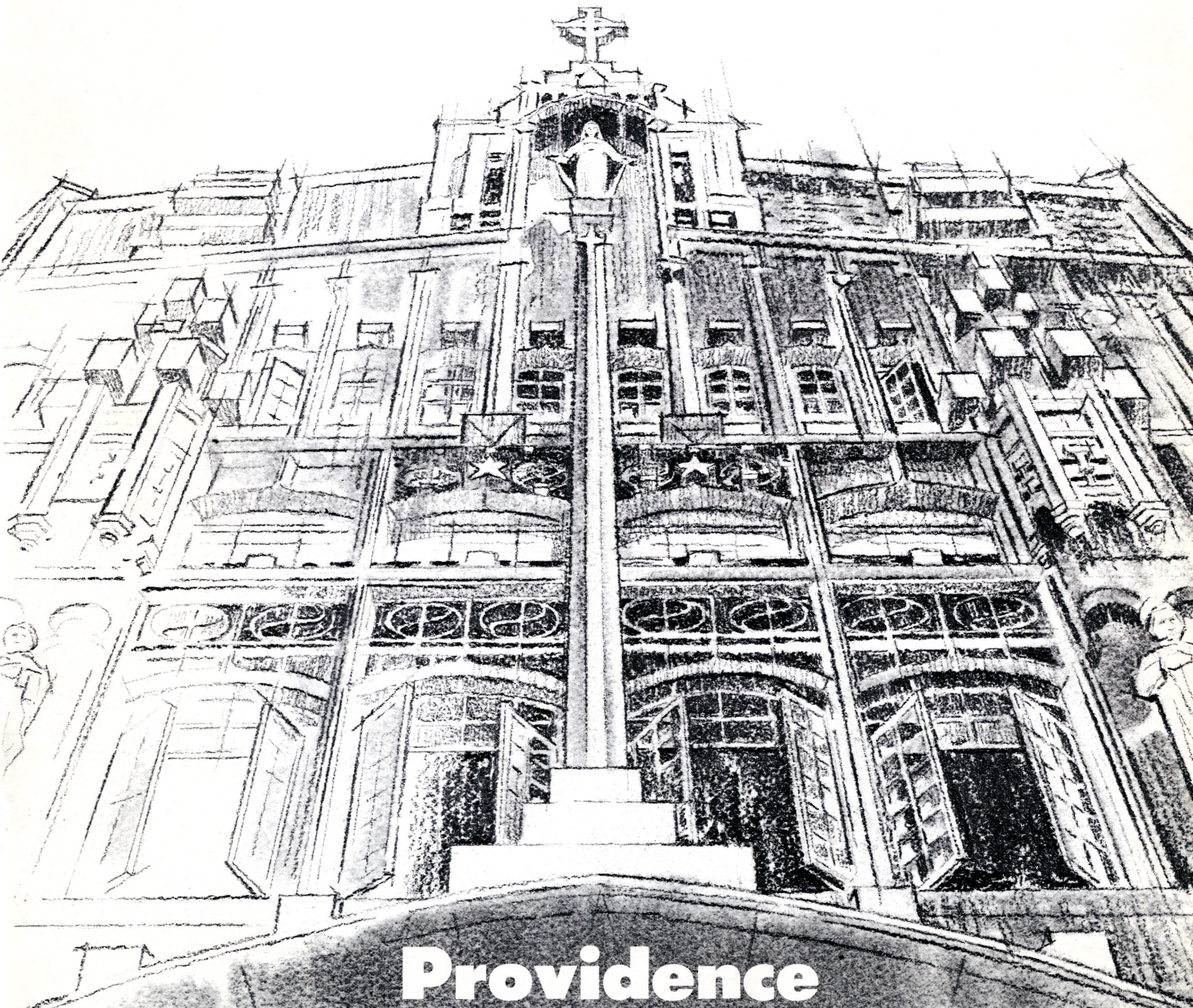


Why Catholic Colleges?



Providence

Spring / 1967

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The lead article in this issue "Why Catholic Colleges?" was prepared by Father Haas for an address to the Newman Club at the University of Rhode Island. It is particularly timely in this year of change in Catholic education.

Richard Deasy wrote "The Providence Peace Corps" as a labor of love, for he is the college's liaison man with Peace Corps in addition to his regular duties as assistant professor of history.

The article on the role of the Federal Government in education was prepared nationally by the American Alumni Council and will be distributed in several hundred college magazines throughout the country.

Father Quirk, long head of the Economics Department, is in print twice this month. In addition to "The New Economics" in this issue he is chairman of joint study committee of colleges and universities in Rhode Island which published a report of major consequence on May 9 on "Municipal Revenue and Tax Exemption in the City of Providence." It supports a graduated state income tax for Rhode Island.

The photo feature on Joe Mullaney's new contract gives us an excuse for telling the best basketball story of the year. In the second N.I.T. game against Marquette, Mullaney and his rival coach and boyhood friend, Frank McGuire of Marquette, were pacing the sidelines in a brilliant duel of strategy. The game ended in a tie and the overtime was equally frenzied when a time out was called with one point separating the teams and two minutes left to go.

McGuire walked the length of the sidelines to confront Mullaney on national television. He said something and the two men shook hands. "Whatever the argument was about, it was settled amicably," pontificated the announcer.

What did McGuire say to Mullaney? He said, "You know something, Joe? This is a hell of a way for two grown men to make a living."

The Editors

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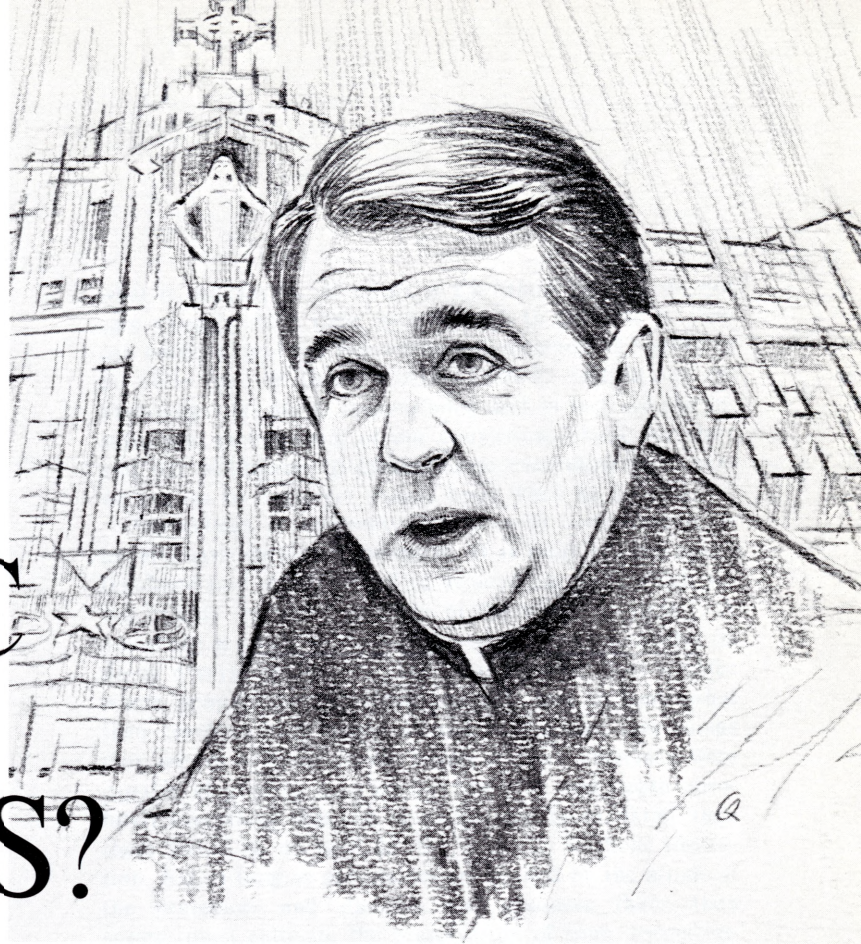
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WHY CATHOLIC COLLEGES?



The Very Rev. William Paul Haas, O.P. is the eighth president of Providence College.

by WILLIAM PAUL HAAS O.P. '48

One can hardly speak intelligently about the role of Catholic education in a changing world and of the role of the Catholic college unless he speaks of them together, though they do not mean the same thing. Catholic education is either the education of Catholics and that takes place all over, or it is education by Catholics and that is almost just as extensive. Wherever there are Catholics who care to identify themselves as such, teaching or learning, there is Catholic education.

The Catholic college is an institution which sets itself to the task of teaching Catholics in a special way. The purposes and interests of Catholic education are quite different from the purposes and interests of maintaining Catholic institutions, and it is important to notice historically that one is not always dependent on the other. At one time in Europe all universities were Catholic universities and no one else was educated in the university but Catholics by Catholics, though there was great Jewish intellectualism in the synagogues. Now there are practically no Catholic univer-

sities in Europe, and the great strength of Catholic scholarship is often found in secular universities. In England and in Canada the situation is a little different where there are Catholic colleges as parts of major university complexes. Oxford itself and the University of Toronto are significant examples. In those places the Catholic college is really a residence of Catholic scholars with a limited curriculum more or less integrated into the curriculum of the major university. In the United States there is a unique situation wherein the major effort of Catholic education has been institutionalized and until just recently was the sum total of the efforts of Catholics to learn from each other.

Catholic education in the United States is presently undergoing a change in two directions. On the one hand, Catholic intellectuals are achieving more significant success in the major universities and courses of Catholic relevance are included in the curriculum of these universities. The Newman movement, of which this Center is an encouraging manifestation, has only recently received the full support of

Catholic authorities and the recognition from university authority as more than a mere social organization of Catholic students. On the other hand, many Catholic institutions are beginning to realize the limitations of personnel, funds and facilities under which they labor. In a few years the best Catholic theologians will be teaching in non-Catholic universities.

Bear in mind that most of what I say about Catholic institutions applies as much to a Jewish university such as Yeshiva, and such religious institutions as Brandeis, Vanderbilt, Valparaiso and early Harvard, Yale and Princeton. It also applies to the university divinity school such as present-day Harvard's, Yale's and Union Theological Seminary.

If I am to say anything meaningful about Catholic education and Catholic institutions in the changing world, I must first admit that they are changing with it. No longer do the reasons obtain which strongly militated for the establishment of Catholic institutions one hundred years ago, namely, to provide a reasonably good general education to Catholics who were disqualified from other forms of education because of poverty or blatant religious discrimination. Catholic colleges and universities must now recommit themselves more emphatically to different purposes or they will discover that they have no particular reason for being at all. The need for Christian intellectuals to confront the secular mind in its own proper environment requires that we have even stronger reasons to justify the maintenance of what sometimes appear to be the fear-ridden ghettos of an antiquated mentality. I must say that I have personally given a great deal of thought to this because I committed myself to the direction of an institution, Providence College, at the price of turning my back on what I thought was the real intellectual world. I can see now what I never saw before as a student in a Catholic college or as a professor in a number of them—that what is preserved in the Catholic college is as important to the interest of the non-Catholic academic world as it is to itself.

It is false to view the Catholic institution as a world unto itself set in competition against all other institutions in the hope that it can resist their onslaughts and correct their errors. Our Catholic colleges, when they serve honest purposes, should contribute as much to the vitality of intellectual life in the larger society as they derive from it. This is particularly true of a society that claimed to achieve a new kind of social unity without the destruction of diversity. The death of this democracy or any democracy would come when differences were merely tolerated or destroyed but not cultivated for their intrinsic value. Democracy not only thrives on clearly articulated diversity, but it dies without it. The preservation of religious and cultural differences, therefore, is essential to the destiny of a self-conscious society, that is, one that understands its own complexity.

The total education of every student is the responsibility of the whole of society within which each significant component should make its own maximum effort to preserve

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“...If Christians or Jews do not care enough about their own heritage to cultivate it, they can hardly expect the non-committed members of society to do their job for them...”

what it believes in. After all, if Christians or Jews do not care enough about their own heritage to cultivate it, they can hardly expect the non-committed members of society to do their job for them. Roman Catholic institutions acknowledge this social responsibility and in fact are the institutional embodiment of our convictions about ourselves and our willingness to communicate everything good that we possess to the larger society upon which we depend.

Any college or university, whatever its commitments, is an artificial learning experiment. It is built up, set apart, regulated and self-governed to achieve purposes which are not exactly the same as those of the whole of society. A university is a part of the world, and it is not responsible for doing everything for everyone in the world. It is a place where people come to think critically and to learn what their teachers have mastered and to discover new things that are yet to be mastered. Surely if every university were capable of probing with equal conviction and depth absolutely everything that can be understood by mankind, then there would be no need for the distinctly Catholic institution. But as long as universities are limited by the minds of the professors and students who compose them, then society must cultivate the preservation of some special institutions where questions of special relevance are always asked. In Catholic institutions, therefore, it is entirely proper on purely academic grounds that the question of Christian relevance be asked; that the hypothesis be consistently tested; that new questions be generated. If we cannot expect every university to ask all the right questions, we can expect some small segment of the intellectual world to ask where others are silent, to look and wonder where others are disinterested, to continue where others are fatigued, to reject what others would impose by the mere weight of their numbers and to affirm what others deny.

It has been observed often in recent years that the trouble with theology is that it has been answering questions that no one is asking. Perhaps Catholic institutions are subject to the same criticism, but if you take a second look at that jibe you may realize that someone has to refuse to accept the questions arbitrarily evaluated by others and must bring to consciousness the less palatable questions. The religious college, therefore, serves a truly academic service, the pursuit of knowledge and the unfettered inquiry of intelligence.

It may seem that the addition of any adjective to the word university prejudices its meaning. It might also seem that a university is precisely that kind of institution that is totally uncommitted and must be so in order to pursue honestly its purposes. I submit that it is not the absence of commitment that makes a university honest. It is more a matter of how intelligently that university pursues its commitment. Where that commitment comes from is a highly complex question. It may come from the State Board of Trustees; it may come from the faculty and their assimilated backgrounds; it may come from the preference of students; it may come from the economic motives of all involved; it may come from crass expediency; it may come

from political sources. But of this you can be sure—the uncommitted university is as inconceivable as the uncommitted society. The purpose of a college or university, therefore, is not to disavow its commitments, however culturally conditioned, but to clearly declare them without equivocation or embarrassment and to pursue them to their full implications. It may seem arbitrary that education must always avoid the Myth or pure objectivity with the same diligence with which it avoids unquestioned subjectivity. The subjective tastes, preferences, beliefs, judgments, hopes, disappointments and visions of the men who make up the academic world are as much objects of fruitful intellectual inquiry as are the behavior of protons and neutrons or the behavior of schizophrenic rats in the laboratory. For these reasons I would go so far as to say that not only is religious commitment tolerable in academic life, but it is, with other forms of commitment, an essential column in the structure of the academy. How could one study history and avoid the study of those human aspirations which make it move? How could one study political science without being fully aware of the relativity of political convictions? Is the only qualified political science professor the man who has never voted or never believed in anything political? What can the mind do with the provocations of art if it refuses to acknowledge the academic significance of taste? What sense does physical science make when separated from the creativity of the scientific inquiring mind? To claim that non-scientific commitment is inimical to the purposes of the university would be like saying that everyone is capable of speaking intelligently about abstract expressionism, but the person who thinks it really makes sense. Religious commitment must be an active part of intellectual inquiry—hence the role of the Catholic college in the academic world.

