THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965: AN HISTORICAL CASE STUDY

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PREFACE

It was in the year 1958 in our high school in Pakistan, when I was a senior, that I first saw an American documentary movie about American culture. Freedom and liberty were two dominant notes of the theme. It excited an interest in me to see and explore this culture myself. To satisfy my interest I designed this study in the context of my field of study, Higher Education. This experience has been rewarding to me in a number of ways. I found that Americans put high value on education. They cherish dearly local control and diversity in education. They fear federal control and federal intervention while receiving billions of federal dollars in aid to education. The Higher Education Act of 1965 is one such example. Therefore, the primary concern of this study was to explore what led to the enactment of this Act and what was its significance.

My deepest gratitude and appreciation are to Dr. William B. Adrian, the major adviser, who provided able guidance and showed patience in completing this study. It was either myself or the nature of this study that seemed like chiselling quartz -- perhaps both. But Dr. Adrian's master mind overcame both.

The kindness and knowledge of Dr. Karman, Chairman, are well-known. I benefitted from both. The innocent and mild face of Dr. Rutledge always reminded me of my friend Malik Riaz. He has been very kind to me. Dr. Forsyth's smiling face has been an open invitation for trouble-shooting the research design. He bailed me out.

Very special thanks are to my wife Nuzhat, who has always been cooperative, sacrificing, and helpful. She did all the word processing for me on computer, along with her own dissertation. Thanks are to our son who understood the difficulty and let me study for long night hours.

Thanks are to Dr. H. Gene Smith, an unusual person, with whom I had stimulating discussions on every conceivable topic on earth. A true patriot without being a bigot, an interesting and a truly "living" person, he has been a source of my strength.

Thanks are to Dr. Dost Muhammad Malik whose encouragement and typical Punjabi humor were always timely support to me.

Thanks also to Ms. Mary Brown, Mrs. Ellen Galloway-Eby, Mr. Thomas Storcks, the C.S.U. Library staff, who helped me in library search; Mrs. Claudia Anderson and Mrs. Nancy Smith, Librarian and Archivist, respectively, of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. They sorted the historical documents for my study and provided full cooperation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

American Higher education has gone through an evolutionary process over the past three centuries. It is a complex system in a progressive society. Its objectives, functions, governance, and financing have experienced change through history. Though the educational system is not centralized in the United States, changes have taken place at the national level. The forces of change have been, in most cases, from outside the educational system. As Kerr (1972) observed:

> Two great impacts, beyond all other forces, have moulded modern American university system and made it distinctive. Both impacts have come from outside the universities. Both have come primarily from the federal government. Both have come in response to national needs . . . The first was the land grant movement . . . The second great impact on the universities began with federal support of scientific research during world war II (pp. 46-48).

In the past the Federal Government has from time to time enacted certain laws e.g., the Morrill Act of 1862 and the National Defense Act of 1916 that have reflected Federal policy toward higher ecucation. Why did the Federal Government enact such laws? What were the factors which

prompted Federal legislations? This leads us to ask: Why study the history of public laws? Vincent (1929) answered this question as follows:

> An important subject of study lies in the history of projects of law from their first proposal to their final enactment or abandonment. As a rule, it takes a long time to bring about an important change. In modern times, when documents are abundant, one may often trace the development of a law from its inception in the mind of some reformer to its final enactment. Even if it has been proposed in due form before a legislative body, it may be many years before it becomes a law. The vicissitudes of bills, whether good or bad, and the methods by which the public and legislatures are finally convinced of their necessity, present an interesting section of investigation. The time consumed in getting a new law and the difficulties of the process form a commentary on the civilization of the period (pp. 180-181).

After studying the legislative history of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Eidenberg and Morey (1969) observed that education policy has been a continuing legislative issue with the Federal Government. They further observed that Congress expanded its college assistance programs with the 1965 Higher Education Act. This authorized a three-year, $2.5 billion program which included funds for undergraduates and graduate student scholarships, libraries and library training, faculty and student exchange programs with developing colleges, community development projects, and construction grants. This Act appropriated huge dollar amounts for programs never before sponsored by the Federal Government. It, therefore, makes a good case for historical research.

A brief review of the history of Federal legislation regarding higher education discloses the evolutionary nature of the federal role. The Ordinances of 1787 declared:

> Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall for ever be encouraged (The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1971, p. iii).

This was the first declaration of the policy of the States when they were still in confederation, on the purposes and support of education.

The Federal Government has provided sporadic and specific aid to higher education until the present. According to Caldwell (1965):

> The faith of the American people and their elected representatives in the value of education has been a major factor which has influenced the federal government to engage in financial activities in the field of higher educatior (p. 64).

This role has been necessarily concerned with higher education, but not to the exclusion of elementary and secondary education.

The functions and goals of higher education have changed over the period of the nation's history; so has the role of the Federal Government. During the colonial period the primary goal of higher education was that of training an able ministry, the gentleman, the lawyer, and the civic leader. It served an elitist function under church control.

With the passage of the Morrill Act of 1862, a landmark occured in federal-state relationships in higher education. The economy of this country being essentially agrarian, the Congress, by passing the Act, laid the responsibility of solving national problems on colleges and universities, namely, of providing the nation with trained manpower in agriculture and the mechanic arts. While commenting on this Act, King (1975) observed:

> Two significant precedents emerged from the Morrill Act: First, the rationale for the Act was ostensibly based on national needs for trained manpower in two specific fields of study . . . agriculture and mechanics. Second, the authorization of legislation did not require that the beneficiary institutions, or the institutions created as a result of the legislation, be public in support or control (p. 1).

This legislation advanced the idea that education could provide for social services and public needs. During the twentieth century the two World Wars made new demands on the Federal Government. The Government responded, and, in turn, placed demands on the universities. The National Defense Act of 1916 and the establishment of Student Army Training Corps in 1918 were typically utilitarian and specific in purpose, that is, creating input to the war effort. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act, also called the GI Bill, was designed for the readjustment of veterans of war, so as to help them to continue their college education and adjust themselves to civil life.

The United States Congress established an independent federal Department of Education in 1867. Its name was changed to United States Office of Education after 1929. It was part of the Interior Departmert from 1869 to 1939, then transferred to the Federal Security Agency, which ir turn, became the Department of Healtn, Education and Welfare in 1953 (Congressional Quarterly Service, 1970, p. 16).

The federal role of aid to higher education after World War II is described in some detail in Chapter III in order to give a better idea of antecedent conditions before the enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

The Need for the Study

Keeping in view the evolutionary nature of the Federal role in higher education and the increase in complexity of the American society, there is a perpetual need to clarify this role. Concern for the past gives roots to the institutions (American Historical Association, 1964). It is through the knowledge of the past that an individual comes to know his own culture and his own self by understanding the acts of other men who created his culture. The Higher Education Act of 1965 provided certain new acts. These pointed to new directions in higher education. Therefore, there is a need to study this Act in an historical perspective. As noted by the Congressional Quarterly Service (1965, p. 32) "The Act was revolutionary in several aspects and was the first time in the U.S. history that

Congress approved federal scholarships for undergraduate students."

Since no detailed historical analysis of the Act has been done previously, there was an opportunity to understand more about the role of the Federal Government in higher education through identifying those factors that led to the enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

The Purpose of the Study

This study was primarily concerned with identifying the factors that contributed to the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965. It included the significance of the Act in terms of the federal Government's relationship to higher education. It focused on why the Act was passed, that is, it gave working description of the American policy process by focussing on the issue of federal aid to higher education. To achieve this objective the research was conducted from an historical perspective.

It was within the scope of this study to trace and identify those ideas, people, events, needs, and organizations that affected the process of the U.S. Congress, the interaction and influence of individuals, groups, and publications, during or prior to legislation, and, that had direct bearing on the enactment of this Act.

Whereas this study focused primarily on the period of HEA 1965 legislation, it has gone as far back as World War II to place the passage of this Act in its broad historical

context.

Significance of the Study

Since no comprehensive historical case study of the Higher Education Act of 1965 hasbeen done, it was utilized to focus on the changing role of the U.S. Federal Government in higher education. It brought into light the evolutionary nature of both American higher education and of the American society after World War II. It found that the HEA was a timely response to the emerging educational needs of American society and that Mr. Johnson's efforts of educational reforms were directed at transforming American society, where every child could find self-fulfillment as his talents warranted.

Limitations of the Study

Given below are some limitations of this research report and the methods used to produce it:

1. The findings depend upon the available evidence, though every effort has been made to research relevant sources.

2. This report was neither designed to assess the merits or the impact of federal aid to higher education, nor to compare different Acts of the congress.

3. This study is suggestive of the way the process of policy-making worked in a particular case. However, it cannot say with precision what strategies, tactics and resources were used by the elites to gain access to the Congress.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter I is the introduction, which gives the background and rationale of the study. Chapter II gives method and procedure. Chapter III provices the general societal context in which the legislature passed the Act. Chapter IV deals with the process of legislation, that is, the role of the President of the United States, the political parties, interest groups, the Congress and certain individuals. Chapter V provides conclusions and a discussion of the significance of this enactment.

Studies on Federal Role

Ashworth (1969) did a valuable study on the major bases for a federal policy on higher education in the United States. His purpose was to clarify relationships among values and objectives of institutions and the federal Government. The bases that the colleges and the universities are most concerned with are academic freedom, institutional autonomy, diversity in higher education, and general and specialized education. The objectives of the Federal Government in supporting and using higher education are increasing equality of educational opportunity, the public service function of higher education, and the pursuit of excellence and research. All these bases are of common concern to both the Federal Government and the universities

and colleges but their relative importance varies with different government agencies and various institutions of higher education.

Ashworth's (1969) study found that a comprehensive understanding of the interrelationships of these bases of policy is not currently found in the federal agencies and the institutions of higher education. Consequently, there is a lack of any rational policy. The study maintains that the government policy must be concerned with the values and goals of higher education. The problem of disregard of values and goals is in part due to structural organization of the governement. The author concludes that the creation of a federal department of education will not serve the values and goals of higher education.

Caldwell (1965), in A study of Three Selected Federal Acts: Background, Provisions, Arguments and Impacts, has identified and analysed those elements that had an impact on the development of three federal Acts, namely, the Morrill Act of 1862, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, and the National Defense Act of 1958. The reason Caldwell focussed on these Acts was the increasing federal financial support in field of higher ecucation. Therefore, it is important to know how and why this financial support came into existence. The study specifically focused on the following:

1. Identifying and analyzing those elements which influenced the federal governement to enact legislation that extended financial assistance to higher education.

2. Identifying and analyzing those trends in both types of elements that assist or impede federal legislation in higher education.

3. Identifying and analyzing those elements that impede the process of federal action in higher education.

4. Analyzing these elements and trends in terms of their implications for future federal legislation on higher education.

Since Caldwell's (1965) study was a library investigation, the method included interpretation, evaluation, and assessment of relevant materials. In order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the elements under consideration, the scope of the study was limited to only four aspects of each piece of legislation. These were:

1. The general conditions existing at the time of enactment.

2. The provisions of the Acts.

3. The arguments and points of view put forward during legislation.

4. Some of the affects of the legislation on higher education, and on the relationship of the federal government to higher education.

Basically, the Caldwell study concluded that:

1. The faith of the American people and their elected representatives in the values of education has been a major factor which has influenced the federal government to engage in financial activities in the field of higher education.

2. Because of the teacher education function of many institutions of higher learning, federal attempts to promote any given type of educational program on any given level have necessarily been concerned with the field of

higher education.

3. The question of the constitutionality of federal participation in the field of higher ecucation is no longer a viable factor impeding federal activities in this area.

4. The federal government has initiated actior in the field of higher education only when it appeared that certain needs were not being met on the state or local level.

Davis (1977) compared the legislative interts and affects of direct and indirect student assistance grants i.e., the Basic Eductiation Opportunity Grant (BEOG) and Supplemental Education Opportunity Grant (SEOG), respectively. This was an exploratory study of federal student aid programs in higher education.

The U.S. Congress authorizec the SEOG program, an indirect student assistance grant in 1965 and the BEOG, a direct assistance program, in 1972. The study was cone on 1974 data when the BEOG was in its second year of operation. The data used in this study were collected from a survey corducted by the American Council on Education of full-time freshmen entering college in Fall 1974.

The legislative intents of the two programs were kept in view while setting up the questionnaire. The questions identified which students receivec either of the grants, types of financial packages and the types of institutions attended. Several discrepancies were found between the survey data and Office of Education data.

The study found that the BEOG program allowec many students to receive post-secondary education, who, in the

absence of this opportunity, would not have had that opportunity. The SEOG program helped to shift mere access to higher education to providing choice of the institutions to needy students. This fact increased the use of SEOG in private colleges. Therefore, a rapid growth of the BEOG could mean the fulfillment of the goals of access to higher education. Also, more information on aid packaging was needed, otherwise, it could limit choice of attendance of the most needy students.

McCann (1976), in his study, reported that the idea of federal aid to education became clearly defined and gained political support during the Truman Administration. The Second World war caused profound economic, social and political changes in the American Society. These changes made greater demands on education. The general public expected the educational system to cope with the rapid social and technological changes. But it was felt that the schools were less capable of adjusting to the changes. The successive preceding periods of the Depression and World war II resulted in severe teacher and classroom shortage. Added to this was the third cause, the post-war "baby-boom, leaving the schools even less competent to provide acequate eduction for children of school age. Education had been neglected for several decades, but at the same time, greater enrollments and expectations were being made. These conditions induced the general public and educational leaders to look to the federal government for support to

overcome the crises in the schools.

McCann (1976) further said that President Truman supported the concept of aid to education, but he left the issue to the general public and congressional leaders because of the personal and political controversies surrounding it. Senator Robert Taft of Ohio led the movement for aid to education. His efforts failed to achieve any legislative enactment, but they left a strong conviction that federal aid to education was needed and opened new approaches to this problem. The issues had been defined. The attitude of the general public, the president, and that of the Congress had all changed during the six year period of the Truman Administration.

Another interesting study, by Andrews (1978), compared the development of the role of the Federal Government in education in Canada and the United States during the period 1867 to 1970. This study identified the nature of federal participation in higher education in both the countries during this period. The federal educational role was compared through existing similarities and differences of the governments' involvement in the educational systems. The study found that strong federal presence developed in educational systems during the period 1867 to 1970. The study suggested that there is a place for a federal government within the field of education and that further research was needed in the federal educational role.

Stein (1978) concluded in his study that the commonly

used grounds in defense of federal intervention in higher education are: financial contributions, social injustice, moral responsibility, and student unrest. He indicated that institutions of higher education were relatively free from outside influence prior to 1971. He identified five factors that led to increased federal intervention in higher education. First, the Federal Government was increasingly sensitive to the failure of higher education to resolve social inequities in bringing qualified minorities and women into the mainstream of life. Second, the Federal Government felt that by virtue of its spending huge amounts of money, it had right to protect federal dollars. The third factor is that some legislators tended to use federal programs as a way of legislating their own morality. Fourth, it was simply easy to attach conditions to the funds. Finally, the nationwide unrest in the 1960's and 1970's brought national attention to institutions of higher education.

Eidenberg and Morey (1969) reported the findings of historical research on the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The object of this study was to give a sensible and coherent explanation of the recent national decisions on federal aid to education, that is, to identify those decision and contact points where various groups and individuals influenced decisions. This was, in broad terms, a working description of the policy process as it applied to the enactment of this Act.

They found that there did exist typical stable relationships among a series of groups and personalities with deep interests in an issue, who established the "permissible" limits of decision for the official decision makers in government. These systems became points of reference for the legislators and administrators who made the authoritative decisions and of which they were also a part. Among the conclusions are:

1. Only those individuals and groups who have fundamental interests in particular issues will attempt to influence legislative decisions.

2. The American system appears to be an almost perfectly balanced mechanism of equal forces working in a variety of directions keeping the probabilities of radical change to a minimum. If, on the other hand, immediate responsiveness to demands wherever they arise in the society is to be maximized, then the American system falls short.

3. Finally, the extent to which the policy system is open to new participants, and hence truly representative, becomes another criterion to use in evaluating the system. How responsive and adaptable is such a system to the demands and needs of large number of Americans who are not organized or who do not have institutionalized interest in policy outcomes, the authors do not know.

Summary

The Federal Government has passed certain laws affecting higher education since confederacy. These laws have essentially provided federal support to higher education through land or money grants. These grants have

been, generally speaking, authorized for a specific purpose in each case. Since the Federal Government has never had a coordinated national policy for higher education, the ends-in-view of each act of legislation, the circumstances surrounding legislation and the factors that led to the enactment of these laws have been different in each case throughout history. The objectives of federal legislation included agricultural output, vocational education, readjustment of the veterans of wars and competition with Russia in space. American higher education has been responsive to social and national needs and objectives, yet retaining diversity and local control.

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

Introduction

This is an historical case study of an Act of the U.S. Congress, and, as such, an analytical historical approach was used. Through the application of the principles of an analytical historical approach, the credibility and value of the evidence and the expertise of the witnesses was determined. This study was guided by the following metholodogical considerations:

1. First, according to Hexter (1971), no experiments comparable to the natural sciences are possible.

2. The data were collected according to the guidelines for historical research provided by Hocket (1955).

3. In analyzing and interpretting the technical language related to higher education, the author's professional judgment as an advanced student of higher education was used.

4. The Congressional hearings and other scholarly publications have been judged by the principles of evidence, explanation and causation as enunciated by Hocket (1955), Nagel (1961), Collingwood (1965), and Shafer (1969) where appropriate.

Principles of Historical Criticism

Analytical Historical Approach

Hempel (1965) stated that it was a widely accepted opinion that history, contrary to the physical sciences, is concerned with the description of particular events rather than with the search for general laws which might govern these events.

Hocket (1955) has identified three steps in historical research: the gathering of data, the criticism of data, and the presentation of facts. In selecting data, the historian does not need to select all the facts of history but only those that are relevant and contribute to the causation of an event. The examination of data involves two processes: external and internal criticism. The function of external criticism is to provide authentic data for internal criticism. In this particular study, the authenticity of the documents is beyond any doubt these being U.S. Congressional records and reccrds from the national archives, which were acquired from the original sources.

Nagel (1961), in his discourse on the nature and kinds of science, has included history under ideographic sciences. According to him, there are two types of sciences: nomothetic, which seeks to establish abstract laws for infinitely repeatable phenomena and processes, and ideographic which aims to understand the unique and the non-current. The first kind includes the natural sciences and

some social sciences, while the second includes, among others, history. The difference is only in the logical structure of concepts. Thus, even though the historian may be concerned with the singular and the non-recurrent, he must use abstract and general descriptive terms. Second, he is not merely a story-teller of the past, for he seeks to understand and explain the events he narrates in terms of causes and consequences and to find relations of causal dependence among some of the events that are sequentially ordered. Obviously, the cause-effect relationship that the historian makes in explaining the human actions in the past are based on assumed laws of causal dependence.

Nagelian Approach

Nagel (1961) divided historical explanations into two types considering duration of occurence as point of departure: probabilistic and genetic.

A Probabilistic explanation of an event is "one that accounts for some action of a single individual by stating for its occurrence a condition whose duration is ignored" (p. 551). Historical explanations of this kind explain why a given individual "A" decided purposely to act in the manner he did under given circumstances. The aim of this explanation is to state the reason for an individual's particular choice of actions. All human actions are preceded by decisions, which are further consequences of prior decisions. A decision is a willful choice between

alternative courses of action. Therefore, choice between alternatives is the determining factor.

