

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUGUST 24, 1967

Carl Meigel  
Legal Rep.

President  
Charles Cogen.  
Ed Bolstad  
MFT

congrats -  
15% increase  
103 new locals

I am especially happy to be here today,  
because I feel that I can speak with a certain amount  
of authority. That is not always the case with Vice  
Presidents. But in addition to being a Vice President,  
I have also been a teacher. - and

< Today, therefore, I am going to prevail upon  
you as colleagues to give you some candid thoughts  
about the expanding responsibilities of American educators  
in a rapidly changing American society..

and American Society to Amer  
Educators.

∟ The educational opportunities open to Americans today are unprecedented. Ninety-three percent of our teenagers have had secondary education -- compared to seven percent at the turn of this century.

∟ In just the last 20 years, the percentage of American high school graduates who go on to college or professional schools has doubled, from 25 percent to nearly 50 percent.

∟ A high level of education is an integral feature of American society today.

∟ It reflects -- and is reflected in -- our unprecedented prosperity, our position of world leadership in the sciences, our national power. It enables us both to generate and to cope with rapid technological development.

∟ From the individual American's point of view, education, in addition to the cultural enrichment it affords,

has become the credential which enables him to  
participate fully in our society.

↳ A high school or college diploma is the ticket  
which entitles him to opportunity, the coupon which  
makes him eligible to earn a decent income.

↳ Our society insists on that credential, and  
it should.

↳ It is not surprising to find that -- in those  
same slums and ghettos where frustration, hopelessness,  
joblessness and despair have recently contributed to riots  
and violence -- two-thirds of the unemployed ghetto

residents have never finished high school. Even those  
who have completed a few years of school work test much  
lower than their grade levels.

The average Job Corps  
recruit has completed nine grades of school, but reads on  
a fifth grade level.

72  
Example

Disfranchisement

✓ The result of these educational deficiencies is an unemployment and under-employment rate in our American ghettos of up to 35 percent. ✓ Complex economic and social factors contribute to this grim situation. But I am certain that the one factor -- more than any other -- which dooms a man to joblessness today, is insufficient education. #

✓ America today has reached an acute crisis in its historic progress toward economic and social democracy.

✓ The one-sixth of our population who live below the poverty line, who are excluded, want to be included and they want to be sure their children will be included. ✓ This nation has an historic choice: Either make social and economic opportunity for all a reality; or watch the gap between rich employed and unemployed, and poor, between sheltered and unsheltered, between educated and uneducated, grow even wider until it threatens our national growth, health, and well-being.

an opportunity  
Diploma

Many of today's non-participants are already too old to acquire a full educational credential. They need temporary passes -- new skills and job training.

But 12.5 million of them -- over 50 per cent -- are under 18 years of age. Many of them will be among the million students who drop out of school this year, and among the 8 million expected to drop out in this decade.

It is these poor children who present the great challenge to the American educational establishment today. Can we bring them into the large, prosperous American society with full educational credentials, which is to say, with full and equal opportunity?

This is a challenge which requires the maximum use of every educational resource we can bring to bear on the whole spectrum of educational needs -- training in everything from personal hygiene and basic skills to highly specialized research on social problems.

↳ It means "reaching out" to children whose backgrounds of cultural deprivation and economic poverty provide no motivation to learn. ↳ It means reaching them young enough to counteract the life-long mental stigma of poverty which begins to be acquired, we now know, at about 18 months of age.

↳ It means making education more than an initiation rite required for entrance into the prosperous society of the majority; it means making it a bridge, with one end firmly planted in the culture of poverty, the other firmly fixed to the culture of prosperity. It means making that bridge worth crossing. - *+ helping people cross it.*

↳ I think it is fair to say that we have made a remarkable start toward building that bridge. - *Here are its parts -*

↳ Project Head Start has already prepared two million pre-schoolers for what we hope will be a successful educational experience.

↳ The Elementary and Secondary Education Act

designed specifically to enable children from deprived backgrounds to benefit fully from regular schooling, is already operating in 17 thousand 500 school districts.

8 1/2 million

Job Corp

Advent P.  
Work-Educ -

↳ Project Upward Bound, a Head Start program

for prospective college students, has already helped 27 thousand young Americans.

↳ The President's Council on Youth Opportunity,

of which I am chairman, has sponsored summer enrichment programs in cities throughout the country as well as a massive summer employment program. The Council is now embarking on a nation-wide Stay-in-School campaign designed to combat the drop-out problem.

↳ These are unprecedented programs, designed to

catch as many disadvantaged young people as possible right now, wherever they are in their educations, and enable them to gain as much as possible from their remaining years of schooling.

↳ They are designed to supplement creative programs undertaken on the local level.

↳ And they are designed to give you, the dedicated professional teacher, the tools you need to extend the challenge, the excitement, the pleasure and the benefits of a good education to every American child.

↳ This is what the federal government is trying to do to make those all-important educational credentials available to the poor youngster.

↳ These federal programs are -- and must be -- augmented by a vast number of local and private efforts.

! ↳ The AFT's Effective Schools Plan is outstanding among these.

↳ It will be only a very few years, I believe, before this already massive effort will begin to pay permanent human dividends.



↳ But even a "few years" is too long when counted in lives wasted because of inadequate education. At this time of acute crisis we must ask ourselves: Are we doing as much as we can right now to concentrate our existing educational resources on the needs of the poor child in America?

↳ The answer is no. We can do much more.

↳ And I believe our most promising opportunity -- and the obvious place to start -- is in extending our educational programs right through the summer months.

↳ This is a suggestion I have made before, and I intend to keep making it.

↳ The 12-month school year has been adopted tentatively in some communities under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and it works.

↳ In the context of our present needs, the 9-month school year is an unacceptable anachronism. *as out of date as the kerosene lamp.*

↳ A century ago the school year lasted 78 days. Now it averages 162 days.

↳ It is time to add another ninety days, at very least in all those neighborhoods where school offers the only positive influence in the bleak and poverty-ridden lives of thousands of American youngsters.

↳ Disadvantaged children are disadvantaged all year round, not just for nine months of the year. They need help all year round -- not all year except during the hot, explosive summer months.

