

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

JULY 7, 1967

Today I want to talk with you not only as your  
Vice President, but also as a former teacher, educator,  
and one who shares your hopes and concerns.

Every one of us is deeply convinced of the  
importance of education in building a strong and free  
nation. Sometimes we learn that lesson best by  
seeing it in practice elsewhere.

I returned two days ago from a mission to the  
Republic of Korea.

Korea ~~is a nation which~~ has lived for centuries  
beneath oppression and disaster, At the end of World War II,

✓ Dr Applegate + Mr Applegate  
✓ Dr Carr + Mr Carr  
President Alonso  
+ Mrs

✓ Mr Sam Lambert  
Exec-Sec  
Libby  
Mrs Elizabeth Kootz  
Pres. Elect. + Mr Kootz  
Brother Joe

Mr Fulton  
Klinkerfuse  
Pres. Minn Ed. Assoc  
Mrs Erskine U.P. MEA

Jefferson  
you can't  
be both  
free and  
dependent.

almost no one would have given odds that the Republic of Korea might one day be a strong, free and self-sustaining nation. Certainly no one would have done so during the terrible years of the Korean war.

↳ But today Korea is a vital, growing nation at the point of economic take-off. It is a nation which will be a power in the years ahead in free Asia -- and all this in one generation.

↳ How is it being done? - *Our help yes, but also self-help - and* careful economic development has been undertaken.

↳ However, even more important, has been that nation's dedication to education for all her people.

↳ *To be sure,* Today the Republic of Korea is still *afflicted by* a good deal of poverty. It certainly in no way approximates our own standard of living. ↳ But Korea's young people (and more than half the population is less than 19 years old)

*—preparing for tomorrow!*

are receiving quality public education. And the nation is

moving.

*The Young People believe in their future.*

↳ The contrast is stark. ↳ Old men and women in traditional dress sit resignedly by their doorways. ↳ But the streets are filled with young people -- strong, healthy, in Western dress, and typically carrying school books. And these young people are Korea's future.

↳ From a devastated and backward society to a vigorous, progressive nation in one generation -- and education is doing it. !

*Keep* ↳ ~~One evening while I was in Seoul, I gave a dinner for some of the younger, non-governmental leaders -- educators, publishers, labor leaders, businessmen.~~

At the end of the dinner, each of the guests rose to say a few words. All of them shared one theme: ~~We always knew we could do it and that our country could do it.~~

~~Now for the first time we have the chance.~~

We have known ~~in our hearts~~ for a long time,  
that the best way to build a nation is through education.

That is the way Korea is being built today. And that is  
the way America has been built and will continue to grow.

~~But it must be education related to the~~  
~~This is the way Korea is being~~  
~~needs of a modern society~~

our  
Discussion  
✓ Agree  
✓ Vocational  
✓ Technical  
✓ Personnel  
from our  
War on  
Poverty!

Ten years ago, we Americans awoke to the fact  
that our educational system was not what it should be.!

Sputnik, circling the earth for all to see, gave us  
a good kick in the seat of our <sup>Educational</sup> complacency. Sputnik told  
us something was wrong and that we had better get moving.

I don't need to tell this audience about our progress  
in education since Sputnik. <sup>you helped make it!</sup> That progress is well known  
and evident. What I do want to do is to call your attention  
to the special efforts we in America still need to make --



~~efforts such as those now being made in the Republic~~  
~~of Korea.~~ I mean better education for the underprivileged  
and overlooked. *! The 1/6 of our nation, ill fed, ill clothed*

*ill housed & poorly educated!*  
I am Chairman of the new President's Council

*We have*  
on Youth Opportunity. ~~For the past several weeks I have~~  
been doing ~~my~~ *our* best to open doors for impoverished and  
underprivileged young people -- through summer jobs,  
camping, more recreational and educational opportunity.

⌞ This is where we have to do better. This is where your  
special help is needed.

~~We have some good laws on the books today.~~  
~~but~~ *it* will take more than laws to make ~~that~~ equality  
opportunity a reality, ~~for those whose families have gone~~  
~~so long without it.~~

⌞ We have money, too -- still not enough, but  
*we have new and*  
more than ever before -- and *imaginative* programs.

But these things, too, won't do the job alone if our disadvantaged young people do not have extra help in opening their doors to opportunity. ~~Does it do - but~~ Some of those doors are physical doors -- and too many of them are closed right now all over our country. Behind those doors are gymnasiums filled with recreation equipment ... swimming pools ... home economics rooms filled with sewing machines and kitchen equipment ... shops with tools lying unused ... libraries with books going unread.

In too many American communities, our schools are educational treasure houses closed for three months of the year. And these schools, for many young Americans, are the only positive influences in their lives.

Not only could many of these schools bring education and positive experience to young people in the summer,

Develop  
Self Help  
Self Respect  
Self Esteem  
Income  
Dignity

they could be a source of summer income for poor young people and young adults as well. Teenage boys and girls who need the money could find work supervising activities for their younger sisters and brothers.

Now I know there are a thousand reasons why it is difficult to keep our schools open the year around.

But there are millions of reasons why they must be kept open -- and those reasons are <sup>the millions of</sup> young boys and girls who desperately need the extra help to get an equal chance in life.

These are boys and girls who tomorrow will be statistics on the unemployment, welfare, and crime rolls unless they get help now. These are boys and girls who will be lost resources to our country and a blight on the conscience of a nation which can well afford to help them.

↳ Poor people are poor all year long -- not just for nine months a year. ↳ Disadvantaged children need help all

year long -- not all year except during the hot, trouble months of summer.

month of idleness, tension and trouble.

↳ You may ask: How do we pay for it? - That's the question -

*Well let's see*

↳ I would like to see the teachers and administrators *+ School Boards*

in every American school district sit down and use their abundant imaginations to find a way their schools can help the children of the poor during the summer months.

