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Education and Freedom's Future

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January, 1960

Education and Freedom's Future

Part One: The Educational Challenge Of The Sixties

Since World War II American education has been propelled by a combination of massive forces into a new era of growth, change and challenge. The explosions of population and of knowledge—the almost unbelievable breakthroughs of science and technology—the worldwide revolution of human expectations—the menacing contest between democracy and communism—these forces have compounded the educational needs of this nation and every nation. They have required the American people to revise their educational sights sharply upward.

Even in a world at peace it would be priority business for our free society to help every young person develop his full potentialities through education. In a world threatened by the aggressive challenge of the Soviet Union education becomes a means for national survival as well. The world struggle between freedom and communism has become a battle of brainpower. All citizens, and not simply scientists and engineers, are engaged.

Sir David Eccles, President of the British Board of Trade, told an American audience: "The prizes will go to the people with the best system of education—in the sciences and humanities." The shrewd leaders of the Kremlin agree thoroughly with this proposition. They have convinced their own people—and declared to the world—that education is their most potent instrument for promoting communism's goals. Because the Soviet government has come to take education much more seriously than has our own, Soviet education has begun to rival American education in quantity and—in some respects—in quality as well.

The ultimate goals of these two educational systems are radically different. Soviet education is training for the service of the state. American education is designed for development of the individual. Obviously, education is not just a struggle with the Russians; it is a struggle with ignorance and bigotry. Both challenges require us to strengthen American education in order to strengthen the pursuit of democracy's goals. It will not be enough for us merely to help our schools and colleges do more of what they are already doing. They have made great progress in the last half century and many believe that what they are doing today is much better than ever before. But it is not *enough* better to meet the new strenuous demands.

The boys and girls entering school today will be the men and women responsible for their nation in the 21st century. They must be prepared to meet that century's unimaginable tests. A "fairly good" system will not be good enough to prepare them. The *kind and quality* of American education, not merely its *quantity*, must be equal to the challenge.

The demands upon our educational system do not lie somewhere off in the future. They are upon us now. As Walter Lippmann warns, the United States has already developed "an ominous educational gap" and it threatens to grow to disastrous proportions. Closing the gap—and keeping it closed—will require a breakthrough comparable to the breakthrough in the level of our defense effort since Pearl Harbor.

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1. Implications for National Policy

First among the consequences of the new situation is that we Americans in the 48,600 school districts of the United States cannot longer afford to regard education as a matter simply of state and local concern and responsibility. Whether we like it or not, education has become a matter of highest national concern and responsibility, as vital to freedom's future as the national defense program. The educational role of state and local governments, and of private groups engaged in education, must remain strong and paramount. But their efforts must now be supported by increased national effort—effort guided by a clear sense of national purpose.

Such a transition in our thinking is not easy; the world has a habit of changing faster than our attitudes and insights. An experienced Washington reporter has wisely observed that education is the one great issue of national policy which returns to kindergarten every year. Until we free ourselves of emotional rhetoric, clarify our thinking, and disentangle the issues which are genuinely educational from others which are not, we cannot hope to lift American education to the excellence the times demand.

Many states, and thousands of communities, have exerted themselves to expand their support of education over the past ten years. They must now do even more. But

in doing more they are entitled to stronger support from the Federal government.

How can the Federal government best carry out its share of responsibility for the education of American youth? Part II of this report recommends specific actions toward this end, including:

1. Improvements in the organization of the Federal government designed to increase its usefulness in the field of education.
2. Implementation of the National Defense Education Act, including the student loan and fellowship provisions.
3. A program of basic Federal financial support for local public schools, devoid of Federal control.
4. A Federally-supported program of scholarships to help able but needy students to acquire a college education.
5. A Federal loan and grant program to help colleges and universities prepare their physical facilities to handle twice as many students as they do now.

2. The Eisenhower Formula: Strong Words and Weak Deeds

On issues of education the Eisenhower Administration has been characteristically strong on words and weak on deeds. Periodically White House spokesmen have proclaimed the virtues of education and the urgent need for more and better education. Periodically also—when the time for action came—their voices grew soft or silent. They failed to heed even the modest recommendations of their own advisory groups—or to press Republican members of Congress to support even the mild educational proposals of the President.

There has been no shortage of Presidential committees on education, and no shortage of committee recommendations. The White House Conference on Education, the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, and more recently the President's Scientific Advisory Committee have helped alert the nation to the dimensions and urgency of its educational needs. Their reports have helped to stimulate some constructive actions outside of Washington. As for action by the very Administration which sought their advice—these conferences and studies have been earnest exercises in futility. They have served as excuses for postponement and inertia. Seemingly, the Eisenhower Administration has never quite been able to believe its own words.

