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THE G.I. BILL: A PRECEDENT IN EDUCATIONAL
AND SOCIAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

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THE G.I. BILL: A PRECEDENT IN EDUCATIONAL
AND SOCIAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

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PREFACE

The largest educational program in the history of the country began on June 22, 1944, when the initial G.I. Bill's educational benefits provided training to almost eight million and began a new era in regard to veterans' readjustment. The public has continued to endorse education as a means of veteran readjustment. In 1952 and in 1966 veterans' educational benefits were extended. And since the end of the first piece of legislation, approximately four million more veterans have utilized these benefits, and they continue to take advantage of them. There has been discussion about various aspects of these enactments; however, no comprehensive study of veterans educational benefits has emerged. This paper seeks to provide such a study and to emphasize in particular the changing role of these programs.

To understand the concept of veterans' educational benefits, experience with such programs in individual states and in foreign countries must be considered. The demands of World War II did bring action. Civilian groups initiated the study of educational benefits; the national government responded quickly in 1942 with the appointment of committees

to study such an approach. The excellent planning on the part of the national government did allow for the success of this massive educational adventure. With experience, the government was able to improve subsequent programs. Although the educational assistance remains basically the same, there have been attempts to alter the philosophy. The G.I. Bill has actually become a part of a larger debate--the role of the national government toward the disadvantaged. But the national government is not only involved in educational benefits to veterans, but twenty-one states offer types of aid for training, and other national governments also have programs. The effects of these programs and the role of the veteran in the society must also be considered in such a study. In sum, this paper seeks to give insight into the general subject of the development of veterans' educational benefits in this country.

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has continuously encouraged the author to engage in further graduate study.

Many persons have contributed to the study. Without their efforts, the paper would not have been possible. Congressman Olin E. Teague, Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs; Senator Ralph Yarborough, Chairman, Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee; and Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman, Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs; assisted the author with valuable reports. Mr. Oliver E. Meadows, Mr. Gene Godley, and Mr. Jonathan R. Steinberg of the staffs of these congressmen were particularly helpful. Correspondence from Senators Fred Harris, Edward Kennedy, George McGovern, and Gaylord Nelson was also appreciated.

In August, 1969 the author visited Washington, D.C. and was fortunate to interview the following persons: Mr. Oliver E. Meadows, Staff Director, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs; the staff of Senator Alan Cranston; Mr. Edward K. Nellor, Director, Information Service, Main Office, the Veterans Administration; Mr. Edwin Williams, Assistant Director, Information Service, Main Office, Veterans Administration; Mr. J. C. Peckarsky, Deputy Chief, Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration; Mr. J. T. Taaffee, Jr., Director, Compensation, Pension, and Education Service, Main Office, Veterans Administration; Mr. Edward R. Silberman, Director, Programs, Planning, Budgeting, Main Office, Veterans Administration; Dr. James W.

Moore, Director, Division of Student Financial Aids, U.S. Office of Education; Mr. Thomas Schneiders, Assistant Director, Legislative Service, Headquarters of the American Legion--Washington, D.C. Office; and Mr. Robert Ashworth, Headquarters of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Washington, D.C.

Many private and governmental organizations responded to the author's requests. The current information obtained through these organizations was of considerable value. The American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, the Association of the United States Air Force, the Association of the United States Army, the Reserve Officers Association, the Carnegie Foundation, the National Education Association, the Gale Research Company, the Veterans Administration, the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Defense co-operated fully. Messrs. Jack M. Horner and John M. Pinckney of the Bureau of the Budget and Mr. Edwin Williams of the Veterans Administration were especially considerate.

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THE G.I. BILL: A PRECEDENT IN EDUCATIONAL
AND SOCIAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the Second World War, some thirty million Americans were involved directly in the war effort as employees of defense-related industries or as members of the Armed Forces.¹ Those in uniform were of special concern because once their demobilization had been completed, one-quarter of the entire work force would be comprised of veterans.² The President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions described the situation in these vivid words:

When World War II ended, . . . we were confronted with a domestic crisis that was a graver threat to our national unity than any attack mounted by the enemy.

No one knew the solution of a problem as old as war--the returning soldier embittered against the society he fought to protect. The answer never had

¹Karl T. Schlotterbeck, Postwar Reemployment, the Magnitude of the Problem (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1943), p. 1.

²United States Bureau of the Budget, The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1946 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. xi.

been found by any country. World War II, involving nearly twice as many men as all our previous wars combined, was a monstrous time bomb that could have split the country into two divisive factions.³

The President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions in 1956 noted five major concerns which had been expressed after World War II: The welfare of demobilized veterans thrust upon an economy in the midst of reconversion to peacetime activity; the stability of the economy and the possibility of a post-war depression; the stability of our political institutions and the effect millions of disgusted veterans might have on the government; the "educational deficit" which had occurred by taking many young people out of schools and sending them to war; and runaway demands for pensions and other benefits which might swamp the economy beneath an unbearable load.⁴ All of these concerns exerted influence in the passage of a bill in 1944 which was to have long-term effects on many aspects of American life. Not only would its many provisions, including education, loans, unemployment compensation, employment assistance, and medical care help some fourteen million in their transition to civilian roles, but even more significant would be its effects on the social and educational philosophy of the national government.

³United States President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, The Historical Development of Veterans' Benefits in the United States, 84th Cong., 2nd sess., House Committee Print No. 244, Staff Report No. I, May 9, 1956, p. 54.

⁴Ibid.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of June 22, 1944, commonly known as the G.I. Bill of Rights, was indeed a land-mark in the public policy of this nation. It grew out of a crisis situation and provided an answer to the immediate challenge--demobilization, but it also assisted the country in finding solutions to many other challenges, and its influence continues to be felt today.

Professor Woodrow Wilson in Congressional Government observed, "Legislation unquestionably generates legislation. Every statute may be said to have a long lineage of statutes behind it."⁵ The G.I. Bill of Rights of 1944 illustrates well the validity of these words.

The economic disaster of the 1930s had lead the public to place a high value on economic stability. The New Deal measures of President Franklin D. Roosevelt reflected this concern. After World War II, public preoccupation with a possible depression continued. The Employment Act of 1946 provisions illustrate the prevailing attitude.⁶ The original G.I. Bill must be viewed with this national concern in mind. Millions of ex-servicemen without jobs and millions of ex-war workers now temporarily unemployed were the ingredients for economic disaster. The G.I. Bill was to

⁵Woodrow Wilson, Congressional Government (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1889), p. 297.

⁶Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law, the Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 6-7.

assist in preventing such a disaster through a program of the national government. This approach by government had its origins in previous legislation. The New Deal philosophy also played a role, but the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 included many innovations. The government had never before been involved in such a massive scholarship program. The legislation also included loans for homes and businesses, a new adventure, and unemployment compensation. The World War I educational provisions for in-service personnel and for disabled veterans could in no way compare with the magnitude of the 1944 enactment.

The effects of this legislation are really incalculable. The fact millions used G.I. Bill assistance is in itself noteworthy.⁷ Dr. Daniel D. Feder, Dean of Students at the University of Denver, observed the significant meaning of this enactment to the entire nation with these words:

. . . there is increasing confirmation that our national experiment in the educational and rehabilitation of veterans has been one of the most significant contributions to the development of our human resources that this nation has ever undertaken.⁸

⁷"G.I. Bill of Rights 25th Anniversary 1944-1969," Pamphlet (Washington, D.C.: Veterans Administration Information Service, 1969), pp. 8-9.

⁸Olin E. Teague, "G.I. Education: Problems and Future Programs." National Defense and Higher Education. Report of a Conference of Representatives of Member Organizations of the American Council of Education, Washington, D.C., January 19-20, 1951, Series I, No. 47, XV, April, 1951, p. 94.

Of all the provisions of the G.I. Bills, those concerning education were, according to many, the most significant. It is upon these that this paper will focus.

New Challenges

To be effective and receive continued public support, a program must change to meet current challenges.⁹ This philosophy underlies current veterans' educational legislation, which now emphasizes the disadvantaged and minority groups and recommends special consideration for these ex-servicemen.

The plight of the disadvantaged has been well-documented in recent years, and the national government has responded in many programs.¹⁰ The military has launched Project Transition designed to train disadvantaged youths prior to their release from active duty. The Department of Labor has a special training program for ex-servicemen with poverty backgrounds. In the United States Office of Education there is a university program which encourages schools to accept students whose educational background is deficient in credits and grades. Through an enrichment program, these students are prepared to compete in

⁹Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law, the Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946, p. viii.

¹⁰New York Times, July 29, 1968, p. 14.

university settings.¹¹ Alfred B. Fitt, Assistant Defense Secretary for Manpower, noted that instead of veterans adjusting to society, the community must be willing to make adjustments for certain individuals so they can become part of society.¹²

Finally, there is the Veterans Administration (VA), the over-all agency dealing exclusively with ex-servicemen. Through some twenty special assistance centers in major cities, the VA's Outreach Program contacts disadvantaged youth and encourages them to return to school in order to obtain better employment. The former Administrator for Veterans Affairs, W. J. Driver, in 1968 offered the following comments about the new emphasis:

We are making this very active, constructive effort to seek out the returning servicemen--and especially the disadvantaged ones--because they return without the fanfare of a mass discharge and are absorbed into their community with relatively little notice. We want them to feel that their service is appreciated, and we stand ready to support their readjustment to civilian life in every way possible.¹³

There is, then, a consciousness of the disadvantaged. And even though there have been numerous programs aimed at this group of citizens, there continues to be discussion about utilizing veterans' educational benefits as a

¹¹New York Times, April 20, 1969, p. 58; November 16, 1968, p. 27.

¹²New York Times, September 5, 1968, p. 23.

¹³New York Times, April 21, 1968, p. 12.

means of improving the lot of a large segment of the disadvantaged. Why utilize the G.I. Bill? Proponents claim the young minority ex-servicemen can be best helped by education. They also recognize the favorable attitude toward G.I. Bills. And many leaders of minority groups propose projects with reference to the G.I. Bills. Take Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League. In a 1969 memorandum to President Nixon, the head of the National Urban League asked for passage of a minimum income for all and called upon the Chief Executive to "convince the American people that this is an investment like the G.I. Bill, that will ultimately bring in far more money in taxes than it costs."¹⁴ Opponents of changing G.I. Bill provisions to help the disadvantaged claim the G.I. Bill is used to obtain passage of social legislation that would fail on its own merits.

"Socialized Education?"

At the heart of the controversy is the role of government in regard to veterans, the disadvantaged, and citizens in general. Often, the controversy can become bogged down in such emotion-laden terms as "free-enterprise" or "socialized." Strong advocates of a "free-enterprise system," may accept veterans' hospitals while opposing socialized medicine, approve veterans' pensions

¹⁴New York Times, January 23, 1969, p. 15.

but attack minimum wages, support educational benefits for veterans, but decry "socialized adventures," such as national governmental scholarships. Despite more understanding of social problems, there still exists an attitude of robust contempt toward non-veteran dependency. Yet, dependency is a problem among veterans and non-veterans alike.¹⁵

Whether the G.I. Bill really represents social legislation is unsettled, but some well-known authorities have used this designation. Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, former Administrator of Veterans Affairs, made this observation in 1944:

As a consequence of the seriousness of the situation, there is more constructive thinking going on today on economic, social, and educational problems than has occurred in any equal period before. Some of it is being put into effect. In addition to other conversion legislation, the Seventy-Eighth Congress has already passed two bills providing among other things education and training for veterans. These acts represent tremendous progress in the treatment of veterans. We are better equipped for handling the situation of the returning veteran of this war than we have been in previous wars. These laws covering the rights of veterans are outstanding pieces of social legislation and may be regarded as explicit public recognition of the importance of our human resources and of human values generally. This legislation, however, only sets framework for the constructive activity which is to follow. . . .¹⁶

¹⁵American Council on Education, American Youth Commission, Youth and the Future (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942), p. 231.

¹⁶Frank T. Hines, "Education and Rehabilitation of Returning Veterans with Special Reference to the Provisions of Public Laws 16 and 346," The Journal of Educational Sociology, XVIII (October, 1944), 73-74.

Veterans have been and will probably continue to be viewed in a special way. This was illustrated in an editorial in Stars and Stripes entitled "Veterans are Watching," July 19, 1945.

. . . Unlike our economy-minded enemies who hate to pay for the expense of a war once it is won, unlike those socialistically-minded do-gooders who would make veterans line up at a clinic along with local unfortunates, unlike the American Medical Association that has formed its trust in order to combat socialized medicine and has caught disabled veterans plumb in the middle, men who have worn the uniform have by that very act been placed by their Government in a class by themselves to be considered above all other classes, and as such the country has so considered them since its inception.¹⁷

To this newspaper, veterans' programs are definitely not socialized adventures. The veterans have merited a special place in our society since the Revolutionary War; however, legislation affecting them has also influenced enactments related to the general population. A national scholarship program is a good example. These programs for the general public have often been opposed by the most ardent supporters of similar benefits for ex-servicemen.

For many years, educators have sought a national scholarship program. Some were even critical of the G.I. Bill because it only included veterans. One educator stated, "It seems most impractical to finance the education of a man whose only prerequisite is that he is a member of the armed forces." This educator recommended a national

¹⁷Congressional Record, July 19, 1945, p. A3525.

scholarship program for all American youth who are qualified to enter a college or university.¹⁸ The national government had assisted public education for many years; however, schools continued to be generally a local and state concern. The G.I. Bill does represent a new concept in regard to individual scholarships.

Many political leaders, including Henry Wallace, had sought more involvement of the national government in education. In his famous book Sixty Million Jobs, published in 1945, the former Vice President states, "This is a shocking statement to make, I know--but the United States, considering her material wealth, is one of the most backward nations in education in the world."¹⁹

A former Coordinator of Veteran Affairs at the University of California at Los Angeles, Byron H. Atkinson, evaluated the new departure in education in a rather surprising manner.

In 1944 this Servicemen's Reconstruction Act was passed by Congress amid the almost unanimous plaudits of the people of the United States. Here was a great gift from the people to the people, and here, for the first time, was a great experiment in socialized education sponsored and financed by a paternal government, in an area heretofore traditionally and jealously a state preserve. Since we are all more interested in economic results than in aggrandizement, we must admit that certain aspects of this subject are of concern not only to educators, but to business and

¹⁸New York Times, November 1, 1943, p. 24.

¹⁹Henry A. Wallace, Sixty Million Jobs (New York: Simon and Schuster Company, 1945), p. 81.

professional leaders in the community as well.

Perhaps you disagree with this phraseology, but it seems to me that in philosophy and concept, with its attendant values and evils, for better or for worse, this is clearly and simply socialized education.²⁰

The United States has in recent years tried to make good the American ideal of equality of opportunity in education. The G.I. Bills have contributed greatly to this.²¹ It was not until one decade ago that a large-scale civilian scholarship program was seriously considered. Veterans' educational programs helped create an environment of acceptance for such programs. There had been many moves to grant a federal scholarship program. President Truman suggested such a scheme in 1948.²² United States Commissioner of Education Earl McGrath in 1949 sought some \$300 million annually in federal scholarships for college students. But editorials generally criticized the venture as too costly.²³ And Congress failed to even consider the program until after the Soviet space entry.²⁴ There are continued expressions

²⁰Byron H. Atkinson, "The G.I. Bill as a Social Experiment," School and Society, LXVIII (July 17, 1948), 43.

²¹Earl J. McGrath, "General Education in the Postwar Period," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), 78-79.

²²W. C. Toepelman, "Higher Education for Veterans," NEA Journal, XXXVIII (December, 1949), 673.

²³Editorial, America, November 12, 1949, p. 147.

²⁴Algo D. Henderson, "Current Status of Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education," Approaching Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education, American Council on Education Series, XIX (March, 1955), Washington, D.C., 15.

of support for governmental aid by both civilian and government leaders. President Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York in an address to the Association of American Colleges in 1968 stated there is general agreement higher education should be generously financed and accessible to all. This was the minimum required for equality of opportunity.²⁵ President Lyndon B. Johnson in a special message to the Congress on education on February 5, 1968, declared a fifth freedom must now be added to President Roosevelt's "four essential freedoms." This is the freedom from ignorance.

It means that every man, everywhere, should be free to develop his talents to their full potential--unhampered by arbitrary barriers of race or birth or income.²⁶

Ralph C. Flynt, Director of the Higher Education Programs Branch, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in Congressional testimony in 1957 emphasized the importance for Congress to consider the entire population, not just one segment.²⁷ It was obvious he was referring to the

²⁵Merritt M. Chambers, Higher Education: Who Pays? Who Gains? Financing Education Beyond the High School (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1968), pp. 249-250.

²⁶President Lyndon B. Johnson, "The Fifth Freedom, the President's Message to the Congress on Education," February 5, 1968, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1968), p. 221.

²⁷U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Pertaining to the Extension of the Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance Act, Hearings before the

G.I. Bill legislation and the failure of civilian scholarship programs. Not only did the original G.I. Bill assist in creating an environment favorable to education and thereby contributed to the passage of other educational measures, but there was a continuation of the G.I. Bill itself. With the Korean War, a new G.I. Bill was passed. Such a measure had been expected.²⁸ Later some legislators urged an expansion of the program to peacetime servicemen. At first this met with considerable opposition. In fact, the Commission on Veterans' Pensions in 1956 under the chairmanship of General Omar Bradley clearly opposed any such move.

The present selective service deferment policies allow all young men who so desire, to complete high school and also permit college students, who demonstrate ability, to complete their college education before induction. Military service is reasonably well compensated and there are substantial opportunities for training and useful experience while in the Armed Forces. The Commission believes that under such conditions military service does not involve sufficient interruption to the educational progress of servicemen to warrant a continuation of a special educational program for them.²⁹

Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senate, 85th Cong., 1st sess., 1957, p. 159.

²⁸John R. Emens, "Education Begets Education, the G.I. Bill Twenty Years Later," American Education, I (September, 1965), 11.

²⁹United States President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States, Veterans in Our Society: Data on the Conditions of Military Service and the Status of the Veteran. 84th Cong., 2nd sess., House Committee Print No. 261, Staff Report No. IV, June 21, 1956, p. 17.

This has also been President Eisenhower's viewpoint; he threatened to veto any measure to extend educational aid to Cold War veterans. Furthermore, the President thought a Cold War bill would also discourage military careers. After the expiration of the Korean G.I. Bill in 1956, debate continued on the issue of an extension. The charges of federal control were again heard; there were those who thought the national government would be controlling America's youth through a peacetime G.I. Bill.³⁰ The G.I. Bills were recognized as successful in promoting equal opportunity.³¹ But the Vietnam War was the real catalyst behind the passage of the 1966 Cold War G.I. Bill. This latest G.I. Bill is unique in several ways. It has no termination date. There are also special provisions to help the widow and the deprived. And there are continued efforts on the part of Congress to include special considerations for the disadvantaged.

A New Perspective

The new emphasis on aid to Cold War veterans has been reflected in recent governmental reports. The President in his Budget Message of 1968 outlined the importance of veterans educational benefits and concluded, "This Nation

³⁰Jules P. Colbert, "Extending G.I. Education Benefits," Addresses on Current Issues in Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1951), p. 58.

³¹Ernest Jackman, "G.I. Bill of Rights," Progressive Education, XXII (November, 1944), 14.

continues to recognize a particular obligation to those who have served in the Armed Forces."³² The United States Veterans Advisory Commission in 1968 concluded the American public has accepted as a basic principle the continuation of an educational program for all who serve in the armed forces. About these programs, which are the largest adult education measures ever undertaken, the Commission said,

Readjustment legislation has provided great benefits to the nation as a whole. These programs placed billions of dollars into the post-war economy, when such a stimulus was badly needed. Additional training provided veterans has enabled them to earn higher incomes. Increased income taxes that these veterans have paid and will pay over their lifetimes will reimburse the government for the investment in their education.

All American society has profited from this legislation in other ways. Education has been accorded a higher value in the nation's economic and social order. The better educated country's work force has fostered a greater rate of economic work.³³

The problem of demobilization has always been with us. Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic Democracy in America noted the importance of education in the process of bringing soldiers back into the society and giving them means with which to succeed.³⁴ This is exactly what the framers of the

³²United States Bureau of the Budget, The Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 30-31.

³³Report of the United States Veterans Advisory Commission (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. vii.

³⁴Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, ed. by J. P. Mayer and Max Lerner, trans. by George Lawrence, 1st ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 621-631.

original G.I. Bill had in mind. Give the GIs a chance to have a stake in the society. Lack of a stake in the social order makes the veterans dangerous. They have been trained in the use of violence, want action, and cannot wait for long political discussions. They are also accustomed to organized effort. All these factors can make them politically dangerous, provided measures are not taken to help orient them back to the community.³⁵

The Veterans' Position

The Veterans Administration and the veterans' organizations, both serving the veteran bloc, indicate the preferred position ex-servicemen hold in American society. According to the Annual Report of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, there were 26,273,000 veterans in this country in 1968. With their families, they make up about one-half of the total population.³⁶ In terms of the national budget, veterans received in Fiscal Year 1969 four cents out of every federal dollar. The Veterans Administration has been one of the most influential agencies in the entire national government. With 170,986 employees in 1969, the VA was the largest of the independent agencies and only two executive departments, Defense and the Post Office, had more

³⁵Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back (New York: The Dryden Press, 1944), pp. 185-188.

³⁶United States Veterans Administration, Annual Report of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 169.

staff. This agency's budget, which accounted for 4 per cent of all national expenditures (\$7.6 billion) in 1969, was exceeded by only four major departments. These were: Agriculture; Defense; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Treasury.³⁷ The VA administers a vast network of services throughout the nation and also in the Philippines.

The veterans' organizations are also holding an important position. The American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, and other groups all have competent staffs in Washington, D.C. watching Congressional activities and have excellent working relationships with key Congressional committees. Although their actual membership represents a fifth of the total veteran population, the key role played by the Veterans Administration, and the important position of the veterans groups, there have been indications of change.

Today the Vietnam Veteran returns home and becomes invisible. He does not face cheering crowds and parades. Perhaps, this is due in part to the unpopularity of the war. "They are slipping back into civilian life as quickly and quietly as an army of invisible men. Their reception is all but nonexistent," observed William Tackmann, an official of the New York City Division of Veterans Affairs, one of the

³⁷U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 378-379, 395.

oldest and largest local veterans agencies in the country.³⁸ This is a change from World War II. In addition, there have been attempts to change the position of the VA as the agency dealing exclusively with veterans. Other governmental agencies seek to administer certain veterans' areas, including education and medical programs. Furthermore, the emergence of new civilian programs question the existence of certain veterans' benefits and again leaves the role of the veterans' groups uncertain. Despite the important role of the veterans in our society, changes are being suggested.

From Bonus to Scholarship

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of June 22, 1944, did represent a new philosophy toward veterans' readjustment. Education was substituted for the bonus. Although the national government first initiated a large-scale educational program in 1944, individual states and foreign countries had experimented with educational programs in World War I. These programs assisted the development of a G.I. Bill in the United States. The G.I. Bill concept has become a part of the American scene; in 1952 and in 1966 these educational benefits to veterans were extended. And the subsequent programs did reflect changes in direction. Today the G.I. Bill is of a permanent nature. Furthermore, many individual states and foreign countries have continued with educational

³⁸Sandy Goodman, "The Invisible Veterans," The Nation, CCVI (June 3, 1968), 723.

programs for veterans. The continuance of the benefits reflect confidence in the effects of the programs as well as a societal obligation toward the veteran.

In this paper, many issues will be presented. This is natural because of the comprehensive aspect of veterans' educational benefits. Readjustment of the military to civilian society, the role of government toward education, the impact of demobilization on the economy, the relationship between the veteran and society, the position of veterans' groups, the relationship of the Veterans Administration to the other agencies of the national government, and many other topics are part of such a study. This paper attempts to trace the development of veterans' educational benefits and in the process to see the changes that have and are taking place in regard to these programs. Among the major points to be covered will be:

1. the effect veterans' educational programs have had on civilian educational policy of the national government;
2. changing roles of the veterans' organizations, especially in connection with the attitude of the Vietnam Veteran and the increase of civilian social programs;
3. VA hospital benefits to non-disabled veterans;
4. the recent emphasis on the disadvantaged veterans, and the effect of this on G.I. Bill legislation;
5. the possibility of the discontinuance of

veterans' educational benefits under a volunteer military scheme; and

6. the need for civilian scholarship programs on the model of the G.I. Bill should the latter be discontinued.

Few will question the merits of the G.I. Bills. The United States Veterans Advisory Commission in 1968 wrote,

The concept of readjustment benefits that emerged during the Second World War was a milestone in veterans' legislation. The legislation developed from this concept proved to be one of the most statesmanlike measures ever enacted.³⁹

Recently, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the original G.I. Bill was observed. The public feeling toward this legislation was expressed well by Paul Cunningham on the National Broadcasting Company's television presentation, "The Today Show." A few of Cunningham's comments capture this sentiment.

It recalls images like olive-drab sweaters dyed blue or maroon, a lapel button--what we called 'a ruptured duck'--young wives standing in mud to hang up baby clothes outside a Quonset Hut . . . and then, also of being in a hurry . . . such a hurry. I'm talking about the 'G.I. Bill of Rights,' signed into law on June 22, 1944. Along with two laws that followed--covering Korea and post-Korea--the G.I. Bill for World War Two directly affected the lives of eleven million veterans. What it did for this country may never be reckoned . . . except we know it changed the entire concept of adult education and launched the greatest home-construction boom in history. . . .

We knew that the reason for the G.I. Bill was fear that our return would disrupt the economy. A million men a month were coming home . . . and we could still remember the depression of the thirties.

³⁹Report of the United States Veterans Advisory Commission, op. cit., p. vi.

. . . But the seven million, 800 thousand of us who went to schools and colleges on the G.I. Bill had other feelings, too. It was that we could be better than we dreamed . . . and somebody, somewhere, believed that . . . like the young wives and mothers living on a hundred and twenty dollars a month in those Quonset Huts and crowded rooming houses . . . like some colleges which lowered entrance requirements . . . and educational standards did not suffer. . . .

Maybe we should consider that now, when we are so worried about adjusting college entrance standards to admit disadvantaged youths. Maybe, too, we ought to have that memorial to the G.I. Bill. It might remind us that once in a while we do something right.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Copy of the Script for Reporter Paul Cunningham, National Broadcasting Company's Television Production, "The Today Show," Friday, June 20, 1969, copy received by author from NBC, Inc., Thirty Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, New York.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AS A METHOD OF READJUSTMENT

To understand the development of educational benefits for veterans in this country, it is necessary to consider the three major pieces of legislation in this field: Public Laws 346, 78th Congress, 1944; 550, 82nd Congress, 1952; and 358, 89th Congress, 1966, together with the amendments to these enactments. The original G.I. Bill of 1944 set the stage for the other measures. As such it deserves special emphasis. The first major program granted benefits to World War II veterans; however, its roots are to be found in World War I. A consideration of demobilization programs of the First World War will serve as a basis for appreciating education as a means to readjust veterans to civilian life.

The Lessons of World War I

Although the United States' role in World War I had been somewhat limited in comparison to the other major participants, demobilization did present a challenge to this nation. Some four million American servicemen were demobilized within a year. They received \$60 in separation pay and a railroad ticket home to assist them in their

transition to civilian life. Simultaneously, thousands of war workers had been dismissed with no unemployment compensation. Naturally, a crisis could be expected in such a situation.¹ Labor unrest had become prevalent in many industrial areas of the country already in early 1919. Unions charged employers with hiring returning veterans to break strikes. For example, in Worester, Massachusetts, eight hundred striking molders claimed their employers had been seeking New England returning veterans to act as strike-breakers.²

The country did welcome the veterans as returning heroes, and there were the usual parades and banquets. But in terms of meeting demobilization problems, such as unemployment, little had been accomplished. The war had been viewed not as a break in the general economy but as a part of it. The absence of violence was indeed surprising since the situation was extremely tense. Robert England, the Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Service, observed,

To sum up. In response to the general demand of the victorious powers who thought they had completed their task, demobilization was general, precipitate,

¹Frank T. Hines, "The Reemployment of Veterans," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXI (January 1945), 198.

²"Public Attitude Toward Ex-Servicemen After World War I," Monthly Labor Review, LVII (December, 1943), 1068-1069

ill-prepared, and remarkably free of violence or incidents of indiscipline or mutiny... .³

The two notable exceptions were Great Britain and Canada. Both had developed demobilization programs. Although the United States Government's provisions for the veterans of World War I were inadequate, educational benefits were provided to a limited extent for the first time.

The World War I program was limited to those with a service-incurred disability, which, in the opinion of the administering agency, required vocational rehabilitation for employment. Assistance was granted on an individual basis. Some veterans utilized their aid for college work. The assistance rates were: \$80 a month for single persons, \$100 to those with dependents. Those with dependents received additional amounts according to the type and number of dependents: Wife, \$15; wife and child, \$25, plus \$5 for each additional child; one child and no wife, \$10; two children, no wife, \$15. The program terminated on June 30, 1926. The test for rehabilitation assistance was employability. There was much discretion involved in the administration of the program.⁴ Even though the results of the program were not altogether gratifying, it did set a precedent for the use of education as a means for veteran rehabilitation. Of

³Robert England, Twenty Million World War Veterans (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 22.

⁴U.S. Veterans Bureau, World War Veterans Act of June 7, 1924 (1925), pp. 32-35.

the disabled veterans of World War I, 329, 969 registered for vocational training, 179,515 entered training, and 118,355 were termed "rehabilitated" and employable by reason of training.⁵

Economic problems encouraged training since it would temporarily remove people from the work force. The government did not have a large-scale assistance program; however, it did try to encourage a return to school. During the war, some 500,000 boys (ages 16-21) had been placed in the Boys' Working Reserve to assist farmers. Thus, a great many children had left school. Child-labor laws had also been lax at the time. The United States Employment Service disbanded the reserve before the end of the war and urged its members to return to their schools. In regard to veterans, assistance from the national government was limited to those with injuries. However, individual states offered more comprehensive educational assistance to returning veterans. California, Colorado, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, and Oregon provided free tuition at state institutions. Wisconsin was a leader in promoting special educational benefits. Two programs were in effect in the Badger State at the end of World War I. One involved payment of \$10 for each month of service to those who were going to enroll in state schools; the other permitted a veteran to continue higher education

⁵Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back (New York: The Dryden Press, 1944), p. 151.

for four academic years at a rate of \$30 a month for a total of \$1,080. Some 5,000 ex-servicemen took advantage of these two Wisconsin programs.

State programs were not large enough to cope adequately with the immense problem of unemployment, but they did introduce features which later influenced national programs.⁶ The unemployment crisis was explained well in an editorial of the Majority of Wheeling, West Virginia, on January 23, 1919.

'When they left they were told they would have their old jobs back if they returned. Their employers told them that. The editors told them that. The patriotic lecturers told them that. But neither the employers, the editors, nor the lecturers control industry; industry is a thing of supply and demand, of private profit. The wheels of industry would not run with missing cogs, nor will the wheels mesh with extra cogs. So the cogs were inserted in their place when they went to war, and there is no room for new ones today.

'We are not blaming any individual. The question is too big for individual solution. It is a question for all the people through their governments. In that way it would be simple of solution.'⁷

A readjustment program may not have provided a complete solution to unemployment; however, the point of the editorial is of significance. Demobilization is too large-scale to be solved without both state and national involvement.

⁶Jay E. Howenstine, The Economics of Demobilization (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944), pp. 157-158.

⁷"Public Attitude Toward Ex-Servicemen After World War I," op. cit., p. 1064.

Previously, the national government thought a separation payment to non-disabled veterans was sufficient. But the experience of World War I indicated this inadequate. With the frontier almost closed by 1920, agriculture heading for a depression, and with war contracts cancelled and price and production controls removed, four million World War I veterans faced real hardships. Some still thought civilian groups should handle demobilization.⁸ Soon it became apparent special programs would have to be inaugurated on a large-scale to allow veterans to compete successfully with their civilian colleagues. Education began to receive emphasis.⁹

Why didn't the national government expand an educational program for all World War I veterans? One reason was a failure to realize the immense problem of demobilization. Another, the lack of an understanding of economics. And then, some quarters did not recognize the value of education. Typical of this attitude is the following popular story of World War I days.

. . . A typically tough sergeant called his group together. 'Allo' you guy,' he said, 'who have been to college, advance five paces.' The order was executed. 'Now, all o'you who've been through high school, march back five paces.' This movement was executed.

⁸Cyril O. Houle, et al. The Armed Services and Adult Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1947), pp. 13-14.

⁹Roy V. Peel, "The 'Separateness' of the Veteran," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), 170.

The sergeant grinned sardonically. 'You college men in the front,' he directed, 'you pick up cigarette butts. You high school guys, pick up paper. And you dumbbells in the middle--well, you just look on and learn somethin'!' ¹⁰

But changes in attitude were soon to occur.

Many of these changes resulted from the studies of this period. Raymond B. Fosdick submitted an official report to the Secretary of War on the conditions for demobilization in 1919; according to the document, these were most unsatisfactory. The study established a principle of inestimable value to later governmental activities. This was the principle of public responsibility and financing of major efforts. A report on demobilization prepared by Fosdick for both the Secretary of War and General Pershing emphasized the need for orientation programs for veterans about to enter civilian life and stressed the value of educational programs to aid ex-servicemen in their transition to civilian society.¹¹ The Commissioner of Immigration, Port of New York, Frederic C. Howe, recommended the national government coordinate all efforts. There were five elements in his program:

1. unemployment insurance should be adopted to aid both the veteran and the displaced industrial worker,
2. practical assistance should be the main goal.

¹⁰Maxwell Droke, Good-By to GI: How to be a Successful Civilian (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945), p. 75.

¹¹Houle, op. cit., p. 14.

And in this regard, "education should play an important role in reconstruction,"

3. large-scale public works projects, such as afforestation, reclamation, and highway construction should be implemented,

4. massive plans should be prepared to meet the growing transportation problems, and

5. the government should encourage veterans to return to farming; land-grant programs to encourage these moves had been successful in both Australia and Canada.¹²

In most of the reports of that time, reference was made to the demobilization efforts of both Canada and Great Britain. Canada established a special cabinet post, the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. This department, in addition to granting six-month military pay and subsistence allowances, also provided for educational grants for those whose education had been interrupted by the war.¹³ The Canadian program had been modeled after the British plan, which was to influence greatly post-war planning in the United States in later years.

¹²Frederick C. Howe, "A Constructive Program for the Rehabilitation of the Returning Soldiers," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, LXXX (November, 1918), 150-151.

¹³Julia E. Johnsen, Soldiers' Bonus (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1924), pp. 46-47.

Great Britain's Model World War I
Readjustment Program

The United Kingdom had been involved to a greater extent in World War I than had this country. For four years, Britain had been actively engaged in the conflict. The British Government recognized the tremendous challenge to be faced when the war finally terminated. In addition to some five million servicemen returning to their homeland, there would be a reconversion of millions of civilians from war-time to peacetime pursuits. Through cooperation between the Ministry of Reconstruction and the Army Demobilization Committee, men were released carefully and according to the needs in the civilian sector. The success of the British experiment in demobilization was acknowledged, and many countries, including the United States, looked to Great Britain for advice. This came through two official reports of the United Kingdom's Ministry of Reconstruction: "Guide to Work and Benefits for Soldiers and Civil War-Workers," 1918; and "Labour Conditions and Adult Education," 1919.

In the United States, there was a lack of coordination in demobilization whereas in Britain the Ministry of Reconstruction was given power over all aspects of this complicated process. The "Guide to Work and Benefits for Soldiers and Civil War-Workers" explained in detail all the provisions enacted for those in need of assistance. Those remaining in the military received special compensation. Persons pursuing civil service careers obtained special

benefits. The same was true for those interested in farming or in small business. Of course, as in the past, the disabled were given special privileges. One unique provision dealt with apprenticeship training. Those persons whose training had been interrupted by war service were given an opportunity to continue their training. The Minister of Labour was given responsibility for this program. Government assistance was given for both full and part-time training.¹⁴ The report entitled "Labour Conditions and Adult Education" outlined the need for education in demobilization plans. The idea that adults need education was vigorously accepted. Further training was beneficial not only in terms of employment, but also in regard to meeting the responsibilities of membership in social and industrial organizations. In short, education was the best way to prepare for the newly emerging technical age. The report's recommended course was education.

Education is not only intimately bound up with social and industrial reconstruction, but is in a sense the most important and enduring side of post-war policy; for upon the extent to which the country develops and makes use of the innate abilities of its citizens, its future prosperity and happiness depend. . . .¹⁵

¹⁴Great Britain, Ministry of Reconstruction, "Guide to Work and Benefits for Soldiers and Civil War Workers," The Aims of Reconstruction, Reconstruction Problems, VII (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), pp. 3, 7.

¹⁵Great Britain, Ministry of Reconstruction, "Labour Conditions and Adult Education," The Aims of Reconstruction, Reconstruction Problems, X (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919), pp. 1, 14.

The British statesmen responsible for these reports had their suggestions implemented; liberal provisions were made for government grants to assist both veterans and war workers in their education. According to some experts, among them, Dr. Morse A. Cartwright, former Executive Officer, Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, ". . . This educational effort had much to do with the ease with which Britain staged her recovery from the depletions of World War I."¹⁶

World War I, then, did have an effect on the attitudes of this country in regard to demobilization. Through the American experiences, and also by careful review of the British successes, two lessons were learned:

1. a considerable number of persons, especially youth, had not been able to effectively develop their potential because of a lack of training; such a condition harms not only the individuals concerned, but also the entire nation,¹⁷ and

2. to bring about effective demobilization, it is necessary to view all of society. As a result,

'Society as a whole in its Federal Government or through its small forms of organization--the State,

¹⁶Morse A. Cartwright, Marching Home, Educational and Social Adjustment After the War (New York: Columbia University, 1944), p. 113.

¹⁷James P. Munroe, "The Advantages of National Auspices of Re-education," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, LXXX (November, 1918), 124.

county, or city--must assume this responsibility. The Nation was responsible for the war, and it has a responsibility in restoring the country to peace conditions.¹⁸

World War II and Demobilization

Twenty-three years after the end of World War I, this nation was again engaged in a world struggle. And the problem of demobilization was again faced. There were, of course, similarities, but also differences between the two world conflicts. Perhaps, the most profound one was the scope of the conflicts. In the First World War, the United States had to demobilize about four million men; approximately thirty per cent of the national income had been devoted to the war effort. In the 1940s eleven million men were to make the transition to civilian life; almost seventy per cent of the national income had been directed to the war. In terms of dimension, the Second World War was indeed frightening. The country was able to move out of the first war without much difficulty. This was remarkable, considering the lack of plans. But the country had learned from the past. Dr. E. Jay Howenstine offered this astute observation on the change in the American attitude toward demobilization.

The philosophy of planning has captured the imagination of the American people in the last decade. When confronted with economic and social problems, we no longer sit idly by, resigned to the inevitable fate

¹⁸"Public Attitude Toward Ex-Servicemen After World War I," op. cit., p. 1063.

which the 'natural processes' of the universe have in store for us. We believe that human decision and action based on knowledge and truth have the power to control the course of events for the good of mankind. This new psychology is most favorable for the development of sound demobilization policies after the war.¹⁹

Will there be enough jobs to meet the returning veterans and the displaced war workers? This was the main concern of the political leaders of the country even at the beginning of World War II. When demobilization had been completed, about one-half of the working force of the country would have been affected.²⁰

There were so many intangibles present in regard to the formulation of post-war plans. The conflict in Japan might continue for some time after victory in Europe, or it could terminate quickly. With full demobilization, there were the problems of transportation back to the United States, the time required for mustering-out, and, of course, the servicemen's demands for rapid action. These were some of the considerations leading to uncertainties of the post-war plans.²¹ Legislators were extremely concerned with mass demobilization's effects on the general economy. Several suggested no man be released from active duty until he had a

¹⁹Howenstine, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁰"Soldiers, Jobs, and the Peace," Fortune, XXVIII (October, 1943), 200.

²¹Karl T. Schlotterbeck, Postwar Re-Employment, the Magnitude of the Problem (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1943), 5-6.

job. This was the British Government's effective plan in World War I. A Presidential Conference on Demobilization in 1943 even recommended such a course of action.

'Those in the services will constitute the only large group of persons over whom the nation could, in the event of economic crisis, exercise any degree of direct control, and it would be dangerous to surrender the possibility of this control until postwar conditions are fully known. The economic and social costs of retaining men in the services would be less than those involved in dealing with an unemployment depression through civilian relief, and the plans and policies involved in correcting a postwar depression would be quite as radical as the proposal to invoke controlled or delayed military demobilization.'²²

The general public was concerned about the possibility of a depression, but the serviceman had even greater cause for alarm. Would he be able to obtain a job and assume a normal role within the society? Public opinion strongly endorsed government action to reduce the chance of unemployment. In a 1943 survey, citizens favored a cooperative effort on the part of the national government, business, agriculture, and labor. Eighty-six per cent of those interviewed favored educational assistance to veterans.²³ Furthermore, there was widespread agreement the national government had an obligation to create jobs if

²²"Soldiers, Jobs, and the Peace," op. cit., 200, 202.

²³Jerome S. Bruner, Public Thinking on Post-War Problems, Planning Pamphlet No. 23 (Washington, D.C.: The National Planning Association, 1943), pp. 5, 24.

necessary for the unemployed veterans.²⁴ This represented the spirit of the Employment Act of 1946, which later was enacted to provide the national government with authority to manipulate the economy to insure full employment.

The national government did try to ease the fears of the servicemen by providing a series of booklets on post-war items of interest. These were termed the "G.I. Roundtable" series and were written by the American Historical Association in cooperation with the United States Armed Forces Institute. One such booklet was entitled, Will There be Work for All?. It emphasized the government was to assist the veteran in every way possible. It also encouraged a return to school under the existing benefits of the G.I. Bill.²⁵ Civilian newspapers tried to alert the population to the need for demobilization preparations. The Milwaukee Journal was a leader in this area. A series of articles on post-war problems were featured in this Midwestern newspaper. These articles were later condensed into a 38-page booklet, which was distributed throughout the nation. The Journal Company sponsored a series of advertisements in sixteen metropolitan newspapers and in Newsweek

²⁴A. G. Hinrichs, "Will There Be Enough Jobs?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 37.

²⁵American Historical Association, Will There be Work for All? Number EM 22 in the GI Roundtable Series (Madison, Wisconsin: Armed Forces Institute, 1944), pp. 1, 9, 36.

magazine urging action in regard to planning for World War II veterans. One of the advertisements was entitled "Do We Want This Again?" and showed a World War I veteran selling ice cream.²⁶ All of this publicity certainly had its effect on post-war plans. Benjamin C. Bowker in his book Out of Uniform described the general sentiment quite well.

No previous military forces--unless we included 'Coxey's Army' of unemployed--was ever so preoccupied with future job prospects throughout a great war as that the United States in World War II. Nor was any nation more concerned about the economic status of those who would return from fighting a war. Quite properly, adequate employment opportunity was considered a major factor in healthy readjustment.²⁷

The term "healthy readjustment" suggests the concern of government for the psychological well-being of the returning veteran. Despite the disagreeable aspects of military life, it did give many soldiers a sense of security and a sense of belonging. They had a particular job to fill. That important sense of security can be achieved only if energies can be employed satisfactorily.²⁸ A job was essential for a feeling of individual value and dignity. Thus, employment was very much connected with psychological

²⁶Frank Sinclair, America Faces a Challenge (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Journal Company, 1943), p. 79.

²⁷Benjamin C. Bowker, Out of Uniform (New York: Norton and Company, 1946), p. 177.

²⁸Therese Bendek, Insight and Personality Adjustment, A Study of the Psychological Effects of War (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 89.

health. Without adequate employment, more emotional problems could very well be anticipated.²⁹

Had this country not succeeded in adjusting the millions of servicemen to the community, the whole society would have been in danger. Veterans without work have formed the basis of support for many totalitarian regimes. The veterans wanted immediate action, and were not interested in waiting. They had known action. The whole fabric of American society was about to be tested. One episode did occur in Athens, Tennessee. There veterans resorted to bullets in order to win an honest count of ballots they had cast in the 1946 primary elections.³⁰ There was danger of such violent action on a large-scale. The President of Harvard University noted,

'The demobilization of our armed forces in a God-given moment for reintroducing the American concept of a fluid society. If it is handled properly we can insure a healthy body politic for at least a generation. Handle it improperly and we may well sow the seeds of a civil war, within a decade.'³¹

Steps Toward a G.I. Bill

The country, then, was ready to look to the national government for demobilization assistance, and education was

²⁹George K. Pratt, Soldier to Civilian, Problems of Readjustment (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1944), p. 148.

³⁰John R. Carlson, The Plotters (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1946), pp. 380-381.

³¹New York Times, April 25, 1943, p. 16.

now recognized as a valuable tool in reconversion. The military itself contributed greatly to this orientation. During World War I, there had been some educational programs in existence within the services. Certain vocational training programs did begin, but they were not well-developed and their success can be questioned. With 121,000 illiterates in the American Expeditionary Force, there was good reason for a program to assist in the reading and writing of English. Such a program was launched just after the Armistice. Also after the Armistice, several hundred persons were sent to European universities to take courses prior to demobilization. In February 1919, the American Expeditionary Force University was established at Beaune, France, to assist in these endeavors, but the programs were short-lived. During World War II, however, these types of programs expanded enormously.³² The GIs had many advantages for in-service education. This was due in part to the technical advances and also to the progress of education. The median education had increased from sixth grade in World War I to the second year of high school. Many World War II servicemen were sent to colleges, universities, or civilian training institutions for indoctrination courses and technical training to increase their military effectiveness. Accelerated courses were inaugurated on many military

³²Dixon Wecter, When Johnny Comes Marching Home (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1944), pp. 265-268.

installations. These would all have an impact on the general society after the war. The Army Institute was founded at Madison, Wisconsin, in April, 1942.. In July, 1943 the name was changed to the United States Armed Forces Institute and now included all military branches to participate in its programs. From that time to the present, it has conducted vast correspondence programs to servicemen throughout the world.³³

Prior to Pearl Harbor, preliminary steps had been taken to develop the in-service educational programs of the military services. On July 22, 1940, the Secretary of War established the Morale Division of the Army. In January of 1941 a special committee of educators presented a proposed program of recreation and education for the army. A series of subsidiary reports on correspondence study and library service followed.

On February 12, 1941, the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation was created by appointment of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy for liaison and also advisory purposes, and it, in turn, appointed a Sub-committee on Education.³⁴ Dr. Francis J.

³³Frank T. Hines, "The Human Side of Demobilization," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), pp. 3-4.

³⁴Francis J. Brown, "Off-Duty Educational Services in the Armed Forces," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), 47.

Brown, Education Adviser of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation, observed this far-reaching educational venture on the part of the Armed Forces rests on four basic needs of civilians who have entered military service. These four are: "Thinking-and-waiting time" for men and women of the service, together with their desire to use this time for self-improvement; a desire to complete high school and college educations interrupted by active service; an interest in acquiring skills and knowledge related to their military tasks; and finally, a deep concern for their eventual return to civilian life.³⁵

World War I had pointed to the urgent need for a large-scale school program within the military service after the end of hostilities as in preparation for demobilization. With this in mind, in July, 1945, three universities in Europe established special courses for the GIs. These schools were located in Florence, Italy, Shrivenham, England, and Biarritz, France. They operated for six months. In addition, a technical school was established in Warton, England. By February 1, 1946, some 35,000 had attended these four schools. After the Japanese surrender in September 1945, other schools were opened in Austria, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Okinawa, and Japan. All toll, some 500,000 participated in these pre-demobilization

³⁵Ibid.

courses. Thus, the Armed Forces through both their regular school programs during the course of the conflict and the post-war programs assisted the servicemen prepare for the technical society that faced them at demobilization.³⁶

Despite its horrors, the war did provide important new experiences through travel, personal associations, and work assignments which provided educational broadening and eased the transition to peacetime pursuits. One former veteran, Edward J. Harford, wrote in an article entitled "Military Experience and Higher Education," in the Peabody Journal of Education, November, 1955, these varied experiences were of direct assistance to him when he returned to the university. His whole perspective on the world had been altered; now there was more meaning when the professor talked about the problems facing underdeveloped lands. He also had an appreciation of the different cultural groups comprising his own country. The service was for most a broadening experience which could be advantageous in the civilian world.³⁷

Therefore, the Armed Forces did contribute to the acceptance of the value of learning. The war pushed the world into the atomic age; it channeled resources into technical areas in order to outrace the enemy. The Allies

³⁶Houle, op. cit., pp. 127-129.

³⁷Edward J. Harford, "Military Experience and Higher Education," Peabody Journal of Education, XXXIII (November, 1955), p. 175.

won, and in the process new values appeared. The Commission on Implications of Armed Services Educational Programs in 1947 took note of these new values.

. . . But the educational programs, even though incidental to the main issue and therefore always subject to neglect, were so vast that they influenced millions of men. The armed services blazed a tortuous trail toward a great truth, the truth that everybody has a natural desire to learn and can profit from that learning. If civilian society is willing to accept this basic truth and begins to realize its fullest promise, a great good can be said to have come out of the war. Through the very struggle for democracy, a new implement for democracy will have been forged.³⁸

In 1942 Congress began discussion on the possibility of a Selective Service Act. This resulted in suggestions for national aid to the veterans of World War II. Recalling the inadequate programs of World War I, the American Legion and other veterans' organizations started early to press for consideration of such assistance. The issue was discussed at the American Legion's national convention in September, 1942 in Kansas City, Missouri, where the largest American veterans' organization adopted a resolution urging Congress to enact legislation for vocational training. Congress reviewed such a program when it debated the Selective Service Act in regard to 18 and 19-year old boys.³⁹ These concerns over demobilization already in 1942 lead to

³⁸Houle, op. cit., p. 252.

³⁹"Origin and Progress of Legislation for Educational Aid to Veterans," Congressional Digest, XXIII (March, 1944), p. 69.

significant action. Several civilian educational groups launched separate studies and publicized their findings, many of which were incorporated later into formal governmental policies. Near the end of the first year of American participation in World War II, the President appointed a special committee to study the problem of education of servicemen during and after the war. The year 1942 was most important in laying the groundwork for the G.I. Bill.

The Columbia University Committee

In June, 1942 concerns over possible violence at the end of the world war prompted the Adult Education Institute of Columbia University to form a Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment composed of forty-five leading educators. The commission was familiar with the famed British governmental reports of World War I, which had recommended adult education as the major element in any reconstruction program. Planning would have to start immediately if any successful venture was to materialize. Training would have to be varied in order to allow for freedom of choice; there would have to be close cooperation between industry, the government, and schools; special consideration was to be given minority groups. If minority group veterans were not given an equal chance, problems would emerge in years ahead. War workers should also be included in any educational programs. The educators sought no new agency, and recommended local control as much as

possible.⁴⁰ Yet, the Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment had no question about what level of government was to assume the major role in this massive project.

In all discussion it was assumed and made very clear that the financing of the re-education program is primarily an obligation of the Federal Government. Certainly this applies to returned servicemen, and in only slightly less degree to those dislocated from war industry. It was pointed out that quite aside from the debt that the Nation will owe the members of its fighting forces, economic considerations alone dictate the wisdom of generous provisions for retraining and re-education. The experience yielded by the depression in carrying the burden of unemployment relief was cited as a compelling argument in favor of adequate and even generous Federal financing.⁴¹

Many of the recommendations of this commission were later approved by the Wartime Commission of the United States Office of Education.

Two other civilian educational groups also pressed for action by the nation in regard to veterans educational benefits. These groups were the Commission on Adult Education and the American Council on Education. The former looked to the national government for the main funds; however, local control was to remain in the hands of public and private educational agencies. There was fear of control of education by the national government.⁴² This theme was to

⁴⁰Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment, Post-War Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 7-8, 39-43, 45.

⁴¹Cartwright, op. cit., p. 113.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 115-116.

reoccur again and was to become a major issue in the debates in Congress. Educators sought federal financing, but were very disturbed about any guidelines by the national government.

The American Council on Education in 1942 endorsed the ideal of equality through education. In its publication, Youth and the Future, emphasis was placed on the need to give all youth a chance to receive an education. The report noted there were sections of the country which did not provide proper school opportunities and indicated the role of the national government to correct the inequities.⁴³ Washington, D.C. was to take the leadership role in veterans education.

The Osborne Committee

The passage of the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 heightened pressure for educational benefits for veterans. Although the first peacetime draft law passed both houses of Congress by nearly two-to-one margins, Congress in 1941 only reluctantly agreed to an extension of service from one year to eighteen months, with the House of Representatives approving the measure only when the Speaker

⁴³American Council on Education, American Youth Commission, Youth and the Future; the General Report of the American Youth Commission (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942), p. 115.

cast a tie-breaking vote in its favor.⁴⁴ Once actual war was declared, the draft law was amended extensively. Eighteen and nineteen-year olds were also included in the draft. To many it was only right and proper that the national government assist these youths so they could finish their interrupted educations. The Chief Executive recognized reservation over the draft law and the growing concern over disruption of the education of draftees. On November 13, 1942, President Roosevelt signed the Selective Service Act and announced the appointment of a committee of educators to study the interruption of educations.

'I am causing a study to be made by a committee of educators, under the auspices of the War and Navy Departments, for the purpose of taking steps to enable the young men whose education has been interrupted to resume their schooling and afford equal opportunity for the training and education of other young men of ability after their service in the armed forces has come to an end.'⁴⁵

The official title of the committee was the Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel; because its chairman was Brigadier General Frederick H. Osborne, Director, Special Service Forces of the Army, it was usually referred to as "the Osborne Committee."

⁴⁴Clyde E. Jacobs and John F. Gallagher, The Selective Service Act, A Case Study of the Governmental Process (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1967), p. 13.

⁴⁵Cartwright, op. cit., p. 112.

The Osborne Committee had been appointed by the President on July 6, 1942. It consisted of officers of the Army and Navy, the United States Office of Education and various independent educators. General Lewis Hershey of the Selective Service System and General Frank T. Hines of the Veterans Administration were included in the membership. For one year the committee studied the problem, and on July 30, 1943, reported to the President. Its numerous recommendations laid the groundwork for the Chief Executive's message to Congress on post-war educational benefits for veterans. The United States now had its own well-developed report as had the British in World War I. The committee supported educational assistance to veterans. At the center of the Osborne Report was the educational deficit. The American Council on Education had estimated that 70 per cent fewer men and women would complete college work in agriculture in 1943-44 than in 1939-40; 40 per cent fewer were to be graduating from liberal arts colleges; and 80 per cent fewer were to be obtaining law degrees. These and other similar statistics had a lasting effect on the committee.

All our work has been based on one fundamental proposition, namely, that the primary purpose of any educational arrangements which we may recommend should be to meet a national need growing out of the aggregate educational shortages which are being created by the war. Every day that the war continues, the extent of this deficit is increased. Our efforts have been centered upon the problem of reversing that trend just as quickly as possible after the war; and we have regarded any benefits which may be extended to individuals in the process as incidental. We can hardly overstress the fact that this has been our fundamental conception

of the educational problem you wanted us to explore, for it is a basic foundation of all the proposals we make to deal with it.⁴⁶

What were some of the specific suggestions of the Armed Forces Committee on Postwar Educational Opportunities?

1. The national government should make it financially possible for every man and woman who served six months or more in the armed forces since September 16, 1940 (the date the original Selective Service Act became effective) to have a maximum of one calendar year of education or training if he desired it and was admitted to an approved educational institution, beginning not later than six months after leaving service,

2. A limited number of exceptionally able veterans should be aided to carry on their education for a period of one, two, and in some cases, even three additional years provided they have a legitimate program, show superior performance, and give promise of future usefulness. The numbers should be apportioned among the states according to the number of servicemen from the individual states,

3. Furnish servicemen systematic guidance so they can take advantage of educational opportunities when demobilization takes place.⁴⁷

⁴⁶U.S. Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, Preliminary Report to the President of the United States, July 30, 1943, p. 6.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 7-9.

It is interesting to note the Osborne Committee Report did follow the conclusions of two previous studies--the National Resources Development Report and that of the American Council on Education, both were published in 1943, shortly before the study by the President's committee. The National Resources Development Report stressed the need for equal access to education for all after the war.

In a post-war period of full employment, with the national income that full employment will bring, this Nation can afford to provide the kind and quality of education needed by children, youth, and adults, and to give equal access to such education to all who need it or desire it. . . .⁴⁸

An important aspect of the report was the recommendation that men and women demobilized from the armed forces and war industries be given an opportunity to secure the necessary retraining for civilian activities, or to continue their education in cases where it was interrupted.⁴⁹

In June, 1943 the American Council on Education sent questionnaires to all its members in regard to higher education in the postwar era. There was general agreement on many points: The national government was to have responsibility to servicemen to provide educational assistance; the course of study was to include vocational and university training; there was to be freedom of choice as to subject

⁴⁸Donald J. Shank, "Postwar Education of Service Personnel," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), 72.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 70.

area and institutions; the administering agency was to be the Veterans Administration or the Office of Education. The American Council on Education was to take a definite stand for the Office of Education when the Congressional Hearings took place. Another provision of the Osborne Report was for special guidance efforts be initiated in the military to orient personnel toward educational opportunities. There were numerous suggestions as to the best way to achieve successful coordination between the institutions, the states, and the national government. This educational organization had the same theme as did the National Resources Development Report--"provide equality of opportunity for all."⁵⁰

Both the Osborne and National Resources Development Reports sought to be selective in educational assistance. The Osborne Committee would have advanced training placed on a competitive basis. The National Resources Planning Board appeared to be even more definite. Technical and professional education was favored by this board, with no scholarships being offered in fields in which there was already an oversupply of trained persons. All would depend on the needs. Employment was the goal.⁵¹ This philosophy was

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 67-68.

⁵¹Forrest H. Kirkpatrick, "Proposed Educational Adjustment," School and Society, LVIII (November 27, 1943), 427-428.

also carried to the war-workers displaced from the demobilization.

The Federal Government should assist in providing an extension of educational services for workers displaced from employment because of demobilization and the termination of war contracts, to equip them for employment in peacetime industry. Training should be confined to occupations in which there is an unsupplied demand for specially trained workers and new trades and occupations developing in civilian industry.⁵²

The studies had been completed, and it was now for the President to propose. There was little doubt of his course. In his State of the Union Address on January 7, 1943, he had already given the servicemen his reassurance that their government would assist them when demobilization came.

'The men in our armed forces want a lasting peace, and, equally, they want permanent employment for themselves, their families and their neighbors when they are mustered out at the end of the war. . . . When you talk with our young men and women you will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards. . . . This great Government can and must provide this assurance.'⁵³

The official position of the Chief Executive came on October 27, 1943, when the White House sent to Congress

⁵²U.S. National Resources Planning Board, Demobilization and Readjustment, Report of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June, 1943), p. 70.

⁵³William H. Wandel, "Unemployment Insurance and the Returning Servicemen," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXVII (May, 1943), 136.

recommendations as to post-war educational opportunities. President Roosevelt did not disclose any surprises. He endorsed the findings of the Osborne Committee, the National Resources Planning Board, as well as those of the many civilian educational groups studying the problem of demobilization. These findings were in line with several studies which President Roosevelt had himself initiated in July, 1942. With all this information, there was little doubt of the President's action.⁵⁴

The President's Recommendation

President Roosevelt urged Congress to respond to the recommendations for veterans' educational benefits with haste; the nation did not want to be ill-prepared in this world war as had been the case in 1919. Not only did the Chief Executive seek educational assistance after servicemen had left the active military, but he also agreed with the leading educators about in-service programs. The message to Congress called for a three-phase program. It would begin during active duty, continue through the demobilization period, and terminate with civilian schooling. Not only would such a massive program aid veterans, but the entire nation would be benefited. Furthermore, early passage of such legislation would assist the morale of the servicemen as the Osborne Committee had noted.

⁵⁴"The President's Momentous Recommendation," The School Review, LII (January, 1944), 12.

The President was clear on what action he wanted taken.

. . . As a part of a general program for the benefit of the members of our armed services, I believe that the Nation is morally obligated to provide this training and education and the necessary financial assistance by which they can be secured. It is an obligation which should be recognized now; and legislation to that end should be enacted as soon as possible.

This is a good time not merely to be thinking about the subject but actually to do something about it. Nothing will be more conducive to the maintenance of high morale in our troops than the knowledge that steps are being taken now to give them education and technical training when the fighting is over.

Lack of money should not prevent any veteran of this war from equipping himself for the most useful employment for which his aptitudes and willingness qualify him. The money invested in this training and schooling program will reap rich dividends in higher productivity, more intelligent leadership, and greater human happiness.⁵⁵

The President's words did not fall on deaf ears. One week after his official message, Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D Utah) introduced in the Senate, S. 1509, to provide for aid to veterans' education.⁵⁶

Pressures for Action

Before looking at the legislative history of the first G.I. Bill, some additional comments should be made

⁵⁵Message from the President of the United States to the Congress of the United States transmitting the Preliminary Report of the United States Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, October 27, 1943, 78th Cong., 1st sess., House of Representatives, Document No. 344, p. 2.

⁵⁶"Origin and Progress of Legislation for Educational Aid to Veterans," Congressional Digest, op. cit., p. 69.

about the pressure for action. By 1943 thirteen federal agencies were actively engaged in studying and recommending solutions to the various aspects of post-war demobilization and readjustment.⁵⁷ Civilian studies continued to be offered on the subject. With all this interest, some were ahead of themselves. They talked about implementation. Congress had not even started hearings at this point. A special committee headed by Dr. Edmund E. Day of Cornell University suggested state agencies and the Office of Education be given the responsibility of reviewing implementation;⁵⁸ the Mid-West Conference on Post-War Education favored a veterans' scholarship fund to be in the Office of Education, and stressed the importance of junior colleges;⁵⁹ the Commission on Liberal Education urged the national government to aid only those who had been in the active military, while other governmental levels should be

⁵⁷George M. Fleming, Historical Survey of the Educational Benefits Provided Veterans of World War II by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Houston, Unpublished, 1957, p. 65.