An essential catalyst in the academic life of a heterogeneous society is the serious scrutiny and preservation of the differences of conviction, including religious. It is my own judgment that the best way to carry on the full inquiry into the meaning of Christian convictions in their relationship to all other areas of study is to maintain institutions which set themselves to that task wholeheartedly. The maintenance of a community of Christian scholars and students who unceasingly torture themselves by questioning their own convictions produces results which make for the enrichment of every other inquiring mind. And where else can the deepest convictions concerning Christianity be best tested than among those who have them and who suffer because of them and whose minds cannot escape them? The Catholic college, if it is true to its intellectual commitment, can never substitute catechizing, preaching indoctrinations or proselytizing for the uninhibited intellectual exploration of everything it stands for. Paradoxically the sectarian institution commits itself in every generation to its own possible extinction, for if it lacks the courage to explore and articulate the deepest questions about its own first principles then it knows it lives a lie and serves no purpose at all. It is absolutely appropriate that in such an institution some as-

*“... Those Catholic intellectuals, who
ing compatability between honest in
do so not because the synthesis is im
or lost courage...”*

pects of all intellectual endeavors co-exist with these probings since most of the questions come out of the confrontation between man's view of his own belief and the evidences at his fingertips.

If a Catholic college were a place where only those aspects of the liberal arts and sciences were studied which could be forced into a Christian mold, then I assure you I would have no part of it. The imposition of alien Christian themes upon disciplines which contradict them is a type of intellectual schizophrenia. Yet, an honest confrontation between the meaning of the arts and sciences and the meaning of religion can take place best in those institutions which give equal significance to each. The larger academic world will never be able to overlook the significance of our probings even though the best seller lists or the latest poll do not find us a significant statistic. In this respect the Catholic college shares with every other college or university the radical conviction that its value shall not be measured by an alien norm.

*recently have despaired of ever achieving
intellectualism and Church authority,
possible, but because they grew tired*

Let us consider one very significant question that haunts all educators and Catholics in a special way, the question of autonomy and authority. No one knows better than the Catholic what the uses and abuses of authority can mean. It is true that power tends to corrupt and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely. Interestingly enough, when Lord Acton said that, he was talking about the dangers implicit in the absolute authority of the Roman papacy. It was his contention that Canon Law was a restraint on that power and that Canon Law therefore protected the interest of the members of the Church.

If there is anything which an absolute ruler need not commit himself to, it is a rule of law. In a Catholic institution the classic problem concerning the coexistence of law, authority and individual freedom should never disappear behind oversimplification. In the face of authority and the law which restrains it, one can easily surrender his personal dignity to it for the warmth and protection it offers him. Or

one can despair and sever himself from such authority on the grounds that a free man can never recognize anything superior to himself. There is a third alternative which time does not allow me to argue as fully as it should be argued, and that is to stand up courageously as a free man who shares the same convictions as those in authority and to fight against the unenlightened use of authority where it exists and to freely cooperate with it when it is enlightened.

The synthesis which the religious institution of learning attempts to achieve, namely, the synthesis of firm conviction and sharp intellectual analysis, never exists as an accomplished fact. It exists as an unending process which like human love must be preserved in the living experience of hope and despair, frustration and expectation, acceptance and rejection. Those Catholic intellectuals who recently have despaired of ever achieving compatibility between honest intellectualism and Church authority do so not because the synthesis is impossible, but because they grew tired or lost courage.

The Dominican Order, of which I am a member, is most likely the oldest democratic society in the western hemisphere with an unbroken history. Since its inception 750 years ago, its members have governed themselves by making their own laws and electing their own superiors. It is significant that the Order began in a university environment in the early days of the University of Paris. Its first members were among the luminaries of Oxford, Cologne and Bologna. In this instance at least history has proven that there need not be anything incompatible between the juridical power of ecclesiastical authorities and the full flowering of the intellectual life.

The coexistence of academic autonomy and non-academic authority, economic, political or religious, is always an uneasy affair. The religious and the secular institution have more in common on this point than is generally admitted. I have never known a college or university in which there were no tyrants, no highhanded authoritarians, power blocks, vested academic points of view, no professional assassinations, no untested assumptions of value which did not affect basic policy. We of the academic community share a common responsibility to evaluate critically the role of authority and its enlightened direction and source. We share the more difficult obligation to resist the misuse of authority wherever it would obstruct our pursuit of honest intellectualism. We share, too, the very real danger of making ourselves the ultimate authority on everything for all mankind.

Christianity claims to have been built upon a rock. Some Christians take their security more from hiding under that rock so as to avoid the embarrassment of the light of truth than from standing upon it. Those Christian institutions, which are built on the rockbed of firm intellectual convictions subjected to unceasing test, are capable of thriving in a world of change. In this changing world, Catholic institutions, at least in the United States, owe much to the open-mindedness of secular scholars who have practically

demonstrated that one can thoroughly explore all conceivable points of view without sacrificing their own honest convictions. Much of the protectivism of Catholic schools grew out of a fear that this was not really possible. The error was understandable enough. Now that we have learned our lesson, let us proceed with dispatch to scrutinize the difficulties in believing in Christ and the difficulties in serving mankind.

The Catholic college or university in a changing world must serve that world with an open mind, but it must also serve the Church which is at present undergoing radical change within and because of that world. It is the fear of some responsible men that the Church is simply going to pieces. There is a lot in the Church that is going to pieces and anything that does, should, because what cannot withstand the pressures of growth is not worth saving. The Catholic college is in a unique position to preserve what is preservable and evaluate what is expendable because it enjoys the independent perspective of the intellectual plus the commitment of the firm believer.

Catholic intellectualism, whether within Catholic institutions or not, has learned from the secular academic world that it has nothing to fear in being honest with itself. It can also learn that it has nothing to lose in being open to the problems of the world. Catholics have always recognized the problems of poverty, war, unemployment and other social ills. But they have not always given these problems the thoroughly intellectual analysis they deserve. How belated is the recognition of the United States as a source of true moral power. How slow was our acknowledgment of the problems of race, over-population, non-Christian cultures, and heterodox forms of Christian faith and commitment. In some quarters, the recognition of these problems was brought about, with some embarrassment, by the example of secular humanists, among them professors and students of non-Catholic universities, who responded with unabashed altruism to these problems when they first appeared. It happened this way, perhaps, because the secular universities appropriately focused their attention on the changing world, while Catholic institutions looked for some unchanging pattern of divine providence. In this changing world, the religious academy must learn to conduct its experiment with the same dedication found in the humanistic experiment elsewhere. We lament the fact that we have been unable to communicate Christianity to the secular humanist, but we recognize that this form of humanism must be free to fathom its own implications in the same way that Christianity must fathom its own. It would be unchristian for us to want the secular humanist to be any less humanistic. In this changing world it is the role of the Christian institution to cooperate with every honorable effort to enlarge man's capacity to love and understand. If there is anything that is really humane in Christianity, the Catholic college is the place to discover it. And if there is anything potentially Christian in an honest humanism, then let the entire academic community share in the joy of that discovery.

“...Let us proceed with dispatch to scrutinize the difficulties in believing in Christ and the difficulties in serving mankind...”

PEACE CORPS

and
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by

RICHARD M. DEASY '53

Richard M. Deasy '53 (left) is an assistant professor of history and liaison officer for the Peace Corps at Providence College. He is pictured with former Peace Corps members Penny White and Jim Cawley who visited the campus this year.



Three times within the past quarter century Providence College graduates have borne arms against the invaders of China and Poland, of South Korea, and of South Viet-Nam. Their gallant sacrifices bespeak their espousal of political justice. The history of their times has forever cast its shadow over the War Memorial Grotto.

In the past half decade other young men of Providence College have done battle with the "common enemies of man"—ignorance, poverty, and disease. Their service in three developing continents attests to their devotion to so-

cial justice. The saga of the origin, growth, and changes of the Peace Corps in Washington finds its counterpart in the continuing evolution of the Peace Corps at Providence College.

The inspiring birth of the Peace Corps requires no detailed recapitulation. It was on October 14, 1960, that the late President John F. Kennedy, on the steps of the Student Union at the University of Michigan, challenged the youth of America to balance its future as a free society against their willingness to serve it overseas. Shortly afterwards he promised, if elected, to send "the best Americans we can get to speak for our country abroad." Right after his inauguration he commissioned Sargent Shriver to find

out if any countries abroad would be interested. Eleven said they would receive volunteers at once. The first public effort at recruiting Washington produced an avalanche of mail. The first training program antedated final Congressional authorization. Fifty volunteers were already serving in Ghana before October had come again.

At Providence College the initiative was seized by Dr. Henry M. Rosenwald, Professor of Germanic Languages. In March of 1961 Dr. Rosenwald volunteered his services to the Peace Corps as faculty representative even before Washington had worked out plans for campus liaison personnel. Dr. Rosenwald was designated liaison officer by Father President Vincent Dore and confirmed by William Haddad, special assistant director, before the end of May. Dr. Rosenwald served with distinction throughout the crucial first five years. His "vital role" was cited by Director Shriver in June of 1965, and, upon his retirement as liaison officer in 1966, Director Douglas Walker paid tribute to his "help and support."

The meteoric growth of the Peace Corps is also well enough known, although still somewhat unbelievable. It served 13 countries by the end of 1961 and 37 by the end of 1962. It continued expansion while adding diversification during its third pivotal year; by the end of 1963 it embraced 6,000 volunteers and had been sent to 44 countries. Today more than 20,000 Peace Corps men have served or are now serving on more than 500 different programs in more than 50 countries. Nearly every host country has requested more workers. Some 20 additional countries will be included as soon as enough volunteers become available. One authority predicts 100,000 volunteers by 1970. In some countries the Peace Corps expanded because of the natural process of evolution; in others the Peace Corps produced changes that soon demanded its expansion.

This growth has again been reflected in the drama of the Peace Corps at Providence College. The number of graduates now on foreign assignment, or already returned from overseas, ranks third among Rhode Island universities and colleges. These young men have worked on projects in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. For example, graduates serving the former Dark Continent include Michael L. Altman '64, Donald Budlong '62, Charles J. Costa, Jr. '67 and John J. Tramonti, Jr. '50, all in Ethiopia; Dennis E. Burke '64 in the Somali Republic, Peter J. Harkins '64 in Nigeria, John F. Walsh '66 and John Herron '66 in Kenya, and Edward Angley '65 in Liberia. Among those helping our sister states to the south are Raymond J. Burke, III '63 and Christopher J. Dodd '66 in the Dominican Republic, John R. D'Alfonso '63 in Colombia, Paul J. Dooley '62 in Venezuela, Michael A. Viola '62 in Brazil, John B. Hamilton '64 in Chile and Salvatore A. Federici '66, in training. Providence men in the Orient have included Peter J. Cannon '63 and Frank R. Krajewski '60, both in the Philippines; Vincent Hutnak '60 in Afghanistan, Michael J. McIntyre '64 in India, and Ronald J. Berry '64 together with his wife Pamela in Micronesia.

These Providence College volunteers have served in urban and rural community development, in public administration, in agricultural extension, and as teachers from the elementary to the university level. They have constructed windmills, started poultry farms, organized libraries, and built schools. They have solicited funds for their projects, returned home to recruit, re-entered the domestic peace corps, and returned overseas on Catholic Bishops' Relief Work. This spring as many applicants took the preliminary examination as the college now numbers on its Peace Corps honor role.

In five short years changes are even more evident but still more difficult to define. The effects of the Peace Corps upon the developing nations have been loudly and globally acclaimed, but their full impact may take a century to measure. What is evident is that "Yankee, go home" has changed to "Send us more Peace Corps workers." Thirty other nations have created agencies modeled after our Peace Corps, both foreign and domestic, and already trained personnel are being exchanged between nations. One very painstaking sociological study in South America revealed that Peace Corps communities progressed 2.8

times more rapidly that neighboring communities over a two year period. Certain it is, that historians of the twentieth century must come to terms with the Peace Corps.

Changes within the Peace Corps itself have received less attention, but they may yet prove to be of even greater consequence. These changes have been fundamental ones, touching the volunteers in their training, on their foreign assignments, and after their return. On the basis of studies of both early projects and returning volunteers, more attention is now being paid to experiential and linguistic training. At first the Peace Corps trained its volunteers at established colleges and universities exclusively. Now it maintains two training centers of its own, staffed by its Washington personnel and returning volunteers. Local field service is part of each such program. In the new Advanced Training Program college juniors study the national background, foreign language, and job techniques of their project during summer vacation. Then, upon graduation they spend their second summer in field service, often in French or Spanish speaking communities, before leaving on assignment. Volunteers to some countries complete training in the host country. More than half of all instructional time is

now in language training. No longer are major languages considered sufficient. Obscure local dialects are also taught, some never before offered in this country, others never before offered anywhere.

During the first two years community development and education were the "bread-and-butter" foreign assignments of the Peace Corps, but in that reorganizational third year diversification became necessary. This brought nurses, geologists, architects, doctors, and engineers. Still the supply of nurses and public health officers far outstripped that of doctors. Most of these health teams worked at the grass roots level on sanitation and diet. Now doctors, accompanied by their families, are dividing their time among: curative medicine and surgery; training local doctors, medical students, and health workers; and disease prevention. The Peace Corps is now talking of "nation building."

The greatest changes of all concern the returning volunteer. Studies show that more than one quarter have selected a new career, almost one third go into international service, and more than one half return to graduate study. They are in greatest demand as teachers, especially of lan-

Peace Corps volunteer Vince Hutnak '60 and his wife Uta in Kabul.



guages. Many return to service in such programs as the domestic peace corps, and industry now recognizes their worth as community relations personnel overseas. Colleges and universities are being forced to offer courses in area studies and languages never before included in their curriculum. Some grant credit for Peace Corps training; some, for service; some offer five year B. A. programs, including the two years service overseas; some recognize service for credit in their M. A. programs. Not only are the Peace Corps and the American university moving much closer together, but also the American nation is moving much closer to U. N. Secretary General U Thant's hope that in the near future people everywhere, "Will consider that one or two years of work for the cause of development, either in a faraway country or in a depressed area of his own community, is a normal part of one's education."

The Peace Corps was originally intended to achieve three specific objectives. It was to help developing nations with their manpower shortage, to speak for America abroad, and to improve our understanding of other peoples. What is now becoming apparent is that this last stated goal might well be the first attained and, in turn, a springboard to still more profound changes.

