

Full Education

DRAFT

In January of this year President Lyndon Johnson set out in a single sentence one of the basic principles of life and survival in the modern world. He said "The nation that has the schools ... has the future." In that brief phrase he put before us, the American people, a mighty challenge, and at the same time he pointed out one of the brightest opportunities open to us today.

The youngsters who fill this country's classrooms will soon be taking their place as the responsible men and women of America. It is they who will stand watch for freedom here and around the world. It is they who will enjoy and protect America's wonderful heritage. From among these students will emerge the leaders of their generation in the eternal quest for truth and justice, and on the shoulders of these men and women will rest responsibility for all that we and earlier generations of Americans have worked and fought to create.

It is our task, and it is a joyous and rewarding one, to see that our children enter their adult lives with the best education we can give them. Anything less would be a betrayal of the hopes and efforts of

our own forebears.

The early leaders of America understood the vital importance of public education to the nation's healthy growth. During his retirement after a lifetime of public service, Thomas Jefferson wrote:

"A system of education which shall reach every description of citizen from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so will it be the latest of all public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest."

Many of the nation's founders thought and felt the same way, and we owe them a great debt of gratitude.

I have always felt that the American system of public education which has grown and developed from the earliest days of our country is a wonderful example of the mixture of imagination and common sense that makes our way of government the resilient, responsive and responsible thing that it is. From the start the primary responsibility for public education has rested with the localities and with the states. But also right from the start, the Federal Government has recognised its responsibility to assist and back up the other levels of government in assuring what Jefferson called "education which shall reach every description of citizen from the richest to the poorest"

Away back in 1785, even before the Constitution was ratified, the Congress adopted an ordinance on the disposal of public lands in the Western Territory that set aside one section in each township to endow the schools in that township. Two years later another ordinance further emphasized the Federal Government's concern for public education, and the great Senator Daniel Webster later wrote:

"I doubt whether one single law or any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787 It set forth and declared it to be a high and binding duty of Government to support schools and the means of education."

The Federal Government's interest and concern for the state of public education in the nation has continued down through the years. Just over a century ago Congress passed the Morrill Act that made possible the establishment of the land grant colleges and led directly to many of the great universities that are the pride of the nation today.

Later Acts have provided additional assistance, and this has enabled our ever growing nation to meet its ever growing needs.

I am glad to say that during the past two years the 88th Congress of the United States has maintained and advanced this proud national

tradition. It has examined the educational structure of the whole nation and moved to meet its needs as no legislature in any nation has ever done before. More than a dozen pieces of major educational legislation were passed by the Congress and signed by the President. Americans can be proud of each and every one.

WE are going to build enough classrooms for the eight million college and university students we expect to enroll by 1974 — nearly twice as many students in higher education as we now enroll.

WE will extend higher education to as many as 30 new communities each year by helping them to build — from scratch — complete new junior colleges.

WE are helping to guarantee the vitality and progress of our great society by building technical institutes, by helping young men and women attend them without hardship, and by working with private industry so that these newly skilled Americans will have jobs and a high standard of living for their future families.

WE have taken up the challenge of expanded library services, both for our rural and urban communities and for our colleges and universities.

WE have put the resources of the Federal Government at the command of State and local school systems to strengthen their classes in science and mathematics and foreign languages, and at the same time, we have launched an historic program to build as many as 20 new major centers of graduate study in the immediate future.

WE have also put the support of the Federal Government behind medical education, so that shortages of doctors, dentists and nurses will not threaten the nation's health and well being.

WE are helping our State and local school systems find workable answers for the training and retraining of their citizens, so that no wage-earner will be permanently set adrift by technological change, nor any community be economically destroyed by technological progress.

These accomplishments are not the final answers for a nation that is constantly growing and leads the free world in the ideological contest with communism. But while much remains to be done, we have come a long way in developing, through our American partnership of Federal, State, and local government, one of the strongest yet most humane systems of mass public education ever devised by man.

Now let us be clear about one thing.

The great, the historic record of education legislation passed by the 88th Congress was repudiated by Senator Goldwater. He voted no — no — no — right down the line.

Senator Goldwater was against the measure that ^{will} ~~help~~ help us graduate more doctors and nurses to safeguard the health of every American.

Senator Goldwater was against the bill that will give every American a chance to stay on the job through retraining, a chance to maintain his self respect and the respect of his family.

Senator Goldwater , the Republican candidate for the Presidency of a ll America , voted against all Americans when he voted "No" on expanding economic opportunity, "No" on equal educational opportunity, "No" on all these historic measures that his colleagues — both Republicans and Democrats — passed with resounding enthusiasm to assure a strong and creative America in the years and generations to come.

Senator Goldwater has shown how little he thinks of the nation's future. Let us remember this on Election Day. Let us remember how little he cares about inspiring strong, ~~independe~~ informed and independent minds in the

Americans of tomorrow. Let us support President Johnson, and with him move ahead to build a still ^{finer} ~~stronger~~ and firmer educational system for all our countrymen.

Because, my friends, I must say once more there is still much that we must do. Ahead of us there are grave challenges to our great society, challenges that only a strong and responsive educational system can answer.

For example, one of these challenges is the problem of school dropouts. For every three students now in the fifth grade only two will remain through to high school graduation. As things stand today one out of three youngsters will drop out of education tragically and too soon. Can we look ahead and still see nearly a million young people a year out of school and out of work -- drifting aimlessly -- without purpose and without pride -- bitter -- rejected -- left behind by their own generation as it moves forward to new achievements and new fulfillment.

One year ago President Kennedy had funds drawn from the Presidential Emergency Fund and spent to study this problem. Not spent to buy extra bombers and bombs, but spent studying how best to help children, and by so doing, to help strengthen the nation of tomorrow.

Now that we understand more of this problem, we need to build a

program to meet it, and we need men and women to carry that program through. This will take initiative and intellectual courage. It will take a nation and leaders with the tradition of saying "Yes" to a challenge; not ~~Yes~~ "No" as is the habit of the Republican candidate.

Make no mistake, there are many problems before us. If we Americans do not face them we will stagnate and decline. Our expanding population and the nearly incredible advances in science and technology that steadily raise our standard of living are bound to create new and vexing difficulties that we as a people must meet and solve.

Senator Goldwater apparently believes that these problems and challenges will somehow go away if we close our eyes and don't look at them.

But he is wrong! Dead wrong!

America has grown great by facing up to its challenges. Nearly two hundred years of ~~ex~~ hard won experience has proved again and again that the finest and soundest investment we can make for the future is in the education of our people.

Six years ago, while serving as the very able Majority Leader of the United States Senate, Lyndon Johnson fought for and won passage of the National Defense Education Act; one of the most important pieces of education

legislation in American history. During the debate on that bill the then Senator Johnson stated: "It can truly be said that an educated mind is the guardian genius of democracy".

Once again Senator Goldwater said "No" and voted against the bill.

Today these two men face each other for the highest office in the land, and indeed in the world itself.

Senator Goldwater stands with his eyes cast down or tightly shut, fearing to move any way but back.

President Johnson understands America's challenges. ~~and America's~~ ~~opportunities.~~ He sees America's opportunities. He is determined to move forward, determined to build the Great Society that America can and must be.

No man who treasures the traditional American drive toward innovation and improvement, the drive that has nurtured our educational system throughout our history can doubt that Lyndon Baines Johnson deserves the votes of all his countrymen in the coming election.

[1964]

OUR SCHOOLS ARE THE FUTURE

In January of this year, President Lyndon Johnson put into nine words what is surely the great challenge of our democracy. He said, "The Nation that has the schools--has the future." In that brief sentence, my fellow Americans, is the power of a Nation and the promise of mankind.

For the future of this democracy, the fruit of all the labor of generations past, is now in our classrooms everywhere in this land. The future managers of our mighty industries, the scholars and thinkers who will lead us in the eternal quest for truth and justice, the men and women who will devote their adult lives to standing watch for freedom here and around the world--they are today immersing themselves in books and in scientific experiments and in a thousand different studies from which America's tomorrow will greatly profit.

And isn't this what we, all Americans, sincerely want? Isn't it the goal of every parent to see his child develop, with the help of our schools and colleges to his maximum abilities? Isn't it the greatest thrill of all to see "the young mind," as the President has phrased it, "set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination?"

We, who have inherited this Nation from our forefathers, who thank them in our hearts for the chance they gave us and for the responsibility they assumed for this Nation's future--we can do no less for those who follow us.

In fact, we must do more.

I am proud to report that we have made a magnificent start in this direction. The 88th Congress of the United States has accomplished one of the most remarkable records in the history of the legislative process. It has taken a look at the whole of the Nation and its educational structure as no legislature in any Nation has ever done before. It has created a new monument to educational promise and to the independent mind.

More than a dozen pieces of major educational legislation were passed by the Congress and signed by the President. Let us attend this mighty roll call:

---We are going to build enough classrooms for the 8 million college and university students we expect to enroll by 1974--nearly twice as many students in higher education as we now enroll.

---We will extend higher education to as many as 30 new communities each year by helping them build--from scratch--complete, new junior colleges.

---We are helping to guarantee the technical vitality of our society by building technical institutes, by helping young men and women attend them without hardship, and by working with private industry so that these newly skilled Americans will have jobs and a high living standard for their future families.

---We have taken up the challenge of expanded library services for both the community at large--whether rural or urban--and for our colleges and universities.

---We have put the resources of the Federal Government at the command of State and local school systems for the strengthening of their classes in science and mathematics and foreign languages. And, at the same time, we have turned to the other end of the spectrum, to graduate education, and we have launched an historic program to build as many as 20 new major academic centers of graduate study in the immediate future.

---We have also put the support of the Federal Government behind medical education, so that shortages of doctors, dentists, and nurses will never threaten our Nation's health and well-being.

---We are helping our State and local school systems find workable answers for the training and retraining of their citizens, so that no wage-earner will be set permanently adrift by technological change, nor any community be economically destroyed by technological progress.

These accomplishments are not the final answers for a Nation that leads the free world in the ideological contest with communism. We have only begun to liberate our young people of today and tomorrow. We have only begun to develop, through this American partnership of Federal, State, and local government, one of the strongest yet most humane systems of mass education ever devised by man.

And let us be clear about one thing. The historic record of education legislation passed by the 88th--the "Education"--Congress was repudiated by Senator Barry Goldwater. He voted no--no--no--no--right down the line.

Senator Goldwater was against the measure that will help us graduate more doctors and nurses to safeguard the health of every American.

Senator Goldwater didn't like that.

He was against the bill that will give every American a chance to stay on the job through retraining, to maintain his self-respect and the respect of his wife and children.

Senator Goldwater didn't like that.

The Republican^{an} spokesman said "No" to the idea that we should do everything we can to give every child everywhere in this country an equal chance to learn and grow and become a decent law-abiding citizen.

Senator Goldwater didn't like that, either.

The Republican candidate for the Presidency of all America voted against all Americans when he voted "No" on expanding economic opportunity, "No" on equal educational opportunity, "No" on all those measures that his colleagues--Republicans and Democrats alike--passed with resounding margins in the interests of a strong America in the days and years to come.

If this is a demonstration of what Senator Goldwater thinks of the future, let us remember on Election Day, November 3--and let us answer, as we can, his lack of faith in us and our children. Let us instead support President Johnson, who has carried forward the creative educational program of our late scholar-President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I know that President Johnson is clear in his determination not to stop--but to move ahead--to build an even stronger, firmer education system for all our people.

Because, my friends, there is still much to be done. And even those patriotic, compassionate men who voted "Yes" and "Yes" again in the recent "Education Congress"--even they would admit that we are just starting on a great adventure in human learning. What do we see ahead of us? What are those grave challenges to our society, challenges that only a strong education system can answer?

First, we look ahead and still see nearly a million young people a year out of school and out of work--drifting aimlessly--without purpose and without pride--bitter--rejected--beaten by history, for history is passing them by.

For every three students now in the fifth grade, only two will remain through to high school graduation. One out of three youngsters will drop out of education tragically and too soon.

One year ago, President Kennedy took \$250,000 out of the Presidential Emergency Fund and spent it--not on missiles or atom bombs, but on children. He used that money to help State and local school systems go out and talk, face-to-face, with dropouts and their parents and he got most of these lost youngsters back into school.

In the course of this mammoth undertaking, local educators learned things they never suspected about what makes a young boy or a young girl want to leave school.

But now that we have new, important facts on this matter, we need a program and we need personnel to carry it out. This takes ideas, it takes intellectual courage, it takes generous hearts and minds, it takes a Nation that can say "Yes" to a challenge and not "No" as is the habit of the Republican candidate.

Let us consider programs of community pride, in which every youngster can serve in a position of responsibility for a period of time, no matter how brief, and share in the heavy responsibility--yet exciting liberation--of free local government.

Let us not think just of doing something for our young people who are on the verge of losing their way. Let us rather think of doing something with them so that they will know the thrill of service and the pride of sharing thought and energy with one's own neighbors who need you every bit as much as you need them.

Let us keep all our young people excited about democracy because democracy will not let them down or leave them out.

On the horizon is a second great challenge to education, a challenge we can ignore only at our peril. It is the challenge of the aged. Incredible as it may seem, one of our fastest-growing age groups in the Nation today is made up of men and women 55 years of age or older. Good food, good medical practice, and peace have joined to give the average American adult more years on his life expectancy chart. But how will those years be spent?

Surely after they have put their time in on the job, we cannot ask our fathers to go back to punching a clock. Our older Americans have earned a greater measure of consideration than that. In fact, there is no reason whatsoever that we cannot, right now, begin to work toward a day when every man and woman will have a truly Golden Age ahead of them, a decent twilight time that is as rich in human and intellectual experiences as any other period of life can be--if not richer.

We can predict that our greatest resource for the accommodation of what will one day be our most significant age group is our system of education. What better way is there to reward our older Americans than to give them time to reflect upon life, to arrange their thoughts and search their memories and their hearts for those wonderful experiences that had meaning and zest for them? And what better way to enrich our own younger leaders than by letting them profit from the wisdom of their elders?

Through our schools, in those very classrooms used, at other times of day, by regular students, our older Americans can catch up on the sciences and the arts, on literature and philosophy, can relax and learn about the treasures of the world's music--can do all those things they had no time to do while they were busy raising and providing for a family.

This kind of re-engagement of our older Americans into the world of knowledge and education could be one of the great triumphs of our American civilization.

As we speak about these things, I am reminded of the custom in some remote villages of India. There the old men and old women, feeling

the spirit and sensing the attitudes of the younger folk around them, these oldsters one day leave their homes and walk into the jungle--never to be seen again. Old and useless, the Indian grandfather and grandmother take the hint, and walk away to their deaths. Legend has it that they are going to another and better life, an after-life from which, unfortunately, no one has yet returned.

Surely America is beyond this primitive solution to the problem of how to care for our parents and grandparents. We are not going to drive them away or send them away. And--unlike Senator Goldwater--we are not going to vote them away, either!

Let us not restrict our greatest single weapon for social improvement--the school--exclusively for the use of our children. Let us instead open its doors to all learners--young or old.

We can plan now for programs that challenge the retired businessman or laborer.

We can plan now to retrain personnel who have not only the generous instincts, but also the creative minds for teaching older persons.

Let us develop schools for all ages, schools that respond to the needs of all citizens at the local level, the neighborhood level.

Let us bring together our psychologists and our educators, our social workers and political leaders and begin to lay out this great new work of our generation--the development of a Senior Education for Senior Citizens.

Here, then, is a far-reaching challenge to the essential rightness of our society. And, despite the prophet of doom now running for President

on the Republican Party ticket, I feel that America will respond with its traditional feelings of decency and generosity. I also believe that American education's role in this response can become the most creative chapter in its already rich history.

Six years ago, while serving as the very able Majority Leader of the United States Senate, Lyndon Johnson fought for passage of the National Defense Education Act, a measure that ranks as one of the most important pieces of education legislation in American history. Then-Senator Johnson rose in the debate and told his colleagues, "It can truly be said that an educated mind is the guardian genius of democracy."

Senator Johnson fought for NDEA and led its passage through the Congress, while Senator Goldwater fought against NDEA, voted against NDEA, but could not defeat NDEA.

Today, these two men face each other for the highest office in this Nation and, indeed, in the world itself. There can be no doubt in the minds of any Americans who treasure our system of education that Lyndon Baines Johnson deserves the votes of his countrymen and will continue to serve as their President with distinction and courage.

[1964]

Julie - Education

In a year of challenges, one of the greatest to be faced by our nation is that of education.

It can mean the difference between the solution to many of our questions and the stagnation caused by unanswered problems.

It is the springboard when we talk of employment -- of increasing our joy in life -- of revitalizing our institutions -- even of winning the Cold War.

It must be our national industry, for it produces our most valuable product -- brainpower.

And like every industry, it requires capital investments. And like every industry there are maintenance costs and plant improvement costs.

In the next five years the cost of public education will more than double. College enrollment will increase by over two million. If that number were evenly distributed, it would mean that each state would get 40,000 more students. I ask Senator

Goldwater: where would he suggest that we put these students?

What is his answer to this problem?

First, he denies it exists. Only last year he testified:

"I do not believe we have an education problem which requires any form of Federal grant-in-aid program to the states."

With one sentence he wiped out 68 land-grant colleges and universities which exist solely because of Federal grants. He wiped out the education of one-fifth of all college students.

Second, he tries to remove the cause of the problem -- the need to be educated. He has contended:

"The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it."

Third, and most devastating, he opposes important legislation which would alleviate many of our education problems.

What this man fails to understand is the staggering cost of this plan of opposition. It is the cost paid in the currency of high unemployment among our youth -- paid through longer welfare rolls -- paid through rising delinquency rates.

-- A Senator who would not even lift his vote to quell the civil strife among those seeking human rights and votes against the Civil Rights Bill.

These are the spectres of bankruptcy, chaos and civil strife in 1964.

Now what shall we say of Liberalism beyond the fact that it supplies at once the higher impulse and the practical path? How shall we say that it is practical? Because it forces us to confront now those issues which hold up the continuing development of a nation.

Are they simple problems? Are there simple answers? One candidate for President is desperate to make you believe they are.

But as Liberals, we Americans look at the facts.

In all the multiple challenges that face us -- the one recurring word is education.

It is the springboard when we talk of employment -- of increasing our joy in life -- of revitalizing our institutions -- even of winning the Cold War.

It must be our chief national industry, for it produces our best product -- brainpower.

And like every industry, it requires capital investments. And like every industry there are maintenance costs and plant improvement costs.

I recognize and you do, too, that all this means the cost of education is rising -- and will continue to rise. But how much?

The simple answer -- and we've been hearing a good many simple answers from the opposition in this campaign -- the simple answer is to ignore the question.

The fact is that in this coming decade -- in the time that every person in his twenties and thirties tonight will be trying to educate his children -- in that period the cost of education will rise \$17 billion.

That increase in cost sets a higher pace than our rate of growth in America ---even at its best. Even the vast increase in rate of growth brought about by this Administration cannot meet all the problems so long as we rely on traditional answers. ?

In the next five years the cost of public education will more than double.

College enrollment will increase by over 2 million. If that number were evenly distributed it would mean that each state would get 40,000 more college students. I ask Senator Goldwater, where is he going to put them. *would he suggest putting?*

Can you people in each state provide the necessary funds out of your property taxes? That's where the money comes from today. The property owners pay for it. If they continue to pay for it exclusively it means that real estate taxes must increase by at least 50% -- and more likely closer to 100% more than they are now.

What is Senator Goldwater's answer to this problem?

First, he denies it exists. Only last year he testified:

"I do not believe we have an education problem which requires any form of Federal grant-in-aid program to the states."

With one sentence he wiped out 68 land-grant colleges and universities which exist solely because of Federal grants. He wiped out the education of one-fifth of all college students.

Second, he tries to remove the cause of the problem -- the need to be educated.

He has contended:

"The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the

children will get along very well without it."

Third, when Liberals finally establish that the problem exists and is serious, Goldwater provides the one-word answer he knows best: "No."

This "No-No" policy can produce only one result: the denial of the child's right to an education.

-- That is the result for the reactionary who opposes the Federal effort to broaden the tax base.

-- That is the result for the sleepwalker who denies Federal help to raise teachers' salaries.

-- That is the result of walking backwards away from needed classrooms.

What this man fails to understand is the staggering cost of his plan of inaction. It is the cost paid in the currency of high unemployment among our youth -- paid through longer welfare rolls -- paid through rising delinquency rates.

Can we really believe a man who would create the problems of greater welfare burdens and higher crime rates and then say he is appalled by what he calls the immorality of America?

When John F. Kennedy stood before this audience four years ago, he deplored America's failure to meet our challenges of growth -- of prosperity -- of strength -- of an intelligent foreign policy.

Four years later we have lost that great leader -- and we have gained another.

Not for a moment was the continuity of direction of this free nation lost.

Not for a moment did we turn our backs on progress.

And under the leadership of President Johnson we have moved ahead steadily in the greatest peacetime expansion this world has ever known. And in your hearts you know that is right.

This Administration has moved ahead to make us militarily the strongest nation this world has ever known. And in your hearts you know that is right.

In President Johnson we have a man wise enough, steady enough and responsible enough to keep the peace. And in your hearts you know that is right.

But this is more than the occasion for a progress report. It is a request for your hand and your heart. It is a request for your renewed mandate. We ask your help because we believe in Liberalism.

We know that Liberals stand today as a restraining force against extravagant policy. We know you remain cool in the presence of Jingo clamour. We share your belief that confidence between nations begets confidence. We have your faith that the spirit of peace and goodwill makes the safety it seeks.

I quoted Sir Winston Churchill earlier in these remarks. I can think of no better way to close with his solemn charge to Liberals.

It has applied for the last fifty years and I believe it will guide us for another fifty.

"I think a Liberal is a man who should keep a sour look for scaremongers of every kind and of every size, however distinguished, however ridiculous -- and sometimes the most distinguished are the most

ridiculous -- a cold, chilling, sour look for all of them, whether their panic comes from the sea or from the air or from the earth or from the waters under the earth."

With this same determination to repudiate those who would be ridiculous in a serious world -- with the determination to seek the careful and even complex answer to our problems, I accept your nomination.

The Educators

Sunday evening

Dear John:

Here is a non-strident homily
on education. I have a rough draft of the
Tacoma speech, and will forward the
revised draft by Monday noon.

Yours in haste,

A stylized handwritten signature, likely reading 'David C. Williams', written in dark ink.

David C. Williams

A long, horizontal, wavy handwritten line or flourish, possibly a signature or a decorative mark, located at the bottom left of the page.

Education

David C. Williams

Every once in a while, in the hurly-burly of a campaign -
and, don't misunderstand me, I love it and I thrive on it -
it is good to be reminded of things that are above and beyond
politics.

I think of that when, on my way to or from airports, I
happen to see little knots of children ^{walking} ~~on their way~~ to school.
^

And it suddenly comes to me that these are the doctors
and lawyers, these are the scientists and technicians, these
are the managers of our great industries - yes, these are
the politicians, too, because politics is an honorable profession -
of the years to come.

And, because man does not live by material things alone,
these are the poets and the painters, these the writers and
musicians.

^{And} Behind each of these children, I know, are ^{devoted} ~~the~~ parents.
^

Behind a neatly dressed little Negro girl there may be a father who
works in a construction gang, a mother who goes out as a scrubwoman.

The heart aches to remember how many months and years the mother has spent on her knees that her daughter might stand erect, how many ^{the} ~~times~~ ^{has raised a} ~~her~~ father ~~swung~~ a heavy sledgehammer so that she might have a trained mind and ~~use it~~ ^{be able to put it to use.}

A great poet and a good Democrat, Archibald MacLeish, has written that, "America was promises." And, more than to any other of our institutions, the parents of America have looked to the schools to redeem those promises for their children. ^{the confidence,} ^{and colleges}
The hopes ^{that they put in our schools} make those

of us who ~~fit~~ hold office - local, state, and national - feel humble. But I like to feel that in this past session of Congress most of us - Democrats and Republicans alike - have ^{done something to} ~~been trying to~~ live up to our responsibilities. We have enacted legislation for:

- higher education facilities
- graduate schools and teacher institutions
- science, mathematics and foreign language teaching
- college loans and graduate fellowships
- medical and nursing education
- vocational and technical training
- teaching the handicapped and reaching the poor
- educational research to improve the whole process of teaching

and learning

- community libraries
- manpower development and retraining

I cite these facts not in any spirit of compacency, but just to show that we have been at work in Washington. I cannot in good conscience be complacent, for there is much to be done.

One matter that very deeply concerns me is the number of young people - almost a million - who are ^{a year} ~~a year~~ out of school

and out of work. These are people who are drifting aimlessly and hopelessly about our streets - embittered, alienated,

rejected by life and watching it pass them by. And the tragic fact is that the number of such hapless young people is growing.

We have heard quite a bit during this campaign about disorder in the streets. It has even been suggested that the crime rate goes up and down according to the party in power.

I could wish the problem were that simple. The tragic fact is that the crime rate is related, not to the party in power, but to the number of young people in our cities - and particularly young people out of school and out of work.

Much has been said about Washington, for example - ~~that~~. ~~though its crime rate is~~ I could say that its crime rate is 13th among the 26 largest cities, and well below that - to take an example at random - of Phoenix, Arizona. But there is no comfort in such comparisons.

~~But I won't draw comparisons, because they give us cold comfort.~~

The crime rate in Washington, as in many other cities, is much too high. It began to rise in 1957, but I won't lay that at the doorstep of the Administration which was then in power.

The ~~old~~ fact is that the crime rate was falling in Washington up to 1957 ~~because the number of /yoy/~~ as the number of young men in the city between 15 and 24 was declining. It has risen since then as the number of young men has risen.

Some people, including the Washington chief of police, blame the rise in crime on the so-called Mallory rule, laid down by ^{in 1957} ~~the~~ Supreme Court. But the trend has been the same in Washington's suburbs, where the Mallory Rule does not apply.

As we look at the figures, one fact is as plain as a pikestaff - the greatest single step we could take against crime is to keep more children at school, and see that they are better able to get and keep jobs when they leave school.

For every three students now in the fifth grade, only two will graduate from high school. One out of three will drop out before they have received the bare minimum of education ^{they need} to cope with this technological age.

A year ago President Kennedy took \$250,000 out of the Presidential emergency fund and spent it, not on missiles or on atom bombs, but on children.

He used that money to help ~~state and local school systems~~ ^{people to} go out and talk, face-to-face, with dropouts and their parents.

In the course of this pioneer undertaking, local educators learned a lot about what ~~what~~ makes a young boy or a young girl want to leave school. And, even better, they got most of those ^{whom} they contacted to return.

But now that we have new, important facts about this ^{serious problem,} ~~matter,~~ we need a program and we need personnel to carry it out. That takes generous hearts and open minds, it takes ideas and the skills and ^e ~~d~~etermination to put them into effect.

Yes, there is great comfort and great hope in the sight of children walking to school - but there is also a sharp foreshadowing of later sorrow. For many of these children, we know, will drop out of school long before they ought to - and of those who do many will get into trouble, some into very serious trouble.

✓ 7

I think we can, if we will, do something about this - and
about the ~~many~~ other challenges that confront us, including ^{above all}
the need ~~to do everything possible~~ to ensure that the world
~~into which these~~ in which these children take their places
as adults is a world of peace and order, ^{of} freedom and justice.
^

And I want to assure you that President Johnson is
not seeking re-election and I am not seeking election as
Vice-President simply for the honor of these high offices.
We are seeking from you a mandate for responsible and
constructive action - action in the interests of all the
people of the United States and, not least, in the interests
of its children.

President lead → "America has been committed to education, & must continue to be. This means that Education: Draft # 1 in 64 because Goldwater Phillips is alien to the whole American spirit, ~~etc.~~" [1964]

"Our twin goals must be: A new standard of excellence in education

- -and the availability of such excellence to all who are willing and able to

pursue it." These are the words of President John F. Kennedy in his Special Message

to Congress on Education, shortly after he took office. President Lyndon

Johnson shared these goals and has continued their promotion. He has en-

visioned for us a society in which there is "for every child a place to sit,

and a teacher to learn from".

Both these great Presidents have renewed an old American challenge and

one it has constantly met. From Colonial times on the schoolhouse has

usually been the first public building erected after the Church, when indeed

it was not erected at the same time. From the founding of this Republic, every

level of government has been attentive to the needs of education and has

provided for them. This commitment is as American as the Liberty Bell.

How strange it is, in this year of 1964, to find the Goldwater candidate

for the Presidency espousing a philosophy of education that is completely

alien to the American tradition. This candidate says: "The child has no

right to an education. In most cases the children get along very well without

it".

From the first settlements at Plymouth and Jamestown on, the spirit of America has said that education ~~is~~ is not only a right for children, but a necessity for which the community must provide.