⁵⁸Day Commission Report (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1943), p. 40.

⁵⁹"Report of the Mid-West Conference on Post War Education," NEA Bulletin No. 57, 1943, p. 39.

concerned with non-veterans.⁶⁰ Local control was a major theme.⁶¹

The national government did try to learn the feelings of the servicemen as part of its research. As early as the summer of 1943 the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division, the War Department, was undertaking studies of the postwar plans of soldiers. The Osborne Committee was instrumental in initiating much of this investigation. The data obtained was used for estimates of future costs. The Veterans Administration, the Office of Education, and the War Department were all directly involved. The most extensive study was based on a world-wide cross section of 4,000 officers and 23,000 enlisted men, which was completed in the summer of 1944. The results showed that almost two-thirds of the men (64 per cent) had definite job or re-educational plans; an additional one-sixth (16 per cent) had fairly clear-cut but less definite plans. The remainder (18 per cent) had no clear-cut plans.⁶²

The year 1944 saw continued interest in demobilization on the part of the government, civilian agencies, and

⁶⁰Commission on Liberal Education, Summary of Report (New York: Association of American Colleges, 1943), pp. 8-9.

⁶¹"Government Studies of Postwar Education for Ex-Servicemen," School and Management, XIII (December, 1943), p. 107.

⁶²Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., The American Soldier, Combat and its Aftermath, II (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 598-600.

writers. In regard to the government, one report was significant. Bernard M. Baruch, at the request of President Roosevelt, studied the problems of demobilization and reported in February, 1944. The Baruch-Hancock Report was seen as a highway to reconversion, pointing the way to avoid postwar depression. It advised against creating an Office of Demobilization, since its work was to cut across and interfere with that of every war agency tending to make demobilization a fetish, a rival function, instead of a smooth reversal of present machinery. The report endorsed the veterans' educational assistance plans and had considerable praise for the in-service educational opportunities. Education was viewed most favorably in regard to post-war plans.

Higher education has been converted from peace to war and consideration will have to be given to its quick conversion back to peace. Trained people are an inestimable asset to every community. The war's interruptions may leave the future devoid of many of the educated, trained, and thoughtful people so necessary in every field of human endeavor. We would urge that those whose courses have been interrupted be encouraged to resume their training.⁶³

The Baruch-Hancock Report also called for an immediate reorganization, modernization, and expansion of the Veterans Administration to meet the demands of demobilization. The

⁶³U.S. War Mobilization Office, Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies (by Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 30.

report stimulated further debate and met with widespread publicity and general approval.⁶⁴

Two civilian educational organizations submitted suggestions for post-war education in early 1944. These were the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, and the Council for Democracy. The American Youth Commission studied the field of vocational training. Only 12 per cent of the positions required preparation of the kind usually provided in institutions of higher learning; another 25 per cent needed brief specialized training, varying from a few weeks to a few months; the remaining occupations, approximately two-thirds, did not require specialized knowledge or experience which could not be acquired on the job. The commission stressed the importance of vocational training, urged consideration for apprenticeship training, and concluded, "The import of these facts is that for the majority of students a long period of vocational or professional training is unnecessary."⁶⁵

The Council for Democracy, a World War II educational coordinating committee concerned with veterans in particular, listed a series of recommendations for the implementation of a G.I. Bill even though approval by Congress

⁶⁴"The Way Back, by Baruch," Newsweek, XXVI (September 17, 1945), p. 50.

⁶⁵Earl J. McGrath, "General Education in the Postwar Period," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), 78.

was still months away. The council extended the assistance to members of the Merchant Marine who had a period of sea duty after the entry of the United States into the war in 1941. It favored competitive examinations to determine those eligible for assistance after one year, and it recommended payments from the national government should be made to individual institutions. Tuition and the customary fees should be paid by the government. Subsistence amounting to \$50 a month was recommended. Those with a dependent spouse would receive \$25 additional, and each dependent child would qualify for another \$10.⁶⁶

The Committee on Education, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, published a booklet entitled Education and Training for Demobilized Service Personnel in January, 1944. It reviewed the public discussion and endorsed certain bills before Congress. But most important, this publication in its opening remarks recognized the mood of the times.

Public consciousness of the problems incident to demobilization of men and women in the Armed Forces has been growing rapidly. One aspect of proposals for facilitating readjustment of service personnel to civilian life, which has attracted considerable attention, is that of education and training.

A number of plans and programs have been projected by public and private agencies. Points of emphasis vary, but substantial agreement is found on the desirability of providing vocational guidance, education and training at Federal expense.

In the interest of minimizing social and economic

⁶⁶"The Council for Democracy Prepares a Plan for Veteran Re-education," School and Society, LIX (April 8, 1944), p. 244.

problems both during the demobilization period and in the future, provision of vocational counseling and guidance facilities, education and training for veterans appears to be desirable.⁶⁷

In addition to these governmental and private reports, a growing number of books and pamphlets fanned the issue. Dixon Wecter presented a searching analysis of the readjustment of the veterans in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and the World War I in When Johnny Comes Marching Home. Willard Waller in The Veteran Comes Back emphasized the sociological phases of readjustment, the need to have a total program, and the urgency of action no matter what the costs involved. Morse A. Cartwright of Columbia University wrote a series of articles during the period of adult education and demobilization.⁶⁸ One of the issues raised by these discussions was the use of veterans' educational assistance for improving the lot of minority groups, and the role of education in allowing for participation in the political process was stressed. Through education many hoped minority groups could achieve full entry into the society.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Committee on Education, Education and Training for Demobilized Service Personnel (Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1944), p. 1.

⁶⁸William W. Brinkman, "Guidance and the Veteran," School and Society, LXIV (August 31, 1946), pp. 154-155.

⁶⁹J. G. Umstattd, "Postwar Education in the United States," The Educational Record, XXV (January, 1944), pp. 48-54.

Connecticut's Plan

Not only did the nation have an array of studies, but there was also a practical experiment taking place in one of the states. Connecticut had long been interested in vocational education. In 1939 it set up the Connecticut Employment Commission, which coordinated efforts among top management, labor, state, and local education authorities in order to assist persons with employment during periods of crisis. One of the most important aspects of the program was the emphasis of education in developing new skills.⁷⁰ The leadership behind these remarkable early efforts to solve unemployment during crises was provided by industrialist Carl A. Gray, who sought to emphasize training for all kinds of jobs. Gray claimed the reason for a considerable amount of unemployment among older men had been due to a lack of training in specific skills. He recognized the immense task at hand for government when World War II terminated. He observed, ". . . This job cannot be done by trivial thinking, narrow planning, or pinch-penny practices. It must be a broad-gauge approach, utilizing the best we have in men and techniques."⁷¹

Connecticut responded to the urgency of the situation by adopting a special plan of action, resulting from

⁷⁰Carl A. Gray, "Connecticut's Postwar Re-Employment Program," The Journal of Educational Sociology, XVIII (October, 1944), pp. 110-111.

⁷¹Congressional Record, June 15, 1943, pp. 5-6.

the State Reemployment Commission's Report to the Governor in December, 1943. Under the chairmanship of Carl A. Gray, the commission clearly indicated the challenge to be met.

The citizens of Connecticut are alert to the importance of the problems of the individual returning from the armed forces at the present time. The State recognized some time ago that, if we are to win the peace after hostilities have ended, there must be some logical planned process whereby the returning veteran can adjust himself to civilian life. The state further recognized that the ultimate goal of each individual is productive employment which will guarantee reasonable happiness and a reasonable degree of economic security. To meet this problem adequately, we will need the considered judgment of all groups--indeed, of all individuals.⁷²

The plan adopted sought coordination of the efforts of many agencies, with a view to the employment of as many GIs and displaced war workers as possible. The plan was fully implemented in 1944, and, no doubt, the progress made by this New England state did help to mold public opinion in favor of a similar plan on the national level. The Connecticut State Reemployment Commission's Report outlined the plan, using the following diagram.

⁷²Statement of Policy and Preliminary Report of the Connecticut Reemployment Commission to Governor Raymond E. Baldwin, December 28, 1943, p. 11.

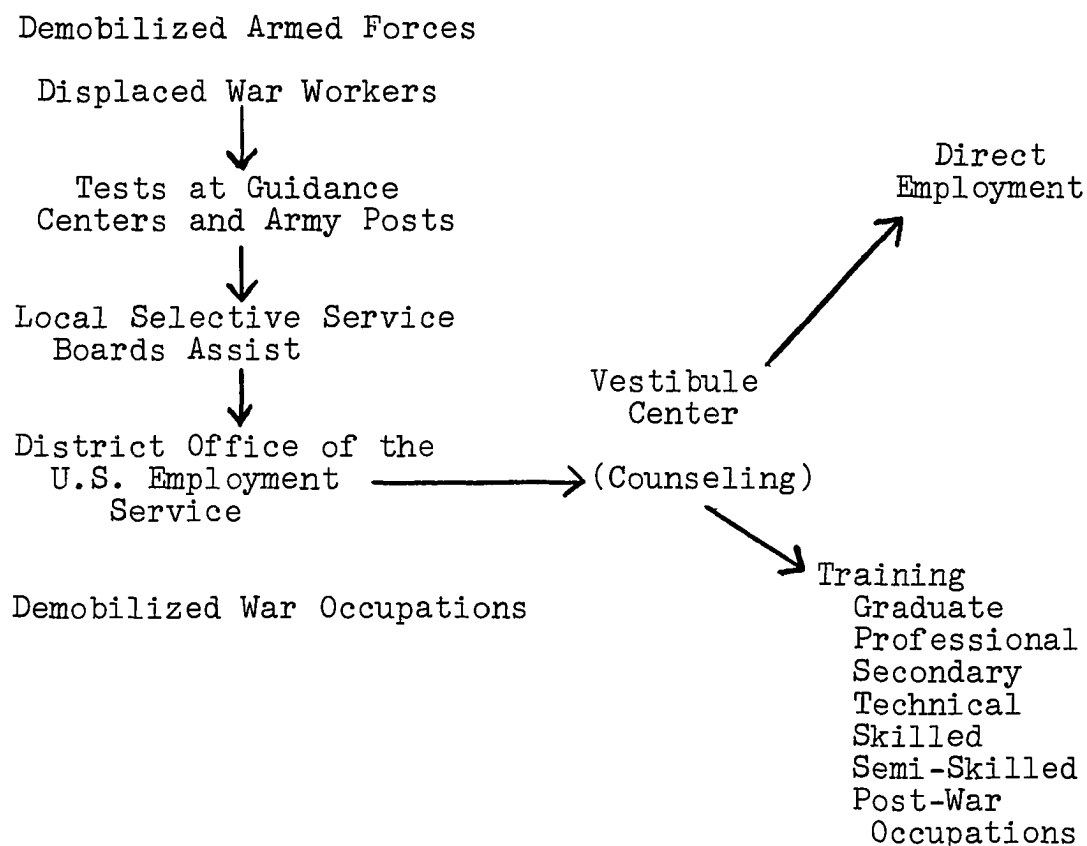


Fig. 1.--Connecticut's Reemployment Plan⁷³ (World War II).

Many Recommendations for Veteran Aid

By the spring of 1944 passage of a G.I. Bill was about taken for granted. Thirteen governmental agencies had been involved in some aspects of postwar plans, many of which included education and training; four major government studies had recommended educational benefits to veterans; at least nine reports of educational organizations favored such actions; and one state had a limited program in operation. In order to sort out the welter of activities relating to

⁷³Ibid., p. 1.

veterans' benefits in the years of World War II, a recapitulation is presented on the following pages.

The United States, unlike the casual haphazard approach toward veterans' educational benefits in World War I, brought forth a series of carefully-executed studies in World War II. Perhaps, the fact so many governmental reports were commissioned can be explained in part because of the massive challenge to be faced. As important, perhaps, was the operational style of President Roosevelt. He was a man who liked confirmation from many sources. The Osborne Committee and Bernard Baruch were called upon, and their conclusions were unanimous. "Fighting won the war, education must preserve the peace."⁷⁴ The Executive Branch of the national government had initiated action and now turned to Congress for implementation.

⁷⁴Merrill S. Lifton, "World Education for World War Veterans," Education, LXVII (February, 1947), p. 381.

- 1941--Discussion started at the proposal to draft 18 and 19-year olds. Veterans' organizations showed interest in educational benefits.
- 1942--The American Legion at its annual convention recommended such legislation to Congress.
- Commission on Adult Education and Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment (Columbia University) favored the idea.
 - The National Resources Planning Board endorsed such benefits.
 - President Roosevelt in July 1942 asked the National Resources Planning Board to further study demobilization and educational benefits to veterans.
 - The President at the signing of the Selective Service Act in November, 1942 appointed the Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel (Osborne Committee) to study education of veterans.
- 1943--The President in the State of the Union Message assured servicemen the nation would prepare for demobilization.
- Osborne Committee Report (July 30, 1943) recommended in-service, demobilization, and postwar educational training.
 - President Roosevelt endorsed the Osborne Committee's findings and incorporated them in his recommendations to Congress on October 27, 1943.
 - National Resources Development Report favored the program.
 - Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D Utah) on November 3, 1943, introduced in the Senate, S 1509, to provide educational benefits to returning World War II Veterans.
 - The American Council on Education, the National Education Association, the Commission on Liberal Education, the Mid-West Conference on Post-War Education, and the Day Reports all favored educational benefits to veterans.
 - Military research studies indicated interest among servicemen.
 - The Connecticut Reemployment Plan, inspired by Industrialist Carl A. Gray, was initiated, and incorporated educational assistance to veterans.

- 1944--January, the United States Chamber of Commerce Report on Education and Training for those Demobilized favored G.I. Bill.
- February, the Baruch-Hancock Report to the President and the Veterans Administration sought such benefits and outlined suggestions on implementation.
 - Council for Democracy and Youth Commission favored proposals.
 - Heightened interest in educational benefits for veterans was evident from numerous articles and books on the subject, including Dixon Weeter's When Johnny Comes Marching Home, Willard Waller's The Veteran Comes Back, and Morse A. Cartwright's Marching Home and Adult Adjustment.

Fig. 2.--Major events leading to congressional action on educational benefits for veterans of World War II.

CHAPTER III

CONGRESS SETS A PRECEDENT

Congress responded quickly to the Presidential recommendations. Senator Thomas's proposal (S. 1509) was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, of which the Senator was chairman. Public hearings were held by the committee on December 13th and 14th, 1943, and additional hearings took place before the Senate Subcommittee on Finance in January and February 1944.¹ But the legislative path was to have its challenges. Some 640 bills had already been introduced in Congress on veterans' educational benefits. This reflected not only considerable interest but indicated many different approaches.² On January 11, 1944, Senators Clark (D Mo.), George (D Ga.), Walsh (D Mass.), Vandenberg (R Mich.), Brewster (R Mo.), Brooks (R Ill.), Wiley (R Wis.), and Gurney (R S.D.) joined in introducing S. 1617, the Veterans' Omnibus Bill, which was

¹"Should the U.S. Office of Education Administer Funds for Post-War Education for Service Men and Women? Pro and Con," The Congressional Digest (March, 1944), 69.

²Raymond Moley, "Another Anniversary," Newsweek, LXIV (July 6, 1964), p. 80.

supported by the American Legion. Companion bills were introduced in the House, including H. R. 3846, the Barden Bill.³ The basic issues emerged from the debate between the two major proposals, the Thomas Bill and the Veterans' Omnibus Bill (infra, page 69).

The Eligibility Debate

The major differences in these proposals concerned eligibility, period of benefits, and the administering agency. In regard to eligibility, the Thomas Bill included the merchant marine. This was a definite point of disagreement. The studies commissioned on demobilization touched briefly on the war workers and the merchant mariners; however, the emphasis had been on the veterans. Since the merchant mariner was not viewed as a part of the military, at least in terms of benefits, he might have been seen as a civilian war worker. The Report of the National Resources Planning Board on "Demobilization and Readjustment," in 1943 noted, "For those released from war industries, and for certain classes of wartime employees of the Government, a training and educational program would also assist in the readjustment process."⁴ This was a recognition of the

³"Origin and Progress of Legislation for Educational Aid to Veterans," Congressional Digest, op. cit., p. 69.

⁴U.S. National Resources Planning Board, Demobilization and Readjustment, op. cit., p. 57.

Thomas Bill

Veterans' Omnibus Bill

Eligibility

Members of the Armed Forces and Merchant Marine. Need at least six months of active duty, relieved on or after Dec. 7, 1941, and an honorable discharge.

Only Armed Forces who served on or after August 7, 1940, and prior to the termination of World War II.

Period of Benefits

One year of educational assistance to all; for an additional year a veteran must have had 18 months' service; 2 years, 30 months' service; and 3 years (a 4-year course), 42 months.

One year, plus length of service, maximum is four years. Administrator of VA will determine feasibility of individual programs.

Competitive examinations will determine those eligible for more than one year. Period of specialized training in service will be deducted from entitlement. Additional schooling slots apportioned among states on basis of veteran population.

Financial Aid

Payment of tuition and fees; subsistence allowance of \$50 a month, \$25 additional for dependent spouse, and \$10 extra for each dependent child.

Tuition and fees paid. Allowance of \$50 for single person and \$75 for married person each month.

Principal Administering Agency

Office of Education

Veterans Administration

Fig. 3.--Major differences between the Thomas Bill (S 1509) and the Veterans' Omnibus Bill (S 1617).⁵

⁵"Federal Aid for Education and Training of Service Men and Women," Congressional Digest, XXIII (March, 1944), pp. 67-68.

problem of readjusting non-veterans, but was certainly no definite recommendation. The Osborne Report focused entirely on the servicemen. Not only did most governmental reports avoid the merchant marine, but so did many private studies. The Commission on Liberal Education believed educational assistance should be limited to ex-servicemen.⁶ Other reports favored a more comprehensive plan in terms of eligibility. The Report of the Committee on Post-War Education, Ohio State University, took such a position.

'Although in our thinking we may tend to focus attention on the ex-soldier, we should be conscious of the ex-civilian worker as well. The young man or woman who has left high school or college to take a job may be as handicapped by the break in his formal education, as much benefited by informal educational experience, and as much disturbed by problems of adapting himself to the ways of peace, as his soldier-brother. In short, no valid educational basis for discrimination between the two groups is apparent.'⁷

But the war workers and the merchant mariners did not have as strong a voice as the GIs; and the spokesmen for the veterans demanded a separate program for ex-servicemen.

The military, the VA, and the veterans' organizations were not opposed to assistance to others, including the displaced war worker and the merchant mariner. But these programs were to be handled by other governmental agencies, and perhaps, state and local governments should be primarily

⁶Commission on Liberal Education, Summary of Report, op. cit., p. 182.

⁷Howard L. Bevis, "College and the Demobilized Student," The Journal of Educational Sociology, XVIII (October, 1944), p. 84.

concerned, as had been suggested by some educational groups. In hearings before the Senate's Committee on Education and Labor in December, 1943, this stand was taken by representatives of the military. Lieutenant Leonard J. Calhoun of the United States Navy's Judge Advocate General's Office stated:

The Navy Department makes no recommendation with respect to the need of various civilian groups for similar training. I think we all recognize that this war has profoundly affected the life of most of us. It has had a peculiarly terrific impact upon the lives of those whose career was just starting, whose education has been interrupted.

It is realized that not all those with interrupted education are in the armed forces. The committee will, of course, if they go outside of those in the armed forces, find needs of very careful consideration as to where the group who are not in the armed forces should be limited.⁸

General Frank T. Hines, Administrator for Veteran Affairs, stressed the importance of adhering to tradition. Veterans' benefits only to veterans was his theme.

Inclusion of any particular group of civilian employees under laws specifically conferring benefits upon persons who served in the active military or naval service of the United States and honorably discharged therefrom, would constitute a material departure from the long-established policy followed by the Congress of limiting veterans' benefits to those persons who performed active military or naval service. . . .⁹

⁸U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Pertaining to S. 1509 Proposing Educational Assistance to World War II Veterans. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senate, 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, p. 81.

⁹Ibid., p. 50.

General Hines indicated if Congress were to include the merchant marine in the benefits, many groups would claim the right to coverage. The debate continued but only briefly; the issue was soon to die.

Among the last comments on the issue were the words of President Roosevelt at the signing of the first G.I. Bill. The Chief Executive stated,

I trust that the Congress will also soon provide similar opportunities for postwar education and unemployment insurance to the members of the merchant marine, who have risked their lives time and again during this war for the welfare of their country.¹⁰

Newspapers in the country did take up the appeal for the some 155,000 merchant seamen. And the seamen themselves tried to get a hearing from Congress.¹¹ But no positive action resulted.¹²

Length of Entitlements

Another point of controversy was the period of benefits. The Osborne Report originally thought one year of education for all members of the armed forces was generally sufficient, although the study also provided for additional schooling for a select group.

¹⁰The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Compiled with Special Material and Explanatory Notes by Samuel I. Roseman, 1944-45 (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1950), p. 182.

¹¹The Washington Post, June 23, 1944, p. 3.

¹²The Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1944, p. 4.

However, it has become clear that 1 year will not suffice to offset the educational deficit created by the war, either in the field of liberal education, upon the adequate diffusion of which our society depends in peculiar degree for its stability as well as its leadership, or in various fields of professional education, where the war has sharply curtailed the numbers of persons being trained. It is to meet this situation that, for a limited number of men and women who are specially qualified, grants making possible a total of ⁴ years of education after discharge are recommended.¹³

The American Legion Bill (Veterans' Omnibus Bill) attacked limiting additional education on the basis of examination scores and grades. There was an elitism inherent in the provision. And, of course, this type of philosophy was not endorsed, especially when millions of veterans were about to return after having fought for the concept of equal opportunity for all. The United States Chamber of Commerce in its 1944 report on demobilization recommended, "Provisions for continued education for a selected number of veterans beyond the one year period available to all, should be more carefully weighed."¹⁴

The opponents of limitations spoke out loudly. Senator Claude Pepper (D Fla.) believed the country should take the most liberal course possible in regard to providing educational benefits to veterans. He noted this was not

¹³U.S. Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, Preliminary Report to the President of the United States, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Education and Training for Demobilized Service Personnel, op. cit., p. 10.

only just, but less costly; he referred to the Osborne Report, which had calculated it would cost \$1500 a year to maintain an enlisted man in the armed forces but only \$900 a year to pay for his education. The Florida lawmaker also emphasized a more comprehensive program would result in having more veterans temporarily out of the job market, and this might be very beneficial since the economic picture remained uncertain.¹⁵ Dr. Willard E. Given, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, favored four years of assistance. To this educator the quota suggestion was not practical nor desirable in terms of equal opportunity.¹⁶ A few argued for limitations because no one actually knew the level of costs. With four years of assistance, too many might take advantage of the program, and the costs might become gigantic. In addition, there were those who thought the responsibility for education should remain with the states and local communities. The national government was only to assist, and if the national government supported a program longer than one year, the danger of

¹⁵"Should the U.S. Office of Education Administer Funds for Post-War Education of Service Men and Women?" op. cit., pp. 87-89.

¹⁶U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Education and Labor, Pertaining to S. 1509 Proposing Educational Assistance to World War II Veterans, op. cit., p. 87.

control from Washington, D.C. was that much greater. So went the arguments.¹⁷

Congressman Lawrence H. Smith (R Wis.) was a leader of the group fighting for four years of assistance for every honorably discharged serviceman; the Past Commander of the Wisconsin State American Legion stressed the great investment the country would be making toward its future. The Wisconsin Congressman suggested special provisions be made for those who desired to complete high school and also for those who wished to study for professions. Representative Smith was a strong supporter of four years because of personal experiences. World War I had interrupted his career. He returned home disabled, and with a wife and young son, found it difficult to return to school. But he received assistance from his state and had been forever grateful. "'Had it not been for the state of Wisconsin, which paid my way through college as a veteran, I may never have been able to realize my life's ambition to become a lawyer.'"¹⁸ Support for four years of schooling increased steadily; the proposal for screening devices was soon to be forgotten.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 31-32.

¹⁸Frank Sinclair, America Faces a Challenge, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

Financial Provisions

A Comparison of the recommended financial assistance in the two major bills indicated almost general agreement. However, there was some discussion as to the adequacy of the subsistence. It should be recalled disabled World War II veterans had already been considered by Congress. Public Law 16, dated March 24, 1943, provided for rehabilitation and training; the government would cover all costs up to \$500 per academic year and \$80 per month. Because of the physical and emotional handicaps of the disabled, additional finances were, of course, needed. However, the subsidy for the other veterans was viewed as inadequate by many.¹⁹ Senator Pepper and General Osborne exchanged views on the adequacy of the subsistence during the course of hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, in December, 1943. The Florida Senator thought the allowances inadequate. Fifty dollars a month will not provide for a decent standard of living; the returning veterans deserved some social life also. In fact, the poor allowances were thought to keep many away. Senator Pepper felt if the veteran worked part-time and his wife did likewise, then, they would be able to survive financially. ". . . If you want to carry out that principle, why

¹⁹Francis Rosecrance, "Emotional Aspects of Educational Problems of the Returning Veteran," Readjusting with the Returning Servicemen (Chicago: Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene, 1945), pp. 21-23.

don't you say the hardy only will survive anyhow and leave it up to them?" General Osborne, chairman of the famed committee investigating educational benefits for ex-servicemen, defended the recommendations on subsistence.

The committee gave very careful consideration to the financial aspect of the bill, recognizing that the sum involved might be a very large one, and, in any event, would be a large sum, and it was their feeling that the provision of \$50 a month plus tuition would enable any ambitious man, unless he were handicapped through dependencies or losses or illnesses in some unexpected way, to complete his education.²⁰

These points have been referred to in recent Congressional debates. The original philosophy of the G.I. Bill was to assist, not to completely subsidize education; without adequate support, there is bound to be a decrease in the use of these benefits.

The American Legion also recognized the need for a modest subsistence. Warren Atherton, Commander of the American Legion, observed,

There may be some comment as to the extent to which the Government should underwrite tuition, fees, books, material, and equipment for these educational courses. The Legion in sponsoring this bill has specified a modest amount for maintenance or training allowance. We have no objection to a reasonable limitation placed upon the expenditures in any given case for the other purposes mentioned.²¹

²⁰U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Education and Labor, Pertaining to S. 1509 Proposing Educational Assistance to World War II Veterans, op. cit., pp. 20-24.

²¹U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Finance. The Veterans; Omnibus Bill, S. 1617. Hearing before the Finance Subcommittee, 1944, p. 15.

The largest veterans' group in the country realized the great value in the educational provisions of the pending G.I. Bill; thus, no move was made for a bonus.²² The Legion recognized the need for restraint in the subsidies; this is an example of a veterans group realizing ex-servicemen's needs in relationship to those of the total society. Here was a change in philosophy. There had always been moves for veteran bonuses. But in 1944 there was to be a new course of action. The Senate Committee on Finance in its report on the G.I. Bill of Rights stated:

'It is the view of the committee that the enactment of this bill will render unnecessary any consideration of adjusted compensation, and that the benefits provided by the bill, if enacted into law, will be of greater advantage to veterans, at a lesser expense to the Government, than could possibly be accomplished by an Adjusted Compensation Act, at least under factors known or readily foreseeable at this time.'²³

Veterans Administration or
Office of Education

'The irreconcilable difference in the two bills in this respect inheres in the fact that the one approaches the question from the point of view of a benefit for veterans, whereas the other is the educators' approach to an educational bill. . . .²⁴

²²Frank T. Hines, "G.I. Bill of Rights," Vital Speeches, XI (November 1, 1944), p. 61.

²³Wilbur J. Cohen, "The Federal Government's Program for Ex-Servicemen," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 70.

²⁴Congressional Record, May 11, 1944, p. 4346.

These words of General Hines, the Administrator for Veteran Affairs, pertain to the basic difference between the two major bills under consideration. The VA Administrator had in mind the Barden Proposal in the House (H.R. 3846), which could be compared to the Thomas Bill in the Senate. Many important issues emerged from this debate. There was agency rivalry; in this case, the Office of Education versus the Veterans Administration.

The Osborne Committee probably realized the pending debate on the administering agency, and avoided this emotional issue by recommending only that the agency be selected from the existing governmental framework.²⁵ The President was also careful about designating an agency. The crisis was soon to erupt. Three groups dominated the Senate and House hearings on the two bills: The military, veterans' organizations, and educational associations. Military representatives included: Major General Frederick H. Osborne, Director of the Morale Services Division, Army Service Forces; Colonel Francis F. Spaulding, Chief, Education Branch, Morale Services Division, Army Services Division; Captain Bruce L. Canaga, U.S. Navy Department; Lieutenant Commander Ralph A. Sentmen, Assistant Director of Demobilization, U.S. Navy Department; the chief spokesmen for the veterans organizations was Warren H. Atherton, National

²⁵U.S. Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities, Preliminary Report, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

Commander, the American Legion; Edward E. Odom spoke for the Veterans Administration; several spokesmen for the War Manpower Commission were also present.

The educational agencies had their representatives also. These included: Dr. George F. Zook, President, American Council on Education; Walter C. Wells, Executive Secretary, American Association of Junior Colleges; Dr. Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association; and L. H. Dennis, Executive Secretary, American Vocational Association.²⁶ Many communications were received from concerned groups. The educational organizations dominated the mail to the committees.²⁷ The lines had been clearly drawn for a legislative battle.

The Office of Education and the Veterans Administration were not the only governmental agencies concerned with demobilization, as some thirteen agencies had been involved in some aspect of planning the process. The Re-employment Division of the Selective Service System helped ex-servicemen regain old positions; the War Manpower Commission tried to serve as a coordinator of governmental and civilian efforts; the Labor Department kept records on the

²⁶U.S. Congress, Committee on Education and Labor, Senate. The Servicemen's Education and Training Act of 1944. Hearings, 1943, also hearings on same bill before Senate Subcommittee on Finance, 1944.

²⁷Ibid.

disabled.²⁸ But two agencies emerged as the contenders for the administration of veterans educational benefits; the Office of Education and the Veterans Administration. Both were powerful; both thought the other to be invading into its area of concern; both saw in the pending legislation means for expansion. Both these agencies sought support in order to convince Congress its framework was best for administering G.I. educational assistance.

The Office of Education had been established by an Act of Congress in 1867 "for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." In 1939 the office was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Federal Security Agency. The Morrill Acts, the establishment of Howard University, the laws pertaining to vocational education all

²⁸National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, Rehabilitation and Training for Postwar Employment (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1943), pp. 7-11.

increased the scope of this agency.²⁹ The office maintained excellent contact with educational organizations and schools in the country. This contact lead to considerable support in the agency's efforts to administer the veterans educational benefits. For example, the National Association of State Universities, composed of the presidents of all state universities, urged Congress to specify the Office of Education as the administering agency for the new veterans' benefits.³⁰ The education lobby had considerable strength. But the educators were opposed by a well-established agency, which could muster sizeable support. Dr. C. H. Marvin, Chairman, Conference of Representatives of Educational Associations and President of George Washington University, in a letter to one of the Congressional committees studying the bills noted the power of the opposition. "'Your executive committee is meeting what has been described by one man in this Nation best able to evaluate the situation as 'the most powerful lobby that has ever been organized.'"³¹ What about this "most powerful lobby that has ever been organized"?

The Veterans Administration, the veterans' groups, and the military certainly comprised a formidable alliance.

²⁹"The Veterans' Administration and the U.S. Office of Education," Congressional Digest, XXIII (March, 1944), p. 76.

³⁰U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. The Servicemen's Education and Training Act of 1944. Hearings, 1944, p. 110.

³¹Congressional Record, May 15, 1944, p. 4505.

This alliance proved too much for even the university presidents and educational organizations in the country. The VA had been instituted as a separate agency by Public Law 536, dated July 3, 1930. The purpose of this act was to consolidate all agencies dealing with veterans. Thus, the Bureau of Pensions, previously under the Department of the Interior, the Veterans' Bureau, and the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers were consolidated into one independent agency. The new agency had many activities; pensions, insurance, adjusted compensation, emergency pay, and hospitalization. Through its regional offices and some 91 hospital facilities, the agency was well-established in the American governmental structure.³² This independent agency was not about to give up veterans' educational benefits without a considerable legislative fight. And it had a powerful ally in the veterans' groups.

There had always been a natural alignment between the VA and the veterans' groups. The military, as might be expected, also was a member of this triumvirate; but due to existing laws, the men in uniform could not vigorously press for legislation as could the other two groups. In 1944 the military supported the VA whenever it could. The military witnesses favored the VA, and the military newspapers campaigned for this agency. But it was the veterans' groups

³²"The Veterans' Administration and the U.S. Office of Education," Congressional Digest, op. cit., p. 76.

which launched the main attack. And in this regard, the American Legion deserves special recognition. In 1947 the National Commander of this group defined the purpose of the Veterans Administration in these words: "'Rehabilitation is that work which will place the veteran in the same position, economically and in education, that he would have attained had his services not been required by the Government.'"³³ That purpose had not changed in the eyes of the leadership of the largest veterans' group in the United States. Commander Atherton in the hearings before the Senate's Subcommittee on Finance clearly stated the Legion's objective in terms of administering agency.

. . . We of the Legion are committed to the principle of centralizing all aid and assistance programs to veterans in one department of the Government. We believe it makes it economic and efficient.³⁴

That meant the Veterans Administration was to have complete control over the veterans' educational benefits. There was to be no comprising on this.

The G.I. Bill Enacted into Law

Hearings had been held on the two major proposals. The American Legion Bill (Veterans' Omnibus Bill) had been revised. On March 24, 1944, the Legion Bill, in the form of

³³Robert H. Smith, "The Rights of the G.I. Joe," Kentucky State Bar Journal, XIII (December, 1948), p. 10.

³⁴U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Finance, Senate, The Servicemen's Education and Training Act of 1944, op. cit., p. 2.

Senate Bill 1767, passed the Senate. There were 50 yeas, no nays, and 46 absent from the voting. The House responded favorably on May 18, 1944, on Resolution 540. The House results were 388 yeas, no nays, and 41 not voting. The President signed the measure into Public Law 346 on June 22, 1944. The G.I. Bill was thus born.³⁵

The law pertained only to members of the armed forces. There was to be a maximum of four years of education based on the length of military service; the government was to pay tuition and fees directly to institutions. Subsistence rates to individual veterans were: \$50 a month for a single person; \$75 for a married veteran; and \$10 additional allowance for each dependent. Finally, the administering agency was to be the Veterans Administration.³⁶

At the signing of this law, President Roosevelt outlined the comprehensive nature of Public Law 346: Educational benefits; loans for homes; farms; and businesses; unemployment allowances up to one year; machinery for effective job counseling for veterans; construction of additional hospital facilities; and a strengthened Veterans Administration.

This bill therefore and the former legislation provide the special benefits which are due to the

³⁵Congressional Record, June 22, 1944, p. 3081.

³⁶U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. LVIII, pt. 2 (Jan. 1944-Dec. 1944), "Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944," June 22, 1944, Ch. 4, pp. 287-291.

members of our armed forces--for they 'have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems.' While further study and experience may suggest some changes and improvements, the Congress is to be congratulated on the prompt action it has taken.³⁷

The veterans' groups had scored a definite success in terms of eligibility, coverage, and administering agency.

This victory of the veterans' organizations was evident from the witnesses at the law-signing ceremony at the White House on June 22, 1944. There were the usual legislative sponsors from House and Senate. But leaders of two major veteran organizations comprised a large portion of the invited guests. From the American Legion were: Harry W. Colmery, Past National Commander; Donald G. Bischoff, National Adjutant; Ralph Mitchell, Aide to the National Commander; John Stelle, Chairman of the Committee on the G.I. Bill; and Frank Sullivan, Legislative Representative. The Veterans of Foreign Wars representation included: Omar B. Ketchum, National Legislative Representative; Carl J. Schoeninger, Commander-in-Chief; and Paul C. Wolman, Chairman, National Legislative Committee.³⁸ The success of the legislation for the moment overlooked the rivalry that had occurred between the veterans' organizations at a very critical time in the history of this legislation.

³⁷The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 180-181.

³⁸The San Francisco Chronicle, June 23, 1944, p. 15.

Rivalry Among Veterans' Groups

There have been several major veterans' organizations in the United States. The American Legion has been by far the largest. This organization spearheaded the movement for passage of the G.I. Bill of Rights, and in particular, had championed the educational provisions. In fact, the Legion itself has taken full credit for the passage of the entire measure as the following quotation indicates.

Opposition to it and distrust of its novel concept abounded.

Its successful passage in less than a year stands as the greatest single organized achievement of The American Legion in its first 50 years.

The WW2 (sic) GI Bill itself ranks with the most progressive and beneficial laws ever enacted by any nation.³⁹

Some governmental and Congressional staff in Washington, D.C. expressed doubt to this writer whether the Legion alone had mustered the support and public opinion that would assure passage, but there is no doubt the American Legion had played a significant role. Its key position was perhaps a disturbing factor in the eyes of other veterans organizations. The National Legislative Representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Omar B. B. Ketchum, in testimony before the Senate Finance Subcommittee conveyed this attitude.

May I say in the beginning that, generally speaking, our organization is in favor of most of the points incorporated in this Legion bill, but we would like to point out to the committee that this

³⁹R. B. Pitkin, "How the First GI Bill Was Written, A Legion 50th Anniversary Feature," The American Legion Magazine, LXXXVI (January, 1969), Part 1, p. 24.

is not something new; it is not a miraculous cure--all which has suddenly been discovered. Most of the items contained in this bill have been long-standing objectives of our organization, many of which we have been attempting to accomplish in an administrative manner rather than appealing to Congress for legislation, believing that they could be accomplished administratively.⁴⁰

It was not a question of support for the G.I. Bill, but rather a case of inter-organizational rivalry. The American Legion had spear-headed the legislation partly through a well-qualified committee headed by former Governor of Illinois John Steele. The committee had been appointed by the Legion's National Commander, Warren Atherton, in November, 1943. The Legion had sponsored its own bill in opposition to the Thomas Bill. And it had gained wide support. In May, 1944, the organization presented Congress petitions from a million citizens urging passage. Disagreement seemed to center on the length of educational benefits as well as the position of the disabled. This had always been a splitting factor with American veterans' organizations, but the main issue this time was a power struggle within the veteran world.

The controversy reached its height in February, 1944 when the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, the Disabled American Veterans, and the Regular Veterans Association officially petitioned Congress about

⁴⁰U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Finance, Senate, The Servicemen's Education and Training Act of 1944, op. cit., p. 27.

the pending G.I. Bill; their words were critical. They thought the disabled were not sharing properly in the benefits. But behind the words stood the power struggle. These organizations represented some 550,000 members, only one-third of the Legion's membership. The petition to Senator Bennett C. Clark (D Mo.), Chairman, Veterans' Subcommittee to the Senate Finance Committee, opened with a strange statement, "Everything that glitters is not necessarily gold." But this set the tone of the entire communication.

Your Committee and the Congress may be interested to know that there is a serious question in the minds of some veteran groups as to whether this so-called G.I. Bill of Rights, in its entirety, is a sound and equitable solution to the problems and needs of World War II veterans. Certain features of the bill, notably the Title on Educational Aid, are so broad in scope and potential cost, that its enactment would, in our opinion, probably not only prevent any consideration of several other more equitable proposals to solve such problems, but might also subsequently jeopardize the entire structure of veteran benefits and provoke another Economy Act.

Our nation's first responsibility should be to those who have suffered physical and/or mental handicap by reason of military or naval service. Any legislation which grants entitlement to four years of college training at government expense to any able-bodied veteran who had ninety days service should be carefully examined in the light of our tremendous war debt and the ability of the nation adequately to care for its war disabled.⁴¹

Omar B. Ketchum, the National Legislative Representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, was one of the signatories of this letter to Congress; he was also present at the official signing of the law by the President. This

⁴¹R. E. Pitkin, "How the First GI Bill was Written, Part 1," op. cit., p. 25.

VFW leader had urged Congressional action for the returning servicemen, and not only for the disabled, who had been provided for in Public Law 16 in 1943. Furthermore, at the Twenty-Fourth Annual Encampment of the VFW in June, 1944 there had been general concern that the nation had adequate plans for the returning GIs.⁴² Therefore, the narrow stand taken by the VFW and the other three veterans' groups was generally not in keeping with their usual philosophy. The power struggle might be the explanation for these inconsistencies. The smaller veterans' organizations disliked the position of the American Legion; they could not successfully compete, but in a last-minute stand, they tried to bring discredit on the entire program of educational benefits to veterans.

Concerning the role of the veterans' groups, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York observed at the signing ceremony,

. . . It is one of the several laws to the development of which the American Legion and other veterans organizations have made such a splendid contribution --all of them designed to repay in some small measure, the brave men and women who are forgoing victory at the risk of their lives.

The New York Senator also considered the educational provisions among the most significant ones since they had such widespread benefits for the entire citizenry.⁴³

⁴²Los Angeles Times, June 22, 1944, p. 2.

⁴³Congressional Record, June 23, 1944, pp. 6588-6589.

The Role of Government in Education

The first G.I. Bill was indeed revolutionary within the veterans' community. The American Legion noted this; the bonus of the past had been replaced by a more meaningful program of assistance.⁴⁴ Such a new massive program was certainly to elicit debate. What were some of the thoughts at the time about the newly passed legislation providing veterans' educational benefits? The main objective of the original G.I. Bill was to assist the ex-servicemen in their adjustment to civilian life. Generally, five areas of concern emerged in regard to this readjustment:

1. restoration of the veteran to the competitive position which he would have occupied if he had never been called for military service;
2. reinstatement of the veteran in the communicative process of the society, with knowledge, interest, habits, and sentiments of a civilian;
3. overcoming of any handicaps, physical or mental, which he may have incurred as a result of service;
4. entrance once more in the political life of the community, state, and nation;
5. overcoming of attitudes of bitterness and

⁴⁴Pitkin, "How the First GI Bill Was Written, Part 1," op. cit., p. 24.

antagonism and the establishment of a normal and rewarding relationship with family, church, and community.⁴⁵

The G.I. Bill was, then, only to assist. This was a point in the course of debates on the subsistence allowance. Senator Pepper had spoken in terms of a more generous allowance, but General Osborne of the President's Committee noted the meaning of the program. It was not to be an underwriting of complete educational programs. The G.I. Bill provided a means of "getting ahead" in the social environment; as a result many were to move into different economic levels through education.⁴⁶

Of course, the role of government in education lead to some debate. There were those who welcomed the government's entry into the direct scholarship program as they saw implications of this departure. There were also those who approved this particular program for veterans but feared future action, in particular, educational control by the national government. Joseph P. Blickensderfer was an advocate of the government's new program, and he hoped for expanded activities in the near future. To him the new enactment was to assist greatly the lower economic classes in obtaining equal opportunity. To him, it was seen primarily as a

⁴⁵Waller, The Veteran Comes Back, op. cit., p. 259.

⁴⁶Robert J. Havighurst, et al., The American Veteran Back Home, A Study of Veteran Readjustment (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1951), pp. 142-143.

social measure.⁴⁷ And there was discussion about the adequacy of the legislation for minority groups. One article suggested special considerations be extended to minority GIs.⁴⁸ Some legislators proposed more emphasis be placed on extension training, night schools, and high school programs. Purdue University was the only university in the nation allowing non-high school graduates to enter university in order to complete their secondary education. The program succeeded. Its philosophy was that GIs would feel out of place in the actual high school milieu.⁴⁹ Congressman Philip J. Philbin (D Mass.) voiced the concern of some for the free-enterprise system.

. . . This is not supposed, under our Constitution, to be a paternalistic government, which seeks through various totalitarian techniques to accomplish and fulfill the dreams of the ambitionless and idle for a life of ease and luxury at Government expense. These boys are not fighting for, and not expecting, if healthy and sound, to become wards of government for the rest of their lives. Primarily, they are asking only for just consideration of the worthiness and value of their patriotic service. They are asking that when the war is over, they be no longer penalized because they served their country, but, on the other hand, be accorded the right to equalize their status and catch up, so to speak, with those who for some reason, remained behind in this struggle.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Joseph P. Blickensderfer, "What Reinforcement We May Gain from Hope," The Saturday Review of Literature, XXVIII (September 15, 1945), pp. 20-21.

⁴⁸Ralph G. Martin, "Nothing's too Good for the Boys," New Republic, CXVI (March 3, 1947), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁹Congressional Record, April 27, 1945, p. A1972.

⁵⁰Congressional Record, May 11, 1944, p. 4666.

Reviewing the original G.I. Bill hearings indicate considerable debate over national government control.

Title II, Chapter IV, Part VII, Section 8 of Public Law 346 reflects this concern on the part of the legislators:

No department, agency, or officer of the United States, in carrying out the provisions of this part, shall exercise any supervision or control, whatsoever, over any State educational agency, or State apprenticeship agency, or any educational or training institution.⁵¹

The individual states were given freedom to make their own plans as to administration of the G.I. Bill. There were certain standards, but administrative flexibility was encouraged.⁵² Generally, educators have agreed there was a great deal of individual, state, and institutional freedom in the administration of the G.I. Bill; the expected and feared national government control did not materialize.⁵³ The issue was a major concern in the debates on Public Law 346. And, from the following comments by Congressman Philbin (D Mass.), the issue was certainly emotion-ladened.

I am unalterably opposed to an all-powerful, super-developed, federalized, bureaucratic control of education, or for that matter, any other field of government or endeavor heretofore reserved under our

⁵¹U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. LVIII, 1944, op. cit., p. 289.

⁵²George D. Stoddard, "State-Wide Planning for Post-War Educational Needs," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), pp. 140-141.

⁵³Hollis P. Allen, The Federal Government and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), pp. 280-281.

Constitution to the people of the several states. This is the road to despotism and coercion. Regimentation and superregulation are not indigenous to the American character, certainly are not what our American boys are fighting for, and ought not to dominate the process by which education is provided for our returning veterans. . . . If, in a time of stress, induced by the smooth, oily promises of social reformists--promises impossible of fulfillment and never intended to be kept--we exchange our precious American liberties for the visionary security of the authoritarian regimented radical state, we will in the end have neither liberty nor security; we will be in chains.⁵⁴

But control from Washington, D.C. was not the only major issue. Special interests complained about specific provisions. The aviation lobby was critical of the VA's policy of disapproving flight training programs.⁵⁵ The aviation groups claimed Congress's original intent was to include flight training under the benefits.⁵⁶ Professional photographers felt overlooked; the VA had rejected many photography programs, claiming they were avocational in nature. Frank R. Fraprie, Editor of the American Photography magazine in 1948 challenged this stand.⁵⁷ And there were others. The American Association of Junior Colleges believed the junior college had not been given favorable treatment because Congress did not understand this type of

⁵⁴Congressional Record, May 18, 1944, p. 4666.

⁵⁵Alexander McSurely, "Industry Challenges VA Threat to GI Flight Training Future," Aviation Week, XLVIII (February 16, 1948), pp. 27-28.

⁵⁶Wayne Wishaar, "The GI Bill's 'New Look,'" Flying, XLV (November, 1949), p. 36.

⁵⁷Frank R. Fraprie, "The Editor's Point of View," American Photography, XLII (October, 1948), p. 611.

institution.⁵⁸ The unions would have favored greater emphasis on vocational and technical education; and the labor organizations also had their own view about control.

'The bogey of Federal control is a phantom displayed by those forces which have traditionally opposed the labor movement in its battle for adequate schools. Organized labor, however, will be continually alert to see to it that the administration of the public schools and the determination of the curriculum will be left to local communities. In a word labor is unalterably opposed to Federal control of schools but not fearful that Federal aid will result in such control.'⁵⁹

There was also the issue of unemployment insurance. For some this point brought into focus racial considerations. The Nation charged House Veterans Committee Chairman Rankin with delaying tactics because of his prejudice.

. . . For his animosity toward the Negro is calculated to deprive all soldiers of unemployment protection and thus ensure a large supply of labor at distress wages in the event of a post-war depression. . . .⁶⁰

Administrative Shortcomings

A program handling almost 8 million persons, costing some \$14,522,000,000, was bound to have had shortcomings. The administration of the first G.I. Bill did. General Osborne in testimony before the Committee on Education and

⁵⁸U.S. Congress, Subcommittee on Finance, Senate. Hearings, 1944, op. cit., pp. 91-94.

⁵⁹Boris Shishkin, "Organized Labor and the Veteran," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 152.

⁶⁰"G.I. Enemy No. 1," Editorial, The Nation, CLVIII (May 6, 1944), p. 527.

Labor in 1943 suggested the national government carefully review tuition and set certain rates. He implied that allowing individual schools to set rates in regard to governmental subsistence could lead to widespread corruption.⁶¹

General Osborne had put his finger on something; he had pointed to what was to become the leading abuse of this act. Because of outrageous increases in tuition, the Veterans Administration had to tighten its policies by 1948.

Private schools were later required to negotiate a contract with the VA to continue their veteran training.⁶² In addition to the tuition abuses, many newly-established private profit schools gave veterans courses of doubtful value at excessive cost to the government. Much on-the-job training amounted to little more than a labor subsidy, carried on for long periods when proficiency had been achieved. Subsistence payments were sometimes obtained through falsifications of attendance records, and an overcentralization of authority in Washington resulted in confusing procedures.⁶³

⁶¹U.S. Congress, Committee on Education and Labor, Senate. The Servicemen's Education and Training Act of 1944, Hearings, 1943, op. cit., p. 19.

⁶²"Controlling Tuition Rates in Private Schools for Veterans," School and Society, LXVII (June 26, 1948), p. 470.

⁶³U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Educational Benefits for Veterans of the Korean Conflict, Committee Print, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, p. 10.

The Veterans Administration received considerable criticism for errors in administration on the first bill. The average university at the end of World War II found half of its working capital tied up by the VA's policy of delaying payment until the veteran was enrolled and well in his coursework. Many of the universities complained of the increased paper-work for veterans. Some universities claimed it took between 10 and 15 per cent more money to educate a GI because of the added clerical work required. Yet, the universities and colleges welcomed this new support.⁶⁴

The Veterans Administration could not please all. Some felt this independent agency had infringed on the rights of veterans. The National Association of Private Schools charged VA with arbitrariness in its decisions, failing to carry out the full intent of Congress.⁶⁵ There was a need for standard tuition rates and direct payments to veterans. Despite all the shortcomings, the VA did in fact swiftly implement the provisions of a comprehensive and complicated readjustment act, and in doing so this agency learned many lessons. When considering the immensity of the program, the Veterans Administration did well. Dr. Amos Yoder in an article in the education magazine Phi Delta Kappan on the

⁶⁴W. Emerson Reck, "Our Colleges See Red," School and Society, LXV (March 1, 1947), p. 155.

⁶⁵U.S. Congress, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Relating to Education and Training Programs in Private Schools Under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, Hearings, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., Part 2, 1948, p. 163.

"Lessons of the G.I. Bill" concluded, "The veterans' training program at the college level, although experiencing some administrative difficulties, has been carried out successfully. . . ."66

The enactment had its critics, but generally it has been applauded as a most progressive piece of legislation. There were some in the government who were concerned about the cost, which the Senate Finance Committee had estimated would be \$3,500,000,000.⁶⁷ The actual cost was eventually to climb to about five times that estimate. Harvard economist Slichter claimed direct grants were no part of a free-enterprise system and recommended loans as a substitute, which would maintain the ex-serviceman's self-respect.⁶⁸ Support was practically unanimous. Even the critical editors of The Christian Century had to admit the public sentiment. "On the whole, the ayes seem to have it."⁶⁹

Before the termination of the first G.I. Bill on July 25, 1956, amendments were added. There had been much discussion about the subsistence allowances during the

⁶⁶Amos Yoder, "Lessons of the G.I. Bill." Phi Delta Kappan, XLIV (April, 1963), p. 342.

⁶⁷"G.I. Bill of Rights," Time, XLIII (April 3, 1944), p. 23.

⁶⁸"Veterans and the Nation," The Commonweal, XLIII (October 26, 1945), p. 37.

⁶⁹"Billion Dollars Asked for Education of Veterans," Editorial. The Christian Century, LX (November 10, 1943), 1294.

course of the committee hearings in 1943 and 1944. Congress on December 28, 1945, increased the monthly rates to \$75, \$105, and \$120, depending on the number of dependents. Time limits on applications were also liberalized.⁷⁰ After 1945, the President opposed further increases, noting the increasing expenditures of the United States. Senator David Walsh (R Mass.) felt the low subsistence harmed the motivation of students. More money would be needed to keep the ex-servicemen in school he said.

Reports indicate that many students are becoming discouraged because of their financial status. I am of the opinion that, if many of these promising students and potential leaders are forced to give up their education, the cost to the country in wasted talent would be immeasurable.⁷¹

The G.I. Bill had proved a most beneficial piece of legislation. When it terminated in 1956, new proposals were already being considered. There were many proposals; however, it took a conflict to bring enough pressure to obtain the Korean War G.I. Bill. Although the main battle had been won in 1944, the new G.I. Bills extending the concept would bring new provisions. And there would be debate on these changes. The succeeding veterans' education legislation was not automatic, as the American Legion claimed, "The Korea GI Bill sailed through Congress, and with the development of warfare in Vietnam still a third

⁷⁰Congressional Quarterly, I, 1945, pp. 495-497.

⁷¹Congressional Record, July 25, 1946, pp. 10, 116.

one was enacted almost routinely."⁷² There were still many controversial issues.

⁷²R. B. Pitkin, "How the First G.I. Bill was Written, Part 1," op. cit., p. 24.

CHAPTER IV

CONTINUING THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE G.I. BILL

Pressure for an Extension

The impact of the G.I. Bill's educational benefits became well-recognized, and soon some legislators were suggesting an extension of the program. There was the usual discussion, but no action. The outbreak of hostilities in Korea in June, 1950 brought the needed pressure. There had been numerous proposals for continuing veterans educational benefits. These culminated in committee hearings. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare held public hearings on September 17, 18, and 19, 1951; the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, from February 6 through March 11, 1952. A large number of witnesses representing many groups appeared, but as in 1944 several key organizations dominated.¹

Three groups stood out at these hearings; the veterans, the military, and higher education. The veterans' organizations were confident of the passage of an extension,

¹"G.I. Bill Extended to Korea Veterans," Congressional Quarterly Almanac, VIII, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess. (1952), p. 206.

and they sought prompt action. All major groups unanimously supported the extension. No division developed among veterans bodies as had been the case in 1944. In communications to Congress, both the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars spelled out their complete support.

Washington, D.C., July 2, 1952
Hon. Edith Nourse Rogers

On behalf of thousands of new veterans awaiting a Federal assistance program on their readjustment to civilian life, the American Legion sincerely urges that agreement be reached on some equitable form of new G.I. bill for them before Congress adjourns.

Donald R. Wilson
National Commander
American Legion

Washington, D.C., July 2, 1952
Hon. Edith Nourse Rogers

Virtually important that conferees reach agreement on Korean veteran benefit bill in order this legislation may be approved before adjournment. Suggest basic principles of House-approved bill be accepted and if shortcomings or abuses develop these can be corrected by future amendments. It would be tragic if disagreement should delay approval during present session of Congress.

Omar B. Ketchum
VFW National
Legislative Director²

The veterans organizations had already stimulated public interest by adopting resolutions in favor of an extension for Korean veterans at their respective annual conventions. This was helpful in molding public opinion.³ The veterans'

²Congressional Record, July 3, 1952, p. A4286.

³U.S. Congress, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Education and Training and Other Benefits for Veterans

groups thus played again a most significant role in the formulation and passage of the Korean G.I. Bill.

Educational groups were also active in the steps leading to the enactment of Public Law 550. Congressman Teague of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs noted the role played by one educational organization.

In developing a relationship between the federal government and the educational institutions of the nation, it is necessary that the Congress depend on representatives of the educational system for advice. In the preparation of this legislation, the National Education Association has rendered an outstanding contribution . . .⁴

But the NEA was not the only educational organization supporting passage of a new G.I. Bill. There were many. Among them were included the American Association of Junior Colleges, the American Council on Education, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Vocational Association, the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, and the National Council of Chief State School Officers.⁵

What were major reasons behind the second G.I. Bill? The Soviet Union had since the end of World War II developed a hostile attitude toward the West, and the hopes of world

Serving on or After June 27, 1950, Hearings, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, p. 117.

⁴J. L. McCaskill, "The New G.I. Bill," The NEA Journal, XLI (September, 1952), 344.

⁵U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate, Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, Hearings, before the Special Subcommittee on Veterans' Education and Rehabilitation Benefits, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, p. 69 fl.

cooperation were dimmed with the Iron Curtain, the Berlin Blockade of 1948-49, and then, the Korean War. There was the scientific race with the Soviets. National security was a major concern. In addition, there were considerations of individual justice for the veterans. Under the existing draft procedures only about 45 per cent of the young men served, leaving 55 per cent who did not see service. Thus, those who did not serve had automatically a head start in civilian careers unless the veterans were furnished some educational training. And finally, there was a consideration of national economic benefits; the encouraging of additional millions to obtain professional or technical training would increase productivity and minimize serious heavy unemployment. The G.I. Bill had already proved itself in this regard. The Soviet competition, justice to those in uniform, and economic stimulation to the country were all important factors responsible for the Korean G.I. Bill. But probably most important was that the precedent had already been set.

The proposal for a federal educational program for veterans of the Korean campaign is backed by a long history of federal activities in the field of education and of federal benefits, including educational benefits, for veterans. Established Federal policies in the field of education support the general proposal for a program of education benefits for veterans of the Korean conflict.⁶

Not only had the government been active in educational programs, but demands were increasing for more

⁶Ibid., p. 2.

assistance. The American Council on Education Report in 1952 noted the many advantages of a veterans assistance program for Korean War servicemen. The report believed there would not be a flooding of the campuses because of the smaller numbers. Furthermore, the men would be returning to civilian life gradually over a long period of time. The American Council on Education also believed a new veterans bill should be of longer duration because the present Selective Service Act continued only until 1955 and undoubtedly would be extended. Thus, a new program in the eyes of this educational organization should be somewhat permanent in nature. The American Council on Education, as well as other similar organizations, had a separate government scholarship and aid program to higher education in mind.

The present proposed program for veterans' education and training may well serve to set the policy pattern for any future program of financial aid or scholarship at the Federal level providing education in our colleges and universities.⁷

Lessons from the Past

President Truman in his January 21, 1952, Budget Message to the Congress recommended an extension of the G.I. Bill, but he urged legislators to gain from the lessons of the past. There had been many shortcomings of the first enactment.

This Budget includes 71 million dollars to cover the first year's cost of a new program of readjustment

⁷Ibid., p. 167.

benefits for discharged servicemen who have served since the beginning of the Korean conflict. I recommend prompt enactment of such a program. However, I do not believe that extension of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act in its present form would be the proper way to meet the new need. The main assistance to be provided at this time should be a sound and constructive program of education and training. The new legislation should take account of the significant imperfections which have become apparent in our experience with the 'G.I. Bill.' All possible effort should be made to incorporate into any new program the lessons learned from that experience. Studies now being made by the Congress should be of value in the consideration of pending bills to establish a new readjustment program for these veterans.⁸

The President had reference to the fraudulent practices that had occurred immediately after the implementation of the first G.I. Bill. Veterans Administrator Carl R. Gray, Jr., had reported in 1948 that many diploma mills had been established to obtain funds from the government. Many of these schools consisted of only a desk, a telephone, and a half a dozen clerks. They granted a variety of degrees for a fee of \$25 or more, and in most cases, more. In this way, millions of dollars had been stolen.⁹ As a result of these abuses, Congress by a 1948 amendment prohibited the expenditure of government funds for courses of training found to be avocational or recreational in character by the Administrator

⁸Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1, 1952 to January 20, 1953 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 17-18.

⁹"Fake Schools Rob Vets," Senior Scholastic, LVI (February 22, 1950), p. 14.

of Veteran Affairs.¹⁰ These abuses were the concern of several governmental and private studies.

The Teague Committee

The General Accounting Office and the House Select Committee to Investigate the Educational Program Under the G.I. Bill (the Teague Committee) carefully reviewed the first program in order to suggest improvements. Both reports noted major defects and also pointed to the magnificent accomplishments of this piece of legislation. They sought an extension of the concept of veterans educational benefits, but with certain modifications. In testimony before the Special Subcommittee on Veterans' Education and Rehabilitation Benefits, Congressman Olin E. Teague, and Oliver Meadows, Staff Director of the Select Committee to Study Educational Training, cited the many abuses of the old system and urged Congress to pay the individual veterans a set rate to avoid such abuse in the future. Fake schools had been fairly widespread. And Representative Teague, the chairman of the investigating committee, believed the VA could have been somewhat more careful.

Senator Hill. Let me ask you a question. Had the Veterans Administration been more diligent about this matter, would that not have prevented a lot of this?

Representative Teague. Senator, I did not want this job of investigating at all. I knew it was going

¹⁰Sam H. Coile, "Recent Changes Affecting Veterans' Education," Higher Education, V (October 1, 1948), p. 25.

to be a job. Before it ever started, I went to General Gray and told him these things were happening. I gave him documented proof of one of his Veterans Administration officials taking a thousand-dollar bribe and taking a Buick car. General Clay said, 'I don't believe it.' He talked to me for an hour in my office. I asked him to go back to his office and ask his people to give him a report.

In our other hearings is a letter which is one of the most startling statements an administrator could have gotten from his head investigator; and yet he did nothing.¹¹

To prevent abuse, the special committee also recommended that schools must have had a year of existence and have a 25 per cent civilian (non-veteran) enrollment.