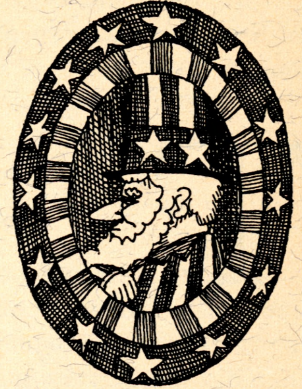
Again changes have also characterized Peace Corps activity on the Providence College campus. At first Mr. Haddad had only three projects to offer graduates: Tanganyika (Tanzania), Colombia, and the Philippines. Today graduates may select any one of over 500 different projects. Just last May Director Jack Vaughn notified Providence College of an entirely new area that was just being opened—Micronesia (the United States Pacific Trust Territory which includes the Marshall, Caroline, and Northern Mariana Islands). Before the end of the second semester students had already inquired and applied. The Peace Corps makes available to returning volunteers the counseling services of certain colleges and universities. The History Department of Providence College now renders this service to volunteers interested in graduate study in history.

Graduates of Providence College will find much that is familiar here. They can recall how Friar Dominic Guzman summoned his sons from the monastery to serve as mendicants in the marketplace; how Friar Thomas Aquinas emphasized the principles of justice in his writings on the moral virtues; how Friars Anthony Montesinos, Peter Cordoba, and Bartholomew Las Casas warned the Conquistadores that the demands of justice be applied in the New World as well as in the Old; how the Friars of Providence offered to students the felicitous opportunity for a liberal arts education in years less than affluent; and how the late Friar Adrian English interpreted the merit of man's history in the light of his obligations to social justice. Surely the Peace Corps at Providence College finds an hospitable setting.

Providence College welcomed the Army R. O. T. C. upon campus in the 1950's as necessary for the defense of political justice. She welcomed the Peace Corps in the 1960's as vital in the quest for social justice. She honors the names of her sons who have served in either cause. She prays, that in more gentle years, more of her young men will be able to pursue the more pacific path.

*America's colleges and universities,
recipients of billions in Federal funds,
have a new relationship:*

Life with Uncle



WHAT WOULD HAPPEN if all the Federal dollars now going to America's colleges and universities were suddenly withdrawn?

The president of one university pondered the question briefly, then replied: "Well, first, there would be this very loud sucking sound."

Indeed there would. It would be heard from Berkeley's gates to Harvard's yard, from Colby, Maine, to Kilgore, Texas. And in its wake would come shock waves that would rock the entire establishment of American higher education.

No institution of higher learning, regardless of its size or remoteness from Washington, can escape the impact of the Federal government's involvement in higher education. Of the 2,200 institutions of higher learning in the United States, about 1,800 participate in one or more Federally supported or sponsored programs. (Even an institution which receives no Federal dollars is affected—for it must compete for faculty, students, and private dollars with the institutions that do receive Federal funds for such things.)

Hence, although hardly anyone seriously believes that Federal spending on the campus is going to stop or even decrease significantly, the possibility, however remote, is enough to send shivers down the nation's academic backbone. Colleges and universities operate on such tight budgets that even a relatively slight ebb in the flow of Federal funds could be serious. The fiscal belt-tightening in Washington, caused by the war in Vietnam and the threat of inflation, has already brought a financial squeeze to some institutions.

A look at what would happen if all Federal dollars were suddenly withdrawn from colleges and universities may be an exercise in the absurd, but it dramatizes the depth of government involvement:

▶ The nation's undergraduates would lose more than 800,000 scholarships, loans, and work-study grants, amounting to well over \$300 million.

▶ Colleges and universities would lose some \$2 billion which now supports research on the campuses. Consequently some 50 per cent of America's science faculty members would be without support for their research. They would lose the summer salaries which they have come to depend on—and, in some cases, they would lose part of their salaries for the other nine months, as well.

▶ The big government-owned research laboratories which several universities operate under contract would be closed. Although this might end some management headaches for the universities, it would also deprive thousands of scientists and engineers of employment and the institutions of several million dollars in overhead reimbursements and fees.

▶ The newly established National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities—for which faculties have waited for years—would collapse before its first grants were spent.

▶ Planned or partially constructed college and university buildings, costing roughly \$2.5 billion, would be delayed or abandoned altogether.

▶ Many of our most eminent universities and medical schools would find their annual budgets sharply reduced—in some cases by more than 50 per cent. And the 68 land-grant institutions would lose Fed-

A partnership of brains, money, and mutual need

eral institutional support which they have been receiving since the nineteenth century.

► Major parts of the anti-poverty program, the new GI Bill, the Peace Corps, and the many other programs which call for spending on the campuses would founder.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT is now the “Big Spender” in the academic world. Last year, Washington spent more money on the nation’s campuses than did the 50 state governments combined. The National Institutes of Health alone spent more on educational and research projects than any one state allocated for higher education. The National Science Foundation, also a Federal agency, awarded more funds to colleges and universities than did all the business corporations in America. And the U.S. Office of Education’s annual expenditure in higher education of \$1.2 billion far exceeded all gifts from private foundations and alumni. The \$5 billion or so that the Federal government will spend on campuses this year constitutes more than 25 per cent of higher education’s total budget.

About half of the Federal funds now going to academic institutions support research and research-related activities—and, in most cases, the research is in the sciences. Most often an individual scholar, with his institution’s blessing, applies directly to a Federal agency for funds to support his work. A professor of chemistry, for example, might apply to the National Science Foundation for funds to pay for salaries (part of his own, his collaborators’, and his research technicians’), equipment, graduate-student stipends, travel, and anything else he could justify as essential to his work. A panel of his scholarly peers from colleges and universities, assembled by NSF, meets periodically in Washington to evaluate his and other applications. If the panel members approve, the professor usually receives his grant and his college or university receives a percentage of the total amount to meet its overhead costs. (Under several Federal programs, the institution itself can

request funds to help construct buildings and grants to strengthen or initiate research programs.)

The other half of the Federal government’s expenditure in higher education is for student aid, for books and equipment, for classroom buildings, laboratories, and dormitories, for overseas projects, and—recently, in modest amounts—for the general strengthening of the institution.

There is almost no Federal agency which does not provide some funds for higher education. And there are few activities on a campus that are not eligible for some kind of government aid.

CLEARLY our colleges and universities now depend so heavily on Federal funds to help pay for salaries, tuition, research, construction, and operating costs that any significant decline in Federal support would disrupt the whole enterprise of American higher education.

To some educators, this dependence is a threat to the integrity and independence of the colleges and universities. “It is unnerving to know that our system of higher education is highly vulnerable to the whims and fickleness of politics,” says a man who has held high positions both in government and on the campus.

Others minimize the hazards. Public institutions, they point out, have always been vulnerable in this

Every institution, however small or remote, feels the effects of the Federal role in higher education.



sense—yet look how they've flourished. Congressmen, in fact, have been conscientious in their approach to Federal support of higher education; the problem is that standards other than those of the universities and colleges could become the determining factors in the nature and direction of Federal support. In any case, the argument runs, all academic institutions depend on the good will of others to provide the support that insures freedom. McGeorge Bundy, before he left the White House to head the Ford Foundation, said flatly: "American higher education is more and not less free and strong because of Federal funds." Such funds, he argued, actually have enhanced freedom by enlarging the opportunity of institutions to act; they are no more tainted than are dollars from other sources; and the way in which they are allocated is closer to academic tradition than is the case with nearly all other major sources of funds.

The issue of Federal control notwithstanding, Federal support of higher education is taking its place alongside military budgets and farm subsidies as one of the government's essential activities. All evidence indicates that such is the public's will. Education has always had a special worth in this country, and each new generation sets the valuation higher. In a recent Gallup Poll on national goals, Americans listed education as having first priority. Governors, state legislators, and Congressmen, ever sensitive to voter attitudes, are finding that the improvement of education is not only a noble issue on which to stand, but a winning one.

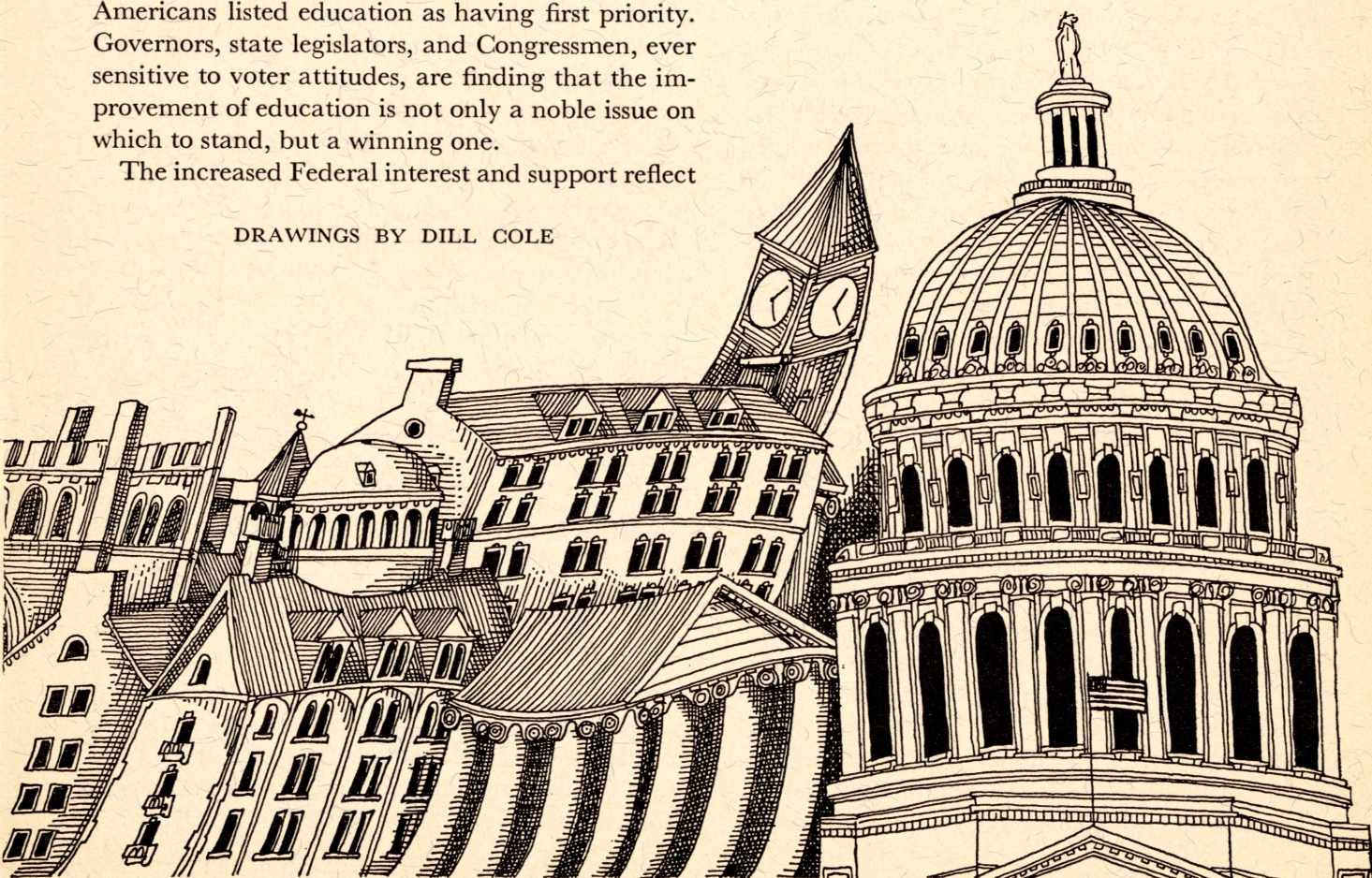
The increased Federal interest and support reflect

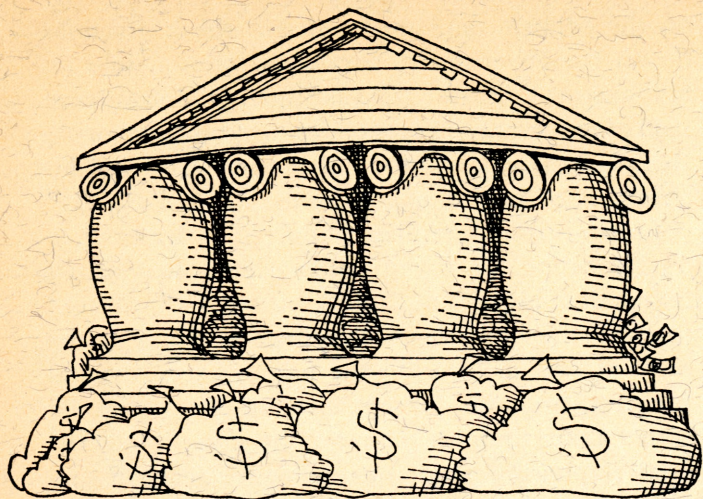
another fact: the government now relies as heavily on the colleges and universities as the institutions do on the government. President Johnson told an audience at Princeton last year that in "almost every field of concern, from economics to national security, the academic community has become a central instrument of public policy in the United States."

Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education (an organization which often speaks in behalf of higher education), agrees. "Our history attests to the vital role which colleges and universities have played in assuring the nation's security and progress, and our present circumstances magnify rather than diminish the role," he says. "Since the final responsibility for our collective security and welfare can reside only in the Federal government, a close partnership between government and higher education is essential."

THE PARTNERSHIP indeed exists. As a report of the American Society of Biological Chemists has said, "the condition of mutual dependence be-

DRAWINGS BY DILL COLE





tween the Federal government and institutions of higher learning and research is one of the most profound and significant developments of our time.”

Directly and indirectly, the partnership has produced enormous benefits. It has played a central role in this country’s progress in science and technology—and hence has contributed to our national security, our high standard of living, the lengthening life span, our world leadership. One analysis credits to education 40 per cent of the nation’s growth in economic productivity in recent years.

Despite such benefits, some thoughtful observers are concerned about the future development of the government-campus partnership. They are asking how the flood of Federal funds will alter the traditional missions of higher education, the time-honored responsibility of the states, and the flow of private funds to the campuses. They wonder if the give and take between equal partners can continue, when one has the money and the other “only the brains.”

Problems already have arisen from the dynamic and complex relationship between Washington and the academic world. How serious and complex such problems can become is illustrated by the current controversy over the concentration of Federal research funds on relatively few campuses and in certain sections of the country.

The problem grew out of World War II, when the government turned to the campuses for desperately needed scientific research. Since many of the best-known and most productive scientists were working in a dozen or so institutions in the Northeast and a few in the Midwest and California, more than half of the Federal research funds were spent there. (Most of the remaining money went to another 50 universities with research and graduate training.)

The wartime emergency obviously justified this

The haves and have-nots

concentration of funds. When the war ended, however, the lopsided distribution of Federal research funds did not. In fact, it has continued right up to the present, with 29 institutions receiving more than 50 per cent of Federal research dollars.