The Goldwater candidate in 1964 has said that any Federal aid to education is "unconstitutional". This would have astounded the men who made the Constitution. The Continental Congress in 1785 provided for land in every township to be set aside for public education. From the beginning of our government under the Constitution of 1789, ^{Congress} ~~it~~ continually ceded land both for common public schools and for colleges. Indeed, by 1857, it had given away 64 million acres for these purposes. We should understand well that this land was money. Land was the chief component of the Federal Treasury. No part of our national tradition has more unbroken continuity ^{back} to the beginning than has the national commitment to education.

American history confounds the Senator from Arizona. American history of the fruits of our educational emphasis, is ample argument for continuing to meet the educational challenges of the present. If there is one place where the money spent is an investment repaying itself many times over--it is in education. If there is one place where casting our bread upon the waters brings a manifold return--it is in education.

Our motives for education have been many. The Puritans emphasized education for every man that he could read and understand the Bible for himself. A need was felt to develop the learned professions ~~here~~ in the new land. From the beginning many felt what ~~later~~ Emerson urged on "the American Scholar", that we should develop our own originality and creative power and not be dependent on Europe. Thomas Jefferson believed the fate of democracy to be linked to the understanding of the people, for whom education was vital. But Jefferson, equally with Franklin emphasized the practicality of education in the sciences and mechanic arts. They knew well that trained manpower was essential to the mighty tasks of the new nation. They understood well that economic growth depended on skilled people.

The first great national educational venture was the Land Grant legislation. We were in the middle of a Civil War. The Federal Treasury was nearly bankrupt. But with astonishing boldness and vision, the ground was laid for a public university in every State in the Union, including the Confederate States when the war should be over.

The nation has had three benefits of incalculable worth from this:

1. The science of agriculture was developed plus the technology to apply it. This was the original basis of the national strength and wealth.

The development of agriculture and the mechanical arts has been the miracle of America.

2. Through the Land Grant universities, the basis was established for a continental university system. Democracy of opportunity in higher education has an example in the United States which is unparalleled in the world.

3. These Land Grant institutions produce most of the specialists we need today in the advanced sciences and technologies that are becoming so vitally important to us.

These 68 land-grant schools enroll most of the undergraduates in the nation. They grant the majority of all higher degrees. Our private institutions are important and necessary, but we simply could not have developed our power and position of leadership in the world, without the fruits of education from our land-grant schools.

So comprehensive and far-seeing was the work of a century ago, that we moved well into this century before we have had to make major new provisions.

It is just 20 years ago this Fall, that Franklin Roosevelt signed into law the famous "G. I. Bill". Under this, more than 10 million veterans of World War II and Korea received education or training! By all the tests used on these persons: median income, job level, or other signs of economic

establishment, veterans who took the G.I. training come out higher than non-veterans of the same age grouping. The strength of the nation in its managerial and skilled manpower in the post war period derives heavily from the training of the G.I. bill. The nation~~d~~ would be dangerously weak today without it.

It is further estimated that the increased earning power of these people alone accounts for more than one billion extra dollars per year to the Federal treasury.

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After force-drafting the development of its scientific manpower, Soviet Russia produced the capability to orbit the first Sputnik. We responded in 1958 with the National Defense Education Act. This has made it possible for hundreds of thousands of students to borrow money to get through college. It has stimulated ~~the~~ the development of thousands of new technicians, scientists, teachers, and counsellors. Science, mathematics, and modern

language development has been stimulated through all levels of education.

We have moved into a scientific, technological and space age. We shall never go back. In the struggle with Communism, the nation that is second in mastering the new knowledge, will be the nation that is last.

I find it interesting that Senator Goldwater is a member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which studied and reported ~~the~~ the National Defense Education Act. The Committee met many times during 1958. Senator Goldwater was absent from every session. He had himself recorded against reporting the bill to the Senate and voted against it when it got there.

But it was this last session of Congress, the 88th, that has taken the greatest steps since the Land Grant legislation of 100 years ago, in meeting the educational needs of our people. ~~This~~ This Administration extended and amended the National Defense Education Act. It provided for more scholarship loans. It provided loans and grants to institutions ~~and~~ of higher education, and medical schools to expand their facilities to take more students. *It expanded vocational education,*

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themselves heroically to meet this tidal wave. In the national interest, the national government has begun to help.

Our responsibilities are not yet fulfilled. There are still too few teachers and classrooms at all levels. There are still too few institutions of higher learning. We are just taking the measure of the degree to which education is the long-run key to the poverty problem. We know it is the long-run key to solving unemployment. We can and do create new jobs for the skilled. There will soon be almost no room for the unskilled. Education therefore is critical. There must be education for everyone of a kind that is suited to him.

There is much yet to do. But we have begun, and we must continue .

Investment in education is protection of our greatest national resource. The development of brainpower must become our most important product. Education must be our greatest industry.

For the first time in history, the material requisites for human welfare are within the reach of all. People must be taught the means.

Education is equally vital in keeping a citizenry free, while they meet the new demands on society and government.

Lyndon Johnson understands our history, our national commitment,

our present and future needs.

education
On ~~this~~ as on so many issues, Lyndon Johnson represents the reasonable
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Education Boulder out of the road (1964)

Press lead →

Education: Draft # 1 in 64 because Goldwater Phillips

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direct quote?

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education

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[1964]

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

Under one section of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Title II, part B) we have authorized \$25 million for the first year's development of a system of education for the grown men and women of this country who are in the deepest and most hopeless pockets of poverty because they have never learned to read, write, or do simple arithmetic.

In these times of automation and technology, jobs for many workers are disappearing daily because the skills they involve are no longer needed. The worker with a basic education can learn new skills through the new vocational training programs. For those unable to cope with written instructions on a job application or the operation of appliances and equipment, the outlook--without the new adult education program--is a life of dependency on public assistance and charity.

This problem of limited educational attainment is not limited to any particular area or population group. It is nationwide. More than 22 million Americans are affected.

State school systems have long been concerned with the needs of educationally deprived adult citizens. Unfortunately, most of them--overburdened by the increasing demands of a growing population--have not been in a position to meet these needs. The new legislation will at last enable them to do so--on a scale comparable with the needs.

A grant of not less than \$50,000 will be allotted to each State which has an approved plan for a basic education program. This allotment will cover the first year of operation of that program. The plan must be long-range and comprehensive enough to enable all adults in need of adult education in the State to acquire it within a specified period of time.

Allotments to the States will be based on the relative numbers of adults aged 18 and over within the State who have not completed more than a fifth-grade education as compared with the number of adults in such category in the Nation as a whole.

"Adult basic education" within the terms of the new legislation means elementary level education with emphasis on the three R's and instruction in citizenship, health practices, consumer knowledge, human relations, and home and family living.

Never, since the Founding Fathers dreamed the great dream of a free and educated citizenry, has there been a more positive step towards making that dream a reality.

#

[1964?]

NDEA AND THE NEW AMENDMENTS

Few allocations made by Congress in the span of our national history have yielded richer or more significant dividends than the billion dollars invested over the past six years in the National Defense Education Act.

Though authorized for a dozen separate programs, these funds were allocated for a single purpose--to give every child, from his first day in school, greater opportunity to develop his talents. This is the emphasis that gave the Act its name--recognizing that in a free society the natural resource represented by the trained individual is essential to our security.

Originally enacted for a four-year period, the National Defense Education Act has been extended and requested amendments will dramatically broaden its coverage.

An additional \$10 million a year in Federal funds made available for student loans for college attendance will improve the present program in three ways. First of all, it will lift the \$800,000 ceiling of Federal contributions to the amount colleges and universities actually require to meet applicant needs. In the past, loans have been denied to many worthy students because institutions had already granted funds up to the \$800,000 limit. Students under the new amendment will be able to borrow up to \$2,500 instead of only \$1,000 a year. And, for the first time, young people in technical and business schools will be eligible for loans under the program.

Under the new amendments an additional \$20 million a year will be available for schools to buy equipment for the teaching of history, civics, geography, English, and remedial reading in addition to the present subject areas of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages.

What this can do to strengthen school curricula can be measured by what has been accomplished under the Act in just three subject areas. Over the past six years some 280,000 projects have been approved for the purchase of equipment for the teaching of science, mathematics, and foreign languages. In 1958, there were 46 language laboratories in our schools. Today, there are about 7,000.

Early identification of ability, together with sound guidance to help students to make the most of it, are recognized as essential elements in academic achievement. When the NDEA was enacted, the ratio of counselors to students in our high schools was one counselor for every 960 students. Today, it is one to every 510 students. Moreover, the requested new amendments will extend guidance and counseling services to an additional $3\frac{1}{2}$ million students. For the first time these services will be available to children in the elementary schools, where identification of talent can have the most telling impact.

Through NDEA, the Federal Government has done much to meet the desperate need for greater numbers of qualified college and university teachers. Over six years a total of 8,500 fellowships have been awarded at 174 institutions of higher learning. We plan to greatly increase the number of fellowships available over the next few years and support many more doctoral candidates in our colleges and universities.

Some \$14 million, obligated for 271 language research projects, have enabled us in recent years to determine urgent needs in foreign language instruction and develop new teaching materials to meet those needs. The sum of \$24 million has provided invaluable information on the most effective

ways of using television, film, tape, and other new communications media for instructional purposes.

All of this is but a beginning of what can be achieved when the Federal Government, the States, and local communities work in partnership to enlarge and improve educational opportunity in our society.

We hope for long continuation of this partnership with all that it can do to increase and underwrite our investment in the national future.

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Education speech

Davenport, Iowa

John Roche

[1964]

(Lay on some local color from advance man).

Some of my newspaper friends have been coming up to me recently and saying: "Senator, why are you spending so much time attacking the Goldwater program? Why don't you be more positive?" I suspect that if I spent my time being "positive", they would accuse me of being bland and ask when I was going to start campaigning!

But, in all seriousness, it seems to me that there is nothing the American people can do this November that would be of more positive value than sending the Goldwater faction down to thundering defeat. We are not in this election confronted by a responsible opposition, but by a radical assault on the things which you and I, and most Americans, take for granted. For the first time since Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the United States from the depths of the Depression and presided over the establishment of a national government

which represented all the people, a significant political movement has emerged which would drag us once again into the grimy past, into a past where unions existed at the mercy of employers, where "welfare was a private matter" (to quote one of Senator Goldwater's objectives), where children were ruthlessly exploited in mills and fields, where social security and unemployment compensation were really "voluntary"-- that is, where only those who did not need help could afford to get it.

It is easy for me to tell you the material benefits which have come to you, and to all, as a result of the reconstitution of the American economy in the Roosevelt years, -- and in the years since. We have just reached an all-time high in employment with more than 72 million at work and never in history have we had such a sustained period of prosperity. But these are surface matters.

Beneath them lies a reality that we overlook at our peril: the whole nature of our community has been strengthened by the policies of the Democratic Party over the past thirty years. We have had prosperity before, but never until recent times has it been shared; we have had poverty before, but never have we moved to eliminate it by concerted public and private action; we have always dreamed of a great society, free of injustice and inequality, but never before has its attainment been set before the American people as a compelling moral priority.

It is this new American consensus that the Goldwaterites, the rear guard of a defeated past, wish to destroy.

One of their favorite slogans is states'-rights. Constantly they tell us that because of the growth of federal power the United States is becoming a nation of slaves -- that the national government is an enemy agent. Once upon a time, we are told, Americans were individualists -- now they have become supine wards of the state.

In this stampede to the past it is generally forgotten that every generation has had its share of complex problems and crises. Read any period of our history and the lesson is always the same: Democracy in America is a difficult business. In fact, man's eternal struggle to govern himself is the most demanding of all human endeavors. This is just as true today as it was in the golden days of some unidentified past.

But every generation has heard its false prophets pleading for a return to the glories of yesterday, only

thereby to sacrifice their right to participate in the building of today and tomorrow. One hundred years in the future--in the year 2064--I am confident there will be the same fervent plea to recapture the verities which guided Americans in the early decades of the nuclear and space age. Then we will suddenly become the hardy pioneers whose understanding of virtue and principle will provide the instant solutions of the problems of the inter-planetary world of the 21st century. But depend upon it: This message will be just as false then as it is now.

Despite ~~pho~~problems and crises which have always been before us, democracy in America has prevailed. It has prevailed because each generation of Americans has joined in this struggle with the faith and courage displayed by our late President John F. Kennedy when he proclaimed in his Inaugural Address: "....I do not shrink from this

responsibility--I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation." And democracy has prevailed because of the faith and courage displayed by our President Lyndon B. Johnson when he addressed a grief-stricken Congress and nation on November 27, 1963:

"This is our challenge--not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us..."

The country is now gripped by an industrial and technological revolution which, when coupled with our population growth, requires us to create 300,000 additional jobs each month just to stay even in terms of unemployment percentages. Life expectancy has increased from 49 years in 1900 to 70 years today; one thousand people per day reach the age of 65. In 1950 there were

2.3 million students in institutions of higher learning; by 1970 there will be 7 million--more than a 300% increase. We are still lacking 60,000 classrooms in elementary and secondary schools if we want to eliminate overcrowding. Each year 100,000 qualified high school graduates fail to attend college because they lack the necessary funds.

Can responsible government simply ignore these social and economic realities? Of course not. The real question is: Will each segment of our federal system be prepared to allocate the human and economic resources necessary to get the job done? These are questions worthy of a free people determined to make democracy work.

In seeking answers, one fact stands out above all others: the respective levels of government in the American system are partners in a common enterprise. The basis for this truth has been recognized since the

dawn of our Republic. Writing in the Federalist Papers (No. 46), James Madison noted that "the federal and State governments are in fact but different agents and trustees of the people..." In our democracy the people are masters at all levels. If this is true, and I believe it is, it makes little sense to drive a wedge between the people and the government at any level.

Without bothering to wrap all of this up in fancy political theory, we have attained a sound and workable modus operandi for our federal system. Government and people are collaborators in the common cause of securing the national interest, not mutual antagonists contending against one another for power and glory. No one advocates running everything from Washington.

Let us be specific!

A few weeks before school opened this year, President Johnson said that we, the American people, "are

learning that it is time for us to go to work -- and the first work of these times and the first work of our society is education."

This we have learned during the past four years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. This we have learned during the past two years of the 88th Congress. And this we have learned during the past year of President Johnson's leadership.

The present Congress, speaking for the American people, has passed more educational legislation than any other Congress in history. It has become, as President Johnson has called it, our "Education Congress". And the President, in leading the way and in signing more legislation for education than any before him, can well be called our "Education President".

For all Americans concerned with the state and status of American education, this has been a time of prodigious

accomplishment. It symbolizes the sound will, the knowledgeable determination of Americans to respond to the sweeping social and economic challenges of our time.

Never was more demanded of education than now.

We live today in an era in which technological change requires more of the brains of man than past generations demanded of the brawn of man. Our young men and women need a whole new range of technical and vocational skills for the modern world of work.

We live today in an era of exploding knowledge, when our capacity as a Nation is measured by our grasp of higher levels of education. The needs of a generation ago which made the high school a standard of educational attainment now make the college, the technical institute, and the university a standard for all who can benefit from them. And these are not run from Washington!

The demands upon us for world leadership have called on America, and received the response of almost

all Americans, for an educational system that is second to none in the world. We are aware, most of us, that we have come to a day of infinite challenge and change, that change itself is perhaps our most constant companion. We recognize, most of us, that the time and change which remove old landmarks reveal new and promising vistas...and that efforts to move back the hands of time are an exercise in fatuous futility.

Within the past year, the majority of the Congress-- Democratic and Republican--has passed new and expanded programs to meet education's essential needs, to strengthen our educational structure in every State and community in the land. It has passed legislation for:

- vocational and technical training;
- manpower development and retraining;
- higher education facilities;
- community libraries;

- graduate schools and teacher institutes;
- science, mathematics and foreign language teaching;
- college loans and graduate fellowships;
- medical and nursing education;
- teaching the handicapped and reaching the poor;
- educational research to improve the whole process of teaching and learning.

By these actions we are making it possible for our young to become individuals -- to achieve that intellectual and economic self-sufficiency which makes choice possible. The temporary leader of the Republican Party -- in contrast -- has consistently rejected education's needs. In almost every instance, he has parted company with the wisdom of his own party as well as with the wisdom of the American people.

He has repeatedly raised the bogeyman of Federal control of education in every effort of the Federal

government to strengthen the controlling hand of our States and communities and educational institutions throughout America. His prescription for American education has been the tranquilizer and the sleeping pill.

He has voted against the Higher Education Facilities Act, which will help to build college classrooms for several hundred thousand more students in this decade of doubling college enrollments...which will help to build up to 30 new public community colleges every year... which will help to construct graduate schools in major academic centers...which will help to create new technical institutes to accelerate our training of vitally needed technicians...

He has voted against the National Defense Education Act and its extension and amendments, ~~which will xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~the~~ enable up to 90,000 more students to attend college

each year under its expanded loan program...which will strengthen the teaching of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages throughout our schools... which will improve our school guidance and counseling services and enable us to identify and encourage exceptionally able students...

He has voted against the Vocational Education Act, which will enable our States to expand and modernize our vocational and technical schools...which will help young Americans to learn employable skills in a ceaselessly changing world of work...

He has voted against amendments to strengthen the Manpower Development and Training Law, which will expand our ability to deal with problems of unemployment and underemployment resulting from automation...which will help this Nation to meet the growing national challenge of untrained, unemployed school dropouts...

He has voted against the Library Services and Construction Act, which will provide public libraries in cities and counties across the country...which will help to modernize libraries which have been long neglected and create them where none exist...

He has voted against the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, which will help us to expand our teaching facilities for medical and nursing education...which will increase the number of medical school graduates...which will relieve the growing shortage of physicians and nurses and dentists and other trained custodians of America's health.

And he has voted against the Economic Opportunity Act, which provides in our broad-scale assault on poverty in our States and communities, a means of raising the educational opportunity and attainment of our children of poverty...those who require the best of education and

These are the measures in American education which the Republican candidate is against. This is his record in Congress. One must search it at length to find out what he is for. And in this search, we do discover several recent educational items.

For example, he was for an amendment that would have struck out loans to students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy, thereby crippling the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act.

He was for an amendment that would have cut most of the authorized funds from the Vocational Education Act, eliminated ~~some~~ of its major provisions, and wrecked that Act.

And he was for an amendment that would have removed all provisions for Federal matching grants for higher academic facilities, thereby destroying the potential of the Higher Education Facilities Act.

But these efforts to reject and wreck and destroy the potential of American education were soundly rejected by the American Congress and, moreover, rejected in almost every instance by the majority of his own party.

Senator Goldwater stands alone and apart in a Congress that has seen and recognized and acted on the judgment that education is truly "the first work of these times and the first work of our society."

He stands alone and apart from the mainstream of American wisdom and American progress.

And he will stand alone and apart in November when the American people say, once again, that our future lies ahead of us, not behind us, and that it is time for us to get on with our work.

[1964]

Education Speech Draft

In the current campaign we have heard much concerning the supposed threat to the public educational system posed by efforts to use it to accomplish social objectives. It has been argued that any such efforts constitute a radical innovation, that they are a challenge to traditional American practices. Those who so argue are fond of claiming that they favor continuity with the American past. But as with other issues, I have discovered to my sorrow that the Goldwater Republican Party is no longer the party of memory. With regard to education, as to other matters, it seeks to change what America stands for; and in its effort to change, its leaders misrepresent the American past.

Essentially, the United States has always stood for equality and opportunity. And the most important institution fostering equality and opportunity has always been the educational system. As a nation we have consciously used our school system as a means of integrating our population for well over 125 years. The term, "the common school," which is used to describe the American educational system, has always meant a school which should be common to all Americans. Our guiding ideal in education has been that all Americans regardless of variations in social background, whether of class, color, or creed, should receive the same type of education in elementary school and high school. The common school was presented by Horace Mann and other pioneers of American education as the alternative to the English and European system of separating children into different school systems at an early age, with only a small minority securing a good education. In much of Europe down to the present, one finds a public educational system with special elite schools for a small minority, usually ten to 20 per cent of the population. These schools are called grammar schools in

England, lycées in France, and gymnasias in Germany. They are not the schools for the ordinary workingman and farmer. The large majority of children attend inferior schools which are designed to prepare the children of the less well-to-do workers and peasants for low-level jobs.

Early in the nineteenth century, various American advocates of equality, including some of the men who later founded the Republican Party, such as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, rejected this notion of special schools for the children of the economically and culturally privileged. Hence, they campaigned successfully for the common school. The aim of the common school was, and is, to give to the children of poorer and immigrant Americans the same educational environment and the same culture as is provided for the offspring of middle-class America. In order to do this, it was necessary to provide the type of education in elementary and high school which would give the children from what we now call culturally deprived environments the chance to reach the level of children from advantaged homes. And to accomplish this objective, a deliberate decision was made not to cover as much academic work in early education as was done in the European elite-oriented schools. As a nation, we adopted a policy fostered by many leading Republicans as well as Democrats that the curriculum of our schools should be so organized as to permit the children from deprived backgrounds to catch up with those from advantaged environments. If we had adopted the system of special elite schools in elementary and high school, then the handicaps of culturally deprived children of poor, immigrant, or Negro parents would be much greater. Their disadvantages would become cumulative; those who started with a handicap would never be able to catch up. And in addition to seeking to provide the culturally deprived child with the academic

skills and motivation which he needs to take advantage of educational and ultimately occupational opportunities, the common school curriculum has been designed to give him the social skills to compete on equal terms with those from more fortunate backgrounds. The early advocates of a common education recognized that if the child of the poor or of the immigrant was to be accepted as an American equal to all others, he had to speak without an accent revealing foreign ancestry or slum background; he had to know how to dress well; he should learn proper manners. The child of the well-to-do would learn to dress, to use a knife and fork properly, to dance, and the like, at home. But advocates of the common school knew that the children of Irish, or German, or Polish immigrants, living in a crowded slum or an isolated farmhouse, were not likely to get such skills at home. And if the school did not provide them, no one would. The conscious purpose of having such so-called "frills" in the school was not to depreciate learning, but rather the reverse -- to give many children the feeling that they can deal equally with those from more privileged backgrounds and, therefore, increase their confidence to do well in school.

The fact that the American common school seeks to foster equality at the elementary and high school level rather than to train a small privileged elite does not mean that Americans as a whole receive a worse education than is provided for the European elite. For the way the American system now operates is to seek to encourage as many American young people as have the natural ability to secure the educational background which will enable them to attend university and do well there. We have continually expanded our system of higher education, thus furthering our goal of equality of background and of opportunity. And at the level of the college and university, the American educational system

catches up with and surpasses the European elitist system. As many students of European education have noted, by the time an American finishes university, he is up with the European; and by the time he has finished graduate school, as hundreds of thousands of Americans are now doing, he is ahead of the educational standard attained by European university graduates.

Here in California, you have set a model of what a system of education should look like. The vast majority of your young people graduate from high school, and currently, half of them enter an institution of higher learning. Where else in the world do we find a social system with educational opportunity so widely distributed? Where else have the people, through their legislators and directly in referenda such as the one you are voting on this November to provide new university and state college buildings, voted to provide as extensive and excellent a system of higher education? Here we see operative a system which permits those with the ability to secure the best education possible. Your junior college system, with its over 60 colleges, blankets the state; almost no one in California is more than a few miles from a junior college, a fact which means that all can take the first two years of college while living at home. And the 13 campuses of the California State College system, together with the eight branches of your magnificent University, have brought higher education at the upper levels close at hand. As a Minnesotan, I must confess to some envy at your University, bulging at the seams not only with students, but also with Nobel Prize winners in the sciences and with distinguished humanists and social scientists. As various surveys of the calibre of university faculty have indicated, your state University now ranks far above almost all of the older, justifiably distinguished Eastern private schools in the quality of its staff.

This investment in public education by the people of California, while justified as a way of implementing our national commitment to equality of opportunity, is not simply an altruistic act through which the taxpayers of California contribute to the well-being of their young people. As many have argued, it may also be justified as sound economics. For the tremendous growth of "intellectual" industries in California, industries which contribute much to the welfare of your economy, is directly related to the size and calibre of your educational establishment. When government agencies or private firms concerned with research and development have looked for sources of trained talent, the largest pool of such manpower has been in California. The fact that about 25 per cent of research contracts are located in this state is clearly linked to the nature of your higher education system. Here is an example of wide-scale public investment in a socially necessary activity that builds the economy.

If one looks over the ~~entire~~ complex of education from elementary school to graduate school, in this state and in much of the country, one must be impressed with the extent to which the system operates to give opportunity. At every stage our educational leaders have looked for ways to guarantee that those who have the ability, but who have lacked the means to do well in school at an early age, are given other opportunities to show their abilities. The growth of the community or junior college is but the most recent example of this. Students whose high school record would not justify admission to a first-rate college are given a chance to prove themselves again. And the records of California and other states show that many do so. In other nations, to fall outside of the elite stream at any moment is usually a decisive and permanent failure; there is no second chance.

But while the American educational system, deeply woven as it is into the democratic fabric of our society, is the best answer to those who distort our past in the very act of invoking it, we Democrats never have been content to rest on this country's past achievements. New times give rise to new problems; and they, in turn, to new solutions. The problems our educational system faces today are not the same as those it faced 50 or 100 years ago. And in its efforts to deal with its new problems, the Federal Government, in partnership with the states and the local communities, has much to contribute.

American education in the 1960's must adjust itself to two very different tasks. On one hand, it faces the fact that the occupational structure has been changing rapidly as a result of technological innovations to sharply curtail the numbers of less skilled occupations which can be filled by men with little education, while it has been growing rapidly at the other end -- there are many more white-collar or non-manual jobs than manual ones, and within the non-manual group the fastest growing sector has been in technical jobs which require considerable education. On the other hand, the fact that factory work is now a declining source of employment means that those impoverished groups in our society, such as the majority of the Negro population, who seek to enter the urban labor market with little education are in a worse situation than the pre-World War I immigrant. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigrant was looking for work in the then fastest growing occupations of his day, unskilled and semi-skilled work. The poor whites and Negroes of today seek opportunity in declining fields.

The educational system, therefore, must continue to expand at the upper levels to provide for the growing need for well educated people; but it must also adapt itself to the problem of the minority who come from culturally

deprived backgrounds and who without special assistance may fall even further behind economically because they cannot cope with the skill requirements of the age of the computer. To accomplish the first objective, we are beginning to try to raise the standards of, and quality of, secondary education itself, and much remains to be done in this field. While this task can best be dealt with by local school authorities, the Federal Government can and does contribute to solving it. Through the government-financed National Science Foundation, summer institutes have been organized to support teachers directly in their efforts to raise their qualification in science and mathematics -- a step almost required by the new curricula in these fields. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) has also provided for a program of fellowships and training institutes to upgrade the level of foreign language instruction in the high schools. All reports indicate that such programs have been very successful, and it is clear that they should be continued and extended.

The second major task, that of providing a good education for the children who have been born and reared in our remaining pockets of poverty, of cultural deprivation, is more difficult. But as a nation, we simply cannot ignore it, if we are to remain true to our goal of equal opportunity. There are no simple solutions. School integration does not, in and of itself, mean improved education. We must not lose sight of the fact that our primary objective must be the best possible education for all our children, and that our human and financial resources must be carefully husbanded for this purpose. All the available evidence indicates that children from deprived backgrounds who get a poor start in school because of the tensions and lack of intellectual stimulation that accompany poverty tend to fall progressively farther behind -- the longer they

are in school, the bigger the gap between them and children from advantaged homes. Various things can be done during the regular school years to reduce this gap, but again, educational authorities tell us that the most useful thing which may be done is to provide very good pre-school facilities for these children designed to give them the positive orientation toward learning and the basic vocabulary and other skills necessary for success in the normal curriculum of the elementary schools. These include learning such obvious things as distinguishing colors and learning to listen to sounds, especially speech sounds, which experience tells us are not well learned in the pockets of poverty.

Thus far, the educational system has not dealt in any extensive fashion with the problem of the pre-school child (age 3-6), and local school boards often do not have the financial resources to enter a new area, particularly at a time when all other educational costs are rising. The Federal Government certainly should not enter directly into this field. However, here may be an area in which government at all levels, local, state, and federal, may join hands as part of the combined attack on poverty. To establish an extensive program of pre-school child care or training centers can be one of the most important parts of the war on poverty, since it is one of the few ways we know of to break the vicious cycle of culturally-induced deprivation and dependency. Such centers might be linked to colleges and universities so as to guarantee that they apply in practice everything we are learning about early mental activity, learning, and motivation.

In the desire to strengthen our educational system, we must still be careful to protect local autonomy. Yet with respect to all of these tasks, we face the problem that local school boards and other government authorities simply

cannot devote the funds and the staff time to investigate alternative means of accomplishing their objectives. We must experiment, we must engage in research. Perhaps in education we can copy from another field with which I am familiar, agriculture. Under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, the Federal Government has long supported research and has helped bring the latest scientific knowledge to the working farmer through the demonstration farm program. The county agents and their demonstration farms have been the prime forces behind the growth of agricultural productivity which astonished the world. Instead of preaching to the farmer concerning the worth of new scientific discoveries, these discoveries were tried out experimentally with the help of Federal funds in localities which might be affected. Perhaps the Federal Government may help out in a similar way in education. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare now provides considerable funds to universities for research on educational topics. Perhaps to speed up the gap between the acquisition of new knowledge and its application in the educational process, we should establish a program of "demonstration schools," locally administered but supported with Federal funds, with the explicit purpose of developing and testing new programs to meet new problems. These could deal with programs for pre-school education, as well as help devise ways of strengthening the content of our secondary school studies so that the growing proportions of our youth who are continuing their education will be prepared for advanced studies in college and beyond.