The Teague Committee was also concerned with the amount of subsistence; the flat fee to veterans, according to the private schools, would allow no choice of type of institution. The issue involved the objective of the G.I. Bill. The committee emphasized the subsistence was supplemental in nature. Staff Director Meadows noted lack of subsistence would not hinder ambitious students in going to the school of their choice, and this had been well substantiated by educators. Educational organizations at first opposed a set fee, claiming this would be detrimental to private schools. However, after considerable discussions with the Teague Committee, all of the deliberating associations agreed. Commissioner of Education McGrath

¹¹U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Veterans' Education and Rehabilitation Benefits, Senate, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, pp. 22-23.

himself noted veterans would not be hindered in their choice of schools through a flat fee arrangement.

Many young men will have some funds of their own or will be able to earn money while attending a college or university. They will, therefore, be able to supplement the veterans grant and thus attend institutions with the highest tuition fees. It is even possible that the very reverse of the situation described in Mr. Fagg's letter will occur, namely, that boys with limited personal funds will be supplemented by the provisions of the bill and will choose private institutions which otherwise might have attended a publicly supported institution. Many factors which normally motivate young men and women to attend private institutions of higher education will be at work among the veterans.¹²

Dr. Robert R. Steward, President of the Veterans Administrator's Advisory Committee agreed with the Teague Committee's philosophy. The G.I. Bill should be only supplemental. Some initiative must be shown on the part of the ex-servicemen.

I definitely believe educational opportunity should be provided for those serving in the Armed Forces since June 26, 1950, but that such opportunity should be limited to assistance in readjustment through education and training, not in complete payment for the cost of subsistence and any education selected by the veteran.¹³

Other Recommendations

The other governmental study by the Chief of Investigations, General Accounting Office in July, 1951, also

¹²Ibid., pp. 29-30.

¹³U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate. Educational Benefits for Veterans of the Korean Conflict, Committee Print, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, p. 35.

drew attention to the many abuses of the first G.I. Bill. The study pointed to mistakes within the VA, questionable practices of some of the training institutions, particularly privately-operated trade schools, and cited numerous cases of improper payments. One official of the General Accounting Office told a House Committee that nearly every type of college and training school had held "open season" on the United States Treasury under the provisions of the World War II G.I. Bill. Attorney Charles E. Eckert of the Accounting Office estimated that one-third of the schools had overcharged the government.¹⁴ Thus, the General Accounting Office sought, "An entirely new program under which the veteran would receive an allowance for education and training and could be operated more efficiently and economically than the existing program."¹⁵ Other agencies agreed.

A direct extension of the World War Servicemen's Readjustment Act would not be in the best interests of either the veterans or the Nation. Adherence to the readjustment concept should be a fundamental principle of the new legislation.

Bureau of the Budget

The law should protect the Treasury against the possibility that individuals could qualify under an

¹⁴Congressional Quarterly Almanac, VIII, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., op. cit., p. 206.

¹⁵U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate. Educational Benefits for Veterans of the Korean Conflict, op. cit., p. 506.

educational program merely to qualify concurrently for subsistence.

Department of Defense¹⁶

The educational groups also had their recommendations after conducting their own surveys. The National Education Association, Committee on the Education of Veterans, studied the first veterans educational assistance provisions and had five major recommendations for a new piece of legislation. These can be summarized as follows:

1. A clear-cut line of separation should be drawn between education obtained in public and private non-profit educational institutions and other kinds of training, such as on-the-job schooling, farm apprenticeship, and proprietary schools. The existing law tied both programs together, with the result that a VA directive written specifically for one group sometimes embarrassed and hampered the other.

2. An advisory committee should be provided for the Veterans Administration. This group would be composed of persons directly in charge of veterans' affairs on their campuses; such a grass-roots committee would keep the VA informed about problem areas.

3. Compensation to educational institutions for the education of veterans should be on the basis of flat rates of payment, varying by types of programs, but not to

¹⁶Ibid.

exceed \$500 per school year as in the existing law. State legislatures should bear more of the burden for veterans education.

4. Payments by the VA for books, equipment, and supplies should be in the form of a flat allowance to be paid directly to the student, the sum varying if necessary by types of programs. Issuance of books, equipment, and supplies had been a headache from the very beginning of the program. Students resented institutional decisions concerning books, and some members of the faculty thought they could order anything at governmental expense.

5. Subsistence payments to veterans should be on a fair and reasonable basis as determined by Congress. Though the committee did not oppose a permanent program, it urged careful study before such Congressional action should be taken.¹⁷

Despite the various cases of abuse, it should be noted that there was a general feeling that the G.I. Bill program of World War II had been a success. The New York Times conducted a nation-wide survey of educators and their views on the G.I. Bill. The respondents felt the funds had been wisely spent despite some inefficiency. The 1951 newspaper survey also inquired about a future program. The educators supported the belief the country had an obligation

¹⁷Jules P. Colbert, "Extending G.I. Educational Benefits," op. cit., pp. 59-60.

to provide veterans with educational assistance as compensation for enforced or extended interruption of their educations, but that the assistance should be provided as scholarships, not as complete subsidies.¹⁸ Public support for an extension largely originated with the successes encountered in the 1944 enactment.

The nation generally expected early passage of an extension once the Korean Conflict broke out, and many thought the new program would be of long duration since the East-West split was quite permanent. Under such a large-scale program, costs might even exceed those of World War II. Supports for an extension was almost unanimous. There were differences of opinion particularly in regard to administration. The veterans' groups again emphasized the role of the VA; the educators wanted the Office of Education to play a more significant role; and the American Federal of Labor pressed for the Department of Labor to handle all on-the-job training. Generally, the democratic feature of the original G.I. Bill was receiving more attention. The National Farmers Union noted, "Every person has a right to an equal opportunity to obtain the highest education society affords even though publicly financed scholarships may be required."¹⁹ A large segment of the public sought

¹⁸New York Times, July 22, 1951, pp. 1, 35.

¹⁹U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate. Educational Benefits for Veterans of the Korean Conflict, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

legislation for an extension of the G.I. Bill. It was now only a matter of deciding just how the new piece of legislation could best meet the present needs. What changes should be implemented?²⁰

Even before the records were closed on the first G.I. Bill, serious attempts were made by legislators to extend this experiment. Some fifty proposals had been introduced into Congress calling for the same rights given World War II veterans to those serving in Korea. Most of these were not to receive much consideration. Most did not carefully consider the abuses of the first piece of legislation and the methods necessary to correct such shortcomings. Two proposals emerged for serious consideration. One was the Administration's recommendation; the other, that of the Select Committee Studying Veterans' Training. The Administration proposal, introduced in the Senate by Senators Robert S. Kerr (D Okla.), and Walter F. George (D Ga.), would have extended the educational provisions of the World War II enactment with two major changes: (1) The government would pay only half of the veterans' tuition, and (2) Those who were 23 or under on June 27, 1950, or on the day they entered service, or whose education was interrupted by the draft, would be entitled to benefits for a period equal to their length of service up to

²⁰Olin E. Teague, "G.I. Education . . .," op. cit., pp. 99-108.

48 months; those over 23 whose education was not interrupted would be entitled only to one year of such training. Under the old bill, all eligible veterans were entitled to full tuition for a period equal to their length of wartime service plus one year, up to a total of four years.

The Administration Bill (S. 1940) would also restrict scholarships in privately-owned schools to those in which at least 25 students or a third of the student body pay their own tuition. This provision was intended to discourage the mushrooming of veterans' training schools such as had appeared after the last war. Representative Teague's committee had indicated that its plan was to offer less money to more people. The Select Committee advocated fewer years of education for more students, and favored payments be made directly to the student, the intention being to provide a scholarship system rather than a government subsidy for schools.²¹

New Provisions

No doubt, one of the most important factors in the new legislation was the Report of the Select Committee to Investigate and Evaluate Education and Training and Loan Guaranty Programs of World War II veterans; the probe headed by Chairman Olin E. Teague had lasted about one and one-half years. After hearings from February 6 through March 11,

²¹"New G.I. Bill?" Scientific American, CLXXXV (September, 1951), 48-49.

1952, the House passed the bill (HR 7656) introduced by Representative Teague. One departure from the original law was the provision for periodic lump-sum payments directly to the ex-GIs for subsistence, tuition, and other school needs. Previously, the government had paid tuition costs directly to the schools. The House passed the bill on June 5 on a roll-call vote, 361-1.²² The one member voting against the measure was Representative James P. S. Devereux (R Md.). The retired Marine Corps Brigadier General and Commander on Wake Island when the Japanese struck in World War II, objected to the manner in which the bill was passed; there had been no chance for amendments and the debate had been limited to forty minutes. The former general wanted a chance to propose amendments. Two members of the House, Negro Representatives Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D N.Y.), and William L. Dawson (D Ill.), voted "present" to protest the required twenty-five per cent non-veteran enrollment for schools to qualify under the training programs. According to these House members, this provision would undoubtedly lead to discrimination in the South.²³

The Senate had held hearings on September 17, 18, and 19, 1951, on a G.I. Bill for Korean veterans; however, no action was taken on S. 1940 since the Committee members

²²Congressional Quarterly Almanac, VIII, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, p. 206.

²³New York Times, June 6, 1952, pp. 1, 3.

wanted to wait for the Teague Committee Report. Following the passage by the House of HR 7656, a Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee held executive hearings for five days between June 10 and June 17, 1952. The Senate approved a change in the allowances. A veteran would be paid directly for subsistence; he would also receive a separate check for tuition; he would be allowed up to \$40 a month or a maximum of \$360 for an academic year. Also the VA head would decide on a uniform rate for administrative costs. In addition, the Senate Committee recommended requiring schools to be in operation for only one year to qualify for training veterans, instead of the two years specified in the House bill. The Committee also reduced the percentage of nonveteran enrollment required from 25, as provided by the House, to 10 per cent. The Senate passed the measure by voice vote on June 28, 1952. Several other amendments were included in regard to unemployment compensation, additional educational and training allowances in special cases, and the prevention of duplication of payments of readjustment and re-enlistment allowances.

On July 3 the Senate-House conferees agreed on a compromise measure. They accepted the House plan for a "package" allowance for education payments and settled on 15 per cent as the minimum non-veteran enrollment in schools attended by veterans. The conferees accepted the Senate provision to include a payment to all schools for

administrative costs. The amount agreed upon was \$1.50 per veteran per month. The House agreed to the conference report July 4 on a roll-call vote of 322-1. Representative John Taber (R N.Y.), was the only opposing member. The Senate passed the measure by voice vote the same day and sent it to President Truman, who signed the measure July 16, 1952, enacting it into Public Law 550, the second G.I. Bill.²⁴

The Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 was again comprehensive in nature. Educational benefits made up only one portion of the enactment. There were also loan guarantees, assistance in securing employment, unemployment compensation, and mustering-out payments. The mustering-out payments were calculated on the following schedule: Those serving 60 days or more outside the United States, \$300; those with 60 days of service but within the United States, \$200; and those with less than 60 days would receive \$100. The unemployment rate was 26 weeks at \$26 a week. The five benefits were similar to the ones established for World War II veterans. Many men have served during both wars and found themselves eligible twice. A veteran needed active service between June 27, 1950, and the end of the emergency, which would be proclaimed by Presidential decree on February 1, 1955. The responsibility for administering these programs was split in four ways,

²⁴Congressional Quarterly Almanac, VIII, 1952, op. cit., pp. 206-207.

indicating again a power struggle between the various governmental agencies. The Armed Forces were in charge of mustering-out payments, the Employment Service handled job assistance; the Department of Labor administered unemployment compensation through state agencies; and the Veterans Administration was responsible for the educational and loan programs. The VA continued as the major administering agency.²⁵

The Korean G.I. Bill permitted education and training for a period equal to one and one-half times the veteran's active service up to a maximum of 36 months. The direct payment to veterans on full-time training would be \$110 a month for those without dependents and \$135 with one dependent, and \$160 with more than one dependent. The veteran had to pay for tuition, books, supplies, and other materials with this amount. There were also allowances made for on-the-job training and full-time farm training. Avocational and recreational courses could be taken if evidence was submitted that such courses would be of bona fide use in pursuit of the veteran's present or contemplated business or occupation. Flight training was not designated as an avocational or recreational course.²⁶

²⁵"The New G.I. Bill: Who Gets What?" Changing Times, VII (May, 1953), p. 21.

²⁶U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. LXVI, pt. 1 (Feb. 1952-July 1952), "Veterans Readjustment Act of July 16, 1952," Ch. 875, Art. 3, p. 669.

Private Schools and Tuition

Three main controversies occurred during the debates on the Korean bill. The change in payments brought some discussion; however, most legislators recognized the abuse under the first enactment. Payment directly to the schools was an open invitation to over-charging. Therefore, individual payments were generally endorsed but the private schools believed they should receive additional funds to allow the veteran a choice in schools. The direct payments, they believed, automatically favored the state institutions since their tuition was lower. The firm stand by private schools can be appreciated by the following comments by Dr. Fred D. Fagg, Jr., President of the University of California. Reference was made to H.R. 7656, introduced by Congressman Teague.

This bill in general is excellent. However, the provision for a monthly all-inclusive allowance to be paid to the veterans is seriously detrimental to at least one-half of the veterans and also to all private colleges and universities.

Not only will this payment device remove from the veteran freedom of choice of institutions as enjoyed under the current G.I. Bill (Public Law 346, amended), but will also tend, through economic compulsion, to discriminate against the Korean G.I. veteran who chooses to attend a privately controlled institution of higher learning.

In practical terms, the bill as written could divert as many as one-third of your potential veteran-students to public institutions (assumption from statistics of U.S. Office of Education).²⁷

²⁷U.S. Congress, Committee on Veterans Affairs, H.R. 7656, Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, Hearings, House, 1952, p. 156.

The debate was vigorous. Perhaps, the experiences of the World War II era indicated a need for control. And this control would be best achieved by individual payments to the veterans. The private institutions lost their battle; they were not to receive any extra financial consideration. As was pointed out earlier, Commissioner of Education McGrath and others emphasized the individual veteran could utilize his subsidy for any school he so desired. The issue had been settled with the passage of Public Law 550, and it has not been seriously presented again. This was, however, one of the most significant debates leading to enactment of the second G.I. Bill.²⁸

Veterans Administration v. Office
of Education--Second Round

Another issue again present in 1952 was the selection of an administering agency. Even though the Employment Service and the Department of Labor were involved in this legislation, the major competitors were the Office of Education and the Veterans Administration. The 1944 debate had been vigorous, and the choice of an administering agency had been one of the leading issues. The educators encountered a defeat but they had hopes for the second round. Most educational groups recommended the Office of Education have more

²⁸Personal Interview with Oliver E. Meadows, Staff Director, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., August 18, 1969.

power in administration. The American Council on Education in a 1952 report concluded,

There should be a recognized use of the experience and resources of the United States Office of Education, both in developing the veterans' education program and in the final operation and administration of the program. The committee also recommends the establishment of a Presidential Advisory Committee on Veterans' Education and Training, with broad powers of policy recommendation and review.²⁹

Of course, the veterans groups were not about to give up; to them the administration should remain with the VA. In the end, the VA continued to be the agency with major responsibilities for the administration of the new enactment, two provisions of the new law reflected a desire to bring the Office of Education and other agencies into the administrative process.

Sections 244(a) and 262 of Public Law 550 provided for cooperation with other agencies. This inclusion was no doubt offered to satisfy professional educational groups as well as other competing agencies. Section 244(a) specified that the VA Office would utilize the services of Education.

1. In developing cooperative agreements between the Veterans Administrator and state and local agencies relating to the approval of courses of education or training;

2. In reviewing the plan of operations of state approving agencies under such agreements;

²⁹U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate, Educational Benefits for Veterans of the Korean Conflict, op. cit., p. 35.

3. In rendering technical assistance to such state and local agencies in developing and improving policies, standards, and legislation in connection with their duties under the educational and vocational assistance title of the law.

Section 262 specifies,

The Administrator shall form an advisory committee which shall be composed of persons who are eminent in their respective fields of education, labor, and management, and of representatives of the various types of institutions and establishments furnishing education and training to veterans enrolled under this title. . . .

The Commissioner of Education and the Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship, Department of Labor, are made ex-officio members of the committee.³⁰ Congress, then, deemed consultation with other agencies, both public and private, as essential in the administration of the law.³¹ Thus, there were means available to obtain views from others. No doubt, the private institutions, although irate about the decision on tuition grants, were now at least somewhat satisfied. They were to be represented on the special advisory committee.

³⁰U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. LXVI, pt. 1 (Feb. 1952-July 1952), Veterans Readjustment Act of July 16, 1952, Ch. 875, Art. 7, p. 679.

³¹Jennings B. Sanders, "Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952," Higher Education, IX (September, 1952), p. 4.

Combat v. Non-Combat Veterans

One other important issue emerged from the 1952 legislative debates, the question of eligibility. Some suggested benefits be provided only to those serving in the combat zone in Korea. Of course, this was to be a new departure. To others the philosophy of the G.I. Bill in regard to rehabilitation and readjustment was to pertain to all those serving their nation. Additional compensation could be obtained for those in combat areas through supplemental legislation. Professor Jules P. Colbert, Professor at the University of Nebraska, in an address at the Sixth Annual National Conference on Higher Education, Chicago, Illinois, in April, 1951, reacted toward the issue in this way:

. . . The question has been raised, however, in certain educational circles as to whether G.I. benefits should be limited to the combat-zone veterans of the Korean conflict, or to be extended to all, regardless of the area of service. A soldier does not choose where he is to serve. Instead he serves where he is told to serve. Mere chance may send one man to an equally valuable area far behind the lines. Therefore the benefits should be extended to all.³²

The reasoning of Professor Colbert prevailed in the deliberations in Congress; servicemen of the Korean War period regardless of where their service was performed became eligible for educational benefits.

³²Jules P. Colbert, "Extending G.I. Educational Benefits," op. cit., p. 57.

The Basic Philosophy Remains

Because of the importance of looking at the philosophy of the various measures, it is proper that reference be made to the Statement of Policy incorporated in Public Law 550. According to Section 102:

The Congress of the United States hereby declares that the veterans' education and training program created by this Act is for the purpose of providing vocational readjustment and restoring lost educational opportunities to those service men and women whose educational or vocational ambitions have been interrupted or impeded by reason of active service in the Armed Forces during a period of national emergency and for the purpose of aiding such persons in attaining the educational and training status which they might normally have aspired to and obtained had they not served their country. . . .³³

Many have emphasized the phrase. The emphasis should be on the restoration of lost educational opportunities. This policy points to "assistance." Therefore, the intent of the G.I. Bill has never been to provide complete subsidy for a college education. With the basic policy in mind, Congress did not see fit to provide special subsidies to the private schools. These considerations have played significant roles in recent Congressional debates over increases in educational rates.

The merits of the G.I. Bill had already been well-accepted by 1952, but some discussion centered on administration. There were a few criticisms launched after the passage of the second G.I. Bill. The Bureau of the Budget

³³U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. LXVI, pt. 1, Ch. 875, art. 1, op. cit., p. 663.

was concerned about the cost of the program; veterans' groups wanted to allow for four years of training;³⁴ the private schools still looked at the VA with questions. According to Dr. J. S. Noffsinger, Executive Director of the National Federation of Private School Associations, the VA had already exceeded its authority under the World War II enactment by fixing tuition rates as well as approving courses.³⁵ Despite the provisions allowing for consultation with other agencies, including private schools, some apprehension remained. And some were still concerned about national governmental control even though this received less emphasis than in 1944. A few educators looked to the United States Office of Education and the Veterans Administration with fear; there could be control through accreditation. An editorial entitled "The New G.I. Bill," contained in the December, 1952 issues of School Review touched on this.

It seems clear that the state approving agencies if they take their responsibilities seriously, will be faced with a task of tremendous magnitude. It also seems likely that higher institutions will be subjected to outside supervision to a greater degree and in more minute detail than they have ever been before. These are questions to be pondered by educators, particularly if, as some persons seem to believe, the present

³⁴Congressional Quarterly Almanac, X, 1954, p. 319.

³⁵U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Tuition Charges for Veterans by Educational and Training Institutions, Hearings, Senate, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 1949, pp. 15-17.

pattern is to serve as a basis for any future governmental scholarship aid to nonveteran students.³⁶

Congress had carefully reviewed the administration of Public Law 346, and found some shortcomings. Thus, the Korean enactment benefited from the past mistakes. Throughout the provisions, there was the same reoccurring theme--prevent abuses. The individual payments were to assist in this effort. Other built-in safeguards were present. The Congress did not see fit to limit benefits to those in a combat zone; this would have been a new departure. The public support for the new measure was widespread. Generally, people looked at this measure as admirable. It continued the practice of assisting veterans to make up for lost time in their education. But most important, educators looked at the G.I. Bill for Korea as ". . . an important step toward the development of a more comprehensive policy of federal aid to equalize educational opportunity for our citizens in general."³⁷ Educators still had not given up on the idea of a so-called "civilian G.I. Bill" or a national governmental scholarship program of large-scale proportions. Public Law 550, "the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952," was not the magnitude of the World War II enactment. In terms of numbers, less than one-third of the World

³⁶"The New G.I. Bill," Editorial. The School Review, LX (December, 1952), pp. 519-520.

³⁷R. H. Eckelberry, "The New G.I. Bill, Editorial Comments," Journal of Higher Education, XXIII (December, 1952), p. 498.

War II participants took part. About 2,391,000 took advantage of its education and training programs.³⁸ The new law did correct many abuses; emphasis was now entirely on instruction leading to useful occupations. This feature was also significant in later legislation.³⁹ An article in a popular news magazine used these words:

The Korean G.I. Bill was expected to have a far lighter impact on education than the old one, but the interesting fact was that the concept of free education for the vet is solidly entrenched.⁴⁰

This would be well-seen some fourteen years later when another veterans' educational program was passed by Congress. This measure was to bring many more innovations.

The Idea of Permanent Legislation

With the termination of the Korean emergency by Presidential Proclamation in 1955, Congress became interested in another extension of the G.I. Bill. Practically every Congress since the end of the Korean War held extensive debate on a continuation of the educational benefits for veterans. Many sought a permanent enactment. This piece of legislation became a perennial labor of Senator Ralph

³⁸U.S. Veterans Administration, Information Service, G.I. Bill of Rights, 25th Anniversary, 1944-1969 (Pamphlet), 1969, op. cit., p. 8.

³⁹William C. Bruce, "The New Veteran Education Law," The American School Board Journal, CXXV (September, 1952), p. 58.

⁴⁰"Korean G.I. Bill," Newsweek, XL (July 14, 1952), p. 82.

Yarborough (D Tex.). The Senate finally passed such a bill in 1959, and although hearings were held on it in the House during 1960, it was not reported out of the House Veterans' Affairs' Committee. The Senate Labor Committee again reported the bill in 1961, but it was not scheduled for floor action in the Senate during the balance of the 87th Congress. Although it was generally believed both the House and Senate favored such legislation, strong opposition had developed from both the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations. President Kennedy had even argued against the measure on financial grounds although he campaigned for an extension of the program and had voted for it as a Senator. This opposition was important in delaying any action.⁴¹ An increased tempo of the Vietnam War in 1966 was needed to obtain results. The hearings preceding Public Law 358 included both old and new issues.

The Bradley Commission

Debate began in 1956 with the publication of the Report of the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions headed by General Omar Bradley. Although the report was viewed as the work of the Bureau of the Budget by many legislators and governmental agencies, and thus economically

⁴¹Nora Levin, "Needed: A New G.I. Bill, the Neglected Vets," The Nation, CXCVI (February 23, 1963), p. 172.

oriented,⁴² the comprehensive study did generate discussion and debate on non-economic issues as well. The report recognized the value of educational benefits; in fact, the commission endorsed them as the best approach to veteran readjustment.

. . . Education and training and related readjustment benefits are now recognized as the best way of discharging the Government's obligation to the non-disabled. Such a program not only benefits the veterans but contributes to the stability of the society during the period of mass demobilization. . . .

But the Commission report continued one step further. An evaluation of veterans' benefits must always be viewed against total national needs. Reference was made to a 1954 national survey of veterans preferences for the National Civil Service League; the result was that 66 per cent endorsed free schooling. But despite this, the Commission believed the whole citizenry must be considered. In the view of the Commission the current situation did not call for special demobilization efforts, including educational benefits.

Under present-day conditions, military service in itself--especially if it is reasonably compensated--cannot continue to serve as a basis for special privilege. The young citizen must be prepared to serve in the Armed Forces as a matter of course, and under a permanent program he can plan for such service.

In keeping with this approach the Commission believes that the Government's post service obligation to peacetime ex-servicemen should be limited to compensation and assistance for such significant

⁴²Personal Interview with Oliver Meadows, August 18, 1969, op. cit.

disabilities as may arise directly out of military service, and to provision of the usual benefits to which any employee would be entitled. . . .⁴³

The conclusions of the Commission reflected the feeling of budget-minded President Eisenhower, who threatened to kill any proposal to give loan and educational benefits to peacetime ex-servicemen.

'Peacetime ex-servicemen are recognized as being in a different category from wartime veterans. Those who serve in peacetime undergo fewer rigors and hazards . . . the disruption of their educational plans and careers is minimized. . . . They now receive substantial pay and benefits, and they return to civilian life under more favorable conditions after receiving valuable training while in service.'⁴⁴

In a way it is paradoxical two-five star generals concluded veterans' benefits must be curtailed. Their stands were widely criticized, and lead to considerable discussion at the official hearings, which began with the Senate in 1957.

Opposition

In reviewing the hearings on extension of the G.I. Bill in 1957, 1963, and 1964, several major considerations emerged. Cost was one. The President in the 1950s sought financial rationality; this had been his main theme in the domestic platform. Many news media criticized an extension

⁴³United States President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States, Veterans in Our Society: Data on the Conditions of Military Service and the Status of the Veteran. 84th Cong., 2nd sess., House Committee Print No. 261, Staff Report No. IV, June 21, 1956, pp. 11, 16, 133.

⁴⁴"Veterans Want Billions More," Nation's Business, XLVIII (May, 1960), p. 10.

because of costs. Edwin P. Neilan, a noted Delaware banker, a combat veteran, and President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, questioned the whole program in a peacetime situation. He viewed an extension as a means of expanding the national government. "The creeping, demoralizing monster of governmental paternalism must be halted and destroyed. Only an informed, aroused, indignant public opinion can bring this about."⁴⁵ Of course, the costs of these benefits would be staggering, running into hundreds of billions of dollars over the years. Despite the costs, many believed the extension in the end had a good chance of passage.⁴⁶ Some Senators thought Congress would not really consider seriously the veterans' educational program in light of current obligations. Senator John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), observed,

'Considering that veterans' expenditures will increase, and at a time when very large amounts must be provided for the defense of our country, and millions are needed to assist people who are unemployed, there is a national responsibility regarding the amount of additional expense the United States can bear. . . .

'In view of our heavy obligations for national security and the new educational programs recommended by the President (i.e. reference to President Johnson), I think it unlikely that the Congress would enact a separate program of educational grants costing \$5,000,000,000 a year. If special assistance to peace-time veterans is considered, I believe a program

⁴⁵Edwin P. Neilan, "Let's Say No to the Veterans," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXVI (November 30, 1963), p. 12.

⁴⁶"Do We Spend Too Much on Veterans?" Changing Times, XIV (September, 1960), p. 30.

of long-term, low-interest loans such as I proposed in 1959 and 1962 would have a better chance of being enacted by the Congress.⁴⁷

The concern for the economy was also expressed by the Administration. The Bureau of the Budget questioned the rationality of such a measure in regard to the resources at hand. But there were other arguments. The Bureau of the Budget did not believe conditions merited special demobilization legislation. The theme of the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, about viewing the whole society, was also expressed by others. The Department of Labor noted unemployment provisions had been covered by other legislation. Thus, this would lead to duplication. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, despite the President's stand, cautiously supported an extension.⁴⁸ The Department of Defense opposed the measure on the grounds it would cause career servicemen to leave the service; to be effective in the area of security, and due to the highly technical requirements in the military, it is necessary to keep trained personnel for long periods of time.⁴⁹ In

⁴⁷"G.I. Bill for All Cold War Veterans? A Pro and Con Discussion," Senior Scholastic, LXXXVI (March 4, 1965), pp. 19-20.

⁴⁸U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance. Hearings, before the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, Senate, 85th Cong., 1st sess., June, 1957, pp. 15-26.

⁴⁹U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, S. 5, A Bill to Provide Readjustment Assistance to Veterans Who Served in the Armed Forces Between January 31, 1955 and July 1, 1963, Hearings, before the Subcommittee on

addition, the military pointed out they provided outstanding technical schooling within their own organizations.

One aspect of the financial consideration concerned the limiting of benefits to combat veterans. The original G.I. Bills had emerged from combat situations. In considering an extension for Korean veterans, there had been some debate as to coverage but because of the difficulty in defining areas of service, all veterans were eligible for benefits. The same issue presented itself again in the post-Korean period. No doubt, much of this was in terms of the economy although some veterans groups had strong feelings about qualification for benefits through actual combat. Representative Olin E. Teague, Chairman of the powerful House Veterans' Affairs Committee commented,

'I have questioned the extension of the G.I. program to peacetime veterans . . . (but) for the ones whose present duty is similar to wartime duty, I think we might consider some kind of moderate loan, grant, or scholarship program.'

Senator John Tower of Texas had similar views and planned to make a proposal limiting benefits to combat veterans.

Senator Hugh Scott, Republican of Pennsylvania had the same philosophy.

'I have opposed an over-all extension of G.I. benefits, in a time of general peace, to all who have served in the Armed Forces regardless of where, or under what conditions. But I have co-sponsored and strongly

supported legislation to extend such benefits to those who have served in areas of actual hostilities.⁵⁰

This stand on the part of the Administration continued up to the passage of the 1966 piece of legislation. President Johnson sought a measure only for veterans of such hot spots as the Dominican Republic, Berlin, and Vietnam.⁵¹

Where did the instrumental Veterans Administration stand? The VA followed the Administration. In testimony before Congressional hearings, the Administrator for Veterans Affairs continued to note a difference in the servicemen of 1955 and 1965 as compared to the World War II or Korean War periods. The G.I. Bill had the philosophy of assisting the veteran to readjust to his society through educational assistance. Today's service was not really disruptive. Thus, the VA could not see any need for this special legislation. In addition, the Veterans Administration took note of the considerate draft procedures in existence. In this regard, John S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator for Veterans' Affairs, in 1963 Congressional hearings said,

. . . We consider particularly significant the fact that the impact of Selective Service is minimized by draft procedures which are designed to promote a reasonable integration of schooling or training plans with military service.⁵²

⁵⁰"A G.I. Bill for All Cold War Veterans? A Pro and Con Discussion," Senior Scholastic, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

⁵¹New York Times, February 11, 1966, p. 13.

⁵²U.S. Congress, S. 5, A Bill to Provide Readjustment Assistance to Veterans Who Served in the Armed Forces

The VA comments were referring to the period just before the tremendous increase in the draft calls for the Vietnam War. These calls would, of course, bring a change in the general attitude.

The Basis for a Cold War Bill

But what about the reasons given for the enactment of a Cold War G.I. Bill? There were several important ones. There was the familiar idea of justice. A precedent had been set. What was good for former veterans should apply to ex-servicemen now. The issue of the value of education in this technical world was apparent, and the Soviet technological advance was another. The general advantages of such a program economically was one more. Senator Birch Bayh (D Ind.) emphasized all servicemen are apt to be in a dangerous situation because of the world situation. It was only fair then to give them the benefits given to those of the past. In addition, the program gave considerable advantages to the country as a whole. "Of all the investments of public monies made in the last twenty years, this was the finest, the most lasting,"⁵³ noted Senator Bayh. This comment filled with filled with superlatives was characteristic of those found in any of the hearings. Legislators, educators, and

Between January 31, 1955 and July 1, 1963. Hearings., 1963, op. cit., p. 106.

⁵³William V. Kennedy, "Cold War G.I. Bill," America, CVIII (June 8, 1963), p. 822.

representatives of labor, farm, and veterans organizations all had considerable praise for the previous measures. The benefits had been well-known. Many of the leaders in business, labor, government, and education recalled being assisted themselves by the G.I. Bills.

In 1957 the Soviet Union launched the first space vehicle. The event had a profound reaction on the United States as is reflected in Congressional actions. There was wide concern about this country's ability to compete. In testimony on an extension of the G.I. Bill in 1957 before the United States Senate, Dr. Malcolm M. Willey, Vice-President in Charge of Academic Administration at the University of Minnesota, left a lasting impression on the committee when he related what his conclusion had been after completing an international tour involving 18 countries. ". . . What I saw leaves no doubt that our position in the modern world today is the reflection of and the direct outgrowth of, our technical and scientific superiority, and of our ability to apply our knowledge."⁵⁴ As an educator, Dr. Willey would have encouraged a massive scholarship program for all, but he did see real merit in the proposals for veterans' education.

Let me merely say in passing that whatever the outcome of such proposals, conceived on a broad base, the extension of G.I. benefits as proposed in Senate 667 is a fine step in the right direction, even though it is not fully as comprehensive and inclusive as some might

⁵⁴U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance, Hearings, 1957, op. cit., pp. 220-221.

wish our educational programs to be. But if you cannot help everyone who can profit from help, it is a good thing to help as many as you can, especially when the help also contributes to national well-being and security, and at the same time represents some reward and recognition of past service to one's country.⁵⁵

Dr. Willey would not have long to wait for a more comprehensive fellowship program; the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) passed Congress a year later. And this was directly related to the scientific race with the Soviet Union. Many governmental agencies, such as the Atomic Energy Commission, had been publishing startling figures of the critical shortages in this country of scientific personnel. All this was utilized in defense of a Cold War G.I. Bill.⁵⁶ But there were advantages for the domestic economy as well.

The original G.I. Bill reflected the deep concern of the public over a possible depression; millions of young-able men temporarily in school would indeed help in the transition. There had been the familiar economic concerns before the 1952 act. After the Korean War, there had been predictions about a recession, and these continued. The economic situation could be improved through the extension of the G.I. Bill was the claim of many. An educator in a veterans' program in Philadelphia believed a massive public program

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 222.

⁵⁶U.S. Congress, S. 5, A Bill to Provide Readjustment Assistance to Veterans Who Served in the Armed Forces Between January 31, 1955 and July 1, 1963, Hearings, 1963, op. cit., p. 101.

would help considerably in eliminating unemployment. A survey regarding the unemployed conducted in 1963 indicated the key factor was training. Over one-fourth of the half-million jobless studied were veterans. Of the 228 occupations in which manpower was needed, 197 required people with less than college training but with very definite skills. The Cold War veteran did not have these needed skills.

Nora Levin concluded,

. . . While it is obvious that a training program for several million post-Korean veterans will not solve the national unemployment problem, it is also true that the group grows larger year after year and constitutes a built-in irritant that tends to aggravate recurring unemployment crises.⁵⁷

Hearings on the extension bill were also filled with reference to economic advantages. Train a man and he will contribute. And in the process he will obtain a stake in the society. This was one line of reasoning. Dr. Howard O. Voorhis, Vice President of New York University, indicated the value to the governmental resources to develop a better-trained work force.

'Nobody has ever seriously challenged the benefits attending the educational features of the G.I. legislation. It was one of the most enlightened and constructive measures of national well-being ever instituted. Its cost will have been repaid manyfold in the economic and tax upgrading of its beneficiaries alone. What it has done and continues to do for the

⁵⁷Nora Levin, "Needed: A New G.I. Bill, the Neglected Vets," op. cit., pp. 171-172.

strength of the Nation in terms of a strengthened citizenship is incalculable.⁵⁸

In the course of the hearings, one other significant issue was presented, that of the disadvantaged. Investigations of these veterans not employed indicated certain characteristics. They were usually from poor backgrounds, minority groups, and had not been able to obtain a useable skill while in the military. Of course, the draft system itself came under attack. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas described the Selective Service System as

' . . . class legislation, unfair and inequitable unless we act to equalize the disadvantage suffered by those who serve. . . . We must at least give the young man who fulfills his military obligation some means by which he can catch up with the world that has passed him by.'⁵⁹

This viewpoint has continued to be expressed by legislators.

The proponents, then, felt that an extension would contribute to the general economy: limiting benefits to "hot spot" areas was unjust; since everyone was serving, there was need for readjustment for all. The argument from the military that an extension would mean a loss of career personnel seemed unfounded since retention rates had actually increased. For example, for first-term airmen with four to six years of service, the rate increased from 10.9

⁵⁸U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance, Hearings, 1957, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵⁹Nora Levin, "Needed: A New G.I. Bill, the Neglected Vets," op. cit., p. 173.

per cent to 31.2 per cent, almost three-fold, from 1954 to 1958, despite the eligibility of these men for educational benefits under the Korean G.I. Bill during the period. The proponents thought factors working for a military career should be viewed separately. Furthermore, the military services had programs to continue education at full-pay and allowances; and the G.I. Bill benefits could not compete with such programs. However, the society must consider those who did not want to remain in the military for a career, and to them the G.I. Bill was crucial.⁶⁰

Vietnam Brings Action

Senator Ralph Yarborough had since 1959 tried to enact a readjustment benefits program for veterans whose service had come after January 31, 1955. These included college and vocational benefits, home, business and farm loans, preference in employment, job placement services, and hospital treatment in all VA hospitals provided space was available and there was need. In 1959 the Senate passed a bill (S 1138) outlining these provisions. The House failed to take action. A similar bill was reported in the Senate in 1961 and debated in 1962, but was laid aside. Again in 1963 a bill was reported in the Senate but failed to make progress.⁶¹ The Vietnam Conflict was soon to bring action.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 173.

⁶¹Congressional Quarterly Almanac, XXII, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1966, p. 315.

Beginning in 1965, the United States increased its troop commitments to South-Vietnam tremendously. The fighting escalated, and soon the casualty reports were to increase substantially. Troop levels increased until 550,000 was reached. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution had given the Commander-in-Chief a free hand, all indications were that this country had been committed to South East Asia for an indefinite period. With the increase in draft calls, the question of the G.I. Bill took new urgency. Senator Yarborough's role in trying to formulate legislation had not been overlooked, and the Senator received numerous communications in regard to his stand. Many of these came from the fighting troops in Vietnam. The following one raised some interesting points, which no doubt were to bother Americans and their legislators. With many more thousands destined to South Vietnam, Lieutenant McCasland's request was indeed valid.

Da Nang, Republic of⁶²
Vietnam
March 27, 1963

Senator Ralph Yarborough
U.S. Senate Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator: It is my personal request that any U.S. servicemen involved in combat situations in the Republic of Vietnam be awarded the same G.I. benefits as our predecessors received. Particularly the Marine and Army helicopter pilots and crew members, and Special Forces out in the field. These people are not TAD or on per diem, but merely doing the job for which they

⁶²U.S. Congress, S5 A Bill to Provide Readjustment Assistance to Veterans Who Served in the Armed Forces Between January 31, 1955 and July 1, 1963, Hearings, 1963, op. cit., p. 271.

were trained, as the men did during the last war and police action. It would be impossible for these particular individuals to be any closer to war; even if it was our own war.

It is also requested that any information concerning this subject be forwarded to the below address. Please pass this request on to all Texas Senators and Representatives.

Sincerely,

1st Lt. Louis P. McCasland, Jr.
Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 162,
c/o F.P.O. San Francisco, California

Home Address:

4528 Bobolink, El Paso, Texas

Referring to reasons of individual justice, economic stability, and national security, Senator Yarborough took up the fight again in 1965. The Senate passed by a 67-17 roll-call vote a "Cold War G.I. Bill (S9) providing education and housing benefits. Senator Yarborough had sponsored the bill; he did not meet the White House's request to scale it down. The estimated costs were between \$325 to \$400 million a year. Senate Resolution 9 provided direct grants of \$110-\$160 a month for education and vocational training, loan funds, and loan guarantees for homes, farmlands, livestock, and farm machinery. Those serving more than 180 days between January 31, 1955 (the end of the Korean emergency), and July 1, 1967 (expiration of the Selective Service Act), would be eligible. An estimated 5.5 million veterans would have been covered by the bill. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee held hearings on S 9

and other bills during 1965, but postponed action until 1966.⁶³

The times were ideal for action. The veterans groups now united together to obtain another success in the legislative sphere. By the time the Vietnam situation became a full-scale war, the various groups had all adopted resolutions favoring a Cold War G.I. Bill. Previously, many had been hesitant or favored limiting benefits to combat veterans only. For example, the Veterans of Foreign Wars in 1961 was in agreement on the principle of the Cold War G.I. Bill, especially with the call-up for the Berlin Crisis. The VFW did appear to specify Berlin duty and those eligible for the Campaign Expeditionary Medal and the Purple Heart Award as being favored for any educational benefits.⁶⁴ Some claimed the veterans' groups had really forgotten the Cold War veteran. They were not eligible to membership, for example, in the American Legion and were generally considered unworthy of receiving training benefits.⁶⁵ But with the increase in action in Vietnam, the attitude changed quickly. Support for a new veterans' readjustment program was now

⁶³Congressional Quarterly Almanac, XXII, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1966, p. 315.

⁶⁴U.S. Congress, S. 5 A Bill to Provide Readjustment Assistance to Veterans Who Served in the Armed Forces Between January 31, 1955 and July 1, 1963, Hearings, 1963, op. cit., p. 278.

⁶⁵Nora Levin, "Needed: A New GI Bill, the Neglected Vets," op. cit., p. 172.

endorsed by both veterans' and labor organizations, including the American Legion, the AFL-CIO, the VFW, and the Disabled American Veterans. Educational organizations also sought action.

The House Veterans' Affairs Committee considered the proposal early in 1966. Pressure was on. Several legislators, including Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York, had been touring Vietnam and told the combat forces Congress was apt to pass a G.I. Bill of Rights for them.⁶⁶ On February 3, 1966, the House Committee reported, with minor amendments, a bill (HR 12410) authorizing a new permanent program of education, housing and other readjustment benefits for veterans of military service since January 31, 1955, and education and housing benefits for certain active duty personnel of the armed forces. The House version had been introduced by Representative Olin E. Teague and did differ in several aspects from Senate Resolution 9. It provided for a permanent program instead of one expiring June 30, 1967; it granted one month of education benefits for each month of service, rather than a month-and-a-half of benefits; the rate in the House version was slightly lower. The bills were both comprehensive in nature.⁶⁷

⁶⁶New York Times, January 12, 1966, p. 8.

⁶⁷Congressional Quarterly Almanac, XXII, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1966, p. 315.

Table 1.--Comparison of Public Law 82-550 (Korean Conflict GI Bill of Rights) with H.R. 12410 and S.9

	Law or Resolution		
	PL 550, 82nd Cong., Korean GI Bill	H.R. 12410, Mr. Teague, Jan. 31, 1966	S. 9
Time Limits	June 27, 1950 to Jan. 31, 1955	From Feb. 1, 1955 (permanent)	Feb. 1, 1955 to July 1, 1967
Education Formula	1 1/2 days for each day of service; max. of 36 mos.	month for each month of service, max. of 36 mos.	Same as PL 550
Rate	\$110 \$135 \$160	\$100 \$125 \$150	\$110 \$135 \$160
On-the-Job	Yes	No	Yes
On Farm	Yes	No	Yes
Loan Guar- antee	Yes	Yes	Yes
Medical Care	Yes	Yes	No
Wartime Rates of Compensation	Yes	No	No
Preference in Gov. Employment	Yes	No	No
Job Coun- seling	Yes	No	No

Source: United States Code of Congressional and Administrative News, II, 89th Cong., 2nd sess. (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1966), p. 365.

Public Law 89-358

Prior to the adoption of HR 12410, the committee considered the Administration Bill (HR 11985), which had also been introduced by Mr. Teague. That bill had been opposed by most of the veterans organizations, and the House Republican Policy Committee voiced strong opposition; it was termed inadequate. The Administration Bill provided for greater educational assistance to veterans who had had service in combat zones or "hot spots" such as the Cominican Republic, Berlin, or Vietnam. The bill would have granted hot-spot veterans up to \$130 a month for full-time study; for others, there would be educational opportunity grants of \$800 per academic year for study in post-secondary, undergraduate, graduate, or professional courses. The VA would administer the regular program; however, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would have had control of the educational opportunity grants. This provision continues to indicate the competition between the two agencies in regard to veterans educational benefits. Veterans would not have to show any need for these grants. The grants would be available for two, three, or four years, depending on the veteran's length of active service. Both programs were to terminate with the expiration of the Selective Service Act on June 30, 1967. The administration proposal also required a longer

length of service for eligibility, two years instead of 180 days.⁶⁸

The House on February 7, 1966, by a 381-0 roll-call vote passed HR 12410. There had been some discussion as to the subsidy. Several Republicans said the rates were inadequate because they were lower than the Korean War rates, and since that time, costs had soared. Congressman Teague countered with these observations, "'It is easy to wave the flag and be in favor of \$200 a month and get nothing.'" The veteran Congressman and Chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee said there were a dozen grants he thought veterans would be entitled to, but one had to draw the line on costs at some point. The Senate by a 99-0 roll-call vote on February 10, 1966, concurred with the House amendments. One minor amendment was adopted by the Senate; this was proposed by Senator Yarborough. It would cover veterans who wished to return and finish high school. The House later agreed to the Senate's change. The bill was now ready for Presidential action. On March 3, 1966, President Johnson in the East Room of the White House signed S 9 into law (Public Law 89-358), the first piece of legislation to be signed during the second session of the 89th Congress.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Congressional Quarterly Almanac, XXII, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1966, p. 316.

⁶⁹Ibid.

The actual signing ceremony was utilized by the Chief Executive to reinforce the basic principles of the G.I. Bill. To help demonstrate its importance, many members of Congress, the Cabinet, and various government agencies were present. The President noted 116 members of the House of Representatives, 11 Senators, 12 Governors, 3 Cabinet Officers, 1 Justice of the Supreme Court, 6 astronauts, and 5 of the President's Special Assistants in the White House had utilized educational benefits of G.I. Bill Programs. President Johnson stressed the importance of this legislation as an investment to the nation and as a symbol to the fighting men that the nation supported them.

The educational level of the World War II and Korean war veterans averages about 2 years above the level of nonveterans. This difference exists primarily because of what the GI bills were able to do.

We made the most promising investment that a nation can make, and investment in the talent and the ambition of our citizens. The return on that investment has doubled and has redoubled ever since.

--we are reaffirming President Roosevelt's pledge of 22 years ago. We are saying to the brave Americans who serve us in uniform, in camps and bases, in villages and jungles, that your country is behind you; that we support you; that you serve us in time of danger.

President Johnson had recommended an educational program for soldiers who served only in combat areas; others could be provided opportunity grants through the Higher Education Act. But he decided to sign the measure realizing the investment in education, the millions aided, and the unanimous voice of the Congress.

Because it is for education, I am going to sign this bill, even though it provides hundreds of millions of dollars more than I thought it advisable to recommend or to ask for this year.

This is the first major measure enacted in this session of Congress, and a President just must not ignore the unanimous vote of both Houses of the Congress, the two Texas chairmen, Yarborough and Teague, and some 5 million men who will be the beneficiaries who have worn the uniform.⁷⁰

What were some of the major provisions of Public Law 89-358? The original philosophy of the G.I. prevails; however, additional considerations are noted in the Statement of Purpose. These include armed forces recruitment and the importance of making higher education available to all.

Sec. 1651, Public Law 89-358 Purpose.

The Congress of the United States hereby declares that the education program created by this chapter is for the purpose of (1) enhancing and making more attractive service in the Armed Forces of the United States, (2) extending the benefits of a higher education to qualified and deserving young persons who might not otherwise be able to afford such an education, (3) providing vocational readjustment and restoring lost educational opportunities to those service men and women whose careers have been interrupted or impeded by reason of active duty after January 31, 1955, and (4) aiding such persons in attaining the vocational and educational status which they might normally have aspired to and obtained had they not served their country.⁷¹

The benefits were comprehensive in nature again; in addition to support for education, there were home loans,

⁷⁰Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President. January 1 to June 30, 1966. Book I (Washington, D.C.: The Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 264-265.

⁷¹U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. LXXX, pt. 1 (Jan. 1966-Nov. 1966), Veterans' Educational Assistance Act, March 3, 1966, Ch. 34, Art. 1, pp. 12-13.

free medical care, preference in civil service position, and free counseling. Those eligible must have served at least 180 days after January 31, 1955. They will receive one month of benefits for each one of service up to a maximum of 36 months. This meant that a serviceman would have to serve three years to be entitled to the equivalent of a full college education--four academic years. Benefits applied to high school, vocational school, college, and graduate school training. The actual subsistence took the form of a direct grant per month: \$100 for single veterans in school full-time; with one dependent, \$125; with two or more dependents, \$150.⁷² These allowances were somewhat lower than the Korean Bill rates. One interesting aspect of this piece of legislation was the fact there was no termination date as had been the case with the other two enactments; thus, the present program was permanent in nature. A Presidential Proclamation cannot terminate the program; only a special Congressional act could bring an end to the program.⁷³

The 1966 bill was well-received by the public; it was termed broad in scope and badly needed.⁷⁴ Many looked at the Cold War G.I. Bill as a means of bringing about more

⁷²Ibid., pp. 12-28.

⁷³Personal Interview with Mr. Charles Peckarsky, Chief, Division of Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969.

⁷⁴"Latest Benefits for GI's--Who Will be Helped?" U.S. News and World Report, LX (February 21, 1966), pp. 50-51.

equality since the draft's injustice had been well-known. The magazine America, for example, made this observation.

It will make higher education--not only in colleges and universities, but in a wide range of technical schools--available to a segment of our population that otherwise would not get it. It will also correct an injustice. The draft has fallen most lightly on the young men talented enough or well-to-do enough to go to college and on the very poor, who frequently do not qualify for the military service. It is the vast middle group, including and inordinately high proportion of our Negro population, that has done military service. The great majority of these young people could benefit both themselves and their country by taking more education and acquiring new skills, and it is they who will be helped by the new GI bill.⁷⁵

This reference to social justice will present itself in the discussions concerning current amendments to the present law. Despite the concern for social justice, the permanent nature of the law, and its comprehensive nature, the present G.I. Bill was also unique in one other way. It was termed a Cold War enactment even though it took hostile action in Vietnam to get its passage. This in itself was a major development in G.I. Bill legislation.

⁷⁵"Cold War G.I. Bill," America, CXIV (February 26, 1966), p. 278.

CHAPTER V

COLD WAR G.I. BILL AMENDMENTS:

NEW DIRECTIONS

A review of the three G.I. Bills indicates subsistence rates have not kept pace with the times. The rates of 1966 were lower than those of 1952. The discrepancy has been well-recognized and by early 1967, wide-spread discussion on rate increases had been taking place. There were also suggestions in the form of amendments to meet special societal needs, and in particular those of the disadvantaged. President Johnson took the initiative. In his January 31, 1967, Message to Congress, which was entitled "America's Servicemen and Veterans," the Chief Executive outlined a plan for needed veterans legislation. Administration objectives included increased opportunities for the educationally disadvantaged and an expansion of educational allowances under the G.I. Bill.

Some 20 per cent of those separated from the Armed Forces each year--about 100,000 young men--have not completed high school. Many of these veterans lack the financial means to complete their high school education and move into

college. The Cold War G.I. Bill had made special provision for a returning serviceman who needed to finish high school or take a refresher course before entering college. However, the ex-serviceman had been penalized each month he pursued a high school education or took a refresher course because he lost a month of eligibility for college benefits. To President Johnson this was a definite injustice.

This situation must be changed. I recommend legislation to provide full G.I. Bill payments to educationally disadvantaged veterans so that they can complete high school without losing their eligibility for follow-on college credits.

In the same message the President directed the Secretary of Defense to develop a program to assist the disadvantaged; the program was known as Project One Hundred Thousand. Finally, because of the increases in university and college costs, the President sought an increase in subsistence.

The veteran going to school is usually older and may bear heavier responsibilities. I recommend an increase in the monthly educational assistance allowance under the G.I. Bill from \$100 monthly to \$130 for a veteran.¹

The rate increase was not the main issue. There was quickly developing a new emphasis within the entire veterans' educational program. However, it was the rate increase which initiated such discussion.

¹U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Report No. 130, March 15, 1967, pp. 20-21.

The Rate Increase of 1967

The President had recognized the growing sentiment for a general rate increase. The veterans' organizations had pressured for additional scholarship money for some time. In 1966 in testimony before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, the National Commander of the American Legion, L. Eldon James, illustrated the need for such action.

In the field of educational assistance, we believe this committee should consider again the adequacy of rates provided in the Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966. We know that it is not the intent of this act to completely subsidize the cost of the veteran's education or training.

We are aware that if the veteran has to contribute something from his own resources, his interest in obtaining an education may be greater. Induction into the military service has in so many instances disrupted the veteran's attempt to gain an education, while others not called into service have been permitted to complete their education without interruption.

I think the question of adequacy of rates for education benefits to veterans may be well illustrated by drawing the comparison with those who received training in the war on poverty programs. In the latter, our Federal Government is paying at the rate of \$375 a month, while the monthly educational assistance for veterans under the Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act is \$100 per month for a single man.²

Hearings were held on the Cold War G.I. Bill Amendments by the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, in March, 1967; there was unanimous support for increases. The

²U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, On Legislative Recommendations of Veterans' Organizations. Hearings before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. 89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1966, p. 3376.

Veterans Administration thought the proposed White House increases were satisfactory.³ After the customary compromises, a bill unanimously passed both the House and the Senate in August, 1967.⁴ What were the major provisions of these amendments?

There were several significant items in the 1967 G.I. Bill Amendments. The increased university costs lead to the expectation of a rate increase which came in the bill. The new payments were as follows: For a veteran without dependents, \$130; for a veteran with one dependent, \$155; and, one with two dependents, \$175. There was also to be a \$10 monthly benefit for each dependent in excess of two. Proportionately, smaller rates were provided for those enrolled part-time. In regard to the educationally disadvantaged, who were defined as those without a high school education, the amendments provided full allowances while they completed high school; they were not to lose any of their eligibility for future college benefits. The age limit for orphaned students under the War Orphans Education Assistance Program was extended from 22 to 25. And certain on-the-job, cooperative on-the-farm, and flight training programs were designated as new categories of education for

³U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Cold War G.I. Bill Amendments of 1967, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, p. 28.

⁴Congressional Quarterly, XXIII, 90th Cong., 1st sess., p. 14H.

which veterans could receive assistance. A special provision was adopted for flight training. Those veterans engaged in commercial flight training would be entitled, for up to 36 months, to receive payments amounting to 90 per cent of tuition costs. No payments were available to those seeking private pilot licenses.⁵ One year later more changes were to be approved by Congress.

Changes in 1968

For some time there had been discussion about including widows of veterans and wives of veterans who were totally disabled under educational provisions. The United States Advisory Commission had made such a recommendation in 1968.⁶ Often a widow or a wife of a disabled veteran was unable to return to school and develop a career. Congress passed legislation to implement this recommendation. These women were to receive \$130 a month for full-time schooling up to a maximum of 36 months. This was the first such provision ever incorporated in the G.I. Bill legislation. Another feature of the 1968 amendments was the length of time the veteran would receive benefits. In the Korean Conflict a veteran received one and one-half days of

⁵U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The Cold War G.I. Bill Amendments of 1967, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Calendar No. 280, Report No. 290, May 24, 1967, pp. 2-7.

⁶Report of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission, March 19, 1968, pp. 31-32.

benefits for every day of service; this was not the case with the Cold War G.I. Bill. Some legislators felt this failure was an injustice. An excerpt from the hearing record indicated Senator Yarborough was among them.

Senator Yarborough. Let me ask you, do you think the Korean G.I. bill was too generous in allowing a month and a half of training for each month of service?

Mr. Farmer (Veterans Administration). No, sir; I do not.

Senator Yarborough. All right.

Do you think that these veterans ought to be discriminated against and not treated equally as well as those of the Korean Conflict?

Mr. Farmer. Well, the reason I said--no, sir; because that was a law, and we administer the law as we get it. But I would also submit to you--

Senator Yarborough. Do you think it was unfair in providing for a month and a half of training for each 1 month of service?

Mr. Farmer. Well, sir, I subscribe to the point of view if we can induce a young man to be of more service this country--

Senator Yarborough. In other words, if you can induce him to stay in longer, you ought to deprive his benefits?

Mr. Farmer. I think this is a desirable tactic.

Senator Yarborough. I think that is a horrible position for the Veterans Administration to take. It will deny him the benefits that have gone to 19 million veterans--no, 21 million veterans of World War II and the Korean Conflict if, by that denial, we can force them to stay in longer.⁷

The amendments returned to the Korean G.I. Bill criteria in regard to accrued benefits. Therefore, a two-year draftee could obtain three full years (four academic years) of educational benefits or enough benefits so he could complete a

⁷U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Improving Educational and Training Programs for Veterans and Providing Educational Assistance for Certain Widows, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., Calendar No. 1371, Report No. 1394, July 11, 1968, p. 6.

college education. Both the change in the benefits formula and the extension to widows and wives of disabled veterans were significant.

Concern for Minorities

A major domestic objective in recent years has been to achieve racial harmony. The national government continues to be vitally interested in this area. In this regard, the Negro Vietnam veterans, numbering about 120,000 in 1969, have been a group deserving special note according to many. The Negro veteran back from Vietnam expects a chance; when he does not get it, there is cause for alarm. The Negro veterans, according to recent surveys, are not willing to wait. Spokesmen said they will receive justice or there is a danger that they will obtain it through the use of force.⁸ To meet the needs of the Negro veterans, the government has developed special programs. The Defense Department is very conscious of the dissatisfaction among Negro troops; this department initiated Project Transition designed to provide marketable skills for servicemen soon to be discharged. This is operated in cooperation with various industrial firms in the country. The program operates at

⁸New York Times, July 29, 1969, p. 14; Joseph F. Cannon, Acting Director, Office of Veterans Affairs, The National Urban League, Inc., Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs on S. 338, S. 1998, S. 2361, and H.R. 6808, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, June 25, 1969, pp. 2, 6.

some 238 military bases across the nation and has trained some 14,000 servicemen in a variety of civilian skills.

Project One Hundred Thousand was an earlier program started by the Department of Defense aimed at the disadvantaged. President Johnson in his message to Congress on Selective Service on March 6, 1967, described the project.

In the past, many thousands of men were rejected--and put into deferred categories--who could have performed satisfactorily, sharing the burdens as well as the benefits of service. Most of these were disadvantaged youths with limited educational backgrounds or in some cases, curable physical defects. . . . This will be a continuing program. The Nation can never again afford to deny to men who can effectively serve their Country the obligation--and the right--to share in a basic responsibility of citizenship.⁹

The Department of Defense was not only concerned with combat capability but also the low performance potential of a sizeable proportion of young men because of low educational achievement, undeveloped talent, and despair. The department has begun to emphasize broader aspects of national security,¹⁰ and as a result, has begun to become involved in alleviating some of the many domestic problems of the country.¹¹

⁹U.S. Department of Defense, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs) Booklet. Description of Project One Hundred Thousand, April, 1968, p. 2.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹Robert W. Harvey, Special Assistant, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., Personal letter dated October 22, 1968.

The Department of Labor in 1968 announced a special job training program to aid servicemen who were about to enter civilian life; this would qualify veterans for many types of jobs. The project was to include 350 veterans in some 27 states. It was to cost the national government \$11 million; individual states, \$742,000.¹² Some Congressional leaders believe more must be accomplished to meet the needs of the minority groups. Senator Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.) and Representative Thomas G. Curtis (R Mo.) want to set up a special program matching veterans seeking jobs with openings; travel costs would be paid by the government if relocation would be necessary.¹³

Therefore, many governmental departments are involved in assisting the disadvantaged, and many legislators, especially Senators, see the G.I. Bill as one of the most effective means to aid this group. Some seek to change the G.I. Bill accordingly. Senator Fred R. Harris (D Okla.) has noted the aid minority groups have received from veterans' educational benefits but believes these measures are not sufficient to meet the needs.

. . . there is no question about the tremendous social impact the G.I. Bill of Rights has had on the United States. Thousands of young men have been able to obtain a college education as a result of G.I. benefits. Many of these young men would not have otherwise had the resources required to put themselves through

¹²New York Times, July 29, 1969, p. 14.

¹³New York Times, November 16, 1968, p. 27.

college. A substantial number of these have been members of minority races, thus the G.I. Bill of Rights has undoubtedly contributed a great deal to the education of minorities who because of lack of funds otherwise would not have been allowed the benefit of a college education. This was not the primary intent of the G.I. Bill, nor do I feel that Veterans' legislation alone is sufficient to resolve problems of minorities. It has been of material assistance and I think it has definitely been a beneficial program and has paid dividends to the American people.¹⁴

A Presidential Message

The provisions for use of benefits for high school and refresher courses without reducing entitlements for higher education no doubt can be traced to a concern for minorities and the disadvantaged. Although recent administrations have shown a new approach, pressure continued to mount for further legislative changes. President Johnson emphasized the new approach in a special message to Congress entitled "Our Pride and Our Strength: America's Servicemen and Veterans," on January 30, 1968.

The President urged special attention be given minority veterans. As a result, the Out-Reach Program was to be intensified. At one time veterans contacted the VA about benefits; the Out-Reach Program provides for the VA to make contacts. The VA had already a wide-scale program in effect in Vietnam and in the military hospitals throughout the nation. The President directed the VA to expand these

¹⁴Personal letter from Senator Fred R. Harris, Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., July 22, 1969.

activities and also to increase counseling centers in all military separation points. The concentration was on the urban problems; the veteran from the ghetto who fails to understand the many benefits available to him.