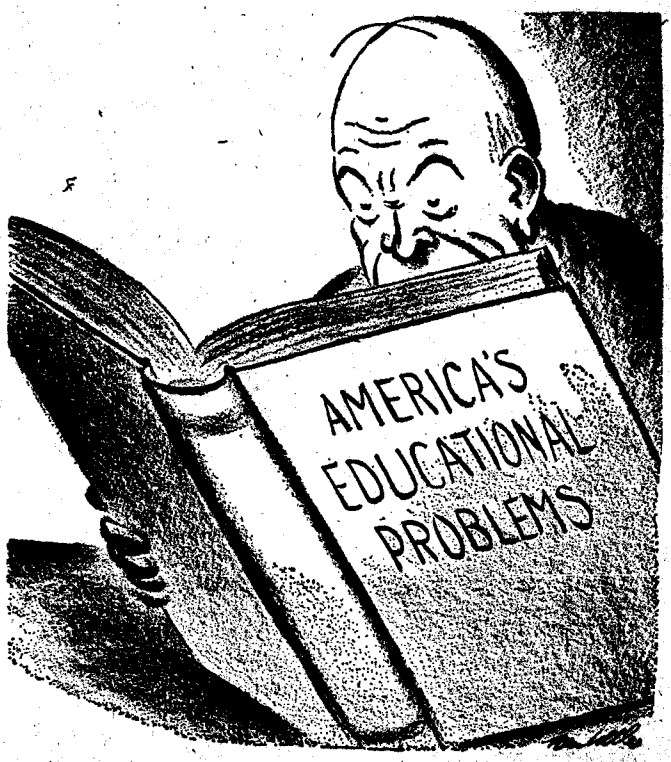
Even before the first Soviet Sputnik brought about a "rediscovery" of the importance of education, President Eisenhower told an assembly of educators: "Our schools are more important than our Nike batteries, more necessary than our radar warning sets, and more powerful even than the energy of the sun." Yet nearly two years *after* the first Sputnik, in August of 1959, a member of his Cabinet warned that he would recommend a Presidential veto if Congress passed a modest compromise school construction bill similar to one the President himself had proposed in 1957.

This earlier bill lost in the House of Representatives by a close vote, 208 to 203. Three of the top four Republican House leaders voted against it, even though it had Presidential endorsement; their "ayes" alone could have made the shortage of schoolrooms today less acute. In that crucial vote, 111 Republicans voted to kill the measure and only 77 voted to save it; 59 per cent of the Republicans opposed the President's bill while 57 per cent of the Democrats supported it!

The President made no real effort to encourage Republican support of the bill during the critical period of debate; the phone from the White House never rang. A few days later at his press conference he expressed disappointment. But later, when he was reminded that a majority of Democrats stood ready to support his earlier request for a school construction measure, he added, "I am getting to the point where I can't be too enthusiastic about something that I think is likely to fasten a sort of an albatross, another one, around the neck of the Federal government."

In the spring of 1959 the Democratic Congress passed a housing bill which, among other things, would have bolstered Federal capital loans to colleges and universities to help them to expand their physical facilities. The President vetoed the bill.

As a nation, we must make up our minds whether Federal support of education is a necessity or an albatross—whether it is vital to our life as a nation or only a threat to a balanced budget. Eloquent speeches will not build classrooms. Pious rhetoric will not staff them with able and decently paid teachers. Earnest utterances about the national need for young talent are not a substitute for adequate scholarships and fellowships. Until all of us in the United States, in both political parties and in every community, stand ready to match our words with deeds the ominous educational gap will grow steadily wider.



The Nashville Tennessean

'My, My!'

3. Dimensions of Our Educational Needs

The need for more and better education in the United States isn't a new story. For many generations the people of the United States have responded to the need by investing heavily in educational expansion. What is new is the pace at which the need grows.

The number of boys and girls attending elementary and secondary schools, public and private, grew from less than 17 million in 1900 to over 43 million today. College enrollment in the same period rose 15-fold, from 238,000 to nearly 3,800,000. Today more than 80 per cent of the young people of high school age are actually attending high school, compared with 11 per cent in 1900, 51 per cent after 1930 and 70 per cent 10 years ago. College and university enrollments are now equivalent to 38 per cent of all the 18-to-21-year-olds in the nation, against 4 per cent in 1900 and 12 per cent in 1930.

Most observers—but not all—agree that, despite deficiencies, there has also been a growth of quality and variety in education. Taken as a whole, the educational qualifications of teachers have arisen steadily; the curriculum is broader; educational materials have improved; physical facilities and equipment are decidedly better; and most students are learning more.

An unparalleled investment in education in the past 60 years has proved highly profitable for the United States, whether it is reckoned in benefits to individuals or in benefits to national economic growth, cultural enrichment and military security. Yet these bench marks of past progress are modest measured against what must now be accomplished in a much shorter time.

