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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1974

MEETING FOR DOMESTIC COUNCIL ISSUE REVIEW (HIGHER EDUCATION)

> Monday, December 2, 1974 11:30 a.m. (1 hour) The Cabinet Room

From: Ken Cole

I. PURPOSE

Secretary Weinberger will review the main problem areas in higher education and suggest for your consideration several corrective courses of action. With your guidance his recommendations can be further developed as elements of the State of the Union or a subsequent special message on education.

No decisions are expected at this meeting.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. <u>Background</u>: Secretary Weinberger will review current and anticpated trends in higher education and the serious problems facing colleges and universities. He will present several approaches being advocated by outside groups and evaluate their feasibility given the budget constraints.

What he will present is not revolutionary, but rather a modification of existing student aid programs and procedures. You may wish to request development of recommendations to consolidate, redirect or terminate other programs under the Higher Education Act.

Attached at Tab A is a summary of Secretary Weinberger's memorandum which is included as Tab B.

B. Participants:

Secretary Weinberger
Roy Ash
Virginia Trotter, Assistant Secretary for Education (HEW)
Ted Bell, Commissioner of Education (HEW)
William Morrill, Assistant Secretary for Planning
and Evaluation (HEW)
Bill Timmons
Paul O'Neill
Jack Marsh
Bob Hartmann
Ken Cole
Roger Semerad

C. Press Plan:

To be announced. White House photo.

III. TALKING POINTS

- 1. Cap, I understand that you and your colleagues have been analyzing the problems facing our colleges and universities and reviewing possible steps we might take within the current budget constraints. I also understand that input has been received from the education community and their ideas have been evaluated. Perhaps you could run through your recommendations for us now.
- 2. Thank you. As you all are aware, we are unable to do everything but must take what constructive steps are necessary to preserve the integrity, diversity and quality of the institutions while making sure our talented young people can have the opportunity to attend college.
- 3. I believe we can do more positive things with the money we already have available by pruning programs which encourage dependence on the Federal Government and have little or any impact on real national needs. I would like you to look at your other higher education programs with consolidation and redirection of funds in mind.

SUMMARY OF MEMORANDUM

The Secretary's memorandum summarizes the current state of higher education, the federal role in supporting higher education, trends in federal funding, possible administration initiatives, and problems relating to equal opportunity.

It examines the tremendous growth in American higher education during the last decade and the qualitative improvements and changing enrollment patterns which have accompanied this growth. The greatest growth has been in the public sector with enormous development of our state college, university, and community college programs.

The memorandum notes that although American higher education has immense resources, these resources are not increasing at this time and many institutions face serious fiscal problems which in the foreseeable future will result in closings.

The Secretary points out changes in society resulting in the demands upon the educational establishment for different types of education and training and the basic motivation of students attending postsecondary education being that of increasing their earning capabilities. There is discussion of the feasibility of having ever-increasing numbers of college graduates trying to enter a labor force which cannot accommodate them. In effect, the Secretary is questioning whether the Federal Government should continue to make it even easier for greater numbers of students to go to college when our manpower needs of the future may not be able to absorb so many people with this type of preparation. The impact of any federal policy on the overall health of the higher education community is significant and ways must be found to ensure that a shift in focus will be orderly.

Proposed programs, advocated by Members of Congress and special interest groups are critically reviewed. Alternative approaches are outlined which would mainly benefit private colleges and middle income parents. Essentially, the Secretary proposes:

- A program of federal incentive for greater state supplementation of basic grant awards;
- 2) A program of federal insurance which would permit all students to borrow more without fear that their educational debt would become unmanageable;

3. A proposal to increase the basic grant award ceiling from the present \$1400 to \$1800 or \$2000.

Also mentioned are proposals now being developed which would "tune" our student aid system, improve access to student loans at a lower cost to the federal budget and prevent abuses by individual borrowers, lenders or schools.

Concern is expressed regarding the impact of the federal efforts in the Affirmative Action program which presents severe administrative and management problems to the academic community. Also discussed is the recent controversy over implementation of title IX which is aimed at discrimination on the basis of sex.