Consider the man who comes home today. His Government has made a vast array of programs available to him. But what effect are the programs if he cannot find them? And in our major cities, where facilities are often scattered across widely-separated areas, this is a serious problem--particularly for those who need the programs the most.

The answer, I believe, lies in an effort we have never tried before for our veterans--the one-stop center. I believe we should locate in one place the offices where a veteran can receive personal attention and counsel on all the benefits the law provides him--from housing to health, from education to employment.¹⁵

The Chief Executive implemented the proposal. U.S. Veterans Assistance Centers were opened immediately in 10 major cities; 10 others were soon to follow. And should the experiences in these areas be successful, more centers were to be initiated. The message from the White House referred to Project Transition within the Department of Defense and encouraged its work. Finally, a Public Service Act was proposed for veterans. This measure would have channeled the talents of the veterans to meet the most urgent needs of rural and urban American, including the teaching of poor children and assisting police departments, fire departments,

¹⁵President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Our Pride and Our Strength: America's Servicemen and Veterans," The President's Message to the Congress on January 30, 1968, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, IV (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Government Documents, 1968), p. 167.

local hospitals, and VISTA ranks working in Youth Opportunity Centers and in Concentrated Employment Programs. Special subsistence benefits would be made available for veterans interested in this area.¹⁶ This proposal never received serious consideration by Congress.

The Presidential Message of January, 1968 placed new emphasis on the disadvantaged. As a result, much consideration was given to social programs, such as Project One Hundred Thousand, Project Transition, and the Veterans Administration's Out-Reach Program. But the message also stimulated wide-spread debate in Congress. The Senate proposed a series of amendments to the G.I. Bill; most were for the disadvantaged. Both the House and the Senate held hearings on another rate increase. The House approved a 27 per cent increase on August 4, 1969; the next day this bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.¹⁷ The Senate approved a 46 per cent increase together with several provisions aimed at the disadvantaged on October 23, 1969.¹⁸ Five months of deadlock between the two legislative bodies followed. There has been disagreement as to the percentage of increase. However, there was more difference as to the role of the G.I. Bill toward the disadvantaged.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁷U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Increased Allowances Under Veterans' Education Laws, H.R. 11959, August 6, 1969, p. 3.

¹⁸Army Times, November 5, 1969, p. 1.

Many observers in Washington, D.C. have noted a distinct difference between the House and Senate in terms of veterans' affairs. The House has its well-established Veterans' Affairs Committee; the Senate has no separate committee for veterans. There are two separate committees in the Senate dealing with veterans: Labor and Public Welfare for educational and medical programs; the Finance Committee for other activities. The Banking and Currency Committee is also involved at times. The Senate's Labor and Welfare Committee does have a Veterans' Subcommittee; and the Finance Committee recently established its own Veterans Subcommittee. The veterans' groups have long sponsored a separate standing committee for veterans in the Senate, claiming it would speed the legislative process. No doubt, it would assist in legislative efforts. But the difference between the two legislative bodies will probably remain although a separate standing committee for veterans is established in the Senate. The current controversy between the two houses has been intense. Perhaps, a major reason for the dispute involves the possibility of a new philosophy for this legislation. House Veterans' Affairs Committee Chairman Olin E. Teague in response to amendments in the Senate declared he was opposed to making a "social and welfare" program out of the G.I. Bill.¹⁹

¹⁹Army Times, October 8, 1969, p. 2.

Two Points of View: Senator Yarborough
and Congressman Teague

The recent controversy between House and Senate involved not only a change in philosophy of the G.I. Bill, but it also revealed inter-agency and inter-legislative branch rivalry. The official position of the Veterans Administration is neutrality; yet, unofficial alignments are to be expected. The role of the White House should also be of interest as well as the other concerned agencies, Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), Labor, and Commerce. Of course, the veterans' groups themselves, having been so instrumental in legislation through the years, must be considered. The heated exchange of words between leaders of the Senate's Labor and Public Welfare Committee and those of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee tell only part of the story. These legislative leaders are part of a larger debate--what should government's role be in regard to such areas as education and medical care.²⁰

Much has been involved in this present debate. Its importance to the entire G.I. Bill program cannot be underestimated. Therefore, note must be taken of some of the many current proposals. Committees have been commissioned to study aspects of the current G.I. Bill as a result of the controversy; and more emphasis is being placed on contacting

²⁰Personal interview with Dr. James Moore, Chief, Division of Financial Aids, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969.

all veterans, stimulating them to utilize their benefits, especially the educational ones. It is here where the debate began. How many were utilizing the G.I. Bill educational benefits?

Senator Ralph Yarborough (D Tex.) in early June, 1969, claimed the Vietnam veteran was not utilizing the G.I. Bill benefits as did his Korean or World War II predecessors. Speaking to the Texas Chapter of the American G.I. Forum in San Angelo, Texas, the Senator in July of the same year noted that 50 per cent of the eligible veterans of World War II used their G.I. Bill, 42 per cent used the Korean Bill entitlement, but only 20 per cent of the eligible veterans of the Cold War G.I. Bill had taken advantage of the benefits.²¹ The Texas lawmaker has been extremely critical of the VA in this connection. Senator Yarborough charged this agency and the Department of Defense with "deliberately holding down" G.I. Bill enrollments observing that "they want to spend money on a war in Southeast Asia worse than they want to educate our young people." In another speech at the College of the Mainland in Texas City, Texas, the Senator stated,

We need to encourage our schools, our junior colleges, to publicize to veterans that the G.I. Bill can help them finance an education. This is especially important when other forms of student assistance are in short supply.²²

²¹Army Times, July 16, 1969, p. 22; News Release from Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, "Yarborough Talks of Nation's Obligation to Veterans," July 19, 1969.

²²Army Times, October 8, 1969, p. 2.

This critical attitude toward the VA was shared by other members of the Senate's Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which Senator Yarborough chairs. And this reservation over VA policies has been reflected in current Senate proposals. Senator Alan Cranston (D Calif.), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, proposed legislation to make it mandatory that the VA contact the disadvantaged veterans in order to encourage them to complete their schooling and to assist them in gaining employment. Senator Cranston called the VA's efforts a "sorry performance" in failing to get more than a small fraction of Vietnam War veterans to take advantage of G.I. educational and job training provisions. Senator Cranston was particularly disturbed about the high school dropouts. About one-quarter of all servicemen discharged each month are high school dropouts. They will number nearly a quarter of a million veterans in fiscal year 1970.

Their participation in G.I. Bill education and training programs has been abysmally low since the cold-war bill was enacted three years ago - 8.8 per cent for Vietnam era veterans and only 6 per cent for all post-Korean veterans. After three comparable years under the World War II G.I. Bill, 17.1 per cent of high school dropout veterans--and there was an even higher proportion of them--had taken education and training under that bill. And after a similar period under the Korean Conflict G.I. Bill, the dropout participation rate was 18.4 per cent.

So we are doing only about one-third as well as World War II and the Korean Conflict, and even then, we did not, in my opinion, do well enough.

The failure of dropout veterans to participate in the G.I. bill is even more alarming today because of the ever-constricting job market for the school dropout. I need not dwell on the very few opportunities for work

open to the dropout and what his street corner alternatives as one of the unemployables then become.²³

Senator Yarborough's charges did reach many; syndicated stories were carried by the nation's press and many radio programs featured the announcements. He met opposition, especially in the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. The position taken by the Texas Senator had received so much publicity that Chairman Olin E. Teague (D Tex.) of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee issued a formal statement.

Recently, there were several news stories and editorials, based on the inaccurate statement of a misinformed critic of the G.I. Bill, that lamented the alleged low numbers of Vietnam era veterans taking training under the bill.

The entire episode was unfortunate, first because there is no factual basis for such criticism. The current bill is a good, workable education measure that is attracting a larger percentage of trainees into higher education than either the World War II or Korean bills.

It was unfortunate because such unfounded, carping criticism serves only to do harm to a program that has proven one of the most successful and most beneficial to the eligible recipients, and to this Government.²⁴

Chairman Teague also included in his two-page statement a detailed account of the many efforts of the VA to inform Vietnam veterans of their benefits. The Chairman of the

²³Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman, Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Opening Statement. Education, Training, and Manpower Hearings, Washington, D.C., August 8, 1969, pp. 1-2. (Copy of Statement sent to author from Senator Cranston's office.)

²⁴U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Statement by Chairman Olin E. Teague on Post-Korean G.I. Bill of Rights, 91st Congress, 1st sess., no date, received personally from Office of Chairman Teague, August, 1969.

House Veterans' Affairs Committee challenged the statistics of the Texas Senator.

The record reveals that the percentage of the total eligible population, 19 per cent, entering all types of training under the current bill in its first two and one-half years is greater than in World War II, 18 per cent, but slightly less than the 23 per cent of the Korean bill in the comparable period.²⁵

The VA had, according to the statement, launched the most widespread program of benefit information in its history. There were forty specially-trained VA employees orienting troops in Vietnam; regular visits were being made to military hospitals; all 30⁴ separation points were covered by personnel from the VA; a special exchange telephone service in 3⁴ major cities to VA Regional Offices had been initiated; cooperative effort with local, state, educational institutions, and veterans groups had been launched. The VA was in no way responsible for poor participation according to Chairman Olin Teague.²⁶

Presidential Involvement

Some claimed President Nixon read an article quoting the figures used by Senator Yarborough and became concerned enough to take administrative action.²⁷ There can be little doubt the controversy started by Senator Yarborough did come

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Personal interview with national government official who wishes not to be quoted directly, August, 1969.

to the attention of the President. This was indicated by President Nixon's statements on June 5, 1969, at San Clemente, California, in connection with the appointment of Donald E. Johnson as Administrator of Veteran Affairs. The Chief Executive appeared to have doubts about existing programs for the returning veterans.

The time has come for a careful re-evaluation of this investment. Just as there is a difference between the kinds of battles fought in Normandy in 1944 and in South Vietnam in 1969, so there is also a difference in the kinds of problems faced by the returning veterans of these battles. Therefore, we must be certain our programs are tailored to meet the needs of today's veterans.

We are proud of the existing programs that now are available to our veterans. What we must do is to seek and find ways in which the efforts of the Veterans Administration and the federal government in general can be improved and made available to the largest possible number of Vietnam veterans.²⁸

To carry out his suggestion, the Chief Executive appointed on June 5, 1969, the President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran. The committee was chaired by the Administrator of Veteran Affairs. Other members included: The Secretary of Defense; the Secretary of Labor; the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity; and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. The President directed the committee to consult with representatives from business, labor, and the veterans organizations as well as with the veterans

²⁸Office Memorandum--United States Government, from Director of Information Service--Public Opinion Digest No. 292, June 1-15, 1969, Don Johnson Named Administrator, p. 3.

themselves. In connection with the formation of this committee, President Nixon directed the Bureau of the Budget to undertake a general study of returning veterans with emphasis upon those coming from disadvantaged backgrounds. The results of this study would be of service to the committee in its efforts to determine what assistance such veterans are getting and what further assistance they may need. The President expected his committee to provide answers to three major questions:

1. How can we help more veterans to benefit from existing programs?
2. How can we design programs to help those veterans who need help the most--the undereducated, ill-trained, hitherto unemployed or underemployed?
3. How can we improve the overall program of veterans benefits so that it meets the specific challenges of our society and the needs of the veterans?²⁹

This was the second year that a Presidential unit on veterans affairs had been appointed. President Johnson had appointed the U.S. Veteran Advisory Commission in 1968, which had recommended an extension of veterans education benefits to widows of deceased servicemen and to wives of those with 100 per cent disabilities. The legislation had been quickly enacted by Congress, and a law providing for these benefits went into effect on December 1, 1968. In regard to the

²⁹Ibid., pp. 3-4.

formation of the new committee, President Nixon said he "was shocked and surprised to find out that the number of veterans applying for G.I. Bill education benefits was much lower than following the Korean War or World War II."³⁰

The President's remarks and actions can be viewed as a response in part to Senator Yarborough's speeches; the strong emphasis on the disadvantaged indicates, perhaps, an influence from the White House Urban Affairs Specialist, Patrick Moynihan. The disadvantaged veteran has been one of the major concerns of the Senate's Labor and Public Welfare Committee. But what about the actual figures on veterans using the G.I. Bill benefits? Of course, statistics can be used in many ways. The White House has actually acted on one set of reports, those of Senator Yarborough. The VA figures tell a different story. According to the VA's figures as of August, 1969, 23.8 per cent of all eligible veterans discharged since 1966 have taken advantage of educational benefits; this is based on a 36-month period. Using the first 36-months of World War II and the Korean War programs for comparison, 23.0 per cent of all eligibles utilized benefits between 1944-1947; and 25.4 per cent, for the period 1952-1955. In the eyes of the VA, these figures are all comparable.³¹

³⁰Army Times, June 18, 1969, p. 22.

³¹Personal interview with Charles J. Peckarsky, Deputy Chief, Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969.

Table 2.--Comparison of training participation rates for the three G.I. bills

Program	Number Eligible	Number of Trainees	Percentage of Trainees
World War II (1944-1956)	15,614,000	7,800,000	49.9
Korean Conflict (1952-1965)	5,708,000	2,391,000	41.8
Vietnam Era (1966-June 30, 1969)	<u>6,303,000</u>	<u>1,320,527</u>	20.9*
Total	27,625,000	11,511,527	41.6

*It should be noted that eligibility under the Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 continues for eight years after separation from service. Therefore, many more participants can be expected. Comparing participant rates for the initial 2 1/2 years of each program indicates present participation is high. The rates for the first 2 1/2 years of the programs follow: World War II, 46.5 per cent; Korean Conflict, 49.3 per cent; and Vietnam Era, 64.6 per cent.

Source: U.S. Veterans Administration Information Service. Pamphlet. G.I. Bill of Rights, 25th Anniversary, 1944-1969. (Washington, D.C.: Veterans Administration Main Office, 1969), pp. 6-10; Personal letter from Edwin Williams, Assistant Director, U.S. Veterans Administration Information Service, Main Office, Washington, D.C., dated January 26, 1970.

What about negligence on the part of the VA? It is true the Veterans Administration did not make a special effort to recruit persons for educational benefits until recently; President Johnson's January 30, 1968, message to Congress, and corresponding Executive Orders, set into motion a new philosophy. The VA has been greatly expanding its Outreach Program ever since. This program emphasizes contact with the disadvantaged veteran in particular. For details on some of these program aspects, refer to Appendix I, DVB Outreach Programs.

The VA has sought the prospective veteran in Vietnam, prior to separation in the United States, in the military hospital, and also in the ghettos. The 71 U.S. Veterans Assistance Centers in major cities have concentrated on the disadvantaged. The Department of Defense now sends the Veterans Administration a copy of discharge papers (DD Form 214). This results in computer-generated letters being sent to all honorably-discharged veterans. Self-addressed post cards accompany all letters. Some 900,000 have already been sent. As of February 1, 1968, all veterans without a high school education received also a personal contact through an assistance center or regional office.

The VA has had the full cooperation of the news media. Weekly announcements of the educational programs available to the veteran are presented over 3500 radio stations, 650 television stations, are found in 2,000 daily and weekly

newspapers, in 250 Negro papers, and in 1,000 college publications. Public entertaining stars have given time to the massive campaign; unions have tried to spread the word. The Veterans Administration has been receiving about 60,000 phone calls a month on benefits; over two million letters a year, in regard to benefits. A special Chaplain Service, manned by some 800 clergymen, has also been of assistance. In short, the VA has conducted the largest campaign in its history in connection with the Cold War G.I. Bill.³²

What about the response to this massive effort? The VA has been able to personally contact two-thirds of the disadvantaged; one-third of those contacted have filed claims. Realizing many of these persons are the hard-to-reach, the program has been successful. Furthermore, it must also be recognized that the job market has competed with educational benefits. The use of benefits has always been related to the employment situation. There was an unprecedented boom in the 1960s; veterans have had many opportunities for employment upon leaving the active military. Thus, a successful VA program cannot be viewed as one in which all veterans return to school. Some do not wish to go on to school; they find immediate employment. As one VA

³²Personal interview with Edward K. Nellor, Director of Information Service, Main Office, Veterans Administration; and Charles J. Peckarsky, Deputy Chief, Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969.

representative mentioned, "The bill cannot do all things for all people."³³

In regard to participation, many veterans require a period of several months at least for adjustment. They look around. They want to enjoy being reunited with friends and family before setting on a particular course. It often takes several months, even years, before they can see value in further education. This has been a common characteristic of all veterans.³⁴ Officials in the VA also consider the health of the economy may result in some veterans being slow to use benefits or never using them. Some have pushed too hard to have them use their benefits promptly. Rather than too little publicity and contact, some believe there might be too much. This can have a negative effect just as well as limited publicity. Veterans can become blasé and pay too little attention to opportunities available.³⁵

An End to Duplication Prohibitions

A second rate increase to the Cold War G.I. Bill has received considerable attention from Congress. In fact, the increase has received so much attention that other provisions

³³Personal interview with Charles J. Peckarsky, August 19, 1969, op. cit.

³⁴Robert J. Havighurst, et al., The American Veteran Back Home, A Study of Veteran Readjustment, op. cit., p. 143.

³⁵Personal interview with Edward K. Nellor, August 19, 1969, op. cit.

of the recently-passed amendment have almost been overlooked. One example of this neglect is the elimination of most duplication prohibitions. There are now only two duplication prohibitions for veterans' educational benefits: (1) An eligible person who is on active military duty and is pursuing a course of education paid for by the Armed Forces (or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in the case of the Public Health Service), and (2) an individual who is attending a course of education or training paid for under the Government Employees' Training Act and whose full salary is being paid to him while in training. Thus, a veteran is no longer deprived of a National Defense Education Act Fellowship, for example; he may now obtain both the fellowship and his veterans educational benefits. The idea behind the new orientation is that with such an array of national government grants the prohibitions have been working against veterans.³⁶

The 1970 Rate Increase

The House hearings in June, 1969 noted in detail the rising costs of higher education as support for a rate increase. And the Veterans Affairs Administrator, Donald E. Johnson, in his official communication to the House Committee

³⁶U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Veterans' Educational Amendments of 1969, H. R. 6808, Information Sheet, May 9, 1969, and Increased Allowances Under Veterans' Education Laws, H. R. 11959, August 6, 1969.

on Veterans' Affairs, dated June 23, 1969, appealed to the committee to wait for the President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran Report.

This administration is concerned about aiding returning servicemen in readjusting to civilian life and in seeing that they receive educational and training opportunities to facilitate that readjustment. Certainly, present benefit rates will receive priority in the study to be conducted by the President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran. Accordingly, I recommend that your committee defer consideration of these pending bills until the President's Committee has had an opportunity to make its study and submit its recommendations.³⁷

Congress failed to wait for the Presidential Committee findings.

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare held hearings in June, 1969 on the rate increase; their version involved a generous 46 per cent. The Senate also sought to have the increase retroactive to September 1st. The House wanted a 27 per cent increase to be effective upon enactment.³⁸ The Senate delayed early action because of numerous proposals directed at the disadvantaged. Veterans and educational groups were hopeful the increase would be passed in August, 1969 so it would have been effective for the new school year. The delay can be attributed to several factors. One was a different philosophy apparent in the Senate from

³⁷U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Bills to Increase Veterans Educational Assistance Allowances, 91st Cong., 1st sess., June, 1969, p. 1800; Report of the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission, March 19, 1968, p. 29.

³⁸Army Times, October 8, 1969, p. 2.

the one present in the House. There also seemed to be personality conflicts. However, whatever had been the causes for the delay, veterans' organizations and others interested in the veterans' situation became rather frustrated. The Army Times of October 1, 1969, in its editorial entitled "G.I. Bill Delay" indicated such was the case.

Sen Ralph Yarborough (D., Texas) Chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee which has jurisdiction over G.I. Bill Legislation, seems to be placing the blame at the wrong door for delay in advancing that program.

And while he's doing so, the more than 635,000 G.I. Bill beneficiaries who had planned on a raise in educational allowances this fall aren't likely to get one now until next semester--thanks to foot-dragging by the Senate committee.

The fault can be found closer to the old homestead.

Some of the blame for delay in raising G.I. Bill allowances rests with Sen Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), Chairman of the Labor Committee's subcommittee on veterans affairs.³⁹

The editorial also questioned Senator Yarborough's statistics, and had praise for the VA's Outreach Program. But the emphasis was on getting action.

But unless Congress approves an increase in allowances, and soon, all of these efforts will be to small avail. Now is the time for action on a G.I. Bill rate increase.⁴⁰

Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, responded to the charge of inaction. His subcommittee unanimously approved eight bills related to the G.I. Bill on October 2, 1969; the Senate's Labor and

³⁹Army Times, October 1, 1969, p. 12.

⁴⁰Ibid.

Public Welfare Committee unanimously endorsed the comprehensive G.I. Bill package one week later. The bills included: A 46 per cent increase in rates; predischARGE educational programs; extension of allowances for elementary schooling; allowance for courses correcting academic deficiencies; granting special assistance for the disadvantaged; initiation of public-service oriented programs; lowering of minimum hour requirements; and expansion of VA Outreach services. Senator Cranston viewed the package as a major step forward.

The Senate action represents the most comprehensive approach to the G.I. Bill since it was originally enacted. First, it calls for a far larger and more realistic increase in G.I. bill education rates--46 per cent--than the House bill--27 per cent. Moreover, it proposes a new comprehensive education and training program, with an estimated first year cost of almost 150 million dollars.⁴¹

Despite the differences between the Senate and House versions of H.R. 11959, the bill to increase veterans' education training allowances, experienced observers on Capitol Hill have always predicted an increase.⁴² President Nixon indicated in October, 1969, the Senate version, which called for a 46 per cent increase, was excessive and he would veto it because of consideration of inflation. The President in a letter to Senator Yarborough claimed the Administration

⁴¹Army Times, October 22, 1969, p. 22.

⁴²Personal letter from Oliver E. Meadows, Staff Director, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., dated December 11, 1969.

would veto any increase above 13 per cent.⁴³ Inside sources in the Administration have stated the Chief Executive would probably approve an increase up to 25 per cent. The House in December sought a compromise raising benefits by 32 per cent, but the Senate rejected the House proposal. The measure under study also included the provision which would permit veterans drawing the G.I. Bill aid to obtain educational assistance from other governmental sources. In addition, one part of the bill permitted veterans to attend elementary school and draw full G.I. Bill allowances without it counting against basic entitlements. The House continued to be lukewarm to several other Senate proposals, including expansion of the VA's Outreach Program at an annual cost of \$20.5 million, a pre-discharge educational program at an annual cost of \$22 million, and special assistance programs for educationally disadvantaged veterans at a cost of \$15 million a year.⁴⁴

After five months of discussion between conferees of the veterans committees of the House and Senate, which also involved the threat of a Presidential veto, a 34.6 per cent rate increase retroactive to February 1, 1970, was approved by the Congressional Conference on March 17, 1970. Despite his previous statement about vetoing any increase above 13

⁴³Personal letter from Edwin Williams, Assistant Director, Veterans Administration, Information Service, Washington, D.C., dated November 3, 1969.

⁴⁴Army Times, December 31, 1969, pp. 1, 29.

Table 3.--Proposals for educational increases to the cold war G.I. Bill

Category	Rates as of 1967	House (27%) Version	Senate (46%) Version	House (32%) Compromise Suggestion	Final Conference Recommendation (34.6%)
Single Person	\$130	\$165	\$190	\$170	\$175
Married, One Dependent	\$155	\$197	\$218	\$200	\$205
Married, Two Dependents	\$175	\$222	\$240	\$225	\$230
Additional Monthly Per Child to Veteran With More than Two Dependents	\$10	\$13	\$15	\$13	\$13

Source: Army Times, November 19, 1969, p. 3; December 31, 1969, pp. 2, 29; The Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma), March 18, 1970, p. 10.

per cent, President Nixon signed the measure into law. This is the second rate increase for Cold War G.I. Bill veterans.⁴⁵

The rate delay is part of something bigger--a change in attitudes between the two major legislative bodies in Congress. The Senate has generally been more liberal and thus not concerned about moving away from the original intent of the G.I. Bill. This liberal orientation was evident during the discussions on the Cold War G.I. Bill; some Senators even proposed at that time a bank loan and cancellation program provided veterans would enter certain professions. The House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, although the initiator of most enactments for veterans, has remained conservative. The original purpose of the G.I. Bill should remain unchanged. It should assist ex-servicemen because of the interruption active service contributed to their careers. These are the views of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

The Veterans Administration, although officially neutral in the debate between House and Senate, has a better relationship with the House committee. The VA generally believes the House will listen to the agency while the Senate will move ahead ignoring information from the VA. Perhaps, the present controversy over the statistics on the Cold War Veterans is a classic example of what the VA has in mind.

⁴⁵The Daily Oklahoman, March 18, 1970, p. 10; Army Times, April 1, 1970, p. 20.

The veterans' organizations also have a close working relationship with the House due, no doubt, to the traditional role of this key committee.⁴⁶

Another aspect may be the fact the existence of a separate veterans committee allows for the development of expertise to a greater extent. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, one of the three committees dealing with veterans, cannot be expected to be experts because this major committee deals with nineteen areas, nine of which concern labor.⁴⁷ Not only does the House possess a standing committee on veteran activities, but that particular committee is headed by a very influential congressman. His staff has been able to contribute significantly to any questions concerning veterans. One researcher claimed this has resulted in the House committee having a special influence in legislation, the Senate having to reply on the House committee's expertise, and all of this resulting in some natural rivalry.⁴⁸

There is a unique relationship in Washington, D.C. in regard to the legislative positions of those concerned

⁴⁶Personal interview with Dr. James Moore, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969.

⁴⁷Stephen K. Bailey and Howard D. Samuel, Congress at Work (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 81.

⁴⁸William H. Harader, The Committee on Veterans' Affairs: A Study of the Legislative Process and Milieu as They Pertain to Veterans Legislation. Unpublished dissertation. The Johns Hopkins University, 1968, pp. 85, 93, 156.

with the veterans. The House Committee on Veterans' Affairs is conservatively-oriented. This well-established and well-respected group headed by Chairman Olin E. Teague has considerable experience and often dominates the scene. On the other side of Capitol Hill is the more liberal-oriented Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, chaired by Senator Ralph Yarborough, who is also greatly experienced in these matters. Then, there is the Veterans Administration, which usually sides with the House committee. The VA often tries to slow down action on the Hill (sometimes in vain) until adequate studies have been concluded. The White House is another ingredient in the legislative mix. The advice of some advisers such as Patrick Moynihan gives a liberal orientation while that of the Bureau of the Budget provides a conservative view to the President's veterans policy. And, of course, there are the various veterans' organizations, the most significant private initiators of legislation for ex-servicemen. They tend to be closer to the House. And they have a very close tie with the VA. Thus, there are several conservative and liberal currents in the legislative stream of veterans' affairs. Other governmental agencies also have influences. To appreciate the direction of the liberal group, it is important to review a few of the recent proposals in the Senate.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Personal interviews with Edwin Williams, Assistant Director, Information Service; Edward K. Nellor, Director,

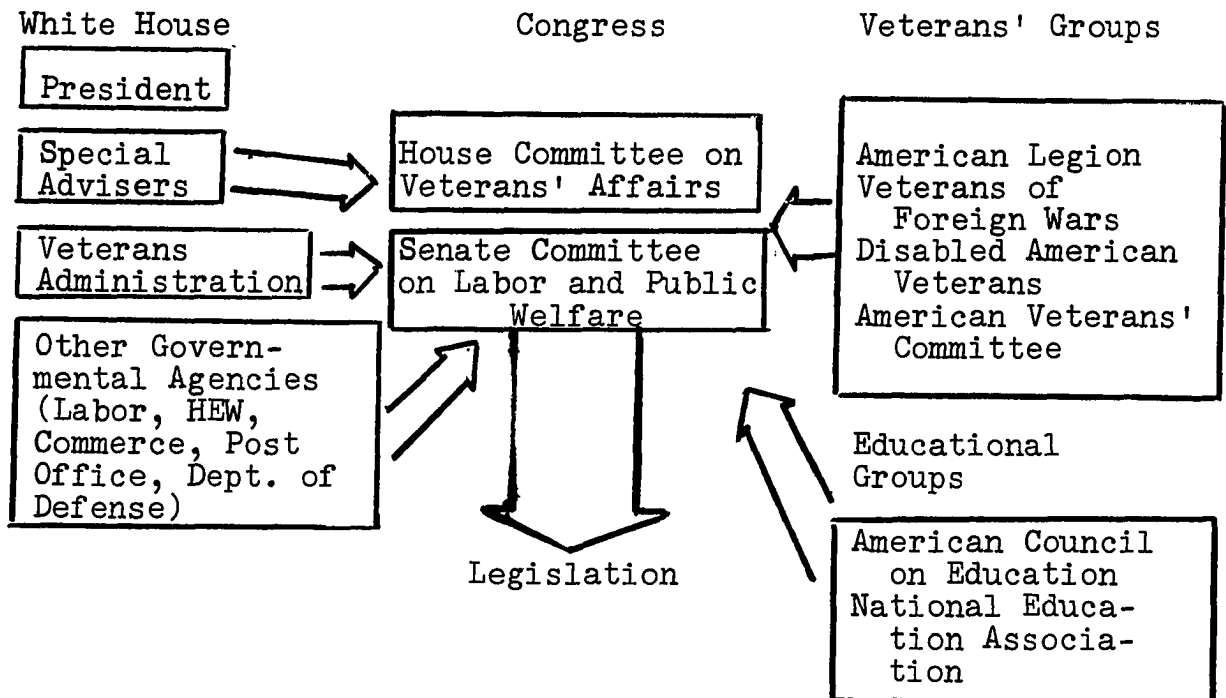


Fig. 4.--Groups contributing to veterans' legislation.

The Senate's Proposals

The Vietnam War has been termed "the Poor Man's War" and with such implications, even greater stress has been placed on the disadvantaged in G.I. Bill legislative debates. The large number of Negro servicemen as well as other minority groups indicates the reason for concern about the returning disadvantaged veterans. Their role in American society will be critical. Marshall C. Miller, Assistant Chief of the Labor Department's Veterans Employment Service, observed:

If given the opportunity, the Young Negro veterans who are now starting to come back from Vietnam will be

Information Service; Charles Peckarsky, Deputy Chief, Benefits; James Taaffee, Financial Aids--Higher Education Bureau; and Ed Silberman, Comptroller, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969.

a major constructive influence in the Negro community, at a time when such an influence is badly needed.

They are returning from this war with experience in leadership, and with attitudes and skills that are most lacking in the 'ghettos' from which many of them came.

More important, they can speak the language of those 'ghettos' and can communicate with the people who live there.⁵⁰

The Negro veterans are generally better-educated than most male Negroes. They have learned some skills in the military service, and they feel some degree of accomplishment. This group could very well provide a considerable amount of leadership back home. Extremist racial groups are aiming campaigns at the returning Negro veteran. However, they are now receiving competition from the government and veterans' groups. Federal employment offices have started to contact Negro veterans as they leave the active service; the Department of Defense's Project Transition, aimed primarily at Negroes, tries to prepare the Negro for employment; both the VA and the Labor Department are involved in massive programs. And the American Legion, as well as other veterans organizations, have special rehabilitation programs to help minority groups. These programs assist veterans in getting civilian jobs, filing for benefits, and in coping with any discrimination. The emphasis on the Negro veteran has apparently been successful since about 53 percent of this group is returning to school as compared with 45 per cent of the

⁵⁰"As Negro Veterans Come Home--Stabilizing Force?" U.S. News and World Report, LXIV (February 5, 1968), p. 52.

whites.⁵¹ This effort, then, to assist the disadvantaged veteran has also received the attention of Congress, and in particular, the Senate's Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The new philosophy for the G.I. Bill was expressed well by Senator Edward M. Kennedy of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

If we follow through with full veterans programs, including 'Educational Services for Veterans', we can ensure that returning servicemen will not revert to unproductive lives in ghettos or other areas. Rather, veterans whose horizons and aspirations have been broadened in the service can continue to contribute to our national welfare as constructive, well-educated citizens.

We have an obligation both to the men as individuals and to society as a whole to give them the chance.⁵²

In other words, the G.I. Bill is to be utilized as an instrument for obtaining social justice. This has been one of the main points advocated by the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senator Alan Cranston.⁵³ Several Senate proposed amendments to the Cold War G.I. Bill reflect the liberal tendency of the Senate.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Senator Edward M. Kennedy, State for the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs on Veterans Education Bills, United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Washington, D.C., June 25, 1969, p. 6.

⁵³Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Washington, D.C., Letter dated August 6, 1969, p. 2.

There have been many proposals in the Senate to alter the Cold War G.I. Bill. A few of them will be noted. Senate Bill 2668, introduced on July 18, 1969, by Senator Cranston (D Calif.) and also for Senators Kennedy (D Mass.), Randolph (D W. Va.), Schweiker (R Pa.), and Yarborough (D Tex.), provides for a range of supplementary and preparatory programs and services for veterans incident to their full utilization of the G.I. Bill education and training benefits. It is often called the "Prep" Bill because its major feature is to provide for a pre-discharge education program. The program would be aimed at motivating the servicemen to make full use of education and training under the G.I. Bill and prepare him for it during the last year of his active duty. The VA would pay the basic costs of education or training on or near the base. In addition to education and training, there would be guidance counselling and placement assistance. The program would be designed in particular for the high school dropout. There would be an adjunct of the Department of Defense Transition Program, which now only reaches fifteen per cent of those who could usefully participate in pre-discharge training, and among those it does reach, only about six per cent are the most disadvantaged "pre-veterans." In the post-discharge period, there would be a method of financing college preparatory work in other than a secondary school setting. This is to offer the most useful and individually flexible program to academically deficient veterans

who wish to qualify for higher education. They would be entitled to regular educational assistance allowances for their preparatory work without charge against their entitlement time for regular G.I. Bill benefits. Direct payments would go to the educational institutions for refresher courses, counselling, tutorial, remedial, or other special supplementary assistance.⁵⁴

The all-out effort to reach the educationally disadvantaged veteran would be culminated by the VA's "Out-reach" services program as provided for in S. 2700, introduced by Senator Cranston. The bill developed because of a need to have more definite statutory basis for outreach activities of the Veterans Administration. The bill stresses the importance of locating assistance centers in order to serve the greatest number of educationally-disadvantaged veterans while at the same time providing adequate outreach service for geographically isolated areas. It places priority on locating centers in neighborhoods rather than downtown business districts. The Administrator of the Veterans Administration is charged with the responsibility for actively recruiting recently returned veterans of the Vietnam era to act in contact capacities at assistance centers. The bill

⁵⁴U.S. Congress, Senate, S. 2668 to Amend-Chapter 34 of Title 38 United States Code To Provide Additional Education and Training Assistance to Veterans and To Provide for a PredischARGE Education Program., 91st Cong., 1st sess., July 18, 1969; and Opening Statement by Senator Alan Cranston at Education, Training, and Manpower Hearings, August 8, 1969, pp. 2-3.

also directs the VA to develop a large-scale program to reach and motivate the educationally disadvantaged by cooperation with those other departments and agencies in government which have developed expertise in dealing with such people.⁵⁵

Other bills introduced to change the format of the Cold War G.I. Bill include: S. 2506, by Senator Cranston (D Calif.), altering the present fourteen semester hour minimum requirement for payment of a full-time educational assistance allowance; Senator Javits's (R N.Y.) S. 1088 dealing with relocation assistance for veterans seeking employment in other than their home communities;⁵⁶ and S. 2036, proposed by Senator Dominick (R Colo.), which would provide educational assistance to veterans attending elementary school without curtailing their entitlements for college work.⁵⁷

These are some of the proposals from the Senate that would change the general philosophy of the G.I. Bill. In addition to these bills, the individual Senators have made other informal suggestions. Senator Cranston has urged President Nixon to have his Vietnam Veteran Committee altered

⁵⁵Congressional Record, July 24, 1969, p. S8522.

⁵⁶Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman, Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Opening Statement at Education, Training, and Manpower Hearings, August 8, 1969, p. 4.

⁵⁷Congressional Record, May 1, 1969, p. S4480.

so not to focus on one particular veteran. Furthermore, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs recommended the President's Committee study a plan whereby the Veterans Administration would directly pay tuition and fees to the schools.⁵⁸ After all the problems encountered with this scheme in the administration of the first G.I. Bill, it is doubtful whether this would be seriously considered.⁵⁹

What has been the reaction to these proposals? There has been some support. Mr. Joseph F. Cannon, Acting Director, Office of Veterans' Affairs, the National Urban League, Inc., in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs in June, 1969 noted a real danger should many black veterans be enlisted into the army of the militants; this will be possible should the Negro veterans become disillusioned and frustrated in their attempts to find meaningful employment, housing, and educational opportunities. About the proposed bills in particular, Acting Director Cannon said,

The National Urban League wholeheartedly supports the four bills before this Subcommittee related to veterans affairs. In some cases, however, we feel the legislation could be expanded. We especially welcome S. 2361 (Proposed by Senator Kennedy and covers special assistance to deprived veterans so they can compete in university work, actually incorporated in S. Bill 2668)

⁵⁸Senator Alan Cranston, Office Press Release, Washington, D.C., June, 30, 1969, p. 1.

⁵⁹Congressman Olin E. Teague, Chairman, Veterans' Affairs Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., Personal Letter dated February 19, 1968.

which is more closely related to our own efforts. The average GI returning to civilian life has a difficult time adjusting, but for the black GI the cards are frequently overwhelmingly stacked against him because of a long history of deprivation. Too many young black citizens are entering the services untrained and frequently lacking the necessary schooling to meet the requirements of industry today. The time spent in the service, which may benefit some, in too many cases blocks any opportunity to develop the skills necessary to compete in the open market for jobs. Their lack of education makes it practically impossible to go on to any course of higher learning and earnings.⁶⁰

Supporting the bill to assist the disadvantaged veterans before entry into a university was Donald W. White, Director of the Veterans Accelerated Urban Learning for Teaching (VAULT) Project at Webster College, St. Louis, Missouri. This program, supported by the Danforth Foundation in the spring of 1968, tries to prepare disadvantaged youths for college in hopes of interesting them in a career of teaching, especially in core areas. Director White encouraged legislation aimed at providing remedial, tutorial, personal and academic counselling, and other academic supportive services for veterans who desire to further or improve their education. Director White was quite critical of the current priorities.

. . . I would like to say that as a nation we would be displaying a gargantuan insensitivity if we fail to allocate adequate resources for veterans education programs, thus consigning them to the slag heap of

⁶⁰Joseph F. Cannon, Acting Director, Office of Veterans' Affairs, the National Urban League, Inc., Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs on S. 338, S. 1998, S. 2361, and H.R. 6808, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, June 25, 1969, pp. 2, 6.

despair and frustration while we continue to pump astronomical sums of money and effort into excursions to the moon, the development of questionable defense systems and over-production of war weaponry which continues to swell the coffers of some benefitting industrialists.⁶¹

The President's Committee
on the Vietnam Veteran

Previously, it was noted that President Nixon appointed a special committee in June, 1969 to study the Vietnam veteran and also directed the Bureau of the Budget to conduct a survey of veterans. Both projects had the disadvantaged veteran in mind in particular. The President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran issued an Interim Report on October 21, 1969, shortly before the Senate's approval of a 46 per cent increase in veterans educational benefits and the President's threat of a veto. The committee recognized the rising cost of living and urged an immediate increase in educational subsistence rates. Ten other recommendations were included in the report, many of which were directed at the disadvantaged.⁶² Refer to Appendix III for this report. The Bureau of the Budget's survey terminated, but the official findings have not been released.

⁶¹Donald W. White, Director, VAULT Program, Webster College, St. Louis, Missouri; Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, June 25, 1969, pp. 1, 5, 6.

⁶²Office of the White House Secretary, President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran Interim Report. Washington, D.C.: The White House, October 21, 1969.

The Veterans Administration's
Cherished Position

The major veterans' groups have generally supported efforts to assist the disadvantaged so long as this does not permit other governmental agencies to encroach on the VA's sphere of activity. In regard to S. 2361, the proposal granting institutions special funds to be used to assist veterans with academic deficiencies, the American Legion did not support it because of provisions which gave the Commissioner of Education joint administrative control. The Legion strongly advocates giving the VA sole responsibility for veterans' affairs.

For many years, the American Legion has resisted those legislative and executive measures which would cause the Veterans Administration to share with other Federal agencies the responsibility of administering veterans benefits and services.

As we view the readjustment problems of veterans, we see no need, at this time, for the purpose of this legislation. Under the broad experience attained by the Veterans Administration in administering the provisions of the original G.I. Bill, the Korean G.I. Bill, and the current provisions of chapter 31, 34, and 35 of title 38, United States Code, we believe that the purpose of S. 2361, if enacted, would work a disservice to veterans.⁶³

It is interesting to note the Interim Report of the President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran called for cooperation between the VA, the Office of Education, and the Office

⁶³E. H. Golembiewski, Legislative Representative, American Legion, Statement before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Washington, D.C., June 26, 1969, p. 5.

of Economic Opportunity in regard to the disadvantaged veteran.⁶⁴

The American Legion supported the passage of S. 2668, which would provide a pre-discharge education program. This bill would enrich the educational benefits available to not only veterans, but also to those on active duty with the armed forces.

The purpose of these amendments appears to be the motivation of the educationally disadvantaged to pursue a program of education or training, remedial and other forms of assistance to overcome a deficiency in education or training of a veteran enrolled in and pursuing a course of education or training at an educational institution . . .⁶⁵

The largest veterans organization also gave support to S. 2700. B. A. Nolan, Assistant Director of the National Rehabilitation Commission, the American Legion, stated before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs:

We support the purpose of S. 2700--to provide statutory authority for these Centers, to define their mission, specify the service to be given, and to direct their coordination with other agencies. We suggest that such Centers be established in each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Although the definition of these Centers stresses the current veterans needs, we hope that this mission does not overlook the needs of the older veterans and their dependents and survivors.⁶⁶

⁶⁴President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran Interim Report, op. cit., p. 3.

⁶⁵B. A. Nolan, Assistant Director, National Rehabilitation Commission, the American Legion, Statement before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate, August 12, 1969, p. 4.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 7.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars supported the rate increase for the Cold War G.I. Bill; however, in regard to many of the special amendments, such as the PREP Bill (S. 2668), the VFW did not take any official stand. The VFW thought the rate increase should come first as well as the increase in staff for the VA regional offices. This organization expressed, as did the Legion, a dim view of any sharing of responsibility among governmental agencies in regard to veterans affairs. The VA should be the sole agency involved. Francis W. Stover, Director, the National Legislative Service, VFW, in testimony before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, emphasized that there is a higher percentage of disadvantaged veterans in non-metropolitan areas. This being the case, an argument could be made for special assistance centers in non-metropolitan areas. The organization took a dim view of special consideration for the disadvantaged veterans.

It seems, therefore, that one of the major questions to be resolved by this Subcommittee and the Congress is how much assistance should be provided to reach these veterans upon their return to civil life and apprise them of their rights. In addition, should the Congress provide more assistance to one group of veterans who are defined as 'disadvantaged' (that is, not having a high school education) than to another group which is not?

For the Veterans of Foreign Wars, it has always been its contention that all veterans should be treated alike and should be given the same assistance, based on their length and type of service in the Armed Forces. We have never advocated that distinctions be made among veterans because of their social or economic status. We have always advocated that readjustment benefits

should be comparable or equal to veterans of the present war, as were provided veterans of previous wars.⁶⁷

One veterans organization, the American Veterans Committee (AVC), with its tradition of liberal support, endorsed all the proposed legislation originating in the Senate. The AVC noted a double problem for today's veteran: (1) Financial assistance has been too low so that a veteran without additional financial resources, cannot afford to go to college, or if he is determined to go, does not have a free choice of schools, and (2) the educational deficiencies of a large group of veterans prevents them from using these benefits; their socio-economic background has hindered them in successfully pursuing a higher education program. How can these be corrected according to the AVC? There should be a generous increase in the subsidies to start to correct the situation. In addition, the AVC recommends the Congress again study the direct tuition grant system to the schools in order that there might be more freedom of choice. As to the second point, the veterans organization endorsed the PREP Proposal. Special guidance as in the Department of Defense's Project Transition is excellent, but the committee believes a more extensive effort is needed. To the AVC, special emphasis must be given to disadvantaged veterans.

⁶⁷Francis W. Stover, Director, National Legislative Service, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Statement before the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Senate, With Respect to Veterans Education, Training, and Manpower Bills, August 12, 1969, p. 7.

. . . President Nixon's appointment on June 5 of the 'President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran' reinforces our concern that disadvantaged veterans are not being helped by the G.I. Bill. We applaud the recognition of this problem shown by the President and look forward to the study to be made by the Bureau of the Budget of returning veterans 'with emphasis upon these coming from disadvantaged backgrounds.'⁶⁸

There have been many questions raised in the recent legislative debates on the Cold War G.I. Bill Amendments. And most of these involved many aspects. The important issue of participation is a good example. Enrollment in veterans' educational programs is directly related to the economic condition of the nation. The experience with the original G.I. Bill indicated this.⁶⁹ Another factor in participation is the amount of scholarship aid. Some Congressional leaders claim low rates discourage the use of the G.I. Bill.⁷⁰ Since some GIs will always directly enter the work force, a 100 per cent participation is unrealistic. But there can be justified concern about the use of the general educational benefits. And some signs point to increased participation.

⁶⁸Dr. Paul Cooke, Former National Chairman of the American Veterans Committee on Behalf of the American Veterans Committee (AVC), Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs on Legislation to Increase Veterans Educational Allowances and Provide Special Educational Services to Veterans, June 25, 1969, pp. 3, 6-8.

⁶⁹"Jobless GI's Paid to Study: Cost of Aid Turns Up Again," U.S. News and World Report, XXVII (August 12, 1949), p. 14.

⁷⁰Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., The American Soldier, Combat and Its Aftermath, II (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 640-641.

During the 1969-70 academic year, some 70,000 more veterans registered for educational benefits than in the previous year.⁷¹

During the administration of the first G.I. Bill, some schools gave special assistance to veterans with academic deficiencies. But these schools were the exceptions. The present emphasis on the disadvantaged represents an entirely new orientation. And because of this, other departments, such as HEW, Commerce, and Labor, will certainly become involved. And in this process, the VA may well be challenged as the sole administrator of veterans benefits. No doubt, the veterans groups will continue to fight for the pre-eminence of the VA. The House believes these amendments for the disadvantaged represent "ghetto politics" and that there has been a "cult" in recent years to try to associate with the disadvantage. To the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the G.I. Bill should remain as the original framers had intended, providing assistance for readjustment, not a full fellowship.

The rate increase had been unfortunately lost in the discussion about assisting the disadvantaged. Critics of the Senate claim that body was trying to add "Great Society" amendments in order to try to secure passage of social legislation, realizing the G.I. Bill provides a convenient means

⁷¹The Oklahoma Daily, University of Oklahoma Newspaper, Norman, Oklahoma, September 16, 1969, p. 8.

to that end. There had been recognition of the urgency for the amendment, but delay was caused because of the social aspects of the legislation. Senator Cranston on June 30, 1969, was critical of the VA asking Congress to wait with amendment action until the Presidential Committee on the Vietnam Veteran had reported.⁷² Yet, the Interim Report of this committee, dated October 21, 1969, was in the hands of the Congress five months before Congressional agreement on Cold War G.I. Bill amendments could be reached.

On March 17, 1970, agreement was finally reached. There was to be a 34.6 per cent increase in rates. But the increase was not unexpected even though the final figure is quite high in terms of original predictions. The most significant feature of this latest G.I. Bill amendment concerns the passage of most of the Senate's controversial proposals. The Senate scored a major victory. The approved bill sets up a series of new services for the educationally disadvantaged. These include remedial education classes while on active duty, special college preparatory programs, tutoring assistance in college, and a greatly expanded program by the VA to provide job and training opportunities for the disadvantaged veterans in particular. The new bill

⁷²Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, News Release, June 30, 1969, p. 1.

will immediately affect more than 700,000 veterans and will cost an estimated \$280 million for fiscal year 1971.⁷³

The special pre-discharge education plan (PREP) for active duty personnel approaching discharge includes remedial education classes as well as college preparatory programs. The program is open to servicemen with more than 180 days of service. GIs can utilize the benefits to attain a high school diploma also. Rates will be adjusted depending on the extent of the programs. Commands will be urged to allow active duty personnel to attend courses during duty hours. Servicemen could attend programs full-time, and therefore, receive the maximum benefits. The pre-discharge education plan is designed as a supplement to the Defense Department's Project Transition; active duty personnel who take advantage of PREP will not have this study time counted against their GI Bill entitlement.

Those GIs having academic difficulties can now receive tutoring assistance. The new amendment provides GIs to receive up to \$50 monthly for nine months in order to assist them with academic deficiencies. The legislation bans tutoring aid to veterans desiring help to improve academic standing. This tutoring aid would permit a veteran of Mexican-American descent who needs additional language training to satisfactorily pursue college level work taught in the English language.

⁷³The Washington Post, March 18, 1970, p. A8.

The conference report stated that it was obvious "'that a more extensive and intensive program of veterans benefits counseling, contact and outreach effort is badly needed.'" The new enactment authorizes the VA to sharply expand its service of informing veterans of the benefits and rights available to them. The legislation provides for special telephone tie-lines in 75 additional cities so veterans can contact regional offices directly without having to pay toll charges. It also authorizes the VA to set up contact offices in about 100 different cities across the country.

Under the new legislation, vocational rehabilitation training scholarships and allowances for orphans, widows and wives also increased. Active duty personnel pursuing college credits part-time will also benefit from the increases. Currently, there are approximately 52,000 in this category.⁷⁴

Senator Alan Cranston, Chairman of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee, had much praise for the Veterans Education and Training Amendments Act of 1970.

. . . an estimated 1.4 million veterans now going to school or taking job training will benefit through desperately needed increases in educational and training allowances. Those increases--averaging 35% rehabilitation--will meet at least part of the soaring costs of education since the Korean War.

Another million or more Vietnam War veterans who are high-school drop-outs hopefully also should benefit from Title II of the bill which is designed to motivate them to go back to school and to take job training.

The Veterans Administration is directed under the

⁷⁴Army Times, April 1, 1970, pp. 1, 20.

bill to help these men more aggressively--starting even before they leave service--and educational institutions are materially encouraged to meet their special educational needs.

Thus, for the first time this nation will be offering Vietnam War veterans comparable benefits to those we gave veterans of the Korean conflict. And we will be opening to veterans new programs designed to meet the problems of the educationally disadvantaged.

This is truly a viable GI bill program, suited to the demands of the '70s.⁷⁵

The World War II direct grants to schools proved a mistake. Despite some demands for a change to make tuition payments and thus give more equal opportunity, the past experience with this system prevented serious consideration of such a scheme. Congressman Olin E. Teague headed a Study Committee on the Administration of the World War II Bill in 1951 and would still fight any attempt to return to school tuition payments. The Korean Bill started individual payments and forgot about tuition even though the private institutions did put up a battle. The Cold War G.I. Bill has its own unique characteristics. It is the first permanent piece of legislation. It provides benefits to widows and wives of disabled veterans, has removed almost all cases of duplication prohibitions, and provides elementary and high school assistance in addition to university benefits. Most significant the recently-passed amendments to the Cold War G.I. Bill gives special consideration for disadvantaged veterans. This consideration, championed by the Senate, is

⁷⁵Senator Alan Cranston, Office Press Release, Washington, D.C., March 23, 1970.

definitely a change in the philosophy of the original legislation.

Table 4.--Major educational and training benefits under the three GI bills.

Enactment	Coverage	Entitlement	Termination Date
PL 346, 78th Cong., Service-men's Readjustment Act of 1944 Approved June 22, 1944 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt	Tuition, fees, laboratory, library and other costs, up to \$500 a year, plus \$50 a month for single vets, \$75 for vets with dependents for full-time work; Dec. 28, 1945, rates increased to \$75, \$105, and \$120 for more than one dependent	One year full-time training, plus period equal to time in service with a maximum of 48 mos. Ninety days or more service after Sept. 16, 1940, and before July 26, 1947.	July 25, 1956
PL 550, 82nd Cong., Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952. Approved July 16, 1952 by President Harry S. Truman	Direct payment to vets for full-time training: \$110 a month for single vets, \$135 for those with one dependent, and \$160 to those with more than one dependent. Payment of tuition, books, and supplies is now an individual veteran responsibility	Equal to 1 1/2 times the veteran is active service up to a maximum of 36 months; 90 days or more after June 27, 1950, and before Feb. 1, 1955.	Jan. 31, 1965

Table 4.--Continued

Enactment	Coverage	Entitlement	Termination Date
PL 358, 89th Cong., Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966. Approved March 3, 1966 by President Lyndon B. Johnson	Direct payment to veterans in full-time study of \$100 a month for single vets, \$125 with one dependent, and \$150 with more than one dependent; on Oct. 1, 1967, rates increased to \$130, \$155, and \$175 with \$10 extra for each dependent over two; on Feb. 1, 1970, rates rose to \$175, \$205, and \$230 with \$13 for each additional dependent over two.	One month of education for each month of service; maximum of 36 mos. Changed Dec. 1, 1968, to 1 1/2 mos. entitlement for each month of service. Maximum of 36 mos. Need more than 180 days of service after Jan. 31, 1955.	None

Source: U.S. Veterans Administration, G.I. Bill of Rights, 25th Anniversary, 1944-1961. Pamphlet. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969); and U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Veterans Education and Training Amendments Act of 1970, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., March 18, 1970, p. 17.

CHAPTER VI

VETERANS' EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN THE STATES AND IN FOREIGN NATIONS

The G.I. Bill has been modeled after similar programs which had been operating in certain states and foreign nations. A review of some of the more important educational programs for veterans in these governmental entities will assist in understanding the development of the United States national program.

The States

One of the persistent issues in G.I. Bill legislation has been control by the national government; to avoid such action, individual states were involved in the administration of the programs.¹ Some states did not wait for the leadership of the national government in regard to readjustment measures; rather they themselves pioneered programs. Connecticut's early rehabilitation program for veterans is a good example. Other states also showed

¹Frank Bane, "State Plans for Aid to Veterans," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), pp. 75-76.

considerable initiative. This tradition has continued so that even today there are state G.I. Bills in effect in several states. Some of the early programs assisted the national government's entry into this area in 1944. This sharing of ideas between levels of government has often been called one of the distinct contributions of the American federal system.² What contributions, then, have the individual states made in regard to veterans' educational benefits?

A review of state legislation for veterans indicates an array of benefits. Perhaps, the most common is the bonus, which had become almost a tradition. After World War II, states were paying over one and one-half billion dollars in bonuses alone.³ This was in addition to other grants, including educational assistance. In World War I the states started the practice of granting educational assistance. Between 1917 and 1930 ten states reported they had spent a total of \$7,553,221 on educational benefits for veterans.⁴ In World War II, the states were involved in programs due to the massive challenge of rehabilitation. With some 16 million servicemen, it was obvious national-state

²President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Final Report, 1955, p. 6.

³"Added Billions in Bonuses for States' Ex-Soldiers," U.S. News and World Report, XXIV (March 19, 1948), p. 20.

⁴Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, An Analysis of Bonus Problems, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow (New York: Brewer, Warren, and Putnam, 1932), pp. 48-49.

government could give the subsidy, but the state legislatures were required to expand public universities and colleges to provide for the millions of GIs.⁵ Many of the state educational benefits could not be utilized if the veterans were using national benefits; however, in most cases once the national benefits ceased, the ex-servicemen could take advantage of state provisions. Thus, state educational benefits are in a sense an extension of national benefits.

In 1944 special privileges for education were extended to veterans by Kentucky, Michigan, New York, and Virginia. Under the legislation, Kentucky veterans of World War II were entitled to free scholarships in any state institution of higher learning for periods necessary to complete their course of study. The scholarships included tuition, fees, rent, fuel, and light, but not board. New York State set up 1200 scholarships for returning veterans. Each one carried a maximum yearly stipend of \$350.00. Michigan and Virginia provided programs for children of servicemen killed in action or who died from other causes during the war. Many states made such provisions.⁶

Oregon provided for a large-scale G.I. Bill provided the veteran was not using national funds. The original law

⁵Edward E. Odum, "Federal-State Co-operation in Relation to Veterans' Affairs," State Government, XVII (December, 1944), p. 455.

⁶"Around the States, State Legislatures Extend Benefits to War Veterans," State Government, XVII (December, 1944), p. 476.

(1943) provided for \$75 in benefits the first month and \$50 for each of the next eight months of the first year; then, the veteran would receive \$35 per month for nine months in each of the next three years. A 1945 amendment cut the maximum use to 36 months and reduced the benefits to \$35 per month throughout the whole period. Wisconsin granted vocational education aid. California also included in its benefits dependent widows. Massachusetts and Maine also developed readjustment programs involving education. Massachusetts even waived for veterans any rule requiring completion of any college work as a condition for admission to the bar as an attorney. All these World War II state statutes in many cases had their roots in the World War I period. One government administrator in World War II states these state provisions "indicate that the states recognize an educational obligation to their sons and daughters who have fought valiantly and successfully in the defense of their country."⁷

Today a few of the states have individual subsidies to veterans; most of them are not given while obtaining federal entitlements. In regard to educational provisions, the most common grant is for war orphans. In 1967 the individual states spent \$4,296,000 for educational services and

⁷Harry N. Rosenfield, "Veterans' Educational Benefits Under State Laws," The Nation's Schools, XXXVI (August, 1945), pp. 44-45.

benefits to veterans.⁸ At present about twenty states have some special programs for veterans to assist them with their education. The most significant programs follow. Bonuses are included since they can be used to meet educational costs.

Alabama

Emphasis in this state has been on benefits for dependents of certain disabled and deceased veterans. The subsistence can be up to four academic years and covers tuition and all fees. For the veteran himself, there is an opportunity to pursue correspondence or extension courses provided this cannot be covered by the federal government provisions. The Alabama Legislature has been contemplating extending World War II and Korean War educational benefits to Vietnam Veterans.⁹

Alaska

Loans may be obtained up to \$5,000 for educational purposes; the rate of interest is not to exceed six per cent. This provision applies also to Vietnam Veterans.

⁸U.S. Congress, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, State Veterans' Laws, House Committee Print No. 3, Revised to January 1, 1969, 91st Cong., 1st sess., February 4, 1969, p. 283.

⁹Roy Riley, Assistant to the Director, Department of Veterans' Affairs, State of Alabama, Montgomery, Alabama, Personal letter dated July 9, 1969.

When hostilities in Vietnam terminate, the legislation will automatically be discontinued.¹⁰

Arkansas

Free tuition is granted to World War I veterans at any public school in the state.¹¹

California

This state has had an educational program for its veterans since 1921. Although California statutes prohibited receipt of state funds and federal entitlements at the same time, veterans in the past have been able to utilize these benefits after the federal entitlements had terminated. The provisions grant a thousand dollars, which is payable either in tuition or in monthly payments of \$40.00 a month, plus a \$10 book allowance. From 1943 to June 30, 1965, approximately \$47,000,000 was expended towards the education of World War II and Korean Veterans. Almost 60,000 World War II Veterans and 30,000 Korean Veterans availed themselves of this educational opportunity. Vietnam Veterans are also covered. However, since June, 1965, no monies have been appropriated for this state

¹⁰Information Bulletin--Alaska World War II Veterans' Act as Amended, Department of Commerce, Division of Veterans' Affairs, State of Alaska, Juneau, Alaska, no date given, Sent by Thomas O. Givan, Director of Veterans' Affairs, Department of Commerce, State of Alaska, July 7, 1969.

¹¹U.S. Congress, House Committee Print No. 3, State Veterans' Laws, op. cit., p. 13.

program.¹² Since California state institutions do not charge in-state tuition but rather a group of nominal fees, the state provision allowing for a tuition grant or a monthly subsistence would have aided students attending private schools in particular.

Connecticut

A special bonus allows \$10 for each month of service, with a maximum of \$300. This will terminate at the end of the hostilities in Vietnam.¹³

Delaware

This state also pays a special bonus to veterans. The measure is especially for those having served during the Vietnam War period. The statute provides for the period from August 5, 1964, to the formal cessation of hostilities. Those veterans serving within the United States receive \$15 for each month of service up to a maximum sum of \$225; those with overseas duty receive \$20 for each month of service up to a maximum of \$300.¹⁴

¹²Edward J. Wustefeld, Supervising Veterans Representative, Department of Veterans Affairs, Division of Veteran Services, State of California, Sacramento, California, Personal Letter July 9, 1969 and Fact Sheet, State of California Laws and Regulations Governing State Educational Assistance, September 15, 1961.

¹³U.S. Congress, House Committee Print No. 3, State Veterans' Laws, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁴State of Delaware Veterans' Application Form, Executive Director's Office, Veteran's Military Pay Commission, Wilmington, Delaware, received July 12, 1969.

Illinois

A scholarship program for veterans has been in effect in this state since World War I. The present law grants Illinois veterans full tuition at any of the state institutions. Once the grant is made, it is continuous for four years even though the veteran should leave school. There is no duplication prohibition so veterans are permitted to simultaneously use federal entitlements. In addition, no prohibitions on veterans are in existence in regard to other Illinois State aid. For those attending Illinois schools, this is a considerable amount of assistance. A \$100 bonus is also granted to Vietnam Veterans.¹⁵

Iowa

This state has a provision of free tuition to veterans for as many months as were spent in the active service before becoming 21 years of age.¹⁶

Kentucky

Veterans are granted comprehensive scholarships, including tuition, matriculation and other fees, room rent, fuel, and lights at any institutions of higher learning

¹⁵Willie F. Johnson, Acting Administrator, Illinois Veterans' Commission, Springfield, Illinois, Personal letter dated July 3, 1969, and booklet, State of Illinois Laws Affecting Veterans and Organizations (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois Veterans' Commission, 1967), pp. 212-216.

