Report on the Eighteenth National Debate Tournament



West Point, New York April 22-25, 1964



SIGURD S. LARMON

Donor of the Larmon Trophy presented each year to the Champions of the National Debate Tournament

Eighteenth National Debate Tournament at West Point

APRIL 22-25, 1964

RESOLVED: That The Federal Government Should Guarantee an Opportunity for Higher Education to All Qualified High School Graduates.

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK

FOREWORD

During April, thirty-eight of the nation's best debate teams gathered at West Point to compete in the National Debate Tournament for the highly coveted Sigurd S. Larmon Trophy, symbolic of debating excellence and the prize emblematic of the National Collegiate Debating Championship.

This book is being published to serve as a permanent record of the Eighteenth National Debate Tournament. Herein are contained a transcript of the Championship Debate and the names of those whose work made the Tournament possible.

The United States Military Academy is honored to host the National Debate Tournament each year. Our thanks go to the coaches, debaters and judges whose cooperation made this publication possible and to all those who contributed to the success of the Eighteenth National Debate Tournament. It is hoped that this Report will serve as a memento to these people and also encourage interest and participation in intercollegiate debate.

Additional copies of this publication may be obtained by addressing a request to: Director, National Debate Tournament, United States Military Academy, West Point, 10996.

HOST

United States Military Academy

Major General J. B. Lampert Superintendent

Brigadier General Michael S. Davison Commandant of Cadets

Brigadier General William W. Bessell, Jr. Dean of the Academic Board

CADET EXTRACURRICULAR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Colonel George A. Lincoln, Chairman Professor of Social Sciences

Colonel Edward C. Gillette, Jr. Professor of Physics and Chemistry

Colonel Russell K. Alspach Professor of English

Colonel Kenneth W. Collins Deputy Commandant of Cadets

FACULTY ADVISERS

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Major James G. Boatner OIC, Debate Council and Forum

Lieutenant J. M. Rolls, Jr. Director, National Debate Tournament

Captain Robert L. Grete Deputy Director, National Debate Tournament

CADET ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Chairman: C. Kirby Wilcox Vice-Chairman: William Murdy Assistant Chairman: Donald Erbes

Secretariat: Ben Sternberg, Jr. Joseph Zengerle

Banquet: Norman Smith

Transportation: Christian Shore

Training Aids and Debate Rooms: Dennis Gilson

Public Relations: Everett Grimes

Treasurer: Gregory Hayward

Records: Terrell G. Covington

Messing: Eugene McLemore

Housing: Karl Wilson

Escorts: Richard Chilcoat

Statistics: William Seely

Program: Arthur M. Kelly

Daniel Fitzgibbon

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Hamilton Watch Company

The National Debate Tournament expresses its appreciation to the Hamilton Watch Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, through whose generosity the two highest speakers in the seeding rounds and the four finalist debaters each received a Hamilton Electric Wrist Watch. In recognition of Hamilton's continuing interest in the National Debate Tournament, the finalist watches are designated the Hamilton Award.

Dorothy Gordon Youth Forum

For the eighth successive year, four participants in the National Debate Tournament were hosted by Miss Dorothy Gordon on her program, The Dorothy Gordon Youth Forum, on WNBC-TV, New York on Sunday, 26 April.

	Round Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5	Round 6	Round 7	Round S	Round	Round	Round	rinal Koung
ALABAMA	AUGUSTANA	ALABAMA	AUGUSTANA UHIV. OF PACIFIC	ALABAMA USHA	AUGUSTAMA	ALABAMA GRO WASHINGTON	AUGUSTAMA MENESOTA				
BAYLOR	BOSTON COLLEGE	BAYLOR	BOSTON COLLEGE KANSAS STATE	BAYLOR	BOSTON COLLEGE USC	BAYLOR USMA	BOSTOM COLLEGE ALABAMA				
CALIFORNIA	DARTMOUTH	CALIFORNIA	DARTMOUTH	CALIFORNIA	DARTMOUTH	CALIFORNIA Series destroy	CARSON-NEWMAN				
WESTERN MICHIGAN	WASHEURN	AUGUSTANA	ROCKHURST	WATER STATE	NE OKLAHOMA 31		PAR DETACOLITIES				
CARSON-NEWMAN		CARSON-NEWMAN	GEORGETOWN	CARSON-NEWMAN BOSTON COLLEGE	GEORGETOWN	USMA	CALFORNIA		大学に対		
	TAND & CLARK		PROGRAMMENT COL	KANSAS STATE	CEO WASHINGTON	KENTUCKY	CHORCETOWN				
CEO WASHINGTON		WATNE STATE	USC	HARVARD	SOUTH CAROLINA	WESTERN MICHIGAN	UNIV OF PACIFIC				
KANSAS STATE	k		HARVARD	KENTUCKY	HARVARD	MINNESOTA	GEO WASHINGTON	ALABAMA			
WEST VIRCINEA		RUINOIS-CHICAGO	KBNTUCKY	ST. ANSELMS	REDLANDS	BOSTON COLLEGE	REDLANDS	ОКТАНОМА			
KBMTUCKY		KENTUCKY	RUNOS CEATE	LEWIS & CLARK	RUBOS	HE OKLAHOMA ST. KAHSAS	HARVARD S.W. MISSOURI ST	DARTMOUTH			
ST. JOHNS	ALABAMA	OKLAHOMA	OHIGON STATE	MARSAS	WINGS AND	PERSONAL PROPERTY AND PERSONAL PROPERTY PERSONAL PROPERTY AND PERSONAL PROPERTY PERSONAL PROPERTY PERSONAL PROPERTY PERSONAL PROPERT		The state of the s	CONCERNIA		
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GEORGETOWN	S.W. MISSOURI ST.	VERMONT	KAMSAS	SIONTI	PITTSBURGH	OKLAHOMA	KENTÜCKY	GIO. WASHINGTON	UNITY OF PACIFIC	GEORGETOWN	BOSTON COLLEGE
HE OKLAHOMA ST	OKLAHOMA	NE OKLAHOMA ST	OKLAHOMA	ONEGOM	LEWIS & CLARK	PHTSBURGH	Kandas	SOUTH CAROLINA	USHA	UNIV OF PACIFIC	UNIV OF PACIFIC
BOSTON COLLEGE	usc	ST. ANSELM'S	S.W. MISSOURI ST.	WESTERN MICHIGAN	KBNTUCKY	NO TEXAS STATE	ORIGON STATE	BOSTON COLLEGE	REDLANDS	USNA	
OREGON	PITTSBURGH	ORECOM	PITTSBURCH	OREGON STATE	NO TEXAS STATE	REDLANDS	HO TEXAS STATE	S.W. MISSOURI ST	VERMONT		
AUGUSTANA	REDLANDS	DARTMOUTH	WASHBURN	PITTSBURCH	WEST VIRGINIA	VERMONT	LEWIS & CLARK	CEORGETOWN	BOSTON COLLEGE		
ONEGON STATE	ST. ANSELMS	OREGON STATE	ST ANSELMS	REDLANDS	OKLAHOMA	ROCKHURST	OKLAHOWA	UNITY OF PACIFIC			
NO. TEXAS STATE	CALIFORNIA Serie Section	USMA	LEWIS & CLARK	DARTMOUTH	ROCKHURST	REPROFS-CHICAGO	KANSAS STATE	AUGUSTANA			
REDLANDS	ST. JOHN'S	REDLANDS	ST. JOHN'S	ROCKHURST	ST ANSELMS	SOUTH CAROLINA	PITTSBURGH	0.5 C			
RIPPOS-CHCAGO	OREGON STATE	NO. TEXAS STATE	REDLANDS	NO. TEXAS STATE	KANSAS STATE	GEORGETOWN	WATHE STATE	BAYLOR			
ROCKHURST	USMA	ROCKHURST	USMA	SOUTH CAROLINA	ST JOHN'S	S.W. MISSOURI ST.	ST ANSELNS				
PRTTSBURGH	KBATUCKY	WESTERN MICHIGAN	CALIFORNIA Series Serie	ST. JOHN'S	WASHBURN	DARTMOUTH	ROCCHURST				
SOUTH CARDENA	USHA	SOUTH CAROLINA	USNA	S W. MISSOURI ST	USMA	UNIV OF PACIFIC	\$3,000,000				
ST. ANSELM'S	OREGON	USNA	MBRESOTA	VERMONT	S.W. MISSOURI ST	ST JOHN'S	NE DICLAHOMA ST				
S.W. MISSOURI ST.	VERMONT	S.W. MISSOURI ST.	VERMONT	UNIV. OF PACIFIC	USNA	03.0	USMA				
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UNIV. OF PACIFIC	WAYNE STATE	UNIV. OF PACIFIC	WAYNE STATE	usc	VERMONT	WASHBURN	N. 100 S.				
WATNE STATE	CARSON-NEWMAN	PITTSBURGH	NE OKLAHOMA ST.	CEORGETOWN	CARSON-NEWSKAN	AUGUSTANS					
03.0	WESTERN MICHIGAN	USC	WESTERN MICHIGAN	WASHBURN	WAYNE STATE	WASHING STATE	DACHARA				
ELINOIS	MINNESOTA	ST. JOHN'S	SOUTH CAROLINA	MUNOIS-CHICAGO ME	ORECOM		April 1				
WASHEURN	WEST VIRGINIA	WASHBURN	WEST VIRGINIA	WEST VIRGINIA	WESTERN MICHIGAN	WEST VIBCINEA	MANDERSH MINDERSH				

MATCHING BOARD - EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT

PAST CHAMPIONS OF THE NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT

- 1947 Southeastern State College
 W. Scott Nobles and Gerald Sanders
 Coach T. A. Houston
- 1948 North Texas State College Bill Wilson and Don Clark Coach - S. B. McAlister
- 1949 University of Alabama
 Oscar L. Newton and Mitchell C. Latoff
 Coach Annabel D. Hagood
- 1950 University of Vermont
 Richard O'Connell and Thomas Hayes
 Coach Robert B. Huber
- 1951 University of Redlands
 James Wilson and Holt Spicer
 Coach E. R. Nichols
- 1952 University of Redlands
 James Wilson and Holt Spicer
 Coach E. R. Nichols
- 1953 University of Miami
 Gerald Kogan and Lawrence C. Perlmutter
 Coach Donald Sprague
- 1954 University of Kansas William Arnold and Hubert Bell Coach - Kim Griffin
- 1955 University of Alabama

 Dennis Holt and Ellis M. Storey

 Coach Annabel D. Hagood
- 1956 United States Military Academy
 George Walker and James Murphy
 Coach Abbott Greenleaf
- 1957 Augustana College Norman Lefstein and Phillip Hubbard Coach - Martin Holcomb
- 1958 Northwestern University
 William Welsh and Richard Kirshberg
 Coach Russell R. Windes, Jr.
- 1959 Northwestern University
 William Welsh and Richard Kirshberg
 Coach Russell R. Windes, Jr.

1960 - Dartmouth College
Anthony Roisman and Saul Baernstein
Coach - Herbert L. James

1961 - Harvard University

Laurence Tribe and Gene Clements

Coach - James Kincaid

1962 - Ohio State University

Dale Williams and Sarah Benson

Coach - Richard Rieke

1963 - Dartmouth College Frank Wohl and Stephen Kessler Coach - Herbert L. James

PAST RUNNERS-UP OF THE NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT

1947 - University of Southern Californi	a 1956 - St. Joseph's College
1948 - University of Florida	1957 - U. S. Military Academy
1949 - Baylor University	1958 - Harvard University
1950 - Augustana College	1959 - Wisconsin State Coll., Eau Claire
1951 - Kansas State Teachers Coll., E	Emporia 1960 - San Diego State College
1952 - Baylor University	1961 - King's College
1953 - College of the Holy Cross	1962 - Baylor University
1954 - University of Florida	1963 - University of Minnesota
1955 - Wilkes College	

EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT



DR. EDWARD L. KATZENBACH
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Education
delivering the banquet address



FIRST PLACE SPEAKER
Robert E. Roberts, of the University
of Alabama, receives a Hamilton
electric wrist watch from Major Gen.
J. B. Lampert, Superintendent of the
United States Military Academy.