To the institutions on the receiving end, the situation seems natural and proper. They are, after all, the strongest and most productive research centers in the nation. The government, they argue, has an obligation to spend the public’s money where it will yield the highest return to the nation.

The less-favored institutions recognize this obligation, too. But they maintain that it is equally important to the nation to develop new institutions of high quality—yet, without financial help from Washington, the second- and third-rank institutions will remain just that.

In late 1965 President Johnson, in a memorandum to the heads of Federal departments and agencies, acknowledged the importance of maintaining scientific excellence in the institutions where it now exists. But, he emphasized, Federal research funds should also be used to strengthen and develop new centers of excellence. Last year this “spread the wealth” movement gained momentum, as a number of agencies stepped up their efforts to broaden the distribution of research money. The Department of Defense, for example, one of the bigger purchasers of research, designated \$18 million for this academic year to help about 50 widely scattered institutions develop into high-grade research centers. But with economies induced by the war in Vietnam, it is doubtful whether enough money will be available in the near future to end the controversy.

Eventually, Congress may have to act. In so doing, it is almost certain to displease, and perhaps hurt, some institutions. To the pessimist, the situation is a sign of troubled times ahead. To the optimist, it is the democratic process at work.

RECENT STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS have dramatized another problem to which the partnership between the government and the campus has contributed: the relative emphasis that is placed

compete for limited funds

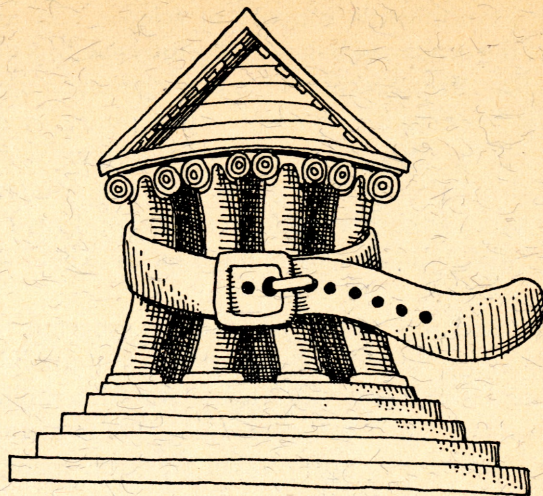
on research and on the teaching of undergraduates.

Wisconsin's Representative Henry Reuss conducted a Congressional study of the situation. Subsequently he said: "University teaching has become a sort of poor relation to research. I don't quarrel with the goal of excellence in science, but it is pursued at the expense of another important goal—excellence of teaching. Teaching suffers and is going to suffer more."

The problem is not limited to universities. It is having a pronounced effect on the smaller liberal arts colleges, the women's colleges, and the junior colleges—all of which have as their primary function the teaching of undergraduates. To offer a first-rate education, the colleges must attract and retain a first-rate faculty, which in turn attracts good students and financial support. But undergraduate colleges can rarely compete with Federally supported universities in faculty salaries, fellowship awards, research opportunities, and plant and equipment. The president of one of the best undergraduate colleges says: "When we do get a young scholar who skillfully combines research and teaching abilities, the universities lure him from us with the promise of a high salary, light teaching duties, frequent leaves, and almost anything else he may want."

Leland Haworth, whose National Science Foundation distributes more than \$300 million annually for research activities and graduate programs on the campuses, disagrees. "I hold little or no brief," he says, "for the allegation that Federal support of research has detracted seriously from undergraduate teaching. I dispute the contention heard in some quarters that certain of our major universities have become giant research factories concentrating on Federally sponsored research projects to the detriment of their educational functions." Most university scholars would probably support Mr. Haworth's contention that teachers who conduct research are generally better teachers, and that the research enterprise has infused science education with new substance and vitality.

To get perspective on the problem, compare university research today with what it was before World War II. A prominent physicist calls the pre-war days "a horse-and-buggy period." In 1930, colleges and universities spent less than \$20 million on scientific research, and that came largely from pri-



ivate foundations, corporations, and endowment income. Scholars often built their equipment from ingeniously adapted scraps and spare machine parts. Graduate students considered it compensation enough just to be allowed to participate.

Some three decades and \$125 billion later, there is hardly an academic scientist who does not feel pressure to get government funds. The chairman of one leading biology department admits that "if a young scholar doesn't have a grant when he comes here, he had better get one within a year or so or he's out; we have no funds to support his research."

Considering the large amounts of money available for research and graduate training, and recognizing that the publication of research findings is still the primary criterion for academic promotion, it is not surprising that the faculties of most universities spend a substantial part of their energies in those activities.

Federal agencies are looking for ways to ease the problem. The National Science Foundation, for example, has set up a new program which will make grants to undergraduate colleges for the improvement of science instruction.

More help will surely be forthcoming.

THE FACT that Federal funds have been concentrated in the sciences has also had a pronounced effect on colleges and universities. In many institutions, faculty members in the natural sciences earn more than faculty members in the humanities and social sciences; they have better facilities, more frequent leaves, and generally more influence on the campus.

The government's support of science can also disrupt the academic balance and internal priorities of a college or university. One president explained:

"Our highest-priority construction project was a \$3 million building for our humanities departments. Under the Higher Education Facilities Act, we could expect to get a third of this from the Federal government. This would leave \$2 million for us to get from private sources.

"But then, under a new government program, the biology and psychology faculty decided to apply to the National Institutes of Health for \$1.5 million for new faculty members over a period of five years. These additional faculty people, however, made it necessary for us to go ahead immediately with our plans for a \$4 million science building—so we gave it the No. 1 priority and moved the humanities building down the list.

"We could finance half the science building's cost with Federal funds. In addition, the scientists pointed out, they could get several training grants which would provide stipends to graduate students and tuition to our institution.

"You see what this meant? Both needs were valid—those of the humanities and those of the sciences. For \$2 million of private money, I could either build a \$3 million humanities building *or* I could build a \$4 million science building, get \$1.5 million for additional faculty, and pick up a few hundred thousand dollars in training grants. Either-or; not both."

The president could have added that if the scientists had been denied the privilege of applying to NIH, they might well have gone to another institution, taking their research grants with them. On the other hand, under the conditions of the academic marketplace, it was unlikely that the humanities scholars would be able to exercise a similar mobility.

The case also illustrates why academic administrators sometimes complain that Federal support of an individual faculty member's research projects casts their institution in the ineffectual role of a legal middleman, prompting the faculty member to feel a greater loyalty to a Federal agency than to the college or university.

Congress has moved to lessen the disparity between support of the humanities and social sciences on the one hand and support of the physical and biological sciences on the other. It established the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities—a move which, despite a pitifully small first-year allocation of funds, offers some encouragement. And close observers of the Washington scene predict that

The affluence of research:

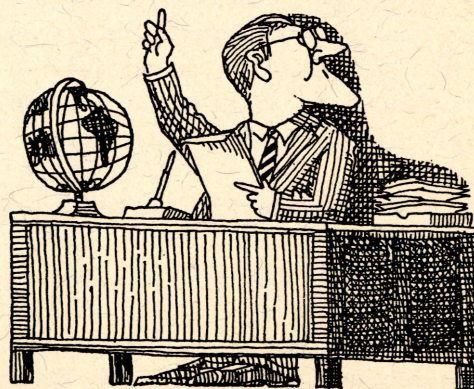
the social sciences, which have been receiving some Federal support, are destined to get considerably more in the next few years.

EFFORTS TO COPE with such difficult problems must begin with an understanding of the nature and background of the government-campus partnership. But this presents a problem in itself, for one encounters a welter of conflicting statistics, contradictory information, and wide differences of honest opinion. The task is further complicated by the swiftness with which the situation continually changes. And—the ultimate complication—there is almost no uniformity or coordination in the Federal government's numerous programs affecting higher education.

Each of the 50 or so agencies dispensing Federal funds to the colleges and universities is responsible for its own program, and no single Federal agency supervises the entire enterprise. (The creation of the Office of Science and Technology in 1962 represented an attempt to cope with the multiplicity of relationships. But so far there has been little significant improvement.) Even within the two houses of Congress, responsibility for the government's expenditures on the campuses is scattered among several committees.

Not only does the lack of a coordinated Federal program make it difficult to find a clear definition of the government's role in higher education, but it also creates a number of problems both in Washington and on the campuses.

The Bureau of the Budget, for example, has had to



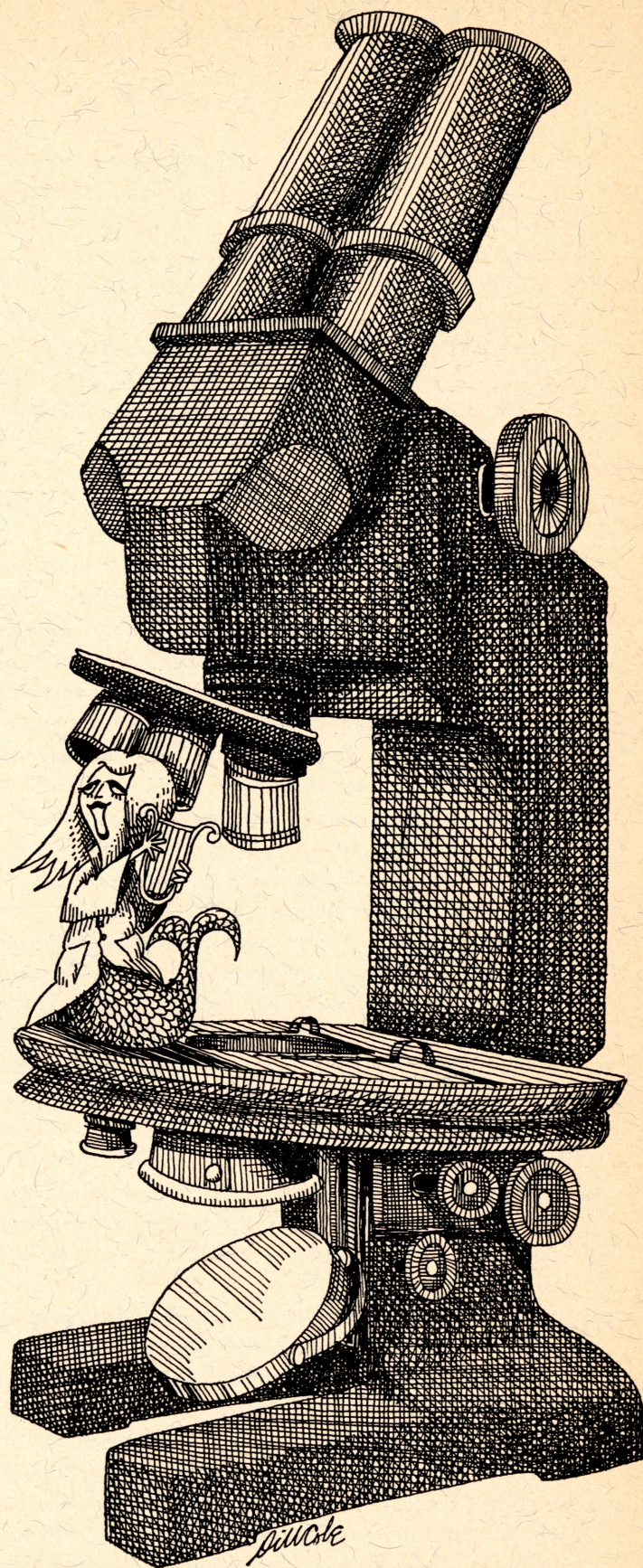
a siren song to teachers

wrestle with several uncoordinated, duplicative Federal science budgets and with different accounting systems. Congress, faced with the almost impossible task of keeping informed about the esoteric world of science in order to legislate intelligently, finds it difficult to control and direct the fast-growing Federal investment in higher education. And the individual government agencies are forced to make policy decisions and to respond to political and other pressures without adequate or consistent guidelines from above.

The colleges and universities, on the other hand, must negotiate the maze of Federal bureaus with consummate skill if they are to get their share of the Federal largesse. If they succeed, they must then cope with mountains of paperwork, disparate systems of accounting, and volumes of regulations that differ from agency to agency. Considering the magnitude of the financial rewards at stake, the institutions have had no choice but to enlarge their administrative staffs accordingly, adding people who can handle the business problems, wrestle with paperwork, manage grants and contracts, and untangle legal snarls. College and university presidents are constantly looking for competent academic administrators to prowling the Federal agencies in search of programs and opportunities in which their institutions can profitably participate.

The latter group of people, whom the press calls "university lobbyists," has been growing in number. At least a dozen institutions now have full-time representatives working in Washington. Many more have members of their administrative and academic staffs shuttling to and from the capital to negotiate Federal grants and contracts, cultivate agency personnel, and try to influence legislation. Still other institutions have enlisted the aid of qualified alumni or trustees who happen to live in Washington.

THE LACK of a uniform Federal policy prevents the clear statement of national goals that might give direction to the government's investments in higher education. This takes a toll in effectiveness and consistency and tends to produce contradictions and conflicts. The teaching-versus-research controversy is one example.