America has been a great adventure. And no part of that adventure has been as exciting as the growth of its educational system. In this, perhaps more than in any other of our institutions, we show what democracy, equality, and opportunity mean. Let us not fear to continue that adventure; let us not fear to experiment as we seek to widen opportunity to everyone.

This memorandum concerns itself with an organic approach to education in which the parts are interrelated. The ideas are still in rough form, although the outlines are clear enough so that the magnitude of the bill becomes clear. No attempt has been made to integrate the various parts of disparate legislation which has been called the President's education program. Where ideas from these various bills crop up herein, it is rather out of accident than design. Needless to say, a serious effort will have to be made to interweave, in conscious form, the ideas that have appeared in past legislation of both President Kennedy and President Eisenhower--if for no other reason than bills of total unfamiliarity in well travelled legislative areas are doomed to failure. Further, it will be noted that many of the ideas outlined herein have been tried, but generally in contexts different than education legislation.

The interest of a free democratic society in education is roughly consonant with enabling the citizen to control his fate and with his fellow citizens in society. Operatively this means that democratic societies or republican democratic government functions on the ability of the citizen to know qua know and to know to make rational political, social and moral choices for himself and his society. With this as the assumption of the democratic society, it becomes painfully obvious that education is something that should continue throughout the years of a person's life. Two other, more operative principles appear. Since our society is nothing if it is not

heterogeneous, we find varying levels of attainment, need, purpose, social difference, economic difference, group and individual distinction. Thus, aid to education by the Federal Government has been and will continue to be, at least in part, the helping of specific groups which might otherwise not be able to obtain that education which would make them functioning free citizens. Since choice as a citizen and free man are in part involved with the individual as he exists within the work situation, education involves more than the operation of the free society in the political sense. While it involves the conception of education (knowledge) and functioning of a free society, it necessarily includes training (experience) of people for and through work.

Thus, given almost continuous technological revolution and bewildering change in the meaning of work and the way to protect a functioning democracy, education is not nor can it be limited to one period of a person's life but is something which continues throughout it. The Federal Government, the creature of the society, must protect that society. One of its ways is through education.

Education could have been defined as the induction of the maturing individual into the life and culture of the group. Implicit in such a view is that there exists a fairly traditional society where that which is to be learned is reasonably static and unchanging, where the values of the society are well defined and relevant to problems that beset those being trained, and that

the older members of the group (society) know what should be known and what should be taught. Our own society is not a traditional one: technology and democracy are anti-traditional. The meaning of this is that education cannot be defined narrowly when it applies to our society. It cannot be limited to a building or a particular time of a person's life. It is sad but true. Technology and change have resulted in people of all ages not knowing what the few know nor understanding how what is known by the few affects and changes the many. Continuing education becomes the only way to bridge the gap./

It is suggested that we undertake a new approach to education legislation which may prove more successful than our present methods. Until now, the approach has been piecemeal; separate bills each on one part of the American education geared to needs. For example, there have been bills on quality, higher education, vocational education, science, teachers' aid, etc.

The theory operating behind the why of these bills are problematic. That is to say, teachers need aid, therefore we should give teachers aid, vocational education needs a shot in the arm, we should give it a shot in the arm. There has been very little comprehensive planning as to what kind of comprehensive general education a society should help its members obtain.

Treating education in ad hoc fashion has certain major disadvantages. In Congress those against education have been able to play off one bill

against another, session after session. Second, because there has been no theory of education or general plan to the support of the Federal Government on education, the Federal Government has been at the beck and call of particular units of interest groups that have been able to cry the loudest for support of their particular interest group. The results of this have been uneven. Each educational group has been able to play off one against the other with the Government itself being caught in the middle. Third, and most important, we are always behind what is needed. Hence, the pragmatic ounce of prevention being worth a pound of cure is never followed. In this context, the problem invariably outstrips the piecemeal solution.

Certain advantages become apparent if we attempt a comprehensive approach to education. First, the dramatic impact of the President showing the way in education should not be underestimated. The introduction and explanation of the bill by the Administration would become an educational experience of an important kind. Since all sectors of the society would be involved and affected--porkbarrel at its best--all would listen. Secondly, it will be less possible in the Congress for those basically opposed to aid for education to play one bill against another or one interest group supporting a particular sector of education against another interest group supporting a different sector of education. Thirdly, it will set a pattern for the kind of legislative and administrative commitment which must be given to education on the part of the Federal Government. This commitment is not in terms of taking away control from the local or State authorities for

education, but rather is in terms of making possible good education to exist across the country for all groups of people throughout their lives. Fourth, and most important, while dealing with already existing problems, it attempts to avert others.

The legislation should contain certain basic ideas. One would be that general education should be given to heighten the level of education generally in America for all groups of people no matter what age group. That is to say, education would now be conceived of as something that goes beyond the confines of the school. Second, aid would be given to even out irrational or accidental situations so that the idea of equality of opportunity has meaning. (For example, slums, students, the so-called difficult 30%, or any other grouping that one might want to make which would be efficient but at the same time sensible to making possible equality of opportunity and individual educational fulfillment. The conceptual matrix for the bill would be aid and programs for pre-school, school-high school-college, graduate, postgraduate, work, work sabbatical, and old age. Certain programs might reach more than one group at a time (educational TV). As a complement there would be aid for specific purposes: slums, schools, exceptional, etc.) Included herein will also be certain conceptual ideas that are not related to particular programs but, for example, to ways of aiding students financially.

It will become painfully obvious that certain questions are not dealt with explicitly, namely, desegregation, the public versus private school issue. In the latter case, it is assumed that the public, private issue does not have to be reached or talked about within the context of the suggestions outlined below. On the other hand, if the issue does have to be faced--

which I doubt--certain arguments come to mind which might be developed further. For example, the line is not a public-private issue but rather a public, quasi-public issue. Here one would rely on the basic field of tax law. Where tax exemptions are given to organization, the Internal Revenue Code makes it rather clear that such operations must fall within the domain of a public activity. They must comport themselves in a certain acceptable way. They must be thought of as being for and in the public good or else special treatment would not have been forthcoming from the Government. If this is the case, then the issue of public versus private has long since been resolved in our tax laws. I would suspect that other analogies can be found to buttress this point. At any rate, ~~in~~ it is outside the scope of this paper to consider that issue since it is believed that that issue is "solved", or better stated, avoided, herein. The question of desegregation is quite another question. A session or two should be spent working on new possibilities which would go well with the program outlined herein. As a primary goal a comprehensive education act should lay the foundation for enriching elementary and secondary education. To accomplish this end three steps must be taken. All of them are interrelated and would have a cumulative positive effect if effected.

- (1) Upgrading of subject matter taught in elementary and secondary schools;
- (2) increase knowledge of below college teachers in their particular areas which they teach, in methods of teaching, in comprehending the dynamic of learning, and in understanding the meaning and problems attendant to growing up in a transforming and almost anomic world. This means that teachers will not only teach subject matter but students. (Note that this higher expectation of the teacher means higher salaries and higher status--but for increased

knowledge and service); (3) heightening the student's instinct for knowledge by showing the importance society attaches to education as an end in itself, as a sine qua non for the functioning of a free society and as an aid in a more narrow work sense. This part of the education program can be accomplished through programs outlined below.

Teachers Institutes Section 1.

Teachers Institutes, those started privately by universities and those sponsored in the science area have proven to be so successful that the concept of them, in somewhat revised form, should be broadened and enlarged so that all teachers below college may, within a few years, avail themselves of the opportunity to retrain while adding to their fund of knowledge. The success of the Teacher Institute suggests that it need no longer be tried on a project basis. There are three programs, integral to each other, which the Federal Government should sponsor under the general heading of Teachers Institutes.

Because there has been little willingness on the part of distinguished professors in particular subject matter fields to take an interest in what is taught in below college, many of the courses taught, and hence the students are "underdeveloped" in knowledge and understanding in below college education. Below college education has been the whipping boy of the subject matter professor for years although this deprecating attitude on their part is changing as they come to realize their responsibilities. This change should be encouraged further. A good start in this direction has been made by the NSF and now by the Zacharias panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee. The quality bill as proposed in the President's program in 1961 provided for the enrichment and improvement of below college courses. Further, the Cooperative Education Act now provides the authorization necessary to undertake one part of the program underlined below although conservative legislative counseling in the Department of HEW will probably insist that an amendment to that Act is necessary before implementation could occur.

Basic education research by Core professors

(1) The Federal Government, through the Office of Education and the National Science Foundation will sponsor a group of universities who would form education institutes similar to other cooperative ventures which the Government supports. For example, Brookhaven. In this case the Federal Government would sponsor four regional institutes through the four groups of universities. These regional universities would invite so-called core professors who have special competence in a particular subject matter as well as those familiar with the psychological and social aspects of teaching on a below college level. The Federal Government would encourage scholars to take time off from their own researches to develop courses and materials for use by making available on a continuing basis Fellowships and project money. As many as 1,000 Fellowships to senior scholars should be awarded each year. The individual universities would choose the people although stipulation in the law or in the grant should be made clear that what is aimed at are subject matter people and not necessarily those concerned with education in the lower educational ladder. The Federal Government would continue to make contract and grant awards directly as well but with the stipulation that the researcher be attached in some way to an institute.

The materials that would be developed by the core professors would then be used and taught by those in part 2 of the program.

The purpose of this program is not to develop a unified course that would be taught throughout the country. Rather it is to increase the number of good courses available for choice.

Teaching Institutes

(2) Colleges and universities would be encouraged to establish institutes of education for the purpose of retraining teachers. The cost of operating these institutes would be paid by the Federal Government through the NSF or OE. The professors in these institutes would be subject matter professors as well as educationists. The material that would be taught would be those courses developed by the core professors. The institutes would operate on a twelve month basis. The professors in the institute would receive extra pay on an hourly basis for teaching courses. Professors at this level would have to choose which materials to teach. Their extra pay would be picked up by NSF or OE. Support and grants would be given to all interested colleges and universities but with special emphasis on attempting to cover the whole of the U. S. with particular emphasis on areas where the heaviest concentration of school children existed. The institutes in this category could be established after the second year of the program and after materials were sufficiently developed so that there would be something to teach.

These institutes would train 200,000 teachers a year. The teachers who would attend these institutes would be those who showed uncommon ability. A majority of these would themselves become teachers in the retraining institutes for a period of a year (described in 3.). Chosen by their own school systems or by the college or university, these teachers would be given Fellowships to attend the Teaching Institute. Such Fellowships would include stipend allowances. Depending on the college or university, its location, etc., would decide whether the teacher would attend during the summer, for an entire semester or year. Some general standards in terms of time spent would have to

be laid out. These standards would be left in the hands of the Teaching Institutes. Theoretically, any private institution of higher education would be able to receive aid under this part of the program.

(3) Continued Training Institutes

Each school board or other viable and identifiable entity having responsibility for the education of a number of children similar to a school board, or state universities or local colleges, in the alternative, would receive Federal aid to establish Continued Training Institutes. Thus, Federal aid would be given through one of three agencies: directly to the school board or school district, to the State Educational Agency or to a University or local college which would, in conjunction with other corporate entities (cities) establish for local school boards Continued training institutes. It is intended that the Continued Training Institute should become a device for retraining the Nation's public school teachers. The Federal responsibility would be a continuing one. It would fund the operating expenses of the Institute on a matching basis so that over 5 years the local entity and the Federal Government would match 50-50. Sliding scale would be used.

The Continued Training Institutes would be staffed with those teachers who were trained in number 2. Specialist from nearby institutions of higher education would also participate but the bulk of the training would be given by below college teachers. The Federal Government would match, over a ten-year basis, the payment for the teachers in the Continued Training Institute.

Fellowships and stipend allowances would be given to those teachers attending the Continued Education Institutes. At the Continued Education Institute the

teacher would receive instruction in the latest methods and subject matter to be taught in the natural sciences, social sciences and humanities on the level that he taught. He would use the materials developed by the core professors. Those attending the Institute would choose from several time programs, that is, summer, Saturday, or released time. A program for retraining of the teacher might proceed along the following lines:

1st year: Teacher attends locally controlled retraining institute on released time, Saturday or summer basis. The teacher learns new subject matter to be taught in his particular course as well as new teaching methods and familiarity with new materials. He would receive X fellowship plus stipend allowance. (SA) $X + SA$

2nd year: Graduates of the Institute would go on to university for further training in Advanced Institute. They would receive $X + \frac{X}{3} + SA + \frac{SA}{2}$.

3rd year: Select teachers would teach in the retraining institute.
~~XXXXXX~~ $Y + RS$ (regular salary)

4th year: Training would continue for the teachers but would be tied in to work in the community which was roughly related to that which the teachers taught in the school system.

5th year: Teachers would study allied courses so that they will be able to teach more than was in their immediate field of competence.

Through this method of retraining a subtle but very extensive reform of the quality of teaching in our schools would be accomplished in a relatively short period of time. And with the added attraction of raising salaries in

a more rational--and politically acceptable--manner than has been pursued in the blanket teacher aid bills.

Student Book Aid - Section 2

Each student in junior and senior high school would receive a ten dollar a year book allowance. (Note that this program is already done by the Government for NSF and other Government fellowship holders.) The student would receive \$10 worth of book stamps which he would use to buy paperback books broadly connected with studies in which the student was, is, or might in the future be engaged. Certificate of expenditure would be made by the teacher--or a teacher's helper--noted below. Such allowance could be made on a graduated scale. That is, more for the individual student as he advanced in school. Even if the student dropped out of school he would still receive a book allowance, as in the alternative, a tool or equipment allowance.

(Insert)

1. A new and valuable relationship would develop between the society and the student in the sense that the student would realize that the society places great importance in education on a continuing basis. Further, it is no secret that textbooks are rather unexciting books and where possible should be supplemented with books of a more interesting and valuable sort.

2. Libraries themselves do not serve the objectives of this program since libraries are by nature for the few and the people do not end up owning the books. Thus, in the main, people are not able to make books and education an integral part of their lives as is the case if they are given book allowances.

3. The program would proceed on the basis of education stamps which would then be used either at book stores which sell paperback books or through the school system ~~itself~~ itself.

4. If a standard is necessary, (because of the pornography charge) State universities or the Library of Congress might put forward lists of books which

could be read on each subject at each grade level. These would then be given to the local school boards who would list such books as guides for what books the students could buy. Another method might be allowing each individual teacher the discretion of what books would be bought, ^{by the student.} A more palatable method might be to state that the stamps are retrievable for books falling within the traditional categories. Natural Science, the humanities, and social sciences. ~~Expects~~ It is estimated that such a program would cost no more than \$150 million and would have a major impact on our society. The resistance which may exist in some homes for children to have books would be changed by governmental support of programs in which students were asked to participate in getting books for themselves.

5. This program should begin as early as useful, the junior high school level, so that the tradition for learning may begin early for the student.

6. It should be noted that if book prices were on the average of 20¢ a book (paperback) a student could end at high school graduation with 300 books.

This program would complement the general enrichment notion as outlined in the teachers institute program. (Teachers as well might receive personal book allowances although this is by no means a substitute for student book allowances.)

Since, as stated above, most text books are of the most flimsy nature intellectually (especially in the social sciences and the humanities), it might be well to have special programs to aid States in the task of replacing textbooks. If, on the other hand, the Teachers Institute method works correctly, the Federal Government will be supplying many of the basic new materials which would be used in the classroom hereby making unnecessary new texts.

Presidential or at least Cabinet level leadership will be necessary to get publishers to reduce prices on paperback books. Since it is the case that the most expensive part of publishing is the cost of the original plates, the cost of running 10,000 copies of a paperback may be no less than running a million copies the price of books could be much cheaper. A consortium arrangement might be considered so that all of the publishers ~~we~~ could get a "piece of the action." This, on the other hand should not be necessary. It should be enough to explain to the publishers that the new proposal will be a shot in the arm to publishing generally but that the program will be supported by Congress only as long as the paperback prices for students are low. Note that the expensive part of publishing is distribution (and administration) both of which could operate through the school system.

The cost of this program would not go beyond \$150 million a year including ~~nominal~~ administration costs to the Federal Government.

Special schools below college - Section 2 (University schools)

University and college authorities spend much time--and perhaps correctly--bemoaning the bad training which students receive in the elementary and secondary school. Without question the university has the kind of resources which could improve quality of education offered to students of school age.

In all of our major cities there are great universities: Harvard, MIT, Boston, Chicago, Northwestern, Chicago, Columbia, NYU, New York, etc. These universities should ask and be given responsibility to administer and staff public schools. It is contemplated that 150 schools on the elementary and high school level be built and staffed under university direction.

(paragraph)

The Federal Government would pay the building cost, the city would donate the land--in some cases public parks might become sites for new schools. The city or the school board would then contract with the area universities to operate and staff the schools. The universities would utilize teaching assistants, professors, plan course curriculum for their schools for which they were responsible. The Federal Government would put up flat amounts for the operation of the schools averaging no more than 50% of the operating cost over a 10-year period. (Again the sliding scale method.)

The university group would file copies of its plans with the Federal Government, but if it met with the approval of the city fathers the Federal Government would not stand in the way and would award the money.

A university school system could also be established in rural areas. Run by the land grant colleges or State universities,, these schools would include dormitories as well

There is little question that this program would create tension within the urban and rural school system. However, it would be the right kind of tension. The university school system would hopefully become the center of excellence. The schools which the universities should undertake should not be of one kind only. In one school system, for example, administered by a university group there might be a school similar to the Bronx High School of Science with students that would succeed under any educational system. But the universities should have the responsibility for areas where the ingenuity and inventiveness of the university should be tested.

Special schools for those gifted in what the society (here read Congress) wants to buy

Support for science in Congress seems rather easy to obtain since science has nothing to do with education. "Things hard, abstruse but quantifiable" are sure shots for support. Education could trade on this fact by supporting and establishing schools similar to the Bronx High School of Science on a State-wide basis. These schools should, in any case, have a tie-in with universities. Qualified students at such schools or at any of the university schools would be able to take courses at universities before they graduated high school. The Federal Government would pay the universities to operate these schools.

Special schools for those gifted in what the society (here read almost everybody) does not want to buy

Facts and lore point clearly to the statement that much talent is lost because of economic or social problems which may, in fact, be soluble. Slums, and their boils, slum schools fall within this category.

The Federal Government would aid communities in the development of public schools with sleep-in facilities in which students from the area would live. Each such school would receive aid, either through the city or through a university school system to establish a tutorial system with teachers quarters being part of the school. There is one danger with this notion which can be averted by giving responsibility for administration to an organization antithetical to the danger. In the case of the slum school the danger is that it will be thought of--and it hence easily will become--a penal colony. For this reason it is of paramount importance to involve the university in its establishment and administration. (There is no reason why, for example,

students at Columbia would not live with and act as counselors to kids in Harlem for pay.) In this way, the values of different groups in the society can better be brought into harmony. Further, schools in slum areas are psychotherapeutic operations which means critical examination of one's experience. This operation will occur best within the dormitory school. For this section of the Act amendment of the urban renewal law is suggested as the obvious legislative handle since such schools would fit in well in such areas redevelopment.

Rural areas also become a good place where this activity could be tried. For example, West Virginia, Northern Kentucky and other places where the economic and social conditions are such that kids by staying where they are will sink deeper and deeper into misery. Here amendment of the Agriculture Extension Service and the Manpower Retraining Act are the places for revision--but all within the context of a comprehensive education act.

Dropout problem

There are a variety of dropout problems in our society. For this reason it may be well to pinpoint and distinguish between them as each has a separated cause and different cure.

a. In high school--It is only recently that we have come to worry about this question at the time when it is clear that a high school diploma or some symbol of accomplishment is necessary both psychologically for the individual and socially for everyone else. Theoretically, where a person in a society always has the chance to get back on the education conveyor belt, it is not disastrous that he does not take all of his education at one time. However, it appears that many who drop out of high school greatly narrow that which they themselves think they can do. Few high school dropouts today can grow up to be Henry Ford or ~~the~~ take the individual, entrepreneurial route. In a highly organized society education becomes necessary for individual psychic survival even though in a theoretical sense the dropouts may be right--either because their education (that which is taught) is irrelevant or stupid to what they need or their experience with education comes down to just another form of organized manipulation.

To aid students who are in trouble and who look as if they are about to drop out of high school, the staffs of high schools should be expanded to include social workers and psychologists. The Federal Government under HEH grants should establish training institutes for dealing with problems of adolescence. More immediately, cities should be given grants to shift social workers and psychologists to become school oriented and school based.

Women and the dropout problem

On the other end of the spectrum of the dropout problem are women. It is now clear that many women who finish college retire from "public work life" regretfully. They feel their education wasted on mundane household tasks which are without content. This is a waste of human resource and places women in a terribly paradoxical role; that is, they are encouraged to attend college ("Roberta, you are just like Robert, compete with him"), but utilize their special training in a minimal fashion once they marry and raise a family ("Roberta, you are a woman. Get back to the ____"). Radcliff College has started a program for women Ph.D.'s who wish to get back to their studies. This program may be generalized across the country through awarding grants to women above a certain age (35) to continue their studies and to run some of the programs outlined in the comprehensive education act.

Student aid for college or technical school attendance Section 3

An important part of an education program for a society involves assurance that people be able to educate themselves in terms of their ability, not in terms of their ability to pay. This kind of statement can only be made in a rich society. The trick here is to find that formula or series of formulas which will be acceptable and plausible to a society that is incredibly rich but Calvinist ~~hypocritical~~ oriented.

Payment for going to school and collecting unemployment compensation in advance

The largest percentage of unemployed in our society, and the largest percentage of people on unemployment compensation are people from the ages of 16-26.

Rather than pay young people for being unemployed and setting themselves on an impossible treadmill in which they work for six months to a year and then

collect UC for six months in alternating fashion, unemployment compensation for those who want to go to school (here read college or technical school) could be collected by the individual in advance. Thus, a high school student who was impecunious would be given a sum for this first year of college or technical school would be able to make a "down payment" fo/r his beyond high education through this program. A formulation connected to this one but more difficult to compute would be paying a talented student a percentage of the average of the amount his peers made while he was in school.

Work study grant

Here money would be given for actual work performed or services given to the community or university while the student was in attendance. This method might be more generally used because Congress seems to be unwilling to give "something for nothing," that is, a straight scholarship program. Further, much good work could be undertaken by students in work study programs. A refinement of our higher education proposal on this point could be used.

Loans Loans seem to be the most acceptable method to the Congress. We may sharpen up this method by having certain forgiveness-type loans with which students, if they, for example, achieve above 70% on some national test after four years of college would be forgiven their loan. Perhaps the graduate record exam could be used as the testing device or some variant of it. Other forgiveness methods may be considered for this kind of program: Books published within first five years after graduation; joining Peace Corps, etc.

Scholarship

Four-year scholarship programs could be offered based on broadened criteria to include individual judgment of scholars, special gifts, examination, past grades, creative ability, etc. The amount of the scholarship should be \$1,500-2,000 a year: the student is allowed to take his study at any institution of higher learning. 2,000 of these scholarships the first year and then increase 500 a year for six years to stabilize at five thousand new scholarships awarded each year. Note Goldwater proposal.

Technical institutes and junior colleges

One section of the organic education act should deal with the reformulation of the vocational education act and the introduction of two-year technical institutes. These institutes would be able to handle more than one specific job. The reasons for this are obvious in the age of continuing technological^{ic} revolutions particular jobs very quickly may be "automated out."

The Federal Government would give the same aid opportunities which were given to those attending college. There are two reasons for this approach:

(1) technical institutes do not have any educational status in our society but they should, and (2) those who would attend them would, at least at the beginning, be at the lower end of the economic scale.

The Federal Government would grant aid to colleges and cities (industrial and labor associations) for the establishment of such institutes. Where possible technical institutes should be established in conjunction with junior colleges. This would give the student choices he would not otherwise have. Some of the ideas of the Brademas bill can be used for this part of the bill.

Programs for school board officials and education administrators

Substantive knowledge of new possibilities in education should be at the finger tips of those working in the bureaucracy of the State and local education system or those public members of school boards who have responsibility for decision-making in this area. A fellowship program should be undertaken in which interested school board members and those in the education bureaucracy could attend summer institutes of educational administration. These institutes would deal with what is--or could be taught substantively--in the classroom as well as outline the various problems of education administration which exist in our society.

The Federal Government could give aid to universities to initiate such programs. The universities would make the awards. Part of this program could be billed as mid-career retraining where it concerned the education administrator. This program could be placed on a matching basis within the local "bureaucracies."

Adult Education - Although it is hackneyed to talk about the importance of a continuing education in fast changing times, the fact of the matter is that it is true. Tradition has so broken down that no one can know what kind of a world will be 25 years from now. Suppose there is life on Mars, or suppose climate control is invented and practiced, or suppose that there is an increase in the breakdown of the family as a social unit, or suppose there is a thermonuclear war or suppose there is a doubling of population by 2000 in the world. These are all real not fantasy speculations. It would be naive to think that the kind of adult education as presently constituted could do anything about any of these problems although it is foolhardy to think that education stops when a person graduates high school (17) or college (22). We would have absolutely no way of coping with any of these question.

The Federal Government should make grants available to universities or non-profit organizations for the establishment of adult education programs similar to those at the New School for Social Research, Columbia, and the UC downtown college.

The organization of the program would be in the hands of the Commissioner of Education who would work with universities that would be encouraged to "spin off" adult education programs into nonprofit corporations. These corporations would, however, be loosely connected across the Nation in some kind of "Federal" arrangement among themselves. They would all offer a basic curriculum besides specialized courses. Note the University of California as a model. Other organizations in the society which have an important role to play in educating could be brought into this form of education. Corporations, labor unions, museums, art galleries, social clubs, etc., could be given

aid or tax credit for the establishment of adult education programs either of a liberal arts nature or of a more specific technical nature.

Continuing Education through mid-career Fellowship or Aid - Individuals might receive scholarships or fellowships at mid-career for study or travel on a sabbatical basis. Most of the people who are able to receive this kind of aid now are scholars although there is no reason why such aid only should be given to this relatively small group of people. Hence, the Federal Government might provide either long-term loans or fellowships to people out of school for study or travel or anything construed as educational. For these programs ordinary standards would not apply. That is, truck drivers, housemaids, anyone, could receive such sabbatical aid.

Various ways might be conceived to fund this program. People might use part of their social security before age 62 or 65, or more funds might be paid into the Social Security System by the individual if he wished to avail himself of such a program. For example, a machinist might want to take a year or two off when he is 50 to study or travel. He would use part of his supplemental social security funds. The individual's social security funds would be augmented through special loan or scholarship funds made available to him by the Federal Government for this purpose. Such programs might be offered to individuals on the basis of one year out of seven for retraining and rethinking his life.

The mid-career fellowship program, although at first glance may appear to be startling is little more than following some patterns which already exist in the society. Many people in the corporate bureaucracy already have such an opportunity as do scholars.

Further the line between work and leisure continues to get fuzzier and the problem of automation will increase greatly. Rather than shorter work weeks, many people (and the society as a whole) would benefit more from travel, study and job change. These are pursuits which take more than a few hours a week to test. Rather they take a chunk of time.

The manpower retraining act is another attempt to offer mid-career retraining unfortunately within the context of force majeure--although it can be used as the base from which to build.

Under the program loan or scholarship could be received at 35, 42, 50, 56 for travel, study or job change. (Note in latter case analogy to small business act where aid is given by the Government to start new operations. The recipient does not have to wait until bankruptcy first.) Voluntary program to be instituted through social security in which the individual would have the right to draw increasing amounts for particular years at, say 35, 42, 50, 56. These amounts could be supplemented through loan.

Educational Television - The question of ETV divides itself into two parts:

(1) Specific use for the classroom; (2) Use by the community. The question of ETV directly to the classroom has been considered widely. One program would be the sponsorship of good lectures and demonstrations by distinguished professors from around the country in particular subject matter to enrich what is taught. This program could be handled through the Institutes of Teaching.

(2) Television of a higher quality beyond the classroom is deemed of more importance.

It is within this context that television can play a continuing and important part in the education of the community. Its role can be expanded and enhanced through the establishment of a network of educational television system. Federal aid through grant or long-term loan would be made to set up a national--at first regional--educational television network. Matching operating aid from States, universities and cities would be advanced for the regional establishment of regional network programs. It would be the intent of the Government to supply the necessary leadership and support for the establishment of something similar to a network third programme but run and owned by universities, cities and States and other nonprofit-making organizations.

Institutes of study for people on Social Security or near it - People on social security are treated as cripples or as people who have to be entertained. The habit of treating them like children is a waste of their talent and also deleterious to them. The "enlightened" view seems to be that of hiring a social worker who will give them adolescent or children's games to play.

