of checks and balances was developed to that end.⁵

The commitment to a democratic system originated formally with the Constitution. A review of that document and the first ten amendments reveals the primacy of the citizen and individual rights. Article 1 established and elaborated the representative bodies. Its placement and length -- more than half of the Constitution is devoted to it -- reflect the effort to make government responsive. Even the broad powers of the legislature are specifically limited by a series of "no" provisions (Section 9:1-8). The amendments carve out areas where government operation is excluded or regulated; several provisions assure the openness of the society. A system-wide view supports this interpretation:

Citizen participation and control of government has been a widely accepted objective of our government from its inception. The translation of this general objective into institutional form occurred in many ways. Executives were limited in their appointive power. Legislatures were restricted in the number of days they could meet and in the measures they could initiate and enact. The establishment of a decentralized federal system of government, as well as separation of governmental powers into separate institutions

5. Saul K. Padover, The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973), p. 13.

insured that not only government per se would be limited, but also that the role of the individual citizen would be enhanced. ⁶

Subsequent amendments to the Constitution and changes in state law replaced indirect election procedures with direct or more direct election and expanded and guaranteed the rights of citizens. Restrictions on the right to vote have tumbled; barriers of literacy, sex, race, income, age, and residency have been swept away. More people can vote, and they are able to vote more directly on the issues.

Citizen participation in the system was provided for in the original formula, but we have progressively added to it:

the political party, the convention, the direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, boards and commissions, advisory councils, public opinion polls....⁷

are indicative. Most recently, open meetings and right-to-information legislation have expanded citizen access.

Just as the nation has been guided by certain identifiable basic values, the relationship between citizen and society has been structured around a set of elements. Those elements are participation, representation, and access.

In Participation and Democratic Theory, Carole Pateman ⁸ reviews the theories of democracy -- classical and revisionist,

6. Strange, p. 457.

7. Howard W. Hallman, "Federally Financed Citizen Participation," Public Administration Review, (1972), p. 425.

8. Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

elitist and participatory, traditional and contemporary -- three themes emerge from each. Participation, representation, and access are the common threads weaving citizen and society together. The coarseness of the fabric, the tightness of the knot, and the dominance of the pattern vary according to the theory, but participation, representation, and access are present in each. As Charles Frankel has noted:

... democracy... promises a peculiar prize to the individual citizen. It promises him that he will be present, personally or through a representative, when decisions that concern him are made, and that he will have instruments at his disposal that will give his presence some force.⁹

Again, participation, representation, and access are central from the citizen's perspective. From an institutional frame of reference, it is to be open, responsive, and inclusive.

With much dispute over particulars, there is agreement on the fundamentals. Namely, that a democratic society places every citizen within the law and makes the citizenry the basis for law. Accordingly, Aristotle's office of the citizen is elevated to the highest office in the land. Thus, the citizen stands simultaneously at the base and the pinnacle of society. While the citizen cannot personally accomplish the acts of government, the right of the government to act flows from him and his dissatisfaction when widely shared can in time redirect government action.

9. Charles Frankel, The Democratic Prospect (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 34.

In summary, we seek to guarantee self-rule and consent of the governed through a constitutional system emphasizing participation, representation, and access for the citizen. That is the concept -- consent of the governed.

Let us turn now to the second part of the argument: the dangers to consent of the governed. There are dangers deriving from the citizen, from the government, and from the society. Tonight, I will examine primarily the dangers emanating from the citizen. Consent of the governed assumes an educated and responsible citizenry capable of participation. Jefferson's observation that the preservation of the society's values was dependent on the citizenry captures the pivotal role played by the citizen.

What are the tools that make Jefferson's educated, informed, responsible citizen? I will comment briefly on 7 tools. ¹⁰

1. Understanding our society and institutions --

The effective citizen needs an understanding of our history and cultural heritage; the evolving nature of our institutions; the basic structure of society; the philosophical underpinning.

2. Awareness of values and perspectives --

The effective citizen needs an awareness of the basic values of a democratic society; cultural diversity; global perspective; moral development.