*Cost analysis*

↳ Then I would like to see school business managers analyze the costs and come up with what is possible for how much money.

↳ ~~I believe we~~ We need in our schools the same standards of cost effectiveness which have proved so useful ~~for instance~~ in American private industry and the Department of Defense.

↳ We need to measure every program in our schools as to its priority and importance *compared* ~~vis-a-vis~~

every other program *to other activities*.

L I have the feeling that, if ~~they~~ <sup>realistic and</sup> objective cost  
effectiveness studies are made, we will find that a twelve-  
month school year will have priority over any number of  
other programs already underway.

L Then I would like to see every American community  
scoured for volunteers and a deliberate attempt made to  
obtain participation of the "well-off" people in the community.

Volunteers  
T

~~I believe that~~ <sup>Surely</sup> our children are more important than  
the finish on the gymnasium floor. ~~Yes, I believe they~~  
are more important than the tradition of three months off <sup>9 months</sup>

~~for those who work in the school system.~~ <sup>Schooling is a full time</sup> And yes, I

~~believe~~ <sup>I</sup> the money has to be found to pay the costs of  
helping these children a full twelve months of the year.

It's a sure investment - It is good  
economy - but it will require  
Careful programming and  
education relevant to the  
needs of the students and the  
community.

~~Yes, I believe our schools should be open  
twelve months a year~~

~~Full a balanced Year round  
Program~~

~~and~~ I also believe that we must do a far better job  
than we have been doing in the classroom for the  
children of poverty.

↳ I don't need to tell you that children from families  
of poverty often have trouble in school., *you know!*

~~Now I need But we do need to ask~~



L The whole emphasis of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is a recognition of this problem -- *National Teacher Corps* -- and Head Start is a classic response to it. But the structures of our schools, and the reactions of our teachers to the children of the poor, are two big pieces of unfinished business.

I recently read an article by <sup>MRS.</sup>~~Miss~~ Jean Grambs, of Baltimore, in the National Elementary Principal.

She wrote: "The slum child comes to school with all kinds of things that the school is intent on eradicating. The school can't stand his bad speech habits. The school does not like him to wiggle and squirm. Even if he does so because he is hungry ... let his stomach growl and churn with hunger; it is no business of the school's, and besides, it is considered good discipline to sit still when your guts ache."

"The school doesn't like ill-fitting clothes, or uncombed hair, or hair that is combed in a flashy style ....

"Now all of these are part and parcel of the neighborhoods these children come from, part of their families and their growing up. So the school is in essence saying to these children: We don't like you and we don't like your families -- and we suspect you don't have a decent family anyway. These appraisals by the school tell thousands of children that they have been assessed and found woefully wanting."

∠ We are beginning to see that this reaction is absorbed by the child of poverty and that he actually comes to believe he is inferior. His daily failures and report cards tell him this again as time goes on -- and rejection and defeat become normal parts of his daily life.

*Keep*  
So this is what I mean when I say that all the laws in  
the world ... all the statements of intent ... all the money ...  
all the power structures and empires will not help the poor  
child so long as he is rejected as a person by the system  
and its teachers. { *But, maybe we expect too much  
from our schools - schools are a  
reflection of the*

And what about the parents of these children? *community  
+ yet, they can condition*  
Our P-TA's are filled with responsible and God-fearing *the*

*Community*  
parents, all of them good people.

But how many families of poverty are represented  
in your P-TA and many others I know? *all too few!*  
~~not come forward on their own initiative, no effort is usually  
made to encourage them to come forward.~~

*yet* The whole thrust of our national war on poverty is  
an effort to *provide* ~~bring~~ the poor a role in building their own  
destinies ... to get them to lift their voices and become  
involved. But in far too many of our school systems,

this concept does not remotely exist. *But it must! ~~the same~~*

What happens too often?: The children from middle-class families, from a wholesome home environment, are <sup>generally</sup> ~~easy~~ <sup>more</sup> to teach and pleasant to work with. They receive a good share of attention, take the standard pre-college courses, and leave our school systems with a good chance for success in life.

Children of poverty, on the other hand, enter school badly prepared by everything in their experience. They are not so easy to get along with ... they soon experience frustration and rejection ... and often as not drop out before their schooling is done -- unless somewhere along the way a sensitive and understanding teacher or school system has made the extra effort to help them find

their way.

*- yet possibly we expect too much of our Schools & Teachers. The School often is but a reflection of the community - ~~and~~ our job - your job - is to see to it that decent neighborhoods, good communities provide the environment for good schools - Oh yes, let's have the best schools where needed the most - but also let's see to it*

neighborhoods are more than cheap flop houses  
neighborhoods must be, Politically, Socially,  
economically viable - alive - active!

Finally, we must think very hard about just

what kind of education the children of poverty are  
receiving.

Many of our instincts tell us, I know, that  
all our young people should follow exactly the  
same homogenized curriculum. But I wonder: Does  
such a curriculum do justice to all our young people?

Today, there are more than fifteen and a half  
million young Americans of college age. But only  
six million are, in fact, in college. Our goal,  
of course, is to raise that figure.

But for those among the remaining nine and  
one half million who will not go to college, we must  
ask this question: Are they equipped to find a job  
useful + satisfying  
and a role in life?

Too often, I feel, they are not.

Many of you saw late last month the news of  
President Johnson's visit to the "Opportunities  
Industrialization Center in Philadelphia, when he  
signed into law a bill extending the Teacher Corps."

That Opportunities Industrialization Center --  
supported by business, labor, and a cross section of  
the community -- has trained and found work for  
6,000 people in the past three years. By and large,  
these were people whose prior education simply did not  
equip them for jobs.

At the Center, people are taught radio-TV repair,  
auto mechanics, household and home repair, and other  
skills needed in an economy increasingly oriented toward  
services rather than goods. But they are also trained  
in such basic things as how to apply for a job ...  
how to punch a time-clock ... and how to dress properly  
to hold a job.