SECOND PLACE SPEAKER
John Hempelmann, of Georgetown University,
receives a Hamilton electric wrist watch
from Major Gen. J. B. Lampert, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Thirty-eight teams from the eight national districts debated eight seeding rounds of strength versus strength pairings the first two days of the Tournament, and the top sixteen teams participated in four elimination rounds on the final day.

The University of the Pacific won the National Debate Tournament and became the possessor for one year of the Sigurd S. Larmon Trophy. Debating the negative side of the national debate topic, University of the Pacific defeated Boston College in the Championship Round by a 4-3 vote.

At the Tournament banquet, held after the completion of the eight seeding rounds, Dr. Edward L. Katzenbach, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Education, delivered the principal address. Major General James B. Lampert, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, presented the Lt. George W. P. Walker Memorial Awards of two Hamilton Electric Wrist Watches to the two speakers who had received the highest number of speakers' points in the eight seeding rounds: Robert E. Roberts of the University of Alabama, first place, and John Hempelmann of Georgetown University, second place. The members of the two finalist teams, Raoul Kennedy and Douglas Pipes of University of the Pacific, and Joseph McLaughlin and James Unger of Boston College, each received prize electric watches, designated the Hamilton Award, following the final debate. These watches were made available through the generosity of the Hamilton Watch Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The sixteen teams entering the elimination rounds Saturday were selected on the following basis:

First, on the number of debates won during the seeding rounds.

Second, in case of ties, on the number of judges' votes received.

Third, if a tie still existed on the number of team points received.

* * *

Tape recordings of the Championship Round of debate are available without charge. To obtain a copy of the tape, send a blank 1800 foot reel of recording tape to: Signal Officer, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York 10996, ATTN: Recording Studio. The debate will be transcribed on the blank reel and returned to the sender.

CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEES FOR 1964

DISTRICT I

Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Utah

Chairman

Professor Donald J. Cameron, San Fernando Valley State College Professor Robert Boren, Brigham Young University Professor Jon Ericson, Stanford University Professor Lee Granell, Orange State College Professor Robert Kully, Los Angeles State College Professor Paul Winters, University of Pacific

DISTRICT II

Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming

Chairman

Professor W. Scott Nobles, University of Oregon Professor Jerome Davies, University of Wyoming Professor A.C. Hingston, Pacific University Professor Theodore O.H. Karl, Pacific Lutheran University Professor Les Lawrence, Montana State College

DISTRICT III

Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas Mississippi

Chairman

Professor Fred Tewell, Oklahoma State University
Professor Ed Brown, Abilene Christian College
Professor Glenn Capp, Baylor University
Professor William Demougeot, North Texas State University
Professor Valjean Littlefield, Northeastern Oklahoma State College
Professor John Graham, Central State College (Oklahoma)

DISTRICT IV

Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin

Chairman

Professor Holt V. Spicer, Southwest Missouri State College Professor Robert Carr, Wisconsin State College (Oshkosh) Professor James Costigan, Fort Hays Kansas State College Professor Bobby Patton, Wichita University Professor Robert Scott, University of Minnesota Professor H. Francis Short, Kansas State College (Pittsburg) Professor Kenneth Wilkens, St. Olaf College Professor Donald Wolfarth, Midland Lutheran College

DISTRICT V Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio

Chairman

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DISTRICT VI

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina South Carolina, Tennessee

Chairman

Professor Merrill G. Christophersen, University of South Carolina Professor William Conklin, Carson-Newman College Professor (Mrs.) Annabel D. Hagood, University of Alabama Professor Merwyn Hayes, University of Georgia Professor Glenn Pelham, Emory University Professor Franklin R. Shirley, Wake Forest College Professor Joseph Wetherby, Duke University

DISTRICT VII

Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia

Chairman

Professor Malthon M. Anapol, University of Pennsylvania Professor Harold Chinn, Morgan State College Professor Robert Connelly, King's College Professor George Henigan, George Washington University Professor Donald McConkey, College of William and Mary Professor Joseph Morice, Duquesne University Professor William Reynolds, Georgetown University

DISTRICT VIII

Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire New York, Rhode Island, Vermont

Chairman

Professor Herbert L. James, Dartmouth College Professor James R. Cameron, Eastern Nazarene College Professor Wofford Gardner, University of Maine Professor James J. Hall, St. John's University Professor Robert B. Huber, University of Vermont Professor Larry Tribe, Harvard University

GUEST JUDGES

A special debt of thanks is owed the following individuals who gave of their time, energy, and resources to assist in judging at the Eighteenth National Debate Tournament. Gratitude is also due their schools for releasing them from their duties to attend the Tournament and, in many cases, for financing their journeys to West Point.

Jerry M. Anderson Michigan State University

Elizabeth A. Atwater Potomac State College

Victor S. Axelroad
Baruch School, City College of New York

W. A. Behl Brooklyn College

John P. Belniak Harpur College

Sarah Jane Benson Ithaca, New York

Joseph G. Bentley University of South Florida

Jane Blankenship Mount Holyoke College

John Boaz Wayne State University

Robert Boren Brigham Young University

Edward M. Brown Abilene Christian College

John A. Burgess, Esq. Montpelier, Vermont

J. Kenna Burke Potomac State College

William W. Chaffin Washington and Lee University

Ben A. Chappell University of Southern Mississippi

Nicholas M. Cripe Butler University David W. Curtis, Esq. Montpelier, Vermont

Russell N. DeVinney Pennsylvania State University

Calvin W. Downs University of Maryland

A. Berkley Driessel Marquette University

Harold P. Eisenhuth Old Dominion College

Patricia Elliott Southwest Missouri State College

Robert W. Evans Miami University (Ohio)

David Faust Harvard Law School

Captain George K. Feather U.S. Air Force Academy

Barbara Feuerman Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ted Foster Evansville College

Austin J. Freeley John Carroll University

Z. Brent Fry Morehead State College

Mary W. Graham Brooklyn College

Lee E. Granell Orange State College

John B. Greg
Wayne State University

Stanford P. Gwin University of West Virginia

Karen Halvorson Illinois State University

Frank G. Harrison Brandeis University

H. Wayne Hayden Plainfield, New Jersey

Richard S. Heitzner Flint Community Junior College

Herbert Hess Northern Illinois University

A.C. Hingston Pacific University

George Hinshaw N. W. Missouri State College

Melville Hopkins Bloomsburg State College

David E. Horlacher Bucknell University

Joan E. Horrigan State College, Framingham, Mass.

Rev. Vincent C. Horrigan, S.J. Xavier University

Lee W. Huebner Boston College

Rev. H.S. Hughes, S.J. University of Detroit

Richard C. Huseman University of Illinois

Kevin Keogh Harvard Law School

Martha S. Kessler New York, New York

Stephen P. Kessler New York, New York Robert G. King Queens College

Maurice Goodrich Klein Maynard, Massachusetts

Robert D. Kully Los Angeles State College

Richard L. LaVarnway University of Chicago

Norman T. London University of Vermont

L/Cdr Victor J. Lugowski U.S. Merchant Marine Academy

Rev. Daniel Lyons, S. J. Gonzaga University

Frank G. Mahady Georgetown University

John J. Mahoney, Jr. Quincy High School

David J. Mall Fordham University

Ronald J. Matlon University of Illinois, Chicago

James C. McCroskey Pennsylvania State University

Edward L. McGlone Ohio University

A. L. McLeod Lockhaven State College

Francis J. Mertz St. Peter's College

Rev. Joseph Miller Bellarmine College

Thomas J. Murray Eastern Michigan University

Frank D. Nelson Northwestern University Albert Norris Milton Academy

Richard T. O'Connell, Esq. Old Saybrook, Connecticut

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James J. O'Toole Villanova University

M. Jack Parker Marietta College

Donn W. Parson University of Minnesota

Frank C. Pesveyc New York University

Sam E. Raines West Virginia Wesleyan College

Lt. John C. Roberts Washington, D.C.

Mary M. Roberts Kansas State College, Pittsburg

Robert R. Rodman Lee Academy

Saul Rossien Trenton State College

Al G. Rundle Eastern Illinois University

Keith R. Sanders George Washington University

Donald E. Santarelli University of Virginia

David W. Shepard Ball State College

Rev. John D. Skalko, O.P. Providence College

Edna C. Sorber Wisconsin State College, Whitewater E. Thomas Starcher University of Maryland

Dale L. Stockton Oklahoma State University

John R. Stork State University College, Brockport

Warren L. Strausbaugh University of Maryland

John R. Swaney Sherman, Texas

James P. Swinney Freed-Hardeman College

Lt. Colonel Warren C. Thompson Air Command and Staff College

Gil Tornabene Weston, Massachusetts

Patty L. Trent State University College, New Paltz

George J. Wade, Esq. New York, New York

Gerald Wagner University of South Florida

Grace Walsh Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire

Robert R. Walton Trenton Central High School

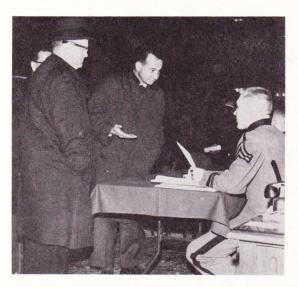
Theodore J. Walwik Hiram College

Herbert A. Wessling Stonehill College

Raymond S. Wilkes Wayne State University

Lt. John D. Wills Baltimore, Maryland

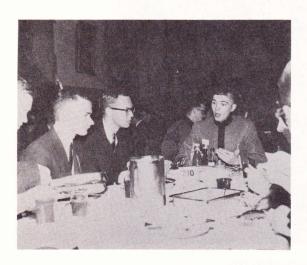
Lawrence C. Wilson College of the Holy Cross



Participants arriving at the Hotel Thayer



Registration at Lee Hall (Tournament Headquarters)



Debaters (men) took their meals in historic Washington Hall (the cadet dining hall).



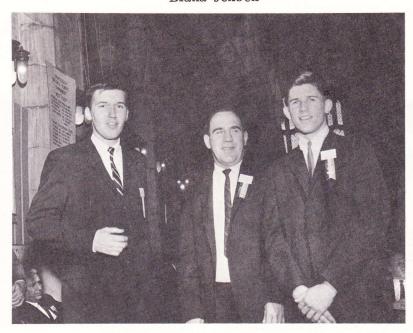
A part of the head table at the Tournament banquet.