¹⁶U.S. Congress, House Committee Print No. 3, State Veterans' Laws, op. cit., p. 79.

within the state for an entire course of study. However, this does not apply when federal benefits are being utilized. Kentucky also makes provisions for those who enlisted or were drafted before completing high school. The state will pay any school costs so the veterans can complete secondary school.¹⁷ Again, Kentucky veterans can utilize state benefits when national benefits have been exhausted.

Louisiana

The Vietnam Veteran obtains a \$250 bonus.¹⁸ There are no special provisions for educational benefits. The State of Louisiana also provides Vietnam War survivors with a \$1,000 grant. The period of eligibility for Vietnam Veterans is from July 1, 1958, to the termination of hostilities. The statutes provide for a delayed payment provision. Therefore, bonuses have not been paid as yet.¹⁹

¹⁷Major General Larry C. Dawson, Kentucky Adjutant General, Department of Military Affairs, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Frankfort, Kentucky, Personal letter of July 7, 1969 and booklet Laws Relating to Veterans Rights, Benefits and Entitlements (Frankfort, Kentucky: Department of Military Affairs, Kentucky Disabled Ex-Service Men's Board, 1966), pp. 8, 22.

¹⁸U.S. Congress, House Committee Print No. 3, State Veterans' Laws, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁹Vernon Dupree, Chief, Division of Training and Information, State of Louisiana, Department of Veterans' Affairs, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Personal Letter of July 18, 1969; Dick Staggs, Department of Veterans' Affairs, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Personal Letter of October 22, 1969; Louisiana House Bill No. 192, October 13, 1967.

Massachusetts

This state provides free correspondence courses to disabled veterans. Although there are no specific educational allotments, a special Vietnam Bonus for current veterans was granted in 1968. Under this legislation, those with foreign service receive \$300; those with service within the country, \$200. There is also free tuition for any Vietnam Veteran attending a state institution of higher learning, and Vietnam Veterans can take university extension courses free of charge.²⁰

Minnesota

This state provides up to \$250 for tuition where the United States Government benefits have been exhausted.²¹

Montana

Free tuition is given to veterans attending all units of the University of Montana; however, veterans are not allowed to receive federal benefits simultaneously.²²

New York

A special scholarship program known as the Regents War Service Scholarships for Veterans continues. Six

²⁰U.S. Congress, House Committee Print No. 3, State Veterans' Laws, op. cit., pp. 108-110.

²¹Ibid., pp. 128-129.

²²Harry E. Sawyer, Director, The Veterans' Welfare Commission, State of Montana, Helena, Montana, Personal letter of July 31, 1969.

hundred scholarships are awarded to veterans for use at any school in the state. The grant involves up to \$350 a year for tuition four years, full-time or part-time study, graduate, undergraduate, technical, or vocational courses. Veterans must qualify for the award through a standardized examination. Holders of the award can utilize federal grants.²³

North Dakota

Veterans will receive \$60.00 for semester tuition and \$40.00 for tuition for the summer session for every month of active service up to 36 months; this applies to both state and private schools within the State of North Dakota. Federal entitlements may be received simultaneously.²⁴

Oregon

Oregon had the best well-developed state educational benefit program for veterans. During its 22 years of operation, 14,274 veterans received \$4,106,124.59 for an average payment per veteran of \$287.60. The enrollments in this program has been determined largely by the national programs

²³Martin Reisner, State Veteran Counselor, Division of Veterans Affairs, State of New York, New York City, New York, Personal letter of July 18, 1969.

²⁴Lloyd F. Zander, Commissioner of Veterans Affairs, Department of Veterans Affairs, State of North Dakota, Fargo, North Dakota, Personal letter of July 15, 1969 and Veterans' Laws of North Dakota with Additions and Amendments Enacted by the 1969 Legislature (Fargo, North Dakota: Department of Veteran Affairs, State of North Dakota, 1969), pp. 36-37.

in existence. It is impossible to utilize Oregon's benefits and still take advantage of the national benefits at the same time. The state educational aid benefit amounts to \$50 per month for the veteran enrolled in a full-time course of undergraduate study in an accredited college or university, and up to \$35 a month in other studies. Benefits are payable for as many months as the veteran spent in active service during the war years, or after July 1, 1958, to a maximum of 36 months.

The program originated in World War II (1944) and was approved by the public. It was created to assist the returning veterans in their educational pursuits. The original law had been passed before the national government's program. The state legislators of Oregon did anticipate a federal program and made provisions for no dual benefit payments. In 1951 the Oregon State Legislature extended the benefits to Korean War Veterans and in 1965, a third class of veterans were added to the program. The latest beneficiaries are veterans who have served in overseas areas of operations involving combat or equally hazardous duty, entitling them to the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal. There have been eight such operations since mid-1958. These, and the time period for each, follow:

Lebanon--July 1, 1958 to November 1, 1958

Berlin--August 14, 1961 to June 1, 1963

Quemoy and Matsu--August 23, 1958 to June 1, 1963

Taiwan Straits--August 23, 1958 to January 1, 1959

Cuba--October 24, 1962 to June 1, 1963

Congo--July 14, 1960 to September 1, 1962

Laos--April 19, 1961 to October 7, 1962

Vietnam--July 1, 1958 to a date to be announced²⁵

Although the Cold War G.I. Bill of 1966 did include a retroactive provision to January 31, 1955, the Oregon Legislature did take action one year earlier in regard to the post Korean era. It is interesting to note that this legislature did confine the benefits to those serving in crisis areas. President Johnson had recommended this for the Cold War G.I. Bill.

Pennsylvania

This state does not provide educational benefits for veterans; however, a Vietnam Bonus is granted.²⁶ The bonus was passed in 1968 and provides \$25 for each month of service in Vietnam. The maximum payment is \$750 for living veterans and \$1,000 for eligible beneficiaries.²⁷

²⁵Franklin G. Reynolds, Assistant Manager, Department of Veterans' Affairs, Service and Coordination Division, State of Oregon, Salem, Oregon, Personal letter of July 10, 1969 and enclosures.

²⁶U.S. Congress, House Committee Print No. 3, State Veterans' Laws, op. cit., p. 219.

²⁷Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Military Affairs, Vietnam Conflict Veterans' Compensation Bureau, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Pamphlet entitled Vietnam Conflict Veterans Compensation (concerns Pennsylvania Act No. 183, July 18, 1968--Vietnam Veteran Bonus), no date given, p. 1.

Table 5.--Participation in the Oregon veterans' educational benefit program

Comparison	Total Applica- tions	Original Applica- tions	Number of Payments	Amount of Payments
Five-Year				
1949-50	1,157	1,155	7,698	\$269,298
1954-55	1,313	682	7,739	207,465
1959-60	1,536	1,059	11,331	313,045
1964-65	594	249	3,330	102,219
One-Year				
1961-62	852	483	5,534	174,810
1962-63	748	308	4,791	140,685
1963-64	691	397	4,241	130,299
1964-65	594	249	3,330	102,219
1965-66	591	378	4,726	154,115
1966-67	338	144	2,364	65,082

Source: Franklin G. Reynolds, Assistant Manager, Department of Veterans' Affairs, Service and Coordination Division, State of Oregon, Salem, Oregon, Personal Letter of July 10, 1969 and enclosures.

South Dakota

Special provisions have been made for veterans' education. Veterans can return to high school and will not be required to pay any fees. In addition, according to Chapter 37 of the South Dakota State Law, Section 13.34, 1966, any person residing in the state who has been a veteran of any war of this country shall receive for every month of active service, up to a total of four academic years of schooling. This benefit cannot be received if federal entitlements are being collected. This state also provided benefits to the Korean War Veterans earlier. The present statute entitles all veterans to take advantage of educational benefits.²⁸

Texas

The legislature of this state provided for an educational and training program for World War II Veterans. Veterans of the Spanish-American War, the Mexican War, the Korean War, World War II and the present conflict period (starting February 1, 1955) are exempt from fees at all state educational institutions. There is a prohibition of utilizing these state benefits while receiving any federal assistance. The State of Texas also grants all active duty

²⁸Richard D. Gibb, Commissioner of Higher Education, Regents of Education, State of South Dakota, Capitol Building, Pierre, South Dakota, Personal letter of July 16, 1969 and enclosures.

personnel with the Armed Forces in-state tuition rates at all state institutions.²⁹

Washington

The Board of Regents of the State of Washington may exempt veterans of the World Wars from payment of tuition at state schools. Special consideration is also given to Alaskan veterans; they receive credit for fees and are charged four per cent interest rates. No provision has been made for Vietnam Veterans.³⁰

Wisconsin

The Badger State has been a leader in educational benefits for veterans. When the United States Congress considered information provided by the State of Wisconsin on its World War I Educational Bonus Program proved to be of considerable assistance. The World War I educational bonus in Wisconsin provided for payments of \$30 per month, up to a maximum of \$1,080 to veterans who had entered service from the state. It was for full-time study at the University of Wisconsin. The deadline on this program was 1933. In addition, World War I Veterans who had lived five years in the

²⁹The Hazelwood Act, Pamphlet. Veterans Affairs Commission, Austin, Texas, received July 9, 1969; Texas Veterans Laws, Booklet. Veterans Affairs Commission, Austin, Texas, 1965.

³⁰Laws Pertaining to Veterans, State of Washington, Veterans' Rehabilitation Council, Olympia, Washington, June, 1957 (Received by author in July, 1969 with the note this edition was the latest and no major changes have taken place), pp. 32-33.

state could take correspondence courses from the University of Wisconsin Extension Division without cost. One course could be taken at a time; there was no deadline set on applications. The World War I program was well-developed. From the start of the program until the Soldiers Educational Bonus Fund was combined in 1924 with two others to form the Soldiers Rehabilitation Fund, \$4,103,306.39 was paid out, not including the cost of administration. World War I Veterans could elect to receive the educational bonus instead of the cash bonus. Many did this, especially during the depression years. At one point the program seemed to be in danger because of a shortage of funds when many unemployed veterans attended school principally to receive the \$30 per month educational bonus. From 1924 to December 1945 when the fund was turned over to the Department of Veterans Affairs, an additional \$377,050.37 was paid for a grand total of \$4,672,064 paid in educational bonuses to 7,498 World War I Veterans; \$100,939 was paid to 118 orphans.³¹

After World War II, no educational bonus was proposed, but when the post-war rehabilitation trust fund was established during that war, a similar correspondence or part-time study program was provided for World War II Veterans.

Until 1965 the state educational program for veterans of all wars was limited to the taking of one course at

³¹Veterans' Affairs in Wisconsin, VII, No. 1, April, 1969, State of Wisconsin, Department of Veterans Affairs, Madison, Wisconsin, pp. 1-2.

a time, and only courses given by the University of Wisconsin Extension Division. In 1965 the program was expanded to include correspondence and part-time study for eligible veterans of all wars, courses given by any of the state-supported institutions of higher learning within the state, including vocational technical and adult schools and all colleges and universities accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The program is today assisting veterans who wish to improve in professional skills. During the spring semester of 1969, 1,598 veterans were enrolled in 1,801 individual courses, 1,494 at the college and university level, and 307 at the technical school level. Older veterans predominate. One World War I Veteran is currently enrolled, and there are 812 World War II Veterans, 695 Korean Veterans, and 90 Vietnam Veterans. Since 1945 a total of \$799,731.09 has been provided in educational benefits in 18,134 separate grants.

Under present regulations, the State of Wisconsin has several programs for veterans. One concerns educational grants which are to reimburse costs of fees and textbooks for part-time classroom study or correspondence courses from the University of Wisconsin, the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, the University of Wisconsin Center System, any state university, or any school of higher education in the state which has been accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on

April 1, 1967. In addition, there are special economic assistance loans for veterans.³² There has been an increasing volume of educational grants resulting from the recent expansion of benefits. During the period July, 1968-July, 1969 slightly more than 12 per cent of all economic assistance loans were made for the purpose of providing education to veterans or their dependents. Of the total grants between March, 1968 and March, 1969, that is \$3,545,436.63 (46,001 in number), \$863,293.77 (19,008 in number) were for education.³³ In March, 1968, the Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs granted 266 persons educational assistance at a cost of \$15,485.39; in March, 1969, assistance went to 445 persons at a cost of \$29,063.56.³⁴ According to the original legislation, post-Korean Veterans eligible for both part-time educational courses under the state program and the new federal Cold War G.I. Bill were to apply for either program but not for both simultaneously. This has been revised so that veterans may be partially reimbursed by the

³²State of Wisconsin Benefits for Veterans, Pamphlet issued by Wisconsin State Department of Veterans Affairs, Madison, Wisconsin, September, 1968.

³³John R. Moses, Secretary of Veterans Affairs, State of Wisconsin, Department of Veterans Affairs, Madison, Wisconsin, Personal letter of July 8, 1969.

³⁴Financial Assistance--Grants, Loans, and Total Number Comparing the Months of March, 1968 and 1969. Chart. Department of Veterans Affairs, State of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, July, 1969.

Wisconsin Department of Veterans Affairs while receiving federal benefits.³⁵

To be eligible for these Wisconsin benefits, veterans must have had service in the Indian War (1860-1898), the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, the Boxer Rebellion, the Mexican Border Service, World War I, World War II, the Korean Conflict, or be eligible to receive the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal for service in Lebanon, Berlin, Quemoy and Matsu, the Taiwan Straits, Cuba, the Congo, Laos, the Dominican Republic, and Korea (from October 1, 1966, to a date to be announced). Those eligible to receive the Vietnam Service Medal from July 4, 1965, to a date to be announced will also qualify for the benefits.³⁶

In Retrospect

In reviewing the educational benefits for veterans on the state level, it must be emphasized that only those programs which seemed highly developed were included. Bonuses were listed since the individual veteran can utilize such a benefit for education. Missouri had an on-the-job

³⁵DVA Bulletin No. 223 (Rev. 8/31/67), August 31, 1967, with corrected information from John R. Moses, Secretary of Veterans Affairs, State of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, July, 1969.

³⁶State of Wisconsin Benefits for Veterans, Booklet, op. cit.

training provision;³⁷ this was funded by the national government and was not greatly utilized. Thus, it was not included. Arkansas has a provision for free tuition for World War I Veterans;³⁸ however, it is obvious this enactment does not contribute to a large program. Nebraska has developed a unique fund for veterans after World War I. In World War II, the legislature added to this general trust. Today the sum is \$8,000,000, which gives an income of \$264,269.08. Nebraska did not offer a bonus but through the fund has been able to assist many veterans. However, the fund does not emphasize education.³⁹ Thus, it was not listed as one of the major state programs. The states have generally provided for the children of deceased or disabled veterans. Thirty-one have provisions for World War I; 40, World War II; 35, the Korean War; and 26, the Vietnam Conflict. In regard to widows' benefits, two states provide for World War I widows; three, World War II; three, Korea; and two, Vietnam. Bonuses for the Vietnam War were noted because these benefits can be applied to schooling. Only five states have provided for such bonuses. After World

³⁷U.S. Congress, State Veterans' Laws, 1969, op. cit., p. 143.

³⁸Ibid., p. 13.

³⁹Information Sheet on Veterans Benefits. State of Nebraska, Department of Veterans Affairs, Lincoln, Nebraska, July, 1969.

War II and the Korean War, 22 states made such provisions.⁴⁰

What about the present provisions for veterans in the individual states? Although the states have generally looked to the national government and have constructed their legislation around that enacted on Capitol Hill, several state governments have developed substantial individual programs. Those with advanced programs are Illinois, Wisconsin, Oregon, and California. These four states have a long history of providing such benefits; all have influenced federal enactments. Illinois provides the most comprehensive benefits because veterans can receive national assistance simultaneously. Illinois also grants a bonus to Vietnam Veterans. Wisconsin's reimbursement program and loan system supplements the national program. Oregon and California have substantial programs, but can only be used when federal entitlements are not being received. In the case of California, a lack of funding has resulted in discontinuance for the last five years. All four states have spent millions on benefits, and many thousands have been assisted with their education. Their interest in education is also reflected in their general support for education. Most of the states with some educational benefits do have duplication prohibitions. The benefits themselves range

⁴⁰U.S. Congress, State Veterans Laws, 1969, op. cit., p. 143.

from correspondence study to four-year tuition grants in addition to a bonus and without any duplication prohibitions. New York State has a unique program with its 600 special veteran scholarships granted through a competitive examination. Three states provide for correspondence study assistance; two, for loans. Twelve have tuition waivers or monthly allotments, which can be used for the payment of tuition. One has a special grant-in-aid program, which includes reimbursement of texts and other costs.⁴¹

In sum, several individual states have provided educational benefits for the returning veteran. Some states, such as Connecticut, with its early readjustment program, California, Oregon, Illinois, and Wisconsin, have provided considerable leadership in this area. Generally, however, the great bulk of assistance from states was for bonuses. About 12 have tuition waivers at state schools when federal assistance is no longer available. The national government through Public Laws 346, 550, and 389, provided the overwhelming share of readjustment aid to veterans.

Foreign Countries

Earlier in this paper reference was made to Great Britain's outstanding readjustment program in World War I; the United States took note of this program and incorporated

⁴¹Ibid.

many of its features into the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Every country is forced to face the problem of readjustment after a war; however, most of them do not adequately prepare. It is obvious the United States has had the most comprehensive program in rehabilitation in the G.I. Bills.⁴² Yet, this program had to develop. And this country can be grateful to other national programs for guidance, particularly, to the United Kingdom and Canada. To obtain an appreciation of the vast coverage of the G.I. Bills, a brief look into some of the major rehabilitation programs in World War II would be helpful. Emphasis will be placed on the Commonwealth nations since they did have well-developed programs due to the leadership of the United Kingdom. But before referring to the individual programs of several foreign nations, a note should be made of the international aspect of the G.I. Bill of Rights.

The Unique Filipino World War II Veteran

The Veterans Administration is a national governmental agency; yet, it has international operations due to Congressional approval of covering certain Filipino citizens who had served with the United States Forces in World War II. The VA has a separate unit in the Philippines

⁴²Oliver E. Meadows, Personal Interview, op. cit.

processing applications.⁴³ This international flavor of the VA in the case of the Philippines is quite interesting.

At the end of World War II the Philippines sought to have certain military personnel included under the G.I. Bill. The United States agreed. The argument was that the United States by official military orders took charge of the forces of the Philippines. And, as a result, the United States must then assume responsibility for their readjustment according to Manila. In 1954 the United States cancelled insurance and pension benefits to Filipinos. This involved about 20,000. The Government of the United States assumed the Philippines was now in a position to assist in the final rehabilitation of the veterans. The Philippines reacted quickly. On May 19, 1954, a Joint Resolution of the Philippine National Legislature called upon the President of that country to seek the continuation of all benefits to veterans and orphans of World War II from the United States. The official government statement from Manila referred to the United States Veterans Administration's official announcement in 1945, which stated veterans of the Philippines were entitled to all benefits under the G.I. Bill of Rights.⁴⁴ Under this pressure Congress reinstated these

⁴³Edward K. Nellor, Personal Interview, op. cit.

⁴⁴Republic of the Philippines. Congress and Senate. Committee on Veterans and Military Pensions. Presenting the Case of the Filipino Veteran to the People of the United States, 1946, pp. 2-7.

benefits, and, although there has been constant discussion about their extension, the entitlements have continued. In 1966 Congress extended the benefits, including War Orphans Educational Assistance, to June, 1973. Thus, these Philippine children will be entitled to receive payments to pursue their education for up to 36 months. In addition, the action by Congress extended and enlarged the United States program of hospital and medical care for the Philippines.⁴⁵ There is an estimated veteran population in the Philippines of approximately 400,000. In the 1968 fiscal year, the United States paid \$54 million in benefits to veterans in the Philippines.⁴⁶

Certainly this action on the part of the United States Government is extremely generous. A case could be made for the Philippine Government to take the responsibility for its own citizens. After all they fought in cooperation with the United States Forces to liberate their country. Certainly allowing Filipino World War II ex-servicemen to participate in a foreign country's veterans benefits is unique.

A world war will almost always require a nation to develop plans for rehabilitation. Most are not

⁴⁵"Philippine Veterans Benefits Signed into Law," The Department of State Bulletin, LV (October 31, 1966), p. 684.

⁴⁶U.S. Veterans Administration, Annual Report, Administrator of Veterans Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 138.

well-developed even though they usually exist on the planning boards. The Soviet Union, with its complete control over the entire economic system, would have been expected to have a well-planned program. It did not. There was the usual mustering-out pay and the transportation back home, but no comprehensive training system. The U.S.S.R. did try to place a veteran into a position which would utilize his military experience and training.⁴⁷ The Soviet Government expanded certain training facilities in this connection. The U.S.S.R. has always attached special importance to the training of workers as a method of improving the level of skill and productivity of the labor force and of distributing the trained men and women in the various branches of economic activity.

Many countries developed special legislation for veterans' employment; these included Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Yugoslavia. However, only a few established wide-spread educational and vocational training programs.⁴⁸ Several members of the British Commonwealth were leaders in this area. The United Kingdom's program was developed early and is a good place to begin.

⁴⁷"Discharged Service Personnel, "Employment and Other Provisions of Soviet Demobilization Law," Monthly Labor Review, LXI (September, 1945), pp. 465-466.

⁴⁸D. Christie Tait, "Veteran Re-employment Plans of Our Allies," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 108.

Great Britain

This country continues to be concerned about the proper utilization of skills developed within the military services. In 1956 a special committee of the British Parliament focused on the transfer of skills from the military to the civilian. The committee concluded there is a considerable waste of talent in the transition from the military to the civilian sectors.⁴⁹ This concern for proper rehabilitation even during periods of no active military conflict indicates the emphasis the United Kingdom places on this area. As might be expected, the World War II program, which profited from the successful 1919 development, was comprehensive. Vocational, agricultural, and professional schooling were provided, and both civilian workers and veterans were eligible. Special training centers were established under the Department of Labour to assist the applicants.⁵⁰ The payments were given on an individual basis. Emphasis was on the veterans' inability to start training due to the interruption by the military service. Tuition, fees, and books were paid. In addition, each student was given a subsistence allowance. Maximum rates were: Single, 13 pounds, 10 shillings a month; Married,

⁴⁹Report of the Committee on the Employment of National Service Men in the United Kingdom, War Office, Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for War by Command of Her Majesty, December, 1956 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956), p. 3.

⁵⁰Ibid.

22 pounds, 10 shillings; and each child, 3 pounds, 10 shillings.⁵¹ The objective of this training program was outlined in the following terms by the British

His Majesty's Government recognises the importance of securing to the country, after the war, the service and influence of those highly trained in the humane studies, such as history, philosophy, law and the fine arts, and of ensuring an adequate supply of men and women equipped to fill the higher posts in industry (including agriculture), commerce and the professions. They have accordingly approved plans for providing financial assistance to enable suitably qualified men and women, on demobilisation, to undertake or continue further education or training (i.e., beyond the secondary school standard).⁵²

In addition to veterans and war workers, those of the Merchant Marine, the Civil Defence Services, the Police Auxiliaries, and the Civil Nursing Reserve were eligible. There were no specified time periods; each case was to be handled individually.⁵³ Certainly, this gave the administrative agencies a considerable amount of power.

Two political parties of the United Kingdom were critical of the British Post-World War II Readjustment Program. The Socialist Workers Party considered the subsistence too low and thought there were inequities since the officers received a special leave pay and allowances.

⁵¹U.S. War Manpower Commission, Reports and Analysis Service. The Manpower Aspects of the National Program of Demobilization and Adjustment in the United States and Foreign Countries. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. 37-39.

⁵²United Kingdom, Ministry of Labour and National Service. Further Education and Training Scheme, 1943, p. 1.

⁵³Ibid.

There was also criticism for no provision for veterans to return to high school.⁵⁴ The Communist Party of the United Kingdom also emphasized the need for provisions to assist persons to obtain a high school education. About the lack of such a provision, the party states, "This is clearly inequitable and must be remedied."⁵⁵

The United Kingdom continues to improve its present educational program for veterans; the voluntary British Armed Forces conducts part of the program. The basic philosophy of the British Government in regard to education as a means of adjustment for military persons to civilian pursuits has not changed.

The educational and pre-release training facilities for the British Armed Forces are comprehensive. As the recruitment of our service personnel is entirely voluntary, we are aware that one of the encouragements for attracting recruits is the effectiveness of the organisation for resettlement, which aims to ease the transition to a civilian life, on completion of military service.⁵⁶

The present program involves extensive training within the entire service and a growing post-release program. Courses vary according to the field. Thousands of personnel have already taken advantage of these courses. And there

⁵⁴Charles Cartsen, A Program of Action, Veterans and Labor (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1946), p. 9.

⁵⁵Communist Party of Great Britain, Demobilization, How Should It Be Done? (London: Communist Party, 1944), pp. 10-11.

⁵⁶Great Britain, Ministry of Defence, Main Building, Whitehall, London, England, Personal letter from Miss G. Mugleston of the Ministry Staff, dated November 26, 1969.

are plans to further expand them. Colleges and universities have cooperated with the government in establishing programs in such areas as industrial relations, computer studies, and management. In addition, there have been pre-release resettlement training attachment programs; these are internships with various firms while personnel are still on active duty. In 1968, over 7,500 attended these 28 pre-release activities. This idea is incorporated in Operation Transition conducted by the U.S. Defense Department. Upon release from active service, veterans can attend a variety of programs ranging from three months to two years to qualify for various civilian positions. They obtain a government subsidy during this time, and can obtain full military pay and allowances for the first two months.⁵⁷ British veteran organizations continuously seek to improve these many programs. In many cases, these groups have initiated the action for the programs. The British have had such a well-defined program for so many years, it is generally taken for granted.

One characteristic of the British program is its comprehensiveness. Resettlement does not only refer to employment, but also training, housing, and finance. To

⁵⁷Great Britain, Ministry of Defence, Information Sheet entitled "PPOs Working Party on Resettlement Subcommittee, the Development in Pre and Post-Release Resettlement Training over the Last 18 Months," no date given, dispatched from the Ministry of Defence, London, England, November 26, 1969.

give the serviceman about ready to enter civilian life or the veteran adequate information, advice, and guidance, the British Government publishes a series of excellent bulletins.⁵⁸ These are known as Services Resettlement Bulletins and offer excellent orientation to opportunities for schooling and employment. A Resettlement Courses Handbook comprises one bulletin each year and lists all courses available and provides applications. Other bulletins focus on specific fields. For example, in 1969, these resettlement bulletins included single issues on the teaching profession, the new post office, computers, farming, and buying a business; in 1968, there were bulletins on jobs in new towns, service to youth, careers in local government, marketing and life assurance, and management. Each bulletin devoted to a specific field consists of a general over-view of the occupation, training opportunities, regional outlooks, and particular positions currently available.⁵⁹ No doubt, the bulletins contribute considerably to the success of the British resettlement program.

⁵⁸Great Britain, Ministry of Defence, Whitehall, London, England, Information Sheet entitled "Resettlement in the British Army," dated November, 1969, p. 6.

⁵⁹Great Britain, Services Resettlement Bulletin No. 5, Resettlement Courses Handbook, 1969, Bulletins Nos. 1-4, 6, 1969; Nos. 1-5, 1968 (Edinburgh, Scotland: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Press, 1968, 1969.

Canada

America's neighbor to the north developed a program of readjustment on the basis of experiences in World War I. During that conflict, lot payments were made. Many were not utilized wisely. On the basis of this experience, plus the fact Canada had been involved in World War II for a longer period than had the United States, which meant a higher level of casualties, the Dominion became very veteran conscious.⁶⁰ The Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Re-establishment was established early. This governmental group was responsible for developing comprehensive readjustment legislation. The Canadian Act of June 30, 1944, which came eight days after the first American G.I. Bill, provided for several benefits. Those interested in continuing with higher education could do so. The duration of the course was dependent on the length of service. For outstanding students, benefits could be continued beyond the period equal to the length of service, and could include post-graduate training. All fees were paid by the government and a subsistence grant was given monthly: Single, \$60; Married, \$80; First and second child, \$12; Third, \$10; Fourth, fifth, and sixth, \$8; Dependent parent, \$15. Veterans could earn up to \$75 per month before earning affected the allowance. For

⁶⁰Robert England, "Canada's Program to Aid its Veterans," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), pp. 101-102.

married or single persons with dependents, an away-from-home allowance of \$20 per month was paid. In addition, to meet emergency conditions, universities could also loan students up to \$500 per year; the interest on this loan was set at 5 per cent. These loans were government-financed.⁶¹

There was also a special program in vocational education. Cooperative efforts had been instituted with the individual provinces. The Canadian Government would also assist veterans who desire to enter farming. There was a maximum loan of \$4800 for land and buildings and \$1200 for the purchase of livestock and equipment. A veteran had to pay ten per cent down. The legislation included special compensation for the disabled and orphans.⁶² Veterans also received an allowance of \$100, a rehabilitation grant consisting of one month's pay and dependents' allowances, and free medical care for one year after discharge for non-disabled veterans.⁶³ About 85,000 took vocational training under the program; some 55,000, university training. One-seventh of all Canadian World War II Veterans participated

⁶¹The Veterans Charter, Acts of the Canadian Parliament to Assist Canadian Veterans (Ottawa, Canada: Edmond Cloutier--King's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1947), p. 315.

⁶²Ian Mackenzie, "Canada Cares for its Heroes," American Magazine, CXXXVII (February, 1944), p. 99.

⁶³"Discharged Soldiers, Canadian Provisions for Veterans," Monthly Labor Review, LIX (September, 1944), p. 544.

compared to about one-half in the United States. The total cost to the Canadian Government was about \$200 million.⁶⁴

Canada had also a well-developed educational program in the military service. Under the aegis of the Canadian Legion Educational Services courses were opened by the time the first troops began to move overseas early in 1940. During the long pre-invasion wait in Britain a greatly enlarged curriculum was offered, and later, thousands of young men and women were actually pursuing university courses in combat areas.⁶⁵ Canada did extend certain educational benefits through the Veterans Act of 1954; this was much more limited in scope than the United States Korean G.I. Bill.⁶⁶ The Canadian proposed program of World War II did receive considerable attention from the American press prior to the enactment of the first G.I. Bill in 1944. It probably did have influence on the United States Congress.

Currently, the Canadian Government has a limited program of veterans' educational benefits. Of course, it

⁶⁴U.S. Congress, Canadian Benefits for War Veterans, A Comparison with United States Veterans' Benefits, 84th Cong., 2nd sess., House Committee Print No. 259, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States by the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Staff Report No. XI, House Committee Print No. 259, June 15, 1956, p. 1.

⁶⁵Leslie Roberts, "Canada's Veterans Go Back to School," The Nation, XLXI (October 20, 1945), p. 402.

⁶⁶U.S. Congress, Canadian Benefits for War Veterans, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

must be realized Canada has a small voluntary military force and had not been engaged in any conflict since the Korean War. The present educational benefits include training for disabled pensioners, correspondence study programs, and assistance to orphans. As of March 31, 1969, 29 pensioners were still undergoing training, 11 in universities and 18 in vocational courses. In addition, the Veterans Correspondence Regulations of 1967 authorizes correspondence courses to veterans through provincial government agencies. The variety and scope of courses differ from province to province; however, there is a wide range of up-to-date academic and vocational subjects. In the 1968-69 academic year, 139 veterans were enrolled in academic courses under this program; 40, in vocational courses. These are the major veterans benefits in regard to education. Children of war dead continue to receive benefits for their education.⁶⁷

Australia

In 1945 Australia passed the Re-establishment and Employment Act, which was to assist in re-entering civilian life. The Reconstruction Training Scheme provided that the

⁶⁷Dominion of Canada, Department of Veterans Affairs, The Canadian Pension Commission and the War Veterans Allowance Board, Annual Report, 1968-69 (Ottawa, Canada: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1969), pp. 30-34; Personal letter from Mr. S. M. A. Roberts, Public Relations, Department of Veterans Affairs, Government of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, dated November 3, 1969.

Minister of Education make arrangements with any schools for veterans for vocational and professional training. Fees and general support depended on each case.⁶⁸ Tuition fees were paid; an allowance up to 10 pounds per year for books and requisites and the following living monthly allowances were granted: Single men, 3 pounds, 5 shillings; Married men, 4 pounds, 16 shillings; Each child, 9 shillings, up to a maximum of 5 pounds, 15 shillings; Single women (not at home) 3 pounds, 5 shillings, 10 pence.⁶⁹ If training necessitated maintaining two establishments, an additional allowance was provided. For apprenticeship programs, the government would reimburse the trainee. There was also a program for agriculture.⁷⁰

New Zealand

This country had a program of educational benefits for veterans after World War II and continues to have subsistence available. The Rehabilitation Act of 1941 provided for financial assistance to enable discharged servicemen to study at universities or to resume other studies which had been interrupted by war service. Under the act employers

⁶⁸S. G. I. Martin and G. A. Dickinson, Re-establishment and Employment Law in Australia, A Handbook on the Re-establishment and Employment Act of 1945 and Regulations Thereunder (Sydney, Australia: Law Book Company of Australia, 1946), p. 1.

⁶⁹The Veterans Charter, op. cit., p. 316.

⁷⁰Christie Tait, op. cit., p. 107.

received a subsidy from the government for providing internship training for veterans.⁷¹ Special educational grants for professional study were also made available.⁷² Advisory committees, which included members of the profession or trade in which the applicant wished to study, would determine the outcome of requests. Assistance was made available for part-time or full-time study at universities throughout the country, and consisted of subsistence allowances with miscellaneous grants to cover cost of fees and books. Similar provisions were given to veterans who had served with the New Zealand Forces in Korea, but no aid was available to those who had seen service with the Commonwealth Forces in Malaysia. Following the deployment of New Zealand servicemen in South Vietnam, educational benefits were granted to veterans of this conflict. The veterans receive subsistence allowances and incidental grants for fees and books. To be eligible, servicemen must have served at least six months in Vietnam and must have received their discharge from the military forces within two years of the date of cessation of their qualifying service. This assistance is only approved in those cases where an applicant's studies had been interrupted by his military service, or to

⁷¹The Veterans Charter, op. cit., pp. 316, 318.

⁷²"Discharged Soldiers--Benefits for Ex-Servicemen in Five British Countries and the United States," Monthly Labor Review, LXI (November, 1945), pp. 906-907.

those men who enlisted in the Armed Forces at an early age, and immediately following their pre-university education.⁷³

Although the New Zealand military does not have a separate educational program, active duty personnel are encouraged to increase their expertise through courses, some of which are subsidized by the government.

The New Zealand Defence Forces have no such programme (i.e. U.S. in-service educational programs). We do encourage personnel to increase their educational attainment during their service and have a scheme where we refund university fees on successful completion of approved courses and give monetary grants for the completion of certain qualifications not taken at a University (sic). These are, however, designed primarily to increase the personal value and prospects of serving personnel although naturally any such qualifications are also of value for resettlement purposes. In addition servicemen are entitled to free tuition in a wide range of correspondence courses, many of a vocational nature, through the Government Correspondence School and Technical Correspondence Institutes.⁷⁴

Republic of South Africa

South Africa had a large-scale educational program for veterans at the end of World War II. Part of it was in the area of vocational training; another in higher education. An ex-serviceman who took vocational or university training could receive grants and loans. There were also

⁷³New Zealand, Government of, Rehabilitation Board, Social Security Department, Wellington, New Zealand, Personal letter from Mr. G. J. Brocklehurst, Director of Rehabilitation, dated November 19, 1969.

⁷⁴New Zealand, Government of, Ministry of Defence, Wellington, New Zealand, Personal letter from J. E. Robertson, Secretary of Defence, dated November 28, 1969.

programs for apprenticeship training and for the handicapped. The program for university training was primarily for those whose education had been interrupted by active military service. Emphasis was also placed on training for vocational-related positions. Refresher courses were also supported. The Government of the then Union of South Africa realized the value of having a person trained before he left the active service. As a result, in many cases veterans were retained in the military at full pay and allowances until suitable employment was found for them.⁷⁵ The educational benefits for World War II Veterans were not extended after 1950; therefore, the Republic of South Africa does not have a current educational benefits program for veterans. The Armed Forces of the Republic of South Africa also do not have a resettlement program.⁷⁶

For a comparison of the major programs of the five Commonwealth countries discussed with that of the United States, refer to Table 5. All six programs have similarities. Purposes were generally the same. There were also differences. Some countries placed considerable emphasis on committees in granting assistance. And there were the

⁷⁵"Discharged Soldiers--Benefits for Ex-Servicemen in Five British Countries and the United States," Monthly Labor Review, op. cit., pp. 901 fl.

⁷⁶Republic of South Africa, Defence Headquarters, Pretoria, South Africa, Personal letter from the Senior Staff Officer, Military Historical and Archival Services, dated November 19, 1969.

unique provisions. Canada's emphasis on agriculture, including land grants, is an example.⁷⁷ The United Kingdom had been the forerunner of the readjustment programs. In each country veterans' groups were working for such legislation. In the United Kingdom, for example, the British Legion, the RAF Association, the Labour League of Ex-Servicemen all were significant forces in obtaining these benefits. The charisma of the veteran is not unique to the United States.⁷⁸

The United States gained from the experience of both state and foreign veterans programs. But its particular program emerged as the most comprehensive and generous one ever passed. To recognize this, its effects should be reviewed.

⁷⁷Bernard Baruch, "What the Vets Get in Australia, Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States," The Rotarian, LXVIII (April, 1946), p. 8.

⁷⁸Graham Wootton, The Politics of Influence; British Ex-Servicemen, Cabinet Decisions and Cultural Change (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 251.

Table 6.--Training facilities for veterans in
wealth countries and the United
States after World War II

Arrangements by type of training	United States	Australia	Canada	Great Britain
<i>Apprenticeship</i>				
Government sub- sidy.	\$50 to \$75 per month ac- cording to dependents.	(1)-----	(2)-----	Maximum one-third of journeyman's rate, in- cluding war bonus for trade and district.
Maximum pay-----	Sufficient to bring pay to beginning journeyman's rate. ³	-----	-----	Maximum $1\frac{1}{2}$ of journeym- an's rate, including bonus.
Credit for time in service.	Determined by joint board of employers and union men.	-----	-----	Maximum one-third of un- expired term of appren- ticeship.
<i>Vocational</i>				
Service requirement	90 days-----	6 months-----	Not specified-----	Full-time service-----
Application period--	2 years from discharge or termination of hostili- ties, whichever later.	12 months from discharge or close of hostilities, whichever later.	Payments completed 18 months from discharge or end of war, whichever later.	Not specified-----
Place of training...	Government - approved institution or qualified enterprise.	Government and other schools and in service.	Training centers and in service.	Government centers, tech- nical colleges, and in service.
Pay-----	Subsistence allowance up to \$50 to \$75 per month, according to dependents, plus apprentice wage, total not to exceed begin- ning journeyman's rate.	£3 5s. to £5 5s. weekly depending on marital status, allowances. ⁴	\$60 per month single, \$80 per month married, al- lowances.	Maximum £3 per week, allowances.
Duration-----	Maximum 4 years ⁶ -----	3-12 months in school until efficiency is 40 percent; in service until efficiency is 100 percent.	Maximum 52 weeks (with exceptions).	6 months and over-----
<i>Professional or university</i>				
Service requirement	90 days-----	6 months-----	Not specified-----	Not specified-----
Other eligibility requirements.	Not specified-----	Suitable for and in need of training, interrupted education.	Qualified for entrance; education interrupted by war service.	Training to national ad- vantage; education in- terrupted or prevented by war service.
Application period--	2 years from discharge, or termination of hostili- ties, whichever later.	12 months from discharge or end of hostilities, whichever later.	15 months from date of discharge.	Not specified-----
Financial provi- sions.	Maximum tuition \$500, and same rates as for vocational training.	Tuition and same rates as for vocational training.	Fees and same rates as for vocational training.	Adjusted to individual's needs.
Duration-----	Maximum 4 years ⁶ -----	Free for 3 years; later liv- ing allowance at 2 per- cent interest (excluding amounts received for dependents).	Period of service, subject to extension.	Not specified-----

¹ Existing provisions of National Security (Apprenticeship) Regulations were being continued in July 1945.

² Details not available.

³ Determined by joint employer-trade-union bodies for individual trades.

⁴ Revived for term unexpired at the date of suspension or for 3 years, whichever is shorter, if over 21 years of age; credit for full period of service if under 21 years of age.

⁵ A ward rate is paid after 40 percent efficiency is reached, Government supplementing wages by employer.

⁶ If the veteran was under the age of 21 when he entered the military service he may continue to receive more than 1 year of training allowance, but not to exceed 4 years.

Source: "Discharged Soldiers--Benefits for Ex-Soldiers in Five British Countries and the United States," Monthly Labor Review, LXI (November, 1938)

ing facilities for veterans in five Common-
wealth countries and the United
States after World War II

Canada	Great Britain	New Zealand	Union of South Africa	Arrangements by type of training
				<i>Apprenticeship</i>
	Maximum one-third of journeyman's rate, including war bonus for trade and district.	Sufficient to bring pay to level would have attained, if not interrupted.	(*)	Government subsidy.
	Maximum $1\frac{1}{2}$ of journeyman's rate, including bonus.	Maximum £6 (full journeyman rate).		Maximum pay.
	Maximum one-third of unexpired term of apprenticeship.	Adjusted ⁴		Credit for time in service.
Not specified	Full-time service	Overseas service (with exceptions).	Full-time service	<i>Vocational</i>
Payments completed 18 months from discharge or end of war, whichever later.	Not specified	Not specified	6 months from discharge or operation of scheme.	Service requirement.
Training centers and in service.	Government centers, technical colleges, and in service.	Government and other training centers and in service.	Technical colleges and other institutions and in service.	Application period.
\$60 per month single, \$80 per month married, allowances.	Maximum £3 per week, allowances.	£5 5s. to £6 weekly, allowances.	Maximum grant £250; loan up to £600.	Place of training.
Maximum 52 weeks (with exceptions).	6 months and over	3 years	Not specified	Pay.
Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	do	Duration.
Qualified for entrance; education interrupted by war service.	Training to national advantage; education interrupted or prevented by war service.	Interrupted education (with exceptions).	do	<i>Professional or university</i>
5 months from date of discharge.	Not specified	Not specified	do	Service requirement.
Fees and same rates as for vocational training.	Adjusted to individual's needs.	Tuition and £3 3s. to £5 5s. weekly and allowances; £250 (sterling) for graduate study.	Grants and loans same as for vocational training.	Other eligibility requirements.
Period of service, subject to extension.	Not specified	Postgraduate 3 years; other not specified.	Not specified	Application period.
				Financial provisions.
				Duration.

being continued in July 1945.

is shorter, if over 21 years

menting wages by employer.

arged Soldiers--Benefits for Ex-Servicemen in
British Countries and the United States."

Labor Review, LXI (November, 1945), pp. 906-907.

⁴ If the veteran was under the age of 25 years when he entered the service and his education was interrupted by military service he may continue vocational training or education for a period of 1 year or for the length of his service not to exceed 4 years; if over 25 years of age he must prove interruption of his education to receive more than 1 year of training and may then receive training or education for the length of his service not to exceed 4 years.

CHAPTER VII

THE EFFECTS OF G.I. BILL LEGISLATION

A Prototype for Civilian Measures

Our proposals would draw 1 million additional students into college attendance through what might be called a "Civilian Bill of Educational Rights" for qualified youth without adequate financial means.¹

Carnegie Commission on Higher
Education, December, 1968

This recommendation actually calls for a "Civilian G.I. Bill" for qualified American youth who cannot afford to go to college. The Carnegie Commission is headed by Dr. Clark Kerr, former President of the University of California. The commission made its recommendations to Congress and the White House and believes the national government should assume one-third of the costs of higher education by 1976. This greater involvement by the national government is essential "if the growth of higher education is not to be curbed at the very time that the national need demands our best ideas

¹Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Quality and Equality: New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education, A Special Report and Recommendations of the Commission (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), p. 49.

and intellectual skills and the broadest extension of equality of opportunity."²

Therefore, it is clear that rising expenditures mean that the Federal Government's contribution of 20 to 25 percent of income must increase to one-third of university income if institutions of higher learning are to maintain quality and serve larger student bodies. To meet the needs of some 3 million additional students in the next 5 to 6 years will require a national commitment of a wholly new order. . . .³

The preceding are the words of Congressman Reid of New York in regard to the importance of the national government's support to higher education to achieve equality of opportunity.

In the past four years, we have significantly eased the financial burden which college imposes on so many families. Last year, more than one student in five attended college with the help of Federal loans, scholarships, grants and work-study programs.

But for millions of capable American students and their families, college is still out of reach. In a nation that honors individual achievement, financial obstacles to full educational opportunity must be overcome.⁴

President Lyndon B. Johnson
Message to the Congress on
Education
February 5, 1968

It is obvious there has been considerable concern about governmental support of higher education in order to achieve equality of opportunity. And in this regard, reference is

²"Blueprint for Massive Aid to Students," U.S. News and World Report, LXV, December 23, 1968, p. 10.

³Congressional Record, February 6, 1969, p. H823.

⁴President Lyndon B. Johnson, "The Fifth Freedom," The President's Address to Congress on Education, February 5, 1968, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, IV (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1968), p. 219.

continuously made to the G.I. Bill legislation. Dr. Kerr seeks a "Civilian G.I. Bill"; Whitney Young speaks for a massive program for urban America similar to the 1944 G.I. Bill; Presidents and Congressmen propose new social programs modeled after the veterans' educational programs. The veterans G.I. Bill legislation has had considerable effects on our society, but, perhaps, the greatest concerns a change in philosophy toward education, a recognition of the need for government to become more involved in providing equal opportunity, and the continued emphasis of using education to help the disadvantaged.

An accurate assessment of the importance of the G.I. Bills is impossible. Yet, some appreciation of its impact on education and the economy can be viewed. What has been successful with veterans can also be applied to other segments of the society. This thought expresses the most far-reaching effect of the educational legislation for veterans. Charles Peckarsky, Deputy Chief of Benefits, Main Office, the Veterans Administration, expressed it in this way, "Programs for veterans often become source material or prototypes for programs for the general public."⁵

⁵Charles J. Peckarsky, Deputy Chief of Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., Personal Interview, August 19, 1969.

Immediate Effects on Colleges
and Universities

The Soviet space probe with Sputnik I in the fall of 1957 had a remarkable effect on education in this country. Congress passed massive programs, especially in science, to successfully compete with the U.S.S.R. Many have claimed the revolution in American education can be traced to October 5, 1957, the launching of Sputnik I. But that is not altogether accurate even though the Soviet space success did act as a catalyst on the national government. At the time there was a threat in the scientific area; legislators ignored any arguments about "socialized education" and passed a series of massive aid bills. Writing in the September 16, 1967, issue of The Saturday Review of Literature, Frank G. Jennings observed, "If we are to look for a watershed or some transforming series of events to account for the different way in which we now regard our educational problems, we must turn back beyond that earlier October to a date near the end of World War II when in 1944 the Veterans Readjustment Act, known more generally as the G.I. Bill, was enacted."⁶ This program gave access to education, especially higher education, to more people in a concentrated period than did any other program in the history of the nation. And it inducted into the professions, including

⁶Frank G. Jennings, "It Didn't Start with Sputnik," The Saturday Review of Literature, L, September 16, 1967, p. 77.

education, a generally more mature group of men and women from a broader social and economic base than had previously come from the nation's campuses.⁷ In a recent issue of Army, the G.I. Bill was referred to as "one of the principal architects of a social revolution which propelled an entire generation into prosperity."⁸ Its effects were, of course, many.

Enrollments Boom

One of the first noticeable effects of the initial G.I. Bill and subsequent legislation was the increase in enrollments at colleges and universities throughout the country. During the war the institutions of higher learning were suffering from a lack of students. Between 1940 and 1943 there had been a 19 per cent general decline in higher education enrollments in the United States. The nation was extremely concerned about this loss of talent.⁹ With millions of new students, mostly veterans, there would naturally be considerable changes in higher education. Before the benefits terminated, about 7,800,000 took advantage of educational assistance under the first G.I. Bill, some 2,200,000 of these were in higher education. Many

⁷Ibid.

⁸Eric C. Ludvigsen, "A Quarter-Century of the G.I. Bill," Army, XIX (August, 1969), p. 16.

⁹George Zook, How the Colleges Went to War (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942), p. 10.

veterans attempted to enter a small number of prestigious schools. Because of the enrollments problems at these schools, it was, of course, necessary to look elsewhere for vacancies. The result was a tremendous expansion of state colleges and universities. This is reflected in the increases in enrollments at a few of the major institutions of the country.

1944-45 Academic Year	Institution	1946-47 Academic Year
2,714	Princeton	3,000
3,914	Washington State	4,978
4,165	North Carolina	5,200
5,980	Northwestern	8,900
8,125	California (UCLA)	10,000
9,013	Harvard	10,866
7,013	Chicago	11,000
11,286	Wisconsin	15,000
12,132	Michigan	18,500
14,211	Columbia	20,052
13,894	Illinois	23,000

Fig. 5.--Enrollments in major universities before and after World War II.¹⁰

The veterans soon were to dominate the campuses. For example, the Harvard Law School registered 48 students in 1944; in the spring term of 1946, 1,156 were enrolled, 1,006 of whom were veterans.¹¹

¹⁰"Effects of College Boom: Shift to Mass Education," The United States News, XXI (September 6, 1946), p. 29.

¹¹General Omar N. Bradley, "Higher Education of Veterans from the Viewpoint of the Veterans' Administration," Emergency Problems in Higher Education, American Council on Education Studies, Series I, Reports of Committees and Conferences, X (August, 1946), Washington, D.C., p. 22.

The State of California was extremely concerned with the expected influx into its schools not only because of its sons and daughters returning from the war but also because that state anticipated a significant increase in newcomers. It was correct. The Bureau of Public Administration, the University of California, Berkeley, prepared a study on the impact of the veteran influx in 1946. The report noted an increase in all levels of education. Comments from the various educational institutions indicated well the vast challenge to the Golden State.

Metropolitan High School, Los Angeles (March, 1946)
More than 100% increase since the Fall (sic) semester. The school has 245 enrolled; the capacity is actually 200. If there were room, Metropolitan could enroll 700 to 800 veterans. The big proportion of enrollees are short-term students who want high school diplomas or college preparation. Out of the 245, there are some 33 students who are taking elementary education. Of those who are securing high school diplomas, the majority wish to go on to college. There is no slackening of enrollment applications.

Pasadena Junior College (January, 1946)
Veterans are now enrolling in our institution for the coming semester at the rate of forty a day with some days as high as forty-six. The total of these applications plus those already in attendance is now well over 1100 and the 1200 estimate for next fall is definitely on the conservative side. The housing situation is just as critical as the classroom situation. We are going to attempt to provide twenty additional instructors for next semester. . . .

University of Southern California (February, 1946)
February veteran enrollment, 3200; estimated spring veteran¹² enrollment, 5500-6000. Spring enrollment is

¹²U.S. Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Impact of the Federal Veterans' Programs on California Educational Institutions, Prepared by Alfred G. Norris. A Preliminary Report (Berkeley: Bureau of Public

closed. May be able to accommodate 2000 more in September.

The report emphasized the tremendous expense involved to the state and also private institutions in regard to expansion.¹³

In 1947 one of every two college students was a veteran, and three out of every four men students were veterans.¹⁴ Although the impact in regard to numbers was less in the Korean War; one out of every four males in the nation's colleges and universities was a veteran immediately following that conflict.¹⁵ Some 1,213,000 took advantage of the Korean G.I. Bill benefits for higher education. And under the 1966 permanent enactment, as of June, 1969, already 701,200 have used benefits for college or university work.¹⁶ The numbers did and continue to have an effect on higher education. However, the impact of the first G.I. Bill remains. "The ex-GI of World War II has virtually disappeared. . . . But because of him, U.S. higher education will never be quite the same again."¹⁷ What were some of the major effects of this increase on enrollments?

Administration, the University of California, 1946), pp. 25, 27, and 29.

¹³Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴Bradford Morse, "The Veteran and His Education," Higher Education, XIII (February, 1957), p. 104.

¹⁵"College Enrollments of Veterans Still Large," Higher Education, XIII (February, 1957), p. 104.

¹⁶United States Veterans Administration, G.I. Bill of Rights, 25th Anniversary, 1944-1969. Pamphlet. Washington, D.C.: Veterans Administration, 1969, p. 8.

¹⁷"End of an Era," Time, LXVIII (August 6, 1956), p. 44.

Housing

An immediate problem was housing. Institutions of higher learning were not able to cope with the situation. The national government, eager to implement the provisions of the G.I. Bill, saw it necessary to support housing measures. The Housing and Home Finance Agency, formerly the National Housing Agency, in co-operation with local agencies, initiated numerous housing developments throughout the country. The national government by 1948 had been involved in the following housing developments: family units, 48,492; trailer family, 11,308; dormitory, 87,427; trailer dormitory, 603. The original contracts with local agencies required the demolition of this temporary housing after a determination by the government that the need for such housing no longer existed.¹⁸ To meet the acute housing and other needs, the Director of War Mobilization and Reconstruction issued a report entitled The Veteran and Higher Education in 1946; he not only recommended some 300,000 additional housing facilities, but urged involvement by the national government in many other significant ways. Unused military facilities were made available to the colleges and universities on a no-cost lease basis. There was distribution of surplus equipment, including two million textbooks; the Office of Education assisted state agencies to

¹⁸Holliss P. Allen, The Federal Government and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), p. 58.

establish clearing systems to supply current information on the existence of vacancies in schools and particular courses; a special National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel for college and university teachers was initiated.¹⁹ Congress passed the Mead Bill to cope with the critical shortages in addition to housing. Through the Federal Works Agency, support was given to build classrooms, laboratories, dining halls, and administrative offices. The \$100 million authorized for the project was apportioned among the states according to veteran enrollments.²⁰ To implement the program the national government became involved in many other aspects of university life. Housing was only one.

Financial Considerations

Another factor in regard to the increased enrollments by veterans has been financial considerations of the individual schools. The colleges and universities were curtailed greatly during World War II; however, after the tremendous enrollments, most found themselves in financial crises. Many university officials complained about the additional administrative work required by the Veterans

¹⁹"Federal and State Aid to Veterans' Education," The School Review, LIV (October, 1946), pp. 441-443.

²⁰"Temporary Educational Facilities for Veterans," Higher Education, III (September 2, 1946), p. 7.

Administration.²¹ Many colleges and universities claimed the veterans were really placing schools in a financial crisis.²²

Another aspect of this financial consideration was the veteran and equal opportunity. The G.I. Bills have opened higher education to many; thus, the measure was actually a democratizing influence.²³ A series of studies noted the importance of lowering the economic barriers to higher education in regard to fulfilling equal opportunity and also to tap talent for the nation.²⁴ Professors W. B. Schrader and Norman Fredericksen arrived at the same conclusion after a careful 1951 study on veterans who used the educational benefits.

The evidence of the present study indicates that when students are selected by the procedures ordinarily employed by the colleges in admitting veterans, there is no marked difference, either in ability or in grades adjusted for ability, between those who would have gone and those who would not have gone to college without financial aid. This in turn supports the view that a substantial pool of effective academic talent could

²¹"Are the Veterans a Financial Burden?" School and Society, LXV (February 22, 1947), p. 136.

²²W. Emerson Reck, "Our Colleges See Red," School and Society, LXV (March 1, 1947), p. 153.

²³Earl J. McGrath, "The Education of the Veteran," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), pp. 80-81.

²⁴Norman Fredericksen, Adjustment to College: A Study of 10,000 Veteran and Non-Veteran Students in 16 American Colleges (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1951), p. 327.

be tapped by lowering economic barriers to higher education.²⁵

The significance here is the concern for providing more opportunity to go to college. And this recognition of the need for furnishing means to obtain higher education had its effect in later legislation, both for veterans and non-veterans. A panel discussion on "Implications of Recent Governmental Enactments," held among leading educators of the nation in 1952 emphasized the acceptance of this support to higher education through veterans' educational legislation.

. . . The importance of G.I. legislation is indicated by the fact that something like 8 billion dollars has gone into the coffers of our institutions of higher education and into the pockets of the students in our colleges and universities--and investment in education that bids fair to be a permanent and continuing program of federal scholarships unequalled in our own or any other nation in history.²⁶

Curriculum Changes

The influx of veterans also caused a revolution in regard to course emphasis. Universities and colleges were forced to change curriculum to meet the needs of veterans, who were interested in particular in the practical. Vocational programs were the most popular; there was a demand

²⁵W. B. Schrader and Norman Fredericksen, "College Achievement and the G.I. Bill," School and Society, LXXIII (May 5, 1951), p. 297.

²⁶"Implications of Recent Governmental Enactments," College and University, XXVII (July, 1952), p. 609.

for the scientific. George E. Payne, Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Educational Sociology offered this observation.

Ex-servicemen and women will not accept the conventional type of program and instruction that relates to their needs as they see them and not as the instructor sees them. Generally, theoretical instruction that bears little relation to their problems is taboo. Perhaps, somewhere between the ideas of the professor and the students will be the right solution, and compromise is in order.²⁷

Part of this demand for change in curriculum was because of the experiences of the veterans. The ex-servicemen had been trained to appreciate the practical. In addition, they were well-traveled.

Assignment	Number
United States Duty	6 million
American Theater (Outside the United States)	1 million
European Theater	5 million
Mediterranean Theater	1 million
Persian Gulf	30,000
Middle-East, Central Africa	20,000
China, Burma, India	500,000
Pacific Theater	3 million

Fig. 6.--Assignments of World War II military personnel.²⁸

²⁷George E. Payne, "Significant Developments in Education, the GI and Postwar Education," The Journal of Educational Sociology, XX (May, 1947), p. 586.

²⁸Benjamin C. Bowker, Out of Uniform (New York: Norton and Company, 1946), p. 20.

The total of those outside of the United States comes to 10,550,000. The result of this broad background was also a reason for a demand to establish new courses. Many of the area studies programs of leading schools originated in the post World War II era.²⁹ Professor Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago believed this orientation would assist a change in American foreign policy.

In this way, higher education may help to lead us from a parochial nationalism and a vague, often sentimental, cosmopolitanism to a stage where we can appreciate the necessity of playing our part in world citizenship. . . .³⁰

This new outlook was characteristic of most of the veterans of Western countries in World War II.³¹ Education even on the high school level would change due to the veterans.

Lieutenant Ivan Gustafson writing in Education, September, 1946, observed.

. . . We must remember that we sent boys to war and men are returning. They are not high school students, but men returning to high school. It is the place and duty of our high school educators to give these men the types of education they are going to demand, and which they have found out the world is going to demand of them to find occupational security.³²

²⁹"Effects of College Boom: Shift to Mass Education," The United States News, op. cit., p. 28.

³⁰Louis Wirth, "Postwar Political and Social Conditions and Higher Education," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), p. 160.

³¹Frank L. Brayne, Winning the Peace (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 3-4, 11-12.

³²Ivan Gustafson, "Educator's Idealism vs. Veteran's Realism," Education, LXVII (September, 1946), p. 56.

Increasing the Educational Level

Of course, the G.I. Bill contributed greatly to the increase in the level of education in the nation. In World War I about five per cent had some training in higher education; another four per cent were high school graduates. But eight out of ten had not risen above the grade school level. And a startlingly high percentage were either completely illiterate or barely able to read and write. Several years after World War II, fourteen per cent had some college work, another twenty-five per cent were high-school graduates. And twenty-eight per cent left high school before graduating. Thus, two-thirds of the entire group was above the grammar school level.³³ World War II veterans completed 10.9 years of education (median) in comparison to 12.2 years for the Korean Conflict veterans.³⁴ And today Congressional legislation defines the "disadvantaged veteran" as one without a high school education. The emphasis on education received considerable impetus through veterans educational benefits. As one popular news magazine in 1946 concluded,

³³Maxwell Droke, Good-By to GI: How to be a Successful Civilian (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945), p. 76.

³⁴U.S. Veterans Administration, Office of the Controller, Historical Statistics of the Veteran Population, 1865-1960, A Compendium of Facts About Veterans, 87th Cong., 1st sess., House Committee Print No. 69, May 12, 1961, p. 36.

All in all, the American educational system is to become a boom industry this autumn, with its vast expansion centered around a comparatively few big-name colleges. And the basic changes now being worked out are making the college degree a mass-production product that, educators believe, nearly every high-school graduate will want.³⁵

The Demands for the Trained

One significant interpretation of the G.I. Bill legislation has been that it has embodied two principles: (1) Restoration of veterans into responsible positions, and (2) improvement of the veterans' economic situation.³⁶ Both are directly connected with education.

At the end of World War II there was a general lack of trained personnel. Of course, there were some exceptions. Engineering, medicine, dentistry, and theology continued on their full-time peace quotas. But many were critically short. These included agriculture, commerce, law, and teaching.³⁷ Many reports indicated the need to take governmental action in order to guarantee a continuing supply of talented personnel. Two reports from the War Mobilization Office stressed the importance of fulfilling the critical needs in these professional areas. The Report on War and

³⁵"Effects of College Boom: Shift to Mass Education," The United States News, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁶Eveline M. Burns, The American Social Security System (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1949), pp. 266-267.

³⁷Donald J. Shank, "Postwar Education of Service Personnel," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), p. 69.

Post-War Adjustment Policies (1944) presented justification for the G.I. Bill because of the needs for trained people; the report in 1946 entitled The Veteran and Higher Education emphasized this need for professional people would be a long-term concern of society.³⁸ Dr. James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, emphasized the need for many ex-servicemen to return to college and university work in order to fill the dangerous shortage of trained men in industry and the professions.