10. James I. Luck, The Responsible Citizen and the Responsive Society, Phase I Report, Citizen Education Project, 1976.

3. Acquisition of information on issues and problems --
The effective citizen needs an ability to recognize relevant data; possess skills for the acquisition and use of information.
4. Skills in inquiry and advocacy --
The effective citizen needs an ability to examine and analyze issues; ability to reason (reflective and critical thinking abilities); ability to organize and articulate ideas; ability to use historical or scientific modes of inquiry.
5. Self-esteem and self-management abilities --
The effective citizens should possess a willingness to participate combined with an ability to participate effectively.
6. Access to the political system --
The effective citizen should have direct knowledge of how systems work; interpersonal skills; organizational skills.
7. Involvement in civic life: experiencing the responsibilities of citizenship --
The effective citizen should have direct participatory experience: leading meetings, participating as a discussant; voting; campaigning; working toward the solution of problems.

In sum, the effective citizen must possess enabling skills, knowledge, attitudes, and experience.

To this point, I have been focusing on the ideal. The characteristics citizens must possess for consent of the governed to work. What is the reality?

Alan Pifer wrote several years ago of a "demographic day of reckoning":

Nationally, three million arrests were made for juvenile crimes last year; millions of children and adolescents suffer from drug and alcohol abuse; one million teenage girls become pregnant each year; a million youngsters run away from home We know that well over a million under the age of 15 are not in school, that the national school dropout rate is 15 percent, and that upwards of 500,000 children age 16 and under, most of them from migrant families, are working in the fields because of loopholes in the child labor laws, while the real unemployment rate for urban black youths is believed to be over 50 percent. ¹¹

Sadly, today the data are worse. Take dropouts for example.

The Phi Delta Kappan reports in December 1986:

In cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, the high school dropout rate now exceeds 40%. In recent years, over 25% of potential high

11. Alan Pifer, Philanthropy in an Age of Transition (New York: The Foundation Center, 1984), p. 161.

school graduates - more than one million young people - quit school before graduation.

What about literacy? The National Advisory Council on Adult Education reported the results of the Adult Performance Level study (which measured 65 basic requirements for adult living). The conclusions were published in Illiteracy in America. "19 percent of Americans are functionally illiterate and 33.9 percent function only at a level of minimal competency." 12

What about knowledge of history and institutions -- cultural literacy? E. D. Hirsch (Cultural Literacy) concludes that only two-thirds of U. S. citizens are culturally literate. There is abundant data to support that view. In 1987, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) found that

two-thirds of our seventeen-year-olds do not know that the Civil War occurred between 1850 and 1900. Three-quarters do not know what reconstruction means. Half do not know the meaning of the Brown decision and cannot identify either Stalin or Churchill. 13

One measure of civic knowledge is awareness of the Bill of Rights.

- In 1970, high school students from Massachusetts asked 1,000 adults to sign a petition to submit the First Amendment to Congress: less than half signed and only 4% knew it was from the Bill of Rights.

12. Illiteracy in America (1986), p. 10.

13. James W. Tuttleton, "Literacy at the Barricades," Commentary (July, 1987), p. 45

- (In 1970) "60 Minutes" conducted a poll which found a majority of Americans rejected 5 out of 10 of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.
- In 1979, a Maine school teacher and his 11th grade class circulated a petition calling for the repeal of the Bill of Rights. 74% of those that read the petition, signed it.
- In a 1980 Gallup Poll, it was found that only 24% of the public could identify the First Amendment or describe it. ¹⁴

What about analytic skills and the ability to communicate?

The NAEP has reported "that children at all grade levels are deficient in higher-order thinking skills and that less than one-quarter of high school graduates possess the writing skills needed for success in college." ¹⁵ Further, standardized test scores have been declining for a decade.

Just this August the Congressional Budget Office summarized our national educational findings. It found "striking deficiencies" in young adults:

Less than 40 percent, for example, could synthesize the main argument of a lengthy newspaper article. Roughly 60 percent could extract information from a bar graph, use a chart to pick an appropriate grade of sandpaper, or follow directions using a street map. ¹⁶

14. Supplied by the Public Agenda Foundation, 1987
Reference: The Speaker and the Listener by Jean Johnson, John Doble, John Immerwahr.

15. Phi Delta Kappan (May 1987), p. 714.

16. Congressional Budget Office, Educational Achievement: Explanations and Implications of Recent Trends (August 1987), p. 16.

Too many of our people lack the knowledge, skills, and attitude to perform the tasks of citizenship. Experiences are no more comforting.