PARTICIPATING TEAMS

District I

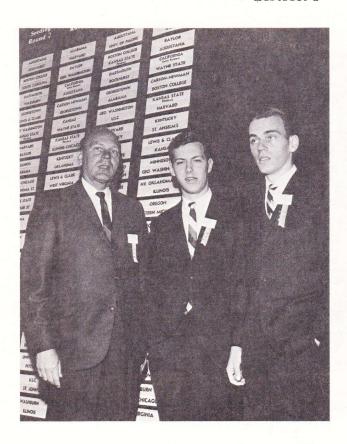


University of California at Santa Barbara Ron Cook, Mary Himmelhoch (Coach) Diana Jensen

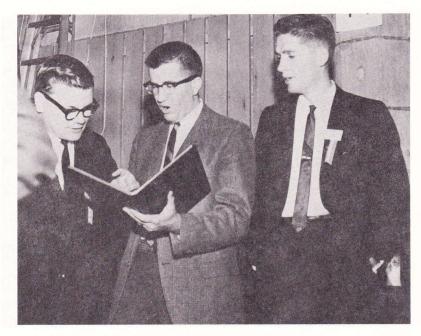


University of the Pacific Raoul Kennedy, Paul Winters (Coach) Doug Pipes

District I



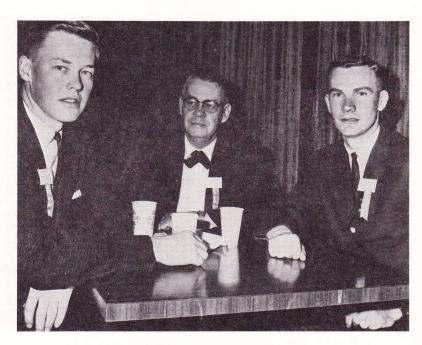
University of Southern California. Charles Marson, John DeBross (Coach), John Deacon



University of Redlands Gene Moulton (Coach), Michael Jones, John Foerster



Lewis and Clark College Louis Cockerham (Coach) Janet Stickney, (not pictured) Barry Mount



Oregon State University
Dennis Wood, Ralph Peterson (coach),
Stewart Holmes



University of Oregon
Gordon Zimmerman, W. Scott Nobles (Coach),
William Koons

District III



Baylor University
Larry Amerine, Martha New,
Glenn Capp (Coach)



Northeastern Oklahoma State College Glenn Strickland, Robert Gobetz (Coach), David Johnson



North Texas State University Ben Sheppard, Jebby Prindle, Don Beck (Coach)



University of Oklahoma
Robert Lineberry, Robert Biles,
William English (Coach)

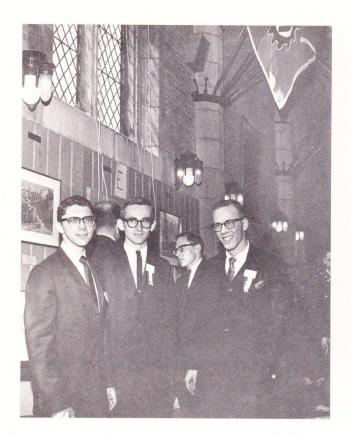
* * *

District IV



Kansas State College - Pittsburg Jim Swanson, Mike Burris H. Francis Short (Coach)

District IV



Rockhurst College. Charles House, Larry Ehrlich (Coach), James Beckley



Southwest Missouri State College Annette Wright, Pat Elliott (Asst. Coach), Kent Keller Holt Spicer (Coach)



University of Kansas
Fred Kauffeld, Lauralie Milberg, (not pictured),
William Maynard (Coach)



University of Minnesota
John Swenson, David Krause, (not pictured)
Robert Scott (Coach)

District IV

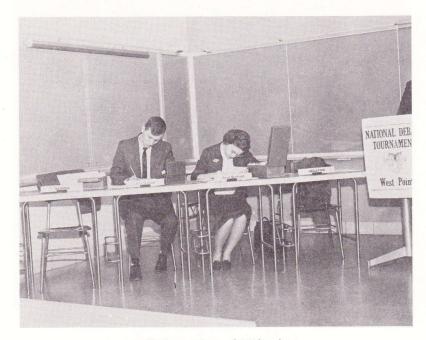


Washburn University
Charles Fulcher (Coach), Jim Riley,
Paul Thomas

District V



Augustana College Martin Holcomb (Coach), Mary Enstrom, Thomas Younggren



University of Illinois
John Shunk, Carol Berthold, (not pictured)
Joseph Wenzel (Coach)



University of Illinois - Chicago Ron Marich, Jerry Berthold, (not pictured) Ted Jackson (Coach)

District V



Wayne State University
John Boaz, Russell Davidson
David Getto, George Ziegelmueller (Coach)



Western Michigan University
Patricia Gowen, Kathleen McDonald,
Mrs. Deldee M. Herman (Coach)



Carson-Newman College
Joel Moseley, John Wittig, (far right)
Forrest Conklin (Coach)



University of Alabama Robert Roberts, Mrs. Annabel D. Hagood (Coach), Bruce DiPlacido



University of Kentucky
Gifford Blyton (Coach), James Crockarell,
Phil Grogan



University of South Carolina
Toby Van Buren, Merrill G. Christophersen (Coach)
Frank Contrell



Georgetown University
Robert Shrum, William Reynolds (Coach),
John Hempelmann



George Washington University
Dion Meek, George Henigan (Coach)
Hugh Heclo



United States Naval Academy Rudi Milasich, Edwin Linz, Lt. Lawrence Flink (Coach)



University of Pittsburgh
Martin Engels, George Matter (Coach),
Tom Zoucha

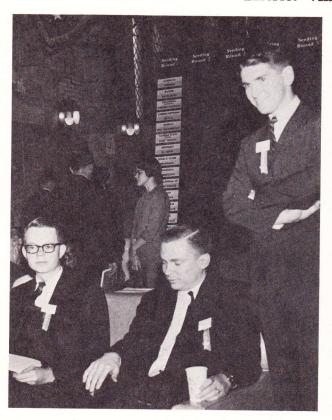
District VII



University of West Virginia
Stanford Gwin (Coach), Nita Hoover (Rear)
Stu Robbins, William Barnett (Coach)

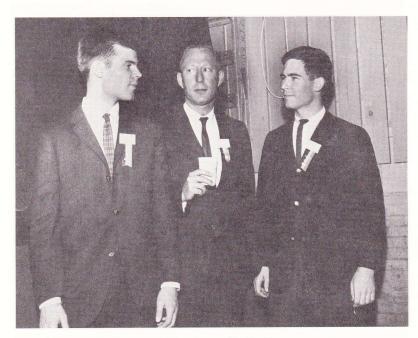
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District VIII



Boston College James Unger, Lee Huebner (Asst Coach), Joseph McLaughlin, (not pictured) John H. Lawton (Coach)

District VIII



Dartmouth College
Brian Butler, Herbert James (Coach),
Weaver Gaines



Harvard University
Larry Tribe (Coach), James McGrew,
Arden Doss



St. Anselm's College
John McCooey, John Lynch (Coach),
William Zifchak



St. John's University
James Hall (Coach), Ann Garahan,
Donald Bracken

District VIII



University of Vermont Michael Cronin, Elaine Zak Robert Huber (Coach)



Host: United States Military Academy
Jack LeCuyer, Captain Dale A. Vesser (Coach)
Robert Almassy
38

SEEDING ROUND RECORDS

Team	Wins	Judges! Votes	Team Points
Vermont	7	18	988
Minnesota	6	19	1009
Georgetown	6	16	1042
University of Pacific	6	15	1013
Alabama	5	17	1025
U.S.C.	5	15	997
Redlands	5	15	942
Boston College	5	13	1006
South Carolina	5	13	960
George Washington	5	13	956
Baylor	5	13	949
Oklahoma	5	13	907
Augustana	4	14	985
Southwest Missouri	4	13	969
U.S.N.A.	4	13	930
*North Texas	4	13	903
*Dartmouth	4	12	966
Oregon	4	12	948
Calif. Santa Barbara	4	12	938
Illinois - Chicago	4	12	919
Washburn	4	12	907
U.S.M.A.	4	12	867
St. Anselms	4	11	948
N. E. Oklahoma	4	11	939
Illinois	4	11	904
Harvard	4	10	999
St. Johns	4	10	908
Carson - Newman	4	9	953
Wayne State	3	14	961
Kansas State	3	10	897
Kentucky	3	10	886
Western Michigan	3	10	852
Pittsburgh	3	8	818
Kansas	2	9	850
Oregon State	2	8	792
West Virginia	2	7	863
Rockhurst	1	7	884
Lewis and Clark	1	6	838

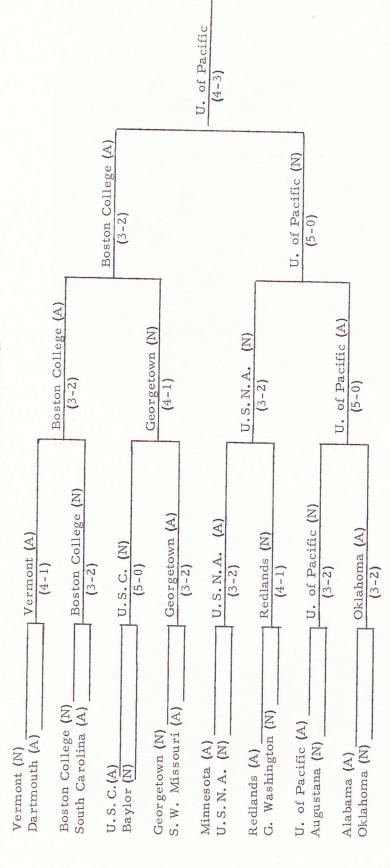
^{*}Due to an error in transcribing the results of one round of debate, North Texas State was credited with one less win than it should have received. This resulted in North Texas State being eliminated from consideration for participation in the octa-final round. The error was discovered too late to permit North Texas State to enter the elimination rounds. The results above reflect the corrected standing of North Texas State at the end of the seeding rounds.

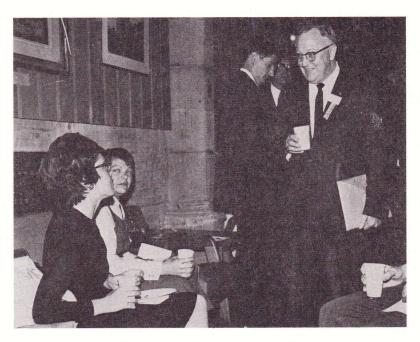
	Seeding Rounds								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Totals
Affirmative Wins	12	8	6	10	8	10	8	7	69
Negative Wins	7	11	13	9	11	9	11	12	83
Split Decisions	13	11	10	10	13	14	12	14	97

Top Speakers

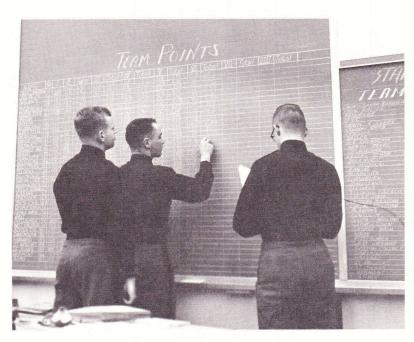
Na	me	School	Speaker's Points
1.	Robert E. Roberts	Alabama	1072
2.	John Hempelmann	Georgetown	1042
3.	Robert Shrum	Georgetown	1032
4.	Raoul Kennedy	Univ. of the Pacific	1019
5.	James Unger	Boston College	1017
6.	Charles Marson	U.S.C.	1005
7.	Douglas Pipes	Univ. of the Pacific	1000
8.	David Krause	Missesota	998
9.	Thomas Younggren	Augustana	995
10.	Michael Cronin	Vermont	993
11.	Arden Doss	Harvard	991
12.	Joseph McLaughlin	Boston College	985
13.	Tie (James McGrew	Harvard	981
	(Frank Cantrell	South Carolina	981
15.	Tie (John Swenson	Minnesota	980
	(John Wittig	Carson-Newman	980
17.	John Deacon	U.S.C.	979
18.	Tie (Kent Keller	Southwest Missouri	975
	(Mary Enstrom	Augustana	975
20.	Bruce DiPlacido	Alabama	973
21.	Weaver Gaines	Dartmouth	971
22.	Larry Amerine	Baylor	970
23.	Annette Wright	Southwest Missouri	963
24.	0	Dartmouth	962
25.	Hugh Heclo	George Washington	960
26.	Ronald Cook	California-S. Barbara	959
27.	Tie (Elaine Zak	Vermont	957
	(Russell Davidson	Wayne State	957
29.	Tie (David Getto	Wayne State	952
	(Dion Meek	George Washington	952
31.	Glenn Strickland	N. E. Oklahoma	948
32.	William Zifchak	St. Anselms!	947
33.	Martha New	Baylor	946
34.	William Koons	Oregon	943
35.	Rudi Milasich	U.S.N.A.	942
36.	Joel Moseley	Carson-Newman	937
37.	Gordon Zimmerman	Oregon	936
38.	Michael Jones	Redlands	935

ELIMINATION ROUNDS





Relaxing Between Rounds



Results Being Posted in the Statistics Room

THE CHAMPIONSHIP DEBATE

CHAMPIONSHIP DEBATE * EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT 25 April 1964

RESOLVED: That The Federal Government Should Guarantee an Opportunity for Higher Education to All Qualified High School Graduates.

* * *

First Affirmative Constructive Speech Mr. Joseph McLaughlin Boston College

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: We are indeed very happy to be here today.