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE WASHINGTON, D. C. 20201

NOV 2 7 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Higher Education

The State of Higher Education

The last decade has been a period of enormous expansion for American higher education:

- -- Total degree-credit enrollment has increased 70 percent.
- -- Community college enrollment has increased almost 200 percent.
- -- Bachelor's degrees have increased 90 percent.
- -- Doctor's degrees have increased 150 percent.
- -- Instructional staff has increased by about two-thirds.
- Higher education's share of the GNP has increased about 50 percent.

These quantitative changes have been accompanied by major qualitative shifts of focus. Large numbers of students with neither the family incomes or previous academic preparation predominant in earlier college-going generations are now attending college. Many such students are attending new colleges designed for them, in particular the community colleges. In the late sixties, new community colleges were opening at the rate of one a week. These students often are not seeking degrees and for such students a public technical institute, an apprenticeship program or a proprietary vocational school is the perceived alternative, not a four-year liberal arts college. Some disadvantaged students who do enter baccalaureate programs need remedial help of kinds which colleges did not previously feel called upon to provide.

Private four-year institutions have participated in the general expansion. Their enrollments are up about 50 percent -- roughly the same percentage increase as for the number of high school graduates. But it is the public sector of the higher education system which has

accommodated the growth attributable to a higher proportion of high school graduates going on to college. The private share of total enrollments has dropped from a traditional 50 percent to less than 25 percent.

The financial burdens of supporting this system are widely shared. Families pay something like 40 percent of the cost of educating students, counting the costs of their subsistence, although families provide only 20 percent of institutional income exclusive of room and board services. Taxpayers provide about 50 percent of total institutional income. Federal, state and local governments share this burden among themselves in approximately these proportions:

State 56 percent Local 8 percent Federal 36 percent

Income from endowment accounts for less than 2 percent of institutional resources and current gifts perhaps twice that amount.

Although the resources of American higher education are immense, they are no longer growing rapidly. Commitments which implicitly assumed continued rapid growth, are being painfully reexamined. Physical plant has often been overbuilt and faculties are often over-staffed. Little attention was ever paid to trying to bring increased productivity to faculty work. In many disciplines little room can be made for the new scholars now completing their training. Fiscal problems will dictate that far more emphasis will have to be placed on increased productivity for all connected with a college.

Much of the anxiety of the higher education community centers on a shortage of paying students who bring with them either tuition fees or a capitation payment from state funds. For several years, private institutions have engaged in increasingly competitive marketing and pricing practices in order to attract students. Public institutions now have similar concerns.

Aggregate enrollments do not yet reflect a decline in the traditional college age population, which will not occur until the end of this decade (Annex A). It rather seems to reflect a growing disenchantment with going to college as a way of increasing earning capacity and job status. Although many young people seek education for its own sake, the strongest motivation has often been the prospect of gaining higher economic status. When this prospect seems less bright, enrollment may naturally be affected. Nowhere is this kind of response more conspicuous than in teacher training. In 1972 338,000 would-be teachers

completed their training (many with a government subsidy that should have been stopped years before) but only 197,000 jobs were available. The same result is true for Ph D's. In 1969-70 30,000 Ph D's were awarded, and about 15,000 of these obtained academic posts.

It is not altogether a bad thing to have total enrollments level out. I have never felt that the idea of the 60's that every high school graduate had to go to college, or would necessarily benefit by a college degree, was a correct approach. Proposals to increase aggregate enrollments are now frequently made, although they are often poorly thought out. Some, in effect, propose to lower the effective price of education to the student through greatly increased tuition subsidies or student aid. Others seek new markets, and propose plans for worker sabbaticals to finance the return to college of unemployed or middle-aged workers.

Whatever the merit and feasibility of such plans in other respects, they all run up against the question of whether the economy can absorb still larger numbers of college educated people in their traditional roles. Greater aggregate enrollments might solve the financial problems of the colleges and universities. But since they would lead to a large pool of graduates whose objectives were economic and who are bound to be disappointed in the results of their education, the social damage wrought by such plans could far exceed their institutional usefulness.

All of this emphasizes the need for rapid development of the initiative you outlined so well in your Ohio State speech shortly after your inauguration. We are, with Commerce and Labor, preparing a paper and briefing for you on this matter. It is clearly a vital necessity for the future given the trends covered in this paper.