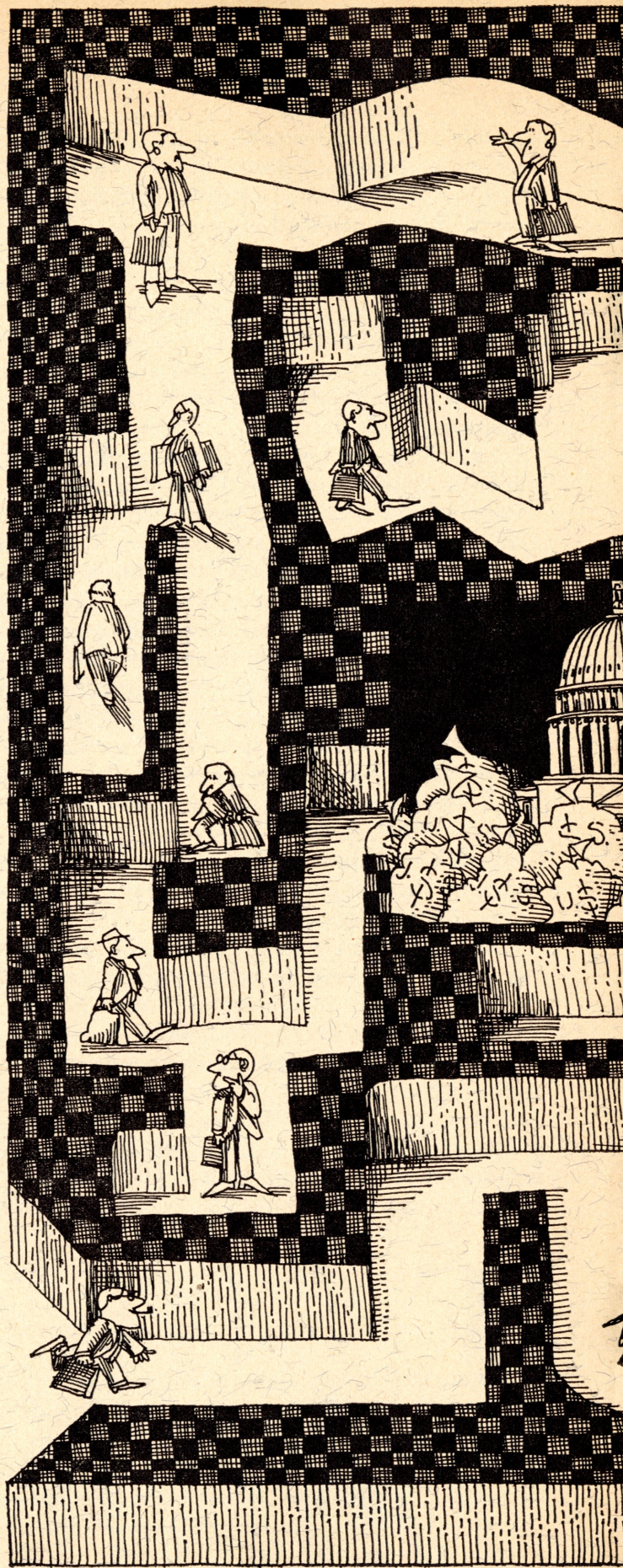
Fund-raisers prowl the Washington maze

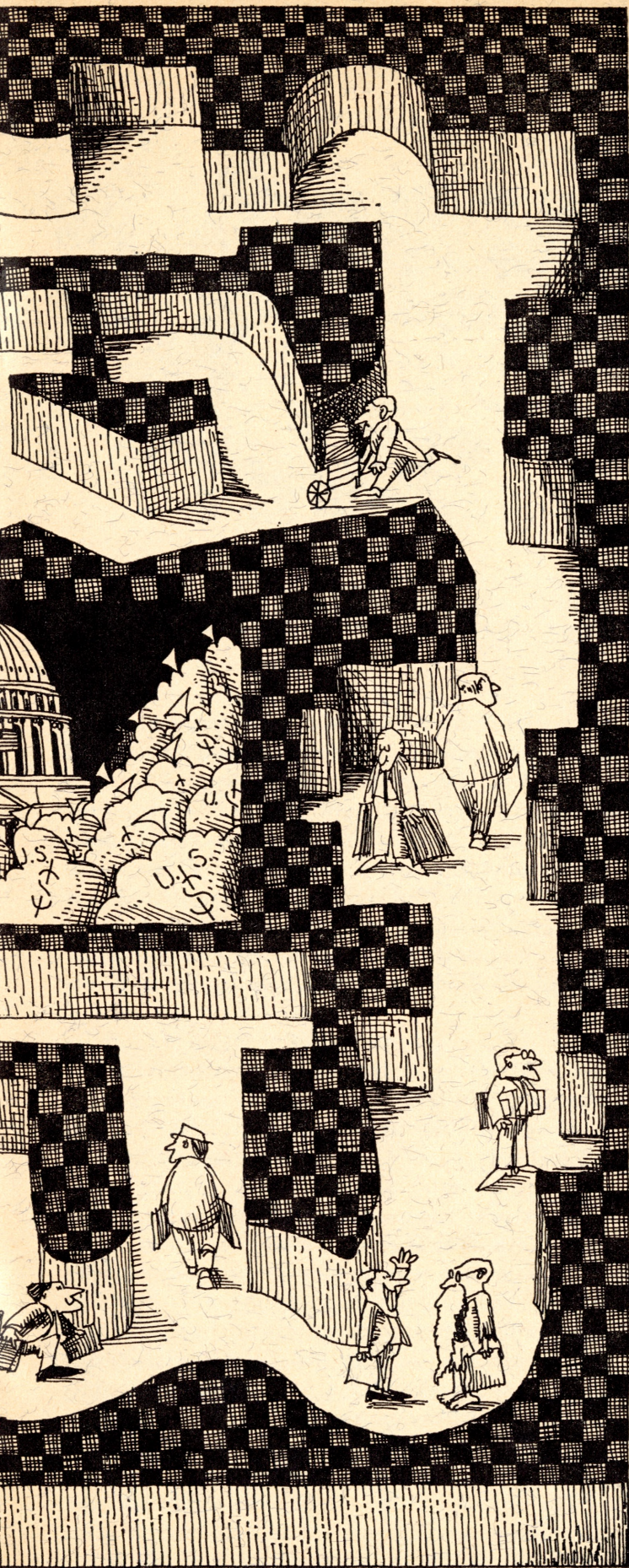
President Johnson provided another. Last summer, he publicly asked if the country is really getting its money's worth from its support of scientific research. He implied that the time may have come to apply more widely, for the benefit of the nation, the knowledge that Federally sponsored medical research had produced in recent years. A wave of apprehension spread through the medical schools when the President's remarks were reported. The inference to be drawn was that the Federal funds supporting the elaborate research effort, built at the urging of the government, might now be diverted to actual medical care and treatment. Later the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John W. Gardner, tried to lay a calming hand on the medical scientists' fevered brows by making a strong reaffirmation of the National Institutes of Health's commitment to basic research. But the apprehensiveness remains.

Other events suggest that the 25-year honeymoon of science and the government may be ending. Connecticut's Congressman Emilio Q. Daddario, a man who is not intimidated by the mystique of modern science, has stepped up his campaign to have a greater part of the National Science Foundation budget spent on applied research. And, despite pleas from scientists and NSF administrators, Congress terminated the costly Mohole project, which was designed to gain more fundamental information about the internal structure of the earth.

Some observers feel that because it permits and often causes such conflicts, the diversity in the government's support of higher education is a basic flaw in the partnership. Others, however, believe this diversity, despite its disadvantages, guarantees a margin of independence to colleges and universities that would be jeopardized in a monolithic "super-bureau."

Good or bad, the diversity was probably essential to the development of the partnership between Washington and the academic world. Charles Kidd, executive secretary of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, puts it bluntly when he points out that the system's pluralism has allowed us to avoid dealing "directly with the ideological problem of what the total relationship of the government and universities should be. If we had had to face these ideological and political pressures head-on over the





past few years, the confrontation probably would have wrecked the system.”

That confrontation may be coming closer, as Federal allocations to science and education come under sharper scrutiny in Congress and as the partnership enters a new and significant phase.

FEDERAL AID to higher education began with the Ordinance of 1787, which set aside public lands for schools and declared that the “means of education shall forever be encouraged.” But the two forces that most shaped American higher education, say many historians, were the land-grant movement of the nineteenth century and the Federal support of scientific research that began in World War II.

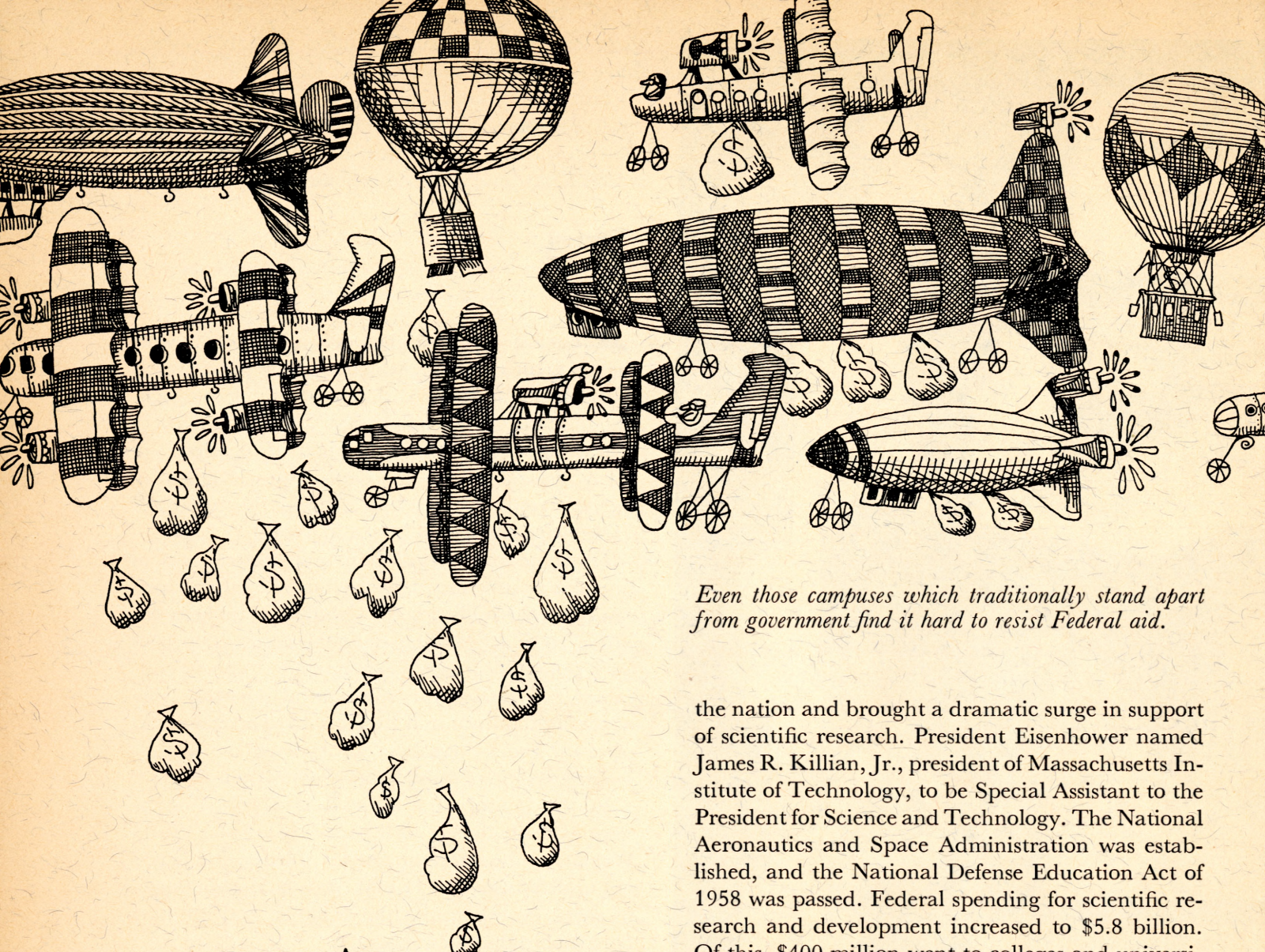
The land-grant legislation and related acts of Congress in subsequent years established the American concept of enlisting the resources of higher education to meet pressing national needs. The laws were pragmatic and were designed to improve education and research in the natural sciences, from which agricultural and industrial expansion could proceed. From these laws has evolved the world’s greatest system of public higher education.

In this century the Federal involvement grew spasmodically during such periods of crisis as World War I and the depression of the thirties. But it was not until World War II that the relationship began its rapid evolution into the dynamic and intimate partnership that now exists.

Federal agencies and industrial laboratories were ill-prepared in 1940 to supply the research and technology so essential to a full-scale war effort. The government therefore turned to the nation’s colleges and universities. Federal funds supported scientific research on the campuses and built huge research facilities to be operated by universities under contract, such as Chicago’s Argonne Laboratory and California’s laboratory in Los Alamos.

So successful was the new relationship that it continued to flourish after the war. Federal research funds poured onto the campuses from military agencies, the National Institutes of Health, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Science Foundation. The amounts of money increased spectacularly. At the beginning of the war the Federal government spent less than \$200 million a year for all research and development. By 1950, the Federal “r & d” expenditure totaled \$1 billion.

The Soviet Union’s launching of Sputnik jolted



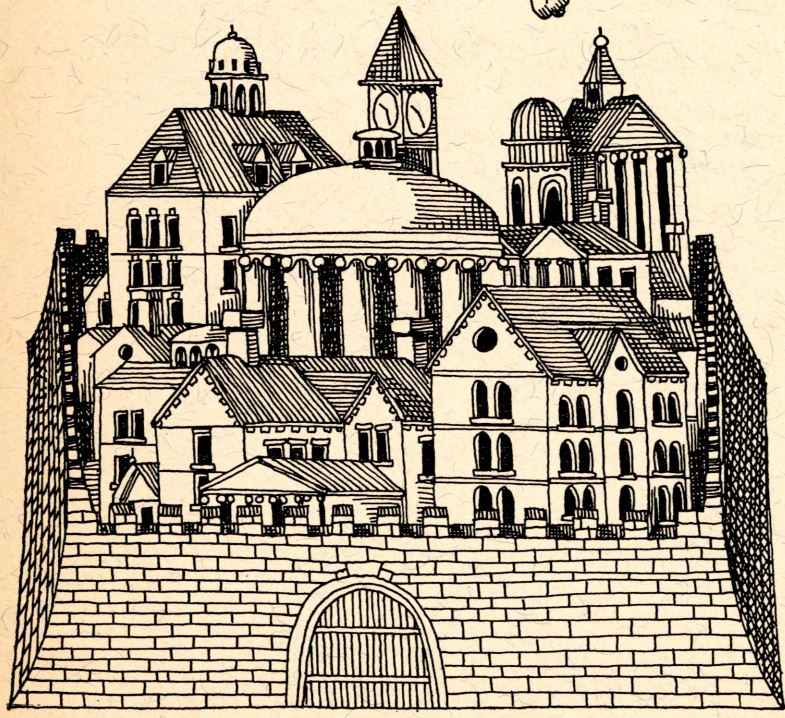
Even those campuses which traditionally stand apart from government find it hard to resist Federal aid.

the nation and brought a dramatic surge in support of scientific research. President Eisenhower named James R. Killian, Jr., president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to be Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration was established, and the National Defense Education Act of 1958 was passed. Federal spending for scientific research and development increased to \$5.8 billion. Of this, \$400 million went to colleges and universities.

The 1960's brought a new dimension to the relationship between the Federal government and higher education. Until then, Federal aid was almost synonymous with government support of science, and all Federal dollars allocated to campuses were to meet specific national needs.

There were two important exceptions: the GI Bill after World War II, which crowded the colleges and universities with returning servicemen and spent \$19 billion on educational benefits, and the National Defense Education Act, which was the broadest legislation of its kind and the first to be based, at least in part, on the premise that support of education itself is as much in the national interest as support which is based on the colleges' contributions to something as specific as the national defense.

The crucial turning-points were reached in the Kennedy-Johnson years. President Kennedy said: "We pledge ourselves to seek a system of higher edu-





education where every young American can be educated, not according to his race or his means, but according to his capacity. Never in the life of this country has the pursuit of that goal become more important or more urgent.” Here was a clear national commitment to universal higher education, a public acknowledgment that higher education is worthy of support for its own sake. The Kennedy and Johnson administrations produced legislation which authorized:

- ▶ \$1.5 billion in matching funds for new construction on the nation’s campuses.
- ▶ \$151 million for local communities for the building of junior colleges.
- ▶ \$432 million for new medical and dental schools and for aid to their students.
- ▶ The first large-scale Federal program of undergraduate scholarships, and the first Federal package combining them with loans and jobs to help individual students.
- ▶ Grants to strengthen college and university libraries.
- ▶ Significant amounts of Federal money for “promising institutions,” in an effort to lift the entire system of higher education.
- ▶ The first significant support of the humanities.