The high level of births since 1944—twice as many babies were born here in 1956 as in 1936—has overcrowded the elementary schools. It will force enrollments still higher in the next few years. High school enrollments will rise more than 50 per cent in the next 10 years; and by 1970, college enrollments are expected to reach 6 or 7 million compared to 3.8 million in 1959. The time is within view when the majority of all young people in the U. S. will continue their formal education beyond high school.

4. The Need for Classrooms

Good facilities can contribute greatly to good education. American schools and colleges entered the post-war period with a serious physical handicap. The low level of construction during the depressed thirties and during the war had given them a big backlog of building needs at the very time they faced rising enrollments. As a result—despite the greatly increased level of educational building since the war—millions of youngsters have had to spend their days in crowded and often dangerously obsolete classrooms. The widespread inspection of public schools prompted by the tragic parochial school fire in Chicago last year confirmed that many of these old buildings are physically hazardous.

We have had to "run fast to stand still" in our school building needs. From 1949 to 1958 a total of 500,000 new classrooms were built—an accomplishment to the credit of local communities and state governments. Yet at the end of that period, according to the Office of Education, there remained a shortage of 140,000 classrooms. Other experts believe this figure is too low by at least half. In August 1959 the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare stated that, conservatively, ". . . the number of pupils whose education is being impaired in varying degrees by the classroom shortage is about 10 million."

The physical needs of higher education are no less great. Despite a high level of construction in the last 10 years, particularly in tax-supported colleges and universities, a large proportion of existing collegiate structures are obsolete and overcrowded. The new buildings needed by higher education in the next 10 years are equivalent to all of the college structures built in the previous 200 years.

The total construction needs of the schools and colleges combined have been conservatively estimated at $4 billion a year for the next 10 years, or $40 billion. This is a large but an entirely manageable requirement for a nation as economically strong as the United States—provided we decide that it is important to meet it.

5. The Need for Teachers

A far more formidable task than housing tomorrow's students will be providing them with good teachers.

About 1,500,000 new teachers must be recruited over the next 10 years if the present ratio of teachers to pupils in the public schools is to be maintained. This exceeds the total number now in service. It would require about one-third of all the four-year college graduates expected in the same 10 years. Considerably fewer new college graduates than this can be expected to enter teaching—even under improved conditions. Further, if present trends prevail a substantial proportion of new teachers may be drawn not from the ablest category but from the bottom half of the ability spectrum of college students. Unless standards for teaching are raised—and unless teaching becomes more attractive to young people of high ability—we may wind up with the tragic reality of poorer rather than better education.

There is no mystery about the shortage of good teachers. The "small generation" of the Thirties has had to supply teachers for the "large generation" of the Forties and Fifties. But an even more important factor is the increased market demand for able and well-educated people for all kinds of non-teaching functions in our society. Despite recent substantial increases in teacher salaries, the schools and colleges suffer a competitive disadvantage against other bidders for top-quality manpower whose purses are stouter.

It should never be forgotten that our educational system is both a consumer and a producer of manpower. The human talents of one generation are required to develop the human talents of the next. If schools and colleges are deprived of their fair share of society's able manpower society will pay a heavy price later on; the effect is cumulative. The United States is today storing up serious trouble for itself. When—as an example—industry takes the lion's share of today's new crop of able young scientists and engineers it cuts down the nation's capacity to produce an equally good crop later.

The central issue of teacher-supply for the next 10 years is not whether *enough* people will enter teaching,

It is whether enough *qualified* people will choose teaching against other careers. If we act as if the problem is merely one of numbers our schools and colleges will become mediocrity mills at a moment of history when the pursuit of excellence is imperative.

Obviously the first requirement for improving the supply of good teachers is to improve their compensation. This will help attract them and hold them. Simultaneously the prestige of teaching must be lifted to a high level. Along with higher salaries and prestige must come a large-scale strengthening of the teacher-preparation programs of the colleges and universities.

These approaches will strengthen the supply of able teachers. The problem must be attacked also from the demand side. The number of teachers required is determined not only by the number of students but by the method of teaching. Many of our conventional practices in education are demonstrably obsolete and inefficient. They waste the abilities of teachers and the time of students. It is educationally wasteful, for example, when a good teacher is obliged—as most are—to spend time on clerical, housekeeping, and other duties which could be handled satisfactorily by a less highly trained assistant.

The good teacher should be permitted to concentrate upon those things which only a good teacher can do. A redeployment of teaching staffs on this basis would make teaching more challenging, more productive and better paid. And by making it possible for able teachers to be more productive we shall need relatively fewer of them to improve the quality of education.