↳ Now don't misunderstand me. I am not talking about correctional summer schools designed to punish and prod those who did not do their homework during the year.

↳ And I am talking about something much more than simply an extension of regular classroom activities. ↳ I am talking about turning our schools into Summer Enrichment

Centers for the development of human resources in the broadest sense.

- Opportunity Centers!

Summer should be a time for experimentation,  
for expanding the experiences of the individual child. It  
should provide special opportunities in art, music, drama,  
opportunities for exploration; for reading, for developing  
individual capabilities. It should be a time for camping,  
for trips, for new horizons. It should be a time for learning  
to swim, for games and play.

Does this sound like the summers you remember  
from your childhood? That is close to what I am aiming  
for. But keep in mind that the slum child of today does  
not look forward to the kind of summer most of you remember.

He looks forward to three months of days on a hot pavement,  
three months of nights in a stifling tenement -- three months  
of idleness, impatience, frustration.

His opportunities for experimentation and exploration  
are limited to the vices of the street. His experiences to remember  
may well be bad experiences with the law.

*opportunity*  
L

Summer Enrichment Centers should provide a comprehensive package of experiences specifically designed to meet the needs of disadvantaged children. The package should include:

-- remedial courses for those who need them in English and in other fields, the mastery of which is a prerequisite for success in all other subjects;

-- cultural programs, museum tours, and trips designed to broaden cultural horizons;

-- emphasis on job preparation which would include visits to factories, talks with union leaders, *business leaders* and other contacts designed to present realistic but interesting employment horizons;

-- contact with local political leaders, and welfare, administrative, and police authorities, designed to give participants a sense of how their communities operate;

└-- science discovery centers, shop courses,  
and home economics work.

-- work-study programs for older students which  
would enable them to earn while gaining job experience;

-- some camping for every child with special  
camps for those in need of special attention.

-- organized sports programs.

└ We have already had concrete experience with  
programs such as these.

└ Last year a group of Chicago students participated  
in a work-study program designed to raise the level of their  
opportunities and initiative. └ They manufactured and  
marketed their own handicraft products, with advice and  
assistance from the local business community.

└ Some 200 New Orleans children from Spanish-  
speaking backgrounds underwent an intensive 6-week course  
in English, using everything from puppets to modern electronic  
equipment.

↳ They also studied both American political institutions and their Spanish cultural heritage.

↳ These are only two representative examples.

Altogether, 2.7 million children participated in programs like these during the summer of 1966. ↳ On the basis of this experience, the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children found that summer programs were more effective than regular class work in meeting the special requirement of poor children.

↳ It was easier to hire high-quality teachers, and the teachers themselves enjoyed the experience.

↳ Space was more available; the weather was better for field trips; a warm and informal relationship between teacher and pupil was easier outside the classroom setting; grades, which normally recorded failure, were unimportant.

∟ The cost of such programs is not prohibitive.

Estimates I have seen run from 40 dollars per child per  
summer for non-intensive cultural enrichment programs  
to 260 dollars for intensive remedial reading programs.

∟ Even the high figure is a small price to pay when the success  
or failure of a whole human life may be in the balance.

∟ Equipment costs need not be large. The schools  
are there. The school buses are there. The museums,  
the laboratories, the libraries, the gymnasiums and  
recreational facilities, the camps, are there.

∟ There are more than enough excellent teachers  
who would welcome an opportunity to experiment as well as  
to increase their incomes. ∟ Student teachers could meet  
their practice teaching requirements more quickly. College  
students and parents could fill in the gaps. —

*Education  
& Second  
Educ  
Act.*

*Answers to.  
Teacher Aides - not replacements.*

What we require now is the initiative and imagination to put these resources together in a package that will serve those who need help most -- not just some of them for a few weeks each summer, but all of them, all summer.

I submit to you that no American businessman would leave his factory or store standing unused and unproductive three months a year.

And I submit that all of us would be outraged if hospitals, if public services, if our transit systems were closed down for the summer months. It would be unthinkable.

Yet, we tolerate a situation where our schools -- perhaps our most valuable resources of all -- stand idle and empty in neighborhoods filled with young people needing help.

Why should our schools be utilized in the summer months?

crying  
for help.



L I give you the words of two people involved in a project run out of a storefront -- the school, of course, was closed, -- in New York's Bedford Stuyvesant ghetto:

L A white teacher: "... I was really able to know the children ... I was able to go into their homes, to meet their parents and their brothers and sisters ... to get to know their needs, their concerns, their aspirations."

L A Negro mother: "I feel that my boy has learned more here in five weeks than he did all year in a regular school. He never used to want to read, not even comic books. Now he wants to read everything he can get."

L The teacher who has discovered the aspirations of her pupils and their families, the youngster who has discovered books --- that is successful education. ~~and~~

*the mother happy - is the greatest dividend. ~~of all~~ extra*

L Never has the task of the educator been as critically important to the success of our society as it is today.

L remain  
All our old tasks/-- disseminating knowledge,  
finding and developing the special capacities of the individual  
child, making him proud of his ability, making him  
confident, comforting him, disciplining him.

But we must now accept an additional responsibility --  
the responsibility of extending extra help to millions of  
disadvantaged young Americans.

L It is our chance to offer the only bridge by which  
they can cross from a culture of deprivation and despair  
into the prosperous and growing society that is America  
today.

Wolfe

# # #

[Transcript]

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1967

Terry -  
File

TO: DOUG BENNETT  
FROM: NEAL PETERSON

This is the transcript of the American Federation of Teachers speech. I know you'll want to glance at it. It turned out to be a great speech.

Had to see it?

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 24, 1967

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS  
AUGUST 24, 1967

AS DELIVERED

Vice President Humphrey: Thank you. Thank you.

Thank you, President Cogen. My good friend, your Legislative Representative, a real tower of strength around the nation's capitol and elsewhere, Carl Megel, and (applause) I hope the delegates from the other forty-nine states will not feel that I am provincial or parochial or prejudiced or narrow minded if I should just pay a special note of tribute to one of the finest delegations that comes from any part of the United State -- the delegation in Minnesota -- the MFT. (Applause) And particularly Ed Bolstad, the President of our Minnesota Federation of Teachers.