It is suggested that an alternative be put forward in which people on social security would go to special institutes or be given aid to attend schools where certain new kinds of skills could be taught. They would be trained for the performance of public service tasks--as aides to teachers in school systems (they could run the bookstamp program), aides in orphanages, giving orphans grandparents, training for library work, hospital administration, running nurseries. Those participating in the program would receive \$30 a month while going to school. The Federal Government might pay up to \$30-\$50 a month more to the individual once he began to work in this program. This would count as parttime

employment. The Federal Government would give 150 matching grants to States and cities to operate such training institutes for the old. This program could be integrated into the technical school junior college system.

Needless to say, the competence and knowledge of the individual should determine whether this program is below him. Where that is the case, honorariums should be offered to the person for doing that which he is capable of doing.

[1964]

Education Speech Draft

In the current campaign we have heard much concerning the supposed threat to the public educational system posed by efforts to use it to accomplish social objectives. It has been argued that any such efforts constitute a radical innovation, that they are a challenge to traditional American practices. Those who so argue are fond of claiming that they favor continuity with the American past. But as with other issues, I have discovered to my sorrow that the Goldwater Republican Party is no longer the party of memory. With regard to education, as to other matters, it seeks to change what America stands for; and in its effort to change, its leaders misrepresent the American past.

Essentially, the United States has always stood for equality and opportunity. And the most important institution fostering equality and opportunity has always been the educational system. As a nation we have consciously used our school system as a means of integrating our population for well over 125 years. The term, "the common school," which is used to describe the American educational system, has always meant a school which should be common to all Americans. Our guiding ideal in education has been that all Americans regardless of variations in social background, whether of class, color, or creed, should receive the same type of education in elementary school and high school. The common school was presented by Horace Mann and other pioneers of American education as the alternative to the English and European system of separating children into different school systems at an early age, with only a small minority securing a good education. In much of Europe down to the present, one finds a public educational system with special elite schools for a small minority, usually ten to 20 per cent of the population. These schools are called grammar schools in

England, lycées in France, and gymnasias in Germany. They are not the schools for the ordinary workingman and farmer. The large majority of children attend inferior schools which are designed to prepare the children of the less well-to-do workers and peasants for low-level jobs.

Early in the nineteenth century, various American advocates of equality, including some of the men who later founded the Republican Party, such as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, rejected this notion of special schools for the children of the economically and culturally privileged. Hence, they campaigned successfully for the common school. The aim of the common school was, and is, to give to the children of poorer and immigrant Americans the same educational environment and the same culture as is provided for the offspring of middle-class America. In order to do this, it was necessary to provide the type of education in elementary and high school which would give the children from what we now call culturally deprived environments the chance to reach the level of children from advantaged homes. And to accomplish this objective, a deliberate decision was made not to cover as much academic work in early education as was done in the European elite-oriented schools. As a nation, we adopted a policy fostered by many leading Republicans as well as Democrats that the curriculum of our schools should be so organized as to permit the children from deprived backgrounds to catch up with those from advantaged environments. If we had adopted the system of special elite schools in elementary and high school, then the handicaps of culturally deprived children of poor, immigrant, or Negro parents would be much greater. Their disadvantages would become cumulative; those who started with a handicap would never be able to catch up. And in addition to seeking to provide the culturally deprived child with the academic

skills and motivation which he needs to take advantage of educational and ultimately occupational opportunities, the common school curriculum has been designed to give him the social skills to compete on equal terms with those from more fortunate backgrounds. The early advocates of a common education recognized that if the child of the poor or of the immigrant was to be accepted as an American equal to all others, he had to speak without an accent revealing foreign ancestry or slum background; he had to know how to dress well; he should learn proper manners. The child of the well-to-do would learn to dress, to use a knife and fork properly, to dance, and the like, at home. But advocates of the common school knew that the children of Irish, or German, or Polish immigrants, living in a crowded slum or an isolated farmhouse, were not likely to get such skills at home. And if the school did not provide them, no one would. The conscious purpose of having such so-called "frills" in the school was not to depreciate learning, but rather the reverse -- to give many children the feeling that they can deal equally with those from more privileged backgrounds and, therefore, increase their confidence to do well in school.

The fact that the American common school seeks to foster equality at the elementary and high school level rather than to train a small privileged elite does not mean that Americans as a whole receive a worse education than is provided for the European elite. For the way the American system now operates is to seek to encourage as many American young people as have the natural ability to secure the educational background which will enable them to attend university and do well there. We have continually expanded our system of higher education, thus furthering our goal of equality of background and of opportunity. And at the level of the college and university, the American educational system

catches up with and surpasses the European elitist system. As many students of European education have noted, by the time an American finishes university, he is up with the European; and by the time he has finished graduate school, as hundreds of thousands of Americans are now doing, he is ahead of the educational standard attained by European university graduates.

Here in California, you have set a model of what a system of education should look like. The vast majority of your young people graduate from high school, and currently, half of them enter an institution of higher learning. Where else in the world do we find a social system with educational opportunity so widely distributed? Where else have the people, through their legislators and directly in referenda such as the one you are voting on this November to provide new university and state college buildings, voted to provide as extensive and excellent a system of higher education? Here we see operative a system which permits those with the ability to secure the best education possible. Your junior college system, with its over 60 colleges, blankets the state; almost no one in California is more than a few miles from a junior college, a fact which means that all can take the first two years of college while living at home. And the 13 campuses of the California State College system, together with the eight branches of your magnificent University, have brought higher education at the upper levels close at hand. As a Minnesotan, I must confess to some envy at your University, bulging at the seams not only with students, but also with Nobel Prize winners in the sciences and with distinguished humanists and social scientists. As various surveys of the calibre of university faculty have indicated, your state University now ranks far above almost all of the older, justifiably distinguished Eastern private schools in the quality of its staff.

This investment in public education by the people of California, while justified as a way of implementing our national commitment to equality of opportunity, is not simply an altruistic act through which the taxpayers of California contribute to the well-being of their young people. As many have argued, it may also be justified as sound economics. For the tremendous growth of "intellectual" industries in California, industries which contribute much to the welfare of your economy, is directly related to the size and calibre of your educational establishment. When government agencies or private firms concerned with research and development have looked for sources of trained talent, the largest pool of such manpower has been in California. The fact that about 25 per cent of research contracts are located in this state is clearly linked to the nature of your higher education system. Here is an example of wide-scale public investment in a socially necessary activity that builds the economy.

If one looks over the ~~entire~~ complex of education from elementary school to graduate school, in this state and in much of the country, one must be impressed with the extent to which the system operates to give opportunity. At every stage our educational leaders have looked for ways to guarantee that those who have the ability, but who have lacked the means to do well in school at an early age, are given other opportunities to show their abilities. The growth of the community or junior college is but the most recent example of this. Students whose high school record would not justify admission to a first-rate college are given a chance to prove themselves again. And the records of California and other states show that many do so. In other nations, to fall outside of the elite stream at any moment is usually a decisive and permanent failure; there is no second chance.

But while the American educational system, deeply woven as it is into the democratic fabric of our society, is the best answer to those who distort our past in the very act of invoking it, we Democrats never have been content to rest on this country's past achievements. New times give rise to new problems; and they, in turn, to new solutions. The problems our educational system faces today are not the same as those it faced 50 or 100 years ago. And in its efforts to deal with its new problems, the Federal Government, in partnership with the states and the local communities, has much to contribute.

American education in the 1960's must adjust itself to two very different tasks. On one hand, it faces the fact that the occupational structure has been changing rapidly as a result of technological innovations to sharply curtail the numbers of less skilled occupations which can be filled by men with little education, while it has been growing rapidly at the other end -- there are many more white-collar or non-manual jobs than manual ones, and within the non-manual group the fastest growing sector has been in technical jobs which require considerable education. On the other hand, the fact that factory work is now a declining source of employment means that those impoverished groups in our society, such as the majority of the Negro population, who seek to enter the urban labor market with little education are in a worse situation than the pre-World War I immigrant. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigrant was looking for work in the then fastest growing occupations of his day, unskilled and semi-skilled work. The poor whites and Negroes of today seek opportunity in declining fields.

The educational system, therefore, must continue to expand at the upper levels to provide for the growing need for well educated people; but it must also adapt itself to the problem of the minority who come from culturally

deprived backgrounds and who without special assistance may fall even further behind economically because they cannot cope with the skill requirements of the age of the computer. To accomplish the first objective, we are beginning to try to raise the standards of, and quality of, secondary education itself, and much remains to be done in this field. While this task can best be dealt with by local school authorities, the Federal Government can and does contribute to solving it. Through the government-financed National Science Foundation, summer institutes have been organized to support teachers directly in their efforts to raise their qualification in science and mathematics -- a step almost required by the new curricula in these fields. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) has also provided for a program of fellowships and training institutes to upgrade the level of foreign language instruction in the high schools. All reports indicate that such programs have been very successful, and it is clear that they should be continued and extended.

The second major task, that of providing a good education for the children who have been born and reared in our remaining pockets of poverty, of cultural deprivation, is more difficult. But as a nation, we simply cannot ignore it, if we are to remain true to our goal of equal opportunity. There are no simple solutions. School integration does not, in and of itself, mean improved education. We must not lose sight of the fact that our primary objective must be the best possible education for all our children, and that our human and financial resources must be carefully husbanded for this purpose. All the available evidence indicates that children from deprived backgrounds who get a poor start in school because of the tensions and lack of intellectual stimulation that accompany poverty tend to fall progressively farther behind -- the longer they

are in school, the bigger the gap between them and children from advantaged homes. Various things can be done during the regular school years to reduce this gap, but again, educational authorities tell us that the most useful thing which may be done is to provide very good pre-school facilities for these children designed to give them the positive orientation toward learning and the basic vocabulary and other skills necessary for success in the normal curriculum of the elementary schools. These include learning such obvious things as distinguishing colors and learning to listen to sounds, especially speech sounds, which experience tells us are not well learned in the pockets of poverty.

Thus far, the educational system has not dealt in any extensive fashion with the problem of the pre-school child (age 3-6), and local school boards often do not have the financial resources to enter a new area, particularly at a time when all other educational costs are rising. The Federal Government certainly should not enter directly into this field. However, here may be an area in which government at all levels, local, state, and federal, may join hands as part of the combined attack on poverty. To establish an extensive program of pre-school child care or training centers can be one of the most important parts of the war on poverty, since it is one of the few ways we know of to break the vicious cycle of culturally-induced deprivation and dependency. Such centers might be linked to colleges and universities so as to guarantee that they apply in practice everything we are learning about early mental activity, learning, and motivation.

In the desire to strengthen our educational system, we must still be careful to protect local autonomy. Yet with respect to all of these tasks, we face the problem that local school boards and other government authorities simply

cannot devote the funds and the staff time to investigate alternative means of accomplishing their objectives. We must experiment, we must engage in research. Perhaps in education we can copy from another field with which I am familiar, agriculture. Under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, the Federal Government has long supported research and has helped bring the latest scientific knowledge to the working farmer through the demonstration farm program. The county agents and their demonstration farms have been the prime forces behind the growth of agricultural productivity which astonished the world. Instead of preaching to the farmer concerning the worth of new scientific discoveries, these discoveries were tried out experimentally with the help of Federal funds in localities which might be affected. Perhaps the Federal Government may help out in a similar way in education. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare now provides considerable funds to universities for research on educational topics. Perhaps to speed up the gap between the acquisition of new knowledge and its application in the educational process, we should establish a program of "demonstration schools," locally administered but supported with Federal funds, with the explicit purpose of developing and testing new programs to meet new problems. These could deal with programs for pre-school education, as well as help devise ways of strengthening the content of our secondary school studies so that the growing proportions of our youth who are continuing their education will be prepared for advanced studies in college and beyond.

America has been a great adventure. And no part of that adventure has been as exciting as the growth of its educational system. In this, perhaps more than in any other of our institutions, we show what democracy, equality, and opportunity mean. Let us not fear to continue that adventure; let us not fear to experiment as we seek to widen opportunity to everyone.

EDUCATION BEYOND THE HORIZON

*File
Education*

The practical needs of our day, together with the aspirations of our people, call more compellingly than ever before for bold and creative leadership.

We cannot afford to heed the counsel of those who would set the clock backward. Nor can we afford to join with that relatively left-wing element of the opposition party who would have us stay where and as we are. In this day of climactic change, to try to stand on the status quo is to lose ground... steadily, inexorably, disastrously.

Today, as never before, we must have leadership that looks beyond the horizons--beyond the bleak horizons of poverty and compacency, ignorance and inequality--beyond the weaknesses within that could sap and diminish us as effectively as dangers without.

In no aspect of our national life is creative leadership more necessary than in education.

The inescapable fact of our times is that our young people must know more than ever before, that our commitment to education must expand in pace with expanding knowledge. Much of what is taught in high school today--in mathematics or physics, for example--would outdistance yesterday's college student. Through our advancing technology, today's skilled craftsman speaks a different language than his father knew--a complex language that is translated for the rest of us into tools and machines and goods that help make ours the most abundant life mankind has known.

In education, we have come--all at once--to a day of great expectations and of very great challenges. We are faced with the opportunity of creating

a truly democratic system of education in our democracy...a system of quality education at every level for every youth in the land, whoever he is, wherever he may reside.

We are faced with the responsibility of providing this high-quality education to increasing numbers of students--to added millions of young people whose added knowledge and skills and spirit and courage will enable our Nation to meet any test--no matter how demanding--and to achieve any goal--no matter how lofty.

The exciting and at the same time challenging future that beckons us can be suggested by some comparisons, by a projection to 1974 based on today's growing demands for education.

Today about 46 million youngsters are enrolled in elementary and secondary schools...a huge figure. But by 1974 the total is expected to climb to 54 million.

About 2 million young people received high school diplomas this year. By 1974 the number is expected to increase by a million, rising to a total of 3 million boys and girls completing their high school education.

One result will be that first-year college enrollments in 1974 will be some 20 percent greater than they are today.

And the number of bright-eyed young men and women seeking degrees in our colleges and universities will have doubled by 1974--rising to about 8 million.

The shape of the future can be charted today. If we set our course with vision, steadily increasing percentages of young people of college age

will enroll in college...will subsequently graduate from college...will then seek advanced degrees. During the decade ahead, the annual output of doctoral degrees will almost double--rising from 13,000 in 1964 to 24,000 in 1974.

Nothing in our national development today can give us greater cause for hope and confidence than the huge increments of talent suggested by such figures as these. Never before have we had available to us the expanding quantity and quality of human resources they promise America.

This promise will not be realized automatically. To get, we must give; to win, we must work. As enrollments increase, we will need to have more classrooms and laboratories and libraries. We will need more teachers--a million more for our elementary and secondary schools alone. And as we pursue quality, we must pay our teachers larger salaries. Across the board, we will have to devote more time and thought and money to education than we do today.

Meeting these challenges is a very large and important assignment. The problems it embraces are big. But they are not grave. The forces at work do not foreshadow calamity, by any means--not unless they are frustrated and unmet. Rather they imply broader horizons, broader opportunities for our youth--a stronger, more secure, more prosperous America. This we are promised if we have the right kind of leadership--bold, creative leadership which welcomes the future and moves forward to meet it.

What America will be--can be--for our children will be decided and determined by how well we work today...how well we plan today...how well

we think today. We have the challenge that is also opportunity--opportunity to serve and shape a great society.

What kind of leadership is available to us to meet that challenge? Where would the candidates for America's highest office take us? How shall we take their measure?

America knows where President Johnson stands. His record is clear. From that grey November day a year ago when tragedy called him to leadership, the Democratic party has continued without pause as the party of purpose and conviction and courage. It is the party of hope, of the future. It is the party which has opened the eyes of America to the prospects for education, for universal education in fact as well as in name, for faith that through education what is good today can be made better, far better, tomorrow.

Within the past two years, our 88th Congress has passed and our Democratic Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have signed into law the most far-reaching acts for American education in history--acts for vocational and technical education...for higher education facilities...for teaching handicapped children...for medical education...for public community libraries...for student college loans...for graduate schools...for technical institutes...for public community colleges...for science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction...for schools in federally impacted areas...for manpower development and training...and for the anti-poverty bill, with its major objectives for education.

Yes, we know where President Johnson and the Democratic party stand. We stand for the future. And we know where Senator Goldwater stands, too, for he has told us. He stands almost alone, apart from the majority of his own party.

Despite the obvious need for Federal programs to stimulate and support action at the local level, despite bipartisan agreement that rapidly growing enrollment figures represent a national problem commanding national interest, despite the testimony of States and communities that Federal aid is indispensable in meeting education's needs, the leader of the Goldwater party told the Senate Subcommittee on Education last year:

"I do not believe we have an education problem which requires any form of Federal grant-in-aid program to the States."

Earlier this year in a speech in New York he seemed to be taking the position that millions of our citizens simply cannot be educated, that there is simply no use in trying. Said Mr. Goldwater:

"We are told...that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. That's like saying that people have big feet because they wear big shoes. The fact is that most people who have no skill, have had no education for the same reason--low intelligence or low ambition."

What seems to be Senator Goldwater's overall philosophy of education and its value, or lack of it, was possibly best disclosed to the residents of Jacksonville, Florida, four years ago. Said Mr. Goldwater:

"The government has no right to educate children. The parents, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it."

What a truly remarkable statement!

But let us concede that Senator Goldwater cannot be as heartless as these statements suggest...nor as blind to reality or so far removed from our Nation's accomplishments and aspirations.

Let no one imagine, however, that these comments of the Goldwater party's first candidate conceal an admiration for our Nation's system of education or a secret desire to enable our schools and colleges and universities to play the vital role they must play in our Nation's future.

In his hands, the Goldwater party would wreck the prospects of American education now coming into view, would forestall and foreclose the future of American education as the greatest instrument for the progress and strength and prosperity of our land.

We have a choice and the choice is clear. Our President now...and our President next November...has already told us:

"The simple, straight and sure truth of our times is that America in this decade must enlarge, must broaden, must deepen its commitment to the classroom as the central core of our society and our success...

"I am proud,—and deeply gratified,—that the record of the 88th Congress clearly confirms that just such a commitment is being made by the American people...

"If we are learning anything from our experiences, we are learning that it is time for us to go to work, and the first work of these times and the first work of our society is education."

This is the commitment to America by President Lyndon Baines Johnson. With America's commitment to him in November, we shall get on with our work.

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[1964?]
July
Education

LESSONS FROM THE DEPRESSION

BY Harold Taylor

The three major crises of America in the twentieth century have been the two world wars and the depression of the 1930's. It is hard to say which of the three had the most profound effect on American society, but it is clear that in each case one of the most profound effects has been on American education.

The first World War taught us how under-educated was the whole country. The depression taught us the significance of education for social change. The second World War taught us how to mobilize education for the national purpose.

What has been less clear, at least until recently, is that although we were successful in overcoming the crisis of the wars, we never did solve the problems of the depression. They were solved for us by the mobilization of the entire country and its economy in prosecuting the second war. The problems of unemployment, racial injustice, educational inequality and poverty were all in existence after the war, but the intense preoccupation of the country with matters of military, political and international security distracted our attention from the necessity of dealing with them frontally.

They are now being thrust upon us by the protest movement of the Negro people, whose efforts on behalf of their own rights have raised the question of everybody's rights. It is no longer possible to ignore the fact that this is a country whose social fabric is shot through with inequalities, and that the basic inequality of all lies in the lack of provision for education. Without equality of education, not merely for the Negro but for millions of whites, of Spanish-American, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Indian and Japanese-American minorities, there can be no equality of opportunity and little hope of racial and social justice.

What has happened is familiar, simple to describe, and simple to explain. People without money go without education, and where local and state taxes do not provide enough funds for good schools, the schools are not good and the children remain untaught. On the other hand, people with money move to communities in the suburbs where they form communities of people with money, and build what amount to private schools, paying in taxes what otherwise would be called tuition. They are thus formed into closed communities of a separate class of citizens whose children learn to distinguish between their own class and other (lower) classes, who learn to believe that this is the natural condition of man, and too often go through life with a class attitude engrained in their minds as a by-product of their education.

We were just beginning to understand the relation between education and the economic and social system in the 1930's, when the country turned to its educators and to education for some solution to the crucial issues of social and economic reorganization. In

those days, educators and public figures were heard to say quite bluntly that the function of education was to change society, and that the role of the public schools was not merely to teach the academic subjects but to teach the meaning of democracy and the ethos of an equalitarian society. When no one had any money, it was easier to agree that money made no difference.

Before the lessons of the 1930's had a chance to sink in, the American economic problems were settled by the war, and the society organized itself on a new basis, with a power center in what has come to be known as the military-industrial complex, and an economic structure dominated by big corporations, big labor unions, mass media, big government and an increasing middle class.

This has meant that education, instead of occupying a creative role in the process of social change has been harnessed to the economic and social system as the means through which it sustains itself and increases its power. When the Negro protests against The Whites, he is not talking merely about skin color, he is talking about the economic and social power held by a white middle class majority which bars admission to the social system. Admission is by way of an education which is impossible to obtain without money, either private money or public money. That is to say, if everyone is to be free to enter the social system at the level appropriate to his talents, there must be free public schools of quality for everyone.

At present, there is nothing of the kind. Across the country there are some public schools of quality for the whites, an occasional good school for Negroes, an occasional good school for

Negroes and whites, and some private schools of varying quality for those who wish to spend their own money. In very few of the schools is there a conception of education which calls for preparing students to become active, independent-minded, democratic citizens, taking responsibility for solving the problems of poverty, inequality, and social change. The goal of the high school, either explicitly or implicitly stated, is to prepare students through academic studies to take the next step on the way into the middle and upper levels of the economy -- entrance to college. A continual argument is made, that graduation from college increases your income.

There is another assumption which lies unnoticed beneath the current statements of educational goals. That is the assumption that the Negro wishes to enter white society, and that his protest is concerned entirely with that aim. This is not the case. The difference is about the same as in the case of the whites. Some of them enjoy working and living within Negro communities. Others do not. But the issue for the Negro and the white alike is that of equality of opportunity, opportunity for choice of the kind of community in which he wishes to work and live. This, for the Negro, is not necessarily the community of the white middle class. There are cultural and social values within his own community and within integrated lower income communities which are lacking in the white middle class. This is one reason for the movement of white college students into the urban slums and the rural South to help in the voter-registration drive. They find social and personal values within the Negro community more enriching and interesting than

within their own.

The real problem for the Negro is to obtain the quality of education which enables him to earn his own money to do the things which his talents allow, and to be free to exercise his own option of spending his own money to live where he chooses and to work at the tasks which his talent and education call for.

We have imperceptibly come to accept the goals of a white American middle class society as ultimates, without considering the effect which such acceptance has, not only on the Negro and on the other minority groups, but also on the poor white population, in the big cities and rural slums, and often in the interstices of the well-to-do suburban communities. Consider, for example, the assumption now made by employers, parents and educators alike, that graduation from a college of good reputation is a pre-requisite for employment in any but the vocational and semi-skilled occupations.

Without a system of free public education which can guarantee an education of equal quality for all, what point is there in assuming that admission to college, controlled almost entirely by scholastic aptitude and achievement tests, is a fair test of anyone's ability? What point is there in testing for ability and aptitude children who have had no education which could prepare them to meet the tests, which are irrelevant to the discovery of their particular talents? Or, to put it more broadly, if the search for talent is merely to discover talent which is already developed through the privileged educational institutions of middle and upper middle income parents, this is bound to continue to divide the society into an elite of the educated and a mass of semi-illiterates, when so many of the

latter are brimming with talents of all kinds if they could only be developed by wise and generous teaching.

Nor is the situation entirely favorable to those children who are in the privileged institutions. These institutions are, most of them self-consciously, agencies for the production of candidates for college entrance and, in the true meaning of the term, not institutions of education at all. The pressure for competitive academic success in the suburban high school, accompanied by the necessity of competitive social success in the community life around the high school, produces a life for the white high school students which is likely to prevent the growth of a genuine love of learning or a genuine sense of personal identity. Improvement of curriculum is automatically considered to be the improvement of the content and method of academic instruction, not the improvement of the total environment of values and ideas in which the young are growing up.

For many students, the effect of high school is to make it impossible to enjoy learning, and to reduce all study to the performance of academic duties and chores.

In other words, the achievement of privileged economic status does not confer on its recipient an education of quality. It gives him equality of opportunity with the other members of his economic class, but it is an equality in the sense that he is free to engage on equal terms in the struggle to come out first in the social and academic competition.

What is now missing in the American public school is the liveliness of the time when the school served to educate the rich and the poor, the foreign and the native-born in the customs and meaning of American democracy. It was easy to recognize the necessity for educating children in the ways of democracy when they came from a diversity of families untutored in the philosophy and practice of American life. The necessity for teaching it involved the necessity of thinking about it, the necessity of being clear what it was about America that newcomers needed to know in order to live happily together.

The public school was the great leveller and the great uplifter, the place where the variety of foreign cultures met, and where children were taught to be citizens. Once public education became separated into schools for the white well-to-do, schools for the Negro poor, schools for the white poor, and nearly every family was native-born, the entire enterprise became tamer and less interesting, since the school environment lacked diversity and lacked a serious social dimension.

But when an additional factor is built in -- that the purpose of the public school is to serve the national need for trained manpower, then the neglect of the poor and the culturally deprived is bound to occur. The former aim was to give to each child an education suited to his talent so that he could make his contribution to the direction and quality of American life. The present aim, as seen in the practices of the schools and the policies of the Congress, is to use the schools to provide the scientists,

technologists, linguists and others who can man the going establishment.

There is accordingly a simple and direct argument to be made about the relation of money to education. The allocation of money to education, by a country or by a person, is an investment in economic progress. Countries without a comprehensive system of free education of high quality are unable to develop the human resources on which their economy and their society rest. In the case of a democracy, there is a moral imperative that sufficient money be spent by the country as a whole to guarantee an education of high quality for every child.

Otherwise we are forced into the opposite alternative, of placing the burden of responsibility on the individual to find the money for an education as an investment in himself which will equip him for a struggle in the competitive society. It has been assumed in the past that poor people with real initiative will find the money somehow to invest in the education of their children. In a simpler society this was sometimes possible, although we have no count of the millions who spent their lives in tasks unworthy of their talents because something called initiative did not turn up in the lives of their parents. In a complicated post-industrial society, with the employment of unskilled labor diminishing day by day, with farm employment and small farms disappearing week by week, to do less than spend the money to give to everyone an education of quality is to condemn an entire segment of a generation of children, white and Negro, from minority and majority groups alike, to a place in

society which is theirs by birth and not by talent. Estimates are that it would cost from ten to twenty billion dollars more a year to bring equality ~~sk~~ to the educational system. It is time we set about getting it and putting it to work before we lose another generation.

[1964]

VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Today, while our economy soars to new heights, hundreds of thousands of youngsters seek to enter a world of work for which they are ill-equipped and in which many of those who do find jobs shortly become unemployed.

Today, when job opportunities for skilled technicians of all kinds show an increase of 300 percent in just one year, millions remain unemployed, most of them because they lack employable skills.

Nevertheless, in State after State, vocational schools continue to offer training in only a few skills--including some that are outmoded--for an economy which offers hundreds of new occupations. And meanwhile, the man thrown out of a job--and the young person who finds employers not interested--can take little comfort in the fact that overall, the Nation's economy is surging forward.

It is to keep pace with this advance that Congress, within the past year, enacted major new legislation for vocational education--legislation to substantially expand and strengthen the permanent program of Federal support for vocational and technical education and to bring all of our people up to the level of skill and knowledge they require to meet the challenges and share in the opportunities of American life.

The Vocational Act of 1963, signed by President Johnson last December, provides the means for realistically meeting the training needs of all workers of all ages in all communities throughout the length and breadth of this great Nation. It recognizes the importance to the national economy of a continuing reserve of trained manpower. It renews education's commitment not merely to young people, but to those workers who have become unemployed through automation and technological change and who must be retrained if they are to find jobs again.

Vocational education has traditionally been a partnership enterprise in this country. The degree to which Federal support stimulates State efforts is indicated by the rate at which the States match the Federal contribution. For the fiscal year that ended last June, for example, the Federal Government spent \$54 million to support vocational programs. The States spent more than \$254 million. Under the new Act the Federal stimulation is increased to the extent that it will reach an authorization of \$225 million in fiscal 1967 and each fiscal year thereafter.

In addition to enabling the States to vastly expand and improve their present vocational and technical education programs and relate them more directly to local needs, the new legislation can be expected to:

- gear vocational education closely to labor market realities, immediate and future, national and local;

- provide programs for all kinds of nonprofessional workers with all levels of ability;

- provide programs in all kinds of educational institutions and stimulate expansion of the rapidly developing network of area vocational-technical schools, serving larger geographical areas within the States;

- support research in new techniques for teaching, new kinds of facilities and instructional materials, and promote experimental programs particularly for culturally deprived workers in all age groups.