Genetic Explanations are "historical accounts of actions in terms of temporally extended circumstances" (p. 564). This kind of explanation deals with those events that happen in a sequential order at different times rather than concurrently. Genetic explantions are narrative forms where it is assumed that some events are necessary conditions for others and where the historian does not formulate the relation of dependence among such events. The sequence of these events under study implies causes and effects. Genetic explanations are a sequence of probabilistic explanations with events happening at different times. They constitute some of the necessary conditions that help explain rather than fully complete this process.

Explanation of Aggregate Events

Meusel (1968) has observed that sharp differnces exist on the theories of social change. Historical explanation of aggregate events cannot be explained under the "covering law" model of explanation i.e., they cannot be explained on deductive premise. Nagel (1961) agreed with this observation saying that the aggregate events involving large numbers of human beings or having a large temporal spread need a different approach from probabilistic or genetic explanation. He defined aggregate event as the one "constituted out of the actions of many men" (p. 568). Such

events can be better explained in an analogous way. Since a complex aggregate occurence is not a single whole, it must be analysed into constituent parts. This analysis helps to seperate the "particular" component parts from the over-all "global" character of the "whole" event. These component parts in turn are explained as to why they were present, either through genetic or probabilistic explanations. But before analysis can be done, the historian must clarify the assumptions.

Hexter's Postulates

Hexter (1971), in his discourse on historical research, stated that the historian relies on common language and commonsense judgments that the study of history is valuative, and that credibility rather than sufficient causes is the standard of adequacy of explanation. He further stated that the text of evidence should be viewed in the large social context and that the evidence of change should be viewed as a process of <u>becoming</u> in the numan past. His postulates are:

1. That the thrust of their common language requires historians to rely on common-sense judgements far more frequently than they do on strict logical entailments;

2. That the reliance of historical discourse on common language and common sense renders it inherently and ineradicably valuative rather than value-free;

3. That in history creditibility rather than necessary and sufficient causes provide the standard of adequacy of explanation;

4. That the exploration of truth values in historical discourse requires the examination of large historical texts and contexts and not just of minute fragments wrenched out of context;

5. That historical discourse is functionally processive rather than formally logical in two respects: (a) of affording readers enough to be going on with and (b) of dealing competently with evidence of change, becoming, or process in the human past (p. 275).

Thus, human actions may be regarded as an expression of the will to become.

The Collingwood Approach

Knowledge of history is not something that can be observed immediately. Rather, knowledge of the past comes through interpretation of the existing evidence. Historical thought consists of two elements: past data and interpretation. These two elements must exist together or not at all. Interpretation without data is no thought and data without interpretation has no meaning. Now, because we never get complete data or facts of the past events, history is never complete. As new evidence is discovered, rewriting of history becomes necessary. Second, interpretation is the result of an individual's perception of the past. Hence, historical method is a one-man one-age approach. No historical study is complete and final because there never are complete data, and, therefore, each generation must rewrite history. A historical study is final only in the sense that the knowledge of its subject is considered final

at the present time. Thus any historical study is an interim report. Because the objects of historical study differ from one individual to another, there can be no universal history.

Collingwood (1965) approached historical explanation through another method, the "inside-outside" method. By "outside" he means the physical occurence of actions or movements. It is the time and place picture of events only. The "inside" explanation gives the inner thought or purpose of the agent that caused him to act in a particular situation. Therefore, in this method the historian first starts by fixing the spatiotemporal points (the outside picture) and then he gives purpose or meaning to those points, drawing his inferences by the available evidence. Then he fills the "gaps" by interpolation. This interpolation is also drawn from inferences. Inferences are judged by the available evidence and verified by the principle of conerence. Each time a history is rewritten, the historian tries to give a more coherent view of the past. This approach distinguishes Collingwood from the scissors and-paste theory of history. For him it is a process of rethinking of the past.

Shafer on Causation

Shafer (1969) says that the question of why it happened in the past is most difficult to answer. In questions relating to wars, mass movements, and aggregate actions

there is no simple answer. Observation shows that in most cases there are several causes rather than one. How can we, then, determine and discuss causes in an intelligible way? This is the task of the historian. He selects certain facts about the past and certain causes for certain purposes. He does not select all the facts and all the causes but only those which are meaningful and relevant. For this purpose he needs a test to differentiate between the real causes and unreal causes. A cause is defined as the sum of the necessary and sufficient conditions for the event's occurence. The criteria, then, for a cause being a necessary condition is that, if the circumstance is not necessary or sufficient to bring about the event, it cannot be the cause.

Even though causes may be identified and verified, a series of causes is not a mere succession of events in time. Some kind of logical dependence of one upon another must be established. However, there is no absolute way of determining causes. Judgment depends in most cases on value systems. In some cases, the question of free human choice becomes meaningless but, in a majority of cases, it is the human purposive action that is the determining cause.

There are contigency incidents that bring about events of great importance, but their causes are accidental and beyond any human purpose.

The Chronological Approach

According to this approach, the historian is a chronicler of events. First, he simply observes and narrates the events in their temporal order. Caution must be taken here not to regard succeeding events as a string of cause and effect relationship. The chronicle sequence helps to understand the underlying causes, but the historian must look for the logical relationships between the events rather than mere facts of history.

The Biographical Approach

This method attempts to present the original thoughts and actions of individuals. To achieve this purpose, the historian has to neglect the "opinion" of others about them. The researcher must see the individual in his particular perspective, his thoughts and his reactions to the then prevailing social and cultural climate. As reported by Taft (1970, p. 128), Committee on Historiography remarked in 1954, "The biographical method concentrates on people which is the heart of history."

Data

There were two major sources of historical documents used in this report: Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, this being a U.S. Government Documents Depository; and, the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas, being the national archive for Mr. Johnson's

documents. The documents from the Johnson Library included oral histories of Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, with Joe B. Frantz (1972) and Mr. Robert Singerhoff (1968); letters of various organizations to Mr. Johnson; and Mr. Johnson's formal and informal correspondence with his administrative associaltes (Appendix D and E).

The U.S. Government publications consisted of the following:

1. U.S. House of Representatives Report No. 89-621.
2. U.S. Senate Report No. 89-673.
3. U.S. House of Representatives No. 89-1178.
4. U.S. Code, Congressional and Administrative News, Eightyninth Congress, 1st Session, 1965, Volumes I & II.
5. House Journal, 89th Congress, 1965.
6. Senate Journal, 89th Congress, 1965.
7. Biographical Directory of the American Congress.
8. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, First Session on S. 600, Parts I, II and III.
9. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 89th Congress, First Session on H.R. 3220.
10. Digest of Public General Bills with Index, 89th Congress, Ist Session, 1965.
11. Congressional Record; H.R. 9567, pp. 15313-28658.
12. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents,

Vol. I.

13. The Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1965.

Procedure

The first step to proceed with the study was to collect relevant U.S. Government documents related to the legislation of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Then, through a thorough analysis of the contents of these documents, the significant issues and points of concern were sifted by going back to the relevant original source, event, or author. This part was the kernel of the study as it presented the core of the concerns of all sections of the American society. Represented in these proceedings were intellectuals, economists, social leaders, defense personnel, interest groups, the public representatives, and the President of the United States. This constitutes a large cross-section of the American nation. The third step was to supplement the U.S. Congress hearings with newspapers and periodicals like The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times and other related scholarly publications that had direct bearing on the legislation.

CHAPTER III

THE FACE OF THE AGE

Introduction

According to Hexter's (1971) postulates, the exploration of truth values in historical discourse requires the examination of large historical texts and contexts and not just minute fragments wrenched out of context. This involves the description of environmental conditions, or, as Collingwood would put it, the 'outside' picture. These conditions are also the antecedent conditions that are the factors contributing to the occurrence of events.

In order to give a clear conception of those antecedent conditions or factors that led to the enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1965, this Chapter reconstructs the historical context, that is, the face of the age, that integrates the Act with the age. Otherwise, as reported by Taft (1959, p. 15), West said, "If people do not have the face of the age set clear before them, they begin to imagine." However, keeping in view the postulates of Shafer and Hexter, no effort was made to establish cause and effect relationship between the antecedent conditions and the enactment. These conditions serve to provide a broad perspective, a context, in which the enactmment took place.

This comprises an overview of the twenty years that followed World War II, giving a limited assessment of the social, political, economic and technological conditions, and finally, a focus on the critical issues of higher education in the period immediately preceding the enactment. The politics relating to this event are discussed in the next chapter.

Expansive fundamental changes were taking place following World War II in the American society creating new opportunities, new freedoms and unanticipated consequences. The challenges of the explosion of knowledge, explosion of population, technology, urbanization, space explorations, nuclear power, and the turbulent developments in the concepts of individual liberty and civil rights converged to create massive social and campus upheavals in the 1960's.

The changes in the social order and technological applications were so fundamental during this period that Margaret Mead, the celebrated anthropologist said, "The gulf separating 1965 from 1943 is as deep as the gulf that separated the men who became builders of cities from Stone Age men" (Grantham, 1976, p. ix). This big leap from one "Age" to another in almost a blink of the eye created unanticipated inconsistencies and ironies: the end of World War II was the beginning of the cold war. The American nation experienced rapid growth, but, at the same time, it brought a wider gap between surplus and poverty within the society. There was a rapid growth in the population of big

cities with corresponding increases in congestion, pollution, and crime, all of which threatened the beauty of the country. The explosion of knowledge had already occurred, but a large number of institutions of higher education lagged behind in acquiring, transmitting, and extending of knowledge to the society at large. Similarly, an explosion in youth population had occurred, but, resources and the number of institutions of higher education had not increased proportionately. Advances in technology increased production in goods and services while replacing unskilled "muscle power", thus creating both unemployment and availability of extended leisure time.

Now let us analyze this period and see the face of the age in some detail.

The Social Renewal

After cessation of the conflict of World War II in 1945, the United States emerged victorious, vastly different from the nation that it was before the war. This victory, though won at great sacrifice, ushered in a new age in America. The energies previously used in the war effort were now being directed toward economic expansion, production, and technological advancement at home for peaceful purposes. As millions of war veterans returned home, the marrying age of men and women dropped, a prosperous "nesting" ensued resulting in the "Baby-boom" from 1947 to 1960. There were 3.5 million births in 1947, a

jump of 800,000 in one year, reaching 4.3 million in 1960 with a successive increase every year. With advances in medicine and increase in comforts of life, the death rate declined from 10.8 per thousand in 1940 to about 9.4 per thousand in 1970. The number of young as well as old people was increasing (Grantham, 1976, p. 127).

As shall be seen later, the increased number of babies born during this period created pressures on institutions of higher education and other social institutions in the 1960's.

The Technological Revolution

Grantham (1976, p. 12) said that there was considerable evidence in 1945 and 1946 that the United States had entered a new and radically different stage in its historical development. Technology developed almost overnight, an oversupply of food and other material goods was achieved, and the number of people engaged in manual labor actually decreased. He further said,

> So expansive was the American economy that the output of goods and services doubled and then redoubled during the twenty-five years after 1945. World War II revivified the nation's industrial and business system, created a huge backlog of consumer demand and purchasing power, and left the United States as the dominant economic power in the world. Prosperity in the years that followed was also promoted by the growth of population, the vital role government had come to assume in the nation's economic life, and the increase in production resulting from technological innovations. This expansion during Kennedy and Johnson administrations continued month after month. The prosperous years between 1961 and 1969

> represented the longest unbroken peacetime economic growth in American history. The real economic growth rate during the 1960s was about 5 percent a year (pp. 110-111).

Continuous growth and advancement created new opportunities, new sophisticated and skilled occupations, and higher standards of living which no nation had hitherto seen. An unprecedented spirit of national price and individualism emerged, which reinforced youth movements, campus disturbances, sit-ins and the Civil Rights movement in the 1960's.

New Occupational Structure

Technological change had brought highly significant gains of increased production and white-collar jobs, but it also created serious unanticipated problems. Increased automation produced fundamental changes in occupational structure leading to occupational displacement of hundreds of thousands of people.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census Report (1967) revealed that the professional and technical personnel, the most highly educated of all workers, were increasing fastest. The following figures are for the period 1950-60, with projection for 1970 of professional and technological workers:

1950 ..... 5 million

1960 ..... 7.5 million

1970 .....(estimated) 10 million

Professional and technical workers in 1950 were 8 percent of the employed population. By 1970 this percentage was expected to be well over 12.5. The place of unskilled labor dropped over the past half century in the labor force from 12.5 percent to less than 6 per cent in 1960. Their proportion would continue to drop to less than 5 percent in 1970.

Change in the Nature of Work

Rapid changes were taking place in the world of work during the post-war period were creating new demands on higher education. The scope and rapidity of this change, Norton (1963) said, were bringing about what some have called the Second Industrial Revolution. The impacts of this revolution were profound for education. It was imperative that schools and colleges respond to the new and changing demands being made upon them. Fewer and fewer workers were now engaged in manual labor (Piel, 1962). Due to automation, the work of extracting materials from soil and rock and transforming it into goods was no longer done by human muscles. He further said that technology had already brought a revolution in the field of agriculture.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor Report (1962, p. 23), the number of white-collar jobs in 1910 was less than half the number of blue-collar jobs; in 1956, professional, managerial and office jobs outnumbered laborers and craftsmen; by 1970 they would be 25 percent

greater than blue-collar. The report further stated that far too many youths received inadequate education and meagre training, while the demand grew for broader education and more specialized skills. Farm workers made up 53 percent of the labor force in 1870; by 1960 they were only about 7 percent - a ninefold drop in 100 years. In the industrial sector, because of technological change, about 200,000 production jobs had been eliminated in the aircraft industry alone. The report further indicated that production, or output per man-hour, in the soft coal industry rose 96 per cent since World War II, but employment fell by 262,700.

In the railroad industry the number of jobs declined from 1,400,000 in 1947 to 730,000 in 1961, a drop of 670,000. Technological shifts (the diesel displacement of steam was a large factor) in the post-war period is what worked this occupational upheaval in the nation's railroads.

Similarly, there was a sharp decline in the number of hours of work per week. The hours in the average workweek declined from 70 in 1850 to 60 in 1900 and to just under 40 in 1960 (Norton, 1963). One of the most persistent occupational trends in the United States was, he said, a growing demand for workers with increased general education and advanced technical and professional training.

Hutchins et al. (1968), while analyzing man's ability to adjust to the accelerated tempo of progress, said that progress no longer occured in an orderly pattern of change, and with the advancement of progress, man's moral and

political problems seem to increase. Automation displaced man's traditional values without giving him a new set. For education, he said, implications were training not only for a job but also for almost unlimited leisure.

The final report of the Twenty-first American Assembly on Automation and Technological change reported to the Congress on June 6, 1962, that in order to prepare the national needs of the new technology, we must further improve our educational standards generally and increase substantially the number of scientists, engineers, teachers, doctors, and others in the professions.

The changing nature of work created the tough problem of unemployment, which, in turn, created harder demands on the Federal Government. Glazier (1962) stated that there was a persistent hard core of unemployed workers left behind by shifts in the structure of industry which grew from 500,000 persons in 1953 to about 2 million in 1960.

Urbanization

As a sequel to industrial progress, the attraction of high-income and interesting jobs was drawing millions of Americans from rural neighborhoods to urban areas. This migration produced great pressures on urban communities. By the end of 1950's, as O'Neill (1969) observed, the cities being one of the principal institutions of America, where most people lived, and on whom most great enterprises depended, were deteriorating. The crime rate rose,

essential services decayed, and pollution and congestion infecting the great cities. The problem was so acute that, he said, ". . . poverty, pollution and congestion continued. Whether the city would ultimately survive remained doubtful" (p. 157). While describing one of the slums he said,

> The United Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) already had a teacher-parent joint action group in the district, a decaying area between the slums of Brownsville and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Less than a third of the adult residents had completed high schools. More than half the households subsisted on less than $5,000 a year. Only two-fifths of the population had lived in Ocean Hill as long as five years (pp. 184-185).

The Social Revolution

As a result of material prosperity and abundance of wealth, Hacker (1970) observed, Americans experienced new freedoms, which created, in turn, newer perceptions of privileges and expectations in millions of Americans who had previously been reserved for only a few. He further said that during this era the United States was a freer and more democratic society than at any other time in its history. By democracy, he said, "I mean a temper of the mind and spirit rather than a political or economic condition" (p. x). It is by virtue of this new spirit that each American, black or white, poor or prosperous, was infected with the idea that he was equal to any other with whom he might compare himself. Hacker further commented on the fermentation of this new spirit: "If the democratic spirit may be measured by how high valuation a people place on

themselves, America's claim to being a democracy should be clear and uncontested" (p. 4).

As the nation's technology grew more sophisticated, the more the wealth increased, the stronger the democratic temper grew. By the end of the 1950s this democratic temper and prosperity seemed the greatest. This development in American social life had great implications in store for the 1960's, particularly for higher education.

New Democratic Temper

In any historical study, the study of the quality of belief is very important (Taft, 1970). America has traditionally upheld democratic values, but after the world War II, and extending into and beyond the 1960's, a stronger belief in American democracy emerged that revolutionized the entire social order. This new belief had strong implications: it created a new class of people with a strong impeccable sense of individualism.

The Civil Rights Movement

The new democratic spirit led to the Civil Rights Movement. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had supported federal aid to education since 1950 and had demanded that federal funds be barred to segregated schools. The United States supreme court upheld this principle in the Case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. It also asserted that all Americans

were equal. This decision provided renewed energy for Civil Rights advocates. In the winter of 1955-56 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. staged a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, that caught national attention. In February, 1960, four Negro students at the Agricultural and Technological college in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat down at a lunch counter and were denied service. They decided to stay in their seats until the dinner closed, thus initiating the 'sit-in'. Birmingham became the target for a mass, non-violent movement to end discrimination in restaurants, shops, and employment. Police Commissioner Connor arrested hundreds of marchers every day during April and May of 1963, including Dr. King on April 12, Good Friday (Meranto, 1969).

The blacks were now asking for what the white already had. But, as O'Neill (1969) has observed, this was startling for Americans for two reasons: first the racial double standard was so old and established that people took it as a part of natural social order. Negroes were apprised of their low attributes, and they occupied their place because of these. This was not perceived as prejudice but as a matter of justice. The second shocking thing about the civil rights movement was the ethic of non-violence that blacks had developed under Dr. Martin Luther King. The principles of non-violence were at once contrary to the American customs, aimed at turning the oppressors' strength against himself. Traditionally, Americans have obeyed the law and believed in self-defense. But the civil rights

workers, following Gandhi's strategy of non-violence, not only did not obey the law but at the same time did not defend themselves.

According to Grantham (1976), the Democratic platform of 1960 contained the most far-reaching civil rights pledges ever made by any major political party in the United States. But the Kennedy administration was most reluctant to sponsor any broad civil rights program in Congress for fear of jeopardizing enactment of its New Frontier (space) programs. Of the twenty-three legislative measures related to domestic reforms, sixteen were defeated, one of which was the civil rights bill, H.R. 7152. But shortly after the assassination of Kennedy, Johnson in his November 27, 1963, address to the Congress made it clear that he was totally committed to the enactment of broad civil rights measures. He said,

> We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for one hundred years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law (Grantham, 1976, p. 214)

Johnson excercised all the power and leadership at his command to see Bill HR 7152 enacted into the Civil Rights Act. It passed the House in February, 1964, and passed the Senate and became law in July, 1964. This was an Act of far-reaching significance. On January 31, 1965, forty-five Negro leacers declared that they would insist on implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Economic Opportunity Act during the year 1965. Among the

problems identified were inadequate and segregated education, disproportionate unemployment, and the miseries of slum living (New York Times, February 1, 1965).