Absent interventions to increase enrollments, the prospect may be for smaller proportions of young people to go to college, with more seeking jobs immediately after high school, at least in periods of low unemployment. At the same time, those who do go to college may well go for a longer period of years and those who have dropped out may be increasingly likely to return. This is because once an individual has decided to line up in the queue for jobs requiring higher education credentials, the more such credentials he has the better off he is. Behavior along these lines is already evidenced by higher rates of enrollment in graduate and professional schools. This may be economically troublesome. There is a possibility that it could improve individual chances without increasing overall productivity. In that case, it would be wasteful of resources. It may also result in demands for extending undergraduate student aid eligibility to cover more than the present four or five years — a costly development for the Federal budget.

The situation of the private colleges poses a special set of problems. Until the early sixties they had traditionally enrolled approximately half of all students in higher education, with only minor fluctuations. That has now changed. They currently enroll fewer than a quarter of all students and it is easy to develop projections, which would show the private share declining eventually to ten percent of the total, or less. The problem is price. Parents and students must consider whether any advantage of private higher education is really worth the extra cost entailed when a publicly subsidized institution is readily accessible. The cost differential faced by most parents is on the order of \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year, and can run much higher. If longrun enrollment trends continue to be adverse to the private colleges, there will undoubtedly be closings. So far, closings have been scattered and have been most frequent among small Roman Catholic colleges. There is no reason to expect large numbers of institutions to go out of business all at once. Yet the Federal government needs to decide what its role is in the face of the long-run project. think it vital that we maintain full diversity in our educational system including public, private and church schools, and so I will make suggestions later in this memorandum on some ways in which the Federal government might seek to be useful to secure this diversity, and maintain competitiveness of the system as a whole.

Not all of the problems of higher education are financial. It has taken time to recover from the conflicts of the past several years. Sadly, but frankly there is a legacy of distrust toward the Federal government. Attitudes toward the Indo-China war seem to have blinded the more vocal members of the academic community who are given most attention by the media, to the very positive and supportive policies of the Administration toward higher education. Many academics seem to have discounted the Administration's major student aid initiative, its generous support for the Black colleges and its consistent defense of academic freedom against efforts to establish forms of accountability for Federal support that would intrude on institutional autonomy. There is a message here that badly needs to be conveyed.

II. The Federal role in supporting higher education

The Federal role in the support of higher education has a number of components:

The sponsorship of research. In some areas this role derived from exclusive missions of the national government--e.g. in fields related to national defense. In other cases, although there are concurrent state, local and private missions, the results of research redound to the benefit of all people of the Nation. Such areas are health care, energy utilization and most areas of research which produce non-proprietary results.

Any single non-Federal party might well leave the financing of research in such an area to others, since it would receive the benefit in any case. Hence, a special national role.

-- Equal opportunity. The Federal government has assumed a special role in helping students overcome financial barriers to pursuing higher education through its student aid programs. In a society that puts so much stress on the value of social mobility, and so much emphasis on education as a route to such mobility, it has come to seem intolerable that parental poverty should be an absolute barrier to a college education.

Although student aid has represented the main Federal budget commitment to equal opportunity, some argue that the same role could include institutional aid along the lines of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

- A broad concern for the health and effectiveness of educational institutions. Student aid also has a role in making the system of higher education work more effectively without either Federal coercion or imposing uniformity on the system. The Administration has emphasized that student aid with wide choice of institution serves as a way of supporting a free market in ideas and educational programs. Through the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, the Administration has also sought to encourage innovation and reform through research, development and demonstration projects aimed at stimulating rather than regulating educational decision making. These activities usually involve institutional project grants.
- -- Meeting national manpower requirements. The Federal government has often called upon the colleges and universities to increase the size of particular manpower pools through training programs. Health care personnel are now the most conspicuous area for such Federal activities.

Federal manpower programs have often outlived their usefulness, and the ability of students to identify areas of shortage and surplus (and their willingness to make choices accordingly) is by and large as impressive as the foresight of Federal agencies. Accordingly, a Federal role in funding categorical manpower programs is perhaps best viewed as an emergency role, to be exerted only when unforeseeable events or major national decisions suddenly create a new demand.