Also promising is the more extensive classroom use of modern means of communication such as motion pictures, television, and sound tapes. Through these instruments it is now possible to give unlimited numbers of students access to the finest teachers and scholars and to provide rich learning experiences—such as scientific demonstrations, re-creations of great historic events, acquaintance with distant lands and peoples—which would be impossible in the ordinary classroom. Along with the imaginative application of these newer educational tools there is need for still more effective use of books and other printed materials from which students can dig out their own educations and make their own contacts with excellence.

6. Financial Requirements

The combined expenditures of schools, colleges and universities in the United States in 1958-59 for current operations and new buildings was nearly $20 billion. It is conservatively estimated that these expenditures, measured in today's prices, must be raised to between $35 and $40 billion by 1970, or nearly doubled. This is a *conservative* estimate; several estimates are higher.

Such an increase seems large. But it is small by comparison with expected increases in America's Gross National Product between now and 1970, as projected for Fortune magazine, the Rockfeller Panel and others. (Indeed, a superior educational system can by virtue of its excellence increase the Gross National Product.)

Total educational expenditures in 1958 were equivalent to roughly 4.5 per cent of the Gross National Product. If national output continues to grow at no better than the average annual rate since World War II educational expenditures of $35 to $40 billion in 1970 would still not exceed 5 per cent of GNP. The Democratic Advisory Council insists that the United States need not and must not longer tolerate the reduction in growth-rate which has characterized the period of the Eisenhower Administration. This reduction has brought the post-war average well below where it should be. The Council will issue a separate policy statement on this question.

Measured against any reasonable or likely growth-rate the real problem of education finance is not whether the U. S. can afford good education. It can. Though members of the Democratic Advisory Council would be willing to see Federals tax rates increased if this were necessary to meet the educational challenge we do not believe this is necessary. The real problem is whether we can agree on what good education is, and on a set of fiscal measures for channeling an adequate share of national income into the support of education.

7. Disentangling the Issues

Over the years issues of public policy toward education have become entangled with other important issues in ways which have confused and frustrated constructive action. The most notable example is the issue of racial segregation for which the schools unhappily have become battleground.

Unequal treatment of races is a profoundly important and deep-rooted problem which affects all aspects of community living. It is not simply or even primarily a problem of the schools. Encouraging progress is being made toward its resolution. Because better education can contribute greatly to this end we should redouble our efforts to strengthen the schools rather than use segregation as an excuse for postponing action.

Federal funds obviously should never be used to impede this progress. Most certainly Federal support for education should never be allowed to slow the carrying out of the 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on segregation. Neither must we condone actions such as those by a group of House Republicans opposed to Federal support for education who in 1956 supported an anti-segregation amendment to the school-construction bill with the ultimate purpose of defeating the bill.

Part Two: Federal Responsibilities in Education

Does the United States as such have a national stake in education? If so, what should be done about it? Past utterances and debates on these two questions have reflected confusion, inconsistency and detachment from reality.

The critical reality today is that, at minimum, the national interest can be deeply injured by the inadequacies of our educational system wherever these inadequacies occur. A soldier who cannot communicate and compute is a positive menace. During World War II and since, poor education in some states has meant the failure of a high proportion of young men in Selective Service examinations. This reduces the nation's total supply of manpower for military service. It also imposes disproportionate draft

demands upon states where education is better. These facts are ignored by those who, on grounds of equity, oppose the use of Federal taxes collected in high income states to strengthen educational opportunities in low income states.

The vast migratory streams from rural to urban areas and from one region to another mean that a high proportion of tomorrow's adult citizens in almost every community will have been educated in some other community and some other state. Each year 35 million people—20 per cent of all Americans—change their addresses. No state of the union, rich or poor, can escape the heavy costs of poor education in any other state—or fail to share the benefits of good education.

The importance of good education, universally available, has been an article of faith for Americans for more than a century. When the Soviets borrowed this American idea of universal education they took only that half of it which holds that education is a powerful instrument for building national strength. The more important other half is profoundly subversive to their ideology; it holds that education is the principal means by which every individual in a free society achieves his inalienable right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Since in our nation the Federal government is both the ultimate guarantor of individual rights and the primary instrument for promoting and protecting the national welfare it can no longer be questioned—if ever it could be—that education deeply affects the national interest. Where there is a national interest there is a Federal duty. In the case of education that duty requires the Federal government to do what others cannot or will not do to insure that every American youngster is given a reasonable opportunity to develop his potentials through education and to insure further that our national educational effort keeps pace with our national needs.