'The country has an unfulfilled obligation to those returning from the front. We must also make up the devastating shortage of trained men for civilian occupations resulting from many years of war. The nation dares not neglect the talents and skills of an entire generation.'³⁹

Senator James M. Mead (D N.Y.) in hearings conducted by the Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Education observed this training people in skills was for the nation's benefit.

This (i.e., reference to the G.I. Bill) was not merely an act of justice to the war veteran; it was also a program in behalf of the national welfare. We had lost a whole college generation of young men and women who normally would have been graduated during the 5-war-years to take their places in society as

³⁸U.S. War Mobilization Office, Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies (By Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 2-3; The Veteran and Higher Education, A Report to the President by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 37-38.

³⁹"Two University Presidents on Critical Problems of Postwar Education," School and Society, LXI (May 5, 1945), p. 293.

engineers, lawyers, scientists, teachers, chemists, or gone into research. These are the professional skills upon which the effective operation of our society depends, as well as the national defense, and the deficit should be made good as rapidly as possible.⁴⁰

One of the major contributions of the G.I. Bills was the development of skilled personnel. This has been one of the strong points noted by the Veterans Administration. Veterans' educational benefits increased the supply of specialized and highly trained personnel needed by the nation.⁴¹ There have been many supporting statistics. Taking the World War II and the Korean Conflict programs into consideration, some claim the following numbers entered the accompanying professions through this assistance: 700,000, businessmen and managers; 440,000, engineers; 240,000, teachers; 168,000, doctors and dentists; 112,000, scientists; 105,000, lawyers; and 93,000, social scientists.⁴² Of course, these would be increased considerably had the 1966 enactment also been considered.

⁴⁰U.S. Congress Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Relating to Education and Training Under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, Hearings, Before the Special Subcommittee on Veterans' Education and Rehabilitation Benefits, Senate, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., 1946, p. 4.

⁴¹U.S. Congress, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate, Educational Benefits for Veterans of the Korean Conflict, Committee Print, 1952, pp. 61-62.

⁴²Nora Levin, "Needed: A New G.I. Bill, the Neglected Vets," The Nation, CXCVI (February 23, 1963), p. 172.

The importance of skill is even more essential today. This is best reflected in changing aspects of the total working force over the last sixty years and in regard to the future. Today the youth who leaves school at an early age becomes "social dynamite," according to Dr. James Conant, simply because there is a direct relationship between work and education. A college degree is the only entry into the professions with graduate study often a necessity, especially for advancement. And the technical, skilled, and semiprofessional occupations all demand substantial amounts of postsecondary education for entrance. The concentration is on training. Former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz in hearings before the Subcommittee on Education, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, stressed the relationship of education to employment.

'The reason for the increasing concentration of unemployment among unskilled workers is that machines are taking over the unskilled jobs. These are the jobs which have, up to this time, absorbed the casualties of the educational system, those who for one reason or another have left school without having added to the strength which is in their arms and backs the skill it takes to do something more than 'common labor.' This wasn't too bad when there were enough common labor jobs around. Now there aren't.

'Today, unskilled workers make up 5 per cent of the work force, but almost 15 percent of all the unemployed are in this group. Unemployment is over twice as high among the young worker groups and among non-white workers--the two groups in which there are the largest percentages of unskilled workers than it is in the work force as a whole.'⁴³

⁴³Ibid., pp. 16-17.

Table 7.--Percentage of total working force in regard to function, 1900-1975

	1900	1947	1960	1975
White Collar	17.6	34.9	43.1	47.8
Professional & Technical	4.3	6.6	11.2	14.2
Managers & Proprietors	5.8	10.0	10.6	10.7
Clerical Workers	3.0	12.4	14.7	16.2
Sales Personnel	4.5	5.9	6.6	6.7
Blue Collar	35.8	40.7	36.6	33.4
Craftsmen & Foremen	10.5	13.4	12.8	12.8
Semiskilled Operatives	12.8	21.2	18.0	16.3
Laborers (Not mine & farm)	12.5	6.1	5.5	4.3
Service Workers	9.0	10.4	12.5	14.3
Farm Workers	37.6	14.0	8.1	4.5

Source: Grant Venn. Man, Education, and Work, Postsecondary Vocational and Technical Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1964), p. 8. (Original source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, 1960, pp. 75-78.)

Table 8.--Levels of educational attainment within major occupational groups by percentage, 1961

Group	Less Than High School	High School Diploma Only	Some College
Professional & Technical	6	19	75
Proprietors & Managers	38	33	29
Clerical & Sales Workers	25	53	22
Skilled Workers	59	33	8
Semiskilled Workers	70	26	4
Service Workers	69	25	4
Unskilled Workers	80	17	3
Farmers & Farm Managers	76	19	5

Source: Grant Venn. Man, Education, and Work, Postsecondary Vocational and Technical Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1964), p. 8. (Original Source--U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, 1960, pp. 75-78.)

The relationship between education and work, in terms of occupational upgrading, is fixed.

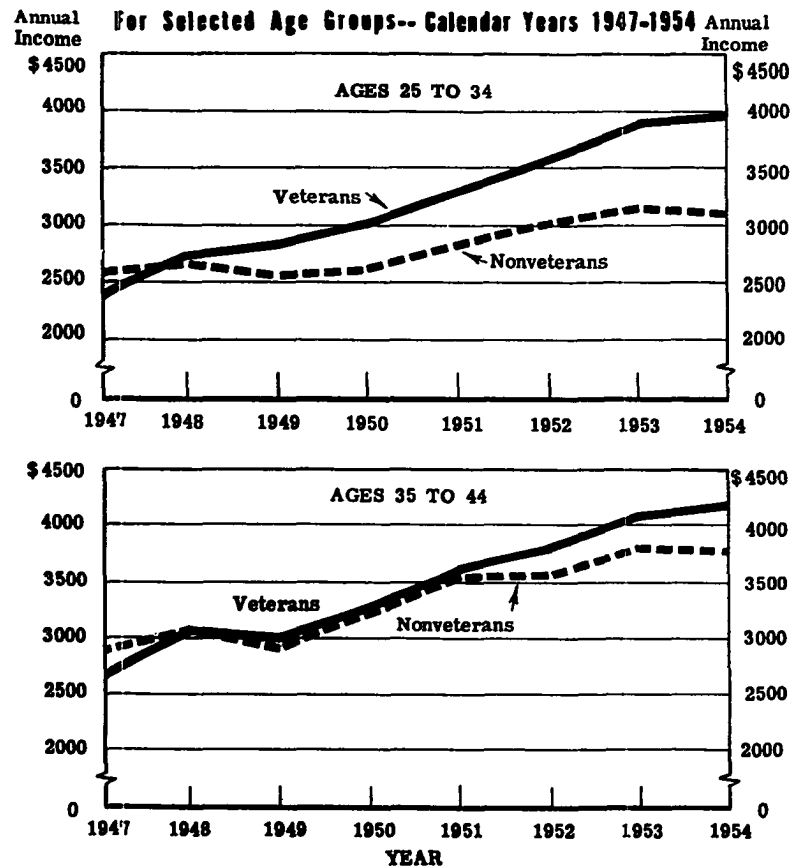
The Economic Status of Ex-Servicemen

Education is not only important for securing a job, and hence contributing to self-image,⁴⁴ but it is also directly related to income power. Many of the ex-servicemen in World War II had no intention of returning to school until they faced a poor employment picture after demobilization.⁴⁵ Thus, they took the G.I. Bill as a means to get some support. Some became interested in school and continued to get the degree. And they were no doubt ever thankful they did take that course of action. The economic status of veterans is better than that of non-veterans. And governmental studies have pointed to the educational advantage of veterans as the principal factor. The Commission on Veterans Pensions in 1956 reported the median education level of World War II veterans in October, 1952 was 12.2 years; for nonveterans in the 25-29 age group, only 9 years. "In a large measure this difference represents the effect of the G.I. Bill benefits provided to the veterans; it also

⁴⁴Wilbur B. Brookover and Sigmund Noscow, "A Sociological Analysis of Vocational Education in the United States," Education for a Changing World of Work: Report of the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education, Appendix III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 26.

⁴⁵John A. Clausen and Shirley A. Star, "The Soldier Looks Ahead," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), pp. 16-17.

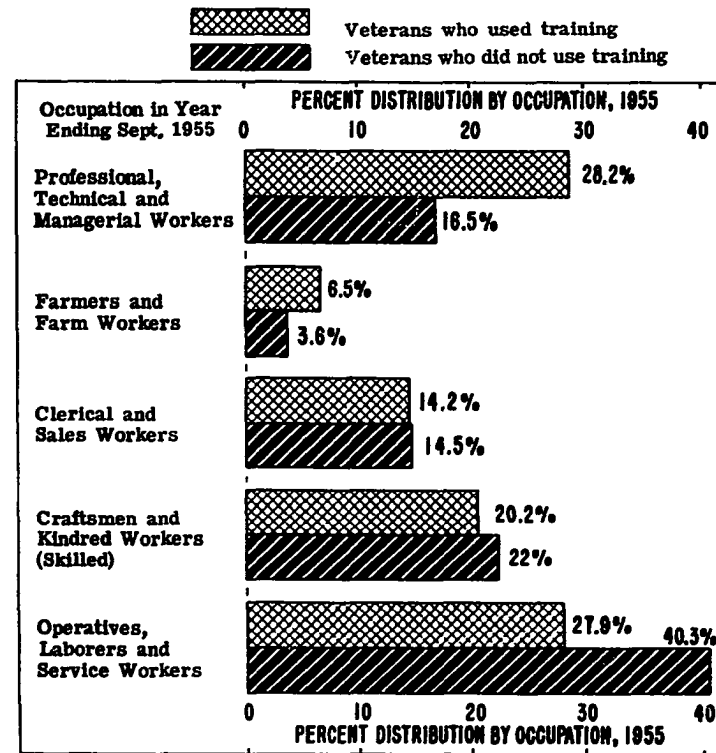
Table 9.--Median money incomes of male veterans and nonveterans of World War II



Source: U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 94.

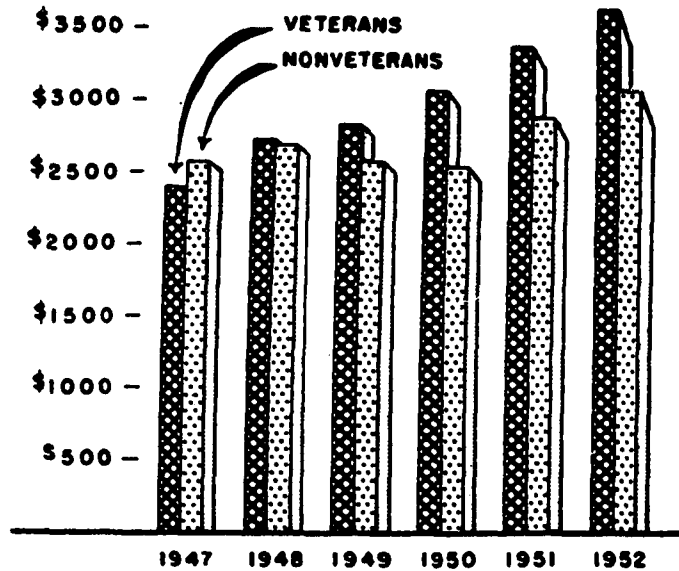
Table 10.--Relationship between present occupation and use of 'GI' benefits

(Veterans of World War II and Korean Conflict)



Source: U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 268.

Table 11.--World War II veterans retain leadership over nonveterans in economic position



WORLD WAR II VETERANS RETAIN LEAD OVER NONVETERANS

Between 1947 and 1952, the median income of World War II veterans in the 25 to 34 year age group (which includes most veterans) increased by about 50 percent (from \$2,400 to \$3,600), whereas the income of nonveterans in this age group increased by only about 20 percent (from \$2,600 to \$3,100). As figure 2 shows, the median income of nonveterans was slightly higher than that of veterans in 1947, and in 1948 the income of both groups was about the same. By 1949, the fourth full year after the end of the war, the median income of veterans was higher than that of nonveterans, and it has remained higher ever since.

Table 12.--Comparison of median incomes of male veterans and nonveterans of World War II, 25 to 44 years of age, 1947-54

Year	Median total money income, by age group				Ratio of veterans' income to that of nonveterans (percent)	
	Age 25-34 years		Age 35-44 years		Age 25-34 years	Age 35-44 years
	Veterans of World War II	Non-veterans ¹	Veterans of World War II	Non-veterans ¹		
1947.....	\$2,401	\$2,585	\$2,689	\$2,900	92.9	92.7
1948.....	2,784	2,622	3,045	3,046	101.6	100.0
1949.....	2,828	2,582	2,984	2,935	110.4	101.7
1950.....	3,058	2,626	3,291	3,234	116.5	101.8
1951.....	3,359	2,878	3,647	3,585	116.8	101.4
1952.....	3,681	3,065	3,834	3,602	118.5	106.4
1953.....	3,948	3,183	4,118	3,867	124.0	106.5
1954.....	3,978	3,073	4,227	3,818	129.5	110.7

¹ Includes all males who were not reported as World War II veterans. Some nonveterans of World War II served in the Korean conflict.

Source: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, To Provide Readjustment Assistance to Post-Korean Conflict Veterans. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, 87th Cong., 1st sess., 1961, pp. 62-63.

reflects selection standards used in drafting men during World War II."⁴⁶ As can be seen from the accompanying charts, World War II veterans do have the edge in regard to salary over nonveterans.

The G.I. Bills were to assist the veterans readjust to the civilian realm; they were aimed at helping the veteran regain lost opportunities. From the previous charts, it is obvious the educational benefits gave the veteran a marked advantage over the nonveteran in the long run. Of course, the correlation between earning power and education has been well-known.⁴⁷ Messrs. Richard J. Anderson and A. Cooper Price of the Veterans Administration Center of Biloxi, Mississippi, conducted a longitudinal study of the influence of education on veterans' earnings. They noted a striking influence, especially in later years.⁴⁸ Thus, the educational assistance met the primary concern of veterans--economic success. It was a matter of the veterans' practical viewpoint.

. . . However, the average veteran is basically not half as interested in the idealistic conception of 'how to more fully enjoy life and maintain a world of peace' as he is in the shocking reality of 'how

⁴⁶U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 95.

⁴⁷Maxwell Droke, Good-By to GI: How to be A Successful Civilian, op. cit., p. 82.

⁴⁸Richard J. Anderson and A. Cooper Price, "Research--Veterans' Careers as a Function of Education," School and Society, XC (Summer, 1962), pp. 266-267.

am I going to make a comfortable living after leaving the service.' His first interest when he dons civilian clothes is in his own individual economic security.⁴⁹

Through the efforts of the nation the veterans have become the best-educated, the best-trained, and occupationally the best-adjusted group of people in the history of the country.⁵⁰ The country extended veterans every possible assistance to regain normalcy.⁵¹ But in doing so the nation was also to assist itself. In a way, this is the same idea as the Marshall plan. True, the assistance was indeed generous. But the United States was looking ahead. With a rebuilt Western Europe, the chances of American prosperity would be that much better. The G.I. Bill also stimulated the economy. The home loan provisions resulted in immediate effects. For example, still in 1956 one out of every six persons was gainfully employed either directly or indirectly by the home building business.⁵² In addition, the programs, although costly, really paid for themselves in regard to the increased taxes collected by the national

⁴⁹Ivan Gustafson, "Educator's Idealism vs. Veteran's Realism," op. cit., p. 55.

⁵⁰Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, "How the G.I. Bill Increases Wealth," The American Teacher Magazine, XLV (April, 1961), p. 9.

⁵¹Stanley Frank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXXVIII (November 5, 1955), p. 21.

⁵²Martin L. Gross, "To Our GIs--With Thanks," Coronet, XL (August, 1956), p. 94.

Table 13.--Relation between median earned income in year ended September, 1955 and length of time in present occupation, by age and use of GI training benefits (nondisabled veterans of World War II and Korean Conflict)

Age group and time in present occupation	Median earned income			Percentage distribution by time in present occupation	
	Veterans who used GI training	Veterans who did not use GI training	Difference in favor of trainees	Veterans who used training	Veterans who did not use training
All age groups, total ¹	\$4,129	\$4,073	+556	100.0	100.0
Time in present occupation:					
Less than 2 years.....	3,106	2,969	+145	19.9	22.7
2 to 5 years.....	4,259	3,875	+384	24.2	16.5
5 years or more.....	4,658	4,623	+35	50.0	56.6
Age 25 to 34 years, total ¹	4,197	3,897	+300	100.0	100.0
Time in present occupation:					
Less than 2 years.....	3,287	3,225	+62	19.8	25.5
2 to 5 years.....	4,236	3,799	+437	28.8	23.7
5 years or more.....	4,670	4,486	+184	47.8	46.8
Age 35 to 44 years, total ¹	4,417	4,619	-202	100.0	100.0
Time in present occupation:					
Less than 2 years.....	(²)	(²)	(²)	13.6	8.8
2 to 5 years.....	4,464	4,287	+177	18.1	12.5
5 years or more.....	4,708	4,782	-79	65.7	76.8

¹ Data for veterans with no present occupation are not shown and percentages given therefore do not add to 100 percent.

² Not computed because of small number of cases in sample.

Source: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, To Provide Readjustment Assistance to Post-Korean Conflict Veterans. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs, 87th Cong., 1st sess., 1961, p. 62.

government. Senator Ralph Yarborough commented on this during his many campaigns to obtain a Cold War G.I. Bill.

In the long run, these programs will not cost the nation a penny for they are self-liquidating investments in education. Studies show that the nation's investment in previous G.I. Bills will be repaid by 1975 through increased income tax revenues based on the veterans' increased earning power.⁵³

Thus, the G.I. Bill legislation placed the veteran in an excellent position in regard to his peers. The government and general society also benefitted from the higher economic position of the veterans. And the society as a whole was stimulated economically through the provisions of the G.I. Bill. There was the boom in universities and colleges, the massive effort in the home-building field, and the incentives for employers to hire veterans through the job-training programs.⁵⁴ Many abuses occurred, but the legislation did have and continues to have an effect on the general economy. G.I. Bill legislation increased enrollments, contributed to college and university expansion, increased the general level of education, changed curriculums, and helped place the veterans in an advantageous position economically. All are favorable aspects. What about the disadvantages? These are difficult to come by; however, there have been some critics.

⁵³Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, "How the G.I. Bill Increases Wealth," op. cit., p. 9.

⁵⁴"We've Been Asked: How G.I. Bill Aids Industry," U.S. News, XX (April 19, 1946), p. 58.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins Leads the
Attack on the First G.I. Bill

One of the leading attacks on the entire concept of veterans' educational benefits came from the President of the University of Chicago, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins. There were several aspects to his courageous stand. He predicted the defeat of the greatest educational venture this nation ever attempted. The nation's schools were in difficult positions from a financial point of view. Thus, they were thought to be willing to compromise standards in order to obtain governmental subsidies through the G.I. Bill. Therefore, with so many thousands interested only in vocational training, the standards of the colleges and universities would be certain to fall. This was the core of Hutchins's argument.⁵⁵ Dr. Hutchins thought the government was entirely incorrect in using mass education as a means of dealing with unemployment. Other agencies should be concerned with unemployment. To correct the situation, the university president offered a series of amendments.

These amendments would mean, of course, that fewer veterans would attend colleges and universities; for only those would attend who wanted and could get an education. Education would not be used as a substitute for a dole or for a national program of public works. And it should not be. To use it as a substitute for

⁵⁵Joseph P. Blieckensderfer, "What Reinforcement We may Gain from Hope," The Saturday Review of Literature, XXVIII (September 15, 1945), p. 20.

either is to run the risk of ruining the educational system and the young people committed to its charge.⁵⁶

President Hutchins considered the emphasis on vocational education a fraud. And in periods of unemployment, the fraud becomes the most vicious. In the depression year of 1934, 150,000 students finished their schooling in bookkeeping, and 36,000 new bookkeepers were hired. In that same year, 100,000 students were trained as diesel engineers, and 5,000 new men were added to the 20,000 employed in that industry. This leading academician noted the American Youth Commission found in 1940 that more than two-thirds of all occupations required nothing beyond elementary education, and that workers without any vocational training reached normal production on 70 per cent of all jobs in less than one week. However, Dr. Hutchins did realize the odds were against him; the overwhelming majority of veterans and educators believed in the value of vocational education.⁵⁷ The mass education would not only lead to a lowering of standards but, in the opinion of Mr. Hutchins, there would be widespread corruption. The colleges and universities would not refuse financial support. In fact, they would seek it often by questionable means.

The problem presented by the act in relation to the colleges and universities in their presumably

⁵⁶Robert M. Hutchins, "The Threat to American Education," Collier's, CXIV (December 30, 1944), p. 21.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 20.

non-vocational activities is more difficult. Educational institutions, as the bigtime football racket shows, cannot resist money. The G.I. Bill of Rights gives them a chance to get more money than they have ever dreamed of, and to do it in the name of patriotism. They will not want to keep out unqualified veterans; they will not want to expel those who fail. Even if they should want to, they will not be allowed to, for the public and the veterans' organizations will not stand for it. Colleges and universities will find themselves converted into educational hobo jungles. And veterans, unable to get work and equally unable to resist putting pressure on the colleges and universities, will find themselves educational hobos. . . . To say that this is reckless of Congress is a generous understatement. It is not merely reckless; it is an open invitation to any entrepreneur of the proper political persuasion in a given state to buy up the charters of half a dozen bankrupt colleges and make his fortune.⁵⁸

As might be imagined, the comments of this leading educator did stimulate wide-spread discussion. Despite his many charges, the University of Chicago President did realize the elitism of the college crowd. The G.I. Bill was destroying this. ". . . Before the war only 14 per cent of young people of college age were in college. Repeated studies have shown that these students were not the best; they were the richest."⁵⁹

Other Critics of the G.I. Bill .

Dr. Hutchins was not the only one who had reservations about the massive educational program. However, he became the leading critic. In 1946 the American Council on Public Affairs issued a study entitled Educational

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 20.

Opportunities for Veterans; in it Dr. Francis J. Brown, Executive Secretary of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education, urged definite steps be taken to prevent lowering of educational standards, monopolization of education by large universities, abuse of funds, and disregard of the needs of veterans.⁶⁰ A member of the California State Board of Education, Dr. Byron H. Atkinson, noted the problem of abuse due to the role of individual schools in the distribution of funds.⁶¹ Professor William Randel of the University of Missouri thought there was legitimate concern about the direction higher education took because of veterans education. Dr. Randel feared standards might be lowered because of certain veteran demand.⁶² The Commonwealth expressed concern over an abandonment of the knowledge of the past in favor of techniques.

'Knowledge is Power' is well-taken by most of the people in the nation at this time. At the end of the war Americans expressed value in this concept by inviting our servicemen to be educated at national expense. Most of them chose to learn to do things. Some chose to attempt to get not adroitness at doing, but perception in seeing. These latter young men are now out of luck. The Veterans Administration has ruled out G.I. study not essential to the veteran's prospective job. We have decided that we are not willing to pay

⁶⁰"A Study of Veterans' Education," School and Society, LXIV (August 3, 1946), p. 95.

⁶¹Byron H. Atkinson, "Waltz Me Around Again, Willie," School and Society, LXXIV (July 14, 1951), p. 23.

⁶²William Randel, "Implications of the 'G.I. Bill'," School and Society, LXIII (June 8, 1946), p. 413.

for education. We are only buying, if you will pardon the expression, know-how.⁶³

Just as some felt the G.I. Bill was too oriented to the practical, there were those of the opposite viewpoint. The representative of the American Federation of Teachers in the original bill's hearings urged more emphasis be placed on vocational training. Both the Danish Volk School and the British vocational apprentice system were noted.⁶⁴ Dr. E. H. Eckelberry, Editor of the Educational Research Bulletin felt the society did not emphasize adequately the vocational training provisions of the G.I. Bill of 1944. The apprentice training will be just as needed as will be those trained in colleges and universities.⁶⁵

What Dr. Hutchins and others had anticipated in regard to administrative abuse was to prove accurate. Despite the scrutiny of the General Accounting Office and the House's Special Committee on Veterans Educational Benefits, graft continued at an alarming rate. There were about two-thirds of the newly-organized schools which were functioning solely to make a good profit. Special schools taught bartending, dancing, and personality development. And the lure of

⁶³"Education and the Veteran," The Commonwealth (September 20, 1949), pp. 596-597.

⁶⁴U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance. Pertaining to S. 1617, the Omnibus Veterans' Bill, Hearings, January 1944, pp. 221-222.

⁶⁵R. H. Eckelberry, "The Schools and the Veterans," Editorial Comment, Educational Research Bulletin, XXIV (February 14, 1945), pp. 47-48.

government gold even resulted in tuition hikes of some 300 per cent. The corruption went into millions of dollars. For example, five promoters invested \$4000 to organize a school in Wheeling, West Virginia; in four years, their return was \$136,871.06. A chain of Pennsylvania trade schools was accused of defrauding the national government of \$498,000 through illegal charges. The director of a series of trade schools in New York City went to such extremes to earn a healthy profit that he finally wound up in prison.⁶⁶ There was also graft within the well-established college and university system. One large Eastern university helped finance the construction of a swimming pool, a new stadium, and a chapel through special negotiations on veterans enrollment.⁶⁷ The Saturday Evening Post in May, 1952, in an editorial criticized the general management of the veterans' educational program.

Enactment by Congress of legislation establishing the 'GI Bill of Rights' educational and training program was the signal for a mass ganging up on the public till by dishonest institutions, with the connivance, unfortunately, of some veterans who didn't seem to mind looting the Treasury of the country which they risked their lives to defend. Already the cost has run close to \$13,000,000,000, and the House Select Committee appointed to investigate the program has concluded that

⁶⁶Stanley Frank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," op. cit., p. 12.

⁶⁷"More Billions for G.I. Schooling, Planners Try to Plug Loopholes in the 2d Round," U.S. News and World Report, XXXI (August 31, 1951), p. 31.

'there is no doubt that hundreds of millions of dollars have been frittered away on worthless training.⁶⁸

How about the Conscientious Objectors?

There were a few voices for those who did not serve on the battle front because of religious views. The Christian Century in its June 17, 1964, issue recommended consideration of the conscientious objectors in future G.I. Bill legislation. The religious magazine noted the many objectors who served their country in hospitals and in military installations throughout the nation. These persons never received any consideration nor were they or their dependents protected by governmental insurance. The Christian Century considered this omission a definite injustice. No provisions for the conscientious objectors were included in the 1966 enactment nor have any suggested amendments included them.⁶⁹

Finally, there were some who thought the start of a national scholarship program, even for veterans, might well cause problems for the general society. There was the fear of socialism. And part of this was the idea that the veterans may become accustomed to be dependent on the state and lose an interest in working. The old idea of responsibility

⁶⁸Sidney Shalette, "How Our Tax Dollars are Wasted," The Saturday Evening Post, Editorial (May 24, 1952), p. 12.

⁶⁹"They Also Served," Editorial. The Christian Century, LXXXI (June 15, 1964), p. 790.

may be in danger.⁷⁰ Even some veterans of former years thought the G.I. Bill was the start of something that would lead to greater national government involvement. And to them, this was not good. Lawrence W. James, a World War I veteran, in testimony before the Senate's Committee on Finance in January, 1944 stated,

. . . I feel that any able-bodied veteran, when he is discharged from the service, should be willing to take his place in society and combat the elements necessary to a livelihood, just as the comrades of our previous wars have done.⁷¹

To James, there was no justification for special educational benefits.

An Answer to Dr. Hutchins

The best answer to the critics of the G.I. Bill has been the results of the program itself. Educational standards did not suffer as had been anticipated. Alfred E. Kuenzli, a Marine veteran of World War II, became disturbed at the position of Hutchins and wrote an answer.

The defeatist attitude of Mr. Hutchins, as a leader on the home front, displayed in his willingness to abandon the philosophy of full employment and to accept unemployment of veterans as an economic certainty, does not argue well for the future of democracy. Could it be that some of the college and universities have become so detached from the actual need of society that

⁷⁰William Randel, "Implications of the G.I. Bill," op. cit., p. 412.

⁷¹U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance, Pertaining to S. 1617, the Omnibus Veterans' Bill, Hearings, op. cit., p. 259.

they can make no adjustment to the needs of so important a group as the veterans of World War II?⁷²

Dr. Hutchins did not think that education should be used to solve unemployment; many disagreed. Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, President of Boston University, thought that education alone was the key way to prepare for the post-war period.⁷³ Also Dr. Hutchins was attacked for his limiting the educational benefits when at the same time he admitted the need to get more equality of opportunity in higher education.⁷⁴ President Hutchins, perhaps, did not think it proper for universities to even alter standards in order to assist the veterans. The vast majority disagree with him. Veterans fought for the country, and therefore, they should have some special consideration. President Louis C. Wright of Baldwin-Wallace in Ohio stated, "We are not going to break our standards, but we expect to bend them."⁷⁵ Many of the leading magazines of the country thought the schools should adjust; they also believed the veterans would uphold

⁷²Alfred E. Kuenzli, "The Challenge to Education," Collier's, CXV (March 3, 1945), p. 37.

⁷³"Will the 'GI Bill of Rights' Turn Veterans into 'Educational Hobos'?" School and Society, LXI (February 3, 1945), p. 71.

⁷⁴Alfred E. Kuenzli, "The Challenge to Education," op. cit., p. 37.

⁷⁵"Bursars Rub Hands Over GI Bill but College Standards May Suffer," Newsweek, XXV (January 8, 1945), p. 66.

the standards once they were able to understand what was expected of them.⁷⁶

The greatest advertisement for the G.I. Bill came from the individual veterans themselves. Ron Steiger used the benefits to move from a navy federal civil service clerk position to a leading actor; Floyd Gould left a menial job in a laundry and obtained a Ph.D. in chemistry, and later became a research scientist at the Brookhaven National Laboratories; Robert J. Mangum had been a New York City policeman; he utilized the G.I. Bill to earn a law degree and is now a Deputy Commissioner, the youngest and first Negro in that position.⁷⁷ There have been many top leaders of the nation who have obtained their education through the benefits of the G.I. Bills. Approximately 1,000 men who have benefited from the bills are now included in the 1960-61 listings of Who's Who in America. Many of these were younger than the majority of those listed. And the future prospects will also look bright.

Assuming that the age distribution of those who will be included in the 1980 Who's Who will be about the same as today, about 12-15 per cent of its total listings will be veterans who benefited from the G.I. Bill. This will be an impressive achievement for a limited, non-selective program of federal assistance

⁷⁶"The Boys Won't Ask for Free Sheepskins," Editorial. The Saturday Evening Post, CCXVII (March 24, 1945), p. 100.

⁷⁷"The G.I. Bill: In 10 Years, 8 Million," News-week, XLIV (October 4, 1954), p. 90.

to higher education in effect to an important extent for about seven years.⁷⁸

The personal accounts are always the most meaningful.

Ismael Vega from Puerto Rico is such an example.

'In January 1946 I was a young veteran with only an eight-grade education and little hope for the future. The education program of the GI Bill of Rights was my refuge. It opened many avenues to a good and useful life for me. Today I am the superintendent of schools in Aguada, P.R., a town of 23,000 people.'⁷⁹

From the point of magnitude, the G.I. Bill of Rights was the greatest project in the history of higher education. The project was unique in terms of the scope.⁸⁰ The investment was seen as a sound one. The President's Commission on Veterans Pensions in 1956 noted the key role this legislation has played through the years to secure for the nation continuing talented persons.⁸¹ But the real significance of the G.I. Bill came with its impact on the educational thought, and the subsequent legislation, both veteran and non-veteran. Dr. Paul Klapper, President of Queens College, had this insight back in 1945.

⁷⁸Amos Yoder, "Lessons of the G.I. Bill," Phi Delta Kappan, XLIV (April, 1963), p. 343.

⁷⁹John R. Emens, "Education Begets Education, the G.I. Bill Twenty Years Later," American Education, I (September, 1965), p. 12.

⁸⁰Raymond Walters, "Higher Education of Veterans from the Viewpoint of Colleges and Universities," Emergency Problems in Higher Education. American Council on Education Studies, Series I, X, Washington, D.C., August, 1946, p. 24.

⁸¹U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States, op. cit., p. 15.

In the fullest sense the educational sections of the G.I. Bill are not merely a set of provisions for the payment of a debt to individuals. They constitute, rather, a strong forward movement toward equality of opportunity and democracy in higher education. At long last we are coming close to the realization of the hope of a century--that education of a citizen be determined by his ability, never by his economic disability.⁸²

Dr. Algo D. Henderson, Professor of Higher Education at the University of Michigan, described in 1954 four facts of American society, facts which the national government must face.

1. The American ideal is equality of opportunity.
2. The continued existence of gross inequalities of opportunity provides the communists with the best propaganda they can find against the United States, especially in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.
3. Education, and especially higher education, has replaced free land and abundant natural resources as the best route to individual success and personal advancement in this country.
4. In the present competitive world struggle the development of our own human resources, based upon talent and merit of each person, is the best means of providing for this country's security and for the further social progress of our people.⁸³

⁸²Paul Klapper, "The Place of the College in Educating the Veteran for Civilian Life," School and Society, LXI (March 24, 1945), p. 180.

⁸³Algo D. Henderson, "Current Status of Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education," Approaching Equality of

The G.I. Bill of Rights brought a revolution in American education. It has brought a realization that the national government has a stake in bringing about equality of opportunity not only from the point of view of individual equality of opportunity but also in terms of the national security. The impact of national governmental programs on education have been studied piecemeal, and as a result there is need for comprehensive research in this area.⁸⁴ Some have become alarmed about the role of the national government in education. Increased governmental involvement had been predicted. Professor Hamden L. Forkner of Teachers College, Columbia University, predicted in 1944 that the entry of the national government in a massive educational program would automatically lead to more involvement by that level of government in all aspects of education in the future.⁸⁵ Dr. Forkner has been proved correct.

Opportunity in Higher Education, Report of a National Conference Sponsored by the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education of the American Council on Education, St. Louis, Missouri, November 15-16, 1954. Education Series, XIX (March, 1955), Edited by Francis J. Brown, p. 14.

⁸⁴Harold Orlans, The Effects of Federal Programs on Higher Education, A Study of 36 Universities and Colleges (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1962), p. 2.

⁸⁵Hamden L. Forkner, "The GI Bill and Its Implications for Education," Teachers College Record, XLVI (November, 1944), p. 98.

The G.I. Bill Leads to More Government
Support for Education

Earlier in this paper reference was made to a Veterans Administration official who noted that programs for veterans often become the source material or prototypes for those concerning the general public.⁸⁶ There can be no doubt this is especially true in regard to the government's role in education. A look at higher education in particular will indicate this. The support for higher education since World War II has been considerable. In recent years, Congress has provided additional funds to assist many more youth to enter college. The 89th Congress, often termed "the Education Congress," passed a major education bill each week for a three to four month period. The Office of Education for a long time was unable to keep abreast of the many new pieces of legislation which it would have to administer.⁸⁷ In fact, the existing programs assisting students with higher education are so numerous that even the Office of Education has difficulty to describe them all. In this office's 1968 booklet Financial Aid for Higher Education, the following paragraph appears:

⁸⁶Charles K. Pekarsky, Deputy Chief, Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., Personal Interview, August 19, 1969.

⁸⁷Dr. James Moore, Chief, Division of Financial Aids, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., Personal Interview on August 19, 1969.

In recent years the Federal Government has designed many programs to assist students with inadequate financial resources. There are, in fact, so many Federal programs that it would be impossible to describe them all.⁸⁸

A review of the major programs will indicate these words are most accurate. Thousands of students each year are receiving assistance from the national government. The support is varied. There are health profession scholarships, vocational student loans, national teaching grants, laboratory graduate assistantships, atomic energy research post-doctoral grants, housing and urban development scholarships, federal water pollution control fellowships, the Department of Defense programs, including ROTC programs, and the Department of Labor Manpower grants.⁸⁹ For a description of the major scholarship and fellowship programs refer to Appendix II. After reviewing these programs, one Office of Education official concluded this country has for all practical purposes a "civilian GI Bill of sorts." At least the statutory basis for such a massive program is present. It would only take a few amendments to have a full-scale program. And much of this development can be traced back to the entry of the national government into massive

⁸⁸U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Financial Aid for Higher Education, Booklet (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 23.

⁸⁹U.S. Congress, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Federal Educational Support Programs to Students, Information Sheet, 91st Cong., 1969, pp. 1-5.

scholarship aid in the G.I. Bill legislation.⁹⁰ And with the projected enrollments in higher education, 10 million in 1976, this support by government cannot be expected to decrease.⁹¹

A national scholarship program is not new. President Truman in his annual message to the 81st Congress spoke of the need for federal scholarships to assist the needy students with college educations. Several bills were introduced into the Congress for such a program; however, no action was taken.⁹² In 1949 the American Council on Education received recommendations from its Conference on Discriminations in College Admissions that a national scholarship program was needed. The council endorsed such a program in 1950 and looked to Washington, D.C. for support.

Since the most important sources of revenue are largely appropriated by the federal government, it is the view of the conference that the federal government should take the main responsibility for financing grants-in-aid. . . .⁹³

⁹⁰Dr. James Moore, Chief, Division of Financial Aids, Office of Education, Personal Interview, op. cit.

⁹¹U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Projections of Educational Statistics to 1976-77. Publication of the National Center for Educational Statistics (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 2.

⁹²Bernard B. Watson, "Federal Scholarship Bill," Higher Education, VII (September 1, 1950), pp. 1-2.

⁹³Elmer D. West, Editor. Background for a National Scholarship Policy (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1956), p. 107.

Many pointed to other countries. In the United Kingdom nearly 70 per cent of all students in higher education for the school year 1946-47 were receiving governmental support. In Denmark, university training was free; the Norwegian Government grants loans to students without any security; Sweden provides subsistence to those in need and scholarships for graduate students and loans without collateral. This is the case with most of Europe.⁹⁴ In 1955 a special Conference on Equality in Higher Education supported a national scholarship program for needy and worthy students.⁹⁵

In 1956 the American Council on Education in its report to the President's Committee on Education again endorsed a national scholarship program. Its position has been taken by many groups, including many legislators in regard to amendments for the current G.I. Bill.

Since this country's resources of manpower are limited in number, particularly in the eighteen to the twenty-four year age group which supplies most of the students for institutions of higher learning, the welfare and security of our people as a whole may well depend upon the extent to which we are able to educate each young man and woman to his or her full capacity. It is an established fact that at least one hundred thousand young men and women each year with high

⁹⁴"Government Aids to Students: A Summary," Higher Education, VII (January 1, 1951), pp. 105-106.

⁹⁵"Approaching Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education," Report of a National Conference Sponsored by the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education of the American Council on Education, St. Louis, Missouri, November 15-16, 1954, Edited by Francis J. Brown, American Council on Education Series, XIX, March, 1955, Washington, D.C., p. 5.

qualifications for college and university education are not continuing beyond the high school.

It is clear that provision of educational opportunity for all qualified youth, recruitment and maintenance of adequate faculties, and necessary expansion of educational facilities--all for the purpose of meeting clearly present or foreseeable needs of our society--will call for an increase in funds large in amount but small in proportion to our total national income. . . .⁹⁶

This has continued to be the theme. The nation must provide equal opportunity, especially in regard to higher education. This is reflected in the 1969 American Council on Education's recommendations to Congress. One of its major ones is:

To provide greater access to higher education for an ever larger number and larger percentage of our young people, through student aid programs, with special emphasis on disadvantaged students, through assistance in the construction of new plant.⁹⁷

National Programs are No Longer Temporary

The various fellowship programs, such as the National Defense Education Act grants, seem to have become permanent. And others are continuing to be added such as Urban Studies Fellowships, Federal Water Pollution Control Grants, and Atomic Energy Commission Scholarships. The national government's aid to education has steadily

⁹⁶Charles G. Dobbins, Editor. A Report to the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, the Strength to Meet Our National Need (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1956), pp. 3, 5.

⁹⁷American Council on Education, Federal Programs for Higher Education, Needed Next Steps (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1969), p. 1.

increased. In 1935 the total aid was \$133,000,000; in 1950, \$2,870,000,000; and in 1964, \$2,269,000,000. "Thus, federal outlays for education became permanent and institutional in character rather than temporary, special-purpose."⁹⁸ The G.I. Bill was greatly involved in this development. Millions going back to school, the demand for practical education, and most important, the "egalitarian principle of the frontier."⁹⁹ Education was seen more as a necessity for adequately facing life. There was the great emphasis on detecting talent, and developing it.¹⁰⁰ Many speak in terms of universal education beyond the high school. The National Education Association in 1964 made such a proposal, which, of course, incorporates a national scholarship program.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Federal Role in Education, Second Edition. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 2.

⁹⁹Martin Meyerson, "The Ethos of the American College Student: Beyond the Protests," Higher Education and Modern Democracy, the Crisis of the Few and the Many. Edited by Robert A. Goldwin. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰Margaret Clapp, "Major Problems in Higher Education," Vision and Purpose in Higher Education. Edited by Raymond F. Howes (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1962), p. 6.

¹⁰¹Educational Policies Commission, Universal Opportunity for Education Beyond the High School (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1964), p. 36.

Connection with Social Problems

In recent years, there has been an awareness of the connection between education and social challenges of our time. President Johnson stated, "'Poverty has many roots but the taproot is ignorance.'"¹⁰² The purpose of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is defined as "To Help solve community problems such as housing, poverty, government, recreation, employment, youth opportunities, transportation, health, and land use."¹⁰³ The concern for having these avenues open to all qualified has increased governmental aid. The great emphasis is that no one will be denied a chance for full development because of financial inabilities.¹⁰⁴

The effects of the G.I. Bills have generally been favorable. The veterans were able to obtain skills with which they could apply to jobs; thus, they were able to adjust to the society in a shorter period of time. In turn, the veterans, because of their advantage with education, have an economic lead on their peers. The G.I. Bill brought many changes to higher education. Universities were to

¹⁰²Federal Role in Education, Second Edition, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁰³U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Pamphlet OE-50048, The Higher Education Act of 1965: Some Questions and Answers (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 1.

¹⁰⁴Higher Education for American Democracy, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 3-4.

grow; some were to become as large as good-size communities. Education was viewed as the instrument of solving not only technical but social problems as well. Educational benefits to veterans did all this and more. It not only took care of the veteran, but it revolutionized thinking in the country.

For a long time, the national government wondered just how it could assist education in the post-war era. Government had aided education for years, but this was on a specialized basis. There were the military academies and the land-grant schools, for example. Now there would be a direct subsidy to students. A new way was to be brought to the scene.¹⁰⁵ The G.I. Bills indicated that thousands of persons were capable of university work provided they could have the finances with which to enroll. The experiences of veterans' education clearly stressed the need for equal opportunity in higher education. In December 1947, the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education made this clear.

Equal educational opportunity for all persons, to the maximum of their individual abilities and without regard to economic status, race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or ancestry is a major goal of American democracy. Only an informed, thoughtful, tolerant people can maintain and develop a free society.

Equal opportunity for education does not mean equal or identical education for all individuals. It means,

¹⁰⁵John Dale Russell, "Problems and Prospects of Postwar Financial Support." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXI (January, 1944), p. 147.

rather, that education at all levels shall be available equally to every qualified person.¹⁰⁶

And with this concept ingrained in the American conscience, there was action to implement it. Congress has responded with countless programs. The large-scale scholarship programs began with the 1958 National Defense Education Act programs. But two G.I. Bills laid the groundwork. Those who supported the initial G.I. Bill legislation probably never thought they were in turn revolutionizing higher education in this country. What has been good for the veteran could also be good for all Americans! So the administrations have concluded. And as a result, there is a considerable amount of educational aid for all students today. The G.I. Bill has in no small way contributed to this development. See Appendix II for a summary of the major programs. The removal of the prohibitions on duplication of funds indicated also the growth of national scholarship programs. Often the veteran had been discriminated against because of the prohibition against his receiving joint funds from the national government. Non-veteran grants have been often greater in amount; but as long as he used his G.I. Bill benefits, then, he could not utilize the others. In the case of the grants, if the veteran received less with the G.I. Bill and had to make a choice, he might

¹⁰⁶Higher Education for American Democracy, 1947, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

well have preferred an NDEA or NSF Fellowship. This refers to a bigger issue--the role or the status of the veteran in the society.

Of course, the society has always held the veteran in high esteem, but some wars have been supported more enthusiastically. And thus, the veterans of those wars were more widely welcomed. The current conflict has brought division in the country. And the Vietnam veteran assumes a different role. This brings to view the veteran in regard to special benefits. If the society gives everyone qualified a chance for a college education, will the veterans need special benefits? If a special health program covers all citizens, then, will there be a need for veterans' hospitals? Of course, veterans' organizations stress the unique role of the ex-servicemen. Without this role, special legislative efforts could not be justified. The status of the veteran in the society as a separate entity as well as a member of the body politic will determine the future of special benefits for this group of citizens.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STATUS OF THE VETERAN IN SOCIETY

The veteran has always held a special place in the eyes of the nation. This has been reflected in the many state and national governmental benefits given to veterans and their dependents. The latest Veterans Administration Fact Sheet on Federal Benefits for Veterans and Dependents indicates how well the country has provided for its ex-servicemen; this booklet is 70 pages in length and covers all benefits, including insurance, medical assistance, loans, death payments, employment assistance, and educational grants.¹ But since World War II, there has been controversy as to just what benefits the veteran, especially the "peace-time" ex-servicemen, should receive. Both Hoover Commissions touched on aspects of veterans' benefits, but the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions of 1956 and the United States Veterans' Advisory Commission of 1968

¹U.S. Veterans Administration, Information Service, Federal Benefits for Veterans and Dependents, VA Fact Sheet IS-1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January, 1969).

focused even more attention on veterans' benefits. And these latter two reports also furnish the bases for major schools of thought on these benefits.

Two Approaches

The recommendations of the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions headed by General Omar Bradley, who was a former Administrator for Veterans Affairs, surprised many, and in particular the veterans' groups. The Commission's theme can be summarized by the first sentence of its report, "Military service in time of war or peace should be treated as discharging an obligation of citizenship and not of itself as a basis for future Government benefits."² The Commission thought there was an immediate need to consider the entire society. With such consideration, peacetime ex-servicemen should not receive mustering-out pay, loan guaranty benefits, non-service-connected pensions, and even education and training benefits. In regard to the latter, the Commission stated, "If a national educational program is considered necessary, it should be on a general basis and fill the needs of all qualified young people. . . ."³ The Commission also noted the increase in general welfare programs which

²U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 1.

³Ibid., p. 18.

eliminated in part the need for duplicate veterans' benefits.⁴ General Bradley received considerable criticism from most veterans organizations for these recommendations. There were some who considered the entire report as representing the economy-minded Bureau of the Budget.⁵ Others considered the report the most thorough and enlightened approach to veterans affairs.⁶ The recommendations of this commission were read, studied, but generally not implemented.

Then, in 1967 President Johnson appointed a special group to study the veteran. The United States Veterans' Advisory Commission had different conclusions.

The contribution of the veteran to the building of this nation during its first two centuries makes clear how important the role of the veteran must and will be to the future existence and growth of our society. In the future that service may take new and different form but its significance will remain unaltered. The security of this nation is based on the commitment of those citizens who have served in the uniformed forces of our country. This contribution on their part has nearly always involved the loss of economic opportunity; often it has required the sacrifice of the veterans' health, and in many instances it has cost the supreme sacrifice, life itself. The strength and prestige of this nation depends upon this continued contribution.
...⁷

⁴Ibid., p. 1.

⁵Oliver E. Meadows, Staff Director, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Washington, D.C., Personal Interview, August 18, 1969.

⁶John E. Booth, "Veteran Against Veteran," The Atlantic, CCXVI (October, 1965), p. 88.

⁷U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Report of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission. Hearings before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., March 19, 1968, p. iii.

These were the introductory words of the United States Veterans' Advisory Commission Report. It endorsed most veterans' benefits programs, supported the Veterans Administration as the agency in charge of veteran-related programs, endorsed a Senate Committee on Veterans Affairs, and recommended Cabinet status for the Veterans Administration.⁸ The Commission urged that general welfare programs should not absorb veterans' benefits. The VA should remain independent and conduct its own medical and social programs. The report noted special consideration must be given the war veteran, but it also stressed the importance of rehabilitation and adjustment of all veterans, especially those in their younger years.⁹

The different emphasis in the 1956 and 1968 reports was pointed out in a hostile editorial in the New York Times on April 23, 1968, entitled "Veterans' Lobby Outdoes Itself."

Fundamental and deeply disturbing questions relating to the place of the veteran in American society have been raised in a report recently released by the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission. Established in 1967 by the Administrator of Veterans Affairs at the request of the President, the commission was asked to study how tax dollars are being spent for the veteran and how Government responsibilities to the veteran are being met.

The commission was drawn largely from state veterans' offices and the larger and older national veterans' groups. That it reflects the grasping philosophy of one of the most potent lobbies in the United States is not surprising. That its recommendations to the

⁸Ibid., pp. xii, xiii.

⁹Ibid., p. xiii.

Government should be taken seriously is unthinkable.

On the contrary the report only illustrates the urgent need for an informed and responsible evaluation of veterans' programs, for today veterans' expenditures approach \$7 billion, are the fifth largest item in the national budget, and veterans, with their families, dependents and widows, are approaching the time when they will approximate 50 per cent of the population.

President Eisenhower in 1956 commissioned the famous Bradley report on veterans' affairs, which, though much of it was not acted upon, was a model of enlightened thinking, fair to the veteran and fair to the nation. Animating that report was its conviction that military service in time of war and peace is an obligation of citizenship and should not be considered inherently a basis for future Government benefits.

Retrograde in its philosophy, the present commission challenges this concept and would create a permanent privileged class of veterans, a postwar mercenary class uncongenial to the national heritage. While enlightened thinking on veterans' affairs has called for the integration of veterans' programs with new social programs for the citizenry at large, such as Medicare and Social Security, the recent Commission report opposes this position.¹⁰

The New York Times touched on a major issue in veterans affairs today. If the civilian programs generally incorporate features of the veterans' programs, then, the veterans' organizations cannot justify special legislation for the majority of veterans. Both Hoover Commissions made recommendations taking areas away from the VA; the insurance programs and the medical benefits are two examples.¹¹ No agency will stand idly by and see its authority dwindle. No

¹⁰The New York Times, April 23, 1968, p. 23.

¹¹U.S. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Veterans Affairs, A Report to the Congress, February, 1949, p. 16; U.S. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Federal Medical Services, A Report to the Congress, February, 1955, pp. 36-39.

interest groups will watch their cause incorporated into other programs without some action. Thus, the VA and most veterans' groups will undoubtedly meet any such challenges. This debate centers on the status of the veteran in the society; to understand this status, recognition of the size of the veteran population is essential.

The Veteran Population

The Commission on Veterans' Pensions in 1956 devoted an entire chapter to the size of the veteran population. The reason is obvious; the size of the various programs is dependent upon the numbers of veterans.¹² The present size of the veteran population is attributable to the large number of men who served during recent wars. The general growth has been considerable. The total veteran population in this country as of June 30, 1968, was 26,273,000. The classifications of these veterans is reflected in the accompanying chart.

When relatives are included in the veteran population, about one-half of the country's population is included in the figure. For example, in 1968 there were almost 94.9 million veterans, members of their families, and surviving widows, minor children, and dependent parents of deceased veterans among the 197.6 million citizens of the United

¹²U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, A Report to the President, April, 1956, p. 62.

Total Veteran Population	26,273,000
Those with Service Between Korean Conflict and Vietnam Era	3,139,000
Living War Veterans	23,134,000
Includes:	
Korean Conflict	5,814,000
World War II	14,718,000
World War I	1,766,000
Spanish-American War	8,000

Fig. 7.--Veteran population in the United States¹³
as of June 30, 1968.

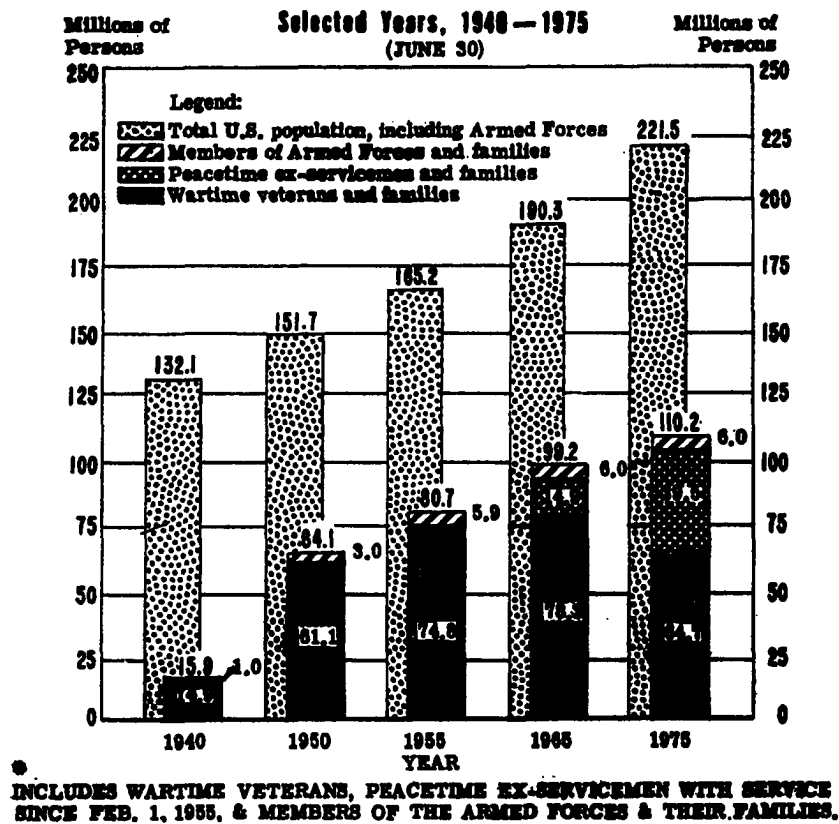
States. VA benefits and services were, therefore, potentially available to 48 per cent of the total population of the nation, either directly to veterans and to surviving dependents or indirectly to veterans' family members.¹⁴ Projections indicate the veterans and their families will continue to account for about 50 per cent of the total population. And these figures are based on the absence of any major conflicts. Without a major conflict, there will still be considerable increases since the annual military turnover is estimated to be 700,000, based on a total military force of 3,000,000.¹⁵

¹³U.S. Veterans Administration, Annual Report, Administrator of Veteran Affairs, 1968, p. 170.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 171.

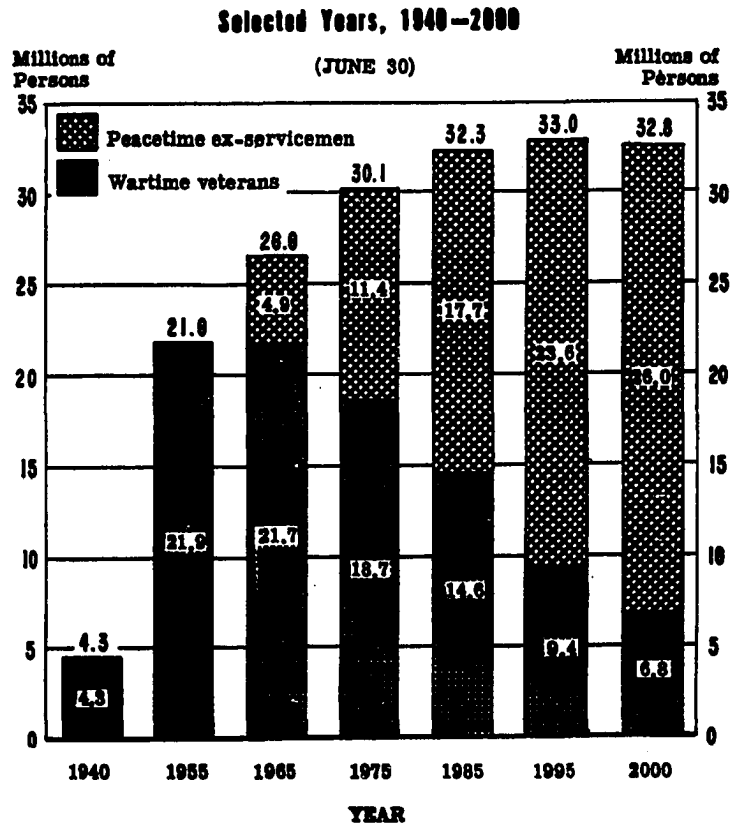
¹⁵U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, op. cit., p. 73.

Table 14.--Estimated numbers of persons in families of male veterans, ex-servicemen and servicemen compared with total population in the United States



Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Report of the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 22.

Table 15.--Estimated numbers of wartime veterans and peace-time ex-servicemen in civilian life.



Source: U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, A Report to the President, April, 1956, p. 74.

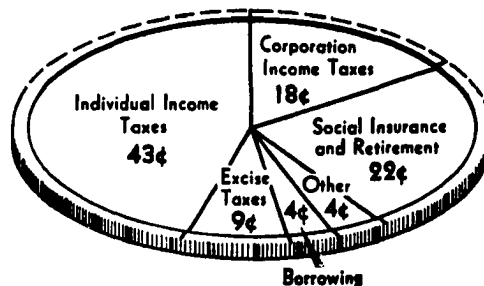
Budgetary Considerations

All these projected figures on the veteran population in the United States have really no meaning unless translated into the budgetary considerations. The VA now accounts for about \$7 billion dollars in terms of expenditures. Four cents out of every dollar of national government expenditures goes to veterans.¹⁶

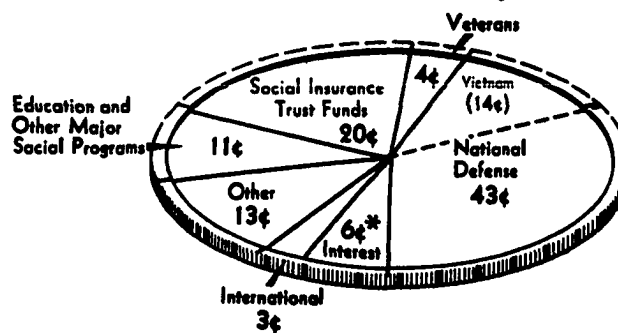
THE GOVERNMENT DOLLAR

Fiscal Year 1969 Estimate

Where it comes from . . .



Where it goes . . .



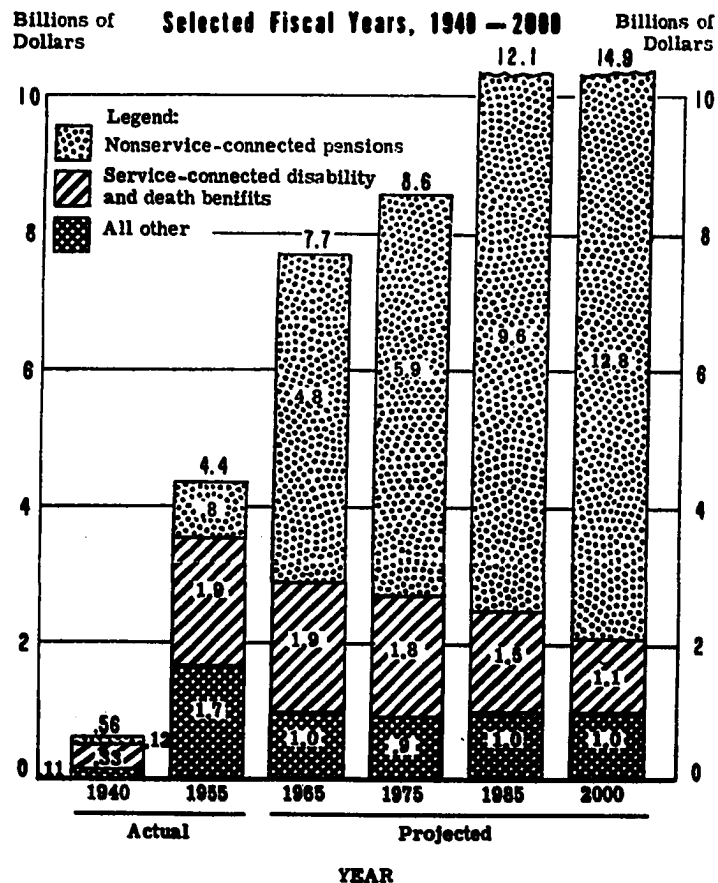
* Excludes Interest Paid to Trust Funds

Fig. 8.--The government dollar, fiscal year 1969 estimate.

¹⁶U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, The Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), Inside Cover, no page given.

But the real significance of the veterans' share of the public purse comes from the fact increases are expected. This is one of the criticisms launched against the veterans groups throughout history.¹⁷ The issue is: Should veterans continue to merit special considerations even though there is no actual war?

Table 16.--Veterans' Administration budget expenditures
1940-2000



Source: U.S. Congress, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Report of the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 24.

¹⁷Talcott W. Powell, Tattered Banners (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1933), pp. 7-8.

The Bureau of the Budget has been concerned with this question for many years. In testimony before a Congressional committee in 1963, a representative of this agency succinctly expressed the problem in regard to the special needs of the elderly, both veteran and non-veteran.

'The fundamental question raised . . . is whether the Federal Government should enter the field of providing nursing home care for a special group of our citizens--veterans with illnesses or disabilities not caused by wartime service--or whether it should instead rely on more broadly applicable Federal, State and local programs which are designed to help make available such care for all our citizens.

'Basically the needs of veterans which do not arise out of their military service are in the same category as the needs of other citizens who are infirm, chronically ill or without income. Moreover, since veterans as a group are better educated, have better jobs and higher incomes than nonveterans there is no economic justification for singling them out for additional special benefits. It is particularly significant that even those over age 65 have substantially higher incomes than nonveterans.'¹⁸

The Bureau of the Budget has justified concern.