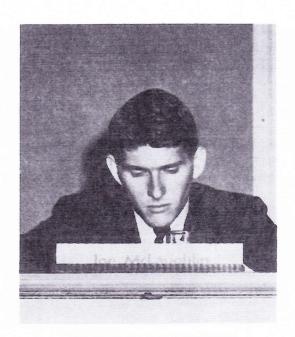
In a special message to Congress less than a month ago, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared, "There is no more senseless waste than the waste of brainpower and skill of those who are kept from college by economic circumstances." Because we are agreed with the President of the United States, we are resolved that the Federal Government should guarantee an opportunity for higher education to all qualified high school graduates.

Now, before proceeding to a specific analysis of the issues involved, we feel it is necessary for clarification to define three particular terms. First, by "higher education," we mean any institution awarding at least a bachelor's degree. Second, by "qualified high school graduates," we mean those students who would now be acceptable to accredited colleges and universities. Third, by "guarantee an opportunity," we mean to insure reasonable chance.

Now, in attempting to form a successful national educational policy, we believe that four basic questions must be answered. No. 1: Should an opportunity for higher education be guaranteed? No. 2: Is an opportunity for higher education currently being guaranteed: No. 3: Can and, in any case, should an opportunity for higher education be guaranteed under the present system? No. 4: How can an opportunity for higher education best be guaranteed?

In answer to our first question, we contend that an opportunity for higher education should be guaranteed for both economic and sociological reasons. Now, in the economic area, we are going to talk first about the individual and then about the nation. As for the individual, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz testified in 1963, "The lifetime earnings of workers are clearly associated with their educational attainment. The difference in lifetime income between a high school and a college graduate is close to \$180,000." Second, existing shortages of trained personnel make higher education vital to the entire economy. The Report of the House Committee on Education and Labor tells us in 1963, "There is scarcely a field of endeavor which is not now experiencing a critical shortage of professional and highly trained manpower with little relief in sight."

^{*}This transcript was compiled from the tape recording of the Championship Round.
Punctuation was inserted where it was thought the speakers intended it to be placed.
Except for the correction of obviously unintended errors, this is as close to a verbatim transcript as was possible to obtain from the tape recording.



JOSEPH MC LAUGHLIN BOSTON COLLEGE

Now, there is also an important sociological reason why the individual should be guaranteed the opportunity for higher education. Maximum individual development has always been an important keystone in our society. As Professor Seymour Lipset of the University of California writes in his 1960 book, Political Man, "The higher one's education, the more likely one is to believe in democratic values and support democratic practices." Thus, for both economic and sociological reasons, we contend that the opportunity for higher education should be guaranteed.

Now, in answer to our second question, we contend that this opportunity is not currently being guaranteed. Now, this has been the conclusion of virtually all authoritative reports and surveys upon the subject. Less than a month ago, Dr. Francis Keppel, of the Office of Education, confirmed this fact when he noted, "Each year, more than 100,000 high school graduates with high aptitudes and an interest in college failed to continue their education because of financial

inability." Nor is this condition limited to those who fail to go on to college. Each year, three out of every ten, or 30%, of capable college students are forced to drop out of school, once again because of a lack of adequate funds. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare tells us in 1962, "In every 12-month period, 60,000 students leave college because of a lack of funds." Thus, each year significant numbers of students fail to go on to college or are forced to drop out of college because of inadequate funds. Once again, we conclude that this opportunity for higher education is not currently being guaranteed.

Now, in answer to the third question, we contend that this opportunity cannot and should not be guaranteed under the present system. The reason for this can be seen by examining the principal existing sources of student financial support. In the first place, scholarships will not solve the problem for two specific reasons. No. 1: They're too small and too scarce. Dr. John Stalnaker, President of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, tells us in 1962, "There is a relatively small amount of scholarship money, and the applicants for each scholarship of any value are numerous and growing." Dr. Stalnaker continues, "The amount of money for scholarships is not increasing as rapidly as college costs or in proportion to the increases in the number of students today seeking a college education." Secondly, scholarships do not go to needy students, once again those who require them most. Elmer D. West, in his book, Financial Aid to the Undergraduate, tells us in 1963, "Evidence suggests that scholarship funds are going to children of families with incomes substantially above that of the average for families in the United States. Lower economic classes are not favored by scholarship funds proportional to their numbers, their abilities, or their economic status."

Having seen, then, the inadequacy of scholarships, we can also go on and indict loans, once again, for not meeting the problem in three specific areas. First, loans discriminate against those who anticipate a low-paying profession. Roy E. Morris, Staff Economist for the Joint Economic Committee explains this indictment in 1962 when he points out, "Loan procedures discriminate against those in our society who, while requiring high levels of educational attainment, still earn low monetary incomes." Thus, prospective students with ability, need, and a desire to enter a low-paying profession would be discouraged from getting an education for the financial burden of a future loan repayment schedule. Second, loans deter students from entering upon graduate education. Dr. Elmer D. West, once again in his 1963 book, noted, "A large indebtedness of a loan prevents a capable college graduate from undertaking graduate work or entering professional training." Third, loans do not provide adequate motivation to those low-income students, those who need it most. Dr. Charles Cole, Dean of Lafayette College, explains this problem in 1960 when he notes, "To bright high school graduates in the lower economic groups of the population, the cost of education at college is far beyond their means." The offer of a loan does not sufficiently motivate them to seek a college education. Nor should we suppose that the combination of both of these factors, scholarships and loans, will ever be adequate to meet the problem. The American Council on Education sums up this failure in 1963 when it notes, "A study of trends indicates that scholarships and institutional loan funds, even when augmented by federal loan funds available under the National Defense Education Act, are simply not keeping pace either with the increase in students or the upward cost trend."

Finally, we may ask whether the states are capable of solving this problem and whether we may expect them to do so in the future. The Council of Economic Advisors answers both these questions in the negative, pointing out (1) because the benefits of education cross all state boundaries, (2) because there is constant mobility of students from state to state, and (3) because the hard-pressed states and localities are simply not in a position to expand their financial support for higher education, it is both necessary and proper to relieve these fiscal pressures by increased federal support. Furthermore, the federal government enjoys two distinct advantages in the financial mechanisms which it employs. Dr. Walter Heller points out in 1963, "First, the Federal Government has a wider and more efficient financial system than do any of the state governments, and, second, states are prevented from raising necessary taxes by the competitive process between individual states. In contrast, the federal tax system permits full use of taxation without the hobbling fear of interstate competition." Thus, once again, we are led to conclude that educational opportunity cannot and should not be guaranteed under the present system.

How, then should this opportunity be guaranteed? You know, in researching this topic throughout the entire year and in searching for a solution to this problem, we were particularly impressed by the program offered just last month by Dr. Francis Keppel, the Commissioner of Education. It's called the work-scholarship program, and this is how it would be set up. Point No. 1: A program of federal work-scholarships will be established. Point No. 2: These awards will be distributed on the basis of financial need and academic ability. Point No. 3: It will provide for the operation by the institution of a program for the part-time employment of its students in work of an educationally valuable nature. Point No. 4: This program will be administered by the U.S. Office of Education. Now, does this proposal meet its needs? Commissioner Keppel felt it did, and this is why. He points out on February 20th of this year, "This program would enable high school graduates with ability and financial need to continue their education beyond high school. It would reduce the number of students with demonstrated college ability who now withdraw for financial reasons." Now, in addition to meeting its needs, we feel this proposal has two distinct advantages: (1) benefit for the student and

(2) benefit for the faculty. The U.S. Office of Education's 1964 Report explains these advantages, pointing out, (1) "such a program would enable students to gain educational advantages from their work experience because of the nature of the work itself, which in many cases would entail working for college faculty members;" and (2) "by helping those overworked teachers, this program would contribute to the better utilization of our increasingly limited supply of college teachers with the resulting improvement in university instruction."

In summary, then, in this speech, I have asked and answered four questions basic to a successful educational policy. (1) Should an opportunity for higher education be guaranteed? Both economic and sociological reasons answer "yes". (2) Is that opportunity currently being guaranteed? 160,000 students denied that opportunity answer "no". (3) Can, and, in any case, should that opportunity be guaranteed under the present system? The demonstrated inadequacy of all sources of support answers "no". (4) How can we best guarantee that opportunity? The Federal Government should guarantee that opportunity for higher education to all qualified high school graduates. Thank you.

* * *

First Negative Constructive Speech Mr. Raoul Kennedy University of the Pacific

The negative philosophy in this debate will be that any qualified high school student can get that higher education if he really makes any effort. Doug is going to analyze the specific plan. I'm going to analyze the need. First, so that Doug can better analyze



RAOUL KENNEDY UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

the plan, I'm going to have three questions for that next affirmative speaker. First, how much is your program going to cost? Secondly, how is it going to be financed? Thirdly, exactly what expenses is it going to cover?

Now, before launching into an examination of that affirmative need area, let's remember there are two questions which Doug and I feel are going to be very crucial throughout this debate. First, why a legislative guarantee for each and every qualified student? We propose to show that universal opportunity already exists. Why do we need a legislative guarantee on top of this? And, secondly, even if this could be shown, why is the federal government the necessary vehicle for undertaking such a program?

First, a word about terms. We are told that guaranteed opportunity is to insure a reasonable chance. Well, Doug and I don't feel that this is really a guaranteed opportunity. For example, if I go down and buy a product from General Electric and it has a guarantee on it, that means that if the wiring goes out or it doesn't work, I'm going to get a

replacement, not that there is a reasonable chance that my friend, the appliance dealer, may come through with another one. It's guaranteed; it's legally insured. I think the gentlemen are going to have to give us something more than this reasonable chance, which may or may not take place, before we have a legislative guarantee.

Then, to that first contention, we heard that there should be a guarantee for higher education, but I never heard any reason why just opportunity wouldn't suffice. We were told that there were economic and sociological benefits. Doug and I will agree completely. We were told we have manpower needs, and once again we will agree completely, but there was absolutely nothing presented there that said why we had to have that legislative guarantee, why the simple provision of universal opportunity through the multiple support method which we presently employ would not suffice. One thing, though, they point out that higher education did mean a greater belief in democratic principles. It's a minor point, I know, but, as I remember, Germany was the highest educated country in Europe before World War II. I don't think this always applies.

Moving onwards to that second contention, we are told that Mr. Francis Keppel says each year more than 100,000 students fail to go on to higher education for lack of finances. First, where did Mr. Keppel get this information? He's a pretty busy man. He's U.S. Commissioner of Education. I doubt if he ran around the country and asked all those students. He must have gotten the information somewhere else. I'd like to know where first. Secondly, I'd like to know the date on that particular survey. For we can look to Mr. Benjamin Fine writing in the New York Times back in 1955, and he claimed at that time that 100,000 students failed to go on for lack of finances. That was in 1955. In 1958, the NDEA was passed; we are told by their latest annual report that 130,000 students received aid from them last year. That act was recently expanded by another 90,000 loans. The USAF was enacted in 1960; 60,000 students will receive help from it in 1964, according to the New York Times. In other words, 280,000 new opportunities for higher education have been provided since 1955. You of the military talk about your capacity to overkill. I'd say we have the financial capacity to overeducate. We have 2.8 educations essentially sitting around, for each of those 100,000 people which existed back in 1955. And what does Mr. Keppel tell us? That there are still 100,000 people kept out today. I'm going to suggest, first, his evidence is outdated and, secondly, it hasn't taken into account the vast changes, those 280,000 scholarships, which have accrued since 1955.

Additionally, I'd like to know if these people made any effort to get into higher education. You know, Mr. Cole ran a survey back in 1956, and the figure he came up with, incidentally, was 100,000 students denied, back, again, eight years ago. It still hasn't changed according to Mr. Keppel. But, more importantly, Mr. Cole based his entire findings on one question: "If you do not go to college, what will the reason probably be? Circle one of the answers on your sheet." Did he ever ask: Did you try for a loan, did you try for a scholarship, did you try for part-time work? You just circled the easiest answer on the sheet, and this constitutes a denial of opportunity. Doug and I are going to maintain, unless that student has gone out and made some effort, he hasn't been denied that opportunity. We merely have a student checking a questionnaire. And that's our second indictment of Mr. Keppel's survey: Did they try?

Thirdly, he said they were motivated, they had interest for college, and so on. And, I'd like to know exactly how Mr. Keppel came up with this conclusion. What sort of questions were asked that ascertained that a student was really motivated for college, really had interest for college. I don't think they got it from that question, "what will the reason probably be for not going on." We'd really like to know how he was assured of this psychological reason.