In addition, dozens of “Great Society” bills included funds for colleges and universities. And their number is likely to increase in the years ahead.

The full significance of the developments of the past few years will probably not be known for some time. But it is clear that the partnership between the

Federal government and higher education has entered a new phase. The question of the Federal government’s total relationship to colleges and universities—avoided for so many years—has still not been squarely faced. But a confrontation may be just around the corner.

THE MAJOR PITFALL, around which Presidents and Congressmen have detoured, is the issue of the separation of state and church. The Constitution of the United States says nothing about the Federal government’s responsibility for education. So the rationale for Federal involvement, up to now, has been the Constitution’s Article I, which grants Congress the power to spend tax money for the common defense and the general welfare of the nation.

So long as Federal support of education was specific in nature and linked to the national defense, the religious issue could be skirted. But as the emphasis moved to providing for the national welfare, the legal grounds became less firm, for the First Amendment to the Constitution says, in part, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion. . . .”

So far, for practical and obvious reasons, neither the President nor Congress has met the problem head-on. But the battle has been joined, anyway. Some cases challenging grants to church-related col-

A new phase in government-campus relationships

Is higher education losing control of its destiny?

leges are now in the courts. And Congress is being pressed to pass legislation that would permit a citizen to challenge, in the Federal courts, the Congressional acts relating to higher education.

Meanwhile, America's 893 church-related colleges are eligible for funds under most Federal programs supporting higher education, and nearly all have received such funds. Most of these institutions would applaud a decision permitting the support to continue.

Some, however, would not. The Southern Baptists and the Seventh Day Adventists, for instance, have opposed Federal aid to the colleges and universities related to their denominations. Furman University, for example, under pressure from the South Carolina Baptist convention, returned a \$612,000 Federal grant that it had applied for and received. Many colleges are awaiting the report of a Southern Baptist study group, due this summer.

Such institutions face an agonizing dilemma: stand fast on the principle of separation of church and state and take the financial consequences, or join the majority of colleges and universities and risk Federal influence. Said one delegate to the Southern Baptist Convention: "Those who say we're going to become second-rate schools unless we take Federal funds see clearly. I'm beginning to see it so clearly it's almost a nightmarish thing. I've moved toward Federal aid reluctantly; I don't like it."

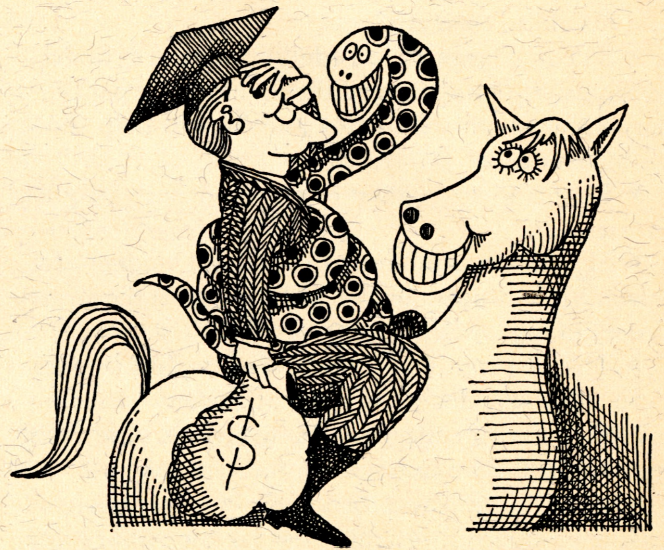
Some colleges and universities, while refusing Federal aid in principle, permit some exceptions. Wheaton College, in Illinois, is a hold-out; but it allows some of its professors to accept National Science Foundation research grants. So does Rockford College, in Illinois. Others shun government money, but let their students accept Federal scholarships and loans. The president of one small church-related college, faced with acute financial problems, says simply: "The basic issue for us is survival."

RECENT FEDERAL PROGRAMS have sharpened the conflict between Washington and the states in fixing the responsibility for education. Traditionally and constitutionally, the responsibility has generally been with the states. But as Federal support has equaled and surpassed the state alloca-

tions to higher education, the question of responsibility is less clear.

The great growth in quality and Ph.D. production of many state universities, for instance, is undoubtedly due in large measure to Federal support. Federal dollars pay for most of the scientific research in state universities, make possible higher salaries which attract outstanding scholars, contribute substantially to new buildings, and provide large amounts of student aid. Clark Kerr speaks of the "Federal grant university," and the University of California (which he used to head) is an apt example: nearly half of its total income comes from Washington.

To most governors and state legislators, the Federal grants are a mixed blessing. Although they have helped raise the quality and capabilities of state institutions, the grants have also raised the pressure on state governments to increase their appropriations for higher education, if for no other reason than to fulfill the matching requirement of many Federal awards. But even funds which are not channeled through the state agencies and do not require the state to provide matching funds can give impetus to increased appropriations for higher education. Federal research grants to individual scholars, for example, may make it necessary for the state to provide more faculty members to get the teaching done.



"Many institutions not only do not look a gift horse in the mouth; they do not even pause to note whether it is a horse or a boa constrictor."—JOHN GARDNER

Last year, 38 states and territories joined the Compact for Education, an interstate organization designed to provide "close and continuing consultation among our several states on all matters of education." The operating arm of the Compact will gather information, conduct research, seek to improve standards, propose policies, "and do such things as may be necessary or incidental to the administration of its authority. . . ."

Although not spelled out in the formal language of the document, the Compact is clearly intended to enable the states to present a united front on the future of Federal aid to education.

IN TYPICALLY PRAGMATIC FASHION, we Americans want our colleges and universities to serve the public interest. We expect them to train enough doctors, lawyers, and engineers. We expect them to provide answers to immediate problems such as water and air pollution, urban blight, national defense, and disease. As we have done so often in the past, we expect the Federal government to build a creative and democratic system that will accomplish these things.

A faculty planning committee at one university stated in its report: ". . . A university is now regarded as a symbol for our age, the crucible in which—by some mysterious alchemy—man's long-awaited Utopia will at last be forged."

Some think the Federal role in higher education is growing too rapidly.

As early as 1952, the Association of American Universities' commission on financing higher education warned: "We as a nation should call a halt at this time to the introduction of new programs of direct Federal aid to colleges and universities. . . . Higher education at least needs time to digest what it has already undertaken and to evaluate the full impact of what it is already doing under Federal assistance." The recommendation went unheeded.

A year or so ago, Representative Edith Green of Oregon, an active architect of major education legislation, echoed this sentiment. The time has come, she said, "to stop, look, and listen," to evaluate the impact of Congressional action on the educational system. It seems safe to predict that Mrs. Green's warning, like that of the university presidents, will fail to halt the growth of Federal spending on the campus. But the note of caution she sounds will be well-taken by many who are increasingly concerned

about the impact of the Federal involvement in higher education.

The more pessimistic observers fear direct Federal control of higher education. With the loyalty-oath conflict in mind, they see peril in the requirement that Federally supported colleges and universities demonstrate compliance with civil rights legislation or lose their Federal support. They express alarm at recent agency anti-conflict-of-interest proposals that would require scholars who receive government support to account for all of their other activities.

For most who are concerned, however, the fear is not so much of direct Federal control as of Federal influence on the conduct of American higher education. Their worry is not that the government will deliberately restrict the freedom of the scholar, or directly change an institution of higher learning. Rather, they are afraid the scholar may be tempted to confine his studies to areas where Federal support is known to be available, and that institutions will be unable to resist the lure of Federal dollars.

Before he became Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John W. Gardner said: "When a government agency with money to spend approaches a university, it can usually purchase almost any service it wants. And many institutions still follow the old practice of looking on funds so received as gifts. They not only do not look a gift horse in the mouth; they do not even pause to note whether it is a horse or a boa constrictor."

THE GREATEST OBSTACLE to the success of the government-campus partnership may lie in the fact that the partners have different objectives.

The Federal government's support of higher education has been essentially pragmatic. The Federal agencies have a mission to fulfill. To the degree that the colleges and universities can help to fulfill that mission, the agencies provide support.

The Atomic Energy Commission, for example, supports research and related activities in nuclear physics; the National Institutes of Health provide funds for medical research; the Agency for International Development finances overseas programs. Even recent programs which tend to recognize higher education as a national resource in itself are basically presented as efforts to cope with pressing national problems.

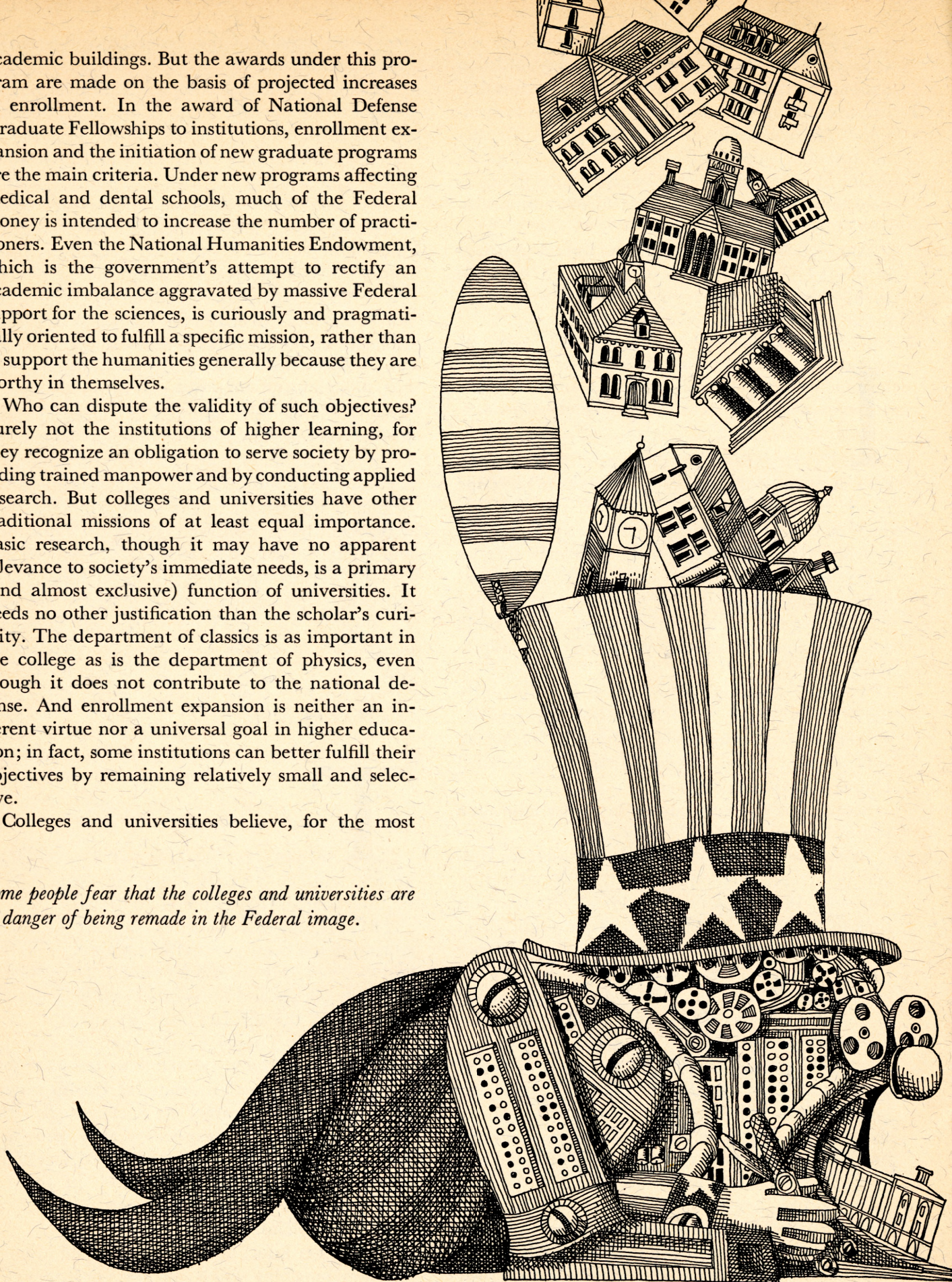
The Higher Education Facilities Act, for instance, provides matching funds for the construction of

academic buildings. But the awards under this program are made on the basis of projected increases in enrollment. In the award of National Defense Graduate Fellowships to institutions, enrollment expansion and the initiation of new graduate programs are the main criteria. Under new programs affecting medical and dental schools, much of the Federal money is intended to increase the number of practitioners. Even the National Humanities Endowment, which is the government's attempt to rectify an academic imbalance aggravated by massive Federal support for the sciences, is curiously and pragmatically oriented to fulfill a specific mission, rather than to support the humanities generally because they are worthy in themselves.

Who can dispute the validity of such objectives? Surely not the institutions of higher learning, for they recognize an obligation to serve society by providing trained manpower and by conducting applied research. But colleges and universities have other traditional missions of at least equal importance. Basic research, though it may have no apparent relevance to society's immediate needs, is a primary (and almost exclusive) function of universities. It needs no other justification than the scholar's curiosity. The department of classics is as important in the college as is the department of physics, even though it does not contribute to the national defense. And enrollment expansion is neither an inherent virtue nor a universal goal in higher education; in fact, some institutions can better fulfill their objectives by remaining relatively small and selective.

Colleges and universities believe, for the most

Some people fear that the colleges and universities are in danger of being remade in the Federal image.



When basic objectives differ, whose will prevail?

part, that they themselves are the best judges of what they ought to do, where they would like to go, and what their internal academic priorities are. For this reason the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges has advocated that the government increase its institutional (rather than individual project) support in higher education, thus permitting colleges and universities a reasonable latitude in using Federal funds.

Congress, however, considers that it can best determine what the nation's needs are, and how the taxpayer's money ought to be spent. Since there is never enough money to do everything that cries to be done, the choice between allocating Federal funds for cancer research or for classics is not a very difficult one for the nation's political leaders to make.

"The fact is," says one professor, "that we are trying to merge two entirely different systems. The government is the political engine of our democracy and must be responsive to the wishes of the people. But scholarship is not very democratic. You don't vote on the laws of thermodynamics or take a poll on the speed of light. Academic freedom and tenure are not prizes in a popularity contest."

Some observers feel that such a merger cannot be accomplished without causing fundamental changes in colleges and universities. They point to existing academic imbalances, the teaching-versus-research controversy, the changing roles of both professor and student, the growing commitment of colleges and universities to applied research. They fear that the influx of Federal funds into higher education will so transform colleges and universities that the very qualities that made the partnership desirable and productive in the first place will be lost.