Half a century ago, when the effects of industrialization began to be felt strongly in America, Congress responded with the first program of Federal aid for training people for work. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 was a bold and visionary attempt to insure workers in that era against the threat of unemployment for want of skill. The new legislation is

incomparably greater insurance to the individual and to our society as we press toward new levels of personal and economic achievement.

[1964?]

TEACHING HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Some of the most heartwarming of the "landmark" education legislation provides for some 5 million school-age children who need special education-- children who are blind or partly blind, deaf or hard of hearing, speech impaired, crippled, emotionally disturbed, or mentally retarded.

Their needs are many and diverse, and the new Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act (Public Law 88-164) provides for them on a scale never before attempted in our history or the history of any other nation.

One of the most poignant factors in the education of handicapped children is that we have only about a quarter of the trained teachers these youngsters need--50,000 teachers against a needed 200,000. Beyond that, all too little is known about the learning abilities and requirements of these children.

The new legislation, in addition to providing for urgently needed construction and other facilities, specifically calls for the training of teachers and for research and demonstration projects related to teaching the handicapped.

During the three-year program, the sum of \$47 million is authorized for the training of professional personnel. An additional \$6 million is authorized for research and demonstration projects.

This fall's schedule calls for almost 5,000 teachers to be engaged in specialized training to enable them to teach the handicapped and to train other teachers. This program is being conducted in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.

The schedule also calls for 34 research and demonstration projects in 17 States and the District of Columbia--all of them seeking methods to make the teaching of handicapped children more effective.

Some of these projects will:

*Compare the thinking of blind children with that of the sighted; and study whether and to what degree visual handicaps affect thinking, and how this may influence scholastic achievement.

*Establish a central depository for teaching materials for handicapped children. The center would lend materials, provide an index, and evaluate and assist in the preparation of new and improved materials.

*Study how young deaf children learn to communicate with each other.

*Compare the listening abilities of blind children with those who can see, in an effort to find how oral instruction to blind children can be accelerated.

Findings from such studies can be expected to give us answers to problems which have for all too long frustrated our efforts to help the handicapped and help them to overcome their handicaps.

Such legislation is in line with our determination to make our country:

A land of opportunity for our young;

A home of security and dignity for our elderly;

And a place of compassion and care for our afflicted.

[1964?]
Jill
Education
EDUCATION FOR A WORLD OF WORK

I'm glad to be here. Especially glad, because I have something important to talk to you about: your jobs, and what's happening to them, and what can be done about it.

There are a lot of things you can do to a man that may annoy him, or make him uncomfortable or even unhappy--but he will survive. There is, however, one certain way to ruin him--and that's to take away his job. It hurts his pocketbook, and it hurts his pride--and it creates an everlasting resentment on his part for the society that allows such a thing to happen.

Unfortunately, I'm not talking about theory. This is a fact. It is happening to people every day. Every day some machine comes along and takes over where men stood the day before. And this is one of the most serious problems we face in this country today.

Something can be done about it, though. We are doing something about it now. There are various ways to attack the problem--but the basic answer is: Education...vocational and technical education.

This Administration, first under the leadership of one late champion, President John F. Kennedy, and then under the leadership of President Johnson, has advocated programs to overcome this training deficit. They put the full force of their office behind the legislation which could accomplish this because they considered that there was no greater problem facing us on the domestic front. I was 100 percent behind these programs, and proud to be a Member of the education-minded Congress which has now given the Administration the proper legislative tools to work with.

One of the early tools provided by Congress to help fight this economic battle was the Manpower Development and Training Act. This program continues--and was made even stronger by Congress last year.

I have just recently seen a letter from a lady whose husband received training under the program, and I understand her letter is typical of many. Her husband was--two years ago--in critical need of retraining in another field because his job had just disappeared. Among other reasons why his situation was desperate: three children, aged 13, 12 and 8. His application

was accepted, and he has now completed two years in Electronics Technology and is gainfully, and happily, employed by a large corporation.

Let me quote briefly from this lady's letter:

"More education was a must for my husband, but so far out of reach that we felt it hopeless to keep thinking something would come along and help us...the Manpower Development and Training Program gave us the help we needed.../and my husband's present employment/ now has completed the dream you started."

Letters like that are worth a bushel of statistics and prove more than anything else can how training and retraining can help overcome this dreaded problem of unemployment.

Automation and other effects of the technological revolution have combined to focus the education spotlight on vocational and technical training. Such instruction has become a lifeline to security for millions whose lives have been threatened with disruption by these waves of change.

Since the problem itself continues to grow at an alarming rate, the lifeline must be strengthened before many more of our citizens are lost in a sea of despair. Those with educational disadvantages need to learn basic skills which will enable them to absorb occupational training in the new and complex jobs demanded by business and industry.

Continuous communication and cooperation is required between labor, management and education in order to meet the massive need for national training and retraining brought about by a rapidly changing world of work. All the major elements of our society must work together to develop, support and put into operation training programs for all workers, of all ages, in all communities.

Responsible Federal officials as well as leaders of the business community have estimated that if present trends continue, by 1970 the United States will have in its cities more than 1,500,000 untrained, unemployed and frustrated young people. If I have anything to say about it--and I expect to have--this trend will be reversed. And realistic education for a world of work is one of the primary ways that this will be brought about. We already have a good start--but it's only a start. We should be able to finish the job in the next eight years of the Johnson administration. We should be able, once and for all, to lay to rest this spectre of unemployment that haunts the sleep of good men--men who want nothing but the chance to work for a living with dignity.

As I stand before you here today, after only a little more than three and a half years of a Democratic administration, the boom has returned to this Nation's economy. In nearly all ways, this is a rich period for the United States--and we should be grateful for that. But we cannot, at the same time, ignore the grim fact that there are probably a million young people--between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one--who are neither in school nor at work. And there's a high number of unemployed adults, including many very competent and skilled workers whose jobs have disappeared forever. We're in the paradoxical situation of having approximately the same number of hard-to-fill jobs going begging as we have unemployed workers needing the opportunity to earn a living and finding work.

Accompanying this has been a minimum of opportunity for young persons to prepare themselves for employment in the public schools of the Nation. Vocational education for many has simply been non-existent, and we have failed to recognize the fact that high quality in education is to be had in programs that prepare youth and adults for employment at all levels of occupational competence. There is the opportunity to provide quality in training and retraining for all persons. And there has been

general apathy toward broadening the offerings in the high schools of the Nation.

There is general agreement among educators and others concerned with the Nation's young people that modern life holds few berths for the uneducated and the poorly prepared.

We must--and we are--continuing the fight to eliminate the uneducated and the poorly prepared from the economic scene by helping them to become educated and adequately prepared to the best of their abilities in fields where jobs await them.

Vocational and technical education programs cannot provide solutions for all the problems of our society. But they are vital tools in the battle against unemployment, juvenile delinquency, school drop-out rates and many other social and economic problems which we face today.

Possibly the greatest forward step that has been taken in vocational and technical education was the passage by the Congress of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The Manpower and Development Training Act programs fill the immediate needs of the worker who would update old skills or acquire new ones. The long-range vocational training effort, now buttressed by the 1963 Act, provides the permanent means of preparing Americans of all ages for successful employment.

These programs will be used to help bring our people--and I mean all of our people--up to the levels of skill and knowledge needed to get a fair share of this booming economy. This Act is a real breakthrough--not just a regrouping of our educational forces. It sets up programs for construction, for research, for development and experiments in the whole wide field of vocational and technical education. And it makes sure that no one will be left out--that everyone who wants to learn a skill that will get him a job will have a chance to do so.

I'll tell you here and now that a lot of people--and I mean people who should have known it for a long time, like business leaders and Members of Congress and even educators--are wide awake now to the simple fact that eight out of ten children now attending elementary school will not complete college...and that these children can, and should, benefit at some point in their lives from occupational training. Eight out of ten, that was. Why should he concentrate, then, on college preparatory courses? The answer is obvious. We shouldn't. And this Administration intends to make sure that we don't.

Under this Act, and others which the 88th Congress has approved, amended and extended, vocational and technical education will be expanded and strengthened throughout the

country over the next few years to meet this crying need...and the needs of the future, some of which we can see only dimly. But we can achieve these goals only if our Nation has the leadership it needs. We will not accomplish this if Senator Goldwater will be sitting in the White House. He voted against the Manpower and Development Training Act. He voted against the Vocational Education Act of 1963. He has voted against every piece of legislation which has meant jobs and self-respect for working Americans. And it was Senator Goldwater who told the American people that an unemployed worker doesn't need our help. Why, says this "great humanitarian," he is either stupid or lazy.

Let me say here and now that President Lyndon Johnson would never--and will never--say or think this about any American man or woman who wants a job but cannot find one. President Johnson never has--and never will--let America down.

We cannot expect our complex technology to stay in one place. The world of 2014 will be as different from ours as this one is from the time when our great-great grandfathers were young. This is no time to look backward with yearning to the days of the little red school house--or even to the time of the

big red-brick school house. It is time to look ahead. And I think you all know you're on the right team for looking ahead--not back--when you are on President Johnson's team--and on mine.

There is one thing in connection with all these programs under the new Vocational Education Act--and programs under the previous acts I have discussed here today--that should be emphasized. And that is that the Federal Government does not control the programs. They are operated by the States. Federal funds must be matched dollar for dollar with State and local money. With the cooperation of all elements in the world of vocational education, this great new frontal attack on ignorance and unemployment can be set in motion rapidly--but it will require good sense, and positive leadership from those who have--and accept--the responsibility.

It will also require the support of all of us--legislators, administrators, and the general public. You can be sure that it has my support. I hope it will have yours. Thank you.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The factors of change in today's society and technology have created demands and problems for American education as never before. The new industrial technology and the growing complexity of our economy and our way of life make knowledge rather than manual skills the source of productivity. New occupations are created overnight and old ones become obsolete. Rapid population growth requires dramatic increases in the number and size of our schools and colleges and presents in ever more challenging form the problem of what to teach and how.

It is imperative that those who are responsible for education--teachers, administrators, government officials, community leaders and parents--have sound research information on which to base decisions.

The present Administration has recognized the importance of research in education and has given increased support to programs in this area. Last year the 88th Congress passed more significant legislation for education than any Congress before it, and most of the new programs provide for research. For example, 10 percent of the Vocational Education Act's funds are set aside for research and development. The Office of Education's Cooperative Research Program has advanced from an allotment of \$1 million in 1957, when the program was first authorized, to \$11.5 million for this fiscal year.

Today education is America's biggest business--with 125,000 schools, 47 million elementary and secondary pupils, 1,800,000 teachers, 100,000 supervisors and administrators, 144,000 local school board members, and an annual expenditure for all levels of education of some \$32 billion. Despite the size and the importance of this business, research still commands

only a fraction of the amounts spent by others in business and industry. Only about one-tenth of one percent of our educational funds go for research. The comparable figure for industry is closer to 10 percent.

At last, however, with Federal stimulation, educational research is beginning to get underway, and enough of it has been support^{ed} to allow for some general conclusions of considerable significance.

We know, for example, that what children can learn, even at an early age, falls far short of what they can learn if good materials are developed and if teachers are trained to use them. We also know that the learning process--how children learn and at what age they learn particular things best--can be studied, analyzed and improved by a variety of programs developed from research.

Some wonderful projects are underway in a gamut of subjects which range from reading to counseling and guidance, science and mathematics, and the use of new tools for teaching. One study has shown that the rate of listening comprehension of blind children can be raised to levels above those of children who can see. Others demonstrate that children who have been classified as mentally retarded are in fact handicapped only because they have been brought up in retarded homes.

Now that this foundation has been laid, we must continue to move forward. If educational research is to produce the impact on education that research in the physical sciences has had on industry and medical research has had on health, there must be increased recognition of the importance of research in providing solutions to the major problems which confront us in education. As Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel has said:

"We are caught in a revolution of change which demands an educational technology that is adequate to the role which only education can serve."

We must have more and better research to make it adequate.

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[1964?]

What's the Problem?

- - explosion in enrollment, taxing severely resources for facilities, equipment, and personnel at all levels.
- - to communicate the new knowledge in an "exploding knowledge" situation, to more people, of more varied type requires a revolution in methodology, curricula, teacher training--indeed across the board.

Dimensions of the explosion in enrollment.

- - 69 million children--more than one third of our present population were born between 1946 and 1962. Most of these are now in elementary and secondary schools. They will hit the colleges by 1965.
- - enrollment in elementary and secondary schools was 28.2 million in 1950. It jumped to 46.7 in 1963. By 1970 it will hit 53.2. million.
- - meanwhile higher education is having its enrollment explosion. In 1950 there were 2.3 million students in higher education; in 1962 it rose to 4.6. It will hit 7 million by 1970.

Dimension of facilities problem higher education.

- - to provide for additional students, replace obsolete structures, modernize useable ones, the institutions of higher education should spend \$2.3 billion annually. They are currently falling behind this at the rate of \$1 ^{million} annually.
- - in the recent Higher Education Facilities Act, we made a dent in the problem, but a dent only.

Problem of Elementary and Secondary Facilities.

- - in spite of truly great effort by states and local communities, ~~444~~ 71,000 classrooms annually completed in the last five years, little headway has been made on the backlog of need.

Facts: Education general: 2

- - 10.6 million children attend schools in buildings that average 30 or more per classroom. To reduce overcrowding here would require 66,000 more classrooms. This is based on 1962 enrollment figures. Do not reflect need to accomodate the rising elementary and secondary enrollments.
- - aside from aid to "Federally impacted areas" Fed. government is of no assistance in this area/ for construction. Is some modest aid for scientific equipment and modern language equipment at secondary level.

Need More Public Junior Colleges.

- - 1 out of 7 college students today is in a junior college. 90% of junior colleges are public institutions where costs are shared by school district, state, and student.
- need 25-30 new such institutions per year for next 10 years, to help accomodate rise in college-age population who should be going to one.
- - need more technical institutes to give college-level technical education. There is an annual need for 78,000 engineering and semi-professional technicians--or 5-6 times as many as we have been training in the last 6 years.

On Communicating the "New Knowledge"

- - need thousands of new teachers at all levels : elementary, secondary, college, graduate.
- - need substantial improvement of quality at elementary and secondary.
- - need much research in methods and in curriculum reform at elementary and secondary levels.

Facts: Education general-3.

On Equal Opportunities for Education:

- - at elementary and secondary levels, this means providing more diversified education and good vocational education to keep children in school. Equal opportunity here means a higher "use value" education. Cf. here summary on core cities problems.
- - 1 out of 3 students now in fifth grade drops out of ~~the~~ school before graduation from high school. The drop-out problem begins years before the separation from school occurs.
- - 30% of high school seniors in the 80-90 academic percentile of their class and 43% of those in the 70-80 percentile fail to go on to college. Last Fall more than 400,000 high school seniors in upper 50% failed to go on to college. Money was cited in one-third to one half of these cases. Lack of incentive, poor guidance, or other reasons account for rest.

Correlation Between Low Educational Attainment and Unemployment.

- - 1 out of 10 workers who fail to finish elementary school are unemployed today compared to 1 out of 50 of college attainment.
- - In March, 1962, persons of 18 or older who had not finished high school were 46 % of the labor force but 64% of the unemployed.
- - even without allowing for impact of education on invention and innovation, Council of Ec. Advisors estimates that between 1/4 and 1/2 of increase in national economic output between 1929 and 1956, due to rise in educational attainment. Increase in economic growth depends as much or more now, on this than upon increased capital or labor force.

Special Situation of the Negro In This.

- - 70% whites graduate from high school--only 40% non whites.

Partners: Education: General: 4

- - of adult population 25 yrs old or older, 6.2 percent of whites and 22. 1 percent nonwhites have completed less than 5 yrs. school.
- almost 12% of young white adults (25-29) have completed college while only 5.4 % of Negroes have (and many of these from Negro colleges that are less good).

Financial Bind on Going to College

- - Median family income is just under \$6000. Ave. student cost (conservative) is \$1,480 for public schools, \$2,240 for private. Cost of one student in college in a public institution is 25% of median family income.
- - NDEA loans heavily based on College Board and SAT achievement scores. There is good question about effect of these in skimming only an upper middle class group that can point for them, or come from backgrounds that motivate for them. They are not sole answer to get at and help ~~the~~ discover the talent pool.

What is Needed:

- - more look at scholarship support for qualified higher education students.
- - more research in basic educational problems.
- - one place in government to coordinate in statistical reporting just what Fed. govt. does do.
- - something like a national advisory council on education
- - expanded library facilities and adult ed. programs.
- - considerably more attention to teacher development, curricula, and technique at elementary and secondary levels.

MAJOR ISSUES SHEET

Education of Deprived People in Cities

(Adapted from an unpublished paper by Dr. Muriel Crosby, Asst. Supt. Schools, Wilmington, Del. where a five year project of analysis is possibly best work done in U.S. so far--C.W.P.)

Since education takes place within a social and economic framework, one must specify the chief factors and their interrelation in:

- A. Social and Economic factors
- B. Educational Factors

A. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS:

1. The Supreme Court Decision on Racial Desegregation of the Schools.

The 1954 decision was a proud moment in national life. However, it had the effect of placing the primary burden of resolving the social problems of a community on one agency, the schools.

School desegregation in the cities is ultimately dependent upon desegregated housing and job opportunities. Until major progress is made here, schools have become vulnerable.

Cities have been changing from just containing deprived ghettos, to becoming an entire city ghetto (mostly Negro, but augmented by an in-migration of poor of other groups) surrounded by white suburbia. This re-segregation of the city is a major social problem. Schools are burdened two ways:

- a. To desegregate in situations where the proportional representation of races makes it extremely difficult.
- b. To suffer severe stress upon quality of education, without enough resources to meet them.

2. The Mobility of People.

- a. There is a flight out of the city by middle-income people.
- b. There is in-migration of poor, and heavily from southern

rural areas.

- c. Intra-city, the deprived fan out in creeping "block blight" that creates new slums.

All the above have tremendous implications for the schools. Cities are failing to:

- a. Provide educational opportunities
- b. Provide special programs to aid newcomers.
- c. To give a new sense of "community".

In all this Technology has eliminated jobs, and with increasing numbers of the aging, there are tremendous demands for new education and re-education.

3. Teacher Shortage in the Inner City Schools.

This applies to:

1. Gross numbers.
2. Specially trained teachers for the special educational tasks.

Teaching the deprived requires special skills. Salaries are too low to attract the acquisition and use of these. Particularly to attract male teachers. There is a premium need for these, particularly for boys of deprivation who have no sound male image in the home to emulate, and whose aspiration and motivation are cut off in early years of childhood.

B. EDUCATIONAL FACTORS.

1. Elementary schools customarily get smallest part of school budget.

Drops-outs do not start at age 16. They begin in patterns formed in some cases before they even start to school. At least the early school years are crucial to those who have a poor self-image, and learn early in the inner city that they are worth nothing and can do nothing. There must be a high priority on early attack of this, and financially there isn't.

2. To stimulate motivation needs some new techniques.

In trying to equip deprived children academically, a common mistake is to ~~use~~ use the same old techniques for teaching,--to provide more of what hasn't worked.

This frustrates both child and teacher.

There must be better teacher education:

- - pre-service
- - in-service
- better diagnostic techniques in turn translated to new curricula and new methods.

Children's motivations are highly connected with "use" value of what is learned.

3. Gaining Command of American English.

The greatest single block to learning among deprived children, is inability to use their native language.

They have the "words", but developed in a different way in the unique "sub-cultures" developing in the deprived areas of the cities.

Teachers must:

- a. learn to communicate in the sub-culture "nglish
- b. then bridge the gap between this and the "outer world" in which the child must learn to listen, speak, and write in order ever to get off the lowest rung on the economic ladder.

This concept of language requires a total re-orientation of methods of teaching and learning.

4. The Disaster of Group Intelligence Tests.

Group intelligence tests have been widely but unwisely used.

They measure experience, not gray matter. When schools (as too many do)

COPY

accept these false labels and build a curriculum on they, they put a ceiling upon the child's potential and he will live up to the label.

Intelligence is not the attribute of an economic class.

Failing to recognize this is making inevitable an enormous loss in national potential.

5. Learning the Relationship Between Cause and Effect.

Deprived children are often victims of a family pattern reflecting inability to plan, and relate cause and effect sequences over time. There is day-to-day living without anticipation of future results.

Curriculum planning must work on this in the school. Children must experience planning, to see that every problem situation has options in action; they must choose and accept consequences for same. The educational system must meet the condition of lack of sense for plan or hope to control destiny.

6. Cultural Lag and Parent Education.

The deprived child has no experience at home with conversation, with books, with family enrichment experiences.

He is behind other children upon entry to school.

The gap widens with time.

Deprived children are as handicapped as the deaf, blind, or crippled.

Mandatory pre-school programs of quality (almost totally lacking in the cities) must prepare better for entrance.

Also mandatory are parallel programs for parents, particularly mothers, to make the home a force for reinforcing the schools.

7. Cooperative Action with Other Agencies in the Community.

The schools cannot do the job alone. All agencies and institutions serving people must be brought into a cooperative endeavor.

What to do about it:

Basic work must be done in getting local communities organized to make an attack. ~~Then some Fed. assistance can come.~~

Then some Federal assistance directed to elementary and secondary education can come and should.

We should look at H.R. 6596 & Mrs. Green's bill in House to establish a National Advisory Commission in Education to see if this or an amended version would give us kind of advice and access to top-level influence.

-- Some significant studies have been done on problems in core cities.

They point up great need for research and pin-point some areas.

Also show up some demands for change in administrative practice.

More money needs to be spent in educational research however.

Fed. govt. spends little on this. Could do much more, and be a clearing house for disseminating it, focussing issues, and be a most constructive influence without "centralization", etc. etc.

Congress in 1st half 88th amended NDEA to include English with modern languages as eligible for special equipment help where

English is a "second language". This is good, BUT

- a. it is a case of getting the fish hooks without the line-- English teachers--good quality in short supply-- don't get same help in development (Institutes, fellowships, etc.)

- b. In core cities, American English is becoming a "second language" even to children of generations of American born.

This is only one of the research areas, among motivation, learning process, etc. which is no good, unless it gets translated to teacher training and curriculum development.

It is a pleasure to send the enclosed material
in response to your recent request.

John — This "priority bill" is probably coming
up next week. It's got American Government
in Titles III & VI-B!!

(Indirectly)

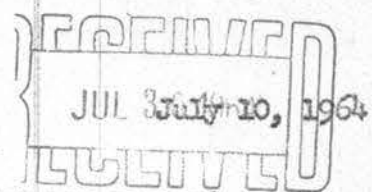


U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Please call if I can help.

sep 8

Educational



AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958

1. Legislative Status

In the House of Representatives, the Special Subcommittee on Education (Chairman--Rep. Edith Green) ordered reported a "clean bill" amending the NDEA; the bill, H.R. 11904, was introduced on July 2. It is expected that the House Committee on Education and Labor will consider the bill during the last week of July.

In the Senate, the Subcommittee on Education (Chairman--Sen. Wayne Morse), has completed all hearings on the amendments to the NDEA requested by the Administration in S. 580. It is expected that Senator Morse's Subcommittee will act upon NDEA amendments when Mrs. Green's bill clears the House of Representatives.

2. Need for the Legislation

Amendments to the NDEA were proposed by the Administration in January 1963 in the "National Education Improvement Act of 1963" (S. 580 and H.R. 3000). Some of these amendments were enacted as Part A of Public Law 88-210 on December 18, 1963 (Vocational Education Act of 1963). However, major improvements still are needed. Following is the justification for the major amendments sought by the Administration.

Student Loans

Under title II of the National Defense Education Act, the Federal Government provides capital for college and university student loan funds with an authorization of \$135 million for fiscal 1965. Institutions must add \$1 to each \$9 received. No institution may receive more than \$800,000. Students may borrow as much as \$1,000 per academic year from this fund at moderate interest rates up to a maximum of \$5,000 during their entire college career. Repayment need not start until the second year after the student leaves school and may be spread over 10 years, and interest does not begin until a year after college. Up to half the loan is "forgiven" at the rate of 10 percent per year for each year in which the borrower is a full-time teacher in a public elementary or secondary school.

From 1958-63 nearly 500,000 students in 1,546 institutions have received NDEA loans exceeding \$323 million. This year (1964) an estimated 272,000 will borrow \$133 million--an average of \$490 each. Yet the demand for loan funds is not being met. Some 35,000 borrowers, now public-school teachers, have received partial forgiveness of their loans since the beginning of the program to June 30, 1963. Many NDEA student borrowers who enter teaching after graduation cannot qualify for loan forgiveness because they teach in colleges or private schools.

Graduate Fellowships

To increase the graduate facilities available in the Nation, the act requires that the programs of study undertaken by the fellows be either new or expanded. The course must also contribute to another important need: distributing graduate training facilities more widely over the country so that potential students in every section may find graduate courses fairly close at hand.

The need for additional men and women with doctorates to serve as college teachers is acute. College enrollments are expected to increase well into the next decade and perhaps longer. It is estimated that the colleges will need 406,000 new faculty members during the period 1960-70. But unless present programs are expanded, probably only 141,000 doctorates will be earned during this period. Of this number, only 32,000 would be expected to enter college teaching. Approximately 3,300 others now in college teaching will also earn their doctorate.

Industry, business, and government, as well as education, need more and more persons with advanced educational training. This need is particularly acute in technical and scientific fields.

In the face of the demand, however, annual attrition rates remain high. Under the present graduate fellowship program, approximately 8 percent of the graduate fellows drop out each year. Altogether, only about 70 percent of the graduate fellows eventually will earn their doctorates. The picture is even more discouraging outside the graduate fellowship program. On an overall basis only about 60 percent of all candidates for doctorates finally obtain them.

The high cost of obtaining a graduate education is the primary cause of this attrition. Of the total number of graduate students currently enrolled, only about 38 percent are full-time students. The others are part-time students because of the need to earn money to support themselves and their families. The long years necessary before part-time students can earn doctorates aggravate this problem. Only in the natural science fields, where fellowships and assistantships are relatively abundant, can students earn their doctorates in 4 or 5 years. In the social sciences and the humanities the average time required is over 8 years.

Under the present law, fellowships can be earned only in new and expanded programs. This has tended to prevent full utilization of existing graduate education facilities.

Guidance, Counseling, and Testing

Although every American citizen is free to determine his future and choose his career, the early identification of talent and encouragement of able students can do much to help an individual achieve his full potential and prevent the loss of much-needed talent.

The establishment of effective guidance, counseling, and testing services in the Nation's schools to meet this need was one of the major goals of the National Defense Education Act. Stimulated by the National Defense Education Act, the number of full-time guidance and counseling personnel in public secondary schools is now approximately three times greater than in 1958, and enrollment has increased by more than 30 percent.

Today about 20 percent of all public high school students still lack organized guidance services. The ratio of counselors to students was one to 510 in 64 - still far from the goal of one counselor to each 300 students. To reach this goal in the 1964-65 school year, the schools would require an additional 23,000 full-time counselors.

Modern Foreign Language Training and Research

Under title VI of the National Defense Education Act, 55 language and area centers at higher education institutions have been established. The institutions where these centers have been established have more than matched the amounts of Federal support. The 55 area centers are in 34 universities and offer instruction in 78 critical languages and related area studies serving about 18,000 students. Additional support is urgent because present facilities are inadequate even to fill immediate requirements in the academic world and much less to meet the rapidly increasing needs imposed by our foreign policy and national security.

The universities have stated that they now require some assurance of further support and that they cannot afford further expansion entirely from their own resources. Legislation is needed to provide this assurance and the support required for an orderly expansion consistent with available teaching talent.

The present \$8 million ceiling hampers numerous vital programs. Of 865 fellowships awarded in 1964, over 3,300 applications were received. Many excellent applicants had to be turned away. Less than half of the work has been completed on the development of instructional materials for 125 languages not often taught in the United States. While the National Defense Education Act permits Federal support of area centers of up to 50 percent of operating costs, many receive as little as 20 percent.

Institutes for Advanced Study for Teachers

Since the counseling and guidance training institutes program was begun in 1959 under title V-B of the National Defense Education Act through FY 1963, the Office of Education has supported 328 summer institute and 88 academic year institutes. To date, 13,784 secondary school counselors and secondary school teachers preparing to become counselors have received or are receiving specialized training under the program.

The program, however, has fallen far short of meeting the demand for training in this crucial field. For example, in 1962 enrollment in these institutes totaled 2,561 whereas applications numbered 10,560. In 1963, the ratio was 2,260 enrollments to 9,997 applications.

The situation is roughly similar with respect to the National Defense Education Act language institutes. From fiscal year 1959 through fiscal year 1963, 13,792 teachers received special training at 301 language institutes to strengthen and expand instruction in foreign languages in public and private elementary and secondary schools. They were trained in the newest instructional methods and received intensive training in learning to speak and understand the language that they teach.

Again, however, demand for training far exceeded the capacity of the institutes. In 1962, applications numbered 20,066 and enrollments 4,418. In 1963, there were 23,790 applications and 4,336 enrollments.

Moreover, the present program makes no provision for training in English, history, and geography in which there are severe shortages of teachers with adequate subject-matter training.