Then we heard that 30% of students were forced to drop out. We never heard the date on this information. We never heard whether these people tried, so that I am going to repeat those very same indictments I have of Mr. Keppel's statement. I don't think we've seen an answer here.

Moving on, then, we were told that scholarships and loans simply didn't provide adequate student finances. But they forgot to consider the whole present system. They never mentioned the money that could be accrued from family support; they never mentioned the help that could be accrued from part-time work. I notice work is part of their program. Apparently, they defend it. Rexford G. Moon says that was the largest single source of student aid in 1961. Those gentlemen never even bothered to include it in their analysis. What did they have to say? First, we were told that scholarships were too small and too scarce. Well, I'm going to suggest, first, this isn't an inherent problem; they can be increased. Looking to the State of George, Report of the Board of Regents, dated April 20, 1946 (they mailed it to us here; that's how we got it so recently), they point out even poor Georgia, that broke southern state, is planning to institute state scholarships in the near future. So, we can see that it's not an inherent problem. If we need more scholarships, we can appeal to the states. Even Georgia, a poor southern state, is able to implement it. It's simply not an inherent problem.

Then, we were told that those scholarships didn't go to the needy. Now, I'm going to ask exactly what this proves, because it may very well be that the needy weren't applying for them. Did Mr. West ever say that financial aid officers in colleges had gotten together and decided that they were going to cheat on dirty little poor kids. No, he merely said that they went primarily to the middle class students. Well, I want to see some lower-class students who have applied for those scholarships and been turned down, that they actually don't go to them. I'm going to suggest they simply haven't been motivated to apply, they haven't been interested.

Then, we heard indictments of loans. First, we were told that they discriminate against low-paying professions. I'd like this correlated with those 100,000 students. I'd like to know how many in that alleged need area just wanted to go into a low-paying profession and were kept out. You know, the gentlemen here are pretty good at picking up bizarre reasons for not going to school and also pretty good at thinking up outdated surveys. We'd like to see them correlated now and see that there actually is a causal relationship here. Also, in regard to this discriminating against low-paying professions, I'd like to know exactly how low a paying profession it was. For the NDEA gives one up to ten years to repay, private bank loans normally are repayable within up to five years after graduation, but George F. Mosier has pointed out that they can be renegotiated to suit the borrower's own circumstances. So that student has ten years to repay under NDEA, he can renegotiate under those commercial bank loans. I wonder exactly how low-paying a job it is that the student couldn't go on to. Furthermore, let's correlate this with that 100,000 need area.

Then, we were told that loans deter graduate education. Well, I wonder exactly why. NDEA doesn't start repayment until after all education is finished. The student can stay in school until he is 45 years old, I suppose. It still doesn't start until after that. USAF doesn't start repayment until one year after graduation from all schools. I don't see how this deters people from going on. They can postpone those payments until they get out. And, then, we were told that these loans simply don't provide motivation, and I was very interested in this indictment for what was their need area according to Mr. Keppel? They had motivation, they were interested. I'm going to suggest we've got a great inconsistency in this case. Either those students were motivated, in which case this objection doesn't apply, or else those students weren't motivated, which was

our original indictment. But, let's go into motivation a little deeper. First, 40% of all NDEA borrowers come from families with incomes below \$4,000 a year. Twentynine percent of all those USAF borrowers come from families with incomes below \$4,000 a year. They seem to be motivated. They seem to want to go on to higher education. I wonder why these other people don't. I think perhaps Mr. Oscar W. Coolie, Assistant Professor of Economics at Ohio Northern, provided the answer when he said, "Any youth who objects to obligating himself for such a purpose as a college loan would, by this act, be placing such a low valuation on a college education that he would seem to be a poor candidate to receive one." So, we'll maintain those people who are really going to go out and help the country, those people who really have interest are glad to indebt themselves for the money. Remember, Joe told you they are going to earn about \$180,000 more during their lifetime. I think they'd gladly make this investment. I'd say that loans certainly do provide it for the people who are going to help. Those who don't want to go on, that's their problem.

Furthermore, what are we talking about here -- denial of opportunity. Doesn't say cellophane-wrapped opportunity or with buttons and bows or tied up or anything else. It just says "opportunity", so even if it isn't the most favorable kind, it still meets the definition of the resolution proposed by the gentlemen of the affirmative. I say it isn't a denial of opportunity.

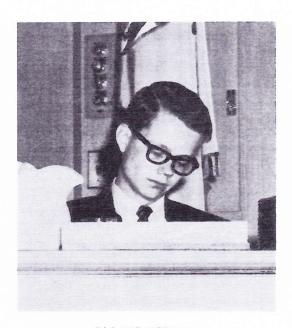
Finally, we heard that the states simply couldn't provide higher education. Why? Because the needs cross state boundaries. I'd also like to point out that the consequences of bubonic plague would probably cross state boundaries, too, but where is health largely administered? Down on the county level. So I'm going to say this isn't a foolproof rule. We frequently violate from it, particularly when those states and localities have the financial capacity to undertake the financing. What else did they tell us? That there was great mobility of students; therefore, the states couldn't possibly finance their education. Well, how are they able to finance the first twelve years from kindergarten through high school? These students would appear to be mobile, too. I'm going to suggest that it isn't a valid objection. And, finally, we heard that the states simply couldn't expand their resources. Why? Because of state competition. But, looking to Fortune Magazine, we find "there is increasing recognition that the corporation profits tax is the most equitable way in which industry can help finance the public services it requires. As a result, the tax has won converts in the corporations themselves and in the legislatures. " We are going to suggest that that problem simply doesn't exist anymore. Furthermore, that new Federal tax cut is going to provide three billion dollars to states without increasing taxes. Finally, I want the gentlemen of the affirmative to show me one state which is incapable of raising the revenue for this problem. If they can't do that, we haven't got an inherent need.

So, what Doug and I are going to say is that we have opportunity now, not a legislative guarantee, but opportunity. And, even if that guarantee were needed, we'd hardly have to go to the Federal Government to provide it. Thank you.

* * *

Second Affirmative Constructive Speech Mr. James Unger Boston College

Friends, I'd like to begin by answering the gentleman's questions about our plan. We estimate the cost when the plan is fully in operation between 2 and 2.5 billion dollars. Secondly, we think in the short term it can be financed by deficit financing, which would



JAMES UNGER BOSTON COLLEGE

indeed, we think, make the tax cut even more effective. The Report of the Joint Economic Committee, March 1964, points out that "Tax reduction will not be effective in reducing unemployment if federal expenditures are too sharply curtailed. Additional funds should be channeled into areas of vital national importance such as the poverty program, job retraining, and education. " We think a practical method, then, is short-term deficit financing. In the long run, however, we think the program is going to pay for itself. You'll remember that the gentleman didn't deny that you had increased income due to a college education. And as Senator Wayne Morse testified before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, August 1961, "The GI Bill from the standpoint of educational costs already is returning to the Treasury of the United States more than its cost by way of the increased income that these men have earned as a result of their college training." In the long run, that program is going to pay for itself.

Finally, exactly what expenses will be covered? Those of the costs that will be

charged by the institutions of higher education, both for room and board, tuition, and other fees. We'd suggest then that the proposal is indeed going to meet its need with those two specific advantages.

All right, I'd like to go now to the three questions that Joe asked in his constructive speech. The first was "Should an opportunity be guaranteed today?" And I think it's significant that the gentleman didn't really dispute that there should be a guarantee of an opportunity. Why? Because he acknowledged (1) that for the individual there was benefit due to higher education; (2) he acknowledged from the nation there would be benefit due to more people going on into higher education because of the manpower shortages. I think that if we can show you that under our program of a guarantee of an opportunity more students will go on, we are going to be meeting those two need contentions and solving the problem.

Then the gentleman said, "What about the problems of democracy and political support"? Dr. Walter Greenstein writes in 1962 that "Empirical evidence indicates that those who have higher levels of education are more likely to support our political processes through participation in active politics." We'd suggest indeed once again there is active participation in democracy to solve those problems. We suggest, then, should that opportunity be guaranteed? Yes. I don't think the gentleman has answered that at all. I think very well we can see then that opportunity should be guaranteed.

Secondly, we asked the question, "Is the opportunity being guaranteed today?" And I think all the gentleman did here was turn to a 1955 survey, a 1956 survey and refute it. I don't think that refutes our contentions, however. We could turn to Dr. Francis Keppel again in what the gentleman talked about. His conclusion? Each year, more

than 100,000 high school graduates with high aptitudes and interest in college fail to continue their education because of financial inability. In this he cites Project Talent and other sources. Weld suggest once again that Dr. Keppel is basing his estimates on rather current evidence. More importantly, however, we'd suggest, as does Dr. Lee Dewbridge of the University of Connecticut, that "the important thing about the surveys thus far taken to determine whether capable students do or do not go on to college and for what reasons they would do so, is that they have been subject to valid statistical methods and expert interpretation. " I think the important point here is, then, the expert interpretation of these surveys, and that's what we've been getting here-today, I think, the expert interpretation in 1964. It also seems to me to be rather significant that the gentleman pointed something out. He said in 1955 and 1956 these surveys indicated that 100,000 students weren't going on because of a lack of funds. Yet in 1964 the same number is used, and in 1964 the same number is used despite all the increases in student aid that the gentleman had been talking about. It seems those increases in student aid haven't been adequate because we've still got the same number of students not going on to college. President Lyndon Johnson, in the Manpower Report of the President, March 1964, writes that "Each year, more than 100,000 high school graduates with high aptitudes and interest in college fail to continue their education because of financial inability."

Well, what about the problem of dropouts? The gentleman said he didn't catch the date. The date on Joe's quotation was 1961. It said that 60,000 students dropped out each year because of a lack of adequate finances. It seems to us, then, very definitely, that these students are not going on today and that the reason they are not going on is a lack of adequate finance. Perhaps the best way, I think, to illustrate this is what would happen if these finances were to be provided. Dr. Donald Thistlewaite in the 1963 Report for the U.S. Office of Education says, that 'at least 60 percent of the men and 40 percent of the women not enrolling in college could have been recruited for higher education if suitable financial aid had been available." And Raymond J. Young, of the University of Michigan, writes in College and University in the fall of 1962 that "56 percent of those having received no education after high school graduation would definitely have taken advantage of the opportunity if more money had been available at the time of graduation." We think we can get these students on, and we can get them on by providing a program such as that of the affirmative team. Is that opportunity currently being guaranteed? We'd suggest that available evidence answers "no".

All right, now let's examine the third contention, that is whether the opportunity for higher education can and should be guaranteed under the status quo. First, you'll remember the gentleman said we seem to be inconsistent. We are proposing jobs, but jobs actually are available today. Two points here: (1) The jobs that are available today really don't seem to be too available. Carl Rosenfeld, for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, writes in the Monthly Labor Review of August of 1963 that "College students are now finding it more difficult than a few years ago to obtain the part-time jobs most of them seek." That only seems logical with five million of our citizens unemployed today that there would be jobs available for these students. Secondly, you'll remember, we are proposing jobs of an educational character. Those aren't the jobs that the students have today. We'd suggest that those type of jobs actually harm the student academically. We don't think that is going to be true under the proposal of the affirmative team. You'll remember Dr. Keppel, when he cited the first advantage of this proposal, pointing out it would be educationally valuable to the student.

All right, secondly, we'd like to go to the area of scholarships. You'll remember we indicated that scholarships were small and scarce and that the gentleman said, "After all, Georgia is planning to institute an increased scholarship program and we just got that in the mail today." Well, maybe during the break Raoul can go out and get another

letter telling us some details on this program. I'd like to know them. I'd like to know how much money is going to be involved and to what students this scholarship program is going to go to. We don't think the fact that Georgia is planning sometime in the future to institute some sort of scholarship program refutes the contentions of Dr. Stalnaker and Dr. West that there are problems with scholarships. Then the gentleman said, "Well, after all, is there a real problem in the scholarships going to the rich? Patricia K. O'Sexton, of New York University, writes in 1961, "Scholarships are available, but they tend to go to higher income students." We'd suggest then that the scholarships that are available today do indeed go to the higher-income students, that they are not helping those students we're talking about in today's debate, that is, the students who can't afford to go on to college.