There are so many of my friends amongst the delegation that this morning when I came into the Cabinet Room of the hotel here I was almost overwhelmed, seeing folks that I had not seen for all too long, and seeing people that made it possible for me to be here, because some of my very closest friends and best supporters were amongst that delegation.

Now this does not leave out my friend here, Herrick Roth, and others from Colorado. I do not want to lose any friends while I am up here. They are all fine. And by the way, Charles, I was a little disturbed about this withdrawal card. I have -- politics these days seems to be a rather precarious business. Do you suppose I could kind of keep my membership active? (Laughter)

President Cogen: So voted by acclamation (Laughter and applause)

Vice President Humphrey: And I don't want anybody at the media for a minute to think this is any lack of confidence. It is just when you have been born in South Dakota, and been through a depression, you have need of a little extra insurance. They call it reinsurance.

First I want to congratulate the AFT on its remarkable progress-- not only progress in its terms of membership and better than a hundred, and I think it was 103 new Locals this past year; but particularly on your progress as outlined in the remarkable and inspiring address of your President Charles Cogen.

I not only had the address and read the address, but one of my very capable staff assistants, whose brother works very closely with the Minnesota Federation of Teachers, brother of Roger Peterson, my staff assistant, Neal Peterson, took the time, Charles, to go through that speech of yours, and I want to say it is better than the ones I make, and almost as long. (Laughter)

But he went through that speech, and it is more than a speech. It is a paper. It is a remarkable document -- and outlined for me what I considered to be the philosophy of education needed for America, and it tells, in good rhetoric, inspiring rhetoric, and solid substance, the achievement and the accomplishments as well as the long term goals of the American Federation of Teachers and the goals for educators in the United States of America.

I want to compliment you, President Cogen.

The point is not that every line is one with which you must agree but more importantly that here is a thinker, a man of ideas; a man deeply concerned with the educational process in our nation, and much more concerned, may I say with the substance as well as the process and the purpose of education. (Applause)



REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AS DELIVERED

I am happy to be in your presence, sir, and I want you to know that I have looked upon your remarks and your dissertation on the educational philosophy and the educational program as a standard by which we will measure our conduct in government, and, indeed, in the educational system.

I did not come here this morning to entertain you, even though that is something that I would not mind doing.

I come to discuss with you some thoughts of mine in the presence of people who do a great deal of thinking and acting on educational matters. I must, however, observe that when I was in the back room so to speak, that you do have a large number of vice presidents. (Laughter) I think that President Cogen ought to go see President Johnson I want to tell you President Johnson sometimes thinks he has too many vice presidents when he has one. (Laughter)

And here is President Cogen -- I'm not going to count them up, but I knew I was being overworked, but I did not realize I was being overworked this much, believe me. (Applause and Laughter) But after all once you've been a teacher you're accustomed to being overworked. (Applause)

So I come to you today not only as your Vice President, and many of you helped make that possible, and I am most grateful -- permit me to thank you -- but I come to you, also as a teacher. You see, I happen to believe that a man in public life ought to be a teacher all of his life. When I served in the Senate for some 16 years, I tried in my way to teach, to at least think ahead, and all too often for the happiness of some, to think out loud. That way you get a chance for other people to tell how wrong you are.

You know, if you just think silently you are apt to convince yourself and no one really gets a chance to tell you that you are on the wrong course. But I do believe that every public officeholder should be and ought in a sense be required to be a teacher, speaking to the public; working with his associates; hopefully coming forth with some creative thought.

Today I am going to stand in the role of a teacher, and I'm going to prevail on you as a teacher colleagues to give you some candid thoughts about the expanding responsibilities of American educators in what you and I know to be a rapidly changing American society.

And I would also like to mention a word or two about the responsibility of American society to the American educator, and both to our clients, so to speak, the youth of the land.

Now a word about education in America today.

We are prone, as Americans, to always be self-critical. That is a good sign. The famous Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, an old friend of mine once said, "If you really want to find out what is wrong with America you don't have to spend too many years in research. Just ask somebody. They will tell you." And we are very good at that. And if he won't tell you, why somebody will tell you. They will hire people to tell you.

And that is a sign of health. Only the strong can be self-analytical, self-critical. It is the weak; the uncertain; the fearful that are always right, in quotes, never admit -- at least publicly -- that there could be any doubt at all.

It is the person of maturity; it is the person of responsibility and of strength that can admit that possibly he is in error, or that his judgement may have not been what it should be. Therefore, we look upon ourselves, in a sense of self-criticism, and from that criticism seek remedies to build.

Let's see where we are today in education.

VOICE: How can you talk about that when you support Vietnam?

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AS DELIVERED

Vice President Humphrey: May I say that I had this all planned? This is the one way we get notice on these speeches. (Applause)

President Cogen: I am sorry to interrupt the Vice President -- he has given me consent to interrupt. I want to explain that the voice we all deplore came from the rear of the room behind the railing, and does not represent our membership. (Applause)

Vice President Humphrey: Well, may I just say that I am not unused to free speech. I have exercised it myself. (Laughter)

I do think, however, that free speech and good manners make free speech a little better (Applause).

Now if one of the youngsters in your classrooms acts like that, you be tolerant, will you? (Laughter)

I am, I want to talk to you about education, and I hope to stick to that subject. Well, I was going to tell you a little about our educational system. It obviously is working. (Laughter)

It has given motivation to some, and alienation to others. The educational opportunities open to Americans today, much through your efforts, and through the efforts I might add of the American Labor Movement that has been a champion of education throughout history, are literally unprecedented. Ninety-three per cent of the teenagers have had secondary education, compared to seven per cent at the turn of the century.

In just the last twenty years, the percentage of American high school graduates who go on to college and to the professional schools, you know, has doubled, from twenty-five to fifty per cent. Last year there were six million of your high school graduates that were in college, and a million of them were there because of federal scholarships or loans, something by the way, which is at least a vintage.