3. Highlights of the NDEA Amendments Contained in H.R. 11904

Entire Act Extended to July 1, 1967.

a. Increase authorizations for the student loan program (Title II) from present \$135 million in fiscal year 1965 to \$163.3 million in fiscal year 1965, \$179.3 million in 1966, \$200 million in 1967. (These amounts include funds budgeted for the loan programs of the Health Professions and Nurse Training Acts.)

b. Remove the present annual institutional ceiling of \$800,000 in the student loan program (Title II).

c. Make students in public or other nonprofit collegiate, associate degree, or diploma schools of nursing eligible for student loan program (Title II).

d. Increase yearly limit on loans to graduate and professional students from \$1,000 to \$2,500; increase aggregate limit from \$5,000 to \$10,000 (Title II).

e. Extend the moratorium on loan repayments to students studying part-time.

f. Extend the provision canceling up to 50 percent of loan repayments to:

- (1) teachers in nonprofit private elementary and secondary schools
- (2) teachers in institutions of higher education
- (3) professional social workers for a public welfare agency or a nonprofit private organization
- (4) social workers, teachers, registered nurses, or counselors on a Federal, State, or local project designed to eliminate poverty and carried on under the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

g. Expand Title III (financial assistance for strengthening science, mathematics, and modern foreign language instruction) to cover English, history, and geography.

h. Increase minimum yearly allotment to each State under Title III from \$20,000 to \$50,000.

i. Increase maximum number of fellowships awarded under the graduate fellowship program (Title IV) from 1,500 in fiscal 1964 to 5,000 in 1965, 7,500 in 1966, and 10,000 in 1967. Not less than one-third of such awards in fiscal years 1965 and 1966 and not less than 2,500 awards thereafter must be awarded for study in "new or expanded" study programs, the balance on such bases as the Commissioner may determine.

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j. Fellowship stipends adjusted for full calendar year study and awards permitted to advanced graduate students as well as those who have just completed the baccalaureate degree.

k. Extend guidance, counseling, and testing program (Title V-A) to elementary schools, public junior colleges, and public technical institutions.

l. Increase authorizations for guidance, counseling, and testing program (Title V-A) from \$17,500,000 in fiscal 1964 to \$25 million in 1965, \$25,500,000 in 1966, and \$32,500,000 in 1967.

m. Increase authorizations for language development program (Title VI-A) from \$8 million in fiscal 1964 to \$13 million in 1965, \$14 million in 1966, and \$16 million in 1967.

n. Part B of Title V and Part B of Title VI repealed and replaced by new Title XI: Authorize \$35 million for fiscal 1965 and each of the two succeeding fiscal years for arranging institutes for counseling and guidance personnel, including college personnel, and for those who are engaged in or preparing to engage in the teaching, or supervising or training of teachers, of history, geography, modern foreign languages, English, or of disadvantaged youth, in elementary or secondary schools.

o. Stipends and dependents' allowance authorized for any person attending an institute.

4. Opposition Action

In Mrs. Green's Subcommittee, the only Republican to attend the meeting at which the bill was ordered reported was Rep. Albert Quie of Minnesota. Ordinarily a strong supporter of the NDEA, he opposed the bill on the grounds that it should not extend NDEA student loan forgiveness to additional occupational categories and also because he believed the Federal Government should not become involved in teacher training in such fields as English and social studies. Among the 12 Republicans on the House Committee on Education and Labor, from 5 to 7 usually support NDEA amendments.

In the Senate, no significant opposition has been noted thus far.

The votes on the NDEA in 1958 were:

House

1. Adoption of the rule for debate: Adopted 266-108 (D 155-40; R 111-68)
2. Resolution to go to conference: Adopted 259-110 (D 164-34; R 95-76)
3. Adoption of the Conference Report: Agreed to 212-85 (D 140-30; R 72-13)

Senate

1. Final passage of NDEA: Passed 62-26 (D 35-10; R 27-16)
2. Adoption of Conference Report: Agreed to 66-15 (D 37-7; R 29-8)

There have been no other votes on the NDEA per se since 1958, although the Act has been extended and amended on two occasions in conjunction with other legislation.

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5. Quotes

From the 1958 Senate debater on the NOEA:

"I hope this bill is only the forerunner of better things to come. . . . we must take advantage of time, money, energy, imagination, and everything else available to us and devote them to our educational system if the Republic is to be preserved.

"I think history may well record that we saved liberty and saved freedom when we undertook a crash program in the field of education. We have not gone far enough, fast enough. I do not think the people of the Nation realize the competitive struggle which exists. There must be an awakening, not only in Congress, but throughout the country, and first things must come first.

"I know of nothing which has higher priority than the education of our children and their preparation for the needs of the modern world."

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson

"...it can truly be said that an educated mind is the guardian genius of democracy."

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson

"...a bill which will be remembered as one of the great pieces of legislation of the 85th Congress."

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

"...my minority views on the bill are, I believe, the shortest ever written in the history of the Senate. In those views, I state the following:

This bill and the foregoing remarks of the majority remind me of an old Arabian proverb:

If the camel once gets his nose in the tent, his body will soon follow.

If adopted, the legislation will mark the inception of aid, supervision, and ultimately control of education in this country by Federal authorities."

"...education at any level cannot be subsidized by the Federal Government without ultimately having Federal-Government control follow, even down to the textbooks used, the qualifications of the teachers, the salaries paid to the teachers, and so forth, and so forth.

"...when the time comes to vote on the question of the passage of the bill, I will vote against it, because I will not vote to penalize my State and to penalize my children and my grandchildren, and I will not vote for the downfall of our free Republic, by voting to permit further

chiseling at the 10th amendment to the Constitution."

Senator Barry Goldwater

Graduate Fellowships

"A serious barrier to increased graduate study is the lack of adequate financial aid for graduate students. Only 1,500 fellowships are permitted annually under the National Defense Education Act program, upon which we are dependent for urgently needed increases in the number of college teachers and the number of graduate students pursuing other courses essential to the Nation's advancement and security. . . . The President's Science Advisory Committee has predicted that the dramatically increasing demand for engineers, mathematicians, and physical scientists, will require that the output of Ph.D.'s in these fields alone be increased 2½ times, to a total of 7,500 annually by 1970, and that the number of masters degrees awarded annually be substantially increased. In all fields the need exceeds the supply of doctoral recipients. The shortage is particularly acute in college teaching, where at present rates the Nation will lack 90,000 doctoral degree holders by 1970. It is clearly contrary to the national interest to have the number of graduate students limited by the financial ability of those able and interested in pursuing advanced degrees. Fellowship programs can ease much of the financial burden and, most importantly, encourage and stimulate a fuller realization and utilization of our human resources."

President John F. Kennedy
Message on Education
January 29, 1963

Guidance and Counseling--Strengthening Science, Mathematics, and Modern Foreign Languages

"I also recommend extension of the National Defense Education Act programs which contribute to improving the quality of elementary and secondary education. Grants for testing, guidance, and counseling programs should be expanded and continued beyond the 1964 expiration date. This program has great relevance for the detection of incipient problems which inhibit learning and for development of the talents of our youth. NDEA assistance for science, mathematics, and foreign language laboratory equipment--which is essential for adequate educational programs using newly developed teaching methods--should also be continued beyond 1964."

President John F. Kennedy
Message on Education
January 29, 1963

Language Development

"Our experience under the National Defense Education Act with respect to modern language and area centers has demonstrated that Federal aid can spur development of intellectual talent. They deserve our continuing support, with assurance that resources will be available for orderly expansion in keeping with availability of teaching talent.

"I recommend that the current modern foreign language program aiding public and private institutions of higher learning be extended and expanded."

President John F. Kennedy
Message on Education
January 29, 1963

"...few programs have done more to stimulate State and local educational interest in the teaching of foreign languages in the United States, with State and local funds, than the language program under the National Defense Education Act."

Representative John Brademas
Hearings on H.R. 3000
February 7, 1963

"The extension of the National Defense Education Act without the amendments submitted by this administration merely continues the current program, without urgently needed improvements, for 2 more years--years which are crucial to the training of more teachers and the strengthening of this Nation's teaching of science, mathematics, foreign language, and other essential subjects."

President John F. Kennedy
Signing the extension of
the NDEA without amendments
October 3, 1961

President Johnson

At his press conference of June 23, the President listed NDEA amendments specifically among the bills he would like to see acted upon during this Session of the Congress.

From the desk of MAX M. KAMPELMAN

1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

296-3300

~~From~~

/ 7/24/64 /

John,

There is some possible speech
material for the future.

MMK

Bill Speech
material
golden

SOME THOUGHTS ON RESOLVING THE CHURCH-STATE IMPASSE ON
IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Following are several possible courses of action which might improve educational quality in both the public and private sectors and/or provide some measure of accommodation in the present highly charged conflict over Federal aid to the public schools. They should be explored not as a substitute for general Federal aid but as expressions of concern for the education of all American children.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

- The parochial schools' greatest problem is maintaining educational quality in science, mathematics, foreign language, vocational training, where equipment is expensive and teachers are increasingly scarce.
- These are precisely the subject areas which Congress has been willing to support in the public education sector, largely because of their importance to the national defense and the national economy.
- These subjects have scant religious significance and, hence, parochial school parents often are willing to have their children receive instruction in them under public auspices.

I. EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND BROADCASTING

- The educational potential for ETV and educational radio is unlimited.
- Over 8 million students now benefit from ETV's various programs.
- Lessons televised by public authorities on open-circuit channels obviously constitute no constitutional barrier to parochial school participation through viewing and listening.
- Closed-circuit TV equipment could possibly be made available on a grant basis to parochial schools for instruction in subjects clearly related to the national interest.
- Courses on publicly financed ETV or radio would be nonsectarian and of higher quality than most public and parochial schools ordinarily have access to.
- Congress has already passed an Educational Television Act, providing funds for television broadcasting facilities; an extension of the Federal interest to assist public schools (possibly in conjunction with libraries, museums, galleries, etc.) to extend their broadcasting for the benefit of parochial school students as well should, therefore, be explored.

II. SUMMER SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

--Summertime programs in specialized high-interest areas would be popular in most American communities: advanced physics, foreign languages, automobile mechanics, data processing, laboratory technology, forestry and nursing experiences in actual "field settings," etc.

--Parochial schools generally cannot provide good instruction in these areas and many parochial school parents lament the absence of opportunity of their children to have such learning experiences.

--Public schools are generally not financially able to afford large-scale summer instructional programs.

--Federal aid could help the public schools provide additional instruction for parochial school as well as public school students who desire advanced, high-quality instructional opportunities.

--The Congress, through the National Defense Education Act, already supports summer institutes for training public and private school teachers in certain subject areas; the National Science Foundation aids summer projects for both students and teachers.

III. SHARED-TIME EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS (DUAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OR SHARED SERVICES)

--Full-scale educational programs in the regular school year, commonly called shared-time, might follow or accompany the summer school approach just described.

--Shared-time is an educational philosophy recognizing that both the State and parents, through their church associations, have a stake and rights in the education of youth. Rather than make a complete choice between secular public or religious private education, shared-time enables students primarily enrolled in parochial schools to pursue part of their education in public schools where they are subject to the same conditions and State support as any other public school student.

--Shared-time is half a century old but only in the last several years has it achieved much interest and application.

--Shared-time is generally conducted in the "non-value-laden" subjects, such as mathematics, science and modern foreign languages. It enables the costs of the private educational system to be held down while, at the same time, it improves the educational level of the entire community by

concentrating expensive equipment and scarce teachers in centralized libraries, laboratories, and shops which are made available to all children who wish to use them.

--Shared-time is obviously constitutional because parochial schools receive no tax support and because the program is publicly administered in non-sectarian public school courses.

--Federal funds could be made available to the States, not on the basis of public school population or school-age population of the State, but on the basis of a full allotment based on the number of public school pupils plus an additional allotment at one-half the rate for each private school student who attends public schools on a shared-time basis.

--Shared-time has been widely endorsed, e.g., by the National School Boards Association, National Council of Churches of Christ and prominent Catholic lay and educational circles.

IV. TAX DEDUCTION FOR PAROCHIAL SCHOOL TUITION

--Contributions to churches are now deductible as charitable donations under the Federal income tax statutes while contributions for the maintenance of church schools in the form of tuition are not. Should Federal tax policy indirectly aid the church but not the church school?

--It has been suggested that private school parents could be relieved of a substantial economic burden by a change in the relevant Internal Revenue regulations, thus avoiding divisive Congressional controversies.

V. TAX CREDITS FOR PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

--While general purpose Federal grants to parochial schools are undoubtedly unconstitutional, may not a tax credit equivalent to the Federal grant for each public school pupil be accorded to parochial school parents? For example, if Federal aid formulas provide \$20 per school pupil payable directly to the State for transmission to the public schools, may individual taxpayers whose children attend parochial schools deduct \$20 for each child?

NOTE: It should be reemphasized that these proposals are advanced as part of an attempted accommodation on the church-State impasse, as part of an effort to pass general Federal aid to public elementary and secondary schools. They should be evaluated in that light as well as on their own merits.

FACULTY EXCHANGE PROGRAM

A "DOMESTIC FULBRIGHT" PROGRAM IN WHICH SELECTION COMMITTEES
ADMINISTER TWO CATEGORIES OF EXCHANGES
AND AN INSTITUTE PROGRAM

Total Estimated Cost: ^{\$5+}~~\$15~~ million

1. Senior Faculty Awards

Eminent senior faculty volunteer for rosters from which "developing" colleges and departments may recruit visiting research or teaching professors who possess the required qualifications. Alternatively, "developing" colleges define their needs for senior faculty and interested faculty compete for available positions.

Awardees would receive their full present salaries plus travel expenses and related costs of the program so that they would not be penalized financially by their absence from their regular campuses. Alternatively, the Federal grant could be the difference between the salary and fringe benefits paid by the regular employer and those which the "developing" colleges could afford.

2. Junior Faculty Awards

Younger faculty with demonstrated potential, teaching in "developing" colleges, apply for a year of research and/or teaching in a recognized institution of high quality.

"Sister college" exchange programs could be encouraged by arranging clusters of exchanges. For example, Stanford University could send Tuskegee five Senior Faculty, while Tuskegee could send seven Junior Faculty to study and teach at Stanford.

3. Institute Programs for Research and Teaching at a College or Cluster of Colleges for Upgrading the Faculty of "Developing" Colleges

Institutes for the general upgrading of faculty in both regular and short-term sessions could be supported under contracts held by renowned institutions who would provide their best faculty and research competencies, possibly in settings to encourage a number of "developing" colleges to make a large number of their faculty available at a given time.

From the desk of MAX M. KAMPELMAN

1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

296-3300

9/3/64

John,

Another speech idea. It has
some possibilities for a
press release.

MMK

Mr. Karpelman:

Congratulations on your helping to
land the nomination! I, too, am elated.

Enclosed is another education idea.

Please let me know how I may
help.

Samuel Halperin

WO 2-3457

PROPOSAL FOR A NEW G.I. EDUCATION ACT
(Veterans' Education Grant Act)

It is widely assumed that the Universal Military Service and Training Act will be terminated in the near future. Consequently, the defense establishment will hereafter need to rely heavily on voluntary, short-term enlistments (2 to 4 years) to augment the regular cadre of professional enlisted servicemen. As a means of assuring a continued and adequate enlistment of qualified volunteers, let us consider a post-service educational benefits program--Veterans' Education Grant Act--following the general lines of the Korean GI Bill.

The act would serve a number of highly important social and economic goals:

As an incentive to intelligent high school graduates, it would insure voluntary military service of persons qualified to operate the complex machinery of modern warfare.

As a continuing education program for these peacetime veterans, it would augment the Nation's supply of highly trained persons at the professional, semiprofessional and technician level--thus contributing to the burgeoning civilian labor market's demand for skilled manpower.

As a transition device to aid future ex-servicemen in their personal readjustment, it would continue to provide education and training which have proved to be a most effective investment in our dynamic society.

The benefits reaped by the veteran and by the Nation from the World War II and Korean GI Bills are striking. Manpower trained under the GI Bills includes:

- 450,000 engineers
- 180,000 doctors, dentists and nurses
- 150,000 scientists
- 360,000 school teachers
- 700,000 business and executive careerists
- 243,000 accountants
- 107,000 lawyers
- 36,000 ministers of all faiths

Under these past GI Bills, a total of 3,500,000 attended post-secondary schools of less than collegiate level and 2,200,000 veterans attended college.

The educational revolution created in our colleges by these veterans, earnestly seeking preparation for future careers and professions, is well known. Further, economists have estimated that the better educated, higher skilled veterans through higher salaries are returning income tax payments to the Treasury at a rate of two or possibly three times the two-decade \$14.5 billion cost of the GI education and training programs. ^{1/} Finally, Census Bureau estimates that the GI Bills are responsible for a substantial rise in the educational level of the Nation--the average male veteran today has completed 12 years of education, while his nonveteran counterpart has completed less than 9 years.

VETERANS' EDUCATION GRANT ACT

Following the general outline of the Korean GI program, each future veteran under the proposed program would receive educational grant benefits on the basis of a month of education for a month of service. A flat monthly stipend of approximately \$160 for the unmarried veteran today would provide support equal in value to the 1952 stipend of \$110 for the unmarried Korean veteran. A total support payment of \$1,440 for a 9-month college year would approximate the average cost of college education today. It could be augmented with summer earnings, small loans and part-time employment opportunities to meet the additional expenses of higher education. (For one dependent, the stipend should be raised to \$190 per month, and for two dependents to \$220 per month.)

If enlistees are required to be high school graduates (which is desirable and reasonable), the act would limit training to post-secondary 2- and 3-year programs and to institutions of higher education. Two calendar years of military service would entitle the veteran to enough support for 2½ academic years (or 9-month years) of college, 3 or 4 years of service would entitle him to complete an undergraduate program, and perhaps some graduate study.

^{1/} This cost covered the training of 7.8 million veterans including on-the-job and on-the-farm training. Eighty percent of the cost was for subsistence allowances.

Preliminary cost estimates are: 2/

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Number of Trainees</u>	<u>Annual Cost of Benefits (rounded)</u>
1965	219,000	\$ 375,000,000
1966	335,000	575,000,000
1967	391,000	670,000,000
1968	357,000	610,000,000
1969	325,000	555,000,000
		<u>\$2,785,000,000</u>

Note: This table presumes eligibility of all veterans who have served since Korean GI eligibility terminated in January 1955, hence the slight reduction in 1968 and 1969 as the backlog of eligible trainees is reduced.

This cost table raises a question of equity concerning veterans who served between 1955 (after termination of Korean GI bill) and 1964. If the act were made retroactive, total cost would be approximately \$2.78 billion.

If, on the other hand, eligibility were restricted to persons who enlisted after date of enactment of the proposed program, different costs would be entailed. Assuming a stable active-duty armed force of 2.7 million persons, and an annual discharge or separation total of 440,000 persons, of whom one-third wish to enter college, the costs then would be approximately:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Number of Trainees</u>	<u>Annual Cost of Benefits (rounded)</u>
1965)negligible cost, since first enlistees	
1966)would still be serving their 2-year enlistments	
1967	140,000	\$240,000,000
1968	250,000	427,500,000
1969	360,000	615,000,000

2/ These cost estimates have been developed from date of the Veterans' Administration in Senate Committee Report #345, 88th Congress, 1st Session, to accompany S. 5 - the Cold War Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act. The table at the bottom of p. 19 has been modified as follows: the five years have been moved forward in time by one year, and the average cost per year per veteran has been increased to \$1,710 (9 months times \$190).

Another issue involving equity concerns the relationship of the proposed act to women. Women veterans would, of course, be eligible for educational aid. But, out of a current armed forces active-duty level of 2.7 million persons, there are only 30,000 women (all volunteers). While the act might substantially increase the number of women who desire to serve in the armed forces and who would subsequently be eligible for schooling, most young women will have to seek educational aid elsewhere.

Alternative means of extending college training benefits to women could include present loan and part-time work or work-study opportunities, augmented by a broad scholarship program. Additionally, voluntary service in programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, in the Peace Corps, in public medical, para-medical and other public service professions could be made the basis for extending educational benefits to women as a complement to the act's benefits for women.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON



JAN 25 1965

*File
Education*

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you for your memorandum of January 14 requesting an analysis of all Federal aid to education.

We have begun work on it and will report to you shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Francis Keppel

Francis Keppel

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

2/24/65

Dear John -

I sent the original of
this to Bill Cornell -
will you put in a good
word at HQ?

Jill

John Roche

Yr
JL

CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN AMERICAN LIBERTIES

Columbia University and Teachers College

Fayerweather Hall
Columbia University
New York, N. Y. 10027

Director:
Professor Alan F. Westin

Director of Program and Development:
Minna Post Peyser

February 12, 1965.

The Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

There has just been formed, at Columbia University and Teachers College, a new Center for Research and Education in American Liberties. Its purpose is to enlist the imagination and energies of scholars across the areas of academic specialty in a reexamination of the history and current situation of American liberties. We are convinced that a fresh look at the heritage of American liberties from our national past is of special importance today, when our society is undergoing such rapid and profound changes. At the same time we believe that the impact of new technological, political, social and racial, religious, and international forces on our contemporary American liberties deserves more systematic examination than it has been receiving.

However important this reexamination might be in itself, we believe it to be even more important that scholars and leaders of public affairs communicate to the public a better understanding of the historical and current realities of American liberties. We hope to do this by enriching the ideas, publications, and discussion materials on American liberties available to the educational media of the nation, from the elementary and secondary school systems through colleges and universities, corporate and union educational programs, educational radio and television, the mass media, and the programs of religious and civic groups.

What will be distinctive about this program, we hope, will be the link between the best scholarship of the next decade and the day-to-day use of this scholarship in adapted form at every level of our educational system. To carry out this work, Columbia University and Teachers College has created this Center. It will have

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey

2.

February 12, 1965

a Board of Governors made up of scholars from within Columbia University and Teachers College; from other universities throughout the nation; and a group of active board members drawn from business, the political, religious and civic life.

We are inviting five persons to serve as members of our Honorary Advisory Board, yourself and former President Dwight D. Eisenhower; former President Harry S. Truman; Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

A functional chart showing the proposed work of the Center is enclosed, as well as a list of the invited members of the Board of Governors. Though located at Columbia University and Teachers College, the work of the Center will be nationwide in character and should have an important effect in the next decade on the thinking of Americans about the meaning of their liberties. It is with this objective in mind that we hope that you will lend the prestige of your name to this effort.

Sincerely yours,

Alan F. Westin
Director

AFW/hf
Enclosures

Invitation List
for
The Board of Governors
of the
Center for Research and Education in American Liberties

Scholars from Columbia University and Teachers College

Grayson Kirk	President, Columbia University (Ex Officio)
John H. Fischer	President, Teachers College (Ex Officio)
Arno Bellack	Professor of Education, Teachers College
Ivar E. Berg, Jr.	Associate Professor of Business, Columbia University
Robert Cross	Professor, Chairman History Department, Columbia University
Sigmund Diamond	Professor of Sociology, Columbia University
Charles Frankel	Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University
Erling Hunt	Professor History; Director, Division of Instruction, Teachers College
Harry Jones	Professor Law, Columbia University
Isidore Starr	Visiting Senior Research Associate, Columbia University (Professor of Education, Queens College)
Robert J. Schaefer	Dean, Teachers College
David Truman	Dean, Columbia College
Clarence Walton	Dean, School of General Studies, Columbia University
Alan F. Westin	Associate Professor of Public Law, Columbia University

Scholars from other Universities

William Beaney	Professor of Politics, Princeton University
Harold J. Berman	Professor of Law, Harvard University
Robert McCloskey	Professor of Government, Harvard University
Allan Nevins	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
C. Herman Pritchett	Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
Louis H. Pollak	Professor of Law, Yale University
David Reisman	Professor of Sociology, Harvard University
Frederick D. G. Ribble	Dean, School of Law, University of Virginia
John P. Roche	Professor of Politics, Brandeis University
Clinton Rossiter	Professor of American History, Cornell University
C. Vann Woodward	Professor of History, Yale University

Public Members

James E. Allen, Jr.	Commissioner of Education, State of New York
William J. Brennan, Jr.	Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court
Robert K. Carr	President, Oberlin College
William Gossett	Attorney; Former Vice President, Ford Motor Co.
William W. Hastie	Judge, United States Court of Appeals, 3rd Circuit, Philadelphia.
Frederick R. Kappel	Chairman, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.
Robert Kennedy	United States Senator, State of New York
Robert Lovett	Attorney, Brown Brothers, Harriman; Chairman Executive Committee, Union Pacific Railroad
Harold R. Medina	Judge, United States Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, New York
Nelson Rockefeller	Governor, State of New York
Marietta Tree	U.S. Representative, Trusteeship Council, United Nations
John Hay Whitney	President and Publisher, New York Herald Tribune

A FUNCTIONAL CHART OF THE: CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN AMERICAN LIBERTIES
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND TEACHERS COLLEGE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

S C H O L A R S S T U D Y C O M M I T T E E S

Participants: Scholars from Columbia University and Teachers College: Associated Scholars from other Universities; Experts from Civic Groups and the Public Sector; Directors of Center Projects (See below).

A. Concept Studies. To re-examine the classic principles of American Liberty, Equality, and Justice in light of the new social, technological, political, and international environment of the 1960's. A national report, in book form, and special monographs will be written.

B. Institutional Studies. To study the impact of concrete school, group, and community behavior in daily conflicts over liberty values, as a crucial factor in the formation of student and public attitudes toward American Liberties.

C. Case Studies. To prepare depth-studies, both historical and contemporary, illustrating liberty conflicts arising within private organizations, in the local communities, and at governmental levels.

A D A P T A T I O N O F T H E S C H O L A R L Y C O N C E P T S A N D C A S E S T U D I E S T O :

Project 1
THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE NATION

Curricular reform in teaching American Liberties in present courses; development of new curriculum for Kindergarten to 12th Grade. Teacher Institutes to disseminate these approaches.

Project 2
COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS

Monographs and case studies in American Liberties, both historical and contemporary, for college and university use.

Project 3
CORPORATION AND UNION EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Courses and materials for corporation executives and employees, and for union staffs and members. Training Institutes for corporate and union course leaders.

Project 4
MASS MEDIA AND EDUCATIONAL TV

Special programs and features on American Liberties for press, radio, and television. Collaboration with university and professional communications specialists.

Project 5
ADULT AND CIVIC GROUP COURSES

Special courses and materials on American Liberties for veteran, religious, and civic groups, and adult education. Training Institutes for course leaders.

Project 6
SPECIAL SITUATIONS

Special materials and teacher training in areas such as civil rights concepts and anti-poverty (special education) efforts.

COPY
MEMORANDUM
March 7, 1965

File
Education
W1

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT

cc: John Stewart
Bill Connell

FROM: Ronald Stinnett

RE: Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- H.R. 2362

Pursuant to our discussion last Saturday, here is a summary of the education bill as introduced, with comments on amendments made in committee.

Major Aspects:

1. A 3-year program of grants to states for allocation to school districts with high percentages of "disadvantaged" children. First year auth. = \$1 billion.
2. A 5-year program for building community-wide supplemental educational centers. \$100 million, 1st yr.
3. A 5-year authorization for improving educational research, \$100 million.
4. A 5-year program of grants to strengthen state departments of education. First year auth. = \$10 million.
5. A 5-year program of grants for the purchase of books and library materials for children in public and private non-profit schools. Books for private schools would have to be the same as those approved for the state's public schools, and no materials purchased with federal funds could be used for sectarian instruction or worship. First yr. auth. = \$100 million.
6. Creation of a National Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children, with 12 members to be appointed by the President. (Amendment adopted in Committee)
7. Pucinski Amendment (adopted in Committee) provided that in determining the federal contribution to counties or school districts children from families that received more than \$2000 a year in welfare payments would be counted. Cost = \$63 million, 1st yr.

DETAILED DIGEST OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT:

Title I -- Financial Assistance to Local Educational Agencies
for the Education of Children of Low-Income Families

Authorizes Commissioner of Education to make payments to State educational agencies for basic and special incentive grants to local agencies from July 1, 1966 to June 30, 1968.

Provides a formula for determining the amount of Federal assistance to a State. The Federal percentage of the average per pupil expenditure multiplied by the number of children in low income families in the State or area in which the grant is to be used -- but not to exceed 30% of that agency's budget for fiscal year ending June 30, 1966.

Establishes a criteria for determining the eligibility of a local educational agency. Requires that there be in the school district served by the agency at least 100 children in low income families or that more than 3% of the total number of children served by the agency come from such families.

Defines "federal percentage" as 50% and "low-income" as \$2000 or less. (Pucinski amendment exception here) Only children from 5 to 17 are to be counted.

Provides for special incentive grants to agencies with amounts to be determined by previous agency expenditures.

Requires the local agency to apply to the State for such grants and provides standards for determining eligibility.

Requires State educational agencies to provide the Commissioner with satisfactory assurance that proper disbursement will be made; that this act will be complied with; and that annual reports will be made to the Commissioner.