Consumer protection. Although states have been increasingly active in protecting students from degree mills and fraudulent vocational schools, a Federal role is sustainable on interstate commerce grounds, and is made urgent by the Federal role in student aid. In particular, the Federal guarantee of loans to finance education puts individuals in a position where they may be tempted to enroll in courses whose benefits are misrepresented. The preferred way of dealing with such abuse is to require truthful and comparable disclosure about the educational programs. The role of the SEC can serve as something of a model here. Other measures, however, are also necessary and are being implemented.

III. Trends in Federal funding

All of these roles are appropriate but the emphasis properly shifts from one to another at different times. Such shifts have been a major problem in the relationship of the Federal government to the academic community, because such changes have differential impact on different groups of institutions. Research money tends to go to prestige universities, training money to a considerably broader group and student aid funds to the full spectrum of institutions. As a result, a shift from an emphasis on research to either of the other two objectives can cause major financial problems for a group of institutions, even if total Federal support remains the same or increases.

Thus while current dollars for higher education increased about 60 percent from 1969 to 1975, there were major shifts:

- -- Funds for two-year institutions increased more than fourfold.
- -- Funds for other undergraduate education more than doubled.
- Funds for graduate and professional education declined by almost one-half.
- -- Funds for university-based research increased by about one-half.

A table summarizing the recent history of Federal funding for higher education appears at Annex B.

IV. Possible Administration initiatives

Since 1970 the Administration has sought to carry through on a major commitment: to assure all young people access to higher education opportunities. Whether all young people benefit from, or should go to college is another issue. It has sought to achieve this objective through student aid programs that would also support the diversity

and autonomy of colleges and universities. The key program to achieve this has been the Basic Opportunity Grant Program under which Federal assistance goes to the student who makes his own decision as to which college he wants to attend. This reversed the prior plan of giving each institution the Federal funds. Thus we believe reform of the system and responsiveness to the Nation's needs will result, not from regulation and direct Federal accountability, but rather from a free play of market forces, as students seek the education they wish, thus causing desirable and healthy competition among colleges and universities.

There have been major successes in this effort on behalf of higher education. The Basic Grants program was enacted and is fully operational, although at limited funding levels (because Congress prefers the old method of aiding the institutions) and only for two college classes. However, we think we have resisted those forms of institutional aid which would lead to Federal intrusion into educational decision making.

These achievements are, however, vulnerable unless carried further. We do not now have on the statute books good answers to the question of how private colleges and universities are to survive on their merits in the academic marketplace, nor to the question of how middle-income families are going to be able to afford private or even public education in those states where high tuition has been adopted for public colleges. Some solutions to these problems being proposed by Members of the Congress and by the interest groups could have extremely undesirable consequences. Among them are:

- -- Proposals to increase aggregate demand for higher education by making the first two years of college free for all.
- -- Institutional aid based on cost, not performance and designed to preserve competitors, not competition.
- -- Reformulation of criteria for student aid awards in ways which would shift aid away from low-income students to help middle-income students.

Proposals along the above lines might help the private colleges and middle-income parents, but only if funded at very costly levels which would risk some loss of the autonomy of institutions and also risk an oversupply of college educated manpower. Under tight budget conditions, they would take money away from programs aiding low-income students.

The following are approaches to the problems of private colleges and middle-income parents which could help resolve them at far less risk of the kinds of adverse effects described above:

- (1) A program of Federal incentives for state supplementation of Basic Grant awards, on terms that would make Federal-state student aid available to middle-income students attending private colleges as well as to low-income students at all types of colleges.
- (2) A program of Federal insurance against the risk of having to repay student loans from inadequate income so that all students including middle—income students—could borrow to meet the high costs of private higher education without fear that their educational debts would become unmanageable.
- (3) Increasing the present ceiling on Basic Grant awards from the present \$1,400 to \$1,800 or \$2,000. This would automatically include larger numbers of middle-income students. In addition, because of a rule that limits awards to one-half the cost of attendance, Federal sharing in costs would extend well into the cost range of private colleges.
- (4) Some combination of the three preceding approaches. For example, a proposal to supplement the Basic Grants program with state funds on a matching basis, could permit an increase in the ceiling.