What about civic participation? There has been a longterm decline in confidence and participation in government, a growing sense of apathy, powerlessness, alienation, and estrangement. Voting is only one measure, but it is a significant one. The New Republic reports:

Ours is the democracy where the fewest citizens bother to vote. In the 1986 election, voting turnout as a fraction of the adult population, about 38 percent, was the lowest since the wartime election of 1942. In states outside the South, it was the lowest since 1798.

Among the wealthiest fifth of citizens, about 75 percent of eligible voters turned out in recent presidential elections. Among the poorest fifth, less than 40 percent voted. In effect, upper-middle-class and well-educated Americans still turn out to vote at near European levels. The decay in our civic culture has been mainly at the bottom. ¹⁷

17. Robert Kuttner, "Why Americans Don't Vote," New Republic (September 7, 1987), p. 19.

Some political scientists argue that low participation by the uneducated preserves the democracy. Humbly, I must differ. In the long run we will have no consensus about our national purpose; we will have lost the consent of the governed.

Theorists writing on the American political system warn of the weaknesses of non-participatory democracy. Three of the dangers they cite include:

- Lack of commitment to the democracy.
- The potential for increased participation resulting in radical change.
- Instability and violence. ¹⁸

I doubt that we will see a revolution.

However, as fewer people know or care about our form of government, the potential for its quiet disappearance will grow. As Joseph Tussman has written, "We will feel little pain and the portrait of Lincoln will not come crashing from the wall." ¹⁹

In any case, if we value government by the people - the consent of the governed - then its loss is harm enough. The danger of lacking an educated, informed, participating citizenry is real and without it we cannot have consent of the governed.

Where are we headed? Are we in the process of correcting our deficiencies and preparing our people for effective citizenship?

Let's examine the trends.

18. Samuel Krislov and David H. Rosenbloom, Representative Bureaucracy and the American Political System (Praeger, 1981), pp. 163-4.
19. Joseph Tussman, Obligation and the Body Politic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 106.

There are major demographic trends with social implications. These problems apply to all Americans -- Blacks, whites, Hispanics -- every group.

In 1986, Franklin Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, tells us that "in 1950 less than 15 percent of those eighteen and under were minority; today the figure is 36 percent and growing."

So we will have more minority students. Thomas continues,

- The average black seventeen-year-old reads at the same level as the average white thirteen-year-old, a full four-year lag.

- Higher high school graduation rates have not translated into greater college attendance. Indeed, college attendance for blacks has declined in the past ten years.

- For blacks who graduate from high school, the opportunity to attend a first-rate college or university is diminished by their educational deficits, by a lack of funds for tuition, and by what appears to be a declining interest among colleges and universities in affirmative action and student diversity. As a result, the proportion of black high school graduates going to college is steadily declining,

from 34 percent in 1976 to 27 percent in 1983.

The historically black colleges are struggling to survive and thus do not provide the same option for black students as in the past. ²⁰

Finding that social and economic factors weigh heavily, the Phi Delta Kappan reported this year that "minority students drop out at a rate at least double that of white students." ²¹

What have we found?

- Increasing numbers of minority students
- Who are less successful in schools
- Who have a higher dropout rate
- With declining enrollment in higher education
- Add to this massive immigration; 562,000 immigrants estimated for 1985 with half Spanish speaking. (Domestic Policy Association, PAF)
- Add to that the feminization of poverty "Women and children account for 77 percent of those in poverty." ²²

Further,

Since the 1959-1960 school year, the proportion of children living in single-parent, female-headed households has grown from 9 percent to about 20 percent.

20. Franklin A. Thomas, The New Demographics, (Ford Foundation, 1986), pp. 3 & 4.

21. Phi Delta Kappan (January 1987), p. 380.

22. Lester C. Thurow, "A Surge in Inequality," Scientific American, (May 1987), p. 34

A number of cross-sectional studies have found that children from single-parent households headed by women have lower average scores on a number of measures of intellectual development and achievement, including IQ tests, standardized achievement tests, and school grades.²³

Teenage pregnancies today will turn this already grave problem into an overwhelming one in fewer than 20 years. State Representative Ray Miller gives the facts in Franklin County:

- In 1984, one in four Franklin County babies was born to an unmarried woman. For Whites, one in seven babies was born to an unmarried woman; and for Blacks, over 61 percent of all births were to unmarried women.