The Washington Post & Times Herald

"What I Really Want Is a Few Jars of Instant Science"

Federal duty in this respect should not be confused with Federal authority. The silence of the Constitution has been taken to mean that authority over education rests with the states, and it has indeed so rested. But the framers of the Constitution never intended to imply by this silence that the Federal government had no interest or duty concerning education. Their writings and recorded discussions show that education was very much on their minds and that they considered making specific reference to it in the Constitution. But they also had very much on their minds the problem of keeping separate the powers of church and state. Since nearly all education at the time was under the sponsorship or control of church groups the assignment of constitutional authority for education to any level of government, Federal or state, would have raised perplexing issues. All things considered, it seemed best to them that the Constitution should remain silent about education. This has put the question up afresh to each new generation.

When these considerations are taken into account it seems clear that the emphasis in recent educational debates upon "states rights," "local autonomy," and the dangers of "Federal intervention" has served more to confuse than to clarify the issues. But the question of where ultimate control over the content of education shall rest remains vitally important. Many persons of differing political persuasion have expressed deep and honest concern about the dangers of Federal control. We insist that the recognition of a national interest, and the exercise of a Federal duty, are not at all the same thing as the declaration of supreme Federal authority over the content of education. Nor is it valid to assume that an increase in the Federal government's role in education necessarily reduces the role of state and local government. It has been demonstrated again and again with respect to highways, hospitals, unemployment compensation, public welfare and other important public activities that initiative by the Federal government has stimulated state and local governments to exercise their own responsibilities more adequately. Senate testimony on the Murray-Metcalf bill demonstrated that in nearly a decade of experience with Public Laws 815 and 874, which provide support for schools in Federally impacted areas, Federal control need not be a consequence of Federal support.

There is no fixed quantum of responsibility and activity to be divided, like pieces of a pie, between the Federal and state governments. The combined responsibilities of governments at all levels, and of private groups as well, expands as the complexity and needs of society expand. This is clearly the case with education.

Some who have opposed Federal support of the public schools in the name of avoiding "Federal control" in reality oppose it mainly because they are unwilling to pay a price for better education. They proclaim their devotion to the cause of better education but insist that state and local governments can and should achieve it. Yet often the same individuals and groups are later found in the lobbies of state capitols and town halls vigorously opposing larger education budgets—this time because they threaten to increase some state tax or the local property tax.

Part Three: Recommendations

1. Improving Federal Organization

The Federal government is poorly organized in the realm of education—even to carry out efficiently its educational responsibilities already enacted into law.

Nowhere in the Executive Branch, not even in the Office of Education or the Bureau of the Budget, can one obtain a simple check list of the educational programs now being conducted under legislation adopted piecemeal by Congress over the last hundred years. A study by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress shows that the Federal government is presently engaged in more than 300 "educational programs," most of them administered by departments and agencies other than the Office of Education.

There is scarcely a semblance of coordination among these programs. Most are designed to meet some specific need such as training of particular types of personnel or the conduct of specialized research. Federally-supported fellowships, research grants and officer-training programs, have a marked impact, for better or for worse, upon the schools, the colleges and the universities. Yet no one is in a position to assess their net impact, or to judge whether the same purposes could be accomplished more effectively or at less cost.

For example: Through a variety of fellowships and research grants administered by a variety of Federal agencies, each with its own particular objectives in mind, the Federal government is supplying a surprisingly high proportion of the total revenues of some of the higher institutions, including private universities. These programs are having an enormous influence upon the shape and direction of the universities. But what kind of shape? And in what directions? What is their impact on other needed fields of teaching and research, and on the supply of teachers? No one in the Federal government knows, and no one is responsible for knowing.

Congress is no better informed. The various pieces of legislation authorizing these programs have emerged from various Congressional committees, most of them concerned primarily with matters other than education, such as defense, atomic energy, agriculture, health, labor and foreign affairs. No committee has an overview.

Here is a danger that has not been mentioned in the debates. There has been little complaint of deliberate Federal interference in education despite the substantial and growing Federal role in education ever since President Lincoln signed the first Land Grant College Act. The real danger is that through a piecemeal approach the Federal government is producing unintended distortions in the national pattern of education while at the same time it fails to provide education the help it really needs.

The experience developed in the past dozen years under the Employment Act of 1946 provides suggestions for a remedy. The Employment Act, after declaring that the Federal government has a basic interest and responsibility concerning the nation's economy, established certain goals and procedures to enable the Federal government to function more intelligently and efficiently. No new powers were given anyone. The President was provided with a Council of Economic Advisors to help him maintain a continuing review of basic economic trends and of the effect of various Federal economic policies. On the basis of this review the President was required to submit an Economic Report to Congress annually. A Joint Committee on the Economic Report was established in Congress to provide a forum for competent discussion of the President's Report and of major economic problems and policies.

The New York Herald Tribune

Is Every One Comfortable Back in the Trailer?