Affluence and Poverty: 1947 to 1965

The post-war period has been characterized by a significant rise in family income. According to the U.S. Bureau of Statistics, Consumer Index Report, August 26, 1966, the median income had more than doubled in current dollars from $3,000 in 1947 to $6,600 in 1965. A part of this advance reflected rises in consumer income prices, but there was also a substantial increase in real purchasing power.

Families receiving incomes under $3,000 in 1964 constant dollars had decreased from 30 per cent in 1947 to 17 per cent in 1965. Those families receiving $10,000 or more increased from 7 percent in 1947 to 25 per cent in 1965. In terms of the share received, out of the total national income the lowest fifth has been fairly constant at about 5 per cent. There was a slight decrease in the percentage of share received by the highest fifth from 43 per cent in 1947 to 41 percent in 1965.

All reform efforts are necessarily directed toward eradicating some social, moral, or human problem. As we have already seen, the American society was reaping the fruits of its labor at best. There was unprecedented expansion in ecomonic growth, population and the

availability of leisure time. However, there still existed some pockets of poverty. It is these pockets the correction of which Johnson dedicated all his energies. His war on poverty and educational reforms were primarily directed toward achieving equality, or at least reducing the potential difference between the two extremes of surplus and poverty.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census report (1967), the 1960's had witnessed a pronounced decline in the extent of poverty in the United States. During the six-year period, from 1959 to 1965, the total U. S. population increased by an average of two and a half million per year, but the number of persons below poverty level was reduced from 39 million to 30 million. As a result, the poverty level actually fell more sharply, from 22 percent in 1959 to 15 percent in 1965. Since 1960 the incidence of poverty showed a persistent downward trend. However, one family in eight was still receiving income below the poverty level.

In 1959, the poverty line for a family of four was $3,100, while a modest but adequate standard of living needed an income of $7,000. In 1966, the poverty line for a family of four was $3,335. However, for a modest but adequate standard of living for a family of four it required an income of $9,200. Thus, the poverty line had not maintained its previous relationship to the modest but adequate level of living for U. S. families.

The average family income had risen from $6,000 in 1959

to $7,400 in 1964. The richest 20 percent of all families received 41 percent of aggregate income both in 1959 and 1964, while the poorest 20 percent received only 5 percent of the aggregate in both years.

Poverty is coordinated misery; lack of education leads to unemployment, bad housing, and lack of motivation. It had become an institution, a self-perpetuating 'culture of poverty'. Among the suggestions for reducing poverty were: raising compulsory schooling to age 18 to delay entrance into the work-force, and set up an anti-poverty lobby in Washington to balance the power of institutions which profit from poverty (Harrington, 1964).

Myrdal (1964) stated that the unemployed employable were America's biggest wastage of economic resources. He suggested that poverty breeds more poverty and the way to end this vicious circle is to expand education and vocational guidance facilities and to end discrimination. This could be achieved by means of using public funds.

Campus Protests

Student political activism, campus protest and disruptiveness was rampant in the early 1960s. Demonstrations had been traditional with the earlier generations but civil disobedience and sit-ins in labor style were new to the students. The urgency of the young seemed to be directed against the notion of society itself. At Berkley, student anger had been boiling for some time as

a result of growing depersonalization and bureaucratic indifference on that campus. During the decade 1965-1975, the undergraduate population would grow prodigiously. If attention could then be focussed on undergraduate education and its shameful neglect, then recent student militancy would have served the most useful purpose (Boroff, 1965).

The picture of the student during the early 1960s, as described by Wolk (1965) looked like this:

> He symbolizes the uncertainty, the unrest, the discontent the frustration of American higher eduction. . . . He is, he believes, 'the forgotten man' . . . a bother to his teacher, a number to the administration, and a stranger to most of his fellow students (p. 4).

Higher Education

The new democratic spirit expanded the bases of higher education. While speaking about the post-World War II period, Hacker (1970) observed that the notions of equalitarianism by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and the democratization of higher education through the Morrill Act had made appreciable progress, but now everyone seemed ready to excel others. Higher education must be available to everyone, because it was everyone's right to have higher education. He further said, this spirit of equalitarianism emerged regardless of economic and political conditions of the country.

The need for reform in higher education was felt as early as the mid-fifties. As reported by Havinghurst

(1960), the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, after careful thought and demographic analysis, reported in 1956:

> Revolutionary changes are occurring in American education of which even yet we are only dimly aware. This nation has been propelled into a challenging new educational era since world war II by the convergence of powerful forces, an explosion of knowledge and population, a burst of technological and economic advance, the outbreak of ideological conflict and the uprooting of old cultural patterns on a worldwide scale, and an unparalled demand by Americans for more and better education (p. 60).

This Committee further stated that the decade of the 1960s would face a conflict between the goals of preserving quality and expanding enrollments. It advised raising the standards of quality in education by narrowing the opportunities to the expanding numbers of tomorrow's youth. However, the Committee observed, no matter where the institutions drew the line between quality and numbers, the number of qualifying applicants toward the end of the 1960s would be at least twice the presert level.

Sputnik

The American nation was experiencing unprecedented growth and pride until came in 1957 the Russian Sputnik. This created a sudden jolt both for the society at large and for higher education in particular. Brubacher (1965) has given an interesting description of this shakeup. Before this event the Americans were complacent and had never

doubted their unexamined assumption that American industrial ingenuity was foremost in the world. The schools that had produced this ingenuity were the best available. But now the United States was surpassed in technology, where it was certain it was unexcelled. This implies, therefore, that the United States was surpassed in education which produced its engineers and inventors. Americans were dumb-founded. They started to reexamine their presuppositions, and a search for excellence ensued. In order to improve the quality of education, a greater search for talent was necessary. This search ended in the enactment of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, stated that - among other factors - Khrushchev was a force behind this legislation.

The Apollo Mission

The race to compete with Russia continued and was regarded as highest priority by the Kennedy administration. In 1960, President Kennedy, while accepting his nomination to the presidential election, stated that America was facing three problems, namely, space exploration, ignorance, poverty and surplus. He said:

> the New Frontier [in the form of] uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus . . . is here whether we seek it or not (Grantham, 1976, p. 191).

As regards his effectiveness in the social reforms of

ignorance, poverty and civil rights, sixteen out of twenty-three bills relating to these areas were defeated. But in response to the Russian challenge, President Kennedy commited the U.S. in 1961 to place a man on the moon. It required an estimated expenditure of $20 to $40 billion (Webb, 1970) before the end of the decade. This decision had a profound effect on higher education, as it brought industry, the Federal government, and the universities closer together to work as a part of a great system to achieve a pre-defined national goal. Second, this decision would subordinate science to engineering even more than it already was. Commenting on the public approval of this huge expenditure, Gilruth (1970) said:

> The public was ready and willing to expand the space effort, and Congress did not bat an eye at Webb's estimate that $20 to $40 billion could be required to go the Moon. It was a popular decision, and the vote of the Congress on the Moon program was virtually unanimous (p. 19).

What were the compelling reasons to spend such a huge amount of money on this space expecition? O'Neill (1969) said that the foremost among them was the need to beat Russia. The Soviets had already developed big rockets and were doing spectacular things first. That made capitalism look bad and had depressing effects on American morale and prestige.

Logsdon (1970), while discussing the national policies of Kennedy, said that Gagarin's successful one-orbit flight in April of 1961 changed presidential caution into concern

and resultec in the Appollo decision. But now tne Soviet Union was quick to capitalize on the propaganda significance of their space-flight. Nikita Khrushchev boasted to Gagarin by telephone: "Let the capitalist countries catch up with our country" (p. 11). This event produced a crisis, and a reexamination of national goals followed. Logsdon commented:

> This reexamination resulted in a presidential decision to use tne United States space program as an intrument of national strategy, rather than to view it primarily as a program of scientific research. This decision identified, for the world to see, a space achievement as a national goal symbolic of American determiration to remain tne leading power in the world (p. 11).

Enrollment Projections

As regards the enrollment trends of youtn, Dr. Havinghurst (1960), Professor of Higher Education, University of Chicago, projectec that the conorts of new adults after 1965 would be 45 percent larger than the youth death rate of the 1950s. He further observed that by intellectual ability only about one-half of the ablest quarter were going to college at the beginning of the 1950s, while at the end of the decade about two-thirds were going to college. The second major trend during this decade nad been that of a higher proportion of working class youth going to college.

Havinghurst further predictec that the social goals of higher education in the 1960s would depend on ideology more than they had in the recent past; that the idealogy of

opportunity and social mobility was supported by the growing conviction that higher education pays the individual and the society when viewed as investment in human capital; that the non-economic argument and general liberal education would undoubtedly have an expansive effect on higher education.

Havinghurst was also a witness in the congressional hearings. During his statement, he convinced the members that large amount of Federal money would be required to cope with expanding population and expanding knowledge. It is interesting to note that a similar situation existed in Great Britain. Ottaway (1962), a British educator, remarked that the general trend of democracy and belief in equality led to demand for equal educational opportunity. He said:

> We are in Britain faced with the same two tendencies; an increasing technology and increasing democratization of society, which will lead us, as it has led the Americans, to the need for still further expansion of our education, both in the universities and schools. When can we afford it, what shall we do (p. 99)?

Thus, the more the technological advancement, the greater the need for highly specialized manpower and hence for a longer school life and greater provision of higher education.

Illiteracy

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (1967), approximately 2.85 million persons in the United States in 1959 were unable to read or write at all. In 1960 there

were approximately 115 million persons in the 18-year-and-over age group, and of these, 11,350,000, or 10 per cent, had completed less than 6 years of schooling.

Norton (1963) reported that some 400,000 illiterates were accepted for military service. The Armed forces provided these men with the educational fundamentals necessary for useful service. Another 300,000 illiterates - equal to 20 army divisions--were rejected completely. From July, 1950, to September, 1960, over 900,000 draft registrants of 6 million examined were rejected on the basis of a reading test alone. Low educational attainment was the largest single reason for rejection.

Green (1963) remarked beautifully about the seamy sides of American social, occupational, and educational life:

> One college president said, 'A nation that spends 15 times as much on legalised gambling as on higher education can afford to gamble on every qualified young man or young woman who really wants a college education. . . . We are willing to pay unemployment compensation benefits to a forty-five-year-old father or spend more than $1,000 on one individual under the new federal Manpower Development and Training Act to develop new skills in his later, less flexible years. But as a society we have not created the opportunities for him and hundreds like him to obtain the highly skilled and professional first training that this nation needs and will need (pp. 12-13).

These remarks were a poetic utterance; their implications were various and deep: that the society had an abundance of wealth was beyond question; that the systems of higher education, the federal government, and industry lacked planning and coordination was obvious.

Green, as we shall see in Chapter IV, chaired House of Representatives hearings during the enactment of the HEA.

The Challenge of Change

The Nineteenth National Conference on Higher Education, 1964, was one of the most representative gathering in higher education. The theme of this conference was *Undergraduate Education*, but the keynote was *Change*. The participants talked about the changes that had occurred, the changes that were coming, the changes that were needed. Gerald Piel (1964), one of the speakers, emphasized the swiftness and the impact of the oncoming change. He declared,

> The now steeply accelerating advance of science allows no time for evolution. We are compelled to an immediate re-examination and deliberate overhaul of the values and institutions that we have carried into the present from the swiftly receding past (p. 24).

Lawrence Dennis (1964) of the American Council on Education put into these words the crux of the Conference discussion:

> The year 1963 was the year of civil rights and the year of education, the year in which both turned a corner to become in new ways a part of the American consensus . . . Inevitably, 1964 is emerging as a year in which civil rights and education coalessed. Two of the great revolutions of our time are now as one: it will be primarily through education that the Negro enters the mainstream of American life (p. 23).

While addressing the Conferece, the Chairman of NEA's Educational Policies Commission and executive secretary of

the California State Teachers Association, Mr. Arthey F. Corey (1964), said, it seemed likely that every aspect of modern curriculum would be challenged in the next decade or two as it never had been challenged before.

Pressures and Priorities

The Twentieth National Conference on Higher Education, 1965, helped identify current critical issues of higher education. The theme of discussion for that year was Pressures and Priorities of Higher Education. It was generally agreed that the higher education at that point of time was thirty years behind those developments that had taken place in society, science, and technology.

Higher education has never been free from external and internal pressures, but now there were greater pressures of greater complexity than ever before. Clark Kerr (1965), while addressing the Conference, said, the university by now had developed into a multiversity and the campus had come to be the most widely travelled crossroads in America.

Logan Wilson (1965), the president of the American Council on Education, told the conference that from their point of view in the mid-sixties it was clear that higher education confronted unprecedented opportunities and was being asked to assume unparalleled obligations. Not only were colleges and universities expected to transform youths in attendance, but also to play key roles in an effort to uplift the population at large. Whether it was eliminating

poverty, reducing unemployment, improving morals, or getting a man on the moon, institutions of higher education were being drawn into a multitude of public concerns. He further said that in an era of increased interdependence, decentralization leads to an unevenness of educational opportunity which limits the entire nation's manpower potential.

Pointing to the ever-increasing availability of leisure time, Roger L. Stevens (1965), Assistant to the President on Humanities, asserted while speaking in the Conference, that educational institutions should take the lead in helping our citizens develop an appreciation of arts which will enable them to live a happier life.

As a result of these discussions, three pressures seemed to be unique to that time: the rapid growth of enrollment, the knowledge explosion and Civil Rights. These seem to be the primary pressures most directly shaping American higher education. In their effort to cope with the explosion of knowledge and enrollments, the institutions of higher education had become more businesslike and had grown more sensitive to external demands. Most institutions had lost sight of their missions due to preoccupation with organizational matters and intramural relationships. The impact of pressures changed the function of faculty, too. The pressures to do research, to publish, to consult, to play a greater role in administration and governance of institutions brought teaching to a low esteem and disrupted

the academic serenity. In order to find more funds to finance their programs, faculty became expert in "grantsmanship". The available resources being limited, internal interest groups vied for prestige and power, resulting in power shifts within higher education, with the ultimate consequences of fragmentation in the purpose and organization of higher education.

But, while discussing the bases for policy in higher education, Brubacher (1965) said that both the economic and political arguments in support of higher education brought into prominence the importance of the mediocre student. These concepts released energy and zeal in the masses of the population and their origin can be traced back to the time of the Revolution and in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal". His argument was that if men appear to be unequal, it is probably due to inequalities in education. Therefore, the cure for inequality must be education.

Thus, the demand for higher education had valid bases, both from the point of view of equality of men and from the point of view of socio-economic conditions.

The Federal Government has a long history of spending money in higher education. Brubacher and Rudy (1965) said that the Federal Government was already spending $750,000,000 a year on research programs alone in educational institutions and allied research centers prior to 1965. Additional hundreds of millions were being

appropriated in grants to graduate students by the National Science Foundation, NIH, and NDEA. By means of such specific programs, the Federal Government had become the single largest source of support for America's colleges and universities. They further said that in 1965 that the Congress responded by passing the Higher Education Act, perhaps the most comprehensive measure concerning colleges and universities since the Morrill Act of 1862. The Federal Government had, up to that time, refused to accept any direct responsibility for coordiantion in the field of higher education. Many of the special federal grants had been directed to graduate study and research.

Federal Role in Higher Education Since World War II

Significant expansion of the federal role in higher education was evident following World War II, as a brief summary of legislative activity will reveal. As a follow-up of the GI Bill of 1944, Bill S 1850 was introduced and passed by the United States Senate in 1946 by a 48-18 roll-call vote, but was not acted on by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Authorizations under this bill were estimated at $200 million annually to pay for a National Science Board and eight committees representing various sciences, and to award undergraduate scholarships and graduate fellowsnips for scientific research. Controversial provisions were those requiring that at least

25 percent of the research funds be spread among all of the States.

Bill S 526 was passed by Congress in 1947 to create a National Science Foundation, but was vetoed by President Truman. Bill S 2385 was revised in 1948 as S 526 to meet President Truman's objections which he made in 1947. It was passed by the Senate but did not come to the House floor before adjournment. Another bill (S 247), identical to the one passed by the Senate (S 526) in 1948, was passed by the Senate in 1949 but it did not come to the House floor before adjournment. However, this bill was passed by the House with amendments and enacted into law in 1950 (PL 81-507).

The year 1950 saw the passage of three important federal laws. Two laws (PL 815 and PL 874) authorized federal grants to areas impacted by tax-free federal property and installations, Indian reservations or government contractors. PL 815 authorized federal money for the construction of schools and PL 874 authorized money for school building maintenance and teachers' salaries. The third law (PL 81-507) created the National Science Foundation.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 (PL 85-864) appropriated $1 billion to education, designed to improve the teaching of sciences, mathematics and foreign languages at all levels. The immediate compelling "cause" of the enactment of this Act was the successful launching of the Russian "sputnik" in space:

> Passed in reaction to Russian achievements in space technology, symbolized by the 1957 orbitting of the first earth satellite ('sputnik'), . . . as a reaction to a national 'crisis' (Congressional Quarterly Service, 1965, p. 8).

The Higher Education Act of 1963 (PL 88-204) was passed by the House on August 14, 1963, and passed the Senate on October 21. This Act authorized federal aid to public and non-profit institutions to finance the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of higher education academic facilities for a five-year period. It appropriated over $1 billion for the first three years of its authorization.

In 1964, Congress added significantly to the accomplishment of 1963 by extending and expanding several existing higher education programs, including the extension of the NDEA for three years. The 1963 requests of Mr. Kennedy for an adult education literacy program and a work-study program providing part-time work for college students were incorporated into Mr. Johnson's anti-poverty bill. In his January 21, 1964, Budget message, Mr. Johnson made seven education requests, asking for increased educational opportunities for graduate students, improved teacher training, library services and construction grants to construct classrooms, federally guaranteed student loans and university extension services for adults. The first two requests were included in the NDEA amendments, as enacted, and the third was signed into law (PL 88-269). The others did not reach the floor in either House.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had provisions that

affected higher education. Title IV of this Act authorized the Attorney General to file suits for the desegregation of public schools and colleges. Under Title VI of the Act, institutions of learning which practiced segregation became ineligible for Federal aid money. Education programs affected by this Title included college facilities construction, college dormitory construction, research grants and equipment, surplus materials distribution, national defense education activities, anti-poverty programs and loans to college students.

The first general aid to education bill ever to clear Congress was enacted in 1965, The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This Act authorized $1 billion to public and parochial schools. The proponents of federal aid to education avoided religious controversy by emphasizing that the money would go to children and not to schools. The heart of this general aid bill was aid to needy students. This Act had important significance for the passage of the HEA of 1965. It settled the issue of federal aid to parochial institutions of education, at least for the time-being.

By the early 1960s the full impact of civil rights, the population explosion, the knowledge explosion, and technological developments was being felt in institutions of higher education. Other related developments during this period were pressure on cities, changes in occupational structure, and social upheavals. The Johnson

administration, by enacting The Civil Rights Act of 1964, The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and The Higher Education Act of 1965, brought federal aid to education to help provide equal opportunity in education for all in America, to provide funcs to the institutions of education at all levels in order to help them catch-up with expanding population and knowledge.

It appears from a review of general environmental conditions existing in the American society and the Federal legislation affecting higher education, after World War II, that Federal aid to higher education had been sporadic, specific and scant. It was for the Johnson administration in 1964 and 1965 that federal aid to education legislation of general, comprehensive nature was accomplished.

Lyndon B. Johnson

The Man and the Reformer

Johnson came in power in that period of technological change, social conflict and educational chaos. He was one of the major forces of articulation behind the HEA. To understand his thoughts and actions, this section will make use of the biographical approach. While describing the life of Johnson, it may be pointed out that the author does not agree with the unjust criticism of some of Johnson's critics like Evans and Novak ((1966), Eidenberg and Morey (1969). In the opinion of these authors, Johnson's educational reforms were prompted by his personal political motives.