- Teenage pregnancy has reached epidemic proportions. In 1984, two-thirds of the babies born to Franklin County teenagers were born out-of-wedlock; for White teens, over half of their babies were born out-of-wedlock, and for Black teens over 95 percent of their babies were born out-of-wedlock.²⁴

23. Congressional Budget Office, p. 56.

24. Ray Miller, "Looking Beneath the Surface in our Education System: A Prescription for Progress," (Unpublished paper, 1987), pp. 1-2.

Overall, what have we seen?

First, we are not doing an effective job of preparing people for citizenship. We are failing to provide the skills, the knowledge, the attitudes, and the experiences necessary for an educated, informed citizenry.

Second, those with the greatest disadvantages -- those we have the greatest difficulty educating -- that segment of the population is exploding. The demographic day of reckoning is here or very near.

Our corporate leaders and some of our political leaders have begun to recognize the economic consequences. They ask: who will lead our businesses? Who will make up the professions? Who will do the work our economy demands? These are vital questions.

Even more fundamental though, we must ask -- Who will lead our nation? Who will participate, give consent? Who will perform the role of the educated, informed citizen?

Joseph Tussman captures the essential test ---

The significance of democracy as an ideal rests onparticipation in the sovereign tribunal;being tribunal worthy is what being rational means, and the character we bring to the office of citizen is the crucial test of culture. 25

It is a test I fear we are failing. We have now explored some of the dangers to consent of the governed -- the second part of the argument. First the concept; second the dangers.

And now the proposal.

The difficulties we face are probably beyond my comprehension. If I understood them fully, I would have chosen another topic, another problem. One where the solution fits neatly, and we can all go home quite content. That will not happen.

I propose we undertake a national program of social reform and educational reform. I do not believe tinkering with what we have will do.

Let's begin with social reform.

Children must be guaranteed a fair chance to function in society. That means adequate food, health care, a nurturing environment with caring adults, an opportunity to learn. Children bearing children makes no sense. We must end the epidemic of child and teen pregnancy and child and teen parents. The Children's Defense Fund concludes: "American children need protection against too-early parenthood." ²⁶ We have the medical and scientific capacity and knowledge. We can educate; we can prevent; we can control.

In this country, we require licenses or permits for most anything -- driving a car, cutting hair, going fishing.

Is it unreasonable that we should take an interest in the creation of human life?

Is it unreasonable that parents should possess a minimal level of maturity? Isn't 12, 13, or 14 years old a bit young?

Is it unreasonable that parents should possess the basic resources to insure an opportunity for survival, even growth for their children -- food, clothing, shelter?

26. Children's Defense Fund, Black and White Children in America (1985), IX.

In the interests of the children ---

- the children who give birth to other children and end their own chance to learn and grow,
- the children who are born to be abused, to die prematurely, or to live without real hope.

It is in the interests of all these children that creating life be a deliberate, conscious act by adults capable of making that decision and caring for their creation. If we can establish that foundation, we may have a chance to develop citizens.

Even if their parents fail, we must guarantee our children a fair chance. Our national budget should reflect that priority. We must invest in our children. It is a necessary and wise investment.

The Children's Defense Fund offers examples --

- Head Start - a motivating program for young children that has a fifteen-year track record of success. For every one dollar invested in Head Start, three dollars are returned in reduced public expenditures and increased public receipts. Head Start children are less likely to end up pregnant as teens or on welfare, and more likely to enter vocational school, college, or the workforce.

- WIC - the Women, Infants, and Children feeding program, which study after study has found a success. A \$35-a-month WIC nutritional package for an infant can save far more than the \$1,400 a week it costs to hospitalize an infant for treatment of malnutrition.
- The Education of the Disadvantaged program has a history of teaching young children to read and compute at a cost of approximately \$625 per year compared to the more than \$3,000 cost of keeping a child back to repeat a grade. Currently, nearly 10 million children repeat at least one grade during the course of their education.
- Maternal and child health programs -- programs which are especially cost effective. Every dollar spent on comprehensive prenatal care saves two dollars in the first year of an infant's life alone (emphasis added) because of reduced need for hospital care. ²⁷

While defense expenditures have been growing (up \$178 billion from 1980-1985), billions have been chopped from programs for children - \$10 billion in 1981 and 1982. ²⁸ The costs are too high - the budget cannot be balanced on the backs of our children.

27. Children's Defense Fund, Black and White Children in America, p. 14.
28. Children's Defense Fund, pp. VIII, 14.

That is the outline for a program of social reform to guarantee children a fair chance to function in society:

- (1) end the epidemic of children bearing children; and
- (2) establish our children as a national budget priority.