Then we turned to loans, and the gentleman said, "Well, after all, the problem with loans can be solved first in relationship to the NDEA." We suggest that the NDEA can't solve that problem for two reasons: (1) It's too specific a program. The U.S. Office of Education in its 1963 Report on the NDEA notes that "in keeping with the intention of the Act, most of the individual loans have been advanced to students who had superior academic ability or preparation in science, mathematics, engineering, or modern foreign languages." It is not available then to all students who apply for it. Secondly, Edith Green, Congresswoman from Oregon, points out that the 1964 requests for the Act are over 148 million dollars. Even with the new expansion of the NDEA, which has been just enacted, that is financially unable to solve the problem. We suggest two reasons, then, why the NDEA can't solve that problem. Then the gentleman said, "Well, after all, we can solve the problem anyway with private loans." Once again, we turn to the Wall Street Journal in 1963 when they point out that the six percent interest rate charged by the USAF has deterred many students in low income groups from taking advantage of the program. Well, has there been this actual deterrance under the status quo, that is, in relation to low-paying jobs and in relation to graduate work? Dr. M. M. Chambers of Michigan State University writes that "In order to pay back a loan, students enter higher-paying professions. A loan program can decimate the ranks of education, social service, civil service, and general education. " It seems then that loan programs really can't solve the problem.

All right, finally, we talked about loans in relationship to motivation. And the gentleman said, "Well, after all, there seems to be a contradiction here. You said these students were motivated." Indeed they were academically motivated to go on to college. They had an interest in college. The important point here was that the financial difficulties cancelled out this motivation. They weren't interested in going on because of the financial difficulties. The academic motivation was there, as was the ability. Congresswoman Edith Green writes in 1962 that "many students have an interest in college and the ability to go but it is the problem of finances that deters them." It seems to us, indeed, the motivation is there. It is only, however, through a scholarship program then that this can be solved. Dr. John L. Holland writes in the Merit Scholar of January of 1963 that "It is the main effect of scholarships awarded to students from middle and low-income groups; it will increase the students' chances of attending college and raise the level of their educational aspiration." We'd suggest then, through a program of scholarships, you can solve that problem of motivation.

Finally, you'll remember Joe turned to the combination of mechanisms in the status quo and indicated that they indeed could not solve the problem. You'll remember they were not keeping pace with the upward cost trend or enrollment, and the gentleman never wanted to talk about that.

Well, finally, he talked about the states, and you'll remember he indicated first that the states seemingly could solve the problem. We'd suggest that's not the case. The

President's educational message in January of 1963 points out that 'In our present era of economic expansion, population growth, and technological advance, state, local, and private efforts are insufficient. These efforts must be reinforced by national support if American education is to yield a maximum of individual development and well-being."

Then, the gentleman said, "Why won't the tax cut give us enough money?" Newsweek of February 24, 1964 points out that "It would take an average increase in taxable incomes of more than twenty percent to realize the Treasury's estimates of higher revenue. This is just not plausible." It doesn't seem that the assumptions of the estimate to get more revenue are too plausible here today. Secondly, the gentleman said, "After all, does this really affect competition in corporations?" Dr. Richard Netzer writes in 1961 that "Overall empirical studies show that communities with high tax rates have a low volume of commercial and residential investment and those with low tax rates have a higher volume of investment." It seems to us there is empirical evidence on the point.

Should that opportunity be guaranteed? We contend very definitely yes. Is the opportunity being guaranteed today? No. Can and should it be guaranteed under the status quo? No. The way to guarantee it? We contend that it is the affirmative proposal with its two advantages.

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Second Negative Constructive Speech
Mr. Douglas Pipes
University of the Pacific

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: In the course of the next ten minutes, I'd like to do four things. I'd like to begin with the discussion of the inherency of the affirmative team and a question of why we need to go to Washington, D. C. to solve this problem. I think the affirmative team made the biggest point for the negative team in their last speech when they told us that the NDEA is short twenty-three million dollars and that Congress refuses to give this money to NDEA. The question in my mind arises then, why did the affirmative team propose the federal government as the answer to their problem, and why is Congress suddenly going to change their mind because the affirmative team wants a work-study program? I think they had better show us that the Congress will propose money for their program when they won't propose it today.

Secondly, they told you there was a rationale for federal action because of interstate competition. I would say, first of all, that this is rapidly going out of date. M. M. Chambers, in his book, The Campus and The People, points out, "A very favorable straw in the wind is the fact that the worn idea of the states competing with each other to attract new industries by avoiding taxation, especially personal and corporate income taxes, is well on the way. Instead, it is now recognized that enlightened corporations looking for plant sites are strongly drawn by the advantages of good public school systems, as well as by the research facilities and research leadership afforded by the presence of great state universities." Let's give an example of where a state is actually proposing an increase in progressive taxes to get this. The Denver Post, March 22, 1964, State Representative Isaac Moore says, "It appears that Colorado is being bypassed by the movement of businesses to the West Coast." What does he propose? The repeal of property tax on inventories and the enactment of a graduated tax on new corporations to stimulate growth of businesses in Colorado. I think that second affirmative indictment of the present system falls in that area. That is rationale number one, then. There is no reason to go to the Federal Government to solve this problem.



DOUGLAS PIPES UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

The second thing I'd like to do is define this affirmative program. They defined it in their plan. They said it is a workscholarship program, and they said this has been proposed by the Administration. Well, gentlemen, I think you have a confusion of terms. The Administration has proposed a work-study program. That is the way it was outlined in the Congressional Record, not a work-scholarship program, and we don't want confusion to arise here.

The third thing I'd like to do is to examine if this affirmative proposal is going to meet the needs that they have given to you. Number one, Raoul and I challenge that it will meet that specific 100,000 students that you were talking about. Now, you'll remember that the second affirmative speaker got up and read two quotations, one of them from Mr. Thistlewaite who said that sixty percent would go on if they had suitable finances. He didn't say this affirmative program. Mr. Young said fifty-six percent would go on if they had suitable finances. Note two things: (1) It's not 100 percent so that they can't meet their whole need area; (2) it's dependent upon the definition of

suitable finances. I suggest to you, therefore, the affirmative team has given us no rationale to assume that this specific program is specifically going to meet the need area they're talking about. Mr. Keppel said in that first speech that this would help more people to go to college, but he never did say that these specific 100,000 students that are presently being kept out for financial reasons would go. I suggest until we hear that with evidence, there is no rationale for believing that.

Secondly, I would suggest that the nature of the affirmative program is not going to meet that definition of terms, "guarantee an opportunity for all." Why? Well, we asked the gentleman where they got their information for the basis of these statements. Where did Mr. Keppel get his information? Where did Mr. Johnson get his information? He didn't know. I'm going to suggest a few sources. Raoul suggested Mr. Cole's survey in 1955. I would suggest that there were a number of state surveys since that time. Now, mind you, we don't accept these state surveys, we don't like them; but as long as the affirmative team wants to solve those problems, we'll see if they can solve them. The 1961 Connecticut Study on Higher Education: Twenty percent of the students who didn't go on to college said the financial reason they didn't go on is that they had to help support their families. The Indiana Study, 1959: Twenty-seven percent of the students said they had to help support their families, and it was marriage costs that kept them out. But you'll remember what that affirmative speaker said in reply to Raoul's question, "We're going to cover tuition, room and board costs at the university." They're not even going to meet the need area that they presented in those surveys. Reason number two, then, that the affirmative program won't meet that need. Reason number three, that this affirmative program won't do what they say it does. I ask you what kind of people these are that they're talking about. They're unwilling to borrow;

they're needy, they claim. Needy people borrow from the NDEA, but these people don't borrow from the NDEA. I suggest that the reason that they don't is the lack of wanting to pay the money back. I ask you what type of people they are, what type of leaders we can expect from these people if they are unwilling to make an investment in their future, which will yield you, in the words of the affirmative team, \$180,000 in their lifetime. I would suggest that the gentlemen show us that these specific people are going to give us economic, social, and cultural advantages.

Those are the three reasons I don't think this proposal is going to meet its needs. I have a number of disadvantages I'd like to deal with here. Disadvantage number one is predicated upon a question. The gentlemen said we're going to have these people work in the areas which they are having a major. It's going to be an academic program. The question in my mind arises, then, is a freshman person involved in an English major here going to correct papers of a senior at that university in English? We don't know. We don't know quite what these students are going to do. We don't know if freshman speech majors are going to be judging debate tournaments. We don't know really. How can we tell whether this affirmative program is going to be advantageous? Disadvantage number two, these people would like to have the students going to work. We would suggest that this would take away from their study time. If they are perhaps "C" students or marginal students, it's going to help force them out of college rather than keep them in college. I think, again, they're aggravating their needs. The question is, then, what specifically are they going to do and how are they going to be able to maintain their own grades while working in these fields? Thirdly, we're going to suggest that they are going to dry up present aid. You'll remember this affirmative proposal is a legislative guarantee. This means that no matter what anybody else provides, be it minimum or be it maximum, the Federal Government is going to make up the difference. I'm going to suggest to you that all the present aid sources being given are going to, therefore, dry up. The American Enterprise Institute, in their analysis of the debate topic of October of last year pointed out, "If one source of funds commits itself to an absolute guarantee (and they're doing that), other sources of assistance, alumni giving, corporation foundation support, state scholarship support, just to mention a few, may gradually withdraw because they know somebody else incurs the ultimate responsibility." Well, there's an unnecessary factor. These students are already getting an opportunity for a higher education. They are not being denied that opportunity. There is an unnecessary cost to that affirmative program. Disadvantage number four is also an unnecessary cost to the affirmative program. Students who are presently working during the summer to help finance their educations during the school year are going to have no reason whatsoever to keep on working. Why? Because they're going to provide them with a job during the year, so why should the student work during the summer when the Federal Government is going to give him all the money he needs during the winter? Disadvantage number five, I'm going to suggest that the students who are presently classified as needy, taking out NDEA and USAF loans (and you remember those percentages -- 42% of the NDEA borrowers come from families below \$4000, 29% come from families below \$4000 in USAF), I'm going to suggest that there is no rationale whatsoever for their staying with those loans. Why? Because this affirmative program enables them to get something free. I'm going to suggest that they would drop these loan programs and come over to the affirmative program. They are already getting an opportunity for a higher education. This is disadvantageous because we don't need to incur this unnecessary cost under the status quo. I would suggest that as a final disadvantage, the sixth disadvantage to the affirmative program, that it is going to enable the institutions to not only raise tuition but to overcharge the government. Why? A federal scholarship program, in the words of the Land Grant Association and State Universities Association, "is likely to have the effect of inducing institutions to increasing their charges to students, thus making college attendance more difficult for non-scholarship students and requiring still additional

scholarship pay;" but the same idea applies here whether you call it a scholarship program, a scholarship-work, or a study-work program. They're providing a guarantee. The college president says, "Aha, that government is going to provide whatever money the students need. Therefore, I think I'll just jack up my tuition a few dollars." It's not going to hurt the students. The Federal Government is going to be taxed. Secondly, I suggest to you that the colleges are going to overcharge the government. U.S. News and World Report, August 31, 1951, analyzing the effects of the GI Bill, points out, "The General Accounting Office auditors found that two-thirds of the schools they examined overcharged the government on veterans' education." Some were overcharges from careless mistakes. But others resulted from "irregular and fraudulent practices." Well, that's disadvantage number six. I suggest to you that there are six significant disadvantages to the adoption of this program.

So then, let's go back and let's see about this affirmative program. Let's see three things. Let's see, number one, why it has to be in Washington, D.C. We have no rationale because it's not an inherent program. If the Federal Government won't give money for NDEA now, what reason do we have to believe that they are going to give it under the affirmative program? There is no interstate competition today. That idea is rapidly on the wing. This affirmative program is a work-study program. We don't want to hear the affirmative team call it a work-scholarship program and tell you it's the Administration's bill. Number three, there are at least three reasons it is not going to meet that need, there are at least six reasons why that plan is disadvantageous, and there are many more reasons why that plan is unnecessary, and Raoul is now going to explain them.