Contrary to this opinion the author thinks that, keeping in view Mr. Johnson's speeches and actions, the reforms he introduced and got enacted speak for themselves. Perhaps he understood better the problems of the age. He combined the teacher, the reformer, and the President in him and presented to his people the package of the Great Society. It was a package of human dignity, human fulfillment, war on poverty, and massive educational reforms, a comprehensive package to raise American people, both as a nation and as individuals, to greater freedom and human dignity. These objectives could be achieved through better education at all levels. The process of parallel sponsoring of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 prove this point. There was no scarcity in America of any commocity, yet there were some pockets of poverty and ignorance. Jonson's thoughts indicated that people could be equalized through better education. Their poverty would end and a great, free civilization would emerge, the Great Society. Born near Stonewall, Texas, on August 27, 1908, Johnson grew up in the bleak hill country of Johnson City, Texas, when the rural economy was depressed. To complete his education at the Southwest Texas State Teacher's College, he was obliged to work at a variety of jobs. Later, while signing the Higher Education Bill at Southwest Texas State Teacher's College, in 1965, he said

> I worked at a dozen different jobs, from sweeping

> the floors to selling real silk socks. I sometimes wondered what the next day would bring that could exceed the hardships of the day before (New York Times, November 9, 1965, p. 1).

Johnson was a strongly built man, powerful, influential and self-reliant. He won a congressional election to fill a special vacancy in 1937, was elected regularly thereafter untill 1948, when he was elected as a senator. He gained power rapidly and became majority leader in the Upper House in 1954. Evans and Novak (1966) have described his leadership activities as:

> He moved in close, his face a scant millimeter from his target, his eyes widening and narrowing, his eyebrows rising and falling. From his pockets poured clippings, memos, statistics. Mimicry, humor, and the genius of analogy made the Treatment an almost hypnotic experience and rendered the target stunned and helpless (p. 212).

He was masterful at parliamentary maneuvre, successful in using "unanimous consent" strategy and at applying pleasant pressure on those who were opposing or undecided. The record of his domestic reforms legislation and his slowing down of the Russian containment prove the point that reform begins at home. While signing the Higher Education Act on November 8, 1965, he said:

> All you have to do is look at the morning paper this morning to see the rockets that were paraded down the avenues in the Soviet Union yesterday or the day before, and realize that until we banish ignorance, until we drive disease from our midst, until we overcome poverty, we cannot expect to continue to be leaders not only of a great people but the leaders of the great civilization (New York Times, January 13, 1965, p. 75).

Johnson's concern for poverty and human dignity, and his method of appeal to the sentiment, are apparent from the following speech on an Austin radio station as reported by Evans and Novak (1966):

> Last Christmas, when all over the world people were celebrating the birth of the Christ Child, I took a walk here in Austin, a short walk, just four blocks from Congress Avenue (the main downtown street). There I found people living in such squalor that Christmas Day was to them just one more day of filth and misery. I found forty families on one lot using one water faucet, living in barren, one-room huts. There was no electricity. One typical family . . . living in one room without a window . . . slept, cooked, ate there, while the mother bent over a leaky tub, washing clothes for the little money they had; the father lay ill with an infectious disease. There were ten children, all under sixteen (p. 166).

This was part of the Texas life; Negro and Mexican American families. Johnson's eyes were focussed on their lives, when others were busy merry-making. Poverty had been part of his personal life and a reality in his perception that he could never forget under any circumstances. Poverty heightened his concern at otherwise joyful occasions.

Another incident tells the same story. Among the common street crowds in Karachi, Pakistan, Johnson picked a camel driver, a ghetto-dweller, named Bashir Ahmad to be the State guest of the United States. His total capital, the price of his camel, was $50.00. Bashir was received at the Capitol and at the Johnson home with all honors. Was it his love for the poor or a political maneuver? Or was it his method of sentimental dramatizing the existence of poverty?

Or was it an act to raise human dignity above wealth and power? Perhaps Bashir was the first and last poor man ever to be invited to be the state guest of the United States.

The Great Society

The writings and speeches of Mr. Johnson indicate that the concept of the Great Society, simply stated, was the commitment of the American people to the ideal of individual fulfillment. It is built on the moral base, the convictions, concerning the worth of the individual. And it will be education designed to serve the high purposes of that society--education that will enable every child to develop his talents, that will liberate and enhance every man and woman, that will create a sound moral and political commmunity (President's Task Force, 1964, p. i). President Johnson, in his State of the Union message to the Congress on January 8, 1965, proclaimed that one of the goals of the Great Society was to improve the quality of American life. This could be achieved through better education. Johnson's thoughts indicate that education was the prime force of renewal and stability. Military force is worthless if we lack the brainpower to build a world of peace, economy is unproductive if we do not produce trained manpower, democratic system of government is fragile if citizens are ignorant. Similarly, health, beautification, civil rights, agriculture, and defense are nothing if we do not have education. In fact, he said that the world is engaged in a

race between education and chaos.

Knowledge, desire for beauty, sense of community and self-fulfilment are the goals of the Great Society. Some of the excerpts from his message included:

> We do not intend to live in the midst of abundance, isolated from neighbors and nature, confined by blighted cities and bleak suburbs, stunted by a poverty of learning and emptiness of leisure.
>
> The Great Society asks not only how much, but how good; not only how to create wealth but how to use it; not only how fast we are going, but where we are needed.
>
> The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talent. . . .
>
> It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. . . .
>
> It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quality of their goods.
>
> It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckonning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.
>
> I propose that we begin a program in education to ensure every American child, the fullest development of his mind (Washington D.C. Inaugural Committee, 1965, p. IV).

The Great Society produced a wealth of specific new ideas; there was much originality in the Johnson proposals: an education aid formula that would concentrate funds in poverty-stricken school districts, and offers the promise of assistance to both parochial and public schools without violence to the Constitution; Federal rental supplements for

families of low income that were still above poverty level; the accquisition of land in and around cities for new, planned communities; regional centers for research of heart disease and cancer; Federally directed beautification of rivers, highways and cities, down to such specifics as a program to make Washington's grass-and-concrete mall a pleasant place for lovers to stroll, children to play, and old men to doze.

War on Poverty

In the same State of the Union Address, Johnson told the Congress, "This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I urge this Congress and the Americans to join with me in that effort" (Washington D.C. Inaugural Committee, 1965, p. III).

The war on poverty was only a part of his package of the Great Society. As stated earlier, Johnson believed that the United States could not expect to continue to be the leader not only of a great people but the leader of all civilization until she won the war on poverty. To acnieve this goal, he doubled his war against poverty in 1965, increased efforts at retraining unskilled workers, reduced Federal taxes, created bigger programs in attacking physical and mental disease, urban blight, water and air pollution, and made a massive effort to save the countryside, by making a model of beauty and recreation for the entire country.

He gradually began to imprint his theme into the minds

of his fellow Americans. He preached that he was moving not toward just a rich or powerful society, but toward the Great Society. This society rests on abundance and liberty for all, it demands an end to poverty and racial injustice; it is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and enlarge his talents.

The Private Sector

In his letter to Senator Morse, Chairman of the Subcommittee, Mr. Willard R. Espy, in his grand epic style, stated that President Johnson foresaw an active role for private organizations in his campaign for the great Society. He counted on deeds as well as words from universities and religious groups. The President intended to be St. George in that war, on the assumption that the banks and the churches would push their own skirmishes against such dragons of the day as deficient housing, blighted cities, unemployment, and inadequate schools. Mr. Espy, with a note of pessimism, likened Johnson's struggle in 1965 with Isaians' failure in 330 B.C. in persuading the wolf to dwell with the lamb. The chances are that the Federal agencies, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, with their divergent vested interests will, like a wolf in the name of the Great Society, turn and rend the lamb . . . the public good (See original letter in Appendix D).

Summary

As seen in this chapter at least five general environmental factors existed prior to introduction of the HEA that had the potential to induce strong support for federal aid to higher education. These were: the population explosion; rapid and sustained economic growth in the national economy due to the technological revolution; the rise of a new, stronger democratic spirit, with its offshoot expressing itself in the Civil Rights movement; urbanization, with its implications for displacement in occupational structure; and, 'discovery' of poverty within an affluent society. This provided us with an overview of broad social, economic and demographic change.

In the context of these environmental factors after World War II, the rationale for federal aid to higher education became stronger for the Johnson administration. The civil rights movement had already precipitated the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The rapid growth in college population; the knowledge explosion; the increase in the number of sophisticated, technical jobs; greater availibilty of leisure time; and the emergence of the new democratic spirit were making greater demands on higher education, both in terms of quantity and quality. Added to these factors was Johnson's passion for reforms to transform the American society into the Great Society where every American child could fulfil his individual needs.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENACTMENT

This chapter identifies and describes two types of major factors that affected the national legislature in initiating and articulating the process of legislation. The first type includes factors existing outside the national legislature of the United States, such as the Office of Education, the political parties and certain events directly related to the enactment. The second type includes factors within the legislative system, such as, the alteration of party ratios, and change in the composition of committees. It describes the House and Senate hearings, the floor action, the conflict between the Senate and the House, the conference, and the passage. It also includes a brief "text" of the hearings in both the Houses of the Congress, because the text is itself a major factor contributing to the enactment of the HEA (hereinafter abbreviated as HEA).

Genesis of the Act

In terms of Nagel's (1961) genetic explanations (i.e., the explanation of actions in terms of temporally extended circumstances and their sequential order), Johnson's desire to see <u>all</u> American youth receive education at all levels

regardless of their racial differences and income levels goes back to 1930, when he was a teacher at a Mexican school at Cotulla. While speaking at the signing ceremony of the HEA, he said:

> I shall never forget the faces of boys and girls in that classroom at the Mexican school, and I remember even yet the pain of realizing and knowing then that college was closed to practically everyone of those children because they were poor. And I think it was then I made up my mind that this nation could never rest while the door to knowledge remained closed to any American (New York Times, January 13, 1965, p. 1).

In 1963 Johnson had proposed federally insured student loans, subsequently endorsed and requested by Kennedy. But, this proposal was dropped by the 88th Congress because partisan disputes over the issue had killed the previous education bills. Mr. Johnson incorporated the same proposal in the HEA of 1965. Most of the titles in the Act were requested by President Johnson in his education message on January 12, 1965, and in his July 17 message to the Congress for the creation of National Teachers Corps.

Title III was proposed by Edith Green of Oregon for legislation in the 88th Congress. It was rejected and, later, incorporated by her in the HEA.

The President's Task Force on Education

In 1964 Mr. Johnson appointed the President's Task Force on Education headed by John Gardner, then president of the Carnegie Commission and later named by Johnson as

Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. John Gardner was appointed and instructed by Johnson to prepare a comprehensive report on the needs of education with recommendations for action. This was to be done within the framework of the Great Society. The task force consisted of men such as: Clark Kerr, Raymond Tucker, Ralph Tyler, and David Reisman. They were interested in the application of research and development, the demonstration of new techniques, the problems of adequate materials.

The President's Task Force or Education (1964) made the following recommendation for higher education:

> It should be our objective as a nation to provide every child with as much education as his talent and desire warrant. Ability to pay should not be controlling criterion (pp. IV-V).

The Task Force was actively opposed to tax-credit for tuition and other educational expenses. It recommended that the Federal Government pay Grants-in-aid to very able students who were among the most needy; expansion of present work-study programs; more extensive use of loans and loan-guarantees. It further recommended that action be taken to assist the many small or lesser known institutions that were in grave need of assistance. It invited the President to bring into being a program of National Teaching Fellows. These recommendations were incorporated into the HEA provisions. Johnson was deeply committed to education, to help improve its quality, and to extend it to those who needed it most.

Titles

The initial bill which ultimately became the HEA was HR 9567 and had eight titles (See details in Appendix B).

Title I: Community Service, Continuing Education: Authorized grants to support university extension courses concentrating on urban and suburban problems such as pollution, transportation, employment, health, housing and poverty. This program was to provide help to urban areas that the land-grant colleges provided to agriculture.

Title II: College Library Assistance, Training and Research: Authorized funds to buy library materials, training of librarians, and cataloging.

Title III: Strengthening Developing Institutions: Authorized grants to raise academic quality of developing institutions which were struggling for survival and were isolated from the main currents of academic life.

Title IV: Student Assistance: Authorized federal scholarship for undergraduate students. This title was revolutionary as for the first time Congress approved federal scholarships for undergraduate students.

Title V: Teacher Programs: Authorized grants for graduate study by teachers and for other teacher programs.

Title VI: Improvement of Undergraduate Courses: Authorized funds for improvement of laboratories, audiovisual equipment and printed materials.

Title VII: Amendments to Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963: Authorized increased grants for college

classroom construction.

Title VIII: General Provisions: Specified that nothing in the bill authorized any federal control over the curriculum or administration of higher education.

Keeping in view the circumstantial evidence, it is most likely that the Office of Education drafted the bill under the guidelines of the task force report and President Johnson himself.

Administration

The President's Role

One of the major forces of articulation was President Johnson's role: his power of persuasion, his knowledge of men and the Congressional process, and his consensus approach in bringing various conflicting interest groups and organizations together prior to the critical stages of legislation. In the case of the Higher Education Act of 1965, Johnson deployed all the administrative machinery of the U.S. Office of Education to the consensus-building process. Mr. Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, was the foremost advocator in this process. Among others were Mr. Wilbur Cohen, under Secretary, HEW, and Douglas Cater. Mr. Cater was responsible for communication and coordination between the President and educational institutions, groups, and individuals (McComb, 1968).

There was a marked change in the administration's

policy on the church-state issue. Mr. Kennedy had supported separation of church and state. In contrast to President Kennedy, Mr. Johnson would not even consider it as a controversy. To him the individual student was the beneficiary, not the institution.

The Consensus Approach

About President Johnson's Consensus Approach, The New York Times had this to say in its News of the Week Review:

> The word most often on the President's lips these days seems to be 'consensus'---to illustrate what he means by consensus---broad approval and agreement behind any program, domestic or foreign (New York Times, January 3, 1965, p. 1).

O'Neill (1971) said that Johnson transformed the Senate. His use of "Unanimous Consent" to limit debates made the cloakroom horsetrading, where he excelled, all important. One example of his consensus-building methods was his cut in the $103 billion budget down to $98 billion in his State of the Union Message on January 8, 1964. Congress not only approved a tax cut but also approved $1 billion for the war on poverty. In the following May, he declared his ambition of building American civilization into the "Great Society". In June he extracted from Congress the most sweeping civil rights bill in history--the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Administration, using the Office of Education, was in constant discussion with such groups as the National

Education Association, the American Council on Education, the American Library Association, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference. They met to discuss what kind of legislation might be constitutionally proper and might also be acceptable to and supported by the public and parochial school interests. The discussions were informal, and documents were never distributed (Singernoff, 1968).

Traditionally, these interest groups opposed educational legislation granting aid to parochial schools but as regards the HEA, Keppel persuaded these groups before the bill was introduced, thus, building consensus prior to the process of legislation.

The Church-State Issue

The question of federal aid to church-supported institutions of higher education did not trouble the administration much in the enactment of the HEA. As regards the church-state issue, the first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free excercise thereof. This guarantees the freedom of religion and prohibits state-endowed religion. The existence of parochial colleges rests in the freedom of religion clause. But the debate over federal aid to education revolves around the "establishment" clause.

There had been no court decisions or congressional precedents which produced a clear demarcation on this issue,

or that tested the constitutionality of federal programs that grant aid to church-related institutions. In Forthingham v. Mellon (1923), the Supreme Court ruled that an individual taxpayer did not have enough standing, or sufficient interest, to challenge the way a federal law expended money.

Sensing the thorny nature of the issue, The Wall Street Journal reported on January 4:

> There are votes aplenty for generously financed educational system, for example, which has come to be regarded as the Great Society's touchstone. But before these votes can be cast, the long deadlock over federal aid to catholic schools must be bypassed, even if aid plan is narrower and more specialized than the the old idea of general assistance to public schools. Before all the competing 'solutions' can be reconciled, Congress may find itself well into the 1966 session (p. 4).

Among the opponents of federal aid to parochial schools had been the National Education Association and the American Civil Liberties Union. This issue was resolved by the Johnson administration by stating that the federal aid would go to individual students, not institutions.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had far-reaching significance for educational legislation in the year 1965. Its existence meant that the controversy surrounding the segregation issue was no longer a threat to the proponents of federal aid to education. Title VI of the Civil Rights

Act provided that no program or activity receiving federal assistance could discriminate against persons because of race, color, or national origin. Thus, federal aid could not be granted to any segregated school or program, and those groups which were concerned about the possibility of federal aid being distributed to segregated schools were now supportive of federal programs.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

The passage of ESEA in April, 1965, was a major event that paved the way for the enactment of the HEA of 1965. It settled the question of federal aid to parochial schools.

During the hearings for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 which were initiated almost simultaneously with the HEA Hearings, but which was passed in April of 1965, the American Civil Liberties Union, represented by Leo Pfeffer of New York City, opposed the bill because it authorized the purchase of text-books for children in both public and parochial schools. These provisions, it was argued, would violate the doctrine of separation of church and state (New York Times, February 1, 1965, p. 1). But, the attitude of the interest groups and the Congress altered in the case of HEA. What influenced the legislature to reverse its position on the long-standing issue of aid to parochial schools? An explanation of this question is provided by Mr. Francis Keppel (Singernoff,

1968), in his 1968 interview with Mr. Singerhoff. Mr. Keppel stated that the religious organizations converged but did not exert much organized pressure on the Congress or the Administration because of the corsensus approach. This conflict adjustment was reached before the bill reached the floor, so that the possibility of controversy on the floor or the national scene decreased and the chances of enactment were increased. Mr. Keppel further said that this issue had already been settled during the legislative experience of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 by allocating funds to parochial schools.

The long years that had already gone into the preparation of such familiar measures as medical care for the aged, liberalized immigration, aid to education, and many elements of the anti-poverty program, prior to the introduction of HEA for legislation were other contributing factors to its enactment.

Another important factor, as reported by the New York Times, was the preceding year's business boom, that is in the year 1964, which again was encouraged by Johnson's tax-cut. It said:

> The business boom encouraged by last year's stimulative tax reduction; combined with Government economies, this providing the needed funds to finance the Great Society without disproportionate increase in the national budget (New York Times, January 3, 1965, p. 1).

The U.S. Commissioner of Education

Mr. Keppel (Singerhoff, 1968) stated in his interview with Mr. Singerhoff that as he saw the situation in December of 1962, when he became the Commissioner of Education, it was one in which President Kennedy's efforts to obtain legislation affecting education were at a low point. During 1961 and 1962 little attention was paid to Congressional programs in elementary and secondary education because it was thought that civil rights and the church-state issue would effectively block any chance of passage. Two bills for education were introduced which did not get very far.

But, with regard to higher education, Mr. Keppel further said, the church-state issue was less difficult constitutionally and politically, than it was in the case of elementary and secondary schools. The General Coursel of HEW had prepared an important cocument on constitutional issues which helped to support the notion that federal funds could go to higher education. In the summer of 1962, the Conference Committee between House and Senate had agreed on a version of the bill HR 8900 in support of higher education which, when reported to the House, included provisions vigorously criticized by NEA, particularly on the grounds of church-state relations. The NEA sent telegrams to every member of the House urging that the bill be defeated. And indeed it was defeated (The Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1962, p. 230). Therefore, in November-December of 1962 there was real bitterness against the NEA on the part of

groups within the higher education community and the Kennedy administration. But the HEA allocated money in a different manner, as for example, provision of scholarships to students and university extension in muncipal administration. It was the student who was end-in-view of the federal aid, not the institutions of higher education. The institutions, regardless of other considerations, were only a means to serve American youth. It was this approach that got around controversy.