L This is not glamorous work for the teachers  
and instructors. But it does help people. It does  
fill jobs. It does make the city of Philadelphia  
a better place in which to live.

L So, just as we examine our budgets to find ways to keep  
our schools open year around, I think we should also  
examine our curricula to see if all -- and not just some --  
of our young people are being prepared for a future to  
fit their aptitude and capacity. ~~That's~~ *all of*

*our young people are not going on  
to a university - yet all of our  
people need jobs - need to be self  
supporting - Are our schools  
preparing all of their students  
for life, or just some of them?  
Is the growing problem of school drop  
outs, due to an educational experience that*

Seems to make no sense - no  
relationship to real life? -

↳ I am afraid that much of what I have said may sound  
a bit like sermonizing, ~~to some of you~~ <sup>and</sup> Maybe it is! But  
we will need nothing less than a missionary spirit if we  
are to really build the kind of nation we say we believe in.

↳ For I believe, as Franklin Roosevelt did, that:  
"The test of our progress is not whether we add more to  
the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether  
we provide enough for those who have too little."

↳ If poor and struggling nations of this world --  
nations building a new society from the ground up -- are  
willing to pay the price for the kind of education which  
can do this, I think we should be willing to pay that price!

↳ If it means harder work... if it means higher  
taxes ... if it means breaking comfortable old habits, I say  
we have to do it! Because none of us can avoid this fact:

There are two Americas. There is the America which you and I know in our daily lives. And there is the America which lives in poverty ... in city and rural slums ... without jobs or self-respect or hope.

↳ And until this other America -- the one from which it is all too easy to turn our faces -- becomes just as free, just as equal, and just as prosperous as the

America of affluence, this country does not live up to what we profess for it.. ~~We must build Communities~~

↳ So I ask your help. I ask you to look around you. I ask you to re-examine the programs, the outlooks, the policies of your schools.

↳ I especially ask you, right now, to do something about keeping your schools open next summer -- or for the remainder of this summer, for that matter, if it is not too late!

✓ Budgets are being prepared now for the next full year.

✓ I also ask you to join in our national  
Stay-in-School campaign -- aimed at getting  
potential dropouts to stay in school and off the  
streets when the summer months end. ✓ Your local

Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity will be

heading this effort.

— Does your Community  
have one — ask, and if not  
insist on one!

"Stay-in  
School  
Program"

I believe the future of our country is unlimited.  
I think America has only begun to show the world what  
it can do and to exemplify the ideal we all believe in --  
namely, that we can truly build a society, "indivisible,  
under God, with liberty and justice for all."

When this America stands as one, when that kind  
of society has been built -- then we can raise our heads  
and look to the world around us with confidence and pride.

For that will be the day that America the nation matches ~~the~~  
~~America the ideal.~~ American promise

"Thomas Wolfe" #

To Every man his chance ; to every man regardless  
of his birth, his shining golden opportunity.  
To every man the right to live, to work, to be  
himself and to become whatever things his  
manhood and his vision can combine  
to make him.  
This - is the promise of America"

*Harlock*

ADDRESS OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
Vice-President of the United States  
Delivered before the  
National Education Association  
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PRESIDENT IRVAMAE APPLGATE: And now, it is my great privilege and high honor to present the vice-president of the United States. (Rising applause)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you, Dr. Applegate. Thank you for the privilege of attending this wonderful meeting of the National Educational Association.

My good friend, Dr. Carr, it was such a joy to meet you as Mrs. Humphrey and I came here to this auditorium tonight, and to meet Mrs. Carr. I have had the privilege and the rare opportunity, given to you and to others, of working along with him.

Now, may I say that I have just listened to the most courageous and one of the most challenging and one of the most fighting speeches that I have ever heard from an educator. (Applause) I want to congratulate President Alonso for his thoughtful, vigorous presentation, and for his call to action and commitment.

I hope that message will be heard throughout this land, in every state legislation about five times, and, at least, an equal number of times in the Congress of the United States. (Applause)

How happy I was tonight to have the opportunity to greet your president-elect, Mrs. Koontz, and to see the marvelous reception that she has here from the delegates. I know her family. I have just had the privilege of meeting her husband, and brother Joe, in Washington, and I must say that the NEA just seems to be doing better all the time. I am mighty proud of you. (Applause)

To your executive secretary-elect, Sam Lambert, I want to wish him the best. I look forward to the privilege of working with him, and I hope that he will look upon the vice-president's office as a sort of extra room in the headquarters of the NEA down in Washington. (Applause)

Now, the vice-president doesn't have much authority, but he does have a lot of responsibility and he has some time, (laughter and applause) and I want to place in the record of the proceedings of this meeting, that any time that the NEA wants to come visit the vice-president to bring its problems, its opportunities, its challenges, and its solutions to the attention of the vice-president of the United States, I welcome you.

3           The door is open.   (Applause)

          I think I should tell you that one of the reasons that I accepted your kind invitation, of course, was because you were in my home city. We are honored to have you in Minneapolis. Your presence here is a tonic for this community. It adds glory and luster to the pages of history of this city. Every time the teachers gather -- and I have talked to so many teachers that they are beginning to think that I am a dues-paying member of the NEA -- but every time I talk to you, I feel, once again, how fortunate we are that you grace a community by your presence, because you really do add something of significance to that community and its life.

          I have a second reason for wanting to be here, besides just the high honor of it, and the privilege of speaking to you. You know an elective office is a very precarious pursuit. (Laughter) I was once a teacher, and I thought I would like to renew an acquaintanceship. (Applause)

          I venture to say that you have never known a time in the history of the country where there were as many teachers in the government of the United



States as at this particular hour. The president of the United States is a classroom teacher. He taught, some years ago, in southwest Texas, where he taught Mexican-American youngsters. (Applause)

The majority leader of the United States Senate was a teacher at the University of Montana, a fine scholar. The majority leader of the House of Representatives, Mr. Carl Albert, is a Rhodes scholar, and a teacher. If it helps at all, the vice-president of the United States is not a Rhodes scholar, but a teacher. (Applause)

Tonight I come to you as a public official, a teacher, hopefully, an educator, a parent, and an interested citizen, and I am going to talk to you about some of those terms. I hope that I will have something worthy of your attention.