Let's turn to educational reform. If social reform gives us young people capable of learning, then we must stretch our educational system to develop them.

The Columbus Public Schools have done an outstanding job of addressing the quality of teaching, the importance of principals as educational leaders, and focusing on what the student learns. I will comment on our national educational system. Rather than suggest reforms for Columbus it would be fair to say that Columbus has become a model of what an urban public school system can be. Several of my recommendations, in fact, flow from what I have seen accomplished here.

Recommendations are advanced in three areas: teachers, curriculum, and students.

First, recommendations pertaining to teachers.

As other occupations opened to exceptional women they abandoned teaching. Now they are doctors, lawyers, CEOs. Today, the empirical evidence is that students planning to become teachers have relatively low scores, on the average, on measures of achievement. Those who do score well are less likely to actually become teachers. If they do, they will likely leave for another occupation.

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29. Congressional Budget Office, pp. 76-77.

To attract and retain the best teachers, financial and non-financial rewards must be competitive with other opportunities. The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force recommends a national Master Teachers Program, funded by the federal government.³⁰ Who funds it is not important; it must be done. Superior teachers should be rewarded and serve as the model for others. I believe teachers should major in a content area then learn how to teach rather than majoring in education with a minor in a substantive field. Let me add what should be well-known: the principal should be the educational leader.

Second, curriculum ---

An endless stream of studies have generated volumes of recommendations on curriculum. Some say teach content - others skills.

The most balanced, sensible, and difficult course was propounded by Mortimer Adler in the Paideia Proposal: An Educational Manifesto. He argues that universal suffrage demands universal schooling in a rigorous academic program to prepare citizens. Adler maintains electives should be minimized and that everyone should study the same core curriculum. He believes that vocational education should occur after one has learned the basics and should not be offered in lieu of real public schooling.

Adler has developed three columns of learning: acquisition of organized knowledge, development of intellectual skills, and enlarged understanding of ideas and values. His development parallels that required for the informed, educated citizen.

30. Patricia Alberg Graham, Kettering Review (Winter, 1984), p. 20.

I recognize the perceived impracticality of moving large numbers of students from typing, shop, and home economics to geometry, Latin, and physics. Nonetheless, in my view, Adler is right. We must have a rigorous core curriculum for everyone.

The third area for educational reform is students. Too often in our planning and thinking we leave them out. I have four suggestions.

First, we must prepare children for school - preschool must be provided wherever necessary.

Second, we must tell students that we expect them to succeed. If our expectations are low they will be realized. Set them high and students will achieve.

Third, we need to reduce the amount of TV watched. 44% of high school juniors watch 3 to 5 hours a day. They score the poorest in knowledge of literature and U. S. History.³¹ What about a national "Just Turn It Off" campaign?

Fourth, we must assure young people that they can continue their education. The presence of counseling and funding to enable further education will encourage students from even the most difficult backgrounds to stay in school. That has been the experience in Harlem where Eugene Lang made a promise to 61 sixth graders six years ago. Where the dropout rate is staggering, they will almost all attend college.

The educational reforms are relatively simple; expect the best from teachers and students; offer the best curriculum and guarantee a chance. These educational reforms coupled with the social reforms

31. Literature & U. S. History (Education Testing Service 1987), p. 17.

should give us a chance to develop citizens capable of participating in society and granting informed consent.

Concept, dangers, proposal.

Unfortunately, the problem is larger. I have only addressed part of it and before closing I want to disclose the incomplete nature of these remarks. We have looked at only one side of the equation: the individual citizen. The other side is the society. The citizen functions in an environment. To be effective, the consent of the governed requires a responsive society. There are many threats to the responsiveness of our society and thus the effectiveness of the citizen:

- an unchecked bureaucracy
- the diminution of local decision-making
- the centralization of authority
- increasing complexity and specialization
- anti-democratic special interest groups
- passivity in the workplace and schools

These societal threats to consent are as dangerous as those relating to the individual's competence. They may be the topic of another paper at another time.

A group of our leading citizens has begun work on an effort to assure every Columbus public school graduate an opportunity to pursue further education. A scholarship fund will provide the incentive for students to study hard, the assistance to apply for financial aid, and the resources for the critical final dollars needed.

At breakfast this morning a leading citizen committed the first \$500,000 for this program. That is a step in the right direction: a step toward maintaining consent of the governed.