A high level of education, because of your steadfast position, and others like you, has become an intricate, inseparable feature of American society today. It reflects, and is reflected in our unprecedented prosperity.

I do not think it could possibly be -- our country could possibly be what it is on the economic front today without our school system and without the dedication, and many times the sacrifice and dedication of teachers.

It is reflected in our position of world leadership in the sciences and in our national power. It enables us both to integrate and to cope with rapid technological development.

From the individual American's point of view, education in addition to the cultural environment that it affords, has become the credential which enables him to participate fully in our society. A high school diploma -- we talk about it a great deal -- or a college diploma -- is the ticket which entitles a young American to opportunity. It is the coupon which makes him eligible to earn a decent living.

Now, our society insists on that credential, and it should. Therefore, it is not surprising to me, or to you, that in those same slums and ghettos where frustration and hopelessness and joblessness and despair and bitterness have recently contributed to riots and violence, two-thirds of the unemployed ghetto residents have never finished high school. Even those who have completed a few years of school test much lower than their grade levels.

And this is only to say, in polite language, that separate but equal was only separate. (Applause)

The average Job Corps recruit, most of them school dropouts as you know, has completed nine grades of school, But he reads at a fifth grade level, if he reads at all.

I noted just yesterday the average earned wage of the Job Corps recruit before he came in -- only five per cent ever had a job by the way -- and those that had a job, their average hourly wage was 71 cents.



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After they left the Job Corps, and 90,000 have now graduated, 70,000 of them having received jobs in private industry, or 70 per cent of them I say received jobs in private industry, 20 percent going back to school; 10 percent into the military service, the average rate of pay is \$1.91 per hour. (Applause)

So, when I hear people complain that it costs a great deal of money to have the Job Corps, and they do complain about it -- I like to remind them that if a man earns a minimum of \$1.91 on the average to start, the Government of the United States, and the state and local governments will be able to take enough off from each one of those hourly pay-checks (laughter) so that in due time the cost of that educational or training experience will be amortized. (Applause)

Now the result, and I am saying old things to you, but I learned a long time ago about education, that most of us are slow learners (laughter) -- we have trouble, the real trouble in this country is people want something brand new every day, and we can't even remember some of the things we had yesterday. We need to get some fundamentals and stick with them. And we need to understand some fundamentals about the educational process.

The result of these educational deficiencies, and there are educational deficiencies, and it is to that that President Cogen addressed his remarks to this audience -- the result is unemployment, at least this is one result, and underemployment at a rate in our American slums or ghettos up to 35 per cent.

Complex economic and social factors, of course, contribute to this grim situation. But I am certain that there is one factor more than any other which dooms a man to joblessness today, and that is insufficient education and training.

Now we are not just giving young people, nor should we have as our purpose transmitting to young people just information. You can buy that in a world almanac. But what we are trying to do is to transmit to people an experience in living. We are trying to make the meaning of life more meaningful. That is the ultimate purpose of education.

America today has reached an acute crisis in the historic progress towards economic and social democracy. One-seventh of our population, and I had originally in my remarks here one-sixth, but I am happy to tell you that the poverty group in the American society in the last few years has somewhat diminished. It is down to one-seventh now, who live below the poverty line, who are excluded.

That one-seventh do not want to be excluded. They want to be included. And they want to be sure that their children will be included.

I think one of the most remarkable addresses delivered by the President of the United States was at Howard University some two years ago, when he laid it on the line to the American people as to whether or not we were going to have one America and one citizenship or whether we were going to have two Americas; whether we were going to have the America of the majority, the affluent majority, and the America of the poor; or whether we were going to have an America in which all Americans could feel that they were a part of this great community, that they were included in, and that hope could come to reality.

Now this nation has to make an historic choice, and you are helping to make it -- either make social and economic opportunity for all a reality, or to watch the gap between the rich and the poor, between the employed and the unemployed, between the sheltered and the unsheltered, between the educated and the uneducated, grow ever wider, until it threatens our national growth, health, and well-being.

And if that gap does continue to expand, America will be at war with itself, and be in such a state of crisis that all of our hopes and aspirations will be lost.

Now many of today's participants in this great American society are already too old to acquire what you would term a full educational credential. They are not going to go back to high school or grade school.

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They are of another generation. Therefore, they need temporary passes, so to speak, new skills; job training -- and that is a very, very difficult assignment.

They need, in other words, the kind of a program that offers them an opportunity for a diploma--not a diploma from your high school or your college, but in a sense a program of motivation; of training; of skill that gives them the key to opportunity to make something out of their lives. (Applause)

Now there are a large number of these people, and we would not have to be talking about them today if our system thus far had been successful. There are twelve and a half million of them, of these that have been passed by in America. That is a large number. And over fifty per cent of that twelve and a half million are under eighteen years of age. Many of them will be amongst the almost one million school dropouts this year.

And I must say, my fellow-teachers, we have to ask ourselves, and we ought to ask the school board, are the students dropping out, or has the school left them? There is possibly an interplay here. And there will be, if we continue at the rate of school dropouts in this decade, eight million who will fall by the wayside in our school system that ought to have a rich educational experience.

Now it is these poor children who present the great challenge to the entire nation, and, indeed, to the American educational establishment today. These are the ones that we need to concentrate our attention upon.

You know, Franklin Roosevelt said one time what I believe to be the guiding philosophy for this country in its present effort, and I can only paraphrase here, but he said, "It is not the purpose of government to help those more who already have too much. It is the duty of government to help provide enough for those people who already have too little."

In other words, our efforts need to be, in a sense, targeted in on those who have been left by the side of the road, that are not fully involved in what you and I are seeking to do, and in our life.

Can we bring this group into the large, prosperous American society will full educational credentials? --which is just another way of saying, can we bring them into the pattern of opportunity?

There is one word that I feel that ought to characterize our efforts these days; it is the word "opportunity"

I spent a long time in public life fighting for what we call equal opportunity. I have spent a great deal of time, as you have, in the field of civil rights, trying to get a fair employment practices law. But I ask you, what good does it do to have non-discrimination in employment, number one, if there are no jobs? And what good does it do to have non-discrimination in employment if you are not employable?