These arrangements have helped notably to keep the President, the Federal agencies, Congress, business and labor, and the nation as a whole better informed about the state of the economy, about its strengths and weaknesses, its trends and needs. Public debate about economic policy has been better informed. The formulation of both public and private economic decisions and programs has improved.

A similar set of procedures for education could do enormous good. It need not involve the grant of any new Federal powers. It would keep the White House, the Administration, the Congress, state and local governments and the nation better informed about educational policies and problems including those in adult education.

Annual Presidential reports on education could provide a surer basis than any that now exist for detecting strengths and weaknesses, spotting important country-wide new trends, and identifying serious gaps or deficiencies. Considering that one-quarter of the population of the United States is enrolled in our schools and colleges, and that economically the educational system constitutes one of

our largest enterprises, our factual knowledge about the system is astonishingly inadequate for purposes of planning and decision-making, regardless of where final authority rests. Relative to the need, we have much more adequate information about Dutch elm disease, wheat crops, fish runs, bank balances, horse racing, baseball and hogs.

The first obligation of the Federal government is to furnish to the nation adequate and up-to-date facts about the broad spectrum of our educational system and to put its own house in order with respect to Federal educational programs already in existence. Passage of an Education Act of 1960 which would require the President to submit to Congress an Annual Report on Education, prepared with the assistance of a small Council of Educational Advisors, on which hearings would be conducted by a Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Education Report, would go far toward meeting this obligation.

2. The National Defense Education Act

The National Defense Education Act passed by Congress in August, 1958 is the most significant action by the Federal government in education since the first Land Grant College acts in the 1860's. The Act does not provide for *general* support of education. But its 10 separate titles mount specific attacks on a series of critical problems. Through fellowships, grants and loans, the Act seeks, for example, to improve instruction in foreign languages, science and mathematics; to strengthen guidance and counselling in the public schools; to assist needy college students with loans; to expand the supply of college teachers in all fields; and to encourage broader application to instruction of films, television, and other audio-visual aids.

Most educators welcomed this new legislation because it was addressed to problems they know are vital. The funds made available for carrying out the purposes of the Act were small measured against the dimensions of the problems being attacked. Moreover, the Office of Education, in its attempts to recruit outstanding people to develop and administer these new programs, was severely handicapped by lack of funds and authorization.

It is probably too early to say from experience what changes are needed. But one amendment should be made immediately. The Act requires that any student who borrows money from his college under the loan provisions of the Act shall take an oath that he does not belong to a subversive organization. However well intended, this oath is an affront to the college youth of the nation. It not only singles them out as a special class under suspicion; it is doubly unfair because it furnishes no guide as to whether any particular organization is subversive within the meaning of the law. No such oath is required of farmers, businessmen, home owners or other groups who receive Federal loans, payments, or financial guarantees. And it is obviously ineffectual. Actual subversives would not hesitate to sign any oath and every student intelligent enough to be in college knows this full well. Requirements of this sort imposed by the Federal government upon young people are more likely to foster disrespect for government than to foster good citizenship. An attempt in 1959 by Senators Kennedy and Clark to eliminate the affidavit provision was killed by the Republican Senators, who with few exceptions voted for its retention.

The National Defense Education Act should be supported by appropriations to the full amount authorized by Congress, and the Act itself should be reexamined to determine if its authorization limits are adequate; the Office of Education should be authorized and given funds to employ topflight people to administer the new programs under the Act; and the requirement of an anti-subversive oath in connection with student loans should be dropped as being ineffective and undesirable.

3. Federal Support for Public Schools

Today we rely nearly exclusively on state and local tax revenues to finance the public schools. Forty per cent of all state and local tax revenues goes to finance education. This reliance has brought our hopes and plans for strengthening the schools face to face with a series of roadblocks. Here are some of them:

1. A high proportion of school costs are borne by real estate and other taxes which fall most heavily on lower income families and which—unlike the progressive income tax—are relatively unresponsive to increases in the national income. An even heavier tax load on real estate is not the answer. Future increases in school costs must be financed largely from increases in the national income. The present pattern of tax support for education is, to put it mildly, unpromising and unsatisfactory.

2. The over-all fiscal postion of state and local governments has become increasingly strained because of growing demands for many types of public services. The increase in state and local debt since the war has been much larger than the increase in the Federal debt. Since 1946 the

MAULDIN
The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"What Is Done in Our Classrooms Today Will Be Reflected in the Successes or Failures of Civilization Tomorrow."
—Lindley C. Baxter

indebtedness of the states has increased 500% and that of local governments by 200% while the Federal debt rose by 10%. A pattern of resistance to school-construction bonds has been developing, for example in votes in November of 1959 in New York, Pittsburgh and other centers.

3. Education is at a disadvantage relative to many other public services. If local taxpayers feel that their *total* tax bill is too high they exert greatest restraint upon increases in local taxes and expenditures. And since a major proportion of local taxes goes for education the public schools tend to be the first and the main victim of taxpayer frustration and resistance.