By itself, raising the Basic Grants ceiling is the most expensive approach, with first-year outlays (presumably FY 1977) on the order of \$300 million and third or fourth year costs on the order of \$500 million. Without such additional funding an increase in the Basic Grant ceiling would take money away from the low-income students with greatest need. This third approach is, however, the least difficult of the three politically, since compromises between the claims of low- and middle-income students and between public and private institutions are incorporated in the working of a formula already enacted by the Congress.

The second approach is the cheapest, since premiums could be charged for the insurance coverage provided. Even if subsidized, the net budget cost of such a plan could be minimal since such a plan might enable us to reduce other loan subsidies. Plans to increase reliance on loan financing of education have not, however, been generally popular with the Congress in the past. Moreover, the probable oversupply of college graduates may persuade many (erroneously, we believe) that college should not be regarded as an investment and that any insurance fund must run a large deficit.

The first approach would most directly strike at the root of the problem of the private colleges by shifting part of the state financing of higher education in the direction of student aid which could be used by middle-income and other students at private colleges, or any institution they wish. The difficulty of such an initiative is that it would, at a significant level of funding (e.g. \$200 million Federal, \$800 million state funds) represent a use of major Federal leverage on state policies hitherto not influenced importantly by Federal action. Moreover, in those states which reduced funding for public higher education to pay the state share of supplementation, an increase in tuition for some forms of public higher education could be the indirect result. If you indicate any interest in any of these approaches, we will be glad to prepare options and a decision paper for you.

Even if it is determined that a major initiative along such lines as these is not appropriate, it will still be necessary to propose perfecting amendments to the Higher Education Act. These should include proposals now being developed which would:

- -- eliminate or dovetail redundant student aid authorizations,
- -- eliminate or reform state allocation formulas for student aid,
- -- prune the large number of institutional aid authorities which have never been funded or have not been funded for several years,
- -- improve access to student loans at lower cost to the Federal budget,
- -- prevent abuses of the loan program by individual borrowers, lenders or schools.

These changes will be of sufficient importance to justify mention in the State of the Union message, even if no major initiative is proposed. They might also be the subject of a separate Presidential message.

V. Equal Opportunity issues

Finally, there is another important area in which legitimate academic criticism of Federal policies is heard with increasing frequency.

The equal employment opportunity programs currently being administered by DHEW which affect institutions of higher education are

of two basic types: affirmative action requirements and employment discrimination prohibitions. Executive Order 11246, which has been the focus of most higher education criticism, contains both affirmative action requirements and employment discrimination prohibitions. Under E.O. 11246 all higher education institutions receiving Federal contracts (approximately 1,100 of the Nation's 3,500 colleges and universities) are prohibited from discriminating in employment on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion or sex, and are required to take affirmative action to ensure that employees are hired and treated without regard to the above factors.

Simply stated, adherence to the <u>affirmative action</u> obligation requires a recipient of a Federal contract to compare the number of women and minorities in its work force with the availability of qualified women and minorities in the general population. If the contractor finds that women and minorities are underrepresented in its work force, the contractor must establish hiring <u>goals</u> and <u>timetables</u> and must make "good faith efforts" to overcome such "underutilization."

E.O. 11246 is administered by the Secretary of Labor who has delegated routine program administration in the area of higher education to DHEW. The Secretary of Labor, however, has retained policy-making authority under the Executive Order; thus, DHEW administers the Executive Order program at colleges and universities under policies and regulations which are promulgated by the Secretary of Labor and which apply to all Federal contractors regardless of whether they are academic institutions or industrial organizations.

There is much unhappiness in the academic community with the Federal "affirmative action" requirements, and I must say I share this in some respects. There are two basic problems. First, the present requlations issued by the Secretary of Labor are primarily designed for industrial organizations, not institutions of higher education, and exact a burdensome and inappropriate kind of responsibility in the preparation of affirmative action plans. Second, the academic community misconceive the requirements for goals and necessary good faith efforts as inflexible quotas applicable to academic hiring.