Mr. Keppel was aware that the educational associations had been so badly split by the quarrels of the summer of 1962 that it was essential to try to get them together to support an overall education bill. After the turn of the year 1963, Keppel's greatest contribution was bringing the NEA and the institutions of higher education together in a consensus. He picked Robert Wyatt, president of the NEA, for his informal discussions on the church-state issue. His views were not as rigid on the church-state relations as the views of the Secretary of the NEA. Congressman John Brademas of Indiana served as a useful link because of his personal acquaintance with Wyatt and his interest in education in general.

Mr. Keppel (Singerhoff, 1968) further stated that Johnson's entire educational legislation was based fundamentally on three points: First, that the big money would go to support educational programs for the poor. It would be very difficult for either public or parochial

school groups to say that they would not support legislation that would go to help the poor simply because they were jealous of the other fellow getting funds. In the general, atmosphere created by the Civil Rights Bill and the Great Society, made it difficult for anybody to justify protesting his own interests by rejecting others' interests. Therefore, the whole idea of focussing on the poor made it difficult for either public or parochial groups to oppose it, even on church-state grounds.

The second principle was that the program should include provisions for ways to improve the quality of all education; elementary, secondary, and post-secondary.

Third, this package went up as one piece to the Congress. Therefore, the Elementary and Secondary Eductaion Act of 1965 passed, the HEA went through legislation smoothly as it was considered to be a part of the educational package.

This approach of creatinge a framework for legislation was considerably influenced by the Gardner panel. The President urged all those with responsibility for different parts of the Great Society legislation to get the hearings of subcommittee to action. As reported by Keppel (Singerhoff, 1968, p. 11), Johnson said, "Get this one as fast as you can; you never know what may happen in the coming months."

Political Parties Change

Meranto (1967) stated that overwhelming liberal Democratic majority in both the Houses was produced primarily by the Republican split in 1964 and Mr. Johnson's landslide victory over Senator Barry Goldwater. In the House, 295 Democrats were elected as against 140 Republicans. Out of 295, there were 69 freshmen when it convened on January 3, 1965, and of these, 38 had defeated incumbent Republicans. Eidenberg and Morey (1969) stated that the forty-six Republicans who were defeated by Democrats had an average length of service in the House of ten years. The result of 1964 election was not only an increase in majority of Democrats, but an increase in that majority at the expense of especially those Republicans who had records of opposition to educational legislation. This picture shows the depth of Republican defeat and the extent of Democratic strength.

The Republican criticism of Johnson's Civil Rights and the Great Society legislation had been silenced to a remarkable extent because of the widespread support Mr. Johnson enjoyed in the business community following his budget-cutting exploits and his refusal to take a partisan or anti-business line.

A review of the preferences of Democrats and Republicans on past federal aid to education legislation in the postwar era reveals that the Democratic Party consistently favored federal aid for education which the

Republicans had generally opposed it. Thus, the victory of Democrats in 1964 improved greatly the chances of educational legislation. It is the political party in power that takes the responsibility of organizing the legislature, providing leadership on major issues, and overseeing the executive branch.

However, in the case of the HEA, the Republican party made vital contributions to the legislation in a constructive manner. Ironically, the Republicans charged that the Democrats were not very cooperative in the process of enactment of the bill. The House Report (HR 621) submitted by the Committee on Education and Labor recommended favorably that the bill pass. But, it also said:

> We sincerely regret the atmosphere of animosity created by the handling of this bill in our committee. Republican members of this committee have made vital contributions to higher education legislation over the years and it is our intention to continue these efforts in a constructive manner. We have a deep concern for the viability of our educational system of higher education, and for its independence and integrity. We hope that enough thoughtful Democratic colleagues will conclude that the risk of impairing a great national resource like higher education is more frightening than the risk of offending the President (U.S. House of Representative Report No. 89-621, pp. 77-78).

Five Congressmen out of the six members who had signed this report, namely, Ayers, Griffin, Quie, Ashbrook, and Andrews, were Republicans.

Therefore, it is evident from the analysis of these

events that the HEA had strong bipartisan support for passage. Two major factors contributed to this development: a Democratic majority and the "consensus" approach of the Johnson administration. This, in turn, was developed through appeals regarding the war on poverty and the building of the Great Society. The higher education aid proposal was presented in a manner that touched nobler feelings of reform rather than getting entangled in parochialism.

Changes within Legislative System

We have seen through the foregoing pages that the change in administration and political parties was favorable for educational legislation. But, the legislative structure of the U.S. Congress is decentralized. Any external changes do not automatically bring about change in the legislative process of the Congress. Some changes in the national legislation had taken place prior to Johnson's thrust of educational legislation in 1965. These changes paved the way for the enactment of the HEA in 1965. The party ratio in the House Committee on Education and Labor was revised in 1959. Prior to revision, this committee was the most difficult House Committee to achieve a consensus and easiest to promote and prolong conflict. The conflict in the Committee arose because most of the issues were partisan in nature. Any change in the composition of the committee meant a change in the attitude of the legislature. In this

instance, the Democratic victory of 1958, and, the consequent alteration of the committee's party ratio to produce twenty Democrats to ten Republicans in 1959 instead of the previous line-up of seventeen Democrats to thirteen Republicans, constitutes one of the key institutional changes of the federal aid movement (Meranto, 1967).

Another change in the House which facilitated educational aid legislation was the 1961 succession of Graham Barden by Adam C. Powell to the chairmanship of the Committee. The chairman schedules hearings, organizes sub-committees, appoints chairmen, allocates workloads, and establishes their jurisdiction. His office is very powerful. Graham Barden used these powers during his eight years of tenure to thwart educational proposals. In contrast, Powell affirmed his pledge not to entangle education aid with issues like segregation. He was a Democrat and willing to process liberal legislation.

Similarly, the third important change in legislature occurred in the expansion of the House Rules Committee in 1963. More Democrats got into this Committee by this expansion making it favorable for the Johnson administration to get the Bill H.R. 9567 passed. This Committee functions as the intervening body in the House between the committees and the floor. It determines which of the Committee-approved measures will be debated and how. Thus, it plays an important role in the legislative process. It can delay, block or ease passage of a bill. The controversial issues

of aid to parochial institutions and segregation were already resolved in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Therefore, speedy legislation was made possible by the expanded House Rules Committee in the absence of controversy on issues and the Democratic influence (Meranto, 1967).

The Bill Introduced

On February 1, 1965, Mrs. Edith Green and Mr. Adam Powell introduced the bills HR 3220 and HR 3221 to the House Special Subcommittee on Education for hearings. The same bill had been introduced in the Senate by Mr. Wayne Morse (Democrat, Oregon), Chairman of the subcommittee, on January 19, 1965. Initially, all versions were the same. Differences arose through the House and Senate amendments, which were resolved through conference. In her opening remarks, Mrs. Green stated that the bill contained far-reaching recommendations by the Johnson administration. It was the first time that any federal legislation proposed and strongly backed scholarships at the undergraduate level for needy students. Second, to help the people of the United States solve their community problems, the universities and colleges in America would be given the new task of extension service in urban affairs and continuing education. She said that the Morrill Act of 1862 was to the agrarian society then what the Higher Education Act of 1965 was for the contemporary urban society.

House Hearings

The text of the hearings in both the Houses provides a stimulating and interesting readirg. Represented ir these hearings were various interest groups, individuals, educators and other leaders. Keeping in view Hexter's postulates, their views constitute the "text" for critical evaluation in order to determine their contribution to the process of legislation In terms of Collingwood approach, this would be the "inside" picuture of the enactment.

Secretary, U.S. Dept. of Health, Welfare and Education

Mr. Celebrezze, Secretary, U.S. Dept. of Health, Welfare and Education, while explaining the bill said that the Administration wished to express gratitude to the sub-committee, especially to the Chairman of the sub-committee, who helped to make history by the amount of education legislation in the last Congress. He also thanked Mrs. Green and Mr. Powell , the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, for their complete and enthusiastic support of HR 3220 and HR 3221. The 88th Congress, named by Johnson "The Ecucation Congress", upheld the commitment of the American people to equality of educational opportunity to all. It had passed landmark measures during 1963-64 to provice classrooms, libraries, and laboratories for undergraduate institutions; facilities for new graduate schools; grants for community colleges;

more loans and graduate fellowships for students enrolled in higher education; and enlarged and improved training for physicians, dentists and nurses. He further said that the programs enacted by the 88th Congress would contribute greatly to strengthening of colleges and universities. But that was not enough. He added that Mr. Johnson's message to this Congress called upon all of them to:

> Push ahead with the No. 1 business of the American people -- the education of our youth in preschools, elementary and secondary schools, and in colleges and universities . . . . Higher education is no longer a luxury, but a necessity (House Hearings, 1965, p. 25).

Mr. Celebrezze said that by 1970 colleges must be prepared to add 50 percent more enrollment to their facilities, which were already crowded. The proposed program was an inspiring charter for education's future, in scope and in detail. Johnson proposed to give new meaning to "equality of opportunity." He further pointed out that the nation needed manpower and brainpower, as it was moving into higher skills, moving into automation, from atomic age to space age.

During the House Hearings (1965), Mr. Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, said that the objective of this Bill was to continue and extend our commitment to seek both educational quality and broader educational opportunity for all of our young people. He said that the Johnson Administration's higher education bill was designed to continue the historic commitment to education, that kept

America both prosperous and free. He quoted President Johnson:

> The first work of our times and the first work of our society is education--at the very top of our agenda. Higher education is no longer a luxury, but a necessity . . . . greatly to strengthening our colleges and universities . . . . But we need to do more: to extend the opportunity for higher education more broadly among lower and middle income families. . . . To help small and less well developed colleges improve their programs. . . . To enrich the library resources of colleges and universities. . . . To draw upon the unique and invaluable resources of our great universities to deal with national problems of poverty and community development (pp. 63-64).

A panel of four university deans and urban study center directors recommended that university extension and continuing education programs not be restricted to college-level courses. Mr. John Bebout (House Hearings, 1965), director of Urban Studies Center at Rutgers University, stated that for coping with community problems, experimentation, research and novelty were required (p. 150). No institution other than a university or college could provide that type of leadership. Dr. Angel of the George Washington University said that 70 percent of American population resided in urban areas. The shift in population and changes in occupation had brought about many social, economic, political, and educational problems. To solve these problems university resources should be harnessed and put to work. He supported Title I of the bill HR 9567. He said this would help solve those problems. Dr. Homer Favor, director, Urban Studies Center at Morgan State

Teachers College in Baltimore said that Title I should prove most helpful in facilitating the acquisition of goals to which the American nation was committed. Institutions of higher education could help achieve the ideals of liberty. Alfred T. Hill (House Hearings, 1965), executive secretary of the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges (CASC), said the majority of Council members "strongly" favored the Administration's proposals. CASC represented 58 Protestant colleges, 8 Catholic, and 11 independent colleges (p. 201). Dr. Hill of CASC, while endorsing and approving Bill 3220 remarked that it provided an opportunity for a three-way partnership: between the leaders of industry, leaders of Government, and the leaders of education. Educationally it is sound to broaden and diversify education regionally as much as possible.

Senator Griffin (House Hearirgs, 1965) said that the proposed legislation would let the institutions of higher education rather than any political entity, select recipients of scholarships. He was pleased with this arrangement. Commenting on the insured loans for students, he said that because the government guarantees the loan, it would lower the interest rate (p. 212).

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover (House Hearings, 1965) objected to provisions of the Administration bill for dealing with community problems in such fields as housing, transportation and land use through extension courses offered by institutions of higher education. He compared

the American standards of education with those of Great Britain, France and Switzerland. He said that American education was a national failure. Sputnik, he said, had dramatized the fact that a nation's position in the world was closely related to the number and competence of its scientists and technologists, as well as to the educational level of the general population. He further added that in 1880 the illiteracy of German recruits was less than one percent, in 1925 that of Japanese recruits less than one percent. But the U.S. then rejected one quarter of draftees because they could not read a single manual. Estimated functional illiteracy varied from 8 to 11 million. But, he said, that the schools had a hard time with their short staff and lack of funds. He suggested that national standards should be established to determine educational achievement and standing of both the students and high schools (pp. 217-263).

The Bill Opposed

Allen D. Marshall (House Hearings, 1965), president of United Student Aid Funds opposed Title IV of the bill H.R. 9567 and said that his organization was a non-profit organization and was helping students with financial difficulties. He saw no reason for the provision to insure loans up to $1,500 annually to students. Such a guarantee might put the non-federal student loan business out of business. He suggested that the provision be put on a

standby basis, as a last resort if state and non-profit private guarantee programs prove insufficient (pp. 280-294).

The second amendment he suggested provided the criteria for the Commissioner to decide whether a satisfactory student loan program existed in an intitution of higher education or not. According to these criteria the mere evidence that a certain institution had access to student loan program was enough for the Commissioner to decice that a satisfactory program was available there, regardless of the consideration whether a stucent had access to such a program or not. Also, if a college decided not to participate in such a program for any reason, that should be sufficient evidence that no such program was necessary for that particuair institution. These amendments would apply to Title IV of the HEA only. The principle, evidently, of these amendments was that the decision to grant student loan programs to institutions would be made by the Commissioner of Education, and by the college or university on a one to one basis. Thus, the implications were: first, it would create two levels of bureaucracy where each could reject the other. Second, the recipients of aid were institutions, not the individual students.

Responding to these amendments Mrs. Green (House Hearings, 1965) thanked Mr. Marshall for bringing to her attention those matters which she previously did not consider. These amendments, as we shall see later, were fully supported by Mrs. Green thrcugh legislation. However,

ultimately, the Committee rejected them and kept the original proposals in the bill.

Representing the American Bankers Association, Mr. Keith G. Cone (House Hearings, 1965), opposed the establishment of a provision to insure private loans to college students. He acknowledged that, though the existing loan programs were insufficient, the increasing number of state and private loan guarantee programs would be able to meet the demand. He said the new insured loans would displace the private and state guarnatee loans. He opposed Title IV of the Bill on the following grounds:

> 1. There was no convincing evidence available to demonstrate a present need for a Federal loans insurance program; and
>
> 2. The establishment of a Federal program at that time could impair--perhaps displace--existing state and private guarantee program, which were showing strong and steady growth (p. 680).

However, he supported the scholarship grants, work-study assistance, and NDEA loans (p. 681).

The American Library Association

Archie McNeal (House Hearings, 1965) of the American Library Association supported the bill HR 9567. He suggested one amendment to allocate funds for library materials for use in the University extension and continuing education courses (p. 342).

Mr. L. Quincy Mumford (House Hearings, 1965), Librarian

of Congress, endorsed Title I of the bill. He also supported the proposed amendment suggested by the Association of Research Libraries.

William S. Dix, representing the Association of Research Libraries endorsed the bill, but urged an amendment to establish a central cataloging agency that would purchase, catalog and distribute books to other libraries, thus saving time and personnel. The proposal was later added to the bill.

The bill was also endorsed by the representative of the American Book Publishers Council and the American Text Book Publishers Institute.

The National Education Association

The NEA president Mr. Lois Edinger, through a telegram to President Johnson on February 15, 1965, pledged firm support and utmost efforts for the enactment of the HEA inspite of opposition from some groups within the organization. He further appreciated Johnson's concern and leadership in the American education (See Appendix K).

Mr. Robert Snider represented NEA. He approved the Bill on the grounds that it proposed better preparation of teachers. But, he also suggested addition of anotner title for the purchase of educational media in higher education (House Hearings, 1965, p. 99).

Gerald M. Torkelson represented NEA's Department of Audiovisual Instruction and wanted an amendment of the bill

so as to provide for research related to educational media and training of personnel similar to provisions relating to college libraries. He emphasized the fact that no funds were allocated in the bill for the institutions of higher education where the "teachers of tomorrow" were being taught, whereas the NDEA provided funds for the same purpose in the elementary and secondary schools (House Hearings, 1965, p. 105).

The American Council on Education

Dr. Homer Babbidge, the President of The American Council on Education and the Association of American Colleges, supported the bill HR 9567 (House Hearings, 1965, p. 753). But he further said aid to developing institutions, which was limited to four-year colleges, should be expanded to include two-year community and junior colleges. He further recommended the establishment of the President's Advisory Council on Edcuation, somewhat comparable to the President Science Advisory Council. education being increasingly the central concern of the Nation, he also recommended the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Education.

American Association of Junior Colleges

Dr. Charles Chapman, representing the American Association of Junior Colleges endorsed the bill but suggested some amendments (House Hearings, 1965, p. 754).

He suggested that greater flexibility be allowed in establishing "packages" of assistance than permitted in the proposed bill. He asked that the authorization of Title III, which was designed to strengthen small four-year colleges, be extended to cover junior colleges as well.

United Business Schools Association

Mr. Walter J. Tribbey (House Hearings 1965), president, United Business Schools Association, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, testified before the Senate Subcommittee that his organization felt that there existed a need for vocational student loans and that thousands of needy students in business, trade, and technical schools could only find a nationally effective solution through enactment of the low-cost student loan program of the bill H.R. 9507 (p. 504). It would add to the numbers of trained engineering aids, scientific technicians, and other professions, thus strengthening national defense. It would relieve the overcrowded labor market for non-trained or semi-trained persons. In addition to raising the standard of living, preparing more young people for the age of automation by development of their technical, scientific or educational skills, it would be increasing the number of productive and educated citizens.

Association for Higher Education

Elbert K. Fretwell Jr. (House Hearings, 1965),

president of the Association for Higher Education, endorsed the views expressed by Babbidge in supporting the ideas of extending assistance to developing two year junior and community colleges (p. 577).

National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

Dr. Fred Harrington (House Hearings, 1965) of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges encorsed the bill (p. 608). (See his detailed testimony in the Senate Hearings.)

George O. McClary, president of tne American School Counselor Association, fully endorsed the bill.

AFL-CIO

Mr. Lawrence Rogin (House Hearings, 1965), Director of Education of tne AFL-CIO, believec that the time was at hand when 12 years should no longer be the limit of free public education. Though, he agreed, tne Bill approached the financial assistance to students from low-income in many ways, yet the Title IV allocatior of mcney was not enough. He asserted tnat the assistance program be so comprehensive that not a single student who was able to attend college should be left out. He said:

> Should the bill now before ycu be enacted, you can be sure than American people 100 years from today will similarly look back with pride and gratification for the wisdom that enabled you to fashion an education strategy for our land, for

> all our people, for this time, for time to come (p. 987).

He further commented:

> There is need for a comprehensive program of Federal scholarships to insure that no able young person will be deprived of a higher education simply because he cannot afford it (p. 987).

Andrew J. Biemiller (House Hearings 1965), director of legislation for the AFL-CIO, said higher education was becoming more and more of a necessity for youth, but that the price tag on such an education keep it out of reach of the overwhelming majority of youth. He suggested several changes in the Administration bill, including an increase in the maximum scholarship allowance from $800 to $1,000; an increase from $70 million to $100 million in the first-year authorization for the scholarship program; and an increase from $3,000 to $5,000 a year in the maximum income of the scholarship student's family. Mr. Biemiller said the $3,000 income figure might define poverty under some programs, but that $5,000 could hardly be considered as anything but 'low income' for the family attempting to put a son or daughter through college.