Your president, Mr. Alonso, has spoken to you tonight of the importance of political action. He has spoken to you of the importance of education, every form of education, in building a strong and a free nation. He really said what Jefferson said before him. "You cannot be both free and ignorant. You have to make

a choice."

I gather that, a long time ago, this nation made the choice to be free, and therefore, we made the resolve to banish ignorance and illiteracy from our minds. That's why the teacher, whether he or she knows it or not, is in the vanguard of public officials and public servants. You are in government as much as I am.

You are a part of the government establishment as much as any elected official, and we ought to have a working partnership. We ought to have a kind of understanding where we support one another, not on the basis of partisan politics, but on the basis of the necessity for an ever improved, an ever more sensitive, an ever more relevant education, relevant to the needs of the people of our nation and of the world.

That is the kind of partnership that we can have. Sometimes we learn this lesson of partnership the hard way when we fall apart. When teachers were led to believe, as they were in the past, that they should be aloof from political life, and when people in public life, the elected official looked upon the teacher, as

Mr. Alonso said tonight, either with disdain, or with the spirit of charity, or just sort of get him out of your hair and offer him a little something -- that day is over. It's been over a lot longer than you know.

(Applause)

Now, I am permitted, in my responsibilities as your vice-president, to travel a great deal, to represent your nation abroad, to speak across this country about what I believe to be, and what I hope you believe to be, some of our objectives and purposes. Those objectives and purposes were beautifully stated tonight by your president.

I just returned, about two days ago, from a mission to the Republic of Korea -- some five days of hard work in traveling and visiting and consulting in that nation. Korea has lived through centuries of oppression and disaster, and yet, it lives and lives a lively spirit.

At the end of World War II, I venture to say that one would have given odds that the Republic of Korea, might one day, be a strong and self-sustaining free nation. Certainly, no one would have believed that



after the terrible years of the Korean War, there would be much left. In fact, ten years ago, it was called a hopeless mess.

I saw a Korea that is vital, a growing free nation at the point of a great economic take-off. It is a nation which will be a power in the free Asia of the days ahead -- and all of this in just one generation. From despair, disaster, and war -- in one generation, a people have lifted themselves to a position of respect and power, of influence and prestige.

The question is, "How? How was it done?" Of course, we were of great help and we ought to be proud of the achievement, proud of the fact that we could have been of help to a people that desired freedom and wanted to be something. There was self-help, great dedication on the part of the Korean people, wise economic planning, and hard work.

However, more important than all of this, more important than the hundreds of millions of dollars that we have extended in loans and grants is the fact that Korea, its people and its leaders, are dedicated wholeheartedly to the education of every boy and girl,

of every man, woman, and child within the limits of its jurisdiction.

That's the key to its success. I saw it. To be sure, Korea is still affected by stark poverty in some of its areas, and far too many of its people. It is certainly no way we can approximate our own standard of living, but I saw something there that I want to share with you. Maybe, you read it in the papers; I hope you did.

Every morning that I was there, I awakened early and walked the streets in Seoul, Korea, to see the young people as they went off to school. I met these young people; I talked to them. Many of them spoke English, and through an interpreter, I visited with literally hundreds. More than half of their entire population, 54 percent to be exact, is under 19 years of age. Seventy percent of the population is under 30 years of age -- a young people in an old nation.

Those young people are today receiving general good quality education and the nation is moving -- 35 universities within the capital city itself. The young people of Korea believe that education is their

key to their future, and they search after it with determination and a passionate desire.

I saw their streets crowded with these youngsters with their little briefcase in hand, their little uniforms that they wear as they attend these schools, boarding buses, walking miles in pursuit of learning. Now, the contrast is stark. Old men and women, in traditional dress, sit resignedly in their doorways, reminding you of the past. The streets, as I said, are filled with those young people -- strong, healthy, and in Western dress, typically carrying school books.

They are the future, and we Americans, can take inspiration from them -- from a devastated and backward society to a vigorous progressive nation in one generation -- and education is the moving force. One evening while I was in Seoul, I gave a dinner for one of the younger nongovernmental leaders -- educators, public leaders, labor and businessmen -- and by the way, that's the way to get to know what's going on.

Too many of our public officials spend too much time with their own kind. We need to get to



know what really goes on. (Applause) This dinner lasted for four and one-half hours. At the end of the dinner, each of the guests rose to say a few words to talk of his country, and they shared one theme.

They said, "Now, for the first time, we have our chance. We have known, for a long time, that the best way to build a nation is through education, and that's the way that Korea is being built today." Then they said this, and I want you to ponder it, because it refers to some of our own problems at home here. "It must be an education related to the ways that Korea must develop, and related to the needs of Korea."

Then they went on to talk about the necessity, not only for a university education, which is the common pattern of the developing countries, but of nation after nation with hundreds of PhDs, and not a person, or adequate numbers, with skills to do the ordinary things of life.

Our discussion led us to go to vocational education, to technical education, to experience from America and the war on poverty. How they hunger to see

what we have been doing, and how I hunger to learn what they have been doing. There is so much to learn together. That is one chapter I wanted to leave with you.

I want your minds to swing back for a decade. Ten years ago, we Americans woke up to the fact that our educational system wasn't what it ought to be. You have been telling us that for a long time, but some people wouldn't believe you. And what did it? Sputnik -- don't forget it -- that star in the sky, and not our star either, circling the earth for all to see.