The legal rights are not enough.

And this is where the educator comes in. Here is where we come in. We have to help equip the individual so that he can have these legal rights mean something in his life--not just a theory of law, but a way of life itself. This is the challenge which requires the maximum use of every educational resource that we can bring to bear on the whole spectrum of educational needs.

Training--training--training--training in everything from personal hygiene and basic skills to highly specialized research on social problems.

And it also means something else. It means reaching out. It is not good enough just to open up the schools. It is not good enough just to say you are going to have job training. Ladies and gentlemen, I can tell you from this platform today that we have job training positions open in America today fully funded by the federal government, unused--unused; unfilled.



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I spend almost every living hour of my life working on these matters. Let me put it this way: In a community in which there may be two thousand job training positions, where we seek to open up job training for two thousand hard core unemployed, half of them go empty.

Why?

Because we have opened up the job training but that is not enough. People that have been rejected for a century--some of them, or their families, are not going to believe that the gates of opportunity are open, just because you say they are. (Applause) You have to reach out, reach out and find them, and I have said to government officials and private individuals, if we are half as ingenious in finding ways to extend the hand of friendship and fellowship and hopefulness to others as we were in denying them that hand of fellowship, we will make a lot of progress. (Applause)

Yes, what I am talking about is to say this: It means reaching out to children's children whose backgrounds of cultural degradation and economic poverty provide them no motivation for them. It means reaching them young enough to counteract the lifelong mental stigma of poverty and rejection, of prejudice and discrimination (applause), which, as you know, begins to be acquired at about eighteen months of age, not eighteen years but eighteen months.

It means making education more than initiation right to fraternity, or a lodge -- an initiation right required for entrance into the prosperous society of the majority.

It means making education a bridge with one end that is firmly planted in the culture of prosperity, and it means making that bridge strong enough to be worth crossing; and it means helping people to cross that bridge, and to find a new life.

I think it is fair to say that we have made remarkable, a remarkable start towards building that bridge, and here are some of its parts.

Project HEADSTART -- Project HEADSTART has already prepared two million pre-schoolers for what we hope will be a successful contribution to the educational experience. I think it has been (applause), and it needs to be a year-around, continuing program; and you know it.

Through Project HEADSTART, we cannot only help the lives of little ones; help make their lives better; but we find the parent; we reach back into the community; we follow the child back to the source of the trouble; and if we have any sense of decency at all we will do something about the conditions that exist in that area of trouble.

Now the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is designed specifically to enable children from deprived backgrounds to benefit fully from regular schools. It is already operating in 17,500 school districts. It is already effective, I think beneficially in the lives of eight and a half million people.

You know, we take all this for granted. I hope you will not mind if I say it did not come easy. Many of my very close friends, they say, "Well, what have you done? It doesn't seem like you've done much." Listen -- the first bill I voted on when I came to Washington with your help in 1949, was to aid education.

We passed it in the Senate, and they killed it in the House. Two years later we passed it in the House, and they killed it in the Senate. It was a sort of suicide tennis game -- homicide, I suppose I should say. Each year you had to determine who was going to kill it. You killed it either on the basis of race, religion, or region.

Whatever you may think about some of the things that may have been done, or should be done, I think that one of the greatest contributions to the welfare of this nation that has been accomplished in the last four years, and it has been accomplished under the leadership of the man who is President of the United States, is the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- no small accomplishment. (Applause)

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And two billion dollars goes into that program this year.

Oh, I heard somebody say, "That is not very much." Let me tell you something, friends, it is two billion dollars more than you had four years ago. (Applause)

It is a very hard generation to satisfy -- not very different times; but I was around here when the drought was on, my friends, sixteen years of it in the Senate. And I stood side by side with people on this platform and fought for Federal Aid to Education; introduced the bill Federal Aid to Education. It was called every name in the book -- better than I was called in the back of the room -- far better, and with less taste (laughter), and we did not get anyplace.

And finally, a man who was a Texas schoolteacher in a country schoolhouse became President of the United States, and he set out to get the job done, and he worked day and night, and today the Government of the United States is putting into Federal Aid to Education in all forms five billion dollars. That is not bad -- in all kinds of education (applause)

And if I happen to indicate by my remarks that I am not very appreciative of some of the critics who say it is not very much, you are right. Frank talk just is good for everything. You see, I do not think you prove yourself as being a liberal by being a whiner. I think you prove yourself as being a liberal by helping people who need help. And we have been helping people. You have been helping people. (Applause)

Let's take a look at another project, Project UPWARD BOUND, a HEADSTART Program for prospective college students.

I have been around visiting these young people. It does not make many headlines. These are the young folks that have potential. These are the potentials, yes, for something great, and something bad. These are the kinds that could go wrong, or could go to higher achievement.

I have been in college after college across this country, visiting them, and I want to tell you something--unless somebody stands up and says what was said there you would never know they were there; and I always hope somebody will, because then at least they know you are in town.

And we have today thousands, not 27,000 as my script says, 32,000 young Americans in Project UPWARD BOUND, in over 200 colleges across this land--32,000 young people that are being found; 32,000 that are going on to college; 32,000 whose lives are going to mean something.

Oh, I wish it were three hundred thousand, but it is 32,000 more than you had two and a half or three years ago.

You did not get your good collective bargaining agreement all at once. You did not build the AFT that way. Listen -- I was around building the AFT 27 years ago, and it wasn't anything like this, I'll tell you that. (Applause) It takes a lot of doing, and it takes more than just dues paid.

And there is the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. I happen to be Chairman of that. I like my work, too. That program has, that Council has sponsored summer enrichment programs in cities throughout the country; and we have the finest program that we have ever had. It is not good enough, but it is better than it was last year; three times better than it was the year before; and the year before that there was not any. So I have been in this from the beginning.

And we have a massive summer employment program this year. We found jobs under this program for a million, two hundred thousand needy youth. For the first time, we have cut into the teenage unemployment. Despite the fact that there were five hundred thousand more teenagers in the labor market, we have reduced the number of teenage unemployed. For the first time!