Mr. Richard L. Plaut (House Hearings, 1965), President, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, testified that he endorsed Title IV of the bill HR 3220 (p. 712). He stated that the toughest problem had been that of the student with obvious college potential, no money, and less than superior credentials. The student who could pay

his way, or most of it, does not need superior credentials to get into some colleges. The student without money usually does.

He further said that he was particularly enthusiastic about sections 407 and 408, requiring institutions to make efforts to identify college-qualified students from low income families through close relationships with high school guidance personnel, to make tentative scholarship commitments to students in grades lower than 12th and finally, authorizing the Commissioner of education to contrast with appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies for the purpose of identifying qualified low income students and informing them about college and financial aid opportunities.

Among other groups, Dr. Pauline Tompkins of the Association of the American University Women (House Hearings, 1965) expressed her strong support of the bill (p. 701).

Committee Action

Controversy developed over the federal loan guarantees and the scholarship provisions in both the Special Education Committee and the full Committee. The subcommittee, on May 18, approved a bill which included scholarships and greatly expanded funds for other programs, but did not contain the loan guarantee provisions. The federally insured loans had been opposed by the American Bankers Association and the

United States Students Aid Fund during the hearings. They feared that the provision would affect their business in two ways: first, the rate of maximum interest would be fixed by the Federal Government; second, students would get loans from the Federal government anyway, which would have a negative impact on their business. Even Edith Green said that testimony showed no need for these loans. However, in spite of the opposition, Federal scholarships were approved by the subcommittee unanimously.

But three days after the subcommittee granted approval, the full committee, on John Dent's motion, struck out the scholarship provision by a vote of 13-12.

But the guaranteed loan program was something that President Johnson had been asking for since he was a Senator. He also feared that the deletion of such an aid program would encourage the Senate to adopt a tax credit plan for middle income parents paying college tuition. The implication of such action would be that the student assistance would not pass down to levels lower than the middle class because in the tax credit scheme the children of the poor parents would not go to college anyway. But in case of scholarships or guaranteed loans, they would. It may be recalled that the President's Task Force on Education had opposed tax credit and recommended scholarships and guaranteed loans. This would mean a big set back to his war on poverty and the Great Society. Even in the education sector, which was his number one business, it would mean a

big defeat.

Therefore, he exerted pressure. As a result, the Committee restored both the scholarship and the loan guarnatee programs with some modifications. Scholarships were to come out of the NDEA student loan fund and go only to students with "exceptional financial needs." This was what the American Bankers Association had asked for. Additional funds were, however, provided for NDEA loans. The Committee amended the Administration Loan Guarantee Plan, reducing it from a five-to a three-year period, and putting it on a standby basis to be used only if state and private non-profit insurance programs were unavailable, as proposed by the American Bankers Association in the hearings. The Committee retained the Administration proposal for federal subsidy of interest charges on the loans, but increased the amount the Government would pay.

Bill Reported

The Committee reported the amended bill HR 9567 to the Senate on July 14, with Report No. 621.

Minority View

All Republican members of the House Committee except Alphanzo Bell (California) and Ogden R. Reid (New York) expressed "reservations" about the bill. They referred to the June 24 meeting lasting less than 20 minutes, when the majority adopted without discussion a scholarship plan in

lieu of the one earlier rejected by the Committee; reinstated the loan guarantee program previously dropped, and revised it; extended NDEA loans to new categories of institutions, an idea not previously discussed; and approved authorizations in excess of $600 million without having a clean print to examine. Referring to this hasty approval of some of the S. 600 provisions, the Republicans remarked:

> It is common knowledge that this unjustified action to approve a bill virtually 'sight unseen' was ordered by the White House. . . (We) protest the abject surrender of legislative responsibilities, often made. . . as in this case. . . in response to demands from White House. . . which border on the irrational (U.S. House of Representatives Report No. 89-621, p. 76).

They further said that the provision for federal loan guarantees was a completely unnecessary federal intervention. They favored the idea of tax credits, which, in their opinion was a better method of meeting college expenses.

Majority Views

After hearing the testimony of various experts, interest groups, congressmen, and those of the Office of Education, from February 1 through March 30, the majority party in the House said that since World War II, the number of institutions of higher education had increased from 866 to 2,300, a rise of 250 percent. In the decade from 1954 to 1964 the number of college and university students climbed from 2.4 to 4.8 million, an increase of 100 percent in one

decade. That trend would contirue into the next decade. Due to demographic factors, the existing facilities had become overcrowded, and as new institutions sprang up across the country, academic quality hac often been sacrificed for the sake of growth. Inadequate library resources, lack of qualified teachers, packed classrooms, and insufficient scholarship funds characterizec many of the nation's colleges and univeristies. This was a dangerous phenomenon that could persist as the demands for growth continued unslackened.

Report No. 621 of the HEA 1965 indicated that the House was deeply influenced by the testimony of the representatives of the institutions of higher education. Dr. Harrington and Dr. Havinghurst, among other notable scholars of higher education, had made these observations about the past developments and the future projections on demographic factors during the House and Senate hearings. Similarly, the American Library Association, the UCLG, AAUP and a host of others emphasized the shortage of both human and material resources in the face of expanding population, knowledge and knowledge technology. This successful pleading of their own case on the part of the institutions of higher education was a vital contributing factor toward enactment.

Floor Action

When the bill reached the House floor on August 26, the

minority said:

> We hope that enough thoughtful Democratic colleagues will conclude that the risk of impairing a great national resource like higher education is more frightening than the risk of offending the President (U.S. House of Representatives Report No. 89-1178, pp. 1-2).

The Debate

The debate centered on the undergraduate scholarship issue. Edith Green said that she did not believe there would be a single person in the House who would argue against free education up to the twelveth grade. Then in the seventeenth grade, when a person was doing his graduate work, the Federal Government and the Congress had been very generous in supplying graduate fellowships. She wondered why they were unwilling to give any grant from the thirteenth year to the seventeenth year. She asked if they would be willing to give $1,000 or $1,100 under the Manpower Development and Retraining Act and $6,000 or $7,000 to a Job Corps enrollee but they would not give $500 in an educational opportunity grant to a high school graduate that had an IQ of 120 or above and came from a family with a very low income?

Congressman John Dent (Democrat, Pennsylvania) said that he was in favor of scholarships but only if they were given out equally to all those who qualified. For helping one while the other nine who were in the same condition had to borrow money was wrong. Robert P. Griffin

(Representative, Michigan), second-ranking minority member of the Committee, offered an amendment to delete the scholarship program and use the funds to construct more community colleges. He argued that free and easily accessible junior colleges would be more beneficial to needy students than grants. The amendment was defeated on a 58-88 standing vote. Neal Smith (Democrat, Iowa) subsequently tried to insert a formula for repaying the scholarships, and his amendment was defeated by voice vote.

Amendments

The House adopted six amendments to the bill and rejected three others on August 26, 1965.

Edith Green (Democrat, Oregon), Chairman of the Special Education Subcommittee, proposed an amendment to the loan guarantee program. This amendment authorized federal advances (repayable grants) to help set up private as well as state loan insurance programs, delete, the bills requirement for state matching of advances and permitted, for two years, payment of interest subsidies on loans which did not meet all federal standards. She stated that this amendment had been worked out with the American Bankers Association and the Administration. The amendment was accepted by voice vote.

Another amendment, offered by John H. Dent (Democrat, Pennsylvania) and accepted by voice vote, deleted the authorization of an Advisory Council for the House

Committee. Chairman Adam C. Powell (Democrat, New York) said that consultants could be hired any time by permission of the House Administration Committee.

The House also accepted without controversy an amendment by Albert H. Quie (Representative, Minneapolis) amending the 1963 college construction bill by removing categorical limitations on grants for undergraduate facilites. Also accepted was Albert H. Quie's (Representative, Minneapolis) requisition of subsequent congressional authorization for funds provided in fiscal years 1967-70 for college work-study programs. The Committee bill authorized appropriation of "such sums as may be necessary."

James Roosevelt (Democrat, California) stipulated that educational opportunity grants could not exceed one-half of the total amount of financial aid provided a student by the institution he attended plus that made available by state or private scholarship programs, instead of the limitation in the bill as reported of one-half the amount provided by the institution alone, excluding assistance under work-study programs. This was accepted by voice vote.

Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (Democrat, Louisiana) stipulated that no provision of any law should be construed to authorize Government direction over the membership practices or operations of any fraternal organization, private club or religious organization of any educational institution. This was also accepted by voice vote.

The House rejected three amendments relating variously to scholarships and administration of programs.

Robert P. Griffin (Democrat, Michigan) proposed that state agencies be authorized to administer the programs aiding the developing institutions. This was rejected by a standing vote of 33-59.

Neal Smith (Democrat, Iowa) proposed that a formula be established for the repayment of scholarship grants.

The significance of the rejection of proposals seems to be the fact that the Congress intended to provide leeway to the institutions of higher education to work out their own details in order to avoid increased bureaucratic control by the Federal Government. The purpose, evidently, was to give away money to the beneficiaries and leave things to them.

After this the House by a roll-call vote of 368-22 passed the amended version of HR 9567 and sent it to the Senate on August 26.

President Johnson welcomed the passage of the bill the same day and said:

> More than a million students can benefit in the next year by guaranteed low-interest loans -- a program I have urged for the past 15 years. . . More than one hundred thousand students of exceptional promise and great financial need can receive opportunity grants (The Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1965, p. 302).

Senate Hearings

The Senate held hearings on the Administration bill S. 600 introduced on January 19, 1965, by Senator Wayne Morse

(Democrat, Oregon), chairman of the Educational subcommittee of the Committee for Labor and Public Welfare from March 16, 1965 through June 11, 1965. Most of the witnesses were the same as those who appeared on the House side.

Mr. Celebrezze, Secretary, HEW, said the NDEA loan program was under strong pressures, with more than 600,000 students having borrowed approximately $453 million from the National Defense Student Loan funds set up in 1,574 colleges. However, only 3 percent of the total was delinquent.

As contrast to that the Wall Street Journal on February 4, 1965, reported that the delinquent rate was 16.6 percent. By way of comparison, the delinquency rate for commercial firms was 1.7 percent. The biggest difficulty in collection was the attitude of the borrower that anything from the government was a handout. Second, the colleges had no experience of bill collection.

AFL-CIO

Mr. Andrew J. Bienilier represented the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the Senate hearings. He stated that the concern of the Congress through S. 600 was one of the most heartening developments of that generation, and in their view the results would have a tremendous influence for good throughout the generations to come. He said:

We are in full support of this bill's aims of

> enlarging university extension services to adults, strengthening colleges and universities and providing financial aid to students in post-high school and higher education (Senate Hearings, 1965, p. 988).

AFT

The statement of Mr. Megel represented the American Federation of Teacher's position on the legislation of the Higher Education Act of 1965. He said that the establishment of a Teachers Corps was educationally sound. It incorporated the basic suggestions of the AFT. The AFT pledged to promote the program by encouraging teachers throughout the Nation to offer their services and to make application for Teachers Corps assignments.

The National Farmer's Union

The Farmer's Union in its national convention in February of that year had resolved that:

> Every American child is entitled to as much education as he wants and can usefully absorb.
>
> This is a basic principle. It is basic to the American way of life and it is basic to the future of the United States as a Nation.
>
> The Nation, as well as the States, Counties, and local districts should be used as a base for educational support.
>
> We feel that Title I of S. 600 will implement our National Farmers Union objectives (Senate Hearings, 1965, p. 1270).

The Liberty Lobby

Mr. W. B. Hicks, representing Liberty Lobby, a taxpayers' organization of 147,000 members, said he opposed the legislation of the Higher Education Act of 1965. According to him the cause of state and local reluctance to spend more money on education was the Federal taxation and the strain it placed on the economy. Therefore, the reasonable approach to the problem would be along the lines of tax-credits granted according to funds spent by taxpayers on educational purposes, including both tution costs and tax payments for public education. Such an approach would avoid the ever present danger of establishing Federal control over education, and this resulting in stagnation and stifling of scholarship that would be inevitable under a bureaucratized educational system, elements of which were found throughout S. 600. However, the concept of providing direct assistance to undergraduate students was good and may not even cost anything to the taxpayer.

The National Education Association

Mr. Robert McKay represented the National Education Association's view on the legislation of S. 600. He said, that the NEA had a long and continuing interest in the improvement of institutions of higher education. The broadening of opportunities for potential students to enroll in colleges and universities had been a matter of particular concern to the Association. Since institutions of higher

education are the producers of the necessary instructional and administrative staff of the Nation's elementary and secondary schools, the the teaching profession was, of course, vitally concerned with the quality and quantity of higher education. In this connection, noting the stated purposes of S. 600, the NEA was of the view that if the essential goals of S. 600 were indeed to be achieved, it was imperative that maximum use be made of nigher education institutions. Therefore, the NEA supported, in general, the objectives of S. 600.

B'nai B'rith

Dr. S. Norman Feingold, National Director of B'nai B'rith Vocational Services, stated that whenever a person works at a lower level than he is qualified for, the Nation as well as the worker suffers. Educated guesses during the past 10 years place the figures at approximately 100,000 gifted young people who did not seek nigher education because of a lack of adequate funds. Therefore, Dr. Feingold said, he heartily approved most of the provisions of the bill S. 600, particularly, Title IV, Part A, which provided Student Assistance Scholarships.

However, Mr. Douglas Cater, in his memos to President Johnson indicated that the Jewish groups were forcefully opposing the bill HR 9567 and Mr. Jonnson must do something to quelch their opposition (see Appendix C). It appears that some Jewish interest groups were working behind the

scence to defeat the the bill, and their activities were disturbing the Johnson administration.

The American Civil Liberties Union

The American Civil Liberties Union, through its Director Lawrence Speiser, statec their policy. The ACLU was not concerned with the central purpose of this legislation to aid higher education. However, it was concerned to draw a line as to what kind of church-related institutions could participate and which should not participate in Federal financial programs. The ACLU nas traditionally been supportive of separation of church and state. Mr. Speiser stated that the ACLU did not hold that the mere fact of affiliation of an educational institution with, or sponsorship by, any church, denomination, or religion should necessarily bar it from public funds. To look at such institutions activities and to consider it as a whole, the ACLU had developed a number of criteria which would indicate when the central purpose of a school or college was to foster religion, and as such, it should be prohibited from receiving any public funds or financial assistance.

Therefore, the ACLU urged that similar criteria be adopted within this legislation in order to draw a proper constitutinal line.

Second, it urged the legislature adopt a section which would permit judicial review. This was adopted by the

Senate.

A College Student

Mr. Nolan Rollins, a full-time college student in Treasure Valley Community College, testified to the Senate Hearings in a written statement that he was working on a work-study program which allowed him 15 hours of work a week. The maximum amount he could make, if he were fortunate, was $78 a month (15 hours times $1.30 times 4 weeks). This amount was paid back into the college which left little for room and board. The costs of attending to the needs of higher education were higher. They ranged from $100 to $130 per month. He suggested either a raise in wages for work-study or more work to do in order to meet the costs.

National Teachers Corps

President Johnson asked Congress on July 17 to enact an additional three-part bill, the teaching Professions Act of 1965, before adjournment. The purpose of this bill was "to bring the best of our nation's talent to its schools." It proposed: (1) Creation of a National Teachers Corps to help those teachers with a sense of mission to serve in city slums and areas of rural poverty; (2) a program of fellowships for students and teachers to enhance their qualifications; and (3) a program of cost-of-education allowances paid to colleges and universities for each

fellowship holder and of grants for developing or strengthening teacher-training courses. It proposed $30 million for fiscal year 1966.

The significance of this request can be seen in Johnson's speech to the National Education Association on July 2 with respect to the teacher fellowship program. He said the program would assist teachers to acquire skills that were necessary to permit them to perform new and chanllenging jobs in a new environment in a new century. He said, the problem of dismissal of Negro teachers was concern of both Johnson himself and of the NEA, as they moved forward with the desegration of schools in America. His ends-in-view were to serve city slums, rural America and raise the status of Negroes.

It is, therefore, evident that Johnson's constant persuation of all the parties involved in the process of legislation was an important factor in its enactment.

Majority Views

HR 9567 stated that the purpose of community service programs was to help solve major community problems by fostering innovation by encouraging and enabling institutions of higher education to respond to the demands of the communities they served. The need for student financial assistance was of fundamental importarce in helping to meet the current shortages and the future needs. Further, programs to aid teachers were concerned with the

backbone of American education (House Hearings, 1965).

Minority Views

The five Republican members of the Committee expressed their complete gratification over the contributions of the minority members to the bill as finally reported. They said the bill had been considerably strengthened where amendments were accepted.

It was for this reason that they were pressing for passage of the senate-version of the bill HR 9567.

However, Senator Pieter Dominick (Representative, Colorado), in his individual views said HR 9567 neglected the crucial fact that a very large proportion of students paid for their post-secondary education either by part-time employment or by assistance from the earnings of their parents. He urged the passage of S 12, which would have provided tax-credit for expenditures on higher education. But Mr. Dominick praised HR 9567 and said it was an excellent approach to the demands placed on colleges and the universities by the twentieth century society.

Committee Action

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee reported (S.Report No. 673) HR 9567 without opposition on September 1. It also included the teacher programs required by President Johnson on July 17. The Senate-version of the bill differed from and was better than the House-passed

bill. As reported in Senate Report No. 673, it differed in the following major respects:

1. The House bill authorized specific funds for fiscal year 1966 only, with monies for later years to be allocated subsequently each year. The Senate bill authorized a total of approximately $4.7 billion for fiscal years 1966-70. It specified annual authorization for each year.

2. Funds for Titles I and II were slightly higher in the House Bill.

3. The House did not include two-year institutions for receiving grants for development. The Senate-bill not only included them but also raised the grants for fiscal 1966 from $30 million to $55 million.

4. Title IV provisions were similar in both the bills, except that the Committee added a new section to amend the National Defense Education Act in order to tighten the provisions for the repayment of student loans. It appears that this amendment was influenced by Secretary Celebrezze's testimony that there was trouble in collection of NDEA loans. Total authorizations of this title were increased by over $27 million.

5. In Title V the Senate added new programs in order to improve teaching in impoverished areas and included Teachers Corps requested by Johnson on July 17, and reserved money for teachers displaced by desegregation of public schools.

6. The Senate Committee added another new title, as requested by various colleges, for equipment and faculty improvement.

7. In the 1963 Higher Education Facilities Act, Senate had insisted that grants for the construction of graduate and undergraduate facilites be used only for certain subjects. But the Senate Committee in this stance agreed with the House bill and retained a House amendment removing categorical limitations on grants for undergraduate facilities. However, the $290 million House

increase for construction of facilities was reduced by the Senate to $160 million.

Floor Action

The Senate passed the amended HR 9567 on September 2, by a 79-3 roll-call vote and sent it to conference with the House.

Five amendments to the bill were proposed before passage. All were accepted. Everett McKinley Dirksen (Representative, Illinois.) stipulated that nothing in the bill authorized federal control over the membership practices or internal operations of any college fraternal organization if the facilites of the organization were not owned by the college and its activities were privately financed.

Three amendments were proposed by Yarborough (Democrat Texas), Jarvits (Representative, New York), and Dominick (Republican, Colorado) related to minor adjustment of interest, loan repayments and funds within the institutions. All were accepted.

Joseph S. Clark (Democrat, Pennsylvania) proposed to include state agencies among the institutions eligible for federal insurance of direct loans made for educational purposes. The Amendment was accepted by voice vote.

When President Johnson heard about the Senate approval of the Teacher Corps fellowhips on September 2, he praised the Senate action and said that that would mean much to the

schools in areas of poverty, whose students had been victims not only of impoverished homes but of impoverished schools also.