It gave us a good kick in the seat of our complacency, (laughter) and Sputnik told us that something is wrong here at home, and that we better get moving. The theme of your own conference is related to it, "The Commitment to Excellence." Excellence -- that's what Sputnik represented; that's what Gemeni represented; that's what professionalism represents. Anybody can be average. Great nations and great people must have, as their standard, excellence. (Applause)

Now, I don't need to tell this audience about the progress in education since Sputnik. In fact, you helped make it. What I do want to do, however, is

to call to your attention the special efforts that we Americans still need to make -- Sputnik or no Sputnik, we just got started. I refer now to better education for the underprivileged, for the overlooked, for the forgotten.

I speak to you tonight, not of the majority -- the majority is well represented, and generally takes care of itself. I speak to you of that one sixth of our nation, to paraphrase a great president, that is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and unbelievably poorly educated -- the needy, the poor, the victim of the ghetto -- all too often, those who are of the minority group.

Now, we need to do something about this one sixth, because make no mistake about it, the future of America does not rest with its majority. The future of America rests with what we do about providing full citizenship and opportunity for every American, and that includes the minority of which I speak. (Applause)

Some of you may know that I was asked by President Johnson to serve as the chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. Regrettably,



too few know about the work of the Council, but I want to call it to your attention. We have been doing our best to open doors for impoverished and underprivileged people, particularly, young people -- through summer jobs, the enriching experience of camping, and more recreational and educational opportunities.

This is where we have to do better, and this is where we need your special help. And since President Alonso has said that you can get into political action, I would like to give you an assignment. When you go back home, ask the mayor of your city what he has done about his Youth Opportunity Council. Ask him where his organization is. Ask him who is on it and say.

"Did you put a member of NEA on it? Do you have the minority groups represented? Do you have the poor represented, the chamber of commerce, the labor movement, the church organizations, the voluntary organizations?

"Mr. Mayor, I want to know, as a citizen and as a teacher, who has to take care of many of the problems of this community? I want to know about your



Youth Opportunity Council."

I have been on the telephone for months, literally months, calling mayors of cities, asking them to bear down, to buckle down on the task of providing opportunity for America's young people.

This summer, the hot, long, troublesome summer -- and it's in this area now, Mr. and Mrs. Teacher, that I need your help, that the young people need your help. You see, it is going to take a lot more than laws to make real equal opportunity. We have enough laws; we have enough laws galore, but what we need are people abiding by the spirit and the letter of the law, not just the law. (Applause)

We have money, yes -- still not enough, but we have more money that we are putting to work in these problems than ever before, and we have imaginative programs, more than ever before. These things, too, won't do the job alone, if our disadvantaged young people do not have extra help in opening their doors to opportunity -- doors to jobs, doors to education.

By the way, my fellow Americans, if we are half as ingenious finding ways to help people find

themselves as we were in devising ways to keep people from finding themselves, we will have licked this problem in short order. (Applause) Some of these doors that I speak of that need to be opened are physical doors, and too many of them are closed right now all over the country. Job doors are closed, regrettably, until trouble erupts, and that is not the way that young people ought to get jobs. Jobs ought to be provided because it is an enriching, helpful, wholesome experience in which a young man and a woman can gain self-respect, needed income, and can have some sense of dignity.

The other job, the other doors that I speak of, are doors that you walk through all the time, and those are the school doors. Behind those doors that are closed sometimes in the summer months are gymnasiums filled with recreation equipment paid for by the taxpayers, and swimming pools. Yet, we have people say we ought to build more and we are not even using what we have -- home economics rooms filled with sewing machines and kitchen equipment, shops with tools lying unused, and libraries and books going unread.

In too many American communities, our schools are educational treasure houses, closed, padlocked for three months of the year. Yet, these schools, for many young Americans, represent the only positive wholesome influence in their lives, and yet we close their doors. (Applause)

Oh, I have been mayor of this city; I have been in local government; I was in Congress 16 years, and I have heard all of the excuses. I have even invented some myself. (Laughter) This is not a novice talking to novices, or a neophyte to neophytes. We have been there. We know what goes on, and there are, of course, many reasons why, in too many communities, the doors of our schools are either fully locked and closed, or only partly opened for three months of the year.

I submit there are millions of reasons why they must be kept opened and those reasons are the millions of young boys and girls who desperately need extra help to get an equal chance in life. They need a chance to get caught up, because they have been held down. These are boys who, tomorrow, will be statistics on unemployment rolls, welfare and crime rolls, unless



they get help now.

Now, what is wrong with the nation that is willing to pay for crime, but not education? It seems to me we ought to do something about it.

(Applause) These are the boys and girls who, I submit, will be the lost resources of this country. They will be the difference between victory and defeat for this nation and every enterprise. They are a blight on the conscience of a nation which can well afford to help them.

Just remember, the poor people are poor all year long, not just for nine months of the year. Disadvantaged children are disadvantaged all year long, not just for the nine months that they are in school, but for those hot, troublesome months of idleness and tension during the summertime. You ask me the inevitable question, "How do we pay for it?" Well, let's talk about it for a while.

First, I would like to see the teachers and the administrators in every American school district sit down and use their abundant imaginations to find a way that their schools can help the children of the

poor during the summer months. Let's think up our program first. Then I would like to see the school business managers analyze the costs of these programs, because they must be different programs designed to the needs of these young people whom we speak of, and see if they can come up with what is possible with how much money.

We need in our schools the same standards of cost effectiveness which have proved so useful in America, and I might even add in the Department of Defense. By the way, the Department of Defense knows how to get money to run its operations and private industry knows how to pay good salaries, so you as teachers are not going to be penalized, because you can help us think up ways to make the schools operative 12 months a year. It will add to your experience, your income, and to the wealth and the health of this nation. It's a wise investment. (Applause)

We need to measure every program in our schools, as to its priority and its importance, as compared to other programs. In other words, take inventory, and if some of the things that we are doing

don't need to be done, get rid of it. Have a rummage sale. (Laughter) Do something about it. Put in new merchandise, if you please.