4. At the state level education is also at a disadvantage. One factor is the policy of the Federal government to grant to the states matching funds for expenditures on highways, hospitals, and welfare programs. There are no such matching funds for education, and state governments are naturally tempted to spend their limited dollars where they can find matching money. Another factor limiting state expenditures for education is fear that new or higher taxes will result in loss of industry to other states.

Dr. James Conant sees the choice as one between "massive" Federal support by the schools and "drastic" revision of state and local tax systems. His second alternative is so unlikely as to be unreal.

The Democratic Advisory Council believes that the moment has at length come when the Federal government must provide some significant share of the cost of education. Although it is involved in a miscellany of educational projects the Federal government today pays less than 4 per cent of the nation's school bill. The main financial responsibility—and certainly the control of the curriculum—must remain with state and local governments. But the Federal government must now share the burden. This is not a question of "sacrifice." It is a proposal for investing public funds in the nation's future.

The simplest, most efficient, most equitable and safest way for the Federal government to support public education is by annual grants to the states, on a per pupil basis, with no strings attached except that such funds should be used for public elementary and secondary education, what is "public" to be defined by the states. State and local governments would be free to use these funds to meet their highest priority school needs. In some cases it might be new construction. In other cases it might be teachers' salaries, stronger guidance programs or better educational materials.

Safeguards such as matching funds should perhaps be established to insure that Federal funds are not used as a substitute for educational expenditures already being made by state and local governments. This is not likely to be a serious danger so long as states and localities continue to provide the preponderant share of school costs and so long as these costs continue to rise.

The case for Federal support of public education, on grounds of national interest and of the superior fiscal powers of the Federal government, is compelling in every state. There is a further case for additional Federal support to those states whose internal means to finance adequate educational opportunity are strikingly below the national average. These states by and large are devoting a proportionately greater financial effort to education than the highest income states. The fact that our wealthiest states have three times the per capita income of our poorest states should not be permitted to impose an inferior education upon the boys and girls who happen to live in the poorer states. Therefore a program of Federal support should aim also toward the equalization of educational opportunity for all young Americans.

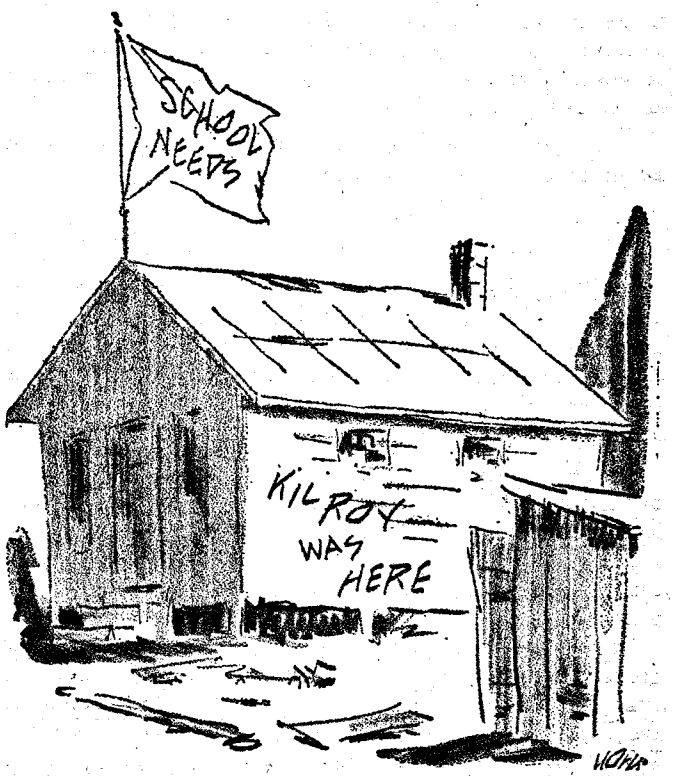
A Federal support program should be started at a modest level. After procedures are worked out and experience has been gained the level of support should be stepped up over a period of years. The schedule should if possible be predetermined so that state and local governments can plan their own budgets and taxes accordingly.

It is recommended that a basic Federal support program be established whereby each state would receive $25 a year in the first period for each resident child of school age; $50 a year in the second period; $75 a year in the third period, and $100 a year in the fourth period and each year thereafter. Supplemental support should be provided to those states in which per capita income is significantly below the national average. All such funds would be distributed by the state governments for the support of public eduction in a manner to be determined by each state.

4. Federal-State Cooperative Scholarships

Each year tens of thousands of able and deserving young people are prevented from going to college—or from attending the college or university best suited to their abilities—because they cannot afford it. They are thus deprived of educational opportunity. And the nation is thus deprived of educated manpower.