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First Negative Rebuttal Speech
Mr. Raoul Kennedy
University of the Pacific

Let's go back and take another look at that alleged need area. First, we were told that there should be a guaranteed opportunity for higher education. Doug and I agreed with all the specific sub-points under that, but what we said is you haven't shown why we need a legislative guarantee rather than just the provision of universal opportunity such as we've shown already exists. Mr. Unger came up and resubstantiated all those specifics, but he still hasn't told us why a legislative guarantee, as contrasted with opportunity for multiple support. Then we got to that second contention that students were being kept out. We heard from Mr. Keppel that more than 100,000 students were denied their education. I asked where Mr. Keppel got his information. They told us from Project Talent. I have a copy of Mr. Keppel's testimony here. He says, "Each year, 100,000 students. . . " In the next sentence, he says, "Project Talent tells us 30 percent of high school seniors in the 80 to 90 academic percentile and 43 percent in the 70 to 80 percentile fail to enter college. " Project Talent never says anything about 100,000, it never says anything about finances. It's on page 4 if you care to read along with Kennedy, Joe. Here, he's got Project Talent, true, but it doesn't tell about the 100,000 students. I'm going to ask once again, where did Mr. Keppel get his information on the 100,000? What was the date of that survey? And, what's more, did those people make any effort whatsoever? That wasn't answered for us. Additionally, if you will look to page 16 of that testimony, gentlemen, you'll find that Mr. Keppel says, "The Administration, rather than again submit a scholarship proposal for the consideration of the Congress, has suggested a comprehensive, thoroughgoing national study to determine why able young persons fail to attend or fail to complete college and in what way federal resources can be effectively utilized to assist with this problem. " Apparently, the Administration right now doesn't feel that those national surveys are sufficient. They

proposed another one; as I say, it's on page 16.

Moving on, then, we asked about those dropouts. What was the date here? They came back and told us the date of the statement. That wasn't what I asked for. For that matter, they could tell us they made the statement today, so therefore it was as of today. I wanted to know the graduating class, the year the dropouts were based upon. This we were never told. We were never told the name of the survey, and we were never told whether those people tried. I'm going to say there is still no demonstrated denial of opportunity. I'm going to suggest it's still based on 1955, 1956 information, before the institution of NDEA, before the creation of USAF. I'm going to suggest the present system has taken care of that need area.

Then, we got to an examination of the finances within the present system. They told us scholarships were too small and too scarce. I said it wasn't inherent, Georgia was expanding theirs. They said to go get another letter. It wasn't a letter. It was a report of the Board of Regents. The point is I don't know exactly how many they are going to give, but Georgia is taking action in this area. It is still not an inherent problem if even a state like Georgia can institute such a program. Then I asked, why didn't the poor students get these scholarships? Was it perhaps that they weren't applying for them? Mr. Unger assured me they weren't getting them, but he never told me why. So I'll repeat that question once again. They still haven't shown a denial of opportunity here.

Then we moved on to the matter of the NDEA. We were told that the NDEA was short on funds. Let's look to Mr. Keppel, who is getting to be quite an authority in this debate; this time page 7, Joe. He says "It is still our judgment that the current authorization of \$135 million will be adequate for Fiscal Year 1965." He seems to think NDEA is adequate; but more importantly, as Doug has already pointed out, if the Federal Government won't appropriate funds for loans that are going to be paid back, what's going to give them the glimmer of light that they're going to go out and give money to students? They won't even let them have it now when they're going to have to repay it. I say that's the best indictment of the Federal Government that has been advanced in this debate. Doug and I couldn't have done such a good job. We want to thank our friends of the opposition. It's the same Federal Government they're going to have to draw upon. If NDEA can't get it, I'm going to suggest they can't, either.

Then, we heard about USAF. We were told that many were deterred from taking USAF due to the interest rate, but 29 percent of those USAF borrowers still come from families below \$4,000 per year. They weren't deterred. I'm going to suggest it's still those students that simply don't place that emphasis on higher education; they don't value it.

And, we pointed up the dichotomy in regard to motivation. Were their students motivated or not? I like the answer here. We were told that they were academically motivated, they were just crazy about going to college. It was just having to pay for it that sort of bothered them. You know, General Lampert (Ed. Note: The reference is to Major General James B. Lampert, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy.) is sitting down there. I'd like very much to be a General in the Army. I'm motivated like mad to be a general. The only thing is that I'd hate to have to go through being a cadet to get there. That's why I'm not doing it. I'm going to suggest I haven't been denied the opportunity. I'm just not motivated. It's the same problem here -- a very interesting group of students to say the least. And then we pointed out the 40 percent of those NDEA borrowers from below \$4,000, 29 percent of USAF from below \$4,000, and no specific refutation here.

Finally, we got to the matter of the states. We were told their efforts were insufficient. They simply couldn't raise those taxes. Looking to <u>Time</u> Magazine, March 1, 1963, "A recent tax foundation survey found that states are planning to increase taxes by nearly 1.5 billion dollars this year." Yet we're told that states can't increase taxes. 1.5 billion! We said that they could get money from that tax cut without ever raising taxes. Mr. Unger told us they wouldn't get the whole amount. Okay, maybe they won't get the whole three billion; they can still get a sizeable portion of it. I think we can educate a lot of people on that money. Also, they can deficit spend. We haven't heard any reason why they can't do that. I'm going to suggest that there are a number of ways the states can resort to, to get the necessary funds.

Still no reason why a legislative guarantee as opposed to opportunity; still no reason why we have to go to the Federal Government, even if that legislative guarantee were required. Thank you very much.

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First Affirmative Rebuttal Speech Mr. Joseph McLaughlin Boston College

If there is an official of the draft board in the audience, maybe he can take care of Mr. Kennedy's problem.

Let's go down now and see exactly what Mr. Kennedy did have to say, and his partner, about that plan of the affirmative team. Number one, did we have a problem of inherency in this case? Why would Congress suddenly change its mind? You know, it's interesting -- that's why we're here today, to debate the resolution. We're trying to convince Congress they should change their minds. We should have that guarantee of opportunity for all qualified high school graduates. Number two, what about those enlightened corporations? I guess that University of the Pacific team is going to have to enlighten an awful lot of corporations because corporations simply don't go to the states where we have the high tax rates. Now, how did we prove that? Jim turned to the empirical studies which proved we had a low volume of investment where we had high tax rates, and the gentleman, for all his jokes, never denied that. Finally, what about this work-study or work-scholarship program? I'm afraid there has been a basic misunderstanding here. That program we are proposing is called a work-scholarship, a work-study program, whatever you want to propose it. I'd like Mr. Pipes to show us there is any significant difference in the Administration's bill we are citing here today and what the gentlemen are talking about. We're proposing jobs for these students. The colleges will receive the money from the Federal Government. They will then create these jobs for the students and help put themselves through college. Next, the gentlemen said, "Will this proposal meet its needs, will these students go on, is that actually a suitable financial method?" The gentleman said, "Only sixty percent of your students are going to go on. You're not providing universal opportunity for all students." We're talking about sixty percent of all students who drop out of college, not all the students who drop out for financial reasons. We're getting all those students in. Mr. Unger turned to three different sources, Mr. Keppel, who all pointed out . . . Mr. Ribicoff; all concluded that adequate financial aid would immediately induce large numbers of students to go on to college. We think it is going to solve the problem.

Next, the gentleman said, "What about these surveys? What about these students who had to support their families?" Twenty percent from those surveys his partner has just indicted. Now, let's be reasonable about this. If these students had just gone through eight years of grammar school and four years of high school, are we to suppose

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that all of a sudden they have to turn around and stop going to school and suddenly support their families? What were their families doing while these students were going through four years of high school? We don't think that is a significant problem, and we don't think the gentleman proved that it was.

Next, the gentleman said, "Why won't they take a loan? Isn't this an adequate investment? Doesn't a guarantee of an opportunity for education provide all this added income in later life?" Now, that's true on an overall average, and those are the statistics we were citing, but the fact is that no one individual can be sure that he is going to make this \$180,000 during his lifetime, especially if he goes into a low-paying profession. Therefore, the guarantee of the opportunity isn't there for him under that present system. That loan doesn't do him any good. Once again, we need that federal program, that work-study program.

Now, what about those work-study programs? Do they have any disadvantages? Now, these educational jobs. . . we'd like to deal with these next two objections. Dr. Fred Harrington pointed out in 1964, "There is no question but that the opportunity to work at jobs related to their educational interests is helpful both to the students and to the institutions they attend." Now, is there any obstacle in preventing these colleges from creating these jobs? Once again, Jim pointed out how the only major obstacle stopping colleges from creating all these educational jobs today was the fact that they simply didn't have the money. They couldn't do it. That's our program -- give them the money, they'll create these jobs, they'll help the students. Will it hurt his study time? We don't think so. Once again, he is going to be employed in a job of an educationally valuable nature. This bill which the gentlemen have, they can read along once again, if they like, with me. It points out that these students are often employed in the university publications office, in the finance department, in the administration branch -all educational experiences -- English majors, or whatever you have in college, once again educationally valuable jobs. The gentleman said, "Will it dry up private initiative?" We don't think so, and the advisors to the Committee on National Student Financial Aid didn't think so. They said, "It is the Committee's opinion that a well-developed federal program would have similar impact of stimulating the private sector of our economy. " Once again, we don't think it is going to hurt.

What about the NDEA and the USAF? The gentleman said, "Forty-one percent of all these borrowers come from the low-income families, and you're going to wipe this out." You know, that's true. We are. We don't think they should be taking these loans. Those loans have three structural deficiencies which we cited back in that need contention. They should be available for that work-study program.

Finally, will the colleges raise charges? The gentleman said, "That government is going to provide all the money." Once again, that government also happens to be the colleges' government, and we don't think they're going to try to take the government for everything they can get. Once again, under the GI Bill the rises in tuition came about not because of the government program but because of other factors. That's what Elmer D. West tells us, and that's what Dr. Harrington tells us. Once again, the college is a non-profit organization; we don't think they are going to charge high rates.

Let's go back now and consider those arguments on the states. Did we really have a problem here? Could the states finance this added expenditure? The Presidential Education Message in 1963 pointed out, "In our present era of economic expansion, population growth, and technological advances, state, local, and private efforts in higher education are insufficient. These efforts must be reinforced by national support." Now was this really a problem? Could the states increase their taxes? Mr. Kennedy said

they could. Yes, the states can increase their taxes, those regressive taxes. The burden falls on the low-income people. That hurts them even more. Their program or that counter-proposal, whatever they call it, is going to hurt the people even more.

Now what about the NDEA, the scholarships and loans available under the present system? You know, Mr. Kennedy stopped at the period. Mr. Keppel went on to point out, "Beyond that we believe the ceilings of the NDEA should be raised to \$155 million in Fiscal 1966." The NDEA has been recognized as inadequate. It's in specialized fields. Mr. Kennedy never replied to that.

What about those surveys? Were they accurate? I think the important point here is: all those surveys recited, regardless of their date, were subject to expert interpretation. Dr. Keppel, President Johnson, President Kennedy all concluded the same thing, from these surveys: 100,000 students denied an opportunity for higher education. They didn; thave that reasonable chance to get the education. 60,000 students dropped out of college every year. They didn't have that reasonable chance either. We need that proposal of the affirmative team.

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Second Negative Rebuttal Speech Mr. Douglas Pipes University of the Pacific

The gentlemen of the affirmative team have assured us that they are here to enlighten the mind of the Federal Government. We're also here to enlighten the mind of the Federal Government to make whatever changes are necessary in NDEA. We're here to enlighten the states, why state competition doesn't really exist, and the corporations, too. We think this is a "should" proposal. They never have showed us that it should be the Federal Government. We have shown you why it should be the states.