At present the VA spends about \$748 million for medical outlays; much of this is in connection with the some 580,000 veterans who are more than 65 years. By 2000, there will be 7 million veterans over 65 years, meaning a considerable increase in these costs.¹⁹

¹⁸John E. Booth, "Veteran Against Veteran," op. cit., pp. 90-91.

¹⁹Stanley Frank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," The Saturday Evening Post, Part II, CCXXVIII (November 5, 1955), p. 158.

The Image of the Veteran

Throughout history there has been a special concern for the veteran. This has been particularly true in the United States. To the general public the veteran has been a hero; he has seen active service against the enemy and therefore, deserves certain privileges.²⁰ Actually the word "veteran" carries with it a national air of sanctity, and the veterans lobbies appreciate well that fact. Congressmen fear to displease the veterans because of this air.²¹ An example of this sacredness of the ex-serviceman was expressed by The Stars and Stripes military magazine on July 18, 1945.

Service counts for everything. The wearing of a uniform is indeed a sacred duty. It is an equally sacred obligation of the Nation to remember and to reward such service, not question or mock it after it has been performed nor seek a pauper's oath in making what the thoughtless would term gracious exceptions. History has and can again repeat itself. Veterans are hopeful that those they have counted upon as friends will not be bewildered by false arguments and by premeditated emergencies. They are watching the present situation closely.²²

Another example are these words of former President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Our government and our people have no greater obligation than to assure that those who have served

²⁰Frederick W. Taylor, "You're in--You're a Veteran," Harper's Magazine, CXCVI (February, 1948), pp. 160-161.

²¹John E. Booth, "Veteran Against Veteran," op. cit., p. 91.

²²Congressional Record, July 18, 1945, p. A3525.

their country and the cause of freedom will never be forgotten or neglected."²³

History indicates veterans, no matter how brief their service, have usually had rights to special privileges from the government for the rest of their lives and thereafter their survivors. This concept did not originate in the United States. It has been with the world ever since warfare began.²⁴

Early Veterans' Benefits

The first recorded use of veterans' benefits was in Egypt. The benefits were based on age or length of service and consisted of grants of land.²⁵ The great oriental empires of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley were founded on military pensions.²⁶ The Aztecs of Mexico even developed extensive soldier benefits, including special retirement homes.²⁷ In Greece pensions were given to orphans to assist

²³U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Report of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission, op. cit., p. iv.

²⁴U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

²⁵William P. Dillingham, Federal Aid to Veterans, 1917-1941 (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1952), pp. 73-74, 1982.

²⁶A. F. Sisson, History of Veterans' Pensions and Related Benefits (Washington, D.C.: Publisher not indicated, 1946), p. 1.

²⁷Talcott W. Powell, Tattered Banners, op. cit., p. 5.

them with subsistence and also with education.²⁸ Rome carried on an extensive series of benefits to its ex-soldiers; and it was here that the position of the veteran became extremely powerful. Caesar's successors during the Empire carried the practice of rewarding veterans by grants of land to greater lengths even than he had done. After awhile, the granting of land and other benefits was expected.²⁹ Veterans became powerful in the politics of Rome. Professor Ramsay MacMullen, noted Roman historian, in Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire states,

. . . Veterans were prominent, influential, and sought after as magistrates, senators, patrons, and sons-in-law--not in the larger cities nor in those in areas long Romanized, which could reserve their attentions for men honored in the empire as a whole, but in more backward areas--in Syria, for instance, where the smallest centers, lacking any senate, nevertheless repaid their benefactors with the counterfeit title, purely honorary, of bouleutes, or with the currency so discounted in the East, bombast. One veteran was 'benefactor and founder'; another 'ornament of his city.'³⁰

The veterans of Rome became so powerful a group that eventually they came to the point of setting emperors on the throne at will and toppling them off again.

²⁸Edward T. Devine, Disabled Soldiers and Sailors Pensions and Training (New York: Oxford University Press, 1919), p. 19.

²⁹John D. Black and Charles D. Hyson, "Postwar Soldier Settlement," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, LIX (November, 1944), p. 2.

³⁰Ramsay MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 103.

They auctioned off the throne to whichever candidate for emperor would pay them the most gold. Since that time there has been no conspicuous instance or organized soldiers using their power to reap profits from their own countrymen at home until the advent of the modern democracy which facilitates such action by the ballot.³¹

Benefits continued throughout history. Under the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts in Great Britain, the ex-soldier firmly established three fundamental obligations of the government to its demobilized armies: (1) Official recognition of a pension system for all veterans who had hazarded their bodies in war and suffered disability, (2) acknowledgement by the state of its responsibility for support of indigent dependents of men who died in military service, and (3) writing into laws of the theory the state should give all veterans preferential treatment in gaining employment after peace. All these had an influence on the development of benefits for veterans in the United States.³² It was during the reign of Elizabeth that Parliament (1592) passed the first statute for veterans' pensions. The preamble to this pension law had a definite effect on the United States.

'foreasmuch as it is agreeable with Christian Charity, Policy and the Honor of our Nation, that such as have since the 25th day of March, 1588, adventured their lives and lost their limbs or disabled their bodies,

³¹Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, Analysis of Bonus Problems, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (New York: Brewer, Warren, and Putnam, 1932), p. 19.

³²Talcott Powell, Tattered Banners, op. cit., p. 47.

in defence and service of Her Majesty and the State, should at their return be relieved and rewarded to the end that they may reap the fruit of their good deservings, and others may be encouraged to perform the like endeavors. . . .³³

Of course, one of the problems of this power of the veterans' groups was their control of governments. Former officers formed the backbone of the Fascist Revolution in Italy, which displaced parliamentary government; an ex-soldier lead veterans to take over Turkey; a similar group took over Poland's destiny; Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the veterans' choice, alone seemed capable of bringing order out of the chaos in Germany. All these events emphasized the great need for proper rehabilitation. A National Chaplain of the American Legion, the Reverend G. R. Wilson, noting these turbulent happenings, wisely observed that the advance of any army against a foe may not turn out in perspective to have affected human affairs so critically as the peaceful invasion of its own home country by that same army disbanding when the war was over.³⁴

United States Benefits

The Revolutionary War

The American people have generally provided generously for their ex-soldiers. As early as 1679 Virginia made

³³William H. Glasson, Federal Military Pensions in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1918), p. 10.

³⁴Marcus Duffield, King Legion (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931), pp. 2-3.

grants to get land settled by men able to defend it. In 1770 George Washington went down the Ohio River and staked out a 200,000 acre tract that was to reward an expedition of 200 men into the wilderness. Land bounties of 50 to 5,000 acres depending on rank were given to soldiers after King Philip's War and after the French and Indian War.³⁵ On June 2, 1776, Nathanael Greene, later selected as one of the major generals of the Revolutionary Army, wrote to John Adams urging that provision be made for disabled officers and soldiers. Adams was made Chairman of the Board of War and Ordnance replied to Greene on June 22nd.

'Your reasoning to prove the equity and the policy of making provisions for the unfortunate officer or soldier, is extremely just, and cannot be answered; and I hope that when we get a little over the confusions arising from the revolutions which are now taking place in the colonies, and get an American Constitution formed, something will be done. I should be much obliged to you for your thoughts upon the subject. What pensions should be allowed, or what other provision made. Whether it would be expedient to establish a hospital, etc. It is a matter of importance, and the plan should be well digested.'³⁶

Although Congress had its good intentions with the veterans, the Revolutionary War had been fought under the most adverse military, economic, and political conditions. The country was small in population, in area, and in wealth. Inflation was also rampant. As a result, Congress was

³⁵Black and Hyson, "Postwar Soldier Settlement," op. cit., p. 3.

³⁶William H. Glasson, Federal Military Pensions in the United States, op. cit., p. 19.

unable to adequately provide for the veterans. It was not until 1818, 35 years after the conflict, that a non-service connected pension for Revolutionary War veterans was enacted. The pension meant a great deal at the time. "In the undeveloped agrarian economy of the early nineteenth century, a veteran's pension was often the only alternative to going to the poorhouse."³⁷

Congress had had plans. In 1778 the Continental Congress promised that all commissioned officers would receive for seven years after the war one-half of their pay, noncoms would be receiving \$80 in flat bonus, and later a gratuity of \$100 each was promised to all those who had previously enlisted. The provision for officers was later raised to half pay for life. Officers then demanded full pay for five years rather than the one-half pay for life. Congress responded but found itself beset with a storm of protest from an irrate civilian population. Because of the lack of money, Congress could not make good most of its promises. Despite the convincing figure of General George Washington, there was resistance. Troops in Philadelphia started the opposition; some 250 to 300 armed soldiers menaced the Continental Congress but laid no hands on anyone except the President and the assault was slight. Congress left for Princeton and the mutiny died. Generally, the

³⁷U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, op. cit., p. 36.

resistance was minor. The mistreatment of veterans of the Revolutionary War furnished a moral justification for exactions on their part in later years.³⁸

The Civil War

There were no significant contributions to the historical development of veterans' benefits in the Wars of 1812 and the War with Mexico; the general nature of pensions continued. Non-service connected pensions for the War of 1812 were provided in 1871, 56 years after the end of the conflict. Pensions for the Mexican War veterans were first provided in 1887, 39 years after the end of that conflict. The Civil War, however, represented new developments in veterans' benefits.³⁹

The Civil War climaxed the first period of pension development. The General Law System on Pensions passed. It provided for dependents in a more comprehensive way. Veterans were now able to collect on non-service connected benefits; the Arrears Act in 1879, largely the work of the Grand Army of the Republic, provided for this. It was during this period that veterans' organizations came into their own. They became extremely influential. Some individuals began to earn a living through dissemination of propaganda on

³⁸Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back (New York: The Dryden Press, 1944), pp. 7-9.

³⁹U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, op. cit., p. 37.

behalf of the veterans. George E. Lemon, Editor of the National Tribune of Washington, D.C., was a classic example. Largely through his efforts, pensions were obtained for veterans of the War of 1812 as well as the Civil War. He pressed for the Arrears Pensions Law, which allowed Civil War veterans to collect past pay in pensions. This was seen as a great stimulation to the economy. But the cost of the measure was much higher than anticipated; it ran \$41,500,000 for just 18 months of operation. Lemon commented on this unexpected increase in his widely-read paper, "'It begins to look very much as if Congress intended to back down and fail to appropriate at all. They seem frightened by the magnitude of their own previous action and alarmed by the results of the measure so unanimously passed.'"⁴⁰

Some of the new provisions for Civil War veterans became categorized as outright fraud and under the government's blessings. One law provided that any Negro or Indian woman who had lived with a man as his wife under an unrecognized ceremony could claim a pension as his widow. A companion measure provided that widows' pensions should date from the time of the husband's death. It became extremely easy to obtain bonuses. Legislation allowed all honorably discharged ex-soldiers incapacitated for manual labor, from causes not due to their military service, to also receive

⁴⁰Katherine Mayo, Soldiers What Next! (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1934), p. 31.

benefits. Thus, the alcoholic would be included even though his disease might be traced to non-military causes.⁴¹ A whole new philosophy emerged. And it was political suicide for Congressmen to oppose any veterans' benefits.

Each succeeding Presidential or Congressional campaign rolled up its crest of opportunities. Each new enactment increased the number of pensioned voters in each Northern legislator's constituency; increased also the prestige of the claims agent. No more Congressional tremors were indulged, no more backward steps permitted. The original Lemon dropped in time from the branch. But his work was done. His guild was established. His virus had entered the Nation's blood. Pension grafting was 'politics,' pension grafting and a trade. And so out sleepy public let it go.⁴²

The Union soldiers were able to promote their cause well. Of course, the Confederate ex-soldiers suffered from a real handicap; the government for which they had fought no longer existed. Thus, they were forgotten.⁴³ The Civil War provided the Union veterans with much. On March 3, 1965, veterans preference was established as general policy. The act gave five points extra to veterans on examinations.⁴⁴ The considerable benefits to veterans became apparent when the President, the former head of the Union Armies, Ulysses S. Grant, decided to veto one bill in 1875.

⁴¹Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

⁴²Katherine Mayo, Soldiers What Next! op. cit., p. 40.

⁴³Why Do Veterans Organize? Booklet EM6, GI Round-table Series (Washington, D.C.: War Department, 1946), p. 20.

⁴⁴William P. Dillingham, Federal Aid to Veterans, 1917-1941, op. cit., p. 42.

'House Bill No. 33⁴¹ is herewith returned without approval for the reason, first, that it appropriates from the Treasury a large sum of money at a time when the revenue is insufficient for current wants and this proposed further drain on the treasury. The issue of bonds, authorized by the bill to a very large and indefinite amount, would seriously embarrass the refunding operations now progressing, whereby the interest of the bonded debt of the United States is being largely reduced. Second, I do not believe that any considerable portion of the ex-soldiers who, it is supposed, will be beneficiaries of this appropriation, are applicants for it. . . . The passage of this bill at this time is inconsistent with the measures of economy now demanded by the necessities of the country.'⁴⁵

There were no new benefits enacted for the veterans of this conflict. It took some time after the war before any legislation was enacted. In 1918, 16 years after the war, a non-service connected pension passed Congress; disability pensions for veterans were enacted in 1920; service pensions were provided for surviving dependents in 1922. However, it was not until 1938 that veterans of the war received benefits. During the five major wars up to this time, there was a general increase in veterans' benefits, however, no actual readjustment provisions were enacted. The time of action in regard to legislation was reduced from 56 years for the War of 1812 to only 18 years after the Spanish-American War.⁴⁶ The next major development occurred after World War I.

⁴⁵Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴⁶U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, Veterans' Benefits in the United States, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

World War I

The bonus proposal in its general form was first advanced in 1919, shortly after the release of soldiers from the service in large numbers. The idea was for two months' pay, amounting to \$60 to each serviceman on discharge from the military. But the veterans' groups were not satisfied with this bonus alone.⁴⁷ In 1924 the Adjusted Compensation Bill became law in spite of a firm action by President Calvin Coolidge. The President did his best to prevent the measure from becoming law. His veto message on the bill was one of the most powerful state documents of his whole administration. He pointed out that the legislation laid an expense of \$175 in taxes on every family in the nation.

'The people of this country ought not to be required by their Government to bear any such additional burden . . . They are not deserving of any such treatment. Our business is not to impose upon them but to protect them.

'Considering this Bill from the standpoint of its intrinsic merit, I see no justification for its enactment into law. We owe no bonus to able-bodied veterans of the World War. The first duty of every citizen is to the nation. The veterans of the World War performed this first duty. . . . The gratitude of the nation to these veterans cannot be expressed in dollars and cents. No way exists by which we can either equalize the burdens or give adequate financial reward to those who served the nation in both civil and military capacity in time of war. The respect and honor of their country will rightfully be theirs forevermore but patriotism can neither be bought nor sold. It is not hire and salary. It is not material but spiritual. It is one of the finest and highest of human virtues. To

⁴⁷Julia E. Johnson, Soldiers' Bonus (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1924), pp. 27-28.

attempt to pay money for it is to offer it an unworthy dignity which deepens, debases, and destroys it.⁴⁸

But the Chief Executive was not able to stem the on-rushing organized forces seeking the bonus. Both the House and the Senate, by overwhelming majorities, overrode his veto.⁴⁹

Pensioners had been increasing, however; the 1924 enactment brought a sharp increase. The following statistics indicate the position of the veterans in terms of the budget. And within a few years, there would be more demands. This was in part stimulated by the depression.

Table 17.--Increase in veteran pensioners and costs to government between 1920-1930

Year	Number of Pensioners	Annual Cost
1920	30,432	\$ 4,624,098
1923	81,560	17,886,821
1925	120,234	25,098,501
1927	162,638	57,232,828
1930	217,730	83,750,721

Source: Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans (New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam, 1932), pp. 36-37.

Many have been critical about the way in which veterans benefits have developed. Dr. Knowlton Durham, President of the Anti-Bonus League, commented in 1932.

⁴⁸Talcott Powell, Tattered Banners, op. cit., pp. 221-222.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 222.

One quarter of all Government funds now go to veterans every year, and the proportion is increasing with uncomfortable rapidity. The paying out of money to ex-soldiers has become the greatest single Government enterprise. Obviously, this is a matter on which a clear public policy should be worked out on a basis of reason. But it has never been done. Our expenditures have been made piecemeal in a most muddling fashion imaginable. If any business organization conducted its affairs in such a manner, it would be driven to bankruptcy in quick time. A curious alliance between honest but dreamy sentimentality and dishonest greed has governed the course of veterans' disbursements; intelligent justice has at no time played any effective part.⁵⁰

The Bonus March

With the depression years, the veterans of World War I sought added adjustments. The various groups began to demand payments which Congress had promised. President Herbert Hoover tried to convince the veterans that this was not the time for additional expenditures.

. . . 'The imperative moment has come when increases in Government expenditures must be avoided, . . . The First stone in the foundation of stability and recovery both at home and abroad is the stability of the Government of the United States. It is my purpose to maintain that stability, and I invite you to enlist in this fight. The country's need of this service is second only to war.'⁵¹

The words of the President did not convince all the veterans. On the morning of Thursday, July 28, 1932, some twenty thousand veterans were encamped in the national capital to demand money promised them by Congress. Some

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 18.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 11-12.

brought their whole families to demonstrate the need for subsistence.⁵² The Bonus Expeditionary Force would not heed the requests of the authorities. Finally, President Hoover ordered General Douglas MacArthur to clear the area. Thus, regular forces were utilized to clear the capital of the ex-soldiers of World War I.⁵³

Of course, President Hoover's veto of the bonus implementation measure and his order to have the veterans dispersed brought considerable criticism. But what is important to realize that even the President's successor continued the philosophy of trying to limit veterans' benefits. Perhaps, the high office allows one to see the general, not only the particular. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt stated his case clearly before the American Legion Convention in Chicago in 1934. "'No person because he wore a uniform must thereafter be placed in a special class of beneficiaries over and above all other citizens.'"⁵⁴ The veterans were soon to learn that President Roosevelt meant what he said. He vetoed the World War I Bonus on two occasions. And in these actions, he received the wrath of many veterans. Colonel Rice W. Means, National Chairman of

⁵²Jack Douglas, Veterans on the March (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1934), p. 3.

⁵³John D. Weaver, "Bonus March," American Heritage, XIV (June, 1963), pp. 96-97.

⁵⁴John S. Cannon, Billions for Boondoggling (Kansas City, Missouri: Empire Printing Company, 1936), p. 54.

the Legislative Committee of the Spanish War Veterans, charged, "'Franklin Delano Roosevelt is the greatest enemy of war veterans that has ever been in the White House.'"⁵⁵ The G.O.P. by 1936 was trying to organize the veterans against FDR; in a pamphlet entitled "The Veterans' Case Against the Democrat-New Deal" veterans were told that FDR vetoed the World War I Bonus twice and he was not about to have sympathy for them. It is interesting to note this pamphlet did not mention the vetoes by republican Presidents, including Grant, Coolidge, and Hoover, nor did it remind the veterans that President Hoover gave the order to clear the marchers out of the national capital in 1932.⁵⁶ In sum, both parties recognized there was a need to curtail veterans' benefits, but it was difficult to mention this at election time.

States' Aid

The traditional policy of the United States to assist veterans did not only pertain to the national governmental level; the individual states also provided benefits. In regard to educational benefits, these have already been

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁶Sam Stavisky, "Where Does the Veteran Stand Today?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLIX (September, 1948), p. 129.

discussed. States, of course, varied with programs.⁵⁷ One of the main points in the early Congressional hearings on the G.I. Bill was on the ability of the states to support veterans' benefits. Generally, it was concluded the national government would have to take the major responsibility.⁵⁸ At the end of 1949 Alaska and 18 states had authorized the payment of about \$2.6 billion in bonuses to about 7.8 million World War II veterans and to the survivors of the deceased veterans. This expenditure was over six times the amount spent by twenty states for bonuses after World War I. In fact, New York and Illinois alone spent about the total twenty states had spent for World War I veterans. The Pennsylvania bonuses alone amounted to about \$500 million. Fourteen of the 18 bonus-paying states provided similar benefits after World War I. Twenty states have held bonus referendums and the electorates of fourteen have approved. Three of the six disapproving states (Nebraska, New Jersey, and Oregon) provided specific purpose benefits to World War II veterans. In the other three disapproving states (Maine, Missouri, and Wisconsin), opposition to a proposed sales

⁵⁷Frank Bane, "State Plans for Aid to Veterans," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CXXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 71.

⁵⁸U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Pertaining to S. 1509 Proposing Educational Assistance to World War II Veterans. Hearings. Before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senate, 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, p. 35.

tax to finance the benefits was primarily responsible for the defeat.⁵⁹

Review of the Cost of Benefits

A major basis for veterans' benefits has been precedent. The assistance given to one generation of warriors has automatically been used as building blocks for the next. And the full costs of a war in terms of veterans do not present themselves until years after the conflict.⁶⁰ A review of the costs of veterans' benefits in relation to the actual wars indicates well the magnitude of the problem. The cost has indeed been considerable, especially after the conflict has terminated. The United States has indeed been generous to its veterans. And this can be best seen in comparison with other nations.

In 1953 the World Veterans Federation, an organization promoting the welfare of war-disabled men, made a survey of benefits provided by nineteen countries. The Soviet Union, as usual, refused to submit information, but it is known that that nation's program is largely confined to veterans' preference in government employment. The accompanying table shows the annual pension rates, in dollars

⁵⁹Irving Siegel and Edgar Weinberg, "State Bonuses for Veterans," The Journal of Political Economy, LXVIII (February, 1950), p. 72.

⁶⁰John E. Booth, "Veteran Against Veteran," op. cit., p. 89.

Revolutionary War

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$750,000

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$700,000

Benefits: Officer pensions, pensions for widows and orphans of officers killed in war, land grants for officers and men. After 1836, pensions for any veteran disabled or in financial need.

War of 1812

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$13⁴ Million

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$460,000

Benefits: Public land grants, plus compensation for disabled and dependents of war dead.

War with Mexico

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$166 Million

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$620,000

Benefits: Approximately the same as War of 1812.

Civil War

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$4 Billion

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$8.2 Billion

Benefits: Broader compensation for disabled and survivors of war dead: preferential status in federal employment; federal homes for disabled volunteer soldiers; homestead preference; after 1890, pensions for any veteran disabled no matter what the cause.

War with Spain

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$570 Million

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$4.8 Billion

Benefits: Approximately the same as in the Civil War.

World War I

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$26 Billion

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$60 Billion

Benefits: Compensation, federal insurance, vocational rehabilitation, free hospital and medical care; liberalized pension eligibility; pensions for widows and dependents of veterans who died of non-service-connect causes.

World War II

Actual Cost of Fighting:
\$341 Billion

Cost of Veteran Benefits:
\$474 Billion

Benefits: Extension of most available to World War I veterans; development of readjustment benefits under the G.I. Bill of Rights; special credit for home and land purchases; special extended benefits under the general Social Security, old age, and survivor program.

Korean War

Actual Cost of Fighting:
Undetermined. Probably
about \$15 Billion

Cost of Veterans Benefits:
\$79 Billion

Benefits: Roughly, same as World War II.

Fig. 9.--The cost to the United States of major wars and veterans' benefits.⁶¹

in each country giving veterans a pension with a 100 per cent service-incurred disability.

⁶¹Drive for Easy-to-Get Pensions Draws Volley of Counter Fire," Business Week (July 14, 1956), pp. 120-121. (Original data from the President's Commission on Veterans Benefits, 1956).

Table 18.--Comparison of veteran benefits in the United States with other countries (1953)

Country	100 Per cent Service-Incurred Disability	
	Single Man	Man with Wife and Two Children
United States	\$2070	\$4362
Austria	196	865
Belgium	986	2579
Canada	1500	3860
Denmark	1257	2127
England	400	1379
Finland	405	2102
France	486	2547
Germany	214	1194
Greece	540	540
Israel	1036	1385
Italy	635	2220
Japan	250	250
Luxembourg	806	806
the Netherlands	1263	1263
New Zealand	509	2605
Norway	1116	1116
Turkey	692	692
Yugoslavia	320	760

Source: Stanley Frank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXXVIII (November 5, 1955), Part II, p. 157.

The Veterans' Organizations

Veterans are highly organizable. They received this characteristic from their military service. They understand each other and need one another. They have lost their sense of solidarity and of comradeship, their cause, and they are eager to recapture them. They often need a cause in which to lose themselves. They are accustomed to identify themselves and their interests with the larger group and are inclined to believe that whatever veterans want is good for society. Many believe they have suffered real injustice, and can easily bring themselves to believe that they are entitled to anything they can get.⁶²

The veterans have organized throughout the history of this country. There was the Society of Cincinnati of the Revolutionary War, the Grand Army of the Republic in the Civil War, the United Spanish War Veterans and the Veterans of Foreign Wars following the War with Spain, and the American Legion after World War I. After World War II, the American Veterans Committee (AVC) and the American Veterans of World War II (Amvets) were also formed.⁶³ The power of the various veterans' groups have fluctuated; however, these organizations have remained extremely influential in legislation. And according to many, they remain one of the most

⁶²Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back, op. cit., pp. 28-29, 188.

⁶³"Veterans: Organization Race," Newsweek, XXVII (April 1, 1946), p. 30.

effective lobbies in the country. There are five major veterans' groups in the country. Their 1964 and 1968 memberships follow:⁶⁴

	1964	1968
American Legion	3,000,000	2,600,000
Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)	1,250,000	1,350,000
Disabled American Veterans (DAV)	209,172	223,301
American Veterans Committee (AVC)	29,200	29,200
American Veterans of World War II (Amvets)	<u>125,000</u>	<u>125,000</u>
	4,613,372	4,327,501
	Change -285,871	

Thus, the organized veteran population is about 4 to 5 million out of a total veteran population of about 26 million.⁶⁵ But the well-organized veterans' groups have continued to remain powerful, and they have become the self-appointed spokesmen for all veterans.

The veterans lobby is one of the strongest in Washington, D.C. This lobby is able to mold public opinion since the veteran continues to enjoy gratitude and respect

⁶⁴Encyclopedia of Associations, 4th, 5th ed., I, National Organizations of the United States (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1964, 1968), pp. 784, 788, 797; 854, 859, 869.

⁶⁵U.S. Veterans Administration, Annual Report, Administrator of Veteran Affairs, 1968, p. 170.

from a large portion of the population.⁶⁶ In addition, the veterans' organizations themselves are able to claim large-scale support, in the millions, and legislators are apt to listen to such groups. This was deficiency of the Society of Cincinnati; it was too small. Quantity means much in the political sphere.⁶⁷ The veterans also have close allies in the military groups. At some date the military will join the veteran ranks. The various military organizations have also supported most of the proposals of the veterans groups. These organizations include:

	Membership ⁶⁸
the Fleet Reserve Association	54,000
the Reserve Officers Association	69,000
the Navy League	35,000
Association of the United States Army	66,000
Air Force Association	65,000

All these organizations have offices in the national capital and carefully review the proceedings in Congress. They can lend considerable support to the veterans legislation.

⁶⁶"Why Do Veterans Organize?", booklet, op. cit., pp. 14-16.

⁶⁷Lewis J. Growin, Jr., Patriotism Prepaid (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1936), p. 1.

⁶⁸Encyclopedia of Associations, National Organizations of the United States, 4th Edition, I, op. cit., pp. 334, 336-337, 788.

The Role of the Veterans' Lobby

Almost every bill on veterans' benefits that clears Congress bears the imprint of the veterans' groups. These include the major ones listed previously. The organized groups are always close to legislative action; they are invited to testify at hearings on new legislation. And they contact the individual Congressmen to get action. Although the organized veterans represent a small portion of the total veteran population, they can speak for the veteran population because of their position. Some claim within the organizations themselves, only a small group is responsible for legislative pressure. One long-time congressional observer made this comment.

'Your average veterans' organization consists of three groups. The vast majority join for social or business reasons; they care little about benefits. A small group belong to serve their needy comrades or to do community welfare work. Then you have the smallest bunch, the men at the top. Many of them use the organization as a springboard to further their personal ambitions, often in politics.

'It's this last group that generates nearly all the pressure for more benefits. They try to stir up the members to entrench themselves in power in their own organizations. The leaders of one group try to outbid the others. They and their Washington men put the squeeze on Congress with letters, wires, phone calls, personal visits--all pledging help for the ones who cooperate and revenge for those who won't.'⁶⁹

There have been many critics of the veterans lobbies over the years. Tallcott Powell in Tattered Banners presents a stereotyped image of all veterans' groups. He

⁶⁹"Do We Spend Too Much on Veterans?" Changing Times, XIV (September, 1960), p. 28.

presents a cycle for veteran benefits. About ten years after the finish of a war, the veterans' groups start to agitate for more benefits. Despite poor economic conditions, the Congress cannot say no to the veterans. A few years later, it becomes necessary to cut benefits, but this is usually not sufficient. To Powell, this becomes a game. And he is most critical of the large expenditures given to a small portion of the population. In fiscal year 1931-32 the American veterans and their dependents comprised 1 per cent of the total population; however, they collected nearly one-quarter of the entire federal revenue.⁷⁰ Of course, the veteran population today represents a much greater part of the total population and is not receiving as large a number of pensions as in 1931.

The critics usually present one view of the organizations. There are, of course, two sides to every question. Veterans organize for their common welfare. This country did not have a social security program until 1935; as a result, there was a greater need in the United States to protect the ex-servicemen before that time.⁷¹ The veterans' organizations did serve a useful purpose of bringing social welfare programs into the community for the veteran. Without spokesmen in the national capital, the veterans may

⁷⁰Tallcott Powell, Tattered Banners, op. cit., p. 6.

⁷¹Why Do Veterans Organize? Booklet, op. cit., p. 19.

well have had difficulty in achieving adjustment benefits. In addition, the veterans' groups served as a social machine that has proved extremely beneficial in containing and re-directing the hostilities and aggressions that the veterans usually bring home with them. Without organizations, these tendencies might have resulted in destructive actions. In addition, the national organizations ignore the cleavages of religion, class, politics, and nationality background and thus, perform a great service for national unity. Furthermore, minority groups have been assisted by these groups in entering the mainstream of the country.⁷² These organizations have played a key role in the country's history.

The Grand Army of the Republic

The Civil War period assisted in bringing unity to the veterans' groups. And the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) best represented this spirit. It was an organization for Union veterans and formed in 1866. General John A. Logan, an early GAR Commander-in-Chief, stated the purpose of the organization as to

'commemorate the gallantry and sufferings of our comrades, give aid to bereaved families, cultivate fraternal sympathy among ourselves, find employment for the idle, and, generally, by our acts and precepts to give the world a practical example of sincere, kindly cooperation.'⁷³

⁷²Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

⁷³Ibid., p. 197.

General Logan might have added one more item, "sponsor legislation for the Union ex-servicemen." And sponsor legislation the GAR did.

The means the GAR used to obtain benefits could often be questioned. The GAR was most instrumental for pensions. In the 1870s the pensioners numbered about 60,000. Then, the Arrears Act of 1879 helped the pension drive acquire momentum and stirred considerable veteran interest. From 1881 a standing committee of the GAR sat with Congressional committees. This committee of seven decided what laws the GAR should sponsor and organized efforts. Commander Russell A. Alger once directed, "'Go to Congress and present your demands; and not with bowed heads.'" Speaker Cannon asked, "'Does the bill in this form satisfy you?'" The GAR Pension Committee responded in the affirmative. Bang went the Speaker's gavel, and the bill was law. GAR presented a good many bills, and Congress usually responded favorably.⁷⁴

The GAR sought massive uniformity among the press. Lemon's National Tribune became the official voice of the veterans groups. It urged all ex-soldiers to vote against candidates who opposed increases in pensions and to boycott every newspaper that dared to oppose veterans benefits. Lemon testified in Congress that he had actively paid

⁷⁴Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, op. cit., p. 27.

thousands of dollars to attorneys to lobby for pension bills. Furthermore, one member of Congress accused the editor of dominating army posts and even dictating the appointments of major officers. His power was considerable.⁷⁵

With more pension bills enacted into legislation, a whole new profession of pension experts emerged. And the charges of corruption were often heard. President Grover Cleveland, the first democratic President since the Civil War, in his first term (1885-89) vigorously employed his veto power and his gift of trenchant speech against the many pension racketeers working the country. He vetoed in that period 228 private pension bills introduced by Congressmen on behalf of their constituents, vetoed them with biting comment, exposing some as proposals to subsidize for life men who were deserters from the army, subjects less for pension than for prison. In particular he vetoed the Dependent Pension Bill, which would have given a pension to all who had worn the Union uniform for at least three months. In 1887 the GAR held its convention in St. Louis, and the President had been warned not to come to that city. The GOP used this as political ammunition and attacked the President in their platform, "We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for

⁷⁵Katherine Mayo, Soldiers, What Next!, op. cit., pp. 34-36.

pension relief."⁷⁶ The GAR died with time, but it did hold an influential place in the American scene for years. From World War I to the present, the veterans' bloc was led by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Disabled American Veterans. They, too, have exercised considerable power over legislation. Of these groups, the Legion assumed the most important leadership role.⁷⁷

The American Legion

In 1919 the American Legion was founded in France in answer to the widespread discontent among soldiers in the interval between the end of the war and demobilization. The American Legion was to perpetuate associations, and assure the dominance of the ideals of the war, to act as a bulwark against radicalism and to protect the interests of the incapacitated. Among the founders were Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.; Colonel Bennett Clark; Colonel William J. Donovan; and Captain Ogden Mills. All were conservatives. It had a non-partisan goal, and was later open to veterans of the two world wars, and the Korean Conflict. The Preamble to the Legion Constitution conveys the patriotism that is usually associated with it.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 19.

⁷⁷Legislators and Lobbyists, Second Edition (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, May, 1968), pp. 7-8.

'For God and country we associate ourselves together for the following purposes:

To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order, to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great Wars; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good-will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion and mutual helpfulness.'⁷⁸

The GAR aligned itself with political parties, usually the GOP, in order to obtain benefits; however, the American Legion specifically in its constitution forbade political activities. Yet, the Legion has actively promoted legislation in Congress, and it is well-known that it is one of the most powerful pressure groups in the United States.⁷⁹ Already in the Legion's first convention in 1920, the question of political activity presented itself. The following resolution had been adopted.

'That while the American Legion was not founded for the purpose of promoting legislation in its selfish interest, yet it recognizes that our Government has an obligation to all servicemen and women to relieve the financial disadvantages incident to their military service . . . an obligation second only to that of caring for the disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who sacrificed their lives. . . . But the American Legion feels that it cannot ask for legislation in its

⁷⁸Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

⁷⁹Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

selfish interest and leaves with confidence to Congress the discharge of this obligation.'⁸⁰

There is actually a contradiction here. To obtain benefits for ex-servicemen, it is necessary to participate in politics. The Legion will have to promote certain candidates. But this is not the only contradiction. The American Legion, according to some, has championed the general increase in veteran benefits; yet, at the same time, it has professed strong conservative politics, which has included economy in government. And in the area of housing, the Legion has placed its avowedly staunch belief in unlimited free enterprise above the goal of so many veterans--immediate housing. In some areas, the organization professes the doctrines of the National Association of Manufacturers; in other areas, that is, within the veterans' groups themselves, government support for medical, business, and educational programs. There are, then, two sides of the American Legion.⁸¹

There are many cases showing the American Legion's influence on legislation. These indicate the organization is not so removed from the legislative process as its constitution indicates. For example, Legion National Commander Atherton spoke quite threatening to Congress in late 1943. "We'll start a bonfire that will burn that Washington

⁸⁰William Gellermann, The American Legion as Educator (New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1938), pp. 238-239.

⁸¹Katherine Mayo, Soldiers, What Next!, op. cit., p. 72.

squirrel cage down unless the men returning from war get their just desserts."⁸² In 1956 the Legion was able to pressure the House Committee on Veterans Affairs for easier, bigger pensions for World War I veterans despite pleas from Committee Chairman Olin Teague and President Eisenhower. In regard to this action, the magazine Business Week noted, "The strength of the American Legion's Washington lobby was effectively demonstrated last week in the House Committee on Veterans Affairs."⁸³

Part of the strength of the Legion is the fact there are many members of Congress, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, and occupants of the White House who are members of the organization. At the beginning of the 80th Congress, for example, 195 members of the House, 44 Senate members, 5 Cabinet officials, 3 Justices of the Supreme Court, and the President were all Legion members. There were also 26 state governors and many state legislators who were active members of the American Legion. One of the most active Legion lobbyists, John T. Taylor, talked to his fellow Legionaires in November, 1946 about legislative strategy.

'We've strong but a lot of the new (Congress) men don't know it yet. It's necessary to impress them. That's where you fellas come in. Find out for me the

⁸²Bill Mauldin, Back Home (New York: William Sloane Associates, Publishers, 1947), pp. 84-85.

⁸³Earl B. Douglas, Cut-Rate Battle Wounds Versus Cutthroats (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 1944), p. 23.

attitude of your new congressman. Don't just wire me that he's all right. I want to know if he's all right where we are concerned. If you're not sure about him, tell me and I'll have a talk with him. If you hear from me after I see him, I expect you to put the fear of God in him. From back home. That's where he gets his votes.

'I'm a realist about legislation and I know what's all he's worried about--his votes. And even if he doesn't like Washington society, his wife does. After you've put the heat on a man, I always know, because he always come to me and complains about it.'⁸⁴

Thus, the American Legion can very easily pressure any Congressman. Some 1500 posts await the mandate. And with the right signal, countless letters, wires, and angry phone calls from the home district pour in. With this in mind, the remarks of Mr. Taylor have real meaning in terms of the legislative process.

Not only does the Legion possess power in the Congress, the Cabinet, and the courts, but it has a close connection with that independent agency dealing exclusively with veterans, the Veterans Administration. The marriage of the VA with veterans' groups has existed for years. Part of this is perhaps due to the presence of Legion members in key posts of the VA. Such recruitment may be a matter of deliberate policy, especially in agencies created during emergencies.⁸⁵ The influence of Legion members on this organization was only recently seen with the appointment of Donald E. Johnson,

⁸⁴Legion Lobby Wins Showdown, then Critics Top its Lavishness," Business Week, June 16, 1956, p. 145.

⁸⁵Bill Mauldin, Back Home, op. cit., p. 81.

a former National Commander of the American Legion, to head the Veterans Administration in June, 1969.⁸⁶ This close working relationship with the key veterans' organizations allows the Legion to be extremely influential in recommending legislation.

The Legion has received a considerable amount of criticism. Even at the end of World War II, there was fear expressed that it would dominate the entire political life of the country.⁸⁷ The Legion has continued to promote legislation, and continues to remain one of the top spenders for lobbying.⁸⁸ But there must also be noted the good influence of the American Legion. Lobbying has been part of the American legislative process. Therefore, nothing is inherently evil about it. And the Legion has promoted the interests of the veterans and also in the process has helped sponsor worth-while reforms. Even Knowlton Durham, President of the Anti-Bonus League, observed,

In justice to the Legion, it should be said that many of its Lobby's efforts are devoted to pushing worthy legislation. It was responsible for putting efficiency

⁸⁶David Truman, The Governmental Process; Political Interests and Public Opinion (New York: Knopf and Company, 1951), p. 451.

⁸⁷"New VA Head Announced by Nixon," The Oklahoma Daily (University of Oklahoma newspaper), June 6, 1969, p. 8.

⁸⁸"The American Legion," The New Republic, CX (February 14, 1944), pp. 208-209.

into the Government's dealing with veterans, and for working some needed reforms in legislation. . . .⁸⁹

And certainly its efforts for educational benefits have been well-documented.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)

Although the veterans organizations have agreement on many goals, there is still the inter-organizational rivalry. This has been reflected in this paper earlier in the case of the disagreement between the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars in regard to the passage of the first G.I. Bill of Rights. The rivalry presents itself occasionally in the hearings in Congress. Each group wants to claim full credit for benefits and frequently may even oppose measures because they are attached to rival groups.⁹⁰

The second largest veterans' organization in the country also actively supports legislation for the interests of the ex-servicemen; however, the VFW differentiates in regard to the type of service. Active military service in the continental United States during a conflict is different from that overseas. The following testimony of Omar B. Ketchum, the Legislative Representative for the VFW's Washington, D.C. Office, in reference to the 1944 G.I. Bill of Rights, clearly indicates the rivalry between this

⁸⁹"Legislators and Lobbyists," Congressional Quarterly, op. cit., p. 30.

⁹⁰Knowlton Durham, Billions for Veterans, op. cit., p. 59.

organization and the American Legion and also notes the VFW's emphasis on foreign service.

That is right. We have recommended a solution to this question. We do not claim it is infallible, but it is a formula on which to work, as you have recommended to the Congress, and on which the members of the committee received our recommendation in the form of a mimeographed bulletin. Unfortunately, we do not have the money or help to send every Member of Congress a personal typewritten letter on all of these questions; we must occasionally resort to the good-old mimeograph, and I know you do not particularly care for those things.

Here is the formula we recommend: That it be placed on a scientific basis of so much per day, with a premium for foreign service. This bill, offered by the American Legion, makes no distinction between home and foreign service. Apparently they felt 18 months in this country is just as stringent and valuable service as 18 months overseas. Now the Senate bill did differentiate, or make it on the basis of length and type of service, and not only on the length of service.⁹¹

This position by the VFW represents special interests within the entire veteran population. The Disabled American Veterans (DAV) goes one step further. They believe the disabled veterans should be singled out for special consideration. The Order of the Purple Heart is another such group. During the original hearings on the first G.I. Bill representatives of this group charged that there were many veteran free-loaders. Legislation, they claim, was passed with the disabled in mind. To this group, the able-bodied veteran did not need special consideration in order to

⁹¹U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance. The Veterans' Omnibus Bill, S. 1617. Hearing. before the Finance Subcommittee, 1944, p. 39.

return to school.⁹² Generally, these groups will support legislation for all veterans because their clientele are also included. All the groups have been united on this issue and all want the Veterans Administration to keep control over all veterans affairs.

American Veterans Committee (AVC)

The American Veterans of World War II (Amvets) generally have similar views with the American Legion; they have their legislative offices in the national capital. Many of their members also hold memberships with the Legion.⁹³ But the American Veterans Committee (AVC), which was formed after World War II, represents a new philosophy.⁹⁴ Dr. Paul Cooke, President of the District of Columbia Teachers College and Former National Chairman of the American Veterans Committee, expressed this philosophy in testimony before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, in June, 1969.

We are disappointed that this Nation has not seen fit yet to adopt all of the recommendations of the Bradley Commission which would have brought sanity and logic into the ever-increasing veterans benefits program, which now takes \$7.7 billion out of the Federal budget. We think it appropriate here to remind the

⁹²Ibid., p. 36.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁹⁴Ralph J. Sossignuolo, National Director of Programs, AMVETS National Headquarters, 1719 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C., Personal Letter, dated March 21, 1968.

distinguished members of this subcommittee of the basic premises of the Bradley Commission. . . .

We urge once more that this report be unearthed and its sober reasoning be reviewed and given serious consideration. With almost half of the Nation's population eligible for some kind of veterans' benefits, it is time that a reevaluation be made of a veterans' benefits program that would consider the legitimate benefits of the veterans population in the context of the Nation's needs and goals.⁹⁵

The theme has been that the veterans must be seen within the context of the total American society. This stand has led to considerable opposition from the well-established veterans' groups. The AVC also represents a more internationalist outlook, this has heightened the debate between this newcomer and the traditionally conservative organizations, which continue to emphasize the danger of communism.⁹⁶ The opposition to the AVC even has been noted itself in Congress. Several representatives, endorsed by both the American Legion and the VFW, tried to bar the AVC from testifying to Congress through various provisions. This failed, but represents the extreme bitterness against the position of the American Veterans Committee by the two most powerful veterans' bodies in the United States.⁹⁷

⁹⁵U.S. Congress, Senate. Education and Training for Veterans, Legislation to Amend Title 38 of the United States Code. Hearings. before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 91st Cong., 1st sess., June 24, 25, 26, 1969, part 1, p. 132.

⁹⁶Charles G. Bolte, "We've on Our Own," The Atlantic Monthly, CLXXIX (May, 1947), p. 27.

⁹⁷"Old Throw-Back John Rankin," Editorial. The Nation, CLXIV (March 1, 1947), p. 235.

The veterans' groups have had a considerable influence on legislation. They speak for the veterans despite the fact the majority of the veterans are not members. They have become the self-appointed spokesmen for America's 26 million veterans. Like the GAR of the past, the Legion or VFW has considerable power in the legislative halls.⁹⁸ All these groups have one big advantage; the Congress, especially the key committees dealing with veterans affairs are dominated by veterans, and are often members of the veterans organizations.

Veterans on the Key Committees

The most important work of Congress goes on in committee sessions; this has been pointed out through the years by legislative observers. The two veterans committees in Congress, the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the Senate, are both favorable to the position of the veteran. Part of this orientation could result from the veterans on the committees. In the House, only 5 members of the 25-member Committee on Veterans' Affairs are not veterans; at least 10 are members of the American Legion. The membership of this committee follows:

⁹⁸"Why Do Veterans Organize?" booklet, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

Republicans .

Charles M. Teague (Cal.)
William H. Ayres (Ohio)*
E. Ross Adair (Ind.)*
John P. Saylor (Pa.)* +
Seymour Halpern (N.Y.)
John J. Duncan (Tenn.)* +
John P. Hammerschmidt* +
William L. Scott (Va.)* +
Margaret M. Heckler
(Mass.)
John M. Zwach (Minn.)
Edbert V. Denny (Neb.)* +

⁺ Denotes membership in the American Legion

In regard to the Senate's Labor and Public Welfare Committee, veterans again dominate. Out of the 20 members, only 4 are not veterans. And 4 are listed as Legion members. No doubt, this is not the full Legion membership on the

⁹⁹U.S. Congress, 91st. Cong., 1st sess. Official Congressional Directory (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 273.

committee since most legislators who are eligible join major veterans groups. The Senate Committee's membership follows:

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
United States Senate¹⁰⁰

Democrats

Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas),
Chairman* +
Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)
Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (N.J.)*
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)*
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)*
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)*
Walter F. Mondale (Minn.)
Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.)*
Harold E. Hughes (Ia.)*

Republicans

Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)* +
Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)
Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)*
George Murphy (Cal.)
Richard S. Schweiker
(Pa.)* +
Henry Bellmon (Okla.)*
William B. Saxbe (Ohio)* +

*Denotes veterans

+Denotes membership in the American Legion

This situation does make for close cooperation between the veterans groups and the committees. This complexion of government is also the case in the Executive Branch; in the Kennedy Cabinet in 1961 there was a tremendous influx of veterans. In fact, this was never so great since the Civil War.¹⁰¹ In 1968 30 of the state governors were veterans.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 255.

¹⁰¹"As 'Young Veterans' Take Over in Washington," U.S. News and World Report, L (January 9, 1961), p. 80.

¹⁰²Samuel R. Solomon, "Governors: 1950-1960,"

Veterans occupy many key political posts in the United States. They were members of the leading veterans' organizations, and some played an active role in these groups.

The Veteran and Politics

The veterans have the numbers but have they really been solidly organized? Has there been a veteran party as has been the case in many other countries? At the end of World War II, there was a considerable amount of anxiety about which way the veterans would go in terms of politics. News magazines devoted feature articles emphasizing the key role of the veterans in the electoral process. The two accompanying cartoons from a September, 1946 issue of United States News conveys this attitude. But the truth of the matter was that the veterans often did not vote as a group.

Although the composition of the House of Representatives has supported the belief that veterancy is a valuable campaign asset,¹⁰³ there have been many cases in which the veteran role has been over-emphasized, especially at the end of World War II.¹⁰⁴ Generally speaking, the veterans in this

National Civic Review, XLIX (September, 1960), pp. 412-413; Who's Who in America, XXXV (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1968-69).

¹⁰³Albert Somit and Joseph Tannenhaus, "The Veteran in the Electoral Process: the House of Representatives," The Journal of Politics, XIX (May, 1957), p. 184.

¹⁰⁴Robert Crandall, "Veterans Panic the Politicians," American Magazine, CXLII (August, 1946), p. 24.



—Goldberg in New York Sun
VETERAN'S NEW GRENADE



—Gray in Chicago Times
GI STUDENT

Fig. 10.--Popular cartoons in 1946 indicating the power¹⁰⁵ magazines placed with the veterans in elections.

country have not voted as a bloc. Perhaps, one of the major reasons has been they are too many of them.¹⁰⁶

The Civil War Era

Nathaniel Hawthorne, oppressed by the ebb of his creative imagination, journeyed to Washington, D.C. in the spring of 1862 to seek inspiration from the capital's war excitement. There he became alarmed over the prospects that the veterans would be dominating the government from the White

¹⁰⁵"GI's as Key to 1946 Election: the Hunt for Missing Voters," United States News, XXI (September 6, 1946), p. 24.

¹⁰⁶Sam Stavisky, "Where Does the Veteran Stand Today?", op. cit., p. 134.

House to the Court Houses for many years to come.¹⁰⁷ And Mr. Hawthorne proved to be an astute observer. The period immediately after the Civil War was one in which the Union veterans played a dominate role in the politics of the nation. There has never been anything quite like that period. The National Tribune, the self-appointed newspaper of the veterans, at the close of the political campaign of 1884 observed the vital role of the veteran in American life.

'The matter of justice to soldiers has entered into every Congressional canvass north of the Potomac and Ohio. Every candidate for Congress has been made to feel that proper treatment of the Nation's defenders was one of the first of his duties if elected. This splendid result has been secured by the agitation in which the National Tribune has taken a leading and determined part, and by the increase in numbers and influence of the GAR.¹⁰⁸

During this period, the G.O.P. emerged as the main spokesman for the veteran. It strongly attacked President Cleveland's vetoes of so many special pension bills, claiming these were needed.¹⁰⁹ But with time, both parties were trying to compete for the veterans' support. The G.O.P. had its main base in the rural Mid-West; thus, the veteran cause was in part associated with rural America. By the time of World War I, it became difficult to differentiate between parties in regard to veterans' benefits. The veterans

¹⁰⁷Mary R. Dearing, Veterans in Politics (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1952), p. 1.

¹⁰⁸William H. Glasson, Federal Military Pensions in the United States, op. cit., p. 196.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 223.

legislation became bi-partisan in nature. There have been so many other factors entering the scene, such as urbanism, that the veterans issue usually became lost.¹¹⁰ Of course, the mood of the public changes depending on the support of the war. This has been noticeable in particular in the case of the present-day veterans.

The Vietnam Veteran

The veterans of the Vietnam War resemble neither the noisy, assertive veterans of World War II nor the quiet, apathetic young men after the Korean War. The Vietnam veterans are also few in numbers, like Korea, but they seem to have a more definite goal--the throwing off of their identity as ex-GIs and becoming civilians again as fast as possible. Generally, the present-day veterans are not motivated to join organizations. In that sense, they certainly do not act like the veterans of the past.

Furthermore, the reception is different now. There are no bands, and big parades as in the past. And the business firms are not as anxious to hire these veterans as they were after World War II. At that time the "ruptured duck" emblem in one's lapel and the statement "I am a veteran" meant something. William Tackmann, an official of the New York City Division of Veteran Affairs claims much of this is due to the national dissent over the war.

¹¹⁰Somit and Tannenhaus, "The Veteran in the Electoral Process," op. cit., p. 187.

But perhaps the biggest reason why the Vietvet is-- and wants to be--invisible is the nation's reaction to the war. World War II united the country in a kind of holy crusade. Many Americans weren't sure why we were in Korea, and it had the same frustrating, limited-war quality that annoys so many about Vietnam. But at least everybody was agreed on the identity of the good guys and the bad guys. This time, there is no such agreement.¹¹¹

There have been many cases of the Vietvet not being really welcomed with open arms. Jim Sloan, 23, returned to Harvard after service as an army sergeant in Vietnam; he was laughingly labeled "the resident fascist pig of Adams House." Richard Parish, 22, was an Air Cavalry Rifleman when a chunk of enemy shrapnel ripped his right shoulder to the joint; back in Michigan as a civilian, the Negro high school graduate was unable to pass physical examinations at either Cadillac Motors or Detroit Edison, and reluctantly began drawing disability pay. First Lieutenant Leo Glover, 26, won a Silver Star and a Purple Heart near the DMZ as a Marine air controller, then turned his aerial expertise into a job as a flight engineer for Trans-World Airlines in Kansas City, Missouri, but nearly busted up a cocktail lounge one evening when some drunks refused to be quiet during a televised speech by General William Westmoreland.

Sloan, Parish, and Glover are three of some 1,700,000 veterans who have made the painful transition from service to civilian life since the Vietnam War became a major military effort in 1964. This year, at least 900,000 more will muster out--all of them to face

¹¹¹Nora Levin, "Needed: a New GI Bill, the Neglected Vets," The Nation, CXCVI (February 23, 1963), p. 723.



Fig. 11.--Cartoon from October 1, 1969, issue of Army Times.¹¹²

¹¹²Army Times, October 1, 1969, p. 13.

an adjustment problem unique among U.S. war vets. The men who fought in World Wars I and II and Korea found gratitude and the traditional heroes' welcome awaiting them at home; the Vietvet returns with no fanfare to a nation whose response ranges from noncommittal 'Oh, you're back?' to--in some cases--downright hostility.¹¹³

In addition to the unpopularity of the war effort in South East Asia, there has also been considerable concern over the role of the minority groups. But the concern has brought action in this case. After World War II, there had also been concern for the American minorities,¹¹⁴ but no action was taken. The Armed Forces have been involved in worth-while projects to try to assist soldiers of minority groups prior to their return to civilian life. Many educators have looked with enthusiasm at these experiments.¹¹⁵ The Congress has also been concerned about the status of these veterans and much legislation has been proposed in this regard.

In sum, the Vietvet is different because of the general mood of the American public about the war. This could very well have widespread implications on the role of the veteran in this country in the future. Should the ex-soldiers not wish to organize, their influence in Washington,

¹¹³"Veterans, Oh, You're Back," Time, XCI (January 12, 1968), p. 15.

¹¹⁴Robert C. Weaver, "The Negro Veteran," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 127.

¹¹⁵James Cass, "Education in America, the Armed Services as Educator," Saturday Review, LI (October 19, 1968), p. 59.

D.C. might very well be diminished. The existing major veterans organizations need future members to continue their roles.

The Veteran's Status in Retrospect

The ex-serviceman is held in special regard by the nation. This has come about through tradition, but also through a regard for the sacrifices he has made. There has been brief periods of neglect for the veterans. As a result, the country is justified in showing concern for the veteran. But there has been a growing concern about the general policy toward all ex-servicemen. Veterans are also citizens, and they must be viewed with this in mind. In addition, there has been a charge that emphasis is not being placed on those ex-servicemen who need assistance the most. Professor Willard Waller of Barnard College, Columbia University, put it this way,

. . . Our policy is to pay in the wrong manner. We have spent many billions on veterans' claims, and most of it has been wasted. We have never spent enough at the right time, or spent it on the right persons.¹¹⁶

In short, the veteran's status must be viewed from the society in toto.

The President's Commission on Veterans Benefits in 1956 took note of a change in the status of ex-servicemen because of the nature of the present world. The commission

¹¹⁶Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

noted six major factors which must be considered in any discussion on veterans benefits.

1. Veterans and their families will soon be in the majority. In 1940 there were 4 million war veterans. There are now over 26 million. Probably, with the active military forces, they now comprise a majority of the population right now.

2. The condition of the military service has changed for the better since the Civil War. There are more counterparts in the civilian area, the pay has been greatly improved, and the selective service is being revised to equalize the burden.¹¹⁷ In addition, the whole development of technology has changed the structure of the military service. With this increase in technology, there has been less difference between the civilian and the military areas; the mission of the armed forces is not so much the use of violence as that of deterrence of violence, which means more emphasis on the social, political, and economic trends. It is, thus, more a part of diplomacy. And the military, although often accused of not promoting new ideas, is now required to seek innovation to keep ahead in the technological race. Therefore, experts in the field of military sociology see a new military emerging, one which is less direct,

¹¹⁷U.S. President's Commission on Veterans Benefits, op. cit., 1956, pp. 8-9.

arbitrary, and authoritarian. The intellectual in today's military definitely has a place; quite a change from the past.¹¹⁸

This new military is not only reflected in the Armed Forces of the United States. Most developing and advanced nations recognize the military establishment as a means for effective change. Governments see an obligation to re-establish productively veterans or ex-servicemen and see economic and social value involved. The International Labor Organization has expressed great interest in this area. Thus, armies are utilized to help fight illiteracy, develop skills, and develop consciousness. Both Turkey and Iran have massive literacy campaigns in progress through the military; Columbia has a well-established system of vocational schools within its military; the Netherlands allows servicemen to prepare for civilian life through special correspondence courses; France through its Promotion Sociale Program emphasizes to soldiers the many courses available to them while on active duty; the United Kingdom continues a successful apprenticeship program. In sum, the military forces of the world can be utilized for peaceful pursuits and have been to a great extent.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸Morris Janowitz, "Changing Patterns of Organizational Authority: the Military Establishment," Administrative Science Quarterly, III (June, 1958), pp. 473, 475-476.

¹¹⁹Hugh Hanning, The Peaceful Uses of Military Forces (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967), pp. xvi-xvii; 35-46.

3. Changes in national-security requirements and in the nature of warfare have forced this country to reshape the military service as the basis for special privilege and benefits. Now for the first time in history, it has become necessary to maintain a large military force. The entire national population is now in danger, not only the military forces.

4. The basic needs of all citizens, veterans and nonveterans alike, are being met increasingly through general national, state, and private programs. The social security and medicare programs are examples of such developments.

5. The veterans as a group are better off economically than the nonveterans in similar age groups.

6. The United States today has the most liberal and comprehensive veterans benefit program in the world. The growth of the veteran population has been accompanied by a great expansion in the scope of veterans programs and by continued liberalization of their provisions. Should this continue, the burden on the budget will be tremendous.¹²⁰

Criticism of Non-Service Connected Benefits

For some years, there has been growing concern about medical and other benefits for ex-servicemen who have not had service-connected injuries. The First Hoover Commission in 1949 touched on some of these problems, including the

¹²⁰U.S. President's Commission on Veterans Benefits, op. cit., pp. 7-9.

rising costs of insurance programs. This commission criticized the lack of unity among the many national medical programs, including those of the Veterans Administration.¹²¹ Six years later, the Second Hoover Commission emphasized the need for a change in policy in regard to treatment by the VA of non-service connected disabilities. The commission noted about one-sixth of all veterans have service-connected disabilities; this group should be given free medical treatment. The others not. The President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions in 1956 followed this line of the Hoover Commissions.

The ordinary or non-service connected needs which veterans have in common with all citizens should be met wherever possible through the general welfare programs under which veterans are covered along with other people. Veterans' non-service connected benefits should be minimized and gradually eliminated.¹²²

Although the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission of 1968 was generally criticized for promoting the veteran at the cost of the national interest, its mood on the medical coverage coincides surprisingly with the Hoover Commissions and the President's Commission on Veterans Pensions.¹²³ The veterans with service-connected injuries should receive full

¹²¹U.S. Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Veterans Affairs, A Report to the Congress, February, 1949, pp. 16-19.

¹²²U.S. Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Federal Medical Services, A Report to the Congress, February, 1955, pp. 34-35.

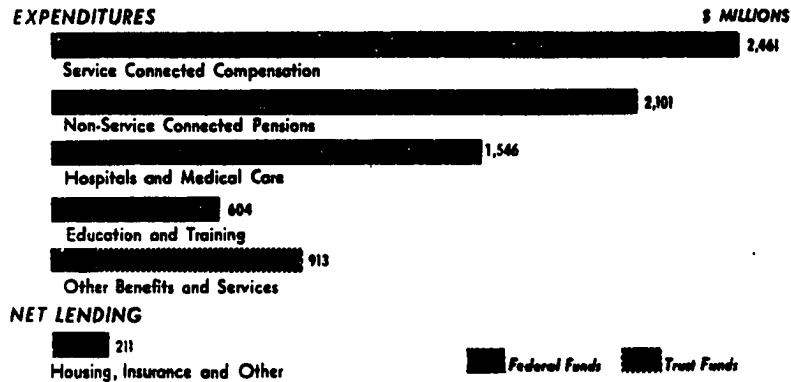
¹²³U.S. President's Commission on Veterans Pensions, op. cit., p. 1.

care. But, "Basic benefits, geared to serious non-service-connected needs, for veterans of war or similar periods should not be displaced or absorbed by general welfare programs."¹²⁴ The medical programs of the veterans have come under attack in particular, probably because of the growth in their costs.

The VA has some 173 hospitals throughout the country. These were originally for the disabled or mentally ill. Now they are also for those other veterans if extra beds are available. These hospitals have been admitting between 800,000 and one million per year in recent times. Once the beds are filled, there is a demand to Congress to appropriate for more beds. A survey in 1965 indicated that only one on a waiting list of 22,000 had been disabled during military service and he was merely waiting to get into a hospital in an area preferred. In addition, there has been pressure in many states and cities which do not have adequate facilities to have the VA handle all neurotic and psychiatric cases. Title 38, Chapter 17, Article 610 of the United States Code allows only those veterans with non-service connected disabilities who are unable to defray hospital care to receive VA treatment. This regulation is reflected on VA Form 10P10 application for medical assistance. This form includes an

¹²⁴U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Report of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission, Hearing. before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., March 19, 1968, p. xii.