Provides standards and methods of payments by the Commissioner to the States.

Requires that laborers and mechanics on construction projects receiving assistance under this act be paid in accordance with the standards set forth in the Davis-Bacon act.

Provides for the withholding of funds by the Commissioner in the event of non-compliance with the requirements above. Permits judicial review of the Commissioner's holdings.

Requires a report from the Commissioner to the Secretary of HEW on the operation of this title.

Title II -- School Library Resources and Instructional Materials

Authorizes \$100 million for fiscal 1966 for purchase of library resources and instructional materials. Sets forth standards for determining allotments to be made to the States under this title.

Requires those States desirous of allotments to submit to the Commissioner plans which: (1) designate an agency to administer the plan; (2) set up a program for expenditure of the funds; (3) set forth criteria for allocating and selecting the materials; (4) set forth procedures to insure that the Federal assistance will not supplant but supplement State funds; (5) provide for proper disbursement and accounting procedures to assure proper disbursement; (6) provide for reports deemed necessary by the Commissioner. Requires the Commissioner to approve any State plan which complies with these provisions.

No State having provisions for library and instructional materials will have their distribution done by the Commissioner, and the cost applied to the State's allotment.

Requires the Commissioner to give a State opportunity for a hearing before finally disapproving a State plan and provides for judicial review of the Commissioner's final action.

COPY

Title III -- Supplementary Educational Centers and Services

Authorizes \$100 million for fiscal 1966, and such sum for 3 succeeding years.

Establishes a formula for apportionment among States. Provides for reapportionment of unused or allotments found to be unnecessary by the Commissioner to other States.

Sets forth the uses to which the Federal funds may be put to include construction or acquisition of equipment to expand elementary and secondary education programs to encourage children to reenter or remain in school, comprehensive academic services, developing and conducting exemplary educational programs, specialized instruction and equipment for students in advanced courses, educational radio and television, and special educational and related services for rural areas.

Sets up requirements for receiving grants and standards for the Commissioner to follow in making grants.

Provides that payments made under this title may be made in installments, in advance, or by way of reimbursement.

Establishes an 8 member Advisory Committee on Supplementary Educational Centers and Services to advise the Commissioner on such matters.

Provides for the recovery of payments made under this title if within 20 years the owner of the facilities assisted by Federal funds ceases to be a State or local agency or the facilities cease to be used for the purposes intended without the Commissioner's assent.

Requires that labor standards at construction sites be in accordance with the Davis-Bacon act.

COPY

Title IV -- Cooperative Research Act -- Educational Research and Training

Authorizes the Commissioner to make grants for research, surveys, and demonstrations in education and to make findings available to interested parties. Sets forth the standards to be used for issuance of a grant. Provides for transfer of funds to other agencies engaged in such work.

Requires the Commissioner to submit annual progress reports on such research to Congress.

Authorizes \$100 million for use over a 5-year period for the construction of regional facilities for research and related purposes. Sets up standards to be used by the Commissioner in using such funds. Requires that Davis-Bacon act apply here.

Title V -- Grants to Strengthen State Departments of Education.

Authorizes \$10 million for such purpose for 1966 and such funds for the succeeding 4 fiscal years as may be necessary.

Sets forth a formula for apportionment of 85% of such appropriated funds among the States and reserves 15% for grants for special projects.

Grants are to be made upon approval by the Commissioner of a state application which must set forth the use to be made of such funds. The application is required to show that the grant will be used for such purposes as: (1) educational planning on a Statewide basis; (2) collection, analysis, and dissemination of educational data; (3) programs fostering or aiding educational research programs and projects; (4) publication and distribution of curricular materials; (5) improvement of teacher preparation; (6) education financing; (7) pupil achievement tests; (8) training of educational personnel; (9) providing consultative and technical assistance and related service to local educational agencies and schools.

Restricts the amount of Federal participation in such programs to not more than 66% and not less than 50% of the total amount to be expended on such programs.

Sets forth the standards which the Commissioner must use in approving a State application for grants authorized under this title.

Provides for the interchange of personnel between the States and the Office of Education. Sets forth standards for the treatment of exchange employees as to their status within the Office and the treatment to be given such employees in regard to such matters as pay, leave, retirement, and insurance.

Requires the Commissioner to give reasonable time for a hearing before finally disapproving a State plan and provides for judicial review of the Commissioner's decision regarding approval or disapproval of a State plan.

Authorizes the establishment of a 12 member Advisory Council on State Departments of Education to review the administration of grants made under this title and to make recommendations for improvement of such administration.

Authorizes the Secretary to engage technical and non-technical assistance for the Council and requires the Council to report on its findings and recommendations to the Secretary who will in turn transmit such report to the President and Congress.

Title VI -- General Provisions

Authorizes the Commissioner to appoint, with the approval of the Secretary, advisory committees to advise and consult with him. Authorizes the Commissioner to delegate authority to employees of the Office and to utilize the facilities of other Federal agencies. Prohibits any manner of Federal control education.

COPY

COPY

April 8, 1965

Memo for John S.
From the Vice President

I want you to make a complete tabulation on all federal aid to education dollars, such as AEC, NFS, Defense, Office of Education. All aids - research, scholarships, etc.

Wini

Have we found this
yet? Let me know.

J

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON



*File Education
Speech doc*
FEB 1965

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I am delighted to send you an analysis of the \$8 billion of Federal assistance to education.

Enclosed are a summary table, a detailed table, and illustrated charts on Federal funds for education in fiscal years 1965 and 1966, following the outline you suggested in your memorandum of January 14.

Attachment I to the detailed table estimates the funds for international education. These amounts were not included in the tables and charts because they were not a part of the original \$8 billion figure used at the White House press conference on the education program.

The President's Budget under the heading of Education shows for education programs in 1966 about \$4 billion. The figure covers primarily the Office of Education, the National Science Foundation and the Smithsonian Institution. This Budget classification does not include programs such as medical research and training, antipoverty, school lunches, Federal inservice training, and the like.

Please let me know if we can be of further help.

Kind regards.

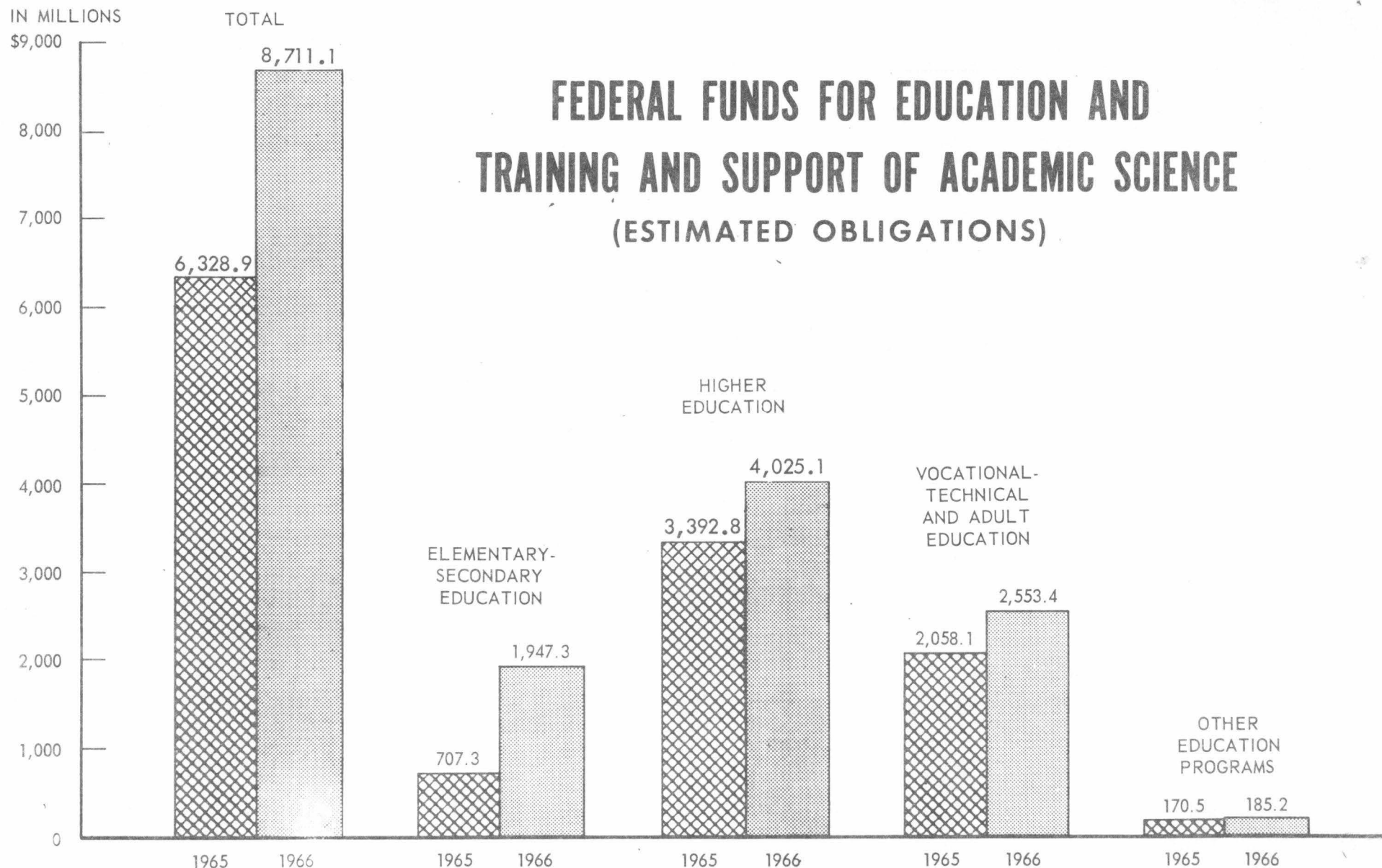
Sincerely,

(Sgd.) Francis Keppel
Francis Keppel

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Enclosures

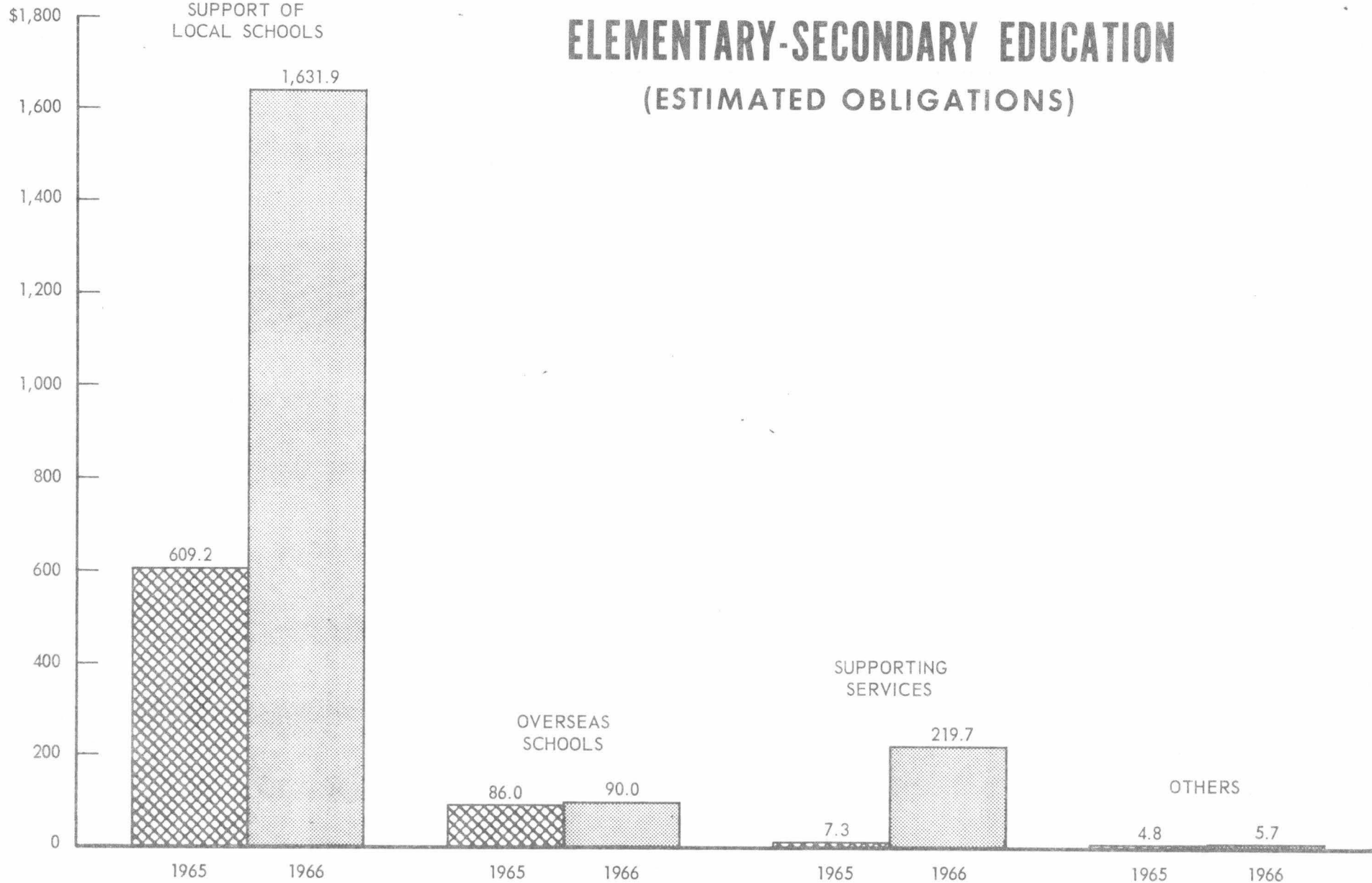
FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND SUPPORT OF ACADEMIC SCIENCE (ESTIMATED OBLIGATIONS)



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY EDUCATION (ESTIMATED OBLIGATIONS)

IN MILLIONS

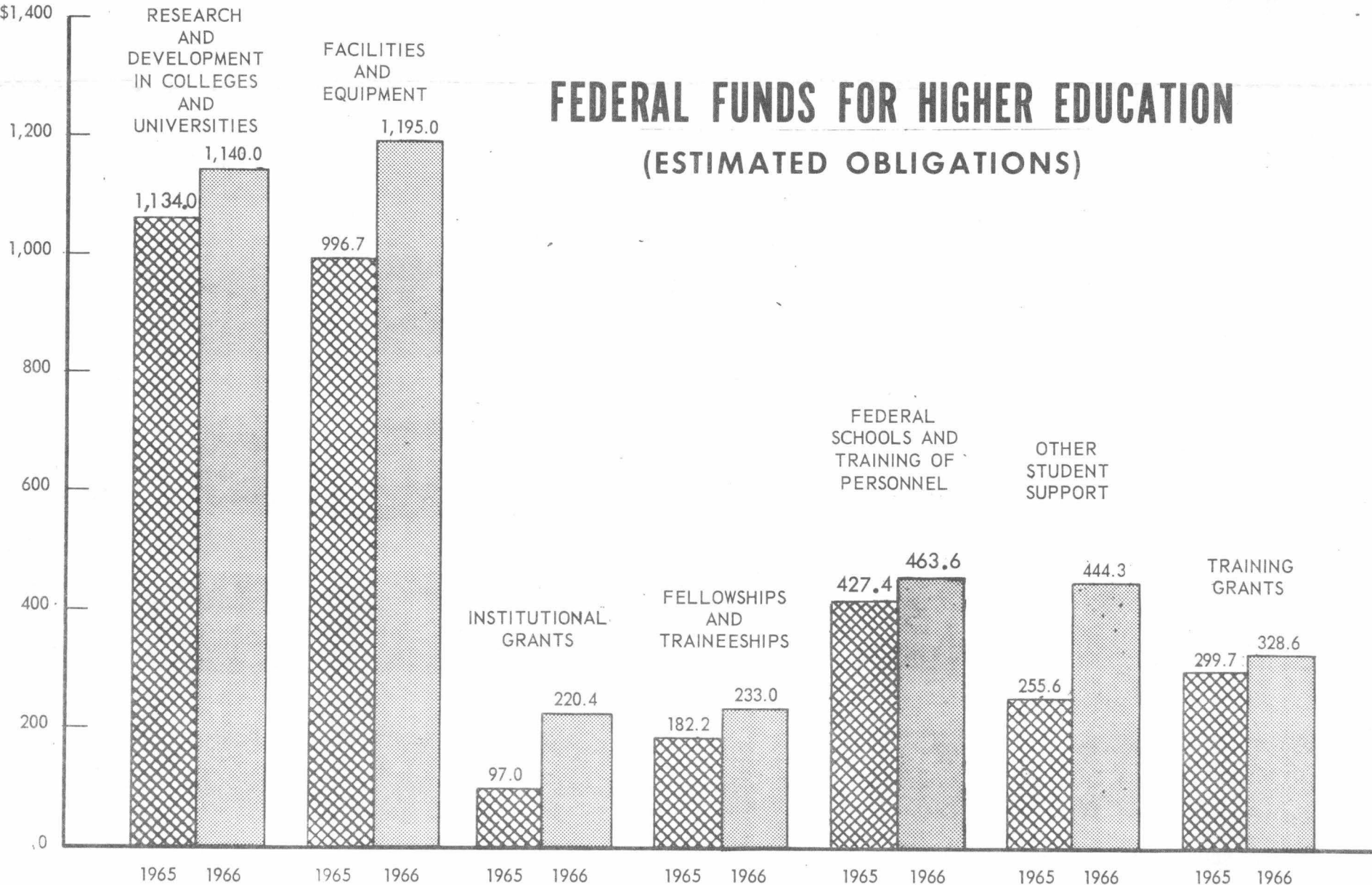


U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(ESTIMATED OBLIGATIONS)

IN MILLIONS
\$1,400



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

VOCATIONAL-
TECHNICAL

IN MILLIONS

\$2,500

2,000

1,500

1,000

500

0

1965

1966

2,404.6

1,949.6

BASIC ADULT
EDUCATION

19.0

33.0

1965

1966

GENERAL ADULT
EDUCATION

89.5

115.7

1965

1966

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL AND ADULT EDUCATION (ESTIMATED OBLIGATIONS)

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR OTHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

(ESTIMATED OBLIGATIONS)

IN MILLIONS

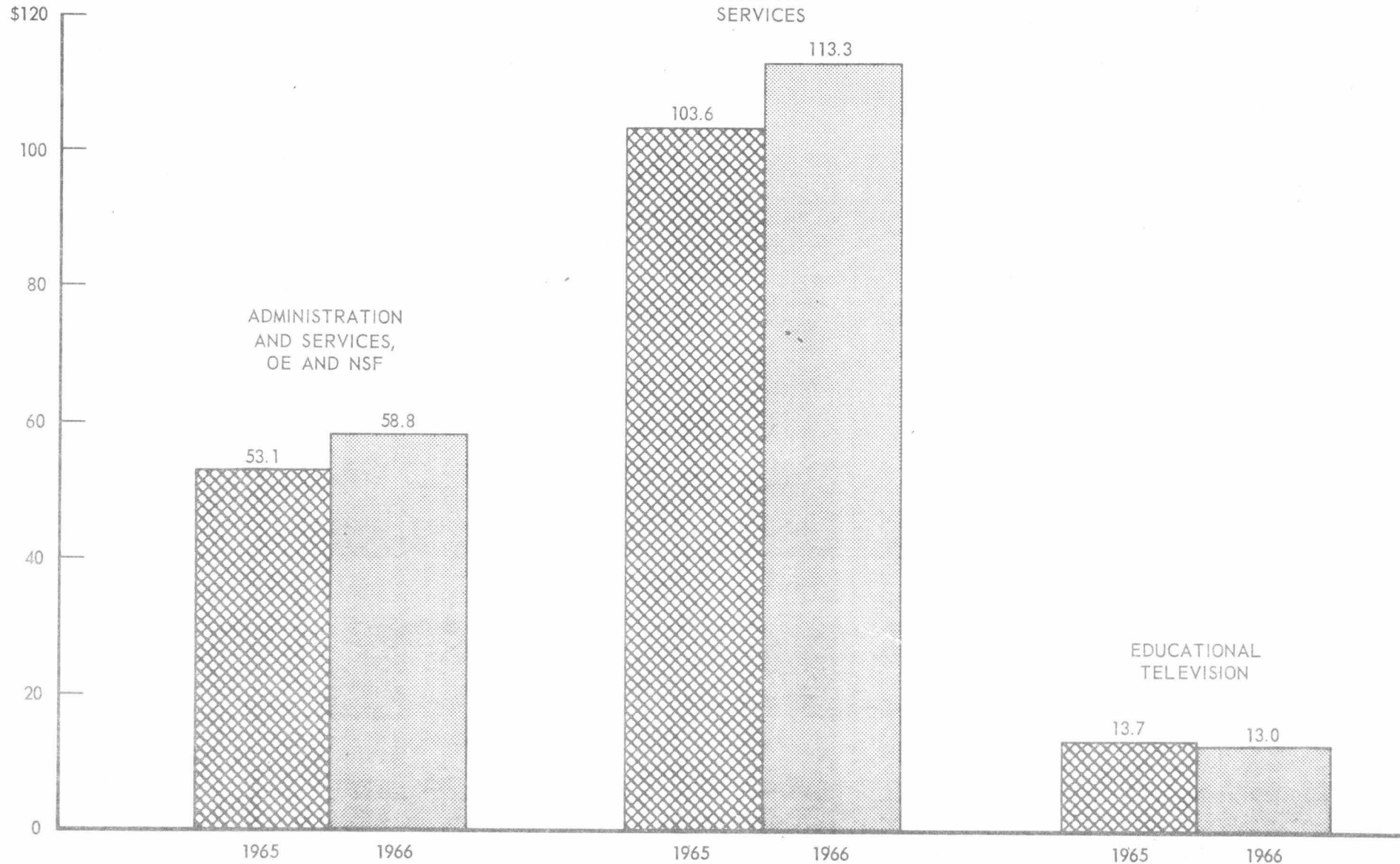


Chart 1. *Office of Education*
PROGRAM APPROPRIATIONS

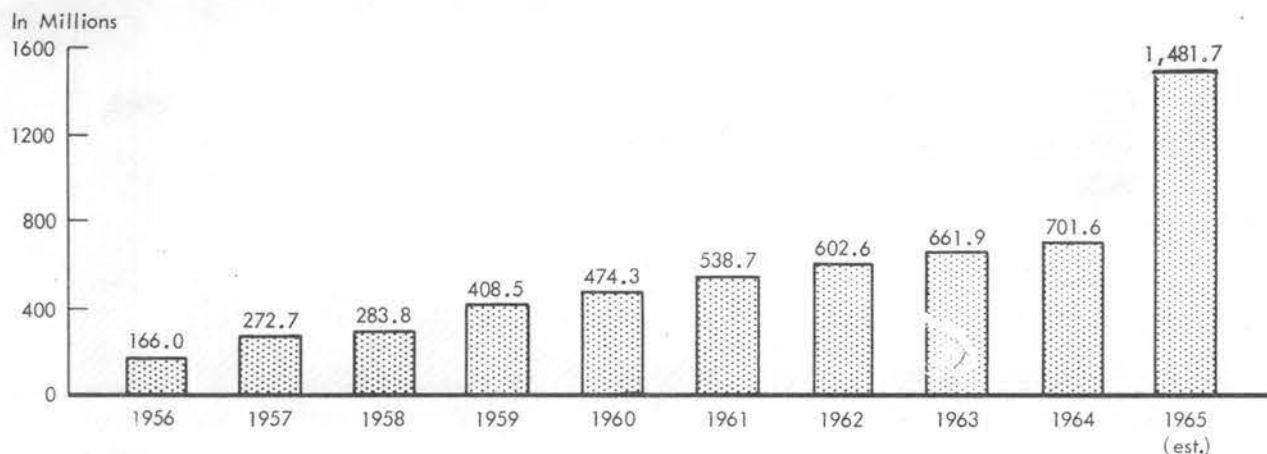


Chart 2. *Office of Education*
SALARIES AND EXPENSES

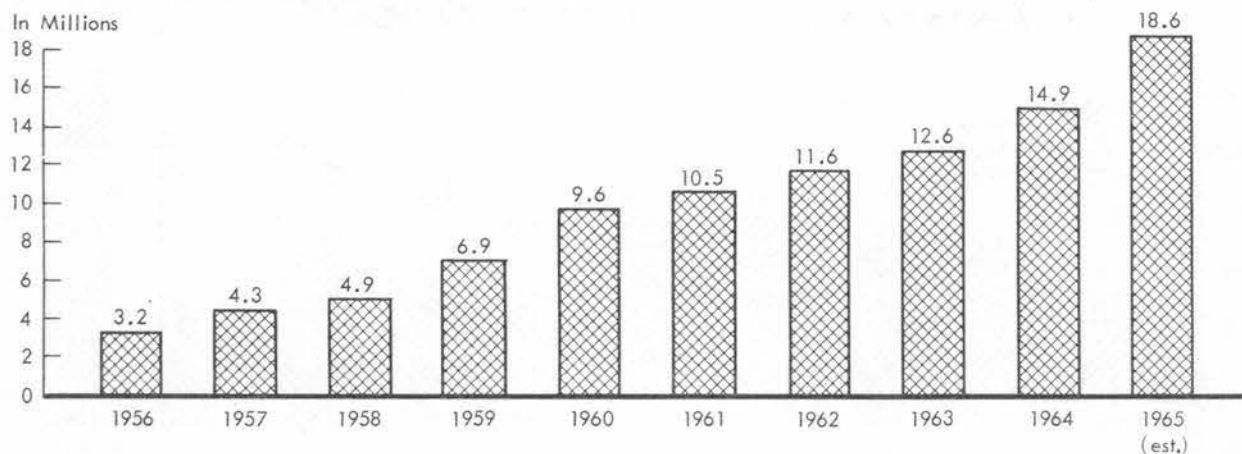
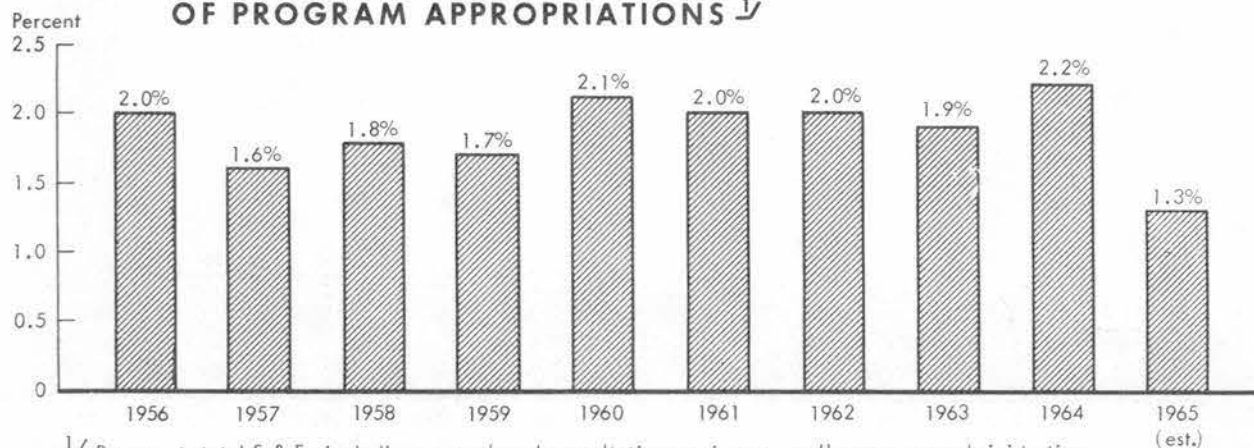


Chart 3. *Office of Education*
**SALARIES AND EXPENSES BY PERCENTAGE
OF PROGRAM APPROPRIATIONS ^{1/}**



^{1/} Represents total S & E, including research and consultative services, as well as program administration.