I have the feeling that if realistic and objective cost effectiveness studies are made, we can have a 12-month school year, and it will have priority, and priority over any number of other programs already under way. I want to make it clear, I am not asking that you do less or receive less. I am, in fact, asking that you do more and receive more, and when that is done, America will not be the poorer.

America will be the richer, because I say here tonight that there is no example in the history of civilization in which a community, a state, or a nation ever became insolvent because of its investments in education. (Applause) To the contrary then, I would like to see every American community scout for volunteers and a deliberate attempt made to obtain the participation of the better-off, the well-off, the college-trained people in the community.

My fellow Americans, if we lose this spirit of volunteerism that has helped make this country



into which de Tocqueville, the great sociologist, offered his observation as to the secret of American progress; if we ever lose this spirit of volunteerism, then America has changed and not changed for the good. There are people just anxious to help, and our task is to find them, to train them, and to provide effective administrative assistance and management for them, and thus to strengthen our system of community services and education.

I guess what I am trying to tell you is that I think children are more important than a shiny finish on the gymnasium floor. (Applause) They are more important than the habit of a nine-month school term, and the money has to be found to pay the costs of helping these children a full 12 months of the year.

I repeat, it's a wise investment. It is good economy, but it will require careful programming and planning and it will necessitate educational experience and educational programs relevant to the needs of the students and to the needs of the community. I also believe that we can and we must do a far better job than we have been doing in our present classrooms for



the children of poverty.

I don't think I need to tell you that children from the families of the poor often have trouble in school and cause trouble. You know, because you are the teachers. The whole emphasis of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is the recognition of this problem. So is the National Teachers Corps, and so is the project, Head Start. It's a classic response to this problem of the poor, but the structures of our schools and the reactions of some of our teachers to the children of the poor are two big pieces of the unfinished business of American democracy.

Now, I read an article recently that I want to call to your attention. I think it goes a little further than my thinking would take me, but sometimes shock treatment is helpful. It was a shock treatment to me. I read it in the "National Elementary Principal" magazine by Mrs. Jean Grambs, of Baltimore, and I quote from part of her article and you let it sink in now. It may not apply to you personally, but it applies to some who may not be members of this Association, and it could apply to even some who are.

She wrote:

"The slum child comes to school with all kinds of things that the school is intent on eradicating. The school can't stand his bad speech habits. The school does not like him to wiggle and squirm.

"The school doesn't like ill-fitting clothes, or uncombed hair, or hair that is combed in a flashy style ...

"Now, all of these are part and parcel of the neighborhoods these children come from, part of their families and their growing up. So the school is in essence saying to these children, 'We don't like you and we don't like your families, and we suspect you don't have a decent family anyway.'

"These appraisals by the school tell thousands of children that they have been assessed and found woefully wanting."

Now, that is a rather tough statement of what we know to be a problem in almost every city of our land. We are beginning to see though that this

reaction is absorbed by the child of poverty, and that he actually comes to believe he is inferior. His daily failures, his poor report cards tell him again and again as time goes on that he must expect defeat as a normal part of his life.

This is what I mean when I say that with all the laws in the world, and all the statements of good, and all the money, and all the power structures and empires, it will not help the poor child so long as he is rejected as a person by a system or even by a teacher.

What about the parents of these children? Our P-TAs are a wonderful institution, and they are filled with responsible and decent God-fearing parents, but how many families, my fellow Americans, of the poverty group are represented in your P-TA and many others I know? I think the answer is simple and pathetic -- all too few.

The whole thrust of our national war on poverty, which you are paying for, is to provide the poor a role in building their own destinies, to bring them into the decision-making process, to get them to



to lift their voices, and to become involved. In far too many of our school systems and our P-TAs, this concept just does not exist, and you and I know that it must. That's what your president, Mr. Alonso, told you so bravely and so properly and so brilliantly tonight.

What happens too often? Well, as I see it, the children from the middle-class families, from rather wholesome environments are generally easier to teach and a little more pleasant to work with, and they receive a good share of our attention. They take the standard pre-college courses, and by the way, practically everything you do is directed toward getting that young man or woman into college, and they leave our school systems with a good chance for success in life.

The children of poverty, on the other hand, enter school poorly prepared by anything in their experience. They are not so easy to get along with. They soon experience frustration and rejection, and often as not, drop out before their schooling is done, unless somewhere along the line there is a sensitive, kindly, perceptive, understanding teacher, or a school

system that has been modernized and rejuvenated and has made the extra effort to provide help.

Now, having spoken of our schools, let me say that I happen to be one who believes that our schools are a reflection of the body politic. They reflect the community and that's why the poorest schools are in the poor areas. And, ladies and gentlemen, that's education upside down. The best schools, the best teachers, the most modern methods of teaching, every new device that we can conceive of, every program and policy that we can possibly put to work, should be in the areas that can afford them the least -- in the poverty areas. (Applause)

This, at least, is somewhat of an equalizer. It gives some chance, yet maybe, we expect too much of our schools and teachers. I think we do. As I said, the school is often the reflection of the community, therefore, our job, as was said from this platform tonight, is to start to change that community and that neighborhood building decent neighborhoods.

I don't mean just better housing -- building decent, modern communities -- and I don't mean

just widening the streets. I mean viable communities, communities that live a full life, neighborhoods within a city, a city within a city in which the person who wants a job can find it in his neighborhood; the youngster who wants to go to school can find it in his neighborhood; the sick who need to go to the hospital can find a hospital in his or her neighborhood; the church in their neighborhood, the social center in their neighborhood. Good neighborhoods are not just high-class housing. Good neighborhoods represent a totality of community services, a viable living community in which young men and women and parents alike can live the full life.