We should not hesitate to tailor our administration of the executive order to the special characteristics of academic employment. We should make it crystal clear that federally-aided colleges are only required to make a fair and broad search for qualified candidates. Colleges should, of course, broaden the base of their search for qualified candidates. But if they conclude that the best candidate is a white male, they should not be fearful that their federal funds will be lost if they appoint him after a proper search. They should not view themselves, as many now do, as strongly suspect (and their federal funds endangered) if they do not fill specific vacancies with black or women appointees.

While we intend to issue shortly a memorandum to all colleges setting forth, with specific examples, what they are and are not required to do, I believe the Administration should propose necessary revisions in the Executive Order, or its implementing regulations. This would not only do away with unnecessary paperwork, but would reinforce our attempts to dispel misconceptions. Such a revision with clarifications would undoubtedly have the support of the academic community.

As I indicated to you in my memorandum of October 11 (copy attached), I have already initiated discussions between this Department and the Department of Labor to propose important changes in the "affirmative action" requirements to ensure that this view toward the higher education employment environment is reflected through changes in the current regulatory scheme.

Failure to make such changes will increase the risk of reverse discrimination, a statistical score mentality and quotas by another name. Even more dangerous, the current administrative practices result in an unwarranted intrusion by government into the academic community, which must remain independent if our democratic institutions are to prosper. Universities are different from industrial organizations in the amount of regulation they can tolerate.

In addition to E.O. 11246, DHEW has statutory responsibility for both program administration and policy determination under a number of other Federal anti-discrimination laws relating to race, color, national origin and sex. The anti-discrimination statute raising the most current concern in the academic community is Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex by any education institution receiving Federal financial assistance. We published for public comment in June 1974 detailed proposed regulations and expect to submit to you in January, for your approval and signature, final regulations which would apply to the academic year beginning next fall. One of the most intense issues at present is that the statute itself clearly requires that sex segregation in fraternities and sororities receiving any significant aid from a federally aided college or within groups such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts which receive federal funds for educational activities, be eliminated.

The Congress evidently does not want any of this, but to this point has declined to pass a law appropriately amending Title IX. Instead, it has issued an after-the-fact conference report ordering our Department to violate the plain meaning of the statute and not to enforce it against particular organizations.

Without challenging the motives or the goals of those who adopted this law, the simple fact is that few of those who voted for Title IX seem to have realized the implications for social organizations and extracurricular activities. The fashion now, among congressmen and others, is to charge our Department with harrassment when we propose to carry out the very broad provisions of that statute.

I believe that we should propose amending Title IX to eliminate its application to sororities and fraternities and other social and recreational voluntary single-sex organizations such as the Girl Scouts. I am also reviewing the comments with respect to competitive athletics, which may require statutory amendment.

I think a carefully drafted initiative with respect to Title IX and E.O. 11246, which would underscore our full commitment to the wholly vital goal of eliminating discrimination and providing equal access to all, and broadening recruitment and search for students and faculty, but which recognizes the follies and problems present law requires, would be welcomed by the academic community and by all except militants and extremists.

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Attachments

ANNEX A
PERSONS AGES 18-21, JULY 1, 1970-89

Year	Population (000's)	<u>Year</u>	Population (000's)
1970	14,541	1980	16,755
1971	14,864	1981	16,596
1972	15,297	1982	16,408
1973	15,621	1983	16,007
1974	15,966	1984	15,503
1975	16,346	1985	14,953
1976	16,602	1986	14,461
1977	16,796	1987	15,155
1978	16,889	1988	14,166
1979	16,855	1989	14,357

ANNEX B

FEDERAL OUTLAYS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
BY TYPE OF SUPPORT
(Millions of Dollars)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
Current Operations	452	659	864	902	1,010	1,137	1,064
Facilities and Equipment	761	800	622	487	491	395	312
Student Support	1,688	2,128	2,997	3,375	4,221	4,948	5,149
Education Personnel Training	87	21	56	67	46	43	32
Educational Research	27	25	43	52	33	74	65
Academic Research	1,365	1,508	1,571	1,620	1,840	2,030	2,160
TOTAL	4,379	5,142	6,153	6,503	7,641	8,627	8,782

MR. PRESIDENT

THIS MEETING HAS RUN SIXTY MINUTES AS SCHEDULED.

YOUR NEXT APPOINTMENT, GOVERNOR HOLTON, IS HERE.