The great technological achievements of the past 30 years, for example, would have been impossible without the basic scientific research that preceded them. This research—much of it seemingly irrelevant to society's needs—was conducted in univer-

sities, because only there could the scholar find the freedom and support that were essential to his quest. If the growing demand for applied research is met at the expense of basic research, future generations may pay the penalty.

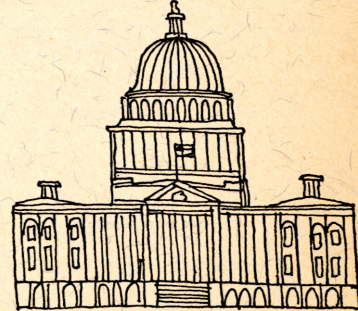
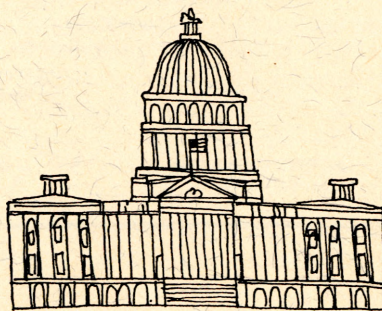
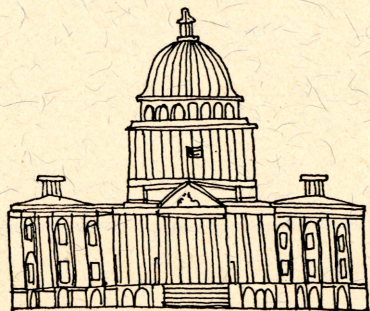
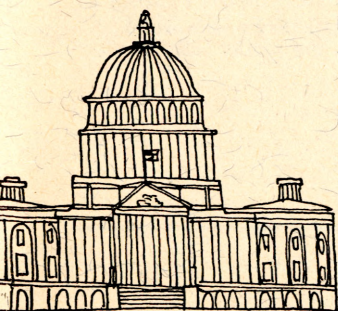
One could argue—and many do—that colleges and universities do not have to accept Federal funds. But, to most of the nation's colleges and universities, the rejection of Federal support is an unacceptable alternative.

For those institutions already dependent upon Federal dollars, it is too late to turn back. Their physical plant, their programs, their personnel are all geared to continuing Federal aid.

And for those institutions which have received only token help from Washington, Federal dollars offer the one real hope of meeting the educational objectives they have set for themselves.

HOWEVER DISTASTEFUL the thought may be to those who oppose further Federal involvement in higher education, the fact is that there is no other way of getting the job done—to train the growing number of students, to conduct the basic research necessary to continued scientific progress, and to cope with society's most pressing problems.

Tuition, private contributions, and state allocations together fall far short of meeting the total cost of American higher education. And as costs rise, the gap is likely to widen. Tuition has finally passed the \$2,000 mark in several private colleges and universities, and it is rising even in the publicly supported institutions. State governments have increased their appropriations for higher education dramatically, but there are scores of other urgent needs competing for state funds. Gifts from private foundations, cor-



porations, and alumni continue to rise steadily, but the increases are not keeping pace with rising costs.

Hence the continuation and probably the enlargement of the partnership between the Federal government and higher education appears to be inevitable. The real task facing the nation is to make it work.

To that end, colleges and universities may have to become more deeply involved in politics. They will have to determine, more clearly than ever before, just what their objectives are—and what their values are. And they will have to communicate these most effectively to their alumni, their political representatives, the corporate community, the foundations, and the public at large.

If the partnership is to succeed, the Federal government will have to do more than provide funds. Elected officials and administrators face the awesome task of formulating overall educational and research goals, to give direction to the programs of Federal support. They must make more of an effort to understand what makes colleges and universities tick, and to accommodate individual institutional differences.

THE TAXPAYING PUBLIC, and particularly alumni and alumnae, will play a crucial role in the

evolution of the partnership. The degree of their understanding and support will be reflected in future legislation. And, along with private foundations and corporations, alumni and other friends of higher education bear a special responsibility for providing colleges and universities with financial support. The growing role of the Federal government, says the president of a major oil company, makes corporate contributions to higher education more important than ever before; he feels that private support enables colleges and universities to maintain academic balance and to preserve their freedom and independence. The president of a university agrees: "It is essential that the critical core of our colleges and universities be financed with non-Federal funds."

"What is going on here," says McGeorge Bundy, "is a great adventure in the purpose and performance of a free people." The partnership between higher education and the Federal government, he believes, is an experiment in American democracy.

Essentially, it is an effort to combine the forces of our educational and political systems for the common good. And the partnership is distinctly American—boldly built step by step in full public view, inspired by visionaries, tested and tempered by honest skeptics, forged out of practical political compromise.

Does it involve risks? Of course it does. But what great adventure does not? Is it not by risk-taking that free—and intelligent—people progress?

The report on this and the preceding 15 pages is the product of a cooperative endeavor in which scores of schools, colleges, and universities are taking part. It was prepared under the direction of the group listed below, who form EDITORIAL PROJECTS FOR EDUCATION, a non-profit organization associated with the American Alumni Council.

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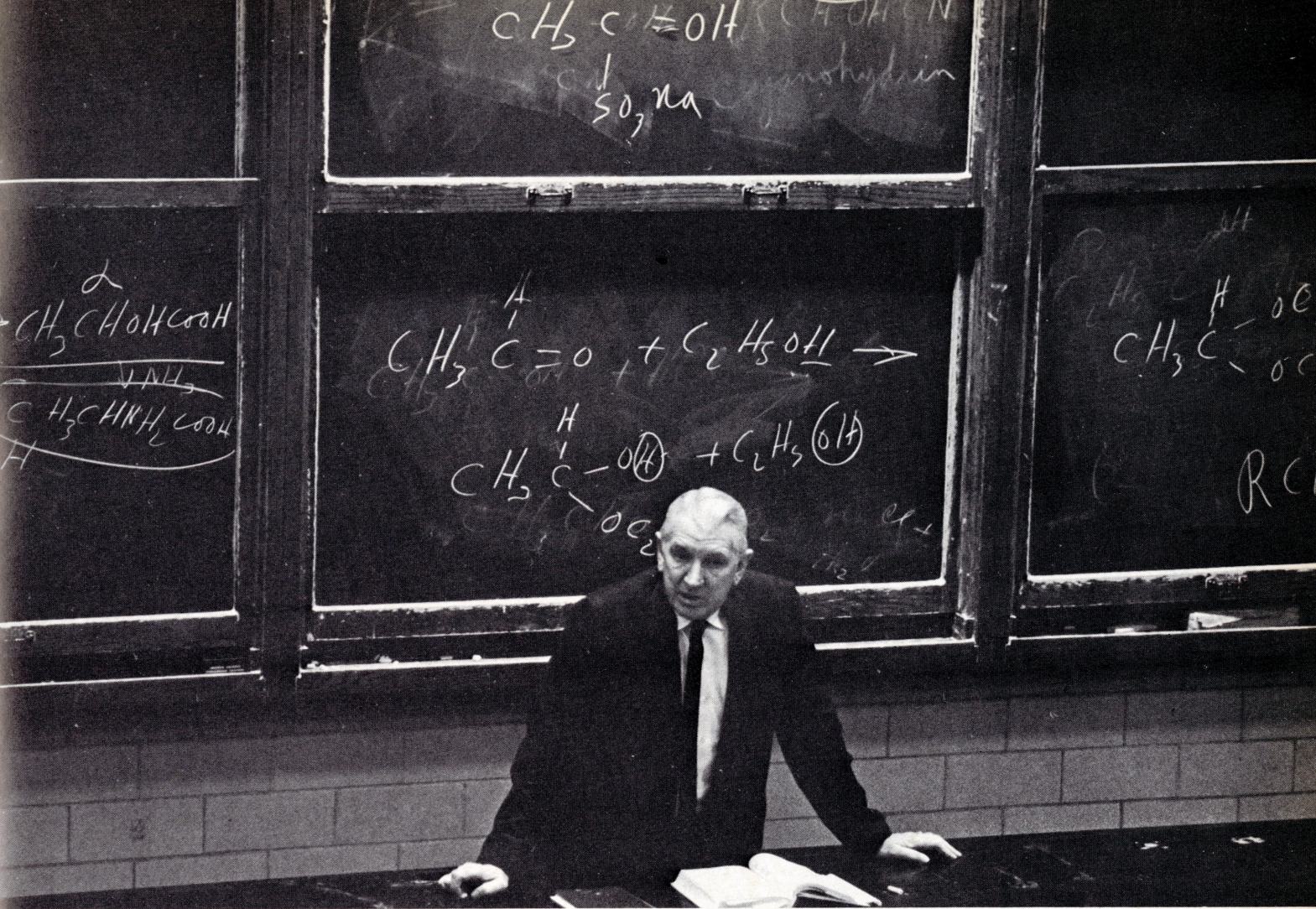
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UNCLE'S ROLE HERE

Uncle Sam's role at Providence College has been principally in the area of scientific research. However, the largest single amount of money is the recent one million dollar grant to aid construction of the College's new library. The high point of the Providence's relations with the federal government came in 1959 with the historic establishment of a pilot project in health science research by the National Institutes of Health. This and numerous individual grants over the years have pushed the total of federal monies invested in education and research at Providence into the millions of dollars.

It all began in 1953 with a \$9,000 grant from the office of Naval Research to the Rev. James W. Hackett, O.P. for a chemical research project. The title of that Project: "Development of a Method for the Electrochemical Formation of Perchlorate from Chlorate Solutions in Which the Use of Platinum Is Avoided."

Through the years, numerous individual grants of this type have come to professors at the College. Included among these men is Dr. Edwin K. Gora who has performed several projects under funds from the U.S. Air Force. The

Rev. Walter A. Murtaugh, O.P. has done work for the Atomic Energy Commission. Doctors Edward A. Healy, Robert I. Krasner, Mark N. Rerick, Robert E. Barrett, and William M. Stokes have all worked under grants from the National Institutes of Health. Much of the work of Dr. Theodore T. Galkowski has been done with National Science Foundation funds.

The prime mover in the securing of government grants was the late Rev. Frederick C. Hickey, O.P., who was instrumental in the College's first ventures in health research and through whose efforts the Honors Science Program became a reality with large grants from the National Institutes of Health. Eighteen months ago Father Hickey left the laboratory to devote his full time to the securing of government grants as vice president for development. His untimely death last Christmas came within days after Providence received the million dollar library grant through his efforts.

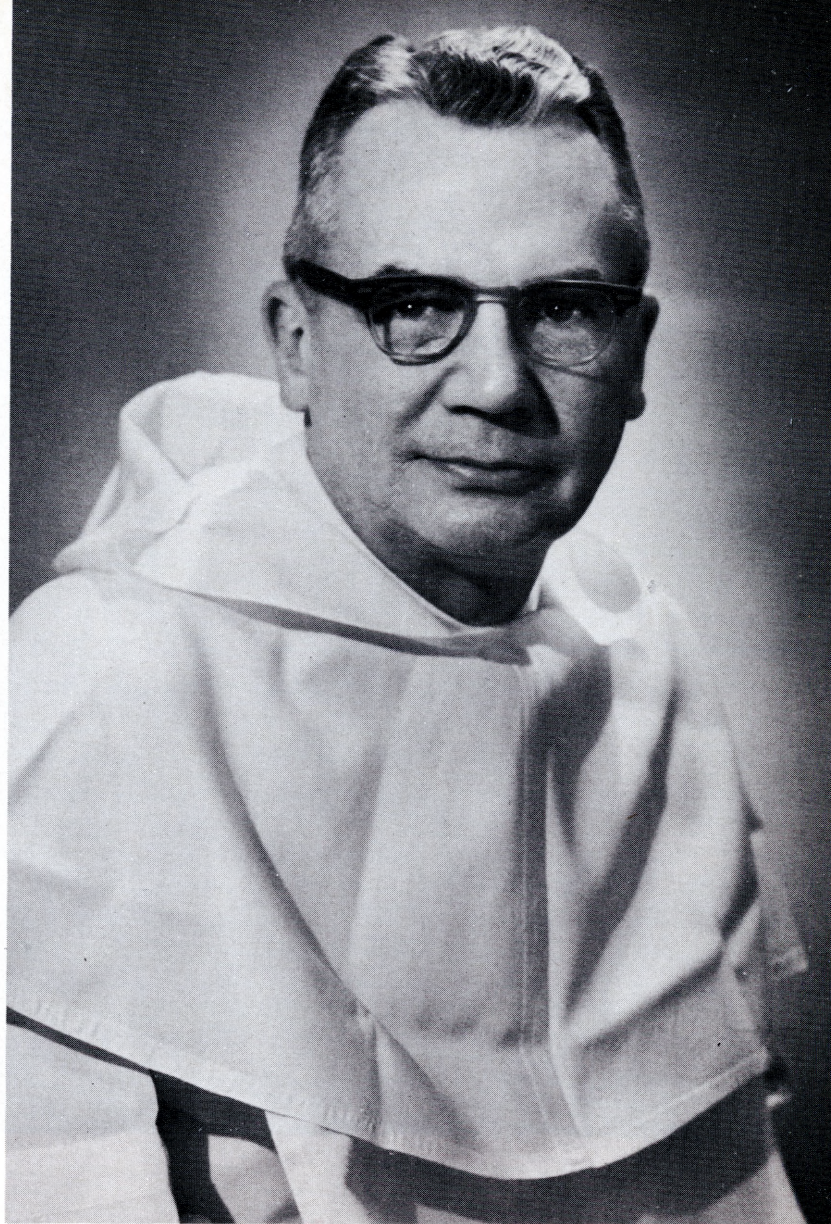
In the history of Providence's relationships with the federal government, the Honors Science Program sponsored by the National Institutes of Health stands out. Father Hickey conceived the program and became its' first director.



"...And above all, a liberal arts college with a record of intense interest in scientific research along with experience with undergraduate participation in research..."

In the late 1950's, The National Institutes of Health recognized a critical problem that few students were choosing careers in scientific research. To foster such careers, the N.I.H. sought a new approach to scientific education. They were looking for a school small enough to provide the flexibility for such an experiment, large enough to provide a fair sample, and above all, a liberal arts college with a record of intense interest in scientific research along with experience with undergraduate participation in research.

Providence College was visited by representatives of the N.I.H., and expressed keen interest in designing an experimental program to develop young men with a thorough scientific background and an interest in research. It was thought the program should be highly selective, should provide a solid background in mathematics and the sciences



The late Frederick C. Hickey, O.P.

and, lastly, should encourage students to pursue their own research problems while still in college.