I know we have not done it well enough, but we have done it a whole lot better than our critics, because they did not do anything -- nothing. (Applause)



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Now we are embarked on what we call a nationwide back-to-school - stay-in-school campaign, designed to combat the dropout problem.

Now these are unprecedented programs, and you have cooperated with them. We work with your people.

It is designed so that it catches as many of the disadvantaged young people as possible right now, wherever they are in their education; and to enable them to gain as much as possible from their remaining years of school. We just refuse to sign off anyone. We think that there is hope in every one of these young people, and it is our job to reach out to them.

These programs are designed to supplement creative programs undertaken at the local level. They are over and above the regular education program. They are the sort of thing that this document, this remarkable address that I spoke of incorporated in its thinking. And they are designed to give you, the dedicated professional teacher, the tools that you need to extend the challenge, the excitement, the pleasure, and the benefits of a good education to every American child.

And I want the public to know that is what the American Federation of Teachers stands for -- a good, wholesome, enriched education for every American child regardless of what it may cost the American public. (Applause)

You know, I know that various teachers federations have been prominent in the news lately because of your organizing and collective bargaining efforts. Well, let me just say a word about that.

First of all, there is nothing wrong with it. It is part of the American scene.

Collective bargaining, is, after all, a process to achieve more than just higher salaries for teachers, though, even though higher salaries are needed if you are going to have teachers.

Teachers in this great organization are bargaining for the improvement not only of salaries, but the quality of education. (Applause) I know what the teachers from my state are fighting for. I have been with some of them for years. I was talking to one of my friends here, when we used to have the little old Labor School up in St. Paul, sponsored back in the days of the WPA. And I was the Director of that Program.

It was not a very popular program. I have been associated with a lot of unpopular causes in my career -- but I considered popularity to be the virus of character (Laughter and Applause) And what you ought to do is what you ought to do whether people like it or not. They may come around a little bit later and like it. You cannot tell.

But in reference to your work, the teachers are really bargaining for the rights and the tools to do effectively what is the overall job of public education, mainly to transmit what is necessary of what has gone on before to our youth, and to inspire creative thinking about the future of our society, so that society and civilization can continue.

Now you can find a lot of this kind of philosophy in what old John Dewey used to write, but you do not even need to read John Dewey. You know that you cannot really motivate young people with teachers that are not motivated.

You know you cannot really bring an enriched educational experience to young people today unless you have the facilities; the tools; the books -- all of the teaching methods and machines and apparatus that is required to make education what it ought to be in the last third of the 20th Century. That is what you are fighting for. And I regret that this story does not seem to get to the people.

Every time I read about my friends of the AFT, it appears to the public that what you seem to be fighting for is just yourselves.

Well, let the Vice-President of the United States, if I have any influence in this country at all, spread it on the record that had not some of our teachers stood up and fought for what they believed was right, the educational system of this country would not be half what it is today. (Applause)

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I read a great deal these days about student power. There has never been any lack of it as long as I remember. I can remember it back a few years. I am not sure that it always holds in one direction, but there is plenty of power.

What you really need is a little teacher power. (Applause)

Who knows better -- who knows better what ought to go on in a classroom?

Who knows better about young people than those who work with them and live with them?

Who knows better about the kind of teaching tools that work?

Who knows better what the purpose of education is than a trained teacher? (Applause)

I wanted to say this for a long time. I got a chance to say it now. And I am glad I say it because we have a lot of work to do together.

Well, what I am talking about is what the Federal Government is trying to help you do in some of these programs; trying to make these all-important educational credentials available to the poor youngster.

And these federal programs are and must be supported, supplemented by a vast number of local and private interests. And I think the AFT's Effective Schools Plan -- and that is a fine brochure, Charles, that you put out, the AFT Effective Schools Plan is outstanding amongst these splendid local and private efforts that can help our educational system. (Applause)

And mark my words, this massive effort that we are speaking of will pay dividends long before many other investments. But even if you have to wait a few years, it is too long when it is counted in the lives wasted because of inadequate education.

And therefore, at this time of acute crisis -- and it is a crisis -- we have to ask ourselves, are we doing as much as we can right now with what we have, to concentrate our existing educational resources on the needs of the poor child in America?

And the answer is, 'No' -- we can do much more.

And I believe our most promising opportunity, and the obvious place to start is in extending our educational programs right through the summer months.

And I do not mean for you to work for nothing, either. (Applause) You know, I come from the Midwest, and I have had to tell some of my city friends that I do not believe the farmer owes you a living; the farmer is entitled to a fair price for his product, a fair return on his investment.

Well, teachers are entitled to be paid for the services they perform. So, when I speak, when I speak of a full year's school program I do not mean that you are paid for nine months and you contribute three to the Community Chest (laughter); and I do not mean that the 12-month program was exactly the same as it was when you started in September.

You have programs that are related to needs and seasons. The 12-month school year has been adopted tentatively in some communities under Title I of the ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, and it works; and in the context of our present needs the nine-month school year is an unacceptable anachronism. It is as out-of-date as a kerosene lamp in a public utility.

It was related to the harvest season. Only six percent of the population is rural now, living on farms. A century ago the school year lasted 78 days. Now it averages 162 days. I think it is time to add another ninety days. At least in those neighborhoods where the school offers the only wholesome, positive influence in the bleak and poverty-ridden lives of thousands of American youngsters.

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What right do you have to padlock a school playground; to close a swimming pool; to close off the auditorium when it is owned and paid for by the public? (Applause)

I could give you another tip. There is more school vandalism on closed schools than there is on open schools. (Applause) Disadvantaged children, you know, are disadvantaged all year; not just for nine months. They don't have a rich daddy and mama, or even a semi-prosperous one that can send them off to summer camp or make it nice and pleasant out at the country club, or in a comfortable suburban region or area. They need your help all year, and not all year except during the worst months, the hot, explosive summer months.

Now don't misunderstand me. I am not talking about correctional summer schools, designed to punish and prod those who did not do their homework during the year. And I am not talking about merely an extension of the regular classroom activities. I am talking about something much more than simply an extension of the regular classroom activities.