Are you prepared to fight for it? Mark my words, unless we build those communities, no amount of money can build us a good educational system, because the community and the educational structure are one and inseparable. Good schools help build a good community and a good community assures good schools. Together they stand; divided they are both a failure, and teachers need to know that. (Applause)

Finally, I think we need to look very



hard at just what kind of education the children of poverty are receiving. Now, I have read many of your journals. I think I am somewhat aware of the work of this splendid organization, and I know that you have taken advantage of the opportunity under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for experimentation -- the different titles of that Act, and many of you have done it all on your own. I know the demands that are placed on teachers now to improve your professional background and I am here, not as your critic, but here as your friend. And we who are friends must speak to one another.

You demand, and rightly so, better performance from your politicians, and I think politicians must demand better performance from our teachers. I think we will be more successful than you, but at least, we both ought to make the attempt. (Applause) What I mean is that you will give us better performance.

(Laughter)

Now, what kind of education are we offering these youngsters? Ask yourselves about the school dropout problem. I have talked to some of you before.



I have been to the elementary school teachers, the secondary teachers, the principals, the school administrators, the American Council on Education, the higher education associations. I have been to almost every education association that has ever been designed by the mind of man, so you have all heard me talk about it before.

I am one of the teachers who believes that education is essentially saturation. We are all very busy these days. There is so much noise you can hardly hear anybody, and sometimes we learn through osmosis, so I am going to soak you for awhile. We are going to seek together here and see if we can't find out why is it that America may well face, by 1975, over 30 million school dropouts. Why is it that the rate of school dropouts rises year after year, despite our efforts? Have we ever asked ourselves whether or not the product that we are offering satisfies the customer?

Have we ever asked ourselves whether or not the diet is what is needed to nourish that body? Have we ever asked ourselves, are we offering education that is relevant to the needs of the people? I am not

talking now about private education, high-cost education. I am talking about public education for the many, many people, for every boy and girl in this land.

Many of our institutions tell us that all of our young people should follow pretty much the same homogenized curriculum. We have had this feeling in the past, because we didn't want to seem as if we were separating people. We wanted the spirit of egalitarianism to be really meaningful, so we set a course whether anybody could follow it or not, or whether everybody could follow it.

The real test of education is not what it does for the many, but what it does for each individual. It must be custom-made, not mass produced, and that's why we talk about the teacher-student ratio. That's why we need the smaller student group with the good teacher. (Applause) That's why we need modern classrooms and audiovisual aids and teaching machines and teaching aids. This is the only way that we can individualize education. Democracy is not for the masses. Democracy is for the individual. (Applause)

We have to ask ourselves, does the

curriculum which you have designed, or your school board, or your administrators, your state legislature -- is it doing justice to all of our young people? Today there are more than 15 and a half million Americans of college age ready to go to college -- not in, but ready. Six million of them are in college.

Now, our goal, of course, is to raise that figure, and we have been doing a good job of it. And I might add that some of the legislation we have passed in Washington has helped and it didn't hurt education. I had to get that commercial in. (Applause)

For those among the remaining nine and one half million who will not go to college, we must ask this question, "Are they equipped to find a job, and have a useful and satisfying role in life?" In other words, did the education which we provided in the elementary and secondary level equip them to live in the last third of the twentieth century?

I must tell you that if you think that's the case, teen-age unemployment figures are that between the ages of 16 and 21. Teen-agers are unemployed, and most of these represent young people who have gone



through our schools. Many of you saw, late last month, the news of President Johnson's visit to the Opportunities Industrialization Center in Philadelphia, when he signed into law a bill extending the Teacher Corps. Now, that Opportunities Industrialization Center, supported by business and labor and a cross section of the community inspired by the Reverend Leon Sullivan, has trained and found work for more than 6000 people in Philadelphia in the past three years.

By and large, these were the people whose prior education simply did not equip them to do anything else but to stand idle on the street corner. I think we have to ask ourselves if we enlist in the war on poverty, what are we doing to win it at that center and centers all over America? Thank goodness, in our "Twin Cities," people are taught radio and TV repair.

You know there are an awful lot of radios and TVs, and lots of them don't work. (Laughter) Sometimes they don't even work after they are repaired. (Laughter) They are taught auto mechanics, household and home repairs, and other skills needed in an economy

increasingly oriented toward services, rather than goods. There are no more people in manufacturing today than there were in 1930 in America.

Manufacturing is automated, but the automated product needs the repairs of the individual. Now, I know, I have been in teaching. I know that we always looked upon the vocational and the technical school as something that we had to put aside. It seems to be a way of telling some people that they weren't good enough. Well, let me tell you, my good friends, there are many teachers who don't earn as much as a good mechanic. (Applause) Let me also add that you cannot live in a modern society without people trained in skills.

They are also trained in something else -- this center I speak of -- and this you surely can teach, and I call upon you to do it. They are taught how to apply for a job. Most of the unemployed don't know how to do that. The people today that don't have skills are unemployed.

I do not speak now as a theoretician. I have gone into the bowels of our cities. As your vice-president, I have gone into the filthiest of the slums.



I have been with the poorest of the poor, the most unemployable of the unemployed. I have been with the gangs, and ladies and gentlemen, they represent a failure of this economy and of this civilization, and they represent a failure in education, too.

It is not your fault and I hope not mine. Look for the fault. Why not look for the answer? They need to be taught how to apply for a job and how to punch a time clock. We found that in one place in Chicago, most of the hard corps unemployed didn't even know how to apply for a job, get on a bus, find a job and punch a time clock.

You say it's incredible and it can't be true. Well, it is true. They need to be taught grooming. They need to be taught how to take care of themselves. They need to be taught personal hygiene, and they need to be taught how to take care of their home, their house, their room, and their clothes. They need to be taught self-respect, and they will gain self-respect when they become self-sustaining, when they become the kind of people that they want to be. I have one little human interest story.

There was a young woman in New Orleans who was 28 years of age. She did get through high school. Three illegitimate children -- she never had earned a pay check in her life -- on relief from the day of the first child.