Let's go back at that basic rationale of why we don't need a guarantee, why it doesn't have to be in Washington, D. C., why the plan won't meet the need and why it's disadvantageous. We said, number one, you're not going to get that highest democracy that you're aiming for. The gentlemen came back up with their same quotation from Mr. Greenstein, and I caught it this second time. He said we're going to have "active participation. " Well, I can recall some very active participation in some of those Nazi marches. He never did say "insure a more democratic society." Remember that. Remember point number two, that they have never shown us that these students were motivated to try to finance their higher education. They never showed the denial of opportunity. Perhaps these students wanted to go, but the students never made any real effort to go. Raoul and I say that is not the fault of the status quo. The affirmative team was never able to give us any specific survey in 1964 which showed that we still have the problem. The gentlemen say Mr. Keppel said it in 1963; he said it in 1964. We've asked time and time again where he got the information. They can't tell us. We asked them what questions did he ask on that survey. They can't tell us that either. Raoul and I conclude we don't have a denial of opportunity today. That's no fault of the status quo.

Well, they said that scholarships weren't adequate. We said yes, but scholarships can, and are being increased on the state level. We gave the example of Georgia. The important point to remember here: this isn't an inherent problem of scholarships; and they never did come back to that. Now, we said we're not providing a higher educational opportunity today on a silver platter. We said yes, a student does have to make an investment in his own future; but the return on this investment, as the affirmative team

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has so well pointed out, will be so great that we think a student ought to make that investment. We're also here to convince the students that it is economically advantageous. The status quo provides that opportunity for a student to invest in his own future. I think that is enough opportunity. We don't need a legislative guarantee.

Well, then they talked about NDEA. They said it's \$23 million short. We said, "How are you going to get the Federal Government to raise the money?" They said, "We're going to convince them to raise the money." Well, the negative team is going to convince them that \$135 in the words of Mr. Keppel is enough. We're going to convince them, if it isn't enough, to increase the amount. That's no inherent problem at all. That's no structural change. There's no reason for this affirmative guarantee.

Well, then we went on to that second area, why do we have to go to the Federal Government? The Presidential Education Message, according to the affirmative team, said state, local, and private resources are insufficient presently. But Raoul pointed out that we are increasing taxes 1.5 billion dollars. That's fact, not hypothesis. Then they said, "Well, they won't be able to do it in the future," and that we shouldn't have regressive taxes. So here we have a new aspect of why we shouldn't do it. We have a complete change of the interstate competition over to this regressive tax measure. All that we will say about regressive taxes is that it's not inherent on the state level. States do have progressive taxes. They have income taxes and corporate taxes. There is nothing structurally inadequate here that the states can't and aren't correcting. About the interstate competition, the affirmative team has completely dropped that argument when we gave them examples of how it is changing today -- states that are increasing those, not denying opportunity; corporations are still coming in. We talked about the tax cut. The gentleman only said, "Well, perhaps it will be a little less." Yes, perhaps we'll get a little less than \$3 billion, but they never did deny that the states were going to be able to get that without any significant tax increase.

Well, then, we went on to their plan. We said, number one, "Is it going to meet your need, is your specific need area going to go on?" You know what the last affirmative speaker did? He got up and he said, "I gave you those three people that said more students would go on." Well, those were his original statements. We told you why those were wrong: (1) they didn't say all 100 percent would go on; (2) they said if suitable finances were available, and (3) they never said the specific 100,000. So, I don't think the affirmative team answered that. We talked about married students. We said you're not going to provide support for them, and they said, "Well, they got through twelve years of school." Well, perhaps they did. That's because the public school was right down the block. They're not providing a college right down the block so these students can stay at home and work. These students often have to leave, and that's why they're not meeting that area. We asked what kind of leaders are they proposing that won't invest in their own future. How are they going to help us? They couldn't answer us on that point that I can recall.

Well, we listed six disadvantages. First of all, we said they're unproven. What are they going to do? They said, they're going to have him in an educational, valuable activity and this is going to contribute to his education. Well, I point out, according to the NDEA report, "When students work more than two hours during the school day, their study time is likely to be severly limited, whether it is in an educational nature or not." Then the gentleman said, "Wait a minute, our plan isn't going to dry up private resources. The Presidential Advisory Committee says it won't." No, that's not what it said. It said it might not. We suggest you keep that word in mind. We said, number three, number four, you're drying up student work, you're drying up student loans; and, finally, you're going to have increases in tuition. I don't recall his ever refuting that. Those

are unnecessary costs. We don't have them today. We'll have them under that program.

No need for a guarantee, no reason to go to Federal Government, no reason that this plan will meet the need, six reasons why it is disadvantageous, and thank you very much.

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Second Affirmative Rebuttal Speech Mr. James Unger Boston College

"There is no more senseless waste than the waste of brainpower and skill of those who are kept from college by economic circumstance." That's how Joe began his constructive speech, and I really don't think, despite their jokes and despite their arguments, that the negative team has really taken issue with this statement. Let's go back and see, first of all turning to the proposal, whether this has been the case. You know, I think it is significant that a lot of these arguments can be answered by the first questions that Raoul asked. He said, "How much is your plan going to cost?" I answered. He said, "How are you going to finance it?" I said, "In the short-term, deficit financing, which is good; in the long-term, that program is going to pay for itself."

Now, you'll remember under the disadvantages here we seem to have problems in private aid. We indicated that it might stimulate these sources; but even if it didn't even if it drove them out, would there be a significant problem here because there doesn't seem to be any problem in financing that proposal; no evil related to this idea. Then the gentleman said, "Well, after all, we're going to destroy existing loan programs." And Joe said, "You know, in many cases that may be right, but these students shouldn't be taking loans; we can finance it satisfactorily under the Federal Government." What's the harm? No harm related to those nasty-sounding words that the gentlemen are using. Then he said, "After all, they're going to increase tuition." Joe said they are non-profit organizations; it doesn't seem that they're going to be doing that today. I think that was the answer which the gentlemen really didn't treat with.

All right, then, the gentleman turned to the inherency idea, and he said, "After all, will the Congress appropriate the money?" I think Joe indicated, indeed, that the question is "Should they appropriate that money under this specific program?" When we get to that program, I think we should see it should be done in this way. Yes, they should. We went to the idea of corporations and state competition, and the gentleman said the corporations seem to have reversed themselves because of Colorado. I don't think that was the case at all. We turned to the empirical evidence which cited that when there were high taxes, there were low rates of investment, and the gentlemen haven't shown you that corporations are going into these states that have these new taxes, such as Colorado.

We said the work-study program; the gentleman said it's really a work-study program, not a work-scholarship program. Our answer here: indeed, that's right. We're calling it by a different name, but will you please cite the significant differences in the Administration's proposals and ours? The gentlemen wouldn't do it.

All right, the gentleman said, "It's not going to meet the need because your 60 to 70 percent are not 100 percent." We said they're 60 percent of all the students who don't go on, not just 60 percent of those who didn't go on for financial reasons. We're going to be getting them in college. One other thing which I think is important: What if we

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acknowledged that gentleman's argument and only got 60 percent in? Those individual differences in the manpower shortages that this negative team has admitted throughout today's debate would certainly be aided by that, and that is something they can't deny. They've admitted that those two harms really do exist. All right, then, the gentlemen said, "What if they have to help support their family?" They said they could work around the block and that they couldn't do that in college. I think that's rather assertive; it certainly doesn't prove the point that these are significant numbers of students whose families suddenly have to be supported, but were supported while they were in high school through a different source. Then the gentleman said, "What type of people are these?" I think Joe refuted that point. You'll remember he indicated, "yes," if you were certain you could get \$180,000, you should borrow; but, unfortunately, that's society average and the individual can't operate on the basis of society's knowledge. Unfortunately, these students can't borrow on the basis of higher income. When we look at that plan, then, I think it's got two advantages. I think we've seen why we should turn from the states in those areas to the Federal Government. I think that we've seen that those disadvantages are covered under the cost provision, which the gentlemen didn't want to challenge at all. It's a lot of nasty and evil-sounding words, but I don't think it refutes the proposal.

Let's go back and see if there is a need for it under the status quo. We said, "Should that opportunity be guaranteed?" The gentleman said, "Why make it legislative?" I think we've indicated very definite reasons for it. We've turned to the idea of political support as well as the economic reasons and the manpower shortages. All the gentlemen here have asserted our answers. I think we've turned to an empirical study again, indicating more active political participation with greater education.

There seem to be three pressing needs, here, that this negative team hasn't denied why we should get those students on into college through that federal guarantee. Is the opportunity being guaranteed? I am quite frank; you know, there are a number of studies that have been made ever since 1955 through 1962. But, what was our major point here? We said these studies have been subject to expert interpretation, and that's the important point. The gentlemen never imputed Dr. Keppel as an authority. His conclusion was that 100,000 students didn't go on because they lacked finances. They never imputed the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, as an authority. His conclusion in March, 1964, was these students who had the ability and interest didn't go on because they lacked the funds. Those surveys seem to be subject to that expert interpretation, and the only expert interpretation I think we've heard in today's debate is that those students aren't going on, that they're dropping out, and that they could be reached if those funds were made available. Can and should that opportunity be guaranteed today? The gentlemen didn't explain Georgia, and I certainly don't think their example there refutes the point. We turned to loans and indicated that there were three problems as well, including the specialized treatment under the NDEA. The states --I think we have empirically indicated the problems there. Mobility -- I don't think there is significant mobility in high school. There may be in college, as I think we've indicated. They never proved there was in high school. President Kennedy's conclusion, 'In that era of technological expanse, state efforts had to be supplemented by the private. "

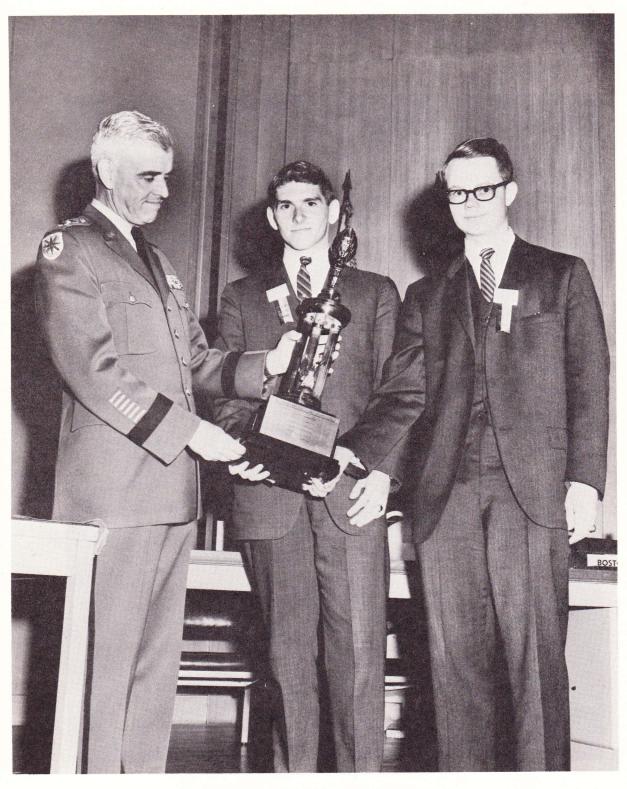
I think I could conclude, then, with the conclusion of Dr. Francis Keppel, page No. 5: "Whenever we deny an American youngster with college capability an opportunity for a college education, we do not simply limit one individual's potential; we also retard the nation's intellectual and scientific advancement, we slow its economic growth, we diminish its future leadership." We contend those are things we should be interested in, reasons why we should adopt that affirmative proposal.



RAOUL KENNEDY AND DOUGLAS PIPES of the University of the Pacific, receive the Larmon Trophy from Major General J. B. Lampert



Major General J. B. Lampert presents the permanent first place trophy to the University of the Pacific team, (L to R) - Raoul Kennedy, Paul Winters (Coach), Douglas Pipes



Presentation of the Second Place Trophy
(L to R) General Lampert, Joseph McLaughlin and James Unger, of
Boston College



Third Place - Georgetown University

John Hempelmann and Robert Shrum receive the Third Place

Award from General Lampert



Fourth Place - United States Naval Academy Midshipmen Rudi Milasich and Edwin Linz receive the Fourth Place Award from General Lampert