1969 Outlays ----- \$7,342 Million
 Expenditures -- \$7,131 Million
 Net Lending -- \$ 211 Million



Note: The amounts shown above are not adjusted for \$5 million of interfund and intragovernmental transactions and \$489 million of proprietary receipts; thus they add to more than the total budget outlays for the function.

Fig. 12.--Veterans benefits and services¹²⁵ 1969 U.S. Government budget.

affidavit claiming a lack of funds to pay for medical care. The affidavit is no longer taken seriously. Because of Congressional pressure the VA usually does not investigate claims for medical care.¹²⁶ The costs of medical care has risen considerably, mainly due to non-service-connected treatment. In Fiscal Year 1969, \$1.5 billion was expended for this. This was \$89 million higher than in 1968. And

¹²⁵U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, The Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 48.

¹²⁶John E. Booth, "Veterans: Our Biggest Privileged Class," Harper's Magazine, CCXVII (July, 1958), 22-23; U.S. Code, Title 38, Chapter 17, Article 610, 1964.

non-service connected pensions amounted to \$2.1 billion. Assuming five-sixths of the medical care went to non-service-connected cases (a figure generally accepted), this means \$1.25 billion was for these patients. Thus, in Fiscal Year 1969, veterans obtained \$3.3 billion in non-service-connected pensions or medical treatment; this was almost one-half of the VA's expenditures.¹²⁷ Therefore, it is obvious why there has been cause for alarm.

Veterans Must be Part of General Society

The example of medical benefits and pensions to ex-soldiers who do not have service-connected injuries are what have been most in question. The disabled veterans have always been viewed as having a legitimate right to special benefits, but not the others. Even the veterans themselves have expressed concern about this. The older veterans are not that disturbed, but the younger ones are.¹²⁸ This plea for veterans to consider the general society is not new; there have been voices for moderation in benefits for many years.¹²⁹ Lieutenant Allen R. Foote of the 21st Michigan Infantry was awarded a disability pension of ten dollars per

¹²⁷U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, The Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 68.

¹²⁸U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, op. cit., p. 137.

¹²⁹Roger Burlingame, Peace Veterans, The Story of a Racket and a Plea for Economy (New York: Minton, Black, and Company, 1932), pp. 71-72.

month at the end of the Civil War. Lieutenant Foote even questioned the receipt of this pension.

. . . My method of earning a living is by intellectual employment. My wound does not cause the slightest disability for such occupation. My army experience has been the means of increasing, not diminishing, my earning capacity. I am now receiving full pay from my employment.

In view of facts such as these, I believe the pension laws should be so changed that I, and all others similarly circumstanced, shall receive no pension payments and that the money so saved may be used to increase the pensions of our less fortunate comrades.¹³⁰

Some have looked critically at the whole veterans' benefits for non-service connected disabilities, excluding the educational entitlements. Lewis J. Gorwin, who claims to be the National Commander of the Veterans of Future Wars, in his book Patriotism Prepaid (1936) lists an Act to Secure Future Veterans' Preference. Part of this refers to the growing power of the veterans' groups and the willingness of Congress to recognize the voting power of these groups.¹³¹

There are those who are extremely critical of the situation. Delaware banker and former President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Edwin P. Neilan in 1963 wrote,

Last August, before the National Press Club, I labeled the buying and selling of votes in our modern spoils system as 'seduction by subsidy.' I called it

¹³⁰Lieutenant Allen R. Foote, The Duty and Reward of Loyalty (Washington, D.C.: Ramsey and Bisbee Printers, 1891), p. 3.

¹³¹Lewis J. Gorwin, Patriotism Prepaid (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1936), pp. 102-104.

a bigger scandal than the one centering around Christine Keeler, the London party girl. My speech stirred up considerable indignation, especially in Congress, but I stick to what I said. Plunder has become so prevalent in American political life that it would be difficult to name the worst offenders--were it not for the blatant and outrageous maneuver called veterans' benefits.¹³²

On this basis some question the motives of most of the veterans groups, claiming devotion to one's country should mean concern also for one's fellow countrymen. Thus, privileges for one segment of the population is termed unpatriotic.¹³³ The country must be seen as a whole. Most of the reports on veterans have urged a re-evaluation. The Bradley Commission Report of 1956 continues to receive attention. The report had not been well-received by most veterans groups, outside of the American Veterans Committee. The American Legion considered it "an insult to Congress," the VFW thought General Bradley and his colleagues were "talking through their hats," and the National Commander of the Pacific War Veterans of America bombarded the commission for embracing "a unique revolutionary philosophy under development for the past three decades by a self-perpetuating clique of federal bureaucrats with the aid of sundry

¹³²Edwin P. Neilan, "Let's Say No to the Veterans," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXVI (November 30, 1963), p. 8.

¹³³William Gellermann, The American Legion as Educator (New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1938), p. 266.



"Mind you, we're against all that Socialistic stuff—"

Fig. 13.--Cartoon from May 14, 1956, issue of New Republic.¹³⁴

sociologists, psychologists, theorists, and assorted egg-heads."¹³⁵ That "revolutionary philosophy" expounded by the Bradley Commission is probably best expressed in these words:

We should keep the whole range of our national needs in perspective. We ought to make sure that the service-connected needs of our veterans are fully met. However, it would be dangerous to over-emphasize veterans' non-service-connected benefit programs at the expense of essential general programs. Social

¹³⁴"Some Assorted Eggheads," New Republic, op. cit., p. 5.

¹³⁵"Some Assorted Eggheads," New Republic, CXXIV (May 14, 1956), p. 5.

institutions are always changing and veterans' programs are no exception. Our objective throughout should be to promote not only what is best for the veteran, but also what best serves the interest of the Nation. What best serves the Nation in the long run will be in the best interest of the veterans.¹³⁶

¹³⁶U.S. President's Commission on Veterans Benefits, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

Veterans' educational benefits have been an innovation of the post World War II period. Previously, pensions were the major means of aid. The success of the new approach is reflected in the extension of these benefits and also in the permanent nature of the present legislation.

Veterans Became Part of Society

There has been a recurring theme in the literature of war that a soldier's feelings were more in common with the enemy sharing his misery than with the civilians at home. In Laurence Stallings' and Maxwell Anderson's memorable World War I play "What Price Glory?", a tortured soldier in the trenches cursed everyone in the world who was not there.¹ The gulf between the American civilians and the military men might also have been greater than in Great Britain, for example, where the civilian population was exposed to air raids. The American economy was geared to the war effort; yet, civilians did not experience the

¹Stanley Frank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXXVIII (November 5, 1955), Part II, p. 69.

horrors of combat. Charles G. Bolte, Chairman of the American Veterans Committee termed this possible split as "the most dangerous division in America" at the end of the Second World War.²

One of the most important results of the educational provisions of the G.I. Bills has been to permit veterans to successfully adjust to civilian society. At the end of World War II, there were many fears about what future role the veterans would play in the country. Veterans were better prepared to become a part of the general society through the use of these important benefits.

Why this concern about the veteran? History has indicated disgusted ex-servicemen can very well lead to new orders. Disgruntled veterans were the backbone of the Communist Revolution in Russia, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and the collaboration movement in France. Professor Willard Waller described the position of the ex-soldier in society in these words:

The veteran is, and always has been a problematic element in society, an unfortunate, misused, and pitiable man, and, like others whom society has mistreated, a threat to existing institutions.³

This country was never threatened by violent reactions from its veterans after World War II because they had confidence

²Charles G. Bolte, "The Most Dangerous Division in America," The New York Times Magazine, November 4, 1945, p. 5.

³Willard Waller, The Veteran Comes Back (New York: The Dryden Press, 1944), pp. 12-13.

in the future.⁴ One of the major reasons for this confidence was the G.I. Bill, which helped cushion the transition to peacetime pursuits.⁵

Development of a Consciousness
of Societal Needs

"Programs for veterans often become source material or prototypes for programs for the general public."⁶ This has not only been the case with educational programs but other areas as well. The G.I. Bill legislation indicated a consciousness of some of the many needs of people in general. To have progress, special assistance was required in such areas as social, educational, and occupational needs of veterans.⁷ Of course, these needs in many cases could also be applied to non-veterans. The G.I. Bill reflected the philosophy of the New Deal. The government has a responsibility for social needs of the veterans; today even conservatives accept this as part of the nation's

⁴Stanley Rank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," op. cit., p. 69.

⁵Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., The American Soldier, Combat and its Aftermath, II (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 597.

⁶Charles J. Peckarsky, Deputy Chief of Benefits, Main Office, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., Personal Interview, August 19, 1969.

⁷Alanson H. Edgerton, Readjustment or Revolution, A Guide to Economic, Educational, and Social Readjustment of War Veterans, Ex-War Workers, and On-Coming Youth (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1946), p. 2.

political dogma.⁸ This social consciousness may have originated from the military itself. Professor Robert A. Nisbet implied this in an article entitled "The Coming Problem of Assimilation," in The American Journal of Sociology, January, 1945.

Military society in the modern world is, above all things, paternalistic and on so grand and ramified a scale that it defies description and must be experienced to be even faintly grasped. All modern armies have this character, and if the American army, in its passion for channeled regimentation and regard for individual welfare, leads the others it does so only in degree. This paternalism--it is frequently called military socialism--is necessary in large part.

. . .⁹

Since the professional military man becomes a veteran on retirement from active service, there is a high degree of correlation between expectations of the career military and the benefits accruing to veterans. Because the career military man is accustomed to many special services, such as medical and dental care, subsidized consumer goods through the post exchanges and commissaries, he is not adverse to veterans generally receiving preferred treatment in a large number of areas, of which education is only one.

Professor Roy V. Peel of the Government Department, Indiana University, in 1945 predicted the veterans' programs would continue to bring a realization of the need for such

⁸Dixon Wecter, When Johnny Comes Marching Home (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944), pp. 522-523.

⁹Robert A. Nisbet, "The Coming Problem of Assimilation," The American Journal of Sociology, L (January, 1945), p. 264.

benefits to the community at large. The trend even at that time was seen toward the liberalization and extension of social welfare legislation.

The existing veterans legislation is the most advanced welfare legislation yet adopted. The principle of helping men to find work and to get appropriate training at public expense having been reasserted in this commanding fashion, even greater progress may be expected in the future.¹⁰

Professor Peel must have a point since the American Medical Association's actions in regard to free treatment to veterans with non-service connected ailments has significance. The AMA's influential lobby strenuously opposed free treatment for such ailments on the ground it opens the door to socialized medicine. In 1955 about 60 per cent of the cases in the VA hospitals were of a non-service connected origin, ranging from accidents in homes to tuberculosis and schizophrenia. And the average patient has been out of uniform for more than a quarter of a century.¹¹ No doubt, the AMA's concerns have been justified in the sense that medical programs in VA hospitals and in the military have helped indicate to the general public a need for general health programs. Of course, this cannot be directly linked to VA medical programs, but the Medicare Program in some

¹⁰Roy V. Peel, "The 'Separateness' of the Veteran," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXVIII (March, 1945), p. 172.

¹¹Stanley Frank, "We Licked the Veteran Problem," op. cit., p. 158.

aspects was looked upon as an extension of government medical programs now in existence for military personnel and veterans.

High-ranking administration officials have noted a government-dominated medical program will come "unless we can make that system work for everyone in this Nation."¹² Some officials have even predicted the passage of a national health insurance program in the 1970s. Again, the AMA's point about changing the general attitude of the public toward socialized medicine may be an important consideration. Similar comments could be directed to housing, rehabilitation, and education--in fact, any of the activities concerning veterans. The fact discussions have been directed toward different agencies handling certain programs usually associated with the VA gives further indication that the veteran programs are now being assessed in terms of value to the general society. For example, in the national government there has been continuous efforts, especially under the new concept of Planning, Programming, Budgeting System (PPBS), to group activities under functions. Thus, commissions have urged all the hospitals be placed under one department. This is where the Department

¹²U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, A Report on the Health of the Nation's Health Care System, by Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Assistant Secretary-Designate of Health and Scientific Affairs, July 10, 1969, p. 8.

of Health, Education, and Welfare has come into the picture. Chairman Olin E. Teague of the House Veterans Affairs Committee noted this movement back in 1961.

It's possible this program could be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, but I do not believe it would result in better medical care and I don't think it would save any money.¹³

The Value of Veterans' Educational Benefits

The general effects of the educational benefits to veterans are difficult to assess in their entirety. But they have been considerable. Newsweek magazine in 1954 noted their importance in terms of the national government.

In 1944, with the passage of a veterans' readjustment measure called Public Law 346, the United States Government, not quite knowing what it did, slipped into the most massive program of publicly supported higher education in history. The G.I. Bill of Rights, as the country came to call it, had no precedents, and other countries gave their veterans no such extravagant postwar favors. It has been denounced by some as the beginnings of an educational welfare state. By others it has been applauded as the dawn of the day when that dream of all democracies--the educated electorate--will materialize.¹⁴

In 1944 the United States Government spent 1 and 3/10 per cent of its national income for education; the United Kingdom, 3 per cent; the Soviet Union, 7 per cent. Such a situation pointed up the need for further development

¹³Representative Olin E. Teague, "Where U.S. Debt to Veterans Ends," Nation's Business, XLIX (May, 1961), p. 100.

¹⁴"The G.I. Bill: In 10 Years, 8 Million," Newsweek, XLIV (October 4, 1954), p. 88.

of the nation's human resources according to Congressman Olin E. Teague.¹⁵ "We shall be having adult education on a scale never before dreamed of," commented the Boston Daily Globe in 1944 in regard to the G.I. Bill of Rights educational provisions.¹⁶ And the country never witnessed such an expansion in higher education. This program allowed many to enter college that could not have gone because of financial barriers; numerous studies have confirmed this.¹⁷ The G.I. Bill brought a general consciousness that to provide equal opportunity would mean some way of meeting the financial costs of higher education for many qualified persons. Debate on extending the G.I. Bill to all qualified youth involved this financial consideration.¹⁸

Some authorities in the Office of Education believe the country now has enough statutory legislation to create

¹⁵Congressman Olin E. Teague, "G.I. Education: Problems and Future Programs," National Defense and Higher Education, Series I, XV (April, 1951), pp. 92-93.

¹⁶"G.I. Rights," Editorial. The Boston Daily Globe, June 23, 1944, p. 7.

¹⁷Joseph H. Miller, Veterans Challenge the Colleges, the New York Program (New York: King's Crown Press, 1947), pp. 129-130.

¹⁸Harold E. Gibson, "Should the Educational Opportunities Granted to Korean Veterans be Accorded to all Youth?" School Activities, the National Extra-Curricular Magazine, XXVII (October, 1955), pp. 49-52.

a civilian G.I. Bill.¹⁹ Refer to Appendix II for a list of some of the many government programs in education. It is widely accepted in Congress that present programs are indirect financing of higher education, and some see no other national scholarship program necessary for some years; yet, increased financing of education will continue. Among those who see further extension of scholarship programs beyond the G.I. Bill is Senator George McGovern (D S.D.).

I am sure you have noted, as I have, that while the public has generally resisted any type of 'federal aid to education' chiefly on the grounds that where the funds go--federal control is 'sure to follow'--there have been a number of measures which do, in fact, provide educational assistance. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, National Defense Student Loan Program, Higher Facilities Education Act and other similar pieces of legislation provide federal money for education through what some have called 'back door' financing.

I think we are some distance away, however, before any kind of general national scholarship program will have sufficient public support for legislative enactment. I do see increased funding for existing aid programs once the focus shifts from our misadventure in Vietnam to domestic problems.²⁰

The role of the national government in education has expanded incredibly in recent years. Estimated outlays in 1969 represent an increase of 200 per cent over 1965, the

¹⁹Dr. James Moore, Chief, Division of Financial Aids, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1969, Personal Interview.

²⁰Senator George McGovern, United States Senator from South Dakota, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., Personal letter dated July 9, 1969.

year in which landmark laws were enacted to assist elementary, secondary, and higher education and to promote the arts and humanities. The central concern of the national government in recent years has also been to promote improved education for the disadvantaged.²¹ And according to all indications, the increase in education, especially higher education, is expected to continue. It is predicted that in 1975 there will be almost eight million students in colleges and universities of this nation.²² To meet this increased enrollment, support from the national government will be a necessity.

The G.I. Bill of Rights has become an integral part of American history.²³ And it generally has received considerable praise. Many at the passage of the first bill saw it as an important step in guaranteeing for all an initial period of security.²⁴ The dire predictions of the consequences of the G.I. Bills have failed to materialize. Despite the fine record of this legislation, there are still some doubters. Representative James A. Haley, Democrat from Florida, and a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee,

²¹U.S. Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, The Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 46.

²²Congressional Quarterly, XXIII, 1966, p. 630.

²³Alanson H. Edgerton, Readjustment or Revolution, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁴Bradley Buell and Reginald Robinson, "The Veteran Returns to Dayton, Ohio," Survey, LXXXI (July, 1945), p. 190.

in 1960 was very critical about extending the educational benefits. To him the veterans had adequate opportunities under present legislation. A G.I. Bill is not needed.

' . . . There is no need to let him waste another year or two at government expense. A man who has no more individual initiative than to sit back and simply because he served his country, we will say for six months, and acquires an education at the expense of the American taxpayer is never going to contribute very much to this nation.'²⁵

Part of the G.I. Bill philosophy has been the concept of equal opportunity as part of democratic tradition. Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic Democracy in America comments on this at some length in regard to differences between officers in the American Army compared with European armies in which aristocracies dominated the officer corps.²⁶ Then Senator Hubert H. Humphrey in 1957 in hearings before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare evaluated the meaning of the veterans' educational legislation in these words:

The value of the two G.I. bill educational programs has been incalculable. How much it has actually contributed to the Nation's tremendous expansion of gross national product since World War II is anyone's guess. Here I am discussing the measures which have already been on the statute books, and under which we have operated. But we know that by the time the last of the veterans who qualified under the Korean G.I. Bill have

²⁵"Veterans Want Billions More," Nation's Business XLVIII (May, 1960), pp. 12, 16.

²⁶Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, II (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 265.

taken advantage of their educational benefits, which they have earned, more than 10 million young men and women will have been assisted in furthering their education. I imagine this is the greatest single educational effort that has ever been made by a Government for men and women who have gone beyond the secondary and elementary educational level.

I doubt very much whether any Member of Congress would seriously question the great benefits which have accrued to the Nation as well as to individual veterans under the two G.I. Bills.²⁷

This country has always recognized some responsibility in assisting the ex-servicemen with a return to the civilian sector; however, there have been cases where the government did not provide as adequately as it should have. There has been two evolving themes on behalf of national government assistance: (1) Restoration of the veteran's economic position, and (2) giving the ex-servicemen special economic benefits.²⁸ This was taken up by the Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment already in 1942,²⁹ and has been a part of the recommendations of various boards and commissions ever since. The governmental obligations to veterans have originated as a debt of gratitude or remuneration for services; as an obligation to grant relief,

²⁷U.S. Congress, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance. Hearings. before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, Senate, 1957, p. 211.

²⁸Thomas H. Patten, Public Policy Towards the Employment, Retirement, and Rehabilitation of the 'Old Soldier'. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1959, p. 5.

²⁹U.S. Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment, Report of (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 1, 2.

based upon the right of every individual to live; as an obligation to make good any injury suffered; and finally, as an obligation derived from the concept that the state is responsible for all its acts.³⁰ Despite the favored position of the ex-servicemen with the government, there still has been a question or two raised in regard to benefits.

The Non-Disabled Veteran

Ex-servicemen generally give strong support for educational benefits;³¹ they also seem to realize the number one priority should be given to those with service-connected injuries. A survey conducted by the Roper Research Associates, Incorporated, among veterans indicated this. In the study, each veteran was handed a list of eleven benefits and asked which he thought the veterans should receive. Following is the percentage that favored each type of benefit.

³⁰William P. Dillingham, Federal Aid to Veterans, 1917-1941 (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1952), p. 2.

³¹Roy N. Chelgren, "An Attitude Survey Concerning the Provision of Educational Benefits for Korean Veterans," School and Society, LXXVI (September 13, 1952), p. 169.

Medical Care for Service Disabilities	86 ³²
Regaining Job Held Before Service	84
Low-Cost Home Loans	69
Schooling at Federal Expense	66
Low-Cost Government Insurance	60
Government Paid On-the-Job Training	52
Priority for Federal Jobs	39
First Choice for Low-Rent Public Housing	26
Medical Care for any Illness Whatsoever	22
Keeping Federal Jobs While Non-Veterans are Laid Off	18
Pensions for Life	13

The survey results were interesting from many viewpoints. One aspect is the high priority placed on medical care for service disabilities and the low regard for medical care for any illness and pensions for life. This points to a differentiation between veterans, that is, those having the disabilities and those without them. It is true the government has always taken care of those with service-connected injuries in a special way; however, there are some reservations about medical benefits to all veterans.

A high percentage of those in Veterans Administration hospitals do not have service-connected injuries. For years, application for medical treatment included the famous Item 6--the Pauper's Clause of VA Form P-10;

³²"Do We Spend too Much on Veterans?", Changing Times, XIV (September, 1960), p. 29.

however, the VA has not been strict in investigating applicants under the clause. Many clients falsify their financial status when they fill out VA Form P-10 for medical treatment. This means the veteran with backache, tonsillitis, pneumonia, piles, flat feet, dizziness, a nervous breakdown, or an injury originating from a highway mishap or a tavern brawl, and in no way service-connected, can be treated in a VA hospital. He must only indicate he cannot afford private medical treatment. Veterans' organizations have continually pressured to have the so-called pauper's declaration removed. Dr. Frederick W. Taylor, a surgical consultant to a VA hospital and also a lieutenant commander in the United States Naval Medical Reserve, in 1948 had some strong words about this practice of aiding those without service-connected injuries.

Apparently it is the aim of the 'organizations' (i.e. the veterans groups) to underwrite their clients' health from the recruiting station to the grave. This is expensive business even for a wealthy government. But is it the will of the majority of our voters to undertake such a grand-scale health program? If it is, then in Heaven's name, let's stop calling it the tear-jerking (and vote snatching) Veterans' Program. It has nothing whatever to do with defense of country or military service. It is a grab, pure and simple, by the logrollers who have long since put group benefit above national welfare.

The so-called 'professional veteran' must realize the needs of the general country should come first.

One more point: No medical care is too costly, no treatment too good for the veteran injured in active

service. He must have the best. There are veterans and veterans.³³

Therefore, according to Dr. Taylor, a good many of our citizens are already happy with socialized medicine via the Veterans Administration. This same point was emphasized by the President's Commission on Veterans Benefits, which recommended, "Veterans with no service-connected disability after readjustment should be considered to be in the same category as citizens who are not veterans."³⁴

The President's Commission on Veterans Pensions in 1956 cautioned the government about excessive programs for veterans because of increased costs. And, of course, one of the great costs was treatment for non-service-connected injuries and non-service-connected pensions. These two items together in Fiscal Year 1969 will comprise over \$3 billion dollars, about five times the cost of all educational and training programs.³⁵ No doubt, the extreme costs of expanded programs, including an increase in the present educational rates, has caused President Nixon to threaten to veto the latest amendments to the G.I. Bill.³⁶ And at

³³Frederic W. Taylor, "You're In--You're a Veteran," Harper's Magazine, CXCVI (February, 1948), pp. 160, 162.

³⁴U.S. President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, A Report on Veterans' Benefits in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 4.

³⁵U.S. Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, The Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year, 1969, pp. 48-49.

³⁶Congressional Record, Senate, October 23, 1969, p. S13184.

the heart of these considerations were the hospitals being used by all veterans.

In Summary

What are some of the major conclusions, then, of this paper on the development of educational benefits for veterans in this country? Several recurring themes present themselves.

1. Veterans' educational benefits have contributed to greater national government involvement in education, especially in scholarship programs. The three major bills have produced an accepting environment for more support of all kinds. The educational benefits involved government, and the program was a success. Therefore, why not use government to develop civilian programs? This has been the reasoning in part for the numerous civilian programs that have been developed in recent years. Perhaps, the most ardent supporters of such a philosophy are those who have benefitted directly from these massive scholarship adventures.

2. The veterans' organizations have been instrumental in the passage of veterans' educational assistance and other benefits; their promotion of such massive programs for ex-servicemen has stimulated the national government to implement similar programs for civilians even though the veterans' groups have generally opposed such actions. The experience gained from the VA's hospitalization and

educational programs have no doubt served as models for comparable civilian benefits. Therefore, most of the veterans' organizations are finding some effects of their legislative stands opposite of what they had intended.

In connection with the veterans' organizations, a word should be mentioned in their defense. There has been a considerable amount of criticism of their actions. Yet, they must also be given credit for sponsoring comprehensive educational programs. Group activities, including lobbying, are part of the American legislative process. Therefore, the American Legion, the VFW, and the DAV must be viewed from this point of view also. For those veterans who do not agree with the philosophies of these organizations, they have every right to start their own group and participate in the legislative process.

3. Since veterans with their families comprise about one-half of the nation, it has become a tremendous burden to provide them with special benefits. Outside of special privileges for the disabled veterans, benefits must be viewed with the general society in mind. Of course, the educational benefits have always been viewed as assisting not only the veterans concerned but also the general society. However, a large-scale civilian "G.I. Bill" type program would probably end the need for a special veterans' educational program.

4. Without special benefits to the many millions of ex-servicemen, veteran groups would find difficulty in justifying their existence. Their purpose has been built in part on the proposition that veterans, and not only the disabled, deserve special benefits. Today in several areas, the whole society is receiving similar if not more comprehensive benefits. For example, some veterans argue Medicare is preferable to VA medical benefits. If the trend to total civilian benefits continues, the existence of special veterans' groups may be threatened.

5. The continued emphasis on disadvantaged veterans may well change the nature of the G.I. Bill since the original legislation did not differentiate between veterans. The Department of Defense and the VA both have special programs to help the disadvantaged. The latest amendments have been aimed especially at this veteran. The Bureau of the Budget's recent study on veterans and the President's Commission on the Vietnam Veteran have sought more special consideration of this group of veterans. The philosophy of the G.I. Bill has been altered through such emphasis.

6. Veterans continue to be a politically powerful group, but a decline of their power has begun and may continue. New veterans are not motivated to act as those in the past. The unpopularity of the Vietnam War has to some extent changed the status of the veteran, and the ex-serviceman of today is less interested in such organizations.

Total membership in veterans' organizations has actually dropped in recent years.

7. The new military establishment takes pride in technology and, of course, educational attainment. Therefore, transition to civilian life is easier. Often military service is an advantage since it provides training in skills applicable to civilian employment. This must be considered in terms of a G.I. Bill. The military through such programs as Project Transition and Project 100,000 is aware of the disadvantaged. The military and civilian spheres have become closer through education and technology. Furthermore, an end to the draft would naturally greatly affect the G.I. Bill, and perhaps, a program for civilians would then be more seriously considered.

8. The future will develop more inter-agency conflict as pressure builds to incorporate veterans functions outside of the VA. The Hoover Commissions had already recommended combining certain VA activities and placing some under other agencies. Of course, what is most efficient may not be adopted. Pressure by groups to preserve the VA's domain will continue. But Labor, HEW, Commerce, and other departments will continue to seek more control in what had once been solely VA domain. Administration by function is taking hold on all levels of government, and this concept has contributed to moves to challenge VA control in some areas, including education.

9. Governmental studies will probably continue to criticize non-service-connected benefits outside of education. The educational provisions of the G.I. Bill seem to meet the approval of most, including the recent President's Committee on the Vietnam Veteran. There have been several major veterans study groups in recent years; all have been concerned with the rising costs of the general benefits. Numerous Presidents, including Cleveland, Grant, Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, have cautioned about the increased costs of non-service related benefits. Criticisms and recommendations are, however, far from action. In regard to medical aid, the most costly non-service-connected benefits, a national medical program would no doubt have a definite effect on these benefits.

10. Should the G.I. Bill be discontinued, there will undoubtedly be pressure for a comparable civilian program. The need for such educational support will continue. The permanent nature of the G.I. Bill now in effect is significant. The country probably recognizes the need for equal opportunity by trying to eliminate the increasing economic barriers to college educations.

The veteran has been a legislative favorite because of his service. For example, Senator Edward M. Kennedy comments,

I feel that this Nation has a fundamental obligation to the men and women who have served so nobly and made such great sacrifices as members of the armed forces. For that reason, veterans legislation deserves our highest priority in Congress.³⁷

Yet, it must also be recognized that despite the key role of veterans' groups and the magic word of "veteran" to most Congressmen, in the final analysis support for veterans' benefits must have a widespread support among the citizenry.³⁸ There is also the wisdom of the various reports on veterans; the general theme is that special consideration should be given to those injured in war. This is in keeping with the words from President Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address inscribed outside the Main Veterans Administration Building in Washington, D.C., "To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan." But how about the veterans who have not been injured? Should they receive more consideration than the citizens who have not worn the uniform? One viewpoint on this issue was expressed in a letter to Life magazine in 1947 by a Chicago veteran named A. R. Belkiss.

'As a veteran I find myself the recipient of bonuses, benefits, the G.I. Bill of Rights and what not. Certainly the American teachers have sacrificed as much time and effort for their country. I am now

³⁷Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Senator from Massachusetts, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., Personal letter dated August 13, 1969.

³⁸Thomas H. Patten, Public Policy Toward the Employment, Retirement, and Rehabilitation of the 'Old Soldier', Ph.D. Dissertation, op. cit., p. 7.

paying an extra cent per packet of cigarettes so that the Illinois veterans' bonus gets paid off. I think I could afford another cent if it would improve the teachers' income.'³⁹

The educational benefits given veterans have had a gigantic impact on America. Millions were able to receive a college education. There was also economic increase for the individuals and the government. Despite predictions of failure, the program proved a success and has influenced other non-veteran programs. There has developed in veterans legislation a consciousness of basic human needs. The G.I. Bills have changed to some extent because the society has changed. Hence, an emphasis now on the socially disadvantaged. Perhaps, the G.I. Bill may be discontinued should the voluntary military develop. But the need to support persons going to school will continue. And this need will have to be fulfilled. There is a good chance the national government will continue to be active in this area with or without a program for the education of veterans. A new name but the same idea will be there. Within the military structure, educational programs will no doubt be of more importance as the technology increases. That will be under a professional or a voluntary military.

Some 24 centuries ago, Aristotle observed the need for rehabilitating the soldier before his return to civilian life.

³⁹Robert England, Twenty Million World War Veterans (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 213.

'The paramount aim of any social system should be to frame military institutions, like all its other institutions, with an eye to the circumstances of peacetime, when the soldier is off duty: and this proposition is borne out by the facts of experience. For militaristic states are apt to survive only so long as they remain at war, while they go to ruin as soon as they have finished making their conquests. Peace causes their metal to lose its temper; and the fault lies with a social system which does not teach its soldiers what to make of their lives when they are off duty.'⁴⁰

Judging from this country's history, there have been adequate provisions made to assist the military man in his transition back to civilian life. The educational benefits for veterans as provided in the three major G.I. Bills have unquestionably had much to do with this significant success! In doing so they have contributed immeasurably to the well-being of the entire country.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 12.

APPENDIX I

THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION'S INFORMATION
BOOKLET ENTITLED DVB OUTREACH PROGRAMS,
JUNE 19, 1969

DVB OUTREACH PROGRAMS

Vietnam

The VA for the first time in history has ten full-time Contact Representatives stationed in combat areas to counsel servicemen about their entitlement to benefits. The Contact Representatives who are all volunteers serve a six-month term. They are stationed at the following bases in Vietnam:

Army	--Long Binh
	Cam Ranh Bay
Air Force	--Da Nang
	Cam Ranh Bay
	Bien Hoa
	Tan Son Nhut Air Base
Marine Corps	--Da Nang

More than 811,415 combat servicemen have been oriented regarding their VA benefits.

Military Hospitals

VA representatives are providing special counseling at the bedside to patients in 184 military hospitals throughout the nation. This early counseling enables initial steps to be taken toward vocational rehabilitation in some instances while the serviceman is hospitalized. Since October, 1966 over 18,597 visits have been made to these hospitals and our employees have conducted 158,148 in-depth

interviews with wounded and seriously disabled servicemen. A total of 65,111 claims for disability compensation have been filed and 53,141 applications for vocational rehabilitation prepared.

Of some 53,141 disabled servicemen who have applied for rehabilitation benefits through June, 1969, approximately 16,740 have been provided vocational rehabilitation counseling while they were hospitalized. When counseling is not initiated or completed while the veteran is hospitalized, the servicemen's records are transferred and he is followed-up by the office to which his records have been transferred. Approximately 2,670 disabled servicemen have entered training prior to their discharge from service.

Follow-Up

Later when the serviceman is separated and returns home, he is contacted by a local representative of the Veterans Administration. This is to insure that he is receiving all benefits in which he is interested and entitled and that all possible assistance is furnished him to overcome his disability and to facilitate his readjustment to civilian life.

Pre-Separation Counseling-- Military Installations

Personnel of the VA provide pre-separation orientation on VA and other Government agency benefits at 311 military installations. From May, 1967 through June, 1969,

1,108,691 separatees received this orientation. Six of these installations have service seven days a week, another twelve are providing service five days a week. Service to other installations is according to the schedule of separations. Since it is not possible from an economic or physical location standpoint to reach all separatees, the VA to reach as many as feasible, has made a 28 minute movie, "You Owe It To Yourself," which refers to the many benefits and services available to them as veterans. This film has been shown 8,459 times to 468,660 servicemen in CONUS.

Approximately one year ago, the VA furnished each of our seven locations in Vietnam with a copy of the VA film, "You Owe It To Yourself" (YOITY) for showing to in-service and separating military personnel.

During these twelve months the film has been viewed by some 125,000 servicemen under the auspices of our VA representatives. The groups seeing the film have varied in size from five or six to one thousand men. In addition, the film has been shown on numerous occasions over the Armed Forces Vietnam TV Network which consists of six TV stations and which has exposure to some 500,000 United States troops in the area. The reaction and response of the servicemen viewers has been most rewarding and encouraging.

United States Veterans Assistance Centers

Veterans Assistance Centers were established to provide one-stop service for today's returning veterans.

With the cooperation and participation of other Federal agencies, a veteran can receive personal attention and counsel on all benefits the law provides him--"from housing to health, from education to employment."

At the first 21 USVAC's additional VA staffing was provided. Representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor, Veterans Employment Service of the Office of Veterans Re-employment Rights, and of the U.S. Civil Service Commission were also included in the staffing. On July 1, 1968, USVAC services were extended to include 50 additional regional offices and VA Offices, however, no additional VA or other agency staffing was provided. These stations were limited to providing as much of the USVAC service as they could accomplish with the manpower then available.

For those veterans who do not avail themselves of the benefits that are theirs, VA seeks them out. A continuing effort is made to reach men who can profit from the services of the USVAC's. Veterans Benefits Representatives telephone, write, or visit the home of educationally disadvantaged veterans (defined as those who have not completed high school education) to counsel them and assist them in obtaining benefits--particularly those relating to education and jobs. Over 81,750 veterans have been interviewed and provided assistance through the efforts of our personnel in the Centers. This is a marked change from our former

philosophy of service wherein we waited for the veteran to call or visit us.

The Computer-Generated Direct Mail Program
(Veterans Assistance System [VADS])

A phase of the Veterans Assistance Discharge System generates a letter to each separatee. Under this program every veteran receives one of four standard letters which points out the benefits and assistance appropriate to his particular educational situation and disability status. Included with the letter is a postage-free card on which the veteran may request more information or veterans' benefits or a telephone call back by a VA representative. A study computed in early 1969 revealed that over 37% of the veterans receiving the letters are asking for more information and application forms. Another study will be conducted in July and August to obtain current statistics on this program.

As the computer generates these letters, the educationally disadvantaged veterans are identified and a card is also generated and forwarded to the USVAC having jurisdiction over the area of the veteran's address. This card becomes the control and record card for USVAC personnel in providing service to the educationally disadvantaged.

The number of letters mailed under this program since May 20, 1968 through June 30, 1969 is as follows:

--To educationally disadvantaged veterans and no known disability	125,337
--To educationally disadvantaged with disability	15,573
--To veterans with high school level ed- ucation or above and no disability	710,662
--To veterans with high school level education or above with disability	56,248
TOTAL	907,820

CONTACT NARRATIVE SUMMARY

FY 1969

Month of: June 1969

Contact Service to
Military Hospitals:AprilMayJune

Number of hospitals serviced by CRs (varied schedule based on need).	184	184	184
Number of visits	869	827	795
Number of interviews: (Initial 4,690; Follow-up 2,059).	7,641	7,141	6,749
Number of application forms-- 1900's	2,461	2,515	2,360
Number of application forms-- 526e's	3,630	3,814	3,640

Cumulative total to date--
Military Hospitals:

Number of visits (Nov'66 thru Jun'69) . . .	18,597
Number of interviews (Nov'66 thru Jun'69) . . .	158,148
Number of 1900's (Nov'66 thru Jun'69) . . .	53,141
Number of 526e's (Aug'67 thru Jun'69) . . .	65,111

Contact Service to Military
Separation Points:

Number of points being contacted and/or service available	310	311	311
Number of visits	710	702	671
Number of orientations	867	878	854
Number of servicemen oriented. . .	42,704	44,882	46,574
Number of times film YOITY shown .	741	766	848
Number of servicemen attending film YOITY	37,839	39,673	42,457
Number of personal interviews. . .	8,108	7,382	6,702

April May June

Cumulative total to date--
Separation Points:

Number of visits (May'67 thru Jun'69) . .	68,988
Number of orientations (Mar'68 thru Jun'69) . .	13,870
Number of oriented (May'67 thru Jun'69) . .	1,108,691
Number of personal interviews (May'67 thru Jun'69) . .	156,429

Follow-up of Veterans, Formerly
Patients at Military Hospitals:

Number of CMRC Cards retained. . .	4,150	3,875	3,602
Number of cards for terminal & 100% disabled only	411	435	454
Number of cards without 526e . .	26	3	12
Number of cards without "RH" application.	115	260	77
Number of initial interviews . . .	405	463	316
Number of persons not interviewed within diary periods	92	9	8
Number of applications and forms prepared	1,051	1,221	793
CR time expended: (Int'ws 441; Admin. 1,814; Travel 15)	2,773	2,540	2,270
Clerical time expended	913	875	1,050

FX Telephone Service:

Number of locations: (39)--			
Operational	34	36	36
Number of telephone interview calls.	39,261	38,598	37,424

Cumulative total to date--
FX Telephone Service:

Number of telephone interview calls:	464,876
---	---------

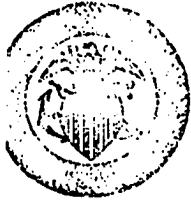
Itinerant Service to Communities: 66 locations

USVAC OPERATIONS*

	<u>Educationally Disadvantaged</u>	<u>Above High School</u>	<u>Total</u>
All VA Interviews	65,698	279,745	345,443
Initial Interviews	36,283	218,204	254,487
Educational Applications Filed	19,623	76,646	96,269
Requests for Vocational Counseling	5,554	7,714	13,268
Service Organization Interviews	16,053	166	16,219
Jobs Obtained:			
U.S. Civil Service	816	2,292	3,108
Veteran Employment Service	2,447	5,221	7,668
Veterans Reemployment Service	171	355	526
Other**	<u>1,219</u>	<u>1,306</u>	<u>2,525</u>
Total	4,653	9,174	13,827

*Statistics through June 30, 1969

**Principally VA direct referrals



VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Letter to veteran who
has less than high
school education

Mr. Benny Fishiari
1000 America Avenue
Bigtown, New York 10011

Dear Mr. Fishiari:

WE CAN HELP YOU ---

DO YOU WANT TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL OR LEARN A TRADE?

GI BILL BENEFITS WILL HELP YOU TO DO SO.

DO YOU WANT A JOB?

THE LAW PROVIDES JOB PLACEMENT AND VETERANS
PREFERENCE BENEFITS.

DO YOU WANT HELP IN BUYING A HOME?

DO YOU NEED DENTAL OR MEDICAL TREATMENT?

ASSISTANCE ON ALL THESE BENEFITS IS PROVIDED FOR VETERANS.
IF YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION, CHECK THE BENEFIT(S) LISTED ON
THE ENCLOSED POSTAGE-FREE CARD AND RETURN ...

OR ... CALL US AT ... 620-6501
(IF OUTSIDE OUR DIALING AREA, COMPLETE THE TELEPHONE
INFORMATION ON THE CARD AND WE WILL CALL YOU.)

OR ... VISIT US AT ... VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
VETERANS ASSISTANCE CENTER
252 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

Encl: VAF

Include Zip Code in your return address and give veteran's social security number.

Show veteran's full name and VA file number on all correspondence. If VA number is unknown, show service number.



VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Letter to veteran who
has less than high
school education and
has a disability
resulting from service

Mr. Benny Fishiari
1000 America Avenue
Bigtown, New York 10011

Dear Mr. Fishiari:

WE CAN HELP YOU ---

DO YOU WANT TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL OR LEARN A TRADE?

GI BILL BENEFITS WILL HELP YOU TO DO SO.

DO YOU WANT A JOB?

THE LAW PROVIDES JOB PLACEMENT AND
VETERANS PREFERENCE BENEFITS.

DO YOU HAVE A DISABILITY FROM SERVICE?

THE LAW PROVIDES IMPORTANT BENEFITS
FOR THOSE DISABLED IN SERVICE.

DO YOU WANT HELP IN BUYING A HOME?

DO YOU NEED DENTAL OR MEDICAL TREATMENT?

ASSISTANCE ON ALL THESE BENEFITS IS PROVIDED FOR VETERANS.
IF YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION, CHECK THE BENEFIT(S) LISTED
ON THE ENCLOSED POSTAGE-FREE CARD AND RETURN ...

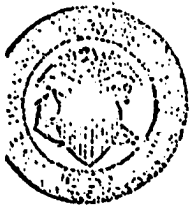
OR ... CALL US AT ... 620-6501
(IF OUTSIDE OUR DIALING AREA, COMPLETE THE TELEPHONE
INFORMATION ON THE CARD AND WE WILL CALL YOU.)

OR ... VISIT US AT ... VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
VETERANS ASSISTANCE CENTER
252 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

Encl. VAF

Include Zip Code in your return address and give veteran's social security number.

Show veteran's full name and VA file number on all correspondence. If VA number is unknown, show service number.



VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Benny Fishiari
1000 America Avenue
Bigtown, New York 10011

Letter to veteran who
has a high school
education or better

Dear Mr. Fishiari:

WE CAN HELP YOU ---

DO YOU WANT A JOB?

THE LAW PROVIDES JOB PLACEMENT AND
VETERANS PREFERENCE BENEFITS.

DO YOU WANT MORE EDUCATION?

SUBSTANTIAL GI BILL BENEFITS ARE
AVAILABLE TO HELP YOU.

DO YOU WANT HELP IN BUYING A HOME?

DO YOU NEED DENTAL OR MEDICAL TREATMENT?

ASSISTANCE ON ALL THESE BENEFITS IS PROVIDED FOR VETERANS.
IF YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION, CHECK THE BENEFIT(S) LISTED ON
THE ENCLOSED POSTAGE-FREE CARD AND RETURN ...

OR ... CALL US AT ... 620-6501
(IF OUTSIDE OUR DIALING AREA, COMPLETE THE TELEPHONE
INFORMATION ON THE CARD AND WE WILL CALL YOU.)

OR ... VISIT US AT ... VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
VETERANS ASSISTANCE CENTER
252 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

Encl. VAF

Include Zip Code in your return address and give veteran's social security number.

Show veteran's full name and VA file number on all correspondence. If VA number is unknown, show service number.



VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Letter to veteran
who has a high school
education or better
and has a disability
resulting from service

Mr. Benny Fishiari
1000 America Avenue
Bigtown, New York 10011

Dear Mr. Fishiari:

WE CAN HELP YOU ---

DO YOU WANT A JOB?

THE LAW PROVIDES JOB PLACEMENT AND
VETERANS PREFERENCE BENEFITS.

DO YOU WANT MORE EDUCATION?

SUBSTANTIAL GI BILL BENEFITS ARE
AVAILABLE TO HELP YOU.

DO YOU HAVE A DISABILITY FROM SERVICE?

THE LAW PROVIDES IMPORTANT BENEFITS
FOR THOSE DISABLED IN SERVICE.

DO YOU WANT HELP IN BUYING A HOME?

DO YOU NEED DENTAL OR MEDICAL TREATMENT?

ASSISTANCE ON ALL THESE BENEFITS IS PROVIDED FOR VETERANS.
IF YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION, CHECK THE BENEFIT(S) LISTED
ON THE ENCLOSED POSTAGE-FREE CARD AND RETURN ...

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252 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

Encl. VAF

Include Zip Code in your return address and give veteran's social security number.

APPENDIX II

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE
AS REPORTED IN THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS
SPECIAL INFORMATION SHEET ENTITLED

FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMS TO STUDENTS

DATED July 14, 1969

FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT
PROGRAMS TO STUDENTS

The question of the comparability of the numerous Federal Government educational support programs to that available under the current GI bill is not one that can be simply answered. The purposes of the support programs vary, and the needs in areas of national interest may require incentives be offered to induce persons to train under Federal sponsorship to meet those needs.

According to a report by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education prepared in June 1968, the Federal Government, during the school year 1968-69, made provision for 43,000 predoctoral fellowships. There are few accurate figures on the extent of support under research and training grants because institutions are permitted discretion in the use of funds and the selection of recipients. The most common stipend paid to students awarded predoctoral fellowships and traineeships is \$2,600 a year. (Some are computed on the basis of a calendar year and others on the basis of an academic year.) The most common institutional allowance is \$2,500. Total benefits for the individual predoctoral fellowships is approximately \$5,100 a year. Some advanced programs run as high as \$13,000 or higher. These support programs for the graduate level student provide benefits in excess of that available under the GI bill.

MDTA programs are primarily directed to aid persons with limited financial resources and falling within the definition of a "disadvantaged" person. The training allowance for individuals pursuing institutional training is based on unemployment benefits paid by the respective States. A financial report by the Department of Labor covering the first three quarters of fiscal year 1969, shows that \$185,727,471 were obligated for those three quarters to cover both training allowance and training costs for 93,207 approved institutional trainees. Thus, the program provides for an average benefit of \$1,993 per year or \$166 a month. This is in excess of benefits provided for nondisabled veterans under the GI bill.

The Job Corps is designed to provide assistance through residential training at job centers to young men and women aged 16 to 21 who are public school dropouts, individually poor, or living in a family whose head of household makes less than \$3,000 a year.

Generally, a job corpsman receives an allowance of \$30 per month plus an allotment to a close family member of

\$50 per month for a total of \$80 a month. Room and board, plus work clothing, are furnished each enrollee at Government expense. According to OEO Report of June 1968, this expense amounts to \$800 a year. This amount plus \$960 (80 per month) totals \$1,760 a year, or a rate of \$146 a month, paid directly to or on behalf of the trainee. In addition to direct payments to and on behalf of each Job Corpsman, all training center operation costs are paid by the Federal Government. Direct costs plus training center operation costs average approximately \$6,000 per Corpsman man-year.

SOME OF THE MAJOR PROGRAMS

Department or Agency	Program	Basic Eligibility	Range of Benefits, Limitations
Office of Education	Health profession scholarships	Undergraduate degree in medical field	Must be in exceptional financial need; funds are granted to schools which selects the students.
Office of Education	Graduate Fellowships	Graduate students, preferably those interested in teaching in higher education	\$2,000 to \$2,400, plus \$400 a year for each dependent; option to attend summer school, \$400 plus \$100 for dependents; \$2,500 to institution per fellow.
Office of Education	Prospective Teacher Fellowships	Graduate students (experienced and prospective teachers in elementary and secondary schools, including postsecondary vocational schools)	\$2,000 to \$2,400 plus \$400 dependency allowance; institutions receiving grants select the students.
Office of Education	Federal Fellowships	Persons engaged in or preparing to undertake careers in elementary and secondary education	\$2,000 to \$4,000 a year depending on teaching experience and number of dependents; \$2,500 to institution. Must be full-time student; cannot be working except for approved part-time research or teaching.

Department or Agency	Program	Basic Eligibility	Range of Benefits, Limitations
Office of Education	National Teaching Fellowships (Title III)	Qualified graduate students and junior faculty members	\$6,500 plus \$400 for each dependent; must be selected to teach in the developing institution.
Office of Education	Nurses Training	Students in nursing schools (all types)	Loans up to \$1,000 (up to 50% is forgiven for full-time employment as a nurse).
Office of Education	Health Research Fellowships	Graduate students, postdoctoral study	\$2,400 to \$2,800 plus \$500 dependency allowance; particularly selected to maintain an adequate supply of well-trained research scientists.
Office of Education	Insured Student Loans	Students in higher education institutions	Undergraduates--loans of not more than \$1500 a year; not to exceed \$7,500; Graduates--loans same as undergraduates.
Office of Education	Educational Opportunity Grants	Undergraduates in institutions of higher learning	Grants of \$200 to \$1,000 a year. \$1,000 after the first year (Federal matching grant will not exceed \$1,000 [140,000 grants a year]). Based on financial need.
Office of Education	Vocational Student Loans (guaranteed student loan program)	Students accepted by or enrolled in an accredited business, trade or technical school	Loans of not more than \$1,500 a year. Unpaid principal not to exceed \$7,500; students receive interest subsidy from Federal Government only if adjusted family income is less than \$15,000 annually.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
Office of Education	Educational personnel development (Title V-C)	Education personnel now in place and new education personnel	\$2,000 per academic year plus \$400 for each dependent; \$2,500 to institution. For school personnel now in place \$75 per week plus \$15 per week for each dependent. Grants to institutions of higher education, education agencies, and State education agencies.
Office of Education	Teacher training--handicapped children	Teachers engaged in and those preparing to engage in the education of handicapped children	Undergraduates: \$300 per year; \$800 junior and senior years. Fellowships: Masters degree, \$2,200 per year plus \$600 each dependent; Post Masters Degree: \$3,200 per year plus \$600 for each dependent. Tuition paid. Grants to state agencies and schools. (1968-69 there were approximately 13,000 recipients)
Office of Education	Teacher Corps	Teacher interns: bachelors degree or at least 2 years college and desire to serve two years in corps. Experienced teachers: Masters degree or equivalent and minimum 5 years teaching experience.	Teacher interns--receive \$75 a week plus \$15 for each dependent. Tuition paid. Experienced teachers--paid usual salary plus tuition. Grants to schools on basis of access to local districts to be served.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
Office of Education	Foreign Language Fellowships (Title VI)	Primarily for those who plan to teach foreign languages at the college level	Graduate fellows: \$2,250 per year plus \$600 for dependents (up to four); \$450 per summer session (8 weeks). Post Doctoral Fellows: Receive stipend based on salary of the candidate. All recipients must have technical clearance from administering agency.
Office of Education	College Work Study	Students in post-secondary schools, junior colleges, area vocational schools, selected preparatory schools	Federal grant (80-20) to educational institutions; average pay of 15 hours per week at school or related institution is approximately \$500 per year (about 375,000 participants in program in FY 1968). Emphasis on students from low-income families.
Atomic Energy Commission	AEC Special Fellowships in Health Physics	Graduate Students	\$2,400 to \$2,800 per year; \$2,500 to institution; maximum 36 months; intention to remain in the nuclear field.
Atomic Energy Commission	Laboratory Graduate Fellowships	Graduate Students working toward the M.S or Ph.D. degree in some area of nuclear science or engineering	\$3,100 to \$6,000 including dependency allowance and tuition; scholastic record above average. Likelihood of remaining in the nuclear field.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
Atomic Energy Commission	Trainee-ships in Nuclear Science and Engineering	Graduate Students in nuclear science and engineering	\$2,400 to \$2,800 a year plus \$500 per dependent; \$2,500 to participating institution; above average scholastic record; likelihood of remaining in the nuclear field.
Atomic Energy Commission	AEC Post-doctoral fellow-ships	Scientists and engineers with doctoral degree or equivalent	\$9,000 per year plus \$1,000 travel; prior acceptance by organization where tenure will be held; a plan for research relevant to the interests of AEC
Atomic Energy Commission	AEC Special Fellowships in Industrial Medicine	Physicians with M.D. degree and 1 year internship	\$7,500 to \$9,000 including dependence allowance; \$2,500 to institution; acceptance of conditions of appointment.
National Science Foundation	Graduate Fellowships	Students who have been or will be admitted to graduate status	\$1,800 to \$4,300 per 9- or 12-month period including dependency allowance; \$2,500 to institution; must have demonstrated special aptitude for advanced training in the science
National Science Foundation	Graduate Trainee-ships	Students must be enrolled in a full-time program leading to an advanced degree in science	\$2,400 to \$2,800 per basic 12-month period; dependency allowance may be provided; summer stipend ranges from \$50 to \$85 per week; grants are made to universities that confer doctoral degrees to enable them to provide graduate traineeships.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	Predoctoral Trainee-ships	Qualified college graduates	\$2,400 to \$3,400 including dependency allowance; \$2,500 to institution. (In academic year 1967-68 approximately, 3,400 participants in program.) Intention to continue studies toward a doctorate in a space-related discipline.
Housing and Urban Development	Urban Studies Fellowships	Full-time candidates for masters or Ph.D. degree	Up to \$3,000 per year plus \$500 for dependents up to 2; tuition paid; programs oriented to public careers in urban development; awards made on recommendation of Urban Studies Advisory Board.
Department of the Interior (Bureau of Indian Affairs)	Scholarship Aid to Indian Students at colleges and universities	Must have one-quarter degree or more Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut blood and membership in tribal group for which the Federal Government has trust responsibility; also financial need.	Direct financial aid to students averages about \$800 per enrollee per year. Tuition and fees are paid by the Federal Government to the institution. (1968-69 school year there were approximately 2,700 enrollees under this program.)
Department of the Interior (Bureau of Indian Affairs)	Education of Indian children in federal schools	Indian children who reside on or near reservation areas and do not have access to adequate public educational opportunities	Federal Government pays all expenses necessary to operate school (no direct aid to individuals).

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
Department of the Interior	Federal Water Pollution Control Fellowships	Research fellowships are awarded on basis of technical review of competence of individuals	Stipend of \$6,400 per year; independent research of water supply and water pollution control.
Department of Defense	Regular NROTC-Navy (Holloway Plan) Similar ROTC Programs for army and air force	Active duty personnel interested in career naval service	Individuals are paid \$50 per month as a subsistence allowance; tuition and fees are paid to the institution; must be a candidate for an undergraduate degree; 4 years military obligation after degree and commission.
Department of Defense	Off-duty voluntary programs. Studies leading to bachelors and advanced degrees	All active duty personnel except officers within 2 years of controlled separation	Up to 75% of tuition and fees for off-duty at accredited schools. Coast Guard pays 100% of tuition not to exceed \$200 (approximately 285,000 participants). Two-year obligation for officers, none for enlisted men.
Air Force	Airman and Education Commissioning Program (Army and Navy have similar programs)	Career-minded, active duty airmen with at least 1 year active duty and 30 semester hours of college credit	Full pay and allowances plus tuition and related fees for maximum of two years residence study followed by OTC; four years obligation after commission.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI)	Elementary school through graduate school levels	All active duty service personnel	Reduced fees for extension and correspondence courses.
Civil Defense	Student Development	Graduate Students interested in advanced study in protective engineering	\$2,200 for students; \$2,800 for university per academic year; awards on a merit basis; students must be civil defense oriented.
Department of Labor (Manpower Administration)	MDTA Institutional Training	Unemployed, head of household or family, and at least one year's previous experience in gainful employment, including military service. Emphasis on the disadvantaged.	Institutional training allowance is based on the prevailing unemployment insurance in the state. Federal government pays 90 per cent of costs. In FY 1969, average grant \$1,993; length of program varied from 4 to 104 weeks--average 26 weeks. (About 140,000 trainees in FY 1969; estimates of these, 18,000 veterans under 35 years of age.)
Department of Labor (Manpower Administration)	MDTA on-the-job training	Unemployed and underemployed (65% must be disadvantaged)	Federal funds are paid directly to the employer for training costs.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
Department of Labor (Job Corps from OEO to this Dept. on July 1, 1969)	Job Corps	Disadvantaged young men and women aged 16 to 21	While at training center, corpsmen receive subsistence amounting to about \$800 a year, plus \$30 a month and an allotment of \$50 a month to a close family member. Total of \$1,760 a year; period of training is from 7 to 9 months. Maximum training 2 years.
Veterans' Administration	Vocational Rehabilitation	Veterans with war-time or Korean conflict service compensable disability. Veterans of other service, a 30% or more service-connected disability or if less than 30% have pronounced employment handicap	A Subsistence allowance varying from \$55 to \$175 per month based on half-time or full-time training and dependency status. Tuition, fees, books, and cost of supplies are also paid by the VA; need honorable discharge, limit usually to 9 years after discharge, can be extended to 13.

<u>Department or Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Basic Eligibility</u>	<u>Range of Benefits, Limitations</u>
Veterans' Administration	Readjustment Training	Veterans of service after Jan. 31, 1955, with more than 180 days of active service and members of the Armed Forces who have served at least 2 years on active duty	Payments of \$60 to \$175 a month for half-time or more plus an allowance for dependents. Also provisions for flight training, on-the-job training, and farm training. Need honorable discharge and completion of education within 8 years after last discharge. Maximum entitlement is 36 months or 48 months when prior training under VA program.
Veterans' Administration	War Orphans Training (includes wives and widows)	Children generally between ages 18 and 26, and wives or widows of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled or died because of a service-connected disability.	Payments range from \$60 a month for one-half time educational pursuit to \$130 a month for full-time to a maximum of 36 months. Child's education should be completed between 18 and 26, no later than 31. Wives or widows have 8 years.

APPENDIX III

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE VIETNAM
VETERAN INTERIM REPORT

October 21, 1969

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your Committee on the Vietnam Veteran is considering suggestions solicited from the Nation's leadership in government, management, labor, and education, and all of the Veterans organizations to aid us in finding answers to the questions you posed in your message of June 5, 1969, establishing the Committee:

- How can we help more veterans to benefit from existing programs?
- How can we design programs to help those veterans who need help the most--the undereducated, ill-trained, hitherto unemployed or underemployed?
- How can we improve the overall program of veterans benefits so that it meets the specific challenges of our society and the needs of the veterans?

Ultimate conclusions will depend, in part, upon the results of the study of disadvantaged veterans and other studies currently in progress. It is anticipated that analysis of data from these studies will form a basis for sound and meaningful answers to your questions.

Recommendations and suggestions received by the Committee, while differing in their approach to the many aspects of the veterans readjustment problem, are unanimous in one respect--the existing education assistance allowance rates are inadequate. This Committee agrees with that conclusion.

Educational assistance allowances were last increased October 1, 1967. Since that date the cost of living has risen approximately 10%. Included in that increase is an even more dramatic rise in one of its components, the cost of education. Since the last increase in educational assistance allowances, colleges have increased their charges by roughly 15%. This means that today tuition and fees for an academic year are higher by an average of \$94.

Therefore, your Committee recommends an immediate increase in educational assistance allowance rates commensurate with the rise in education and living costs cited above.

Beyond this recommendation which requires legislative action, the Committee is agreed that other suggestions which can be administratively accomplished now should not be deferred until the final report.

Accordingly we recommend:

- o That industry be encouraged to set up computerized job banks to match the skills of returning Vietnam Veterans to available jobs in the private sector. As job banks are installed by State Employment Services in 54 major cities by this year, the Secretary of Labor should take special steps to see that these improved job finding services are made available to each returning Veteran.
- o That counseling services now being provided by the Veterans Administration in seven locations in Vietnam be extended to additional overseas commands throughout the world. Trained counselor teams should be readied on a standby basis for dispatch to any area needing such services.
- o That those who have gained valuable skills in the military service, particularly in the paramedical field, should be actively encouraged to make use of their experience when they return to the private sector. To this end the Federal Government should intensify its own recruitment efforts while working with private groups to adopt new certification procedures which will take military training into consideration.
- o That there should be developed on-the-job training programs in the public service field, particularly paramedical and community services. Federal, state, and local agencies should be encouraged to provide opportunities for the veteran willing to train for a career in health, youth work, social work, and other critically needed service occupations.
- o That there be instituted, on an experimental basis, computerized job matching of servicemen returning to a particular area. An inventory of veterans' talent would thus be established which can be utilized in both the public and private sector.
- o The establishment on a pilot basis of a military based training center for servicemen who volunteer to extend their service for the sole purpose of gaining a particular skill or a high school diploma.
- o That despite reductions in employment in certain sectors of the Federal Government because of turnover and

retirements, there should be recognition that there are many job opportunities in entry level positions in the Federal Service. To ensure that Vietnam Era Veterans are aware of these opportunities, agencies of the Federal Government should intensify their recruiting activities at military separation centers, Veterans Assistance Centers and through community action agency programs.

- o That transition stateside military counseling services should be expanded to overseas commands.
- o That the Office of Education and Office of Economic Opportunity assist the educational community in developing special programs for educationally disadvantaged veterans.
- o That the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and other Federal Departments work closely with education and training institutions to recruit, enroll, and give priority consideration in the allocation of assistance to returning Vietnam Veterans.

Respectfully yours,

/s/ DONALD E. JOHNSON, Chairman
Administrator of Veterans Affairs

/s/ MELVIN R. LAIRD
Secretary of Defense

/s/ GEORGE P. SCHULTZ
Secretary of Labor

/s/ ROBERT H. FINCH
Secretary of Health,
Education and Welfare

/s/ DONALD RUMSFELD
Director, Office of
Economic Opportunity

/s/ ROBERT E. HAMPTON
Chairman, Civil Service
Commission

/s/ WINTON M. BLOUNT
Postmaster General,
Post Office Department

Source: Office of the White House Secretary, the White House, Washington, D.C., October 21, 1969.

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