The formal proposal for the Honors Science Program at Providence College was submitted to the National Institutes of Health, March 10, 1959. In the fall, the college was visited by a reviewing committee composed of representatives of eight major eastern universities. On December 16, 1959, the Surgeon General of the United States announced that Providence College had been selected for the unique pilot project. The College's proposal was approved for a period of five years, and during that time, three quarters of a million dollars of federal money supported the program. In 1964, the project was renewed for another five years with a grant of nearly a million dollars.

In the future, Providence College hopes to take part in

new granting programs developed by the National Science Foundation. The NSF is now providing funds to assist in the development of the social and behavioral sciences because it recognized an imbalance in federal funding in favor of the physical sciences. The College now has a proposal under the College Scholastic Improvement Program to aid in the development of the departments of economics, mathematics, sociology, psychology and political science. Providence was one of the first colleges to make a proposal under this program.

A limited, but significant area of federal aid is in the purchase of books for the new library. This will be one of the college's major needs in the next couple of years and any Federal assistance there will be a tremendous help.



“THE GREAT EVENT”



One local newsman described it as having "all the trappings of a Great Event." He was talking about the press conference at which Father Haas announced that basketball coach Joe Mullaney was signed for a record seven-year contract. A day earlier word had been issued simply that "Father Haas was going to make an announcement about Joe Mullaney's future." The result was speculation all over Rhode Island about what was going to be said. One report had Joe moving to the California entry in the new American Basketball League. An overflow crowd of reporters and photographers turned out for the announcement. Outside Father Haas' office the corridor was jammed with anxious students eager, too, for the news. Although told that "he stays" the students wouldn't leave until reassured by a copy of the official news release. After it was all over everyone was talking about how great another seven years of Mullaney coaching would be. And they were talking about the last 13 years during which Joe has put together a winning percentage of .779 —second in the nation only to Adolph Rupp of Kentucky.

ECONOMIC LITERACY

by

CHARLES B. QUIRK, O.P. '30

We were sitting in the College cafeteria lingering over a second cup of coffee. The doctor was very young and so was his lovely wife. Both were graduates of nationally recognized Catholic colleges. Both were obviously upper middle class. And both were disconcertingly articulate in their ultra-conservative opinions.

I had just attempted an elaboration of the recently issued *Mater et Magistra* at a meeting of our Thomistic Institute of Industrial Relations. For twenty years representative folks from labor, management and government had been attending these monthly gatherings at Providence College designed to provide a broad socio-economic background for developing an integration of contemporary labor-management issues with Christian social philosophy. As one would expect, these affairs generated varying degrees of heat in the give and take of animated discussion. But always, instinctive courtesy and good natured tolerance for conflicting positions preserved an atmosphere of real cordiality. This night, however, things had been different. We had had a member of the John Birch Society in attendance and, for once in my twenty-five years of lecturing around the land, I was literally pushed back on my heels by the almost hysterical vehemence of the man. Naturally, the group was shocked by the outburst, but, very much to my surprise, it was by no means unanimous in disagreement with many of the evidently untenable premises of the Birchite thesis. Now, I was certain that these young people of

excellent academic background, within the context of assumed exposure to both modern economic theory and Encyclical doctrine, would agree with me that the melange of extremist half-truths was neither good economics nor reconcilable with the basic demands of Christian social justice. I was wrong.

Predictably, my young friends were critical of the arrogance of our spokesman for the far right. However, as our conversation ranged the issues of the meeting, I was amazed by the general agreement of these two Catholic college graduates with the essentials of ultra-conservative politico-economic philosophy. It was rather obvious also that the extent of their knowledge of fundamental economics was restricted to the *obiter dicta* of certain popular columnists. The impact of the great Papal social encyclicals seemed to have had little effect except to leave them with the smug conviction that the moral imperatives of social justice were beautifully idealistic but hardly relevant in today's world.

All this happened one winter's evening five years ago. I was deeply disturbed then. I am profoundly concerned, a half decade later, because I have come to know that this was no isolated case of two assumedly representative Catholics whose economic illiteracy was inexcusable and whose social consciousness had been eroded by the environment of an affluent society. Tragically, economic literacy is conspicuous by its almost complete absence at all levels of our American milieu. And, for too many of the people of God, the failure to either accept or implement the mandate of the Church's social teaching seemingly remains an ominous reservation of their otherwise exemplary Catholicism.

In February, 1962, the Committee for Economic Development, a non-profit, research group, issued its revealing report, "Economic Literacy for Americans". In summary its conclusions were these: as the nation entered the sixties, approximately 90% of our children were finishing the 8th grade; 65% were completing high school; and 43% had entered junior or senior colleges. Of this latter group, 10% completed their work for a baccalaureate degree, which, for three-quarters of their number, involved no exposure to any form of economic education. At the secondary level, 25 of 130 large city school systems were found to require a course in basic economics while 64 had elective courses only. The electives, incidentally, were found to be poorly attended. It would seem fairly evident, then, that the opportunity for a substantial majority of young Americans to acquire urgently needed knowledge of fundamental economics is virtually non-existent.

Commenting editorially on the implications of its report, C.E.D. made these observations: "Our human freedoms, as reflected in the democratic form of society depend upon the decision-making of millions of individual citizens. Our living standards, long the envy of other peoples, can grow no faster than the soundness of the economic decisions of our people. Our ability to meet our obligations abroad and to defend ourselves on all fronts rests, to a large degree, on economic wisdom at home The typical American just



The Rev. Charles B. Quirk, O.P. is chairman of the economics department at Providence College.

is not intellectually ready to make wise political decisions because he is too often conditioned by brainwashing of the far right or the far left.”

Writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 10th, 1962, Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce in the Kennedy cabinet, added the weight of his national stature to the conclusions of the Committee for Economic Development with his article, “We’re Flunking Our Economic ABC’s”. Mr. Hodges put the matter this way: “If ignorance paid dividends, most Americans would make a fortune out of what they don’t know about economics. Hardly one person in twenty has the sketchiest idea of how our economy functions. Americans may be the greatest industrial power on earth, but for all that the most of us know, our greatness depends on growing breadfruit trees. Fifty years ago our ignorance might have been inexcusable. Today it is intolerable.

Professors G. L. Bach and Philip Saunders, in the June, 1965, issue of the *American Economic Review*, published the results of an intensive five year study of national surveys directed at measuring the economic literacy of Americans. Their conclusions were in complete accord with those of the C. E. D. findings and have the added merit of updating the proportions of the problem. Although the A. E. R. study provides more penetrating detail in assigning basic reasons for the default in economic education, it is in substantial agreement that both methodological approach and the acute scarcity of competent teachers seem to be the pervasive causes of the situation. It was found, for instance, that in the early sixties, only 18 states demanded an economic course as a prerequisite for college graduates to be certified as social science teachers. The 32 remaining states required no economic background training for their future social science teachers. Against this documented background of inadequate college preparation, it is little wonder that so many of the “civics” or “social science” courses in the nation’s secondary schools are exercises in confusion.

From the personal experience of over a quarter of a century of exposing college students to the gamut of economic knowledge, I am convinced that two additional causal factors for the nation’s economic illiteracy must be cited. The reluctance to scientifically probe these sensitive areas is understandable, of course. But it would seem that the cumulative de-emphasis on undergraduate teaching in so many of the country’s institutions of higher learning has had a notably adverse effect on the whole range of economic education. Too often the most important freshman or sophomore “survey” course in fundamental economics is taught by graduate assistants whose primary interest, of necessity, lies in the context of the upper stratum of mathematical economics. Inevitably students are aware of the fact that, for such an instructor, the classroom stint is a dull, distracting interlude in the predominating pursuit of an advanced degree. If, on the other hand, the novice professor accepts the exciting challenge of introducing young people to the intriguing subject matter of economics, he frequently tends to spend a disproportionate amount of time with

“...Hardly one person in twenty has the sketchiest idea of how our economy functions...”

“... It would be ridiculous to approach the complicated economic problems of today with the relatively crude research skills of only yesterday...”

graphs, mathematical formulae and what appears to be sheer gobbledegook. For the average college student these exercises in the esoteric leave him cold and utterly convinced that here indeed is the “dismal science”. One could hardly expect the continuing recruitment of competent social science teachers in such an academic environment.

It would be ridiculous to approach the complicated economic problems of today with the relatively crude research skills of only yesterday. Yet, it is equally absurd to become so infatuated with the assumed omniscience of econometric models that the human equation is either ignored or minimized. Something of the growing concern at this disposition of most contemporary economists to fragment their discipline was given prestigious airing at a recent convention of the American Economic Association. With disarming candor and, presumably, with tongue in cheek, Paul Samuelson, as retiring president, addressed his colleagues as “this occult body”. And Harvard’s Edward Mason, observing that “all the best young brains are going into mathematical areas as expert technicians,” expressed his anxiety concerning their ability “to properly evaluate those central political and philosophical issues” which he considers the province of economists.

Actually, the rock bottom basis of economics has all the simplicity of the primitive life and death struggle of men merely to exist. On the one hand, there is the indisputable fact of a deficiency of material goods and services. Confronting this scarcity is the constant pressure of Man’s expanding efforts to acquire the things he needs—or thinks he needs. The many-faceted superstructure of both economic theory and practical economic functions is reared upon the universal foundation of scarcity and want. The best possible allocation of these scarce means is the fundamental problem for both individual men and the politico-economic societies of men. Within this frame of reference, an introductory course in economics should draw on the ancillary disciplines of history, politics, sociology, psychology ethics and even the news columns of the daily press as it patiently develops the evolution of the basic economic problem, elaborates its implications and gradually reveals the economist’s kit of analytic tools. To literally throw the book at the class, to over awe it with the vocabulary of the professional economist, to distort the simple facts of economic life with a bewildering emphasis on the mathematical all this may be very impressive for a week or two. But after that the average youngster is lost and the loss, so pervasive in educational structure, is a dangerous liability in our American society.

Another factor seriously qualifying the current effort to enhance economic literacy in the United States appears to be the mentality of many local school boards. Largely a heritage of the past, it is a study in frustration. During the early years of this century most colleges and universities, fearing to offend either generous benefactors or potent political groups, stressed traditional neo-Classical economics. In fact, it has been said, facetiously, that if one taught a

parrot the law of supply and demand he would have had an economist of the period. Perhaps the satire is a bit too sharp, but it does underline the tendency of the pre-Depression traditionalists to commit themselves and their students to theories which had little real validity outside a textbook. For the past three decades, school boards in all parts of the country have been strongly influenced by aging members whose economic thinking has been shaped in the speculative context of the early twentieth century. Either an instinctive distrust of "that man in the white house," distorted curriculum decisions or an almost complete ignorance of economic theory moved them to solve the growing problem of economic illiteracy by ignoring it. At any rate, political and class bias together with a paralyzing fear of the unknown has deprived so many in this generation of the indispensable knowledge of both the fact and the implications of our truly unique economic system.

For no other nation in the history of the world has been able to wage two world wars, a "police action" in Korea and a multi-million "reconnaissance in force" in Viet Nam; provide its own citizens with both butter and guns while it saved the rest of the world from starvation; exhibit unprecedented prodigality in helping other nations, friend and foe alike, to turn swords into ploughshares; and, despite this prodigious drain on its natural resources, its finances and its manpower move through the second half of the twentieth century with the highest living standard in the world. Certainly all this did not happen in a vacuum. Contemporary history bears witness to the failure of nineteenth century "laissez-faire" capitalism in its European homeland. The American economic venture, within the framework of American democracy, developed into something quite different. In Europe, capitalism created a pattern of inflexible class distinctions, preferential treatment for the ruling socio-economic groups, callous exploitation of colonial possessions, private monopolies and cartels. It generated the violent reactions of socialism, fascism and communism. In the United States, the evolution of private enterprise has been toward a truly welfare capitalism—the Fair Deal, the New Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society—with the medieval concept of the common good assuming increasing importance as the criterion of an evolving partnership between management, ownership, labor and government. It has inspired a tremendous growth and extension of our "mixed" economy. In Europe throughout the 19th century—and in the twentieth until the post World War decade—capitalism sought to guarantee maximum profits by controlling production in the interest of the few while the many were deprived of its benefits through grossly inequitable distribution. Here, in the United States, the emerging philosophy of production has been to supply more and better goods and services for less and less on the valid assumption that great volume at small unit profit assures adequate total earnings while providing a steadily rising standard of living for American consumers.

Few Americans have given better capsule definition to our evolving capitalism than Dwight D. Eisenhower and

"...In Europe capitalism created a pattern of inflexible class distinctions ...In the United States the evolution of private enterprise has been toward a truly welfare capitalism..."

“... The degree to which free men in a free society share the privileges of that society is the degree to which they accept and fulfill the duties which, ultimately, give meaning to their rights...”

Henry Cabot Lodge. Meeting with Nikita Krushchev at Camp David and noting that Communists believe that their system “is a progressive step in the long march of history,” Mr. Eisenhower directed this reminder to his guest: “In the United States we do not have any system. We have a way of life. We are concerned in giving every individual the maximum freedom to develop himself and the government is really a help, not the director of the individual.” Later, on the same state trip, Mr. Krushchev was invited to attend a dinner at the prestigious Economics Club of New York. There, in the major address of the occasion, Henry Cabot Lodge made this point for the Russian Communist leader: “American business prospers at the same time that the Federal government in ways small and large, pervades our lives We live in a welfare state which seeks to put a floor beneath which no one sinks, but builds no ceiling to prevent a man from rising.”

Economic literacy is the manifest responsibility of every citizen in a democracy. For the degree to which free men in a free society share the privileges of that society is the degree to which they accept and fulfill the duties which, ultimately, give meaning to their rights. The intelligent and consistent use of the ballot is just such an obligation. And, today, few issues are finally settled by the ballot which do not presuppose a knowledge of basic economics. If this be true for the citizen of any democratic political society, it is especially urgent for those citizens who have the privilege of a total Catholic education. From Pope Leo XIII to Pope Paul VI—and in the magnificent Vatican II decree on *The Church in the Modern World*—the social philosophy of the Church emphasizes and defends the priority of personal initiative in the economic affairs of men. But it insists that “public authority also must play an active part in promoting increased productivity with a view to social progress and the welfare of all the citizens.” As the role of government—and consequently the dimension of the welfare state—expands the papal encyclicals, and their reaffirmation in the conciliar decree of Vatican II have compelling relevance for American Catholics. They can, and in some instances, they must challenge both specific social legislation and its implementation. But, on the definitive philosophy of these great documents, there can be no controversy among true sons and daughters of the Church.

That government, any government, must restrict its enabling activities to areas in which private enterprise cannot—or will not—respond to its responsibilities is a first principle of Catholic social thought. But that the same government has a moral duty to create an environment in which its citizens can achieve their economic destiny with dignity is an equally impelling mandate of Christian social philosophy. Here, then, is sanctioned and encouraged that public authority whose objective is “neither to destroy nor absorb” but rather “to help the social body to attain its spiritual, social and economic ends.” Here too, I would think, is the context within which the modern Catholic must make his final judgment about both the economics and the morality of either the far left or the far right.

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