I am talking about turning our schools into summer enrichment centers; opportunity centers for the development of human resources. (Applause)

Summer is a time of growth. It is a time when plants and flowers and shrubbery grow. It is the period of life, and it should be a time of experimentation for expanding the experiences of the individual child.

It should provide special opportunities in art; in music; in drama; opportunities for exploration; for reading; for developing individual capacities. It should be a time for camping; for trips; for new horizons.

It should be a time for learning, to even swim; for games and playing.

Does this sound like the summers that you remember from your childhood?

I think some of us remember that. This is close to what I mean.

If people say, "What is your target?" -- something like you have experienced.

But keep in mind that the slum child of today does not look forward to this kind of a summer, and he does not remember it, nor do his parents, because they never had it. He looks forward to three months of days on the hot pavement; three months of standing around on the corner; three months of nights in a stifling rat-infested apartment or tenement. (Applause) Three months of idleness; impatience, and frustration.

And if the people of this country do not know it, let me tell you as Chairman of the Discover America Committee, and I am by Presidential appointment, I asked the people of America to get to learn their own country; go and see their own country. (Applause) If you want to do something in your town that will help it, when you go back, go to the mayor or one of the city officials and say, "Let's us organize a little tour through the slums, and let's get everybody in this town to go take a look at it." (Applause)

I don't think the American people are calloused and sinful. I think if they only know -- they don't. We have people all the time talking about China, and Asia, and Africa, and they haven't even been across the tracks in their own home town. (Applause)

And some of my friends here from Minnesota, you know I used to say that very thing when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. I'd go down in the south of Minneapolis and speak to a young people's group, and they would want to talk about China.

I'd say, "That's good; let's talk about China." I did not know very much about it, so I could talk a great deal about it. (Laughter) We'd talk about China. I'd say, "How many of you have been on the other side of Holcombe Boulevard?" -- which was in the other direction, about a mile and a half; might few had. I'd have a group of a hundred youngsters,



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and one hand would go up.

I would say, "You are trying to talk about China, which is 8000 miles away, and you haven't even been visiting a part of your city which is a mile and a half away. Why don't you go up and find out what they are doing?"

Isn't it a fact, my friends, that where they have the best schools, with the highest paid teachers, with the most up-to-date audio-visual machines, finest equipment, are generally to be found in the newest areas of the city, where the well-to-do people live? Where they have the extra-curricular activities; the orchestra; and where they have all sorts of student activities; and where they buy the band instruments; and where they have school concerts?

And where are the worst schools?

I have been around. You know, it is one advantage of being my age. You have seen a little. I have had somebody say to me, "Well, you're too old, Humphrey."

I said, "I'm not old at all. I've just been around a little longer than you have." (Laughter) There is a lot of difference.

The best schools in America ought to be where the people need them the most. That is the way you make progress. (The Convention arose and applauded) That is the way you get on top of this.

Continue on next page.

Now, my friends, just let me wind this up for you.

Thank you for your help to me this morning, because we are just visiting together, well as compatriots in a common cause. This boy or girl's experience that I talked about, this slum child, his opportunities for experimentation and explorations, they are not happy. They are not art and music. They are limited to the vices of the street. They are not camping.

His experiences, too, remember, may well be his experiences with the run-in with the law.

Summer Opportunity Centers -- that is what I want to call our schools. I think after that nine months period is over of regular schooling, we ought to change the sign and say YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER; put it right up there. Let the kids know that we care.

They should provide a comprehensive package of experiences, especially designed to meet the needs of these disadvantaged children; to bring them up; to help them see the other part of the life that this nation lives.

Let me give you some ideas of what is available in this great Summer Opportunity Program, and I am full of it, because I live it every day. I have been into more slum areas in America in the last year than I think almost any public official in this country because I travel around this country. I have been in forty-two of the fifty states; and I go into the backwash areas.

I have been out to see and not just hear about these.

Here is what these young people could have in these Enrichment or Opportunity Centers -- remedial courses for those who need them in English and other fields, the mastery of which is a prerequisite for success in regular schooling in other subjects.

They could have cultural programs; museum tours; and trips designed to broaden cultural horizons. There could be emphasis on job preparation which would include visits to factories; talks with union leaders; business leaders; and other contacts designed to present realistic but interesting employment horizons.

Why, let me tell you that I know of one program where they have taken hard core kids and put them out on this big earthmoving equipment, and the first thing that a kid asks when he sees these great machines is, "How much do you make?"

And when the driver says he gets six dollars an hour, or eight dollars an hour, or five dollars an hour, or whatever the pay is, the kid says, "Gee, I sure like that!"

And if you have your program worked out right, the fellow that is driving that piece of equipment says "Well, I'll tell you what; if you get back to school they can get you in a program; we can put you on one of these machines. and we can teach you how to operate one of these machines. And if you can get a good reference from your teacher, we can get you a job on one of these machines." (Applause)

And I heard plans, for the teacher is the enemy at that point. That kid needs that teacher like he needs his mother. He knows the only way he is going to get the six dollars an hour, five, or four, or whatever the wage is if the teacher says the boy has done well. So the teacher becomes an ally instead of an enemy. This works; I have seen it work.

But you have got to bring this child in contact with reality, not just talk theory but reality. He most likely is not going on to Harvard. He possibly is going to try to get enough experience and training, and hopefully a high school diploma, because he has been told he needs it in order to get some place, and he wants to come in contact with the life that is going to be his.

By the way, I might add my dear teacher, if you can drive some of that earthmoving equipment they will pay you better than you are paid as a teacher. (Laughter and Applause)

These Opportunity Centers should permit contact with local civic leaders; political leaders; welfare administrative and indeed police authorities, designed to give participants a sense of how their communities operate.

And they can have experiments in science; science discovery centers; shop courses; home economics work; work study programs for adults, which enable them to earn a living while gaining experience. And some camping for every child; special camps for those in need of special attention.

The organized sports program.. Do you know what I am talking about?