Chart 4. *Office of Education*
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO HIGHER EDUCATION

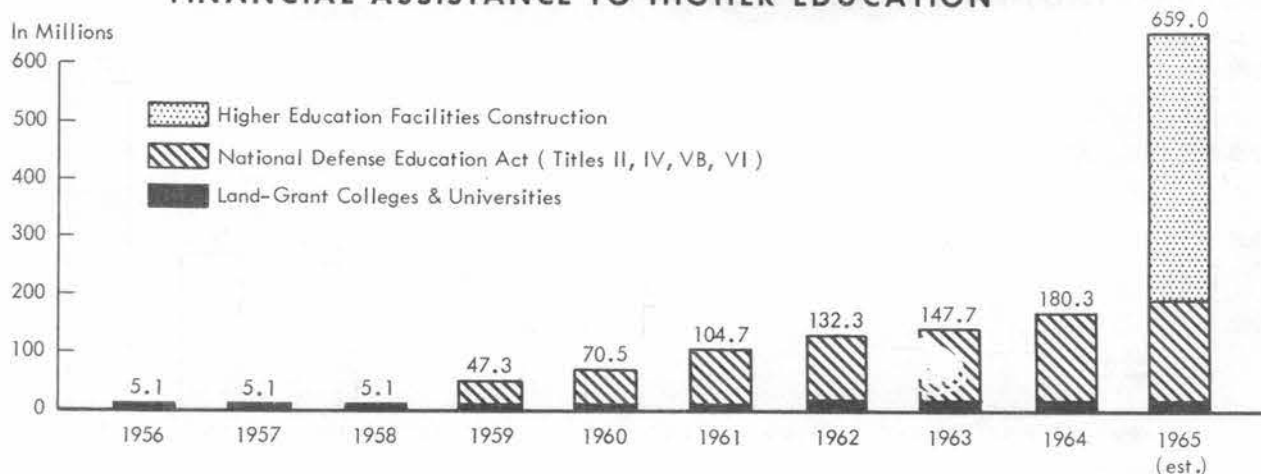


Chart 5. *Office of Education*
**FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION***

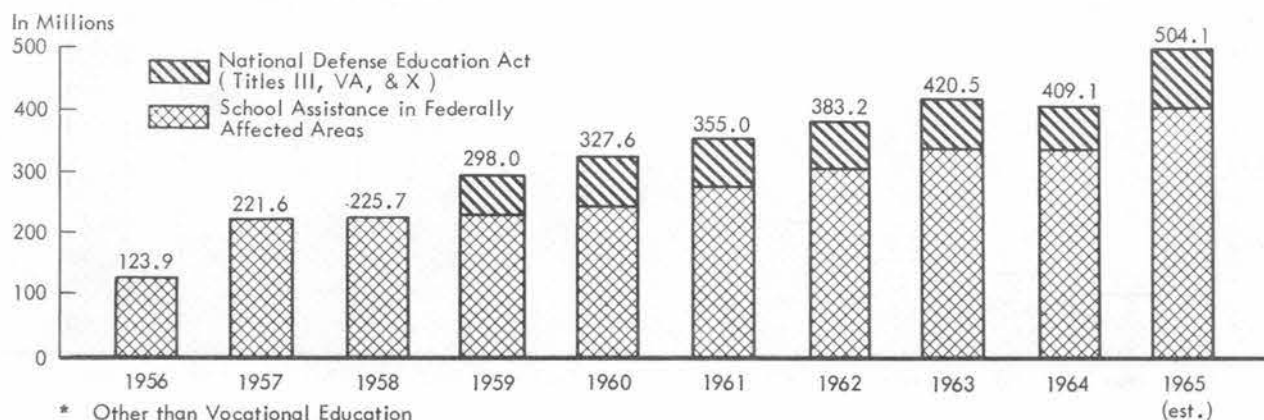


Chart 6. *Office of Education*
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION*

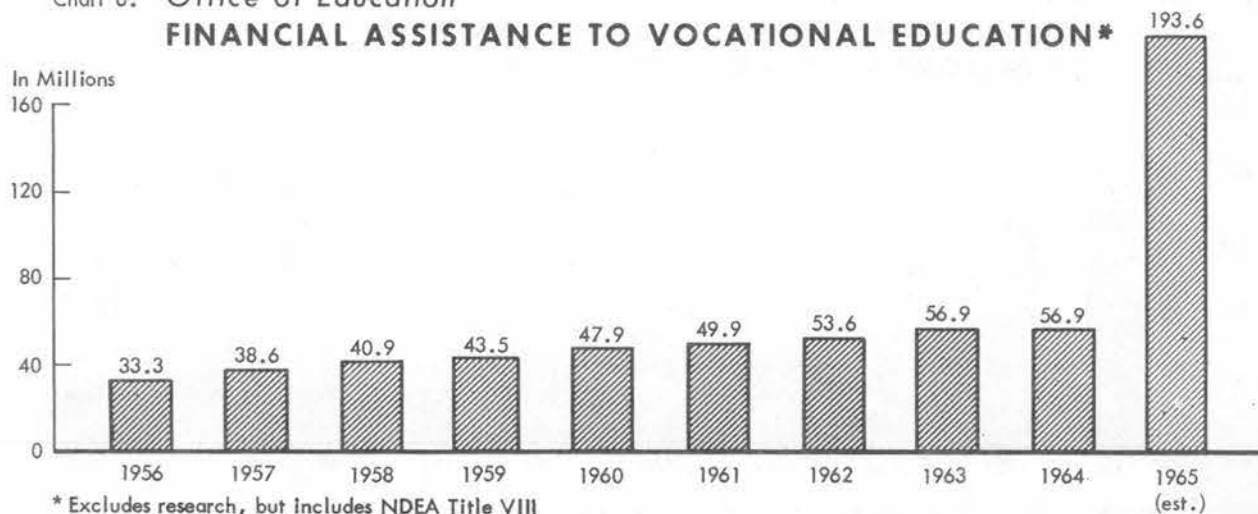


Chart 7. *Office of Education*
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

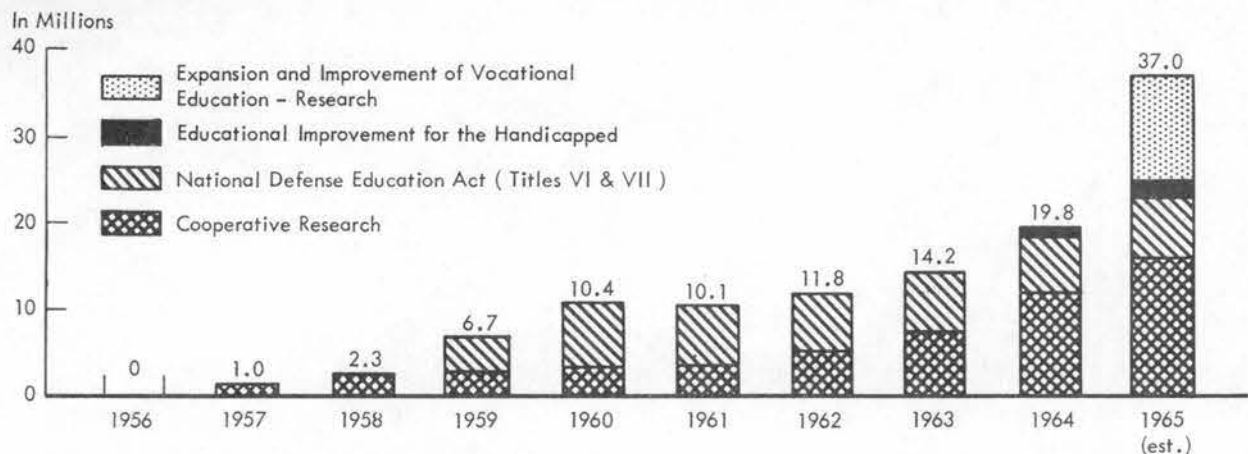


Chart 8. *Office of Education*
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO EDUCATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

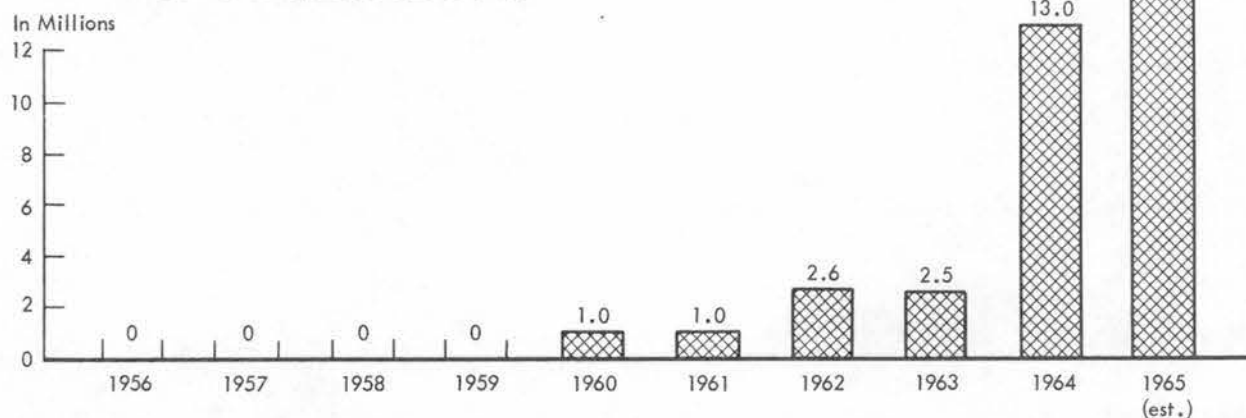
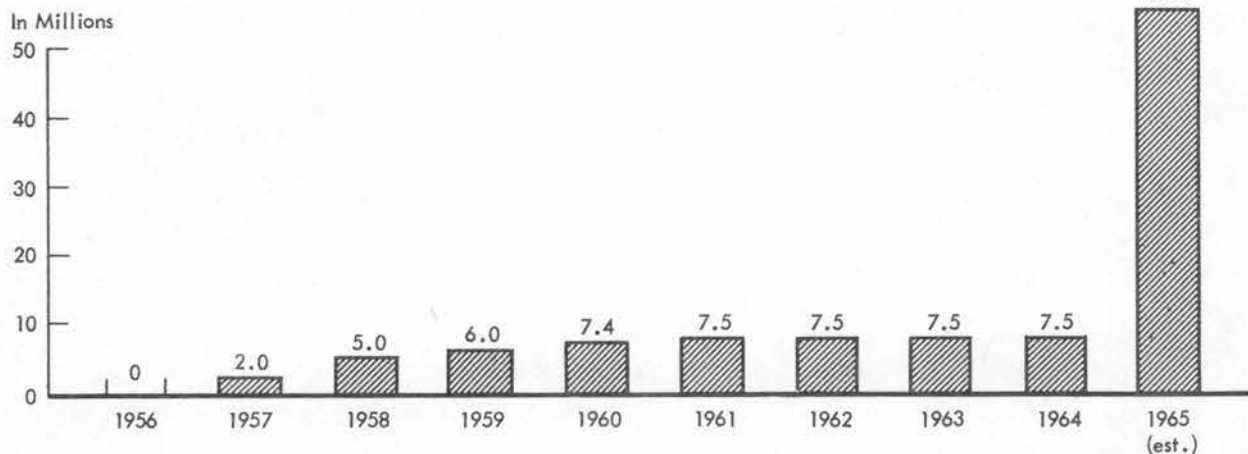


Chart 9. *Office of Education*
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LIBRARY SERVICES



OFFICE OF
THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

August 4, 1965

Miss Wini Scheffler:

The letter and enclosures were mailed
to Dr. Wesley today. Our apologies
for the misdirection.

Beth Bradley
Correspondence Unit

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1965

Mrs. Bernie,

Here is the letter I mentioned
to you on the phone. No enclosures
were attached.

Wini Scheffler
(180-2424)



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

JUL 30 1965

File -
Wf-Ed.

Dr. Charles H. Wesley
President
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio 45384



Dear Dr. Wesley:

The Vice President has asked us to reply to your inquiry about funding assistance for the activities of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Although the Office of Education does not have funds for the general support of association activities, it is possible that part of your Association's work--such as curriculum development and perhaps specific investigation of effects of attitudes upon education and learning--might fall within areas eligible for support through participation in programs of our Bureau of Research. Guidelines for these programs are currently being revised to reflect program expansion, but the enclosed descriptions of areas and types of research and development will help you determine whether your organization would itself be engaged in research and development activities or would limit its function to the encouragement of such activities by others. In any case, our Bureau of Research will be glad to send more detailed information in response to requests from those whose educational research efforts may fit into our programs.

We are also enclosing a description of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which has many items of interest to your organization. Besides expanding the Cooperative Research Program, the Act offers numerous other avenues for educational improvement through local and State planning and administration.

Sincerely,

Francis Keppel

Francis Keppel
U.S. Commissioner of Education

Enclosures

OB 2105-2

BOB Clearance Number 51-R267.4

Clearance Expires 2/28/66

THE CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

**COOPERATIVE RESEARCH BRANCH
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION**

CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

A project in this program may deal with a curriculum, a course, a subject, or any aspect of these in any content area at one or more grades or levels of education from pre-school through higher and adult education. Projects in this program may take varied approaches but commonly fit one or more of the following patterns:

1. Committee and conference studies designed to identify educational problems and opportunities in a given field and to formulate guidelines for the evolution of modern instructional programs.
2. Planning and coordination projects designed to develop general guidelines for course or curriculum improvement to correlate independent developmental projects, and to facilitate wide dissemination of the results of such efforts.
3. Projects designed to prepare curriculum or course materials through promising approaches to the selection, organization, and effective presentation of conventional or new subject matter.
4. Projects to develop new or imaginatively adapted instructional materials such as films and television presentations, apparatus for student use, and lecture and laboratory demonstration equipment
5. Comprehensive projects to develop complete courses or a curriculum, including all types of related learning and teaching aids. The initiative for such comprehensive projects should arise from a conviction on the part of a group of responsible scholars and educators of high professional stature that a major educational problem exists in a content area or in a group of disciplines or subjects.

Past or current support for studies in a particular content area does not necessarily preclude support for other meritorious projects in the same field. Alternate studies may be desirable to explore differing valid approaches and to provide a choice of courses and materials applicable to varying situations.

Review Procedures. All curriculum Improvement proposals are sent to field readers for review. These reviews, accompanied by all of the proposals, are sent to an outside panel of scholars and educators who discuss the proposals and make recommendations to the Research Advisory Council. The Council then makes recommendations to the Commissioner of Education concerning the action to be taken on each proposal. Upon final approval of a proposed project,

a contract is negotiated with the institution from which the proposal was submitted.

Postmark Deadlines. September 1, December 1, and March 1.

Length of Proposal. A proposal should be sufficiently complete to provide all the information necessary for a sound evaluation. Generally, proposals are from 10 to 20 single-spaced, typewritten pages of standard letter-size paper.

Number of Copies. Twenty (20) copies of the proposal are required. Proposals should not have covers or special bindings.

Mailing Address. CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM
COOPERATIVE RESEARCH BRANCH
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

PROPOSAL FORMAT

The format for the cover page is as follows

CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT PROPOSAL

Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
Under the Provisions of Public Law 531

Project Title : (Be concise and descriptive; specify the area to be developed, the grade level(s) and the specific skills involved. Avoid obscure, technical terms.)

Submitted by : (Name of institution or agency and address)

Initiated by : (Full name and position of the individual who will direct the project. Include the telephone area code, number, and extension.)

Transmitted by : (Full name and position of the official approving the transmittal of the application. He must have the authority to commit the institution or agency to the proposed project.)

Date transmitted :

Note: One copy of the proposal should be signed by both the initiator and the transmittor. This eliminates the need for letters of transmittal and endorsement.

In preparing the remainder of the application, the initiator should use the following format, identifying each section with the number and underlined word(s) given below.

1. Abstract. Beginning at the top of the second page, provide a one-page summary describing the (a) objectives and (b) procedures of the study. On the top of this page give the name of the principal investigator, the submitting institution, the total Federal funds requested, and the duration of the project.
2. Rationale. Give the rationale for the project, including a statement on how it is expected to strengthen education in the particular content area and at the specific grade level(s) with which the proposal is concerned.
3. General Objectives of the Project. Indicate the objectives of the curriculum improvement in relation to the grade levels and areas to be covered.
4. Procedures. Indicate the procedures for carrying out the project including a resume of any work already accomplished in the area by the project personnel or others. Novel features of the proposed work should be pointed out. Supplementary information including items such as samples of materials previously developed, pertinent excerpts from related proposals, and progress reports may be included as appendices.
5. Full Description of Materials. Give a complete description of the materials to be developed, including the educational level for which they are intended.
6. Provisions. Indicate the provisions which have been made for: (a) any classroom trial and revision of the materials, (b) any evaluation of the materials or methods developed, and (c) dissemination of information concerning the materials produced in connection with the project to teachers, educational institutions, and other interested individuals and organizations.
7. Materials Distribution. Give the general plan for publication, production, utilization, and distribution of reports, books, manuals, films, apparatus, and other materials developed in the course of the project.
8. Personnel. Give the date of birth, training and qualifications of people who will fill the principal roles on the project. This information should summarize for each person pertinent experience and publications and indicate the extent of responsibilities within the project and in other current professional capacities. If consultants are listed, indicate whether they have tentatively agreed to serve on the project.

9. Facilities. Describe the special facilities your institution or agency has that will be of value in carrying out the project. When other school populations and/or facilities are to be involved in the project, indicate what facilities are available there and whether there has been an assurance of cooperation. (See also item 12F)

10. Other Information. Make a brief statement concerning each of the following items. The information given here will in no way jeopardize approval of the project.

A. The amount of support available for this project from sources other than the transmitting institution.

B. Whether this proposal has been submitted to any other agency or organization.

C. Whether this is a proposed extension of, or addition to, a project previously or currently supported by the Office of Education.

C. Whether this or a similar proposal was previously submitted to the Office of Education by the present initiator or his institution.

11. Budget. Start this section on a new page. In a tabular presentation similar to the example on page 6, itemize the estimated cost of the project. Round all amounts to the nearest dollar. In the first column list the items of expenditure, using the categories shown. After each line item, add a brief parenthetical statement which explains how the cost of the item was computed. For example: Secretary ($\frac{1}{2}$ time for 3 months at \$4000 per annum.) In each of the subsequent columns indicate, by fiscal year, the funds requested from the Office of Education and the estimated dollar value of the services to be contributed by the local institution or agency. (A fiscal year extends from July 1 to June 30 and bears the year designation of the last 6 months.) In the last two columns indicate the total Federal and total local cost for each line item. At the bottom of each column indicate the Subtotal and the Total for each fiscal year. Fill in the information on the duration of the project in the space provided on the budget sheet. Do not plan to start the project sooner than 5 months following the submission deadline nor later than 1 year following approval.

12. Attachments. If any of the following items apply to the proposal being submitted, provide the information requested in each instance. Each attachment should appear as a separate item on separate pages.

A. Instruments. Any applicant who plans to use an unpublished instrument (e.g. a questionnaire or interview guide) in his study should include a copy; if an instrument is not yet developed or only partially completed, sample items should be submitted.

B. Revisions. If this application is being resubmitted to the Program, append a statement describing the major revisions which have been made. This does not apply to those applications which have been submitted previously in draft form for informal review.

C. Status Report of Current Projects. If any of the key personnel of the proposed project have current projects with the Cooperative Research Program, indicate the status of this project. Include in this statement of the amount of time which the investigator is devoting to the current project. If the proposed study is an extension of the current project or proposes work in the same area, specify the most pertinent results available from this project.

D. Completed Projects. If any of the key personnel of the proposed project have completed Cooperative Research projects, give the title and project number. It is not necessary to attach reports of these projects; however, if any of the findings are particularly important to the current application, they may be summarized briefly in an appended statement.

E. Foreign Travel. If this project involves travel outside of the United States, please give the following information: (a) a brief statement of the purpose for the trip, (b) the cities to be visited and the approximate date and duration of the visit, (c) the project staff members who will be making the visit and their (1) date and place of birth, (2) institutional affiliation, and (3) nationality. All foreign travel will have to receive clearance by the Department of State which will take from six to eight weeks. Clearance must be received prior to the signing of the contract by the Office of Education. Foreign travel should be on American carriers as far as is possible.

F. Cooperating Institutions. If major involvement of an institution or agency other than the one submitting the proposal is required, attach a copy of a letter from them indicating their willingness to cooperate on the project.

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROPOSAL
BUDGET WORKSHEET

INVESTIGATOR: _____
INSTITUTION : _____

DURATION: _____ YRS. _____ MOS.
BEGINNING DATE: _____ ENDING DATE: _____

CATEGORY	FISCAL YEAR MONTHS		FISCAL YEAR MONTHS		FISCAL YEAR MONTHS		ALL YEARS TOTAL	
	FEDERAL	LOCAL	FEDERAL	LOCAL	FEDERAL	LOCAL	FEDERAL	LOCAL
<u>Personnel</u> (List all position titles such as director, research assistant, secretary, consultants, State percent of time on project and per annum salary of each person. Fringe benefits paid by employer, such as social security, retirement, and hospitalization, may be included if they are normally treated as direct, and not indirect costs.)								
<u>Supplies and Materials</u> (Generally capital equipment may not be purchased with Federal funds. However, this does not apply to necessary experiment or research equipment. List items needed such as research material, office supplies, telephone service, postage, etc.)								
<u>Services Statistical.</u> Duplicating (Include 200 copies of final report.)								
<u>Other</u> (List and justify essential travel and other items not covered above.)								
SUBTOTAL								
<u>Overhead*</u> (Federal funds for these costs may not exceed 20% of the total Federal cost shown as the SUBTOTAL above. If the local rate would give a greater amount, the difference between it and the Federal contribution may be shown as an institution contribution.)	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
TOTAL	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$

Note: (Salaries, service charges, travel costs, etc. conform to the standard rates of the institution. Give basis on which overhead is computed at the institution.)

OE 2105-4

BOB Clearance #51-R267.3

Approval Expires 6/30/65

SMALL CONTRACT PROGRAM

(Reprinted from Application Instructions for
Research Contracts: Cooperative
Research Program, OE 12017)

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH BRANCH

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

SMALL CONTRACT PROGRAM

The Small Contract Program is designed to provide support for small-scale research or development with a minimum of delay for proposal review. The following are a few examples of the wide range of activities that may be supported by this program:

1. Experimental research, surveys, demonstrations, and curriculum studies.
2. Pilot or exploratory studies designed to obtain a clear indication of the feasibility and potential value of a more extensive research or development effort on the same or similar problems.
3. Analysis of existing data or materials to which access has been assured.

Special Conditions.

1. The funds requested may not exceed \$7500.
2. The research or development must either be conducted or sponsored by a staff member of a college, university, or State education agency. A project which is to be conducted by an undergraduate or graduate student must be sponsored by a faculty member who will assume the responsibility for seeing the project to completion according to the terms of the contract.
3. The funds requested may not be used primarily for (a) preparing or publishing a book, or (b) conducting meetings, conferences, and seminars.

Review Procedures. All small contract proposals are evaluated by field readers competent in the subject matter and techniques embodied in the proposal. A review of the recommendations of these readers is made by the Research Advisory Council, and final recommendations are submitted to the Commissioner of Education. When a project has been approved by the Commissioner, a contract is negotiated with the institution which submitted the proposal.

Deadlines. There are no deadlines for submitting small contract proposals; they may be submitted at any time. Ordinarily an applicant will be notified within two months after he submits a proposal as to whether or not it has been approved.

Length of Proposal. A proposal should be complete enough to communicate all the information necessary for sound evaluation. The usual length is from six to eight single-spaced pages.

Number of Copies. Six copies of the proposal are required, each typed or otherwise reproduced on one side of letter-size, white paper.

Mailing Address.

SMALL CONTRACT PROGRAM
COOPERATIVE RESEARCH BRANCH
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202.

Proposal Format

The cover page of the proposal must contain only the following information in the order indicated:

SMALL CONTRACT PROPOSAL

Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
Under the Provisions of Public Law 531

- Project Title : (Be concise, descriptive, and as specific as possible. Avoid obscure, technical terms.)
- Submitted by : (Name of institution or State agency and address)
- Initiated by : (Full name, position or student status, and signature of the individual who will direct the project. Include the telephone area code, number, and extension.)
- Sponsored by : (Full name, position, and signature of the faculty member who will sponsor the project if the initiator is a student. Include the telephone area code, number, and extension. Omit this item if the initiator is a faculty member.)
- Transmitted by : (Full name, position, and signature of the official approving the transmittal of the application. He must have the authority to commit the institution or agency to the proposed project.)

Date Transmitted:

In preparing the remainder of the application, the initiator should use the following format, identifying each section with the number and underlined word(s) given below.

1. Abstract. On a single, separate page present a summary of the proposal using two headings: (a) Objectives and (b) Procedures. Place the abstract immediately after the cover page.
2. Problem. Give a brief statement of the problem, explaining its significance to education.

3. Related Literature. Summarize the most pertinent related literature, and describe the rationale which serves as a basis for the proposed research or development projects.

4. Objectives. State the objectives to be achieved, the hypotheses to be tested, or the specific questions to be answered.

5. Procedures. Describe the procedures in detail, listing the steps to be followed. When appropriate, provide specific information about each of the following:

(a) General Design -- Describe the general design of the study and indicate why this design appears particularly appropriate for achieving the stated objectives. In experimental research, for example, the independent and dependent variables should be stated with the rationale for their selection.

(b) Population and Sample -- Describe the group of subjects from which the sample will be drawn and indicate why the sample is to be drawn from this group. Explain the sampling method, and the number and characteristics of the subjects to be chosen. Indicate how experimental and control groups will be equated.

(c) Data and Instrumentation -- Indicate the data to be gathered and the collection methods to be used.

(d) Analysis -- Indicate the specific methods of analysis to be used in achieving the objectives, answering the questions, or testing the hypotheses. (When several hypotheses are to be tested or several questions are to be answered, it is usually helpful to specify the analysis in relation to each hypothesis or question.)

(e) Time Schedule -- Indicate in chronological order the approximate length of time required for each major aspect of the study.

6. Personnel. Give the name, title or student status, and a brief statement of the pertinent experience and unique qualifications of key personnel. Indicate the individuals who have tentatively agreed to serve on the project.

7. Facilities. Indicate any special facilities and similar advantages available to your institution or agency which will aid in the conduct of the project. When the cooperation of other schools or agencies is essential to the conduct of the study, indicate the extent to which such cooperation has been assured.

8. Other Information. Make a brief statement concerning each of the following items. The information given here will in no way jeopardize approval of the project.

(a) The amount of support available for this project from sources other than the transmitting institution.

(b) Whether this proposal has been submitted to any other agency or organization.

(c) Whether this is a proposed extension of, or addition to, a previous or current project supported by the Office of Education or any other group or agency.

(d) Whether this or a similar proposal was previously submitted to the Office of Education.

9. Budget. (Start this section on a new page.)

In a tabular presentation similar to the illustration shown on page 26, give the estimated cost of the project. Round all amounts to the nearest dollar. In the first column list the items of expenditure, using the categories shown. After each line item, add a brief parenthetical statement which explains how the cost of the item was computed. For example: Secretary ($\frac{1}{2}$ time for 3 months at \$380 per month). In the second column list the funds requested from the Office of Education for each line item. Fill in the information regarding the duration of the project in the space provided on the budget page. Do not plan to start the project sooner than 3 months following the proposal submission, nor 1 year following approval.

10. Attachments. Where any of the following items apply to the proposal being submitted, provide the information requested in each instance. Each attachment is to appear as a separate item on a separate page(s).

- a. Instruments. Any applicant who plans to use an unpublished instrument (e.g. a questionnaire or interview guide) in his study should include a copy; if an instrument is not as yet developed or only partially completed, a page of sample items should be submitted.
- b. Revisions. If an application is being resubmitted to the Program, a statement should be appended describing the major revisions which have been made. This does not apply to those applications which have been submitted previously in draft form for informal review.
- c. Status Report of Current Projects. If an applicant (or any of the key personnel of the proposed project) has a current project with the Program, the status of this project should be indicated. Included in this should be a statement of the amount of time that the person(s) is (are) devoting to the current project. If the proposed study is an extension of the current project or proposes work in the same area, specify the most pertinent results available from the previous project.
- d. Completed Projects. If any of the key personnel of the proposed project have completed a Cooperative Research project, give the title and Cooperative Research serial number of the completed project. It is not necessary to attach reports of projects previously completed. If any of the findings are particularly important to the current application, they may be summarized briefly in an appended statement.

EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

Educational Significance

The information to be obtained, or the technique, method, or instrument to be developed would have potential value to educational research or practice.

Research Plan

1. The problem, background, objective(s), and procedures are clearly stated with an appropriate amount of detail.
2. The problem and objective(s) are appropriately delimited.
3. The objective(s) and procedures are technically sound.
4. The relationship between the problem, objective(s), and procedures is clear.
5. The related literature section reflects sufficient familiarity with the previous research in this problem area.

Personnel and Facilities

1. The principal investigator(s) is (are) competent to carry out the research.
2. The facilities available to the investigator(s) are adequate for carrying out the research.

Economic Efficiency

The relationship between the anticipated outcome and the cost of the project is highly favorable.

BUDGET

Investigator: _____
Institution : _____

Duration: _____ yrs. _____ mos.
Beginning Date: _____ Ending Date.

Category	Federal Funds Requested
<u>Personnel</u> (List all position titles, such as director, research assistant, secretary, consultants. State percent of time on project and per annum salary of each person.)	\$ _____
<u>Supplies and Materials</u> (No capital equipment may be purchased with Federal funds.) Research materials (Itemize) Office Supplies (Include paper, telephone, postage, etc.)	_____ _____ _____
<u>Services</u> Statistical Duplicating (Include 25 mimeographed copies of a final report.)	_____ _____ _____
<u>Other</u> (List essential travel and other items not covered above.)	_____
	SUBTOTAL \$ _____
<u>Overhead</u> (Federal funds for overhead may not exceed 20% of the total Federal cost shown as the SUBTOTAL above.)	_____
Note: Salaries, service charges, travel costs, etc. must conform to the standard rate of the institution.	TOTAL \$ _____



Minnesota Historical Society

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