Again, the significance of this legislative approval was to be seen in the general effort to improve the educationally impoverished schools. This was only one cross section of the comprehensive effort of the Johnson Administration to raise and expand education at all places and all levels in the country with special emphasis in the impoverished areas.

The Conference

The National League of Cities, Washington, D.C., in their letter of October 7, 1965, urged Senator Morse, member of the Conference Committee which was working to resolve the differences between the Senate and the House Versions of No. HR 9567, to support the Senate passed version of Title I, which related to college and university extension and continuing education programs in the field of urban and suburn affairs. They argued that as the urban and suburn population continued to expand, the value of in-service training for the broad range of professional and middle management occupations in the field of municipal administration could not be underestimated, as the need for municipal services continued to expand. The House-passed version of H.R. 9567 would completely restrict the inauguration or expansion of this type of extension program

at the college or university level by requiring courses to be conducted for credit or on the college level, as determined by the institutions of higher education. It would also not permit colleges and universities to use Title I funds for the expansion of urban research and consultation programs in the field of urban affairs and municipal management and administration (See Appendix G).

Controversy sparked on October 20 between the House of Representatives and the Senate on the Conference report on HEA because it included the Teacher Corps. The House Republican conferees refused to sign the conference report and posed a floor fight. In the debate Representative Robert P. Griffin (Representative, Michigan) raised the objection that a federally selected, federally trained and federally assigned corps of teachers would give federal officials a powerful additional lever of control and direct influence over local schools. Supporting this observation Albert H. Quie (Representative, Minneapolis) charged that the proposal had been rushed through the Education Committee. He warned the members that they were being asked to buy a pig in a poke. Then he offered the motion to delete the program from the bill. The Republicans were opposed to this provision because it was aimed partly at increasing Negro teachers' educational qualifications.

Replying to the Republican charges, Charles E. Bennet (Democrat, Florida) emphasized the great need for the Teachers Corps because of the unfortunate displacement of

many Negro teachers, who had been thrown out of their employment by the desegregation and consolidation of schools.

Allowing for the apprehensions of the Republicans, the Committee Chairman Adam C. Powell (Democrat, New York) said that no school district would receive a single corps teacher unless that school district requested such teachers. Further, the school districts would have absolute authority to assign the teachers within their systems, to determine the subject matter they would teach, and to fire them if they wanted.

Whereas the Senate and the House disagreed on provision of the Teachers Corps, some private groups, such as the National League of Cities were pressing for the passage of the Senate version, as it allocated greater amounts of funds to continuing education and community extension.

The Republican Defeat

On the roll-call vote, Republicans voted 111-7 to delete the Teachers Corps from the bill. A majority of Northern and Southern Democrats opposed the motion by a 41-219 roll-call vote. On the overall 152-226 roll-call vote, the Teachers Corps was in effect upheld, and the Republican motion on deletion was defeated in the House.

The Compromise

The House conferees accepted, with a few minor changes,

the senate-version of the bill HR 9567 which provided the Teachers Corps, fellowships for teachers, and programs to improve college instruction. In Senate's proposal direct scholarships were also included. Compromise was reached on the number of years for providing the funds to three years, a compromise between one in the House bill and five in the Senate bill.

After reaching this compromise, the conferees report on HR 9567 (H Report 1178) was adopted on October 20, and the bill sent to the White House.

President Johnson signed the bill HR 9567 on November 8, 1965, to become law.

Summary and Analysis

President Johnson's interest in education and his presidential influence were key elements in articulating the demand for federal aid to higher education in 1965.

Mr. Keppel represented the U.S. Office of Education in the House and Senate hearings. He stated that the atmosphere created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Mr. Johnson's war on poverty made it difficult for either public or parochial groups to oppose the bill HR 9567. Mr. Richard Plant, representing the Negro irterest in higher education stated that the proposed bill would help the hard-core problem of black students who had college potential, no money, and less than superior credentials. Thus, the bill had great promise for the minorities to have access to

higher education.

Mr. Keppel further stated that due to the increase in population, the expansion in knowledge, and technology, institutions of higher education in America lagged behind. It was absolutely necessary to grant funds to help them catch up with the rapid changes. Good quality higher education would strengthen national defense. It promised to help cities to solve their problems of congestion, pollution, and poverty through Title I. These observations were supported by Vice Admiral Rickover and the United League of Cities. Vice Admiral Rickover said that the proposed bill would strengthen national defense through higher education. The United League of Cities persuaded Senator Morse, chairman of the Senate Committee to approve the bill.

Thus, the provisions of the bill were directed at environmental problems created by rapid population increase, knowledge explosion, technological advancements and developments in civil rights resulting after World War II.

Mrs. Edith Green, who had sponsored the bill, also emphasized that whereas the Federal Government was willing to pay unemployment and manpower training money in the later years of adult life, why could it not pay money for the training of youth at an early, flexible stage by providing them with an opportunity to receive higher education. She also testified that the HEA, if enacted, would solve the community problems of the people of the United States.

These provisions were strongly supported by the National League of Cities. They persuaded Senator Morse, chairman of the Senate Committee, to approve the bill.

The AFL-CIO stated through its representatives that higher education was now a necessity in the modern age, and no able young person should be deprived of higher education simply because he could not afford it.

There was evidence through the statements of witnesses from the higher education community that environmental pressures facing the nation and higher education in particular made it necessary for the Federal Government to assist institutions of higher education.

But, Mr. Johnson's efforts to bring about enactment of HEA were successful because of a host of additional factors. The victory of the Democratic party in the 1964 elections brought the liberals to power who had a long-standing commitment to the cause of education. Francis Keppel was effective in creating consensus among divergent interest groups. The controversial issues of aid to church-related institutions and segregation had already been settled prior to the introduction of the HEA of 1965. Favorable changes in the legislative systems such as changes in the party ratio in the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1959, change of the Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor from Graham Borden to Adam C. Powell in 1961, and expansion in the House Rules Committee in 1963 totally altered the internal mechanism of the Congress which

resulted in the expeditious passage of HEA 1965. The representatives of the higher education community were also instrumental in impressing upon congressional leaders the necessity of expansion and strengthening of institutions of higher education to meet the emerging needs of the American society. In fact, the enactment of the HEA 1965 was a result of total changes in the social, administrative and legislative systems of the country.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND SIGNIFICANCE

This chapter gives a summary of those factors that led to the enactment of the HEA.

Summary

The passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965 was an aggregate event. It cannot be explained as a single major event. It must be viewed in the broader context of the changes in American society since World War II.

Concerning the broad social or environmental factors, five fundamental changes in the American society had important implications for higher education. These were: (1) the population explosion; (2) the rapid and sustained growth in the national economy; (3) the rise of a new, stronger democratic temper, with its offshoot expressing itself in the Civil Rights movement; (4) the urbanization and rapid technological advancement with their implications for displacement in occupational structure and extended leisure time; and (5) the "discovery" of poverty amidst American modern affluent society.

These changes in the needs of the American society called for new functions of higher education in the

individual and social lives of Americans. These changes made it imperative for the national government to take responsibility in solving these national problems. It possessed acequate resources to co so, whereas the states and the institutions of higher education did not.

President Johnson felt the need for change in the field of higher education. He articulated the demand for federal aid to higher education so that the institutions of higher education could help build the American Society into the Great Society. The political victory of the Democratic party resulted in a liberal majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This provided them with an excellent opportunity to fulfil their pledge to enact a federal aid program to education.

Mr. Johnson declared education as the number one business of the time and of his administration. He was a strong advocate of federal aid to education, and through his personal unique, persuasive style followed the legislative process through each stage.

The Johnson administration's thrust in the war on poverty and the attainment of the "Great Society" was one of the key factors in producing positive change in the social, political, legislative and educational systems of American society.

Another factor of the successful enactment was the support of a group of faithful key administrative asscciates like Mr. Celebrezze, Mr. Keppel, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Cater, and

Mr. Gardner. They not only drafted a bill that promised to solve big social, political and civic problems facing the nation but also devised the policy of working closely at informal levels with the umbrella organizations like NEA, AFL-CIO, and others so that the interest group re-alignment was forged heavily in favor of the passage of the bill.

The process of legislation was simplified by the prior passage of two important acts, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in April, 1965. The controversial elements of the issue, that is, federal aid to segregated and parochial istitutions, had already been removed from the arena of debate. The rationale for federal aid to nonpublic institutions had been established. Therefore, the absence of such explosive issues served better in consensus-building. The Protestants and the Catholics both accepted the bill.

The changes in the party ratio within the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1959 re-aligned favorably for the liberal Democrats. The party leadership of this Committee also changed in 1961, replacing Granam Barden who was always opposed to aid to education with Adam C. Powell who was a strong supporter of aid to education. The expansion in the House Rules Committee in 1963 further opened the doors to federal legislation in higher education.

The provisions of the bill had an intrinsic value. It opened new windows to community service. Thus, new interest groups emerged, with a net balance of positive

reinforcement. One potential new group was the city administration. Increased urbanization had created great problems and pressures on cities. This bill provided a promise to enable colleges and universities to extend knowledge and service to them. Therefore, they exerted their pressure for its passage. This factor weighed heavily in favor of the bill's proponents.

Two other newcomers were the American Banker's Association and the United Student Aid Funds, which opposed the provision of insured student loans. They managed to exert their influence effectively on the House floor and won the support of not only Republican members but also of Edith Green who had sponsored the bill. But, the Administration finally overcame and this provision was not deleted.

Significance of the Act

The Higher Education Act of 1965 identified and provided funds to fulfill the emerging and the unique needs of the American society and higher education. Title I provided university extension in urban areas and civic beautification. It also provided the utilization of increased leisure time and knowledge through continuing, adult education. Through the provision of National Teachers' Corps, it helped to break de facto segregation in areas with poor educational culture. It provided funds to the prestigious universities to provide assistance to the developing institutions of higher education through faculty

exchange.

It was the first federal legislation that provided scholarships along with loans and work-study programs to undergraduate students. This fact provides a big contrast when viewed in the perspective of a period when the American nation was obsessed by the space-race, the desire to beat Russia, while, at the same time, mercilessly neglecting its own valuable resource, the youth.

The HEA provided funds to institutions of higher education in order to identify and attract intelligent students by working through high school student guidance personnel. Loans and scholarships were to be promised to them for higher education before they graduated from high school. Thus, the idea was not only to help those students who happened to come to college because of their strong resources or motivation but to avoid loss of youth at the exit gates of high school. This was a big thrust toward identifying talent at the high school level and attracting it to higher education.

The provisions of scholarships and guaranteed loans aimed at achieving an equalitarian society, which would result in self-fulfillment and justice. Speaking of President Johnson's message to the Congress on January 12, 1965, The New York Times commentec

> In higer education he asked Corgress for generous support for students, especially by adding scholarships to the existing loan programs. This was an imaginative approach, one that would infuse Federal funds where they would serve best as an

> equalizing device. It emphasized the vast cost to the United States in human misery and economic waste of human misery and economic educational neglect. It warned that the nation dare not overlook quality building the world's largest mass-education enterprise (New York Times, January 13, 1965, p. 24).

The same goal was held when Horace Mann said that education was, beyond all other devices of human origin, the great equalizer of social machinery. Thus, given the HEA, poverty would no longer be a factor in failure to break the economic and social barriers. For the poor, it was an instrument of economic, political, and social change, an opening of a window when all other doors were closed.

The rapidly changing demographic factors and the decline of the cities made increased demands on the federal government. The federal government, in return, by providing funds, passed this responsibility on to higher education. The research and service functions were now extended to include civic service, as, for example Bucer observed:

> The universities across the country were forging a new partnership with cities to battle against urban blight physical and moral, to clear out slums and create idyllic campus surroundings. This partnership was rooted in the knowledge that the future of these institutions and the destiny of their communities were inexorably linked. The break from the monastic, inward-oriented scholastic tradition, which has characterized higher education since medieval times, was not based on altruism alone. It had become a matter of modern-day necessity (New York Times, Jan. 13, 1965, p. 75).

The HEA, according to Harold Howe (McComb, 1968), Commissioner of the United States Office of Education,

consolidated different federal aid programs under a single agency, the Office of Education, so as to enable the federal government to create coherent, unified and meaningful programs. It established the rationale for federal responsibility to coordinate and finance higher education for national welfare and national defense.

Reviewing the evolutionary nature of the federal role in the progressive American society, it appears that by the year 1965, the year of enactment, the federal government added a new function to higher education. It was now speaking of the use of leisure time, professions, excellence, beautification of the country, and self-fulfilment of individuals. Being affluent was not enough now. Maslow's theory of hierarchy of human needs states that each preceding need must be fulfilled before the next higher need emerges. An analogy can be drawn between the needs of an individual and those of a society. The Ordinance of 1787 spoke of encouragement of education; the Morrill Act of 1862 granted lands for the advancement of agriculture and mechanic arts (food and occupations), The Smith-Huges Act of 1914, the National Defence Act of 1918, and the GI Bill of 1944 were all aimed at occupations, placement and security needs. Also, the legislative process was sparsely scattered through World War II. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided surplus food through revolution in American agriculture. With the victory during this War, national security and peaceful growth was guaranteed. The

subsequent mushrooming growth in population, industry, material goods, and leisure time produced the need for beauty and self fulfillment comparable to Maslow's higher needs of self-actualization.

In brief, the HEA provided general aid to higher education in response to the needs of a radically changed society.

As a corollary of this study, it is evident that the Office of the President of the United States is very powerful. Much depends on the leadership qualities of the President and his personal inclinations in making effective use of the legislative system in responding to the needs of the American people. Therefore, his perception of the problems and his leadership qualities can be good predictors of educational and social change in the U.S.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

Feb. 1 — Bills HR 3220 and HR 3221 cosponsored and introduced by Representatives Mrs. Edith Green and Mr. Adam C. Powell, Committee Chairman, respectively.

Mar. 15 — Bills S 600 introduced by Senator Wayne Morse for Senate Hearings.

Apr. 30 — House Hearings completed.

Jun. 11 — Senate Hearings completed.

Jun. 30 — Bill HR 9567 presented to the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Jul. 14 — Committee on Education and Labor referred House Bill HR 9567, with amendment (Report no. 621), to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Aug. 26 — Amended and passed House, on a 368-22 roll-call vote.

Aug. 31 — HR 9567 reported by Committee on Public Welfare (Report no. 673).

Sep. 1 — Reported by Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee (Senate Report no. 673).

Sep. 2 — Amended and passed by Senate on a 79-3 roll-call vote.

Senate insisted on concurrence of House or its amendments and requested for conference.

Sep. 15 — House disagreed to Senate amendments but

agreed to conference.

Oct. 19 Conference report (Report no. 1178) filed.

Oct. 20 House receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate.

Conference report (Report no. 1178) agreed to in the House by a 313-63 roll-call vote.

Oct. 21 Conference report agreed to in the Senate.

Oct. 23 Bill HR 9567 signed by House Speaker.

Oct. 27 Committee on House Administration presented the bill HR 9567 to the President.

Nov. 8 HEA of 1965 signed by the President (PL 89-329).

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS

As signed by the President, the HEA authorized a total of $1.5 billion for fiscal year 1966 and carried the following provisions:

Title I: Community Service, Continuing Education

Authorized $25 million in fiscal year 1966 and $50 million each in fiscal years 1967-68 for grants to support university extension courses concentrating on urban and suburban problems, such as pollution, transportation, employment, health, housing and poverty. This program was to provide the help to urban areas that the land-grant colleges provided to agriculture. President Johnson remarked, "The time has come for us to help the university to face problems of the city."

It authorized the President to appoint a National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, and 12 members from outside the Government.

Title II: College Library Assistance, Training and Research

This title had three parts, each having the following specific provisions and purposes:

Part A: For the first time funds were voted by Congress to buy library materials, including books. It made the following provisions:

-Authorized $50 million annually in fiscal 1966-68 for grants to enable institutions of higher education to improve their library resourses.

-Directed the Commissioner of Education to establish an Advisory Council on College Library Resources.

Part B:

-Authorized $15 million annually in fiscal 1966-68 for grants to institutions of higher education to train librarians and information science specialists and for research and demonstration projects relating to the improvement of libraries, including the development of new techniques.

-Repealed, effective July 1, 1967, a provision in the National Defense Education Act of 1958 authorizing training institutes for elementary and secondary school librarians.

Part C:

-Authorized $5 million in fiscal 1966, $6,315,000 in fiscal 1967 and $7,770,000 in fiscal 1968 to enable the Library of Congress to expand its centralized cataloguing service and its acquisition of scholarly materials.

Title III: Strengthening Developing Institutions

Authorized $55 million in fiscal 1966 to raise the academic quality of developing irstitutions colleges which were struggling for survival and were isolated from the main currents of academic life.

-Allocated funds for semi-professional education of technicians in engineering, mathematical and scientific fields.

-Authorized grants to developing institutions and other colleges or businesses for cooperative programs to strngthen the developing colleges' academic programs and administration, including the exchange of faculty or students, fellowships, work-study programs and joint use of libraries and laboratories.

-Authorized national teaching fellowships to graduate students and junior faculty members who, at the request of a developing institution, would teach there for up to two years. Permitted a stipend of up to $6,500 for each fellowship, plus $400 for each dependent.

-Directed the Commissioner to establish an Advisory Council on Developing Institutions.

Title IV: Student Assistance

This title was a revolutionary provision. For the first time in U.S. history Congress approved federal scholarships for undergraduate students. There were three types of student assistance:

Part A: Scholarships. Authorized $70 million annually in fiscal 1966-68 for grants to institutions of higher education for first-year scholarships to full-time students "of exceptional financial need," plus whatever sums were year. Made each year's appropriation available through the

following fiscal year.

Part B: Insured Loans. Another new aid program for college students was insurance on loans, with federal subsides on interest payment. Set a $17.5 million authorization for the advance through fiscal 1968.

-Established a federal loan insurance fund for students without reasonable access to state or non-profit private insurance plans. Federally insured loans were proposed by Johnson when he was in Congress. These were subsequently requested by Kenredy in 1963. Limited insurance on new loans in any year to $700 million in fiscal 1966, $1 billion in fiscal 1967, $1.4 billion in fiscal 1968.

Internal Subsidies. For students from families with adjusted annual income of less than $15,000 who had received insured or state loans, authorized the Commissioner to pay all interest charges while the student was in college and 3 percentage points of interest on the unpaid principal thereafter. Prohibited interest subsidies on loans from NDEA college loan funds.

Part C: Work-Study Program. Transferred to the Office of Education the work-study program for college students authorized in the Economic Opportunity Act. Authorized $129 million for the program in fiscal 1966 (including a transfer of $60 million from the antipoverty program's authorization), $165 million in fiscal 1967 and $200 million in fiscal 1968.

Part D: NDEA Amendments. Amended Title II of NDEA (which established low-interest loans for college students) by requiring repayment of loans to begin nine months after the recipient ceases to carry half a full-time workload, setting a minimum monthly repayment rate of $15.

-Permitted total loan "forgiveness" (cancellation) to students who would teach in schools with high concentrations of children from low-income families.

-Amended Title III of NDEA by increasing the fiscal 1966-68 authorizations by $10 million (to a $100 million total) and adding economics as a subject for which equipment could be bought.

-Amended Title XI of NDEA (which authorized funds to help colleges conduct advanced teacher training institutes) by increasing the fiscal 1966-68 authorizations by $17,250,000 (to a $50 million total).

Title V: Teacher Programs.

-Directed the Commissioner of Education to establish an Advisory Council on Quality Teacher Preparation.

Teacher Corps. In Part B, established in the Office of Education a National Teacher Corps, headed by a Director.