The loan program under the National Defense Education Act allows many to borrow for a college education. Senator Lyndon Johnson has introduced a bill to make $100 million of Federal guarantees available for student



The Louisville Times

—But Ike Wasn't

loans. State governments and colleges are providing increased resources for college loans.

These programs help democratize college education. By stretching the financing over many years they can enroll many who otherwise would not attend. They help make higher education competitive with other goods and services available through credit financing. The average American family is indebted more than $3,000 for housing, automobiles and other durable goods. The average student is in debt less than $30. Rather than the $100 million per year currently available for student loans we should have $500-$1000 million.

Several state governments recently have taken steps to assist able and needy young people by establishing competitive scholarship programs at state expense. These scholarships can be used at either private or public institutions, thus giving the student maximum choice and spreading increased enrollments over a large number of institutions.

There is considerable merit in administration of scholarship programs by states, as against a nationwide Federally-administered program, particularly if a scholarship winner is free to choose a college in any state. And it is reasonable that the Federal government should assist the state governments in financing such scholarship programs because of the national benefits and obligations involved.

It is recommended, therefore, that a Federal-State Cooperative Scholarship Program be established to provide for the award of 25,000 scholarships a year in the first period rising to 100,000 a year by the fourth period, to students of outstanding ability selected by an appropriate agency or commission in each state, with half the costs borne by the Federal government and the other half by the state. These scholarships would cover a period of up to four years if the recipient maintained a satisfactory academic record; they could be used in any approved institution of the student's choice in the United States and where desirable in a foreign country; the amount would be adjusted to the individual's financial needs, but would not exceed $1,000 per year.

Our goal is that no qualified boy or girl be denied an education for purely financial reasons.

5. Expansion of Colleges and Universities

Within the next 10 years the colleges and universities of the United States will be called upon to accommodate about twice as many students as now. If they are to achieve this objective, maintain and improve their quality at the same time, they will require help from every available source, public and private.

The expansion plans of many colleges and universities are being blocked by lack of capital funds to finance new facilities and improve old ones. The College Housing Program of the Federal government, under which institutions can borrow to build "self-financing" buildings—mainly dormitories and dining halls—has been helpful to many colleges and universities. President Eisenhower in his budget message last year proposed phasing out this program. Far from being killed, the program needs to be expanded, as the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School urged. Since the most important buildings on a college campus are those designed primarily for teaching and learning, the College Housing Act should be amended to permit loans for academic structures such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories and faculty offices, at the present low-interest formula. These are the structures most needed by the scores of community colleges that have been created in recent decades.

A broadening of the Federal loan program for college construction will be helpful but not enough. In the years ahead colleges and universities will need to put all of the resources they can into faculties, books, and other essentials to quality instruction. Too heavy a commitment of future income to paying off capital loans will jeopardize quality.

These considerations led the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School to recommend, nearly two years ago, that the Federal government establish a matching grant program for college and university construction comparable to the Hill-Burton hospital grants program which has worked so well.

To help the colleges and universities secure the physical facilities and equipment to handle greatly expanded enrollments the College Housing Loan Program should be expanded to include all types of college structures needed for housing or instructing students, and a new program should be established under which matching grants would be made to colleges and universities for improving existing structures and building new ones. Consideration should also be given to providing Federal insurance of capital loans to colleges and universities by private lenders, comparable to FHA mortgage loan insurance.

These five recommendations are designed to strengthen the system of formal education. It is also important and urgent to strengthen the nation's opportunities for adult education, and for civic education. These become more necessary as the pace of social change grows ever swifter. Intelligent use for these purposes of the great new medium of television—misuse of which was so dramatically revealed in 1958—is one of the nation's great undeveloped resources.

The total cost of the five recommendations affecting formal education is substantial—as indeed it should be. In its first stage this program would require perhaps $1 billion a year in Federal support; in its fourth stage $3 to $4 billions. But these costs are small in comparison with the financial commitments of the Federal government for highways, defense and many other public purposes. They are small especially in comparison with the enormous growth of our national economy and with the contribution that better education will make to national growth.

No one can question that dollar cost is important. But far more important to the health and survival of our free society is the fullest possible development of every individual. This is the goal toward which we as a nation have aimed from the very beginning. It is this goal that gave our nation birth. It is this for which our fathers and sons fought and died through generations. And this is the goal which distinguishes democracy from tyranny.

Whatever progress we may make in new weapons and new ways to deliver them, education remains our ultimate weapon in the unending battle against human misery and strife, in the quest for realization of mankind's ageless dream of peace and progress. There is no greater claim upon statesmen—no greater claim upon every citizen—than the improvement of educational opportunity. Here, ultimately, we must place our trust.

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