What we are trying to do is this; this is not theory. We are working at it. I worked at it yesterday. I worked at it last night. I have contacted across this country over a hundred of the top mayors of the hundred largest cities, working with business, labor, and church leaders and teachers to get this Youth Opportunity Program going. (Applause)

Oh, we've had some wonderful experiences. In Chicago last year, a group of Chicago students participated in a work study program designed to raise the level of their opportunities and initiative. They manufactured and marketed their own handicraft, products; paid their own way, with advice and assistance from the local business community and schools.

Some 200 New Orleans' children from Spanish-speaking background underwent an intensive six-week course in English, using everything from puppets to modern electronic equipment. And they improved their language capability immeasurably. They also studied American political institutions, and their Spanish cultural heritage.

You know, I read in the paper the other day where some of the advocates of Black Power said that they ought to teach Negro history in the schools. Why you ought to teach that; that is a part of the history of America. We ought to know about it. (Applause) You do not need to get that kind of advice from so-called power movements. That is not necessary. We ought to be teaching labor history in our schools. (Applause)

Most people are wageearners. They ought to know what the labor movement has meant too. Frankly, a lot of the young people joining the labor movement do not know what it means. All they know is it means the initiation fee and dues. They do not know how this labor movement was built. They do not know the sacrifices of the early leaders, of the trouble they had to go through, and indeed may I say of the brutal beatings that many of them had to take.

They need to know this history.

Well now, these are just a couple of examples. So there are lots of things we can do.

You know, one of the reasons that the summer is so desirable for all of this -- space is more available; the weather is better for field trips; there is a warm and informal relationship between the teacher and pupil; and what's more important is you're trying to fail somebody. (Laughter) You are trying to edge them along. (Applause)

Then I know the inevitable question -- what will it cost?

Well, there are two ways of analyzing. What will it cost if you do not do it? (Applause) That is one way.

And what will it cost?

Well, it is not prohibitive. The estimates I have seen, and we are making full evaluation of that, and will be able to report to you more accurately by this December, is about \$40.00 per child.

Now I have been around, and I want to say that I used to tell some of my friends back home when they were a little angry because we had to raise the tax a little bit to get our school system a little better I'd say, 'Now look, my dear friends, you spend enough up at the club drinking those martinis, protesting what I am trying to do, to pay for



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your share of that plan." (Applause)

I don't like to be misunderstood. Many of you know I often speak of my father. He was my best teacher. My daddy never ever told me what time to go to bed. He never lectured me on that. He just was the best getterupper in the county. (Laughter) I never told the folks that they shouldn't be up to the club. I just said, "Fellows, if you can spend all that time grousing, griping, and planning how you're going to kill it off, go ahead and have your martinis, but get ready to back the kids because we're going to put the program through. You're going to have to pay for it."

That is what you have to tell the people.

Now the cost of such programs are modest. The equipment does not need to be large. The schools are there. The school buses are there, and if they're not ask your local bus company to help. Ask and it shall be given. Seek and ye shall find.

I go around the City of Washington. When we asked to put in these playgrounds they did not have any lights in these playgrounds a year ago. We had 132, and 10 were illuminated. We have 137 now, and 122 are illuminated. We did it.

And if you need some extra buses to call the National Guard. They can provide buses, too. I've got it cleared with them. (Applause)

The libraries are there. The laboratories are there. The museums are there. The gymnasiums are there. And we are opening up these National Guard armories for young people today for use as gymnasiums, for the use of their equipment.

The Fire Department in Chicago opened the Navy Pier facility, and they had 7,000 kids a year into the Navy Pier gymnasium. It was sitting there idle. There is a lot of equipment around.

We have camps, one right out here at Camp Roosevelt. I was going out there last night, but it rained so much I decided since I didn't bring my overshoes from Minnesota maybe I shouldn't go.

Camp Roosevelt, the oldest Boy Scout Camp in this area -- they were going to close it up here. We kept it open. We raised the ninety thousand dollars it took to rehabilitate that Camp. We raised it, and we are putting into that Camp 1700 kids that have never been to camp in their life. (Applause)

And then there is the follow-up program with them, and right now as I speak to you one of the great big camps out near Watts, Camp Roberts, is being opened for thousands of kids from the Watts Area.

It can be done if you want to do it. But you can roll over and die, too. I tell you I leave other people talk about dying conditions; I am for living conditions. (Applause)

Well, I'm going to quit. (Laughter) I get wound up with you here. I have a lot of other things here, and if anybody thinks I didn't say it, I take responsibility for anything that is not printed. (Laughter)

I just appeal to you to go home to your respective communities and let people know what this organization stands for, because what you stand for is what your country stands for.

You stand for opportunity. You stand for the enrichment of our society. You stand for helping those who need help. You stand for giving people the opportunity to gain self-respect, human dignity.

That is what educators are all about. That is what the AFT is about. That is what the Labor Movement is about.

I have been proud to be associated with the Labor Movement.

Oh, I know you can always find somebody that wasn't as good as he should be. But we do not close up the banks because a cashier occasionally runs off with the money. (Laughter and Applause) And we do

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not condemn the Labor Movement because someone here or there may have committed an excess, or was irresponsible.

But what I think we have to do is to have the perspective of history, and when I look back over the history of the United States, who was the first to champion the cost of public education -- American Labor. (Applause)

Who was the first to come to the Congress of the United States and back aid to education -- American Labor. (Applause)

Who was the first that said if you want to have good teachers, you are going to have to treat them as professionals and pay them as professionals -- American Labor (Applause)

Who was the first to say that if you really want a good educational system you have to provide a good educational environment, meaning the total facilities -- American Labor. (Applause)

So we're on the same ball team. Occasionally, once in awhile, we may have somebody in the bleachers that doesn't think so; but we are. (Laughter)

And I just want now to congratulate this illustrious President of yours. I want to thank each and every one of you for your work in behalf of a better America.

I want to thank you for what you are trying to do to give every person a chance.

As Thomas Wolff, that old depression poet put it, give every man his chance; his right to live; his right to work; his right to be himself.

To every man, his chance to become whatever his manhood or his vision can make of him.

To every man his chance -- this is the promise of America.

Thank you very much.



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