-Authorized appropriation for Corps activities of $36,100,000 in fiscal 1966 and $64,715,000 in fiscal 1967.

Teacher Fellowships. Part C declared a need to improve the quality of education in elementary and secondary schools by providing fellowships for graduate study by teachers and

strengthening universities' teacher education programs.

Title VI:Improvement of Undergraduate Courses.

Authorized (in Part A) matching federal grants to institutions of higher education to improve their classroom instruction as follows: for laboratory, audiovisual equipment and printed material, other than textbooks, for courses in science, humanities, arts and education, and for minor remodelling.

-Authorized the Commissioner to make grants to the states of $1 million annually in fiscal 1966-68 for administration of state plans.

Authorized to the Commissioner (in Part B) $5 million annually in fiscal 1966-68 for grants to colleges to conduct short-term workshops or institutes for college teachers or specialists planning to use educational media equipment.

Title VII: Amendments to the HEF Act of 1963

Amended the 1963 college classroom construction act (PL 88-204) as follows:

-Increased the fiscal 1966 grant authorization for undergraduate facilities by $230 million (to a $460 million total).

-Increased the fiscal 1966 grant authorization for graduate facilities by $60 milion (to a $120 million total).

Title VIII: General Provisions

Definec the term institution of higher education as including non-profit four-year and two-year colleges, business schools and technical institutions.

-Specified that nothing in the bill authorized any federal control over the curriculum, administration, personnel or library resources of any institution.

-Specified that notning in the bill authorized any federal control over the membership practices or internal operations of any college fraterral organization, private club or religious organization which was financed exclusively by private funds and whose facilities were not owned by the college.

-Specified in each title of the Act the aid to any school or department of divinity cr any educational activity related to sectarian instruction or religious workshop was prohibited. It authorized $17.5 million for the advances.

APPENDIX C

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

89th Congress

First Session

U.S. House of Representatives

Committee on Education and Labor

Democrats

Adam C. Powell, of New York.

Carl D. Perkins, of Kentucky.

Edith Green, of Oregon.

James Roosevelt, of California.

Frank Thomson, Jr., of New Jersey.

Elmer J. Holland, of Pennsylvania.

John H. Dent, of Pennsylvania.

Roman C. Pucinski, of Illionois.

Dominick V. Daniels, of New Jersey.

John Brademas, of Indiana.

James G. O'Hara, of Michigan.

Ralph J. Scott, of North Carolina.

Hugh L. Carey, of New York.

Augustus F. Hawkins, of California.

Carlton R. Sickles, of Michigan.

Sam M. Gibbons, of Florida.

William D. Ford, of Michigan.

William D. Hathaway, of Maine.

Patsy T. Mink, of Hawaii.

James H. Scheuer, of New York.

Lloyd Meeds, of Washington.

Republicans

William H. Ayers, of Ohio.

Robert P. Griffin, of Michigan.

Albert H. Quie, of Minnesota.

Charles E. Goodell, of New York.

John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.

Dave Martin, of Nebraska.

Alphonzo Bell of California.

Paul Findley, of Illionois.

Ogden R. Reid, of New York.

John Brademas, of Indiana.

Glenn Andrews, of Alabama.

Louise Maxienne Dargans, Chief Clerk.

APPENDIX D

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

89th Congress

First Session

U.S. Senate

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Democrats

Lister Hill, of Alabama.

Pat McNamara, of Michigan.

Wayne Morse, of Oregon.

Ralph W. Yarborough, of Texas.

Joseph S. Clark, of Pennsylvania.

Jennings Randolph, of West Virginia.

Harrison A. Williams, Jr., of New Jersey.

Claiborne Pell, of Rhode Island.

Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts.

Gaylord Nelson, of Wisconsin.

Robert F. Kennedy, of New York.

Republicans

Jacob K. Javits, of New York.

Winston L. Prouty, of Vermont.

Peter H. Dominick, of Colorado.

George Murphy, of California.

Paul J. Fannin, of Arizona.

Stewart E. McClure, Chief Clerk.

APPENDIX E

LETTER OF WILLARD ESPY

NEEDY COLLEGE STUDENTS: TEST CASE FOR THE GREAT SOCIETY

by Willard R. Espy

Advisers to President Johnson say he foresees an active role for private organizations in his campaign for the Great Society. He counts on deeds as well as words from universities and foundations; from business, labor, farm, civic, and religious groups.

The President intends to be Saint George in this war; but he assumes the local bank and the church on the corner will push their own skirmishes against such dragons of the day as deficient housing, blighted cities, unemployment, and inadequate schools.

Isaiah tried without success in 330 B. C. to persuade the wolf to dwell with the lamb. President Johnson may not succeed in 1965 A. D. in making kissing kin of federal agencies and their private opposite numbers. If it works, it will be one for the history books.

Yet there is evidence that the private side, or at least important segments of it, is willing to meet the Administration half way. Even the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, both more familiar to Washington as opposers than proposers, are seriously exploring nationwide, private-enterprise attacks on joblessness and poverty. They are out to see if they can accomplish more by developing their own private projects than by complaining about public ones.

But can representatives of such divergent worlds really team up to achieve the Great Society? Can a central government conceivably relax its grip, just because a private organization stands ready to meet a social need? Will businessmen tilt with determination at the dragons -- not to spite Washington, but purely and simply to improve the world bureaucrats and businessmen alike must live in?

We are far from the final answers. But you might watch one straw which is already fluttering in the wind over Washington. The way it blows will tell a lot about the chances of mounting a joint private-public attack on the dragons during the next four years.

The President is determined that no young man or woman shall ever again be barred by poverty from acquiring a higher education. Both federal and private organizations are already working effectively toward this goal Can they coordinate their programs now, with improvement to both? Or will the wolf, in the name of the Great Society, turn and rend the lamb?

The big business of student loans

Since World War II, American colleges and universities have lived through a nightmare. It was bad enough that their costs were shooting through the ceiling. It was bad enough that they had to hire more expensive professors, and enlarge their plants year after year.

APPENDIX F

DOCUMENTS RELATED TO JEWISH GROUPS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1965

TO: Lee White

FROM: Henry Wilson

xB'nai B'rith and the x American Jewish Congress are laboring mightily to defeat the Education bill.

More specifically they are peddling that the bill contains something called mandatory dual enrollment.

We can find no justification for any such charge.

Can you find some means for squelching this activity?

Needless to say, this is absolutely first priority.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1965

TO: Lee White

FROM: Henry Wilson

As a follow up to my note of yesterday -- Jewish groups on the Education bill, I attach list of those who testified and their positions.

EXECUTIVE

HE/FA-2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RM 3-2

February 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Celebrezze and Frank Keppel called in to report that your visit with NEA leaders was enormously effective. The NEA Board of Directors voted support of the program yesterday without a hitch. The American Association of School Administrators, also meeting in Atlantic City, will probably endorse the Bill this week.

Celebrezze and Keppel are keeping a close eye on the opposition of certain Jewish groups. They are convinced that it is only a small minority and that we should not over-react in dealing with them.

Douglass Cater

JEWISH GROUPS
TESTIFYING ON H. R. 2362

VOLUME II

APPENDIX G

LETTERS OF DOUGLAS CATER

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1965

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Douglass Cater

Here are several proposals for mustering public support for the Education Bills:

1. John Gardner writes that the Education Writers' Association will be meeting in Atlantic City on February 11th and suggests that they would be willing to stop by Washington on February 10th if they could have a brief audience with you. He says that few Americans are more "strategically placed" to further your aims in education than this group. Would you like to see them? Yes ___ No ___

2. Gardner, Frank Keppel and others I have consulted are inclined to doubt that an independent citizens' committee would be the best way to promote the bills. They suggest instead mustering an informal alliance among the various educational associations -- NEA, American Council, etc. I would like to have a luncheon meeting with the heads of these Associations here at the White House Mess. Yes ___ No ___

3. Mayor Tucker of St. Louis, a member of the Task Force on Education, says he will offer a resolution at the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting here in Washington next week to support the education legislation. Do you wish to meet or send a message to this conference on the Education Message? Yes ___ No ___

4. The telegrams on the Message are running 3-1 in favor. The opposition is exclusively directed at aid to parochial schools.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1965

TO: JACK VALENTI
FROM: DOUGLASS CATER

(24)

EXECUTIVE

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1965

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Douglass Cater

Adam Clayton Powell is burning mad over Edith Green's behavior on the Education Bill. He has threatened three reprisals:

1. Remove vocational rehabilitation from her Subcommittee jurisdiction.

2. Fire her sister from the Committee staff.

3. Entrust John Brademas with sponsorship of the Higher Education Bill.

Brademas is uncertain about No. 3, but is willing to undertake the job if it will serve the good of the Bill.

APPENDIX H

LETTER OF NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES
Formerly American Municipal Association
City Building, 1612 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C., 20006

October 7, 1965

The Honorable Wayne Morse
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Morse:

Since you are a member of the Conference Committee which is working to resolve the differences between the Senate and House versions of H. R. 9567, the Higher Education Act of 1965, we want to urge you to support the Senate passed version of Title I, which relates to college and university extension and continuing education programs in the field of urban and suburban affairs.

The value of in-service training for a broad range of professional and middle management occupations in the field of municipal administration cannot be underestimated as the need for municipal services continues to expand as the urban and suburban population of our nation increases. The municipal officials and employees charged with the responsibility for the day-to-day provision of local governmental services must turn to in-service training through short-courses taught during convenient hours for expansion of their knowledge and abilities. The House-passed version of H. R. 9567 would completely restrict the inauguration or expansion of this type of extension program at the college or university level by requiring courses to be conducted for credit or on the college level, as determined by the institution of higher learning. Adoption of this language would, in the opinion of municipal officials throughout the country, be tantamount to ignoring an important and vital need in our educational system.

Furthermore, we believe the House-passed version would not permit colleges and universities to use Title I funds for the expansion of urban research and consultation programs in the field of urban affairs and municipal management and administration. The officials of over 18,000 incorporated cities and towns throughout the nation face a constant need for advice and consultation regarding the practical analysis of urban problems and the methods of solving them. Such advice and consultation is clearly an integral part of the continuing education process which this legislation is designed to stimulate. The Senate-passed version of Title I, and particularly the language of Section 103, permits a much broader application of federal assistance to this end.

Again, we hope you will support adoption by the Conference Committee of the Senate version of Title I of H. R. 9567.

Sincerely yours,

Patrick Healy
Executive Director

bcc: Mr. Douglass S. Cater, Jr.
Assistant to the President

APPENDIX I

JOHNSON'S SPECIMEN DRAFT

This is a time of great progress in American education. It is also a time of great need.

~~In this session of Congress~~

In the past ten months the 89th Congress passed the elementary + secondary education, the higher education ~~Just this week~~ act, and nearly a score of other measures which affect every American scholar in every American school room.

These forward looking measures will not only give us ~~higher standards~~ education of a far higher quality but also vastly broader opportunity to learn.

But this promise can never be fully realized unless ~~[redacted]~~ the States, the local communities, and the schools themselves ~~provide the will and the imagination~~ to breathe life into these measures. For it is they and they alone who must mould the minds of our youth.

We have a new ~~student loan~~ program of loans for needy students — but that program needs the help and support of local banks.

We have opened the doors ~~[illegible]~~

higher education to hundreds of thousands of new students — but our colleges + universities must prepare themselves to receive them.

We have provided new tools of education for our classrooms — but our teachers must now prepare themselves for ~~leadership~~ to use those tools.

We have dedicated ourselves to better education — but it must be education for all. Our entire academic community must ~~all staff~~ motivate staff to ~~drop out~~ solve the dropout problem. Money for tuition must be joined with motivation to learn.

These are the challenges of Education Week 1965.

More than 2000 thousand years ago, a great Philosopher said that "the fate of empires depends on the education of youth."

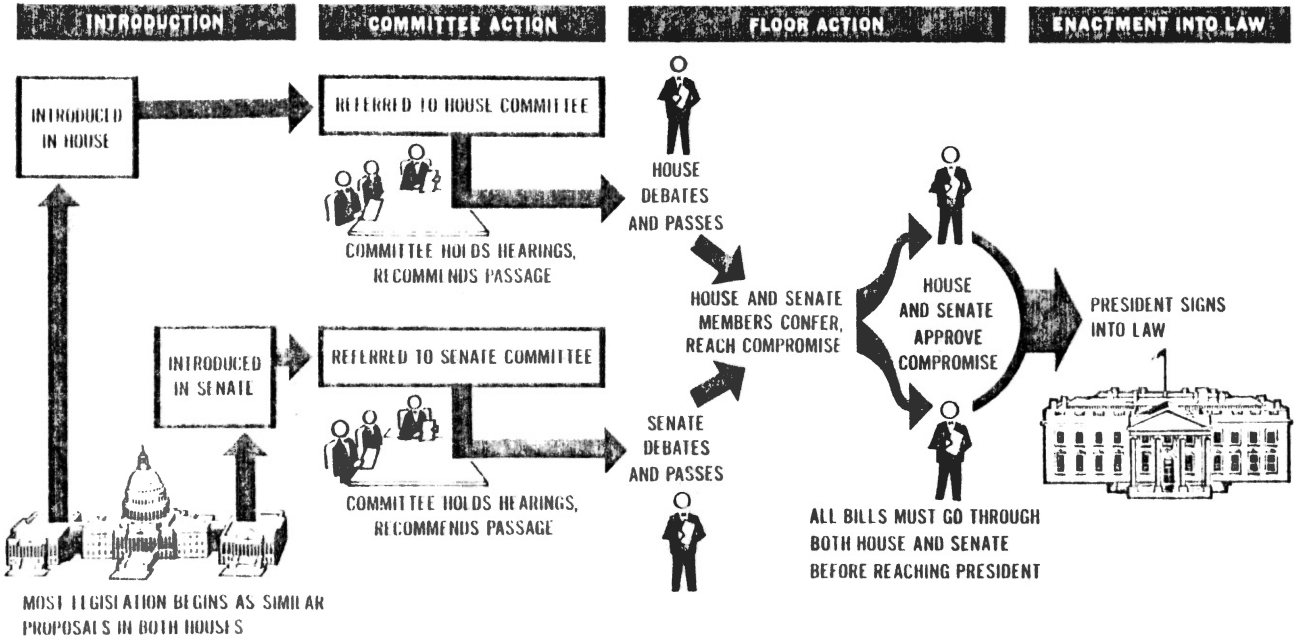
Today, ~~on the education~~ on the education of youth, ~~the fate of the world~~ depends the fate of the world.

APPENDIX J

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

THIS GRAPHIC SHOWS THE MOST TYPICAL WAY IN WHICH PROPOSED LEGISLATION IS ENACTED INTO LAW. THERE ARE MORE COMPLICATED, AS WELL AS SIMPLER, ROUTES, AND MOST BILLS FALL BY THE WAYSIDE AND NEVER BECOME LAW.



APPENDIX K

TELEGRAM OF NEA PRESIDENT TO MR. JOHNSON

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 12, 1965

TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM Douglass Cater

Re 11:30 a.m. appointment with NEA leaders - Saturday, February 13, 1965

The NEA leaders - Dr. Lois Edinger, President of the National Education Association, Dr. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary and Dr. Robert McKay, Chairman, Legislation Commission - have given vigorous support to your Education Bill. They are being challenged by certain groups within NEA who would like to have the sixty-man Board of Directors now meeting in Atlantic City reverse their support.

It would be appropriate for you to welcome them to your office, thank them for their public support for your education program, and express hope that the NEA will make every effort to urge Congressional passage of the Bill. They have assured me that they will respond briefly and affirmatively.

The White House
Washington

EXECUTIVE
LE/FA 2
PR 8-1

1965 FEB 15 PM 10 32

WA680 NL PD

ATLANTIC CITY NJER FEB 15

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

REPORT OF OUR CONFERENCE WITH YOU ON SATURDAY WAS RECEIVED WITH PROFOUND APPRECIATION FOR YOUR CONCERN AND LEADERSHIP IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS REPRESENTING THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN EVERY STATE YESTERDAY VOTED WITHOUT DISSENT TO REAFFIRM SUPPORT OF PENDING LEGISLATION AND PLEDGES UTMOST EFFORTS FOR ITS ENACTMENT

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1965
CENTRAL FILES

LOIS EDINGER PRESIDENT NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

APPENDIX L

DOCUMENTS FROM LYNDON B. JOHNSON LIBRARY

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

DOCUMENTS FROM LYNDON B. JOHNSON LIBRARY

(1) Letter, Sargent Shriver to Phillip S. Hughes, 10/28/65, "Enrolled Legislation PL 89-329 folder, Box 31, Reports on Enrollment PL 89-329, LBJ Library.

(2) Letter, Frederick L. Deming, The Director Bureau of the Budget, to the Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, "Enrollment Legislation PL 89-329" folder, Box 31, Reports on Enrollment PL 89-329, LBJ Library.

(3) Letter, George Davis to the President, 6/24/65, LE/FA2, FG 11-8-1/ Cater, Douglas, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(4) Letter from President to Mr. John C. Payne, 10/28/64, LE/FA2, Central Files, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(5) Letter from John C. Payne to the President, 10/26/64, Central Files, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(6) Letter, Glenn Kendall to the President, 10/28/64, LE/FA2, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(7) Letter, James A. Sensenbaugh to the President, 10/21/64, ED/MC Ex File, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(8) Memo, Willard R. Espy to Nelson, 1/4/64, "Needy College Students: Test Case for the Great Society", Ex FA2, LBJ Library.

(9) Memo, Larry O'Brian to the President, 8/6/1965, LE/FA2, ED, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(10) Memo, Larry O'Brian to the President, 6/24/65, LE/FA2, Ex, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(11) Memo, Larry O'Brian to the President, 3/8/65, LE/FA2, ED, Ex File, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(12) Memo, Jim Jones to Marvin, filed 8/11/65, LE/ISI, LE/FA2, Central Files, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(13) Memo, Thomas W. Carr to Joseph Laitin, 8/3/65, LE/FA2, ED 3, Central Files, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(14) Memo, Jack Valenti to the President, 3/24/65, LE/FA2, Ex FG 165, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(15) Memo, Douglas Cater to the President, 4/26/65, LE/FA2, Ex FG 135, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(16) Memo, Douglas Cater to the President, 4/30/65, LE/FA2, Ex File, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(17) Memo, Henry Wilson to Lee White, 3/11/65, and 3/12/65, LE/FA2, Ex File, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(18) Memo, Douglas Cater to the President, 12/19/65, Central Files, FG 165-4, FA2, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(19) Memo, Mary White to Mr. Valenti, 10/15/64, LE/FA2, Ex File, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(20) Memo, Douglas Cater to the President, 2/15/65, LE/FA2, Ex File, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(21) Memo, Douglas Cater to the President, 2/12/65, LE/FA2, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(22) Memo, Jack Valenti to Douglas Cater, (Undated), Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(23) Memo, Mike Manatos to Douglas Cater, Jr., 2/5/65, LE/ED, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(24) Memo, Claude Desautels to Douglas Cater, 1/27/65, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(25) Memo, Francis Keppel to Douglas Cater, 1/18/65, Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Library.

(26) Memo, Douglas Cater to the President, 1/14/65, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(27) "Statement by the President on Signing of the Higher Education Act of 1965", October 27, 1965, LBJ Library.

(28) Telegram, Lois Edinger to the President, 2/15/65, LE, FA2, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(29) Telegram, Charles Cogen to the President, 1/5/65, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(30) Letter, Lyndon B. Johnson to Mr. Cogen, 2/13/65, LE/FA2, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

(31) Letter, Vance Harkte to the President, 1/15/65, Papers of the President, LBJ Library.

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