She went to a training school. She went to a program under our war on poverty to learn a little about how to become a medical secretary. She failed time after time, but somebody found her. A good teacher touched her life and she received a job, and at this very day, is working in one of the publishing houses in New Orleans. To show you how she was rehabilitated, on the first check she received, she came back to her teacher with tears flowing down her cheeks, and she said, "Teacher, this is the first time I have ever had a check that I earned that had my name on it -- never before. Every other time, it has been free food and relief."

She came back the second pay period and she says, "Teacher, there is a stub on this check, and it says -- it has some numbers on here. It says something for taxes and something for Social Security."

She says, "You know, I have never paid taxes, and I never even knew what Social Security was until I asked my employer what this meant for this deduction."

She said, "Oh, I am so proud. Now, I earned my own money and I even paid taxes." To show you how this woman was rehabilitated, three months later she came back to her same teacher and she said, "Have you ever noticed how much taxes they are charging me?" (Applause)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is rehabilitation. (Laughter) That's self-respect; that's human dignity. Well, I know that much of what I said is not glamorous. It's neither glamorous for the student nor for the teacher, but it does help people. It does fill jobs. It does make the City of Philadelphia and your city a better place in which to live.

So just as we examine our budgets to find ways to keep our schools open the year around, I think we should also examine our curricula to see if all, and not just some of our young people, are being prepared for a future to fit their aptitude and capacity. You see, I have tried to tell you that all of our young



people are not going to go to college. You can hope they will and you can plan that they will and you can design a program.

You know as well as I know, that you screen them out with college aptitude testing. A slick way -- they are tested and tested until even the better students become discouraged. If it is by state law that every graduate of a school in that state must be given the opportunity to go to college, they flunk him out -- another slick way.

This is not training for the college and university. This is satisfying some kind of false standard. I think we ought to have some options, many more, because freedom of choice is freedom -- not your choice, but the choice of the chooser.

Since we know that all of our young people are not going to go to colleges and universities, we also know that all of our people need jobs. They need to be self-supporting. They need self-respect, and they don't have it if they are jobless.

Are our schools preparing all their students for life, or are they just preparing some for some



kind of a life? Is the growing problem of school drop-outs due to educational experience? It seems to make no sense, and have no relationship to real life possibly.

I am afraid that I have been sermonizing, and maybe it is a sermon, but I have done so, because I think we need nothing less than a missionary spirit if we are going to build the kind of a nation that we say we believe in.

For I believe, as Franklin Roosevelt did, that, "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little." That's the test of progress.

If poor and struggling nations of this world -- nations building a new society from the ground up -- are willing to pay the price for the kind of education which can do this, I think we should be willing to pay that price, too.

If it means harder work, if it means higher taxes, if it means breaking comfortable old habits, I say we have to do it. We can do no less, because none of us can avoid this fact that there are two

Americas. That, within itself, is unconstitutional -- two Americas.

There is the America that you and I know in our daily lives, the comfortable America with all of its trials and tribulations. There is the America where one sixth lives in poverty in city and rural slums, without jobs, without adequate education, without adequate opportunity, without self-respect, or even hope.

Until this America -- the one from which it is all too easy to turn our faces -- becomes just as free, just as equal, and just as prosperous as the America of affluence, this country does not live up to what we profess for it.

I come here tonight, as your vice-president, to ask your help. I ask you to look around you in your home town. I ask you to reexamine the programs that you live with -- the outlooks and the policies of your schools. I ask you right now to do something about keeping your schools open next summer, or for the remainder of this summer, if it isn't already too late. Budgets are now being prepared for next year. I ask you to join in our national Stay-in-School Campaign,

aimed at getting potential school dropouts to stay in school and off the streets when the summer months end.

Your local Mayor's Council, if he has one, will be heading this effort. If he doesn't have one, lower the boom. Get him to have one. It's not only good ethics, it's good politics. You never lose a vote being kind to a young person, and being helpful.

You see, I believe the future of our country is unlimited. I am an unabashed patriot of this country. I love every inch of it. I think that America has only begun to show the world what it can do and to exemplify the idea we all believe in, because after all, America is not just something. It is not just geography or money or industry. America is, above all, an idea, a concept. It is a philosophy, and it's stated so beautifully by the very children that you teach.

If you are an elementary teacher, you know that every day of your school year, you ask those little ones to stand with you and, "Pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands." We repeat it almost without feeling, but the next time you repeat it, look at that flag and



think of what you are saying, and ask yourselves whether or not it's a fact, or whether it's a vision, or a dream, or a mere fiction.

I think it can be a fact. I know that it is a dream. I know that it must be truth and reality, because as we say to that flag, "One nation," not "Two" -- "One" -- "Under God," not "Under the school board" (applause) "Indivisible," not "North and South," not "White and black," not "Catholic, Protestant, or Jew," but "Indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

You see, unless it's one nation, it isn't really America. We can't have two Americas. Unless it is one nation under God, then it becomes a man-made thing, lacking soul and spirit. Unless it is indivisible, it is so weak that it cannot live; and unless there is liberty with justice for all, there is no liberty or justice for anyone.

When this America stands as one, when that kind of society has been built, then, I think we can raise our heads and look to the world around us with confidence and pride, for that will be the day that



America, the nation, matches America, the promise. Who better stated that than Thomas Wolfe, the "Depression" author. I have repeated this a hundred times, because it is like scripture to me, "To every man his chance. To every man, regardless of his birth, is a shiny golden opportunity. To every man, the right to live and to work, and to be himself and to make whatever things his manhood and his vision can begin to make him."

This is the promise of America, and ladies and gentlemen, that is the promise of this land. This is its most powerful weapon. This is its idea for a world that looks to us for hope and inspiration. This is what America must be remembered for, not her armies, not her bombs, not her power, but her teachers, her philosophers, her artists, her workmen, her people -- because that is America. Thank you. (Rising applause)

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