REMARKS Mayor Backrock VICE PRESIDE CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CINCINNATI, OHIO SEPTEMBER 28, 1967 WHEN THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION WAS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS JUST A CENTURY AGO, THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR -- WHO WAS PUT IN CHARGE --VERY CLEARLY SET FORTH HIS REGARD FOR THE NEW AGENCY. "THERE IS NO NECESSITY OF ANYONE KNOWING ANYTHING WHATEVER ABOUT EDUCATION," HE SAID. EDUCATION HAS COME A LONG WAY SINCE THEN WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT -- AND WITHIN OUR COUNTRY SOMETIMES THINK WE'VE FORGOTTEN JUST HOW FAR et from a Class Room

So Joseph Color

AT THE TURN OF THIS CENTURY, ONLY 7 PER CENT
OF OUR TEENAGERS WERE RECEIVING SECONDARY EDUCATION OF
ANY KIND. TODAY THE FIGURE IS 93 PER CENT.

IN THE LAST 20 YEARS ALONE, THE PERCENTAGE
OF AMERICAN YOUNG PEOPLE GOING TO COLLEGE HAS DOUBLED.

TODAY, ONE AMERICAN IN FOUR IS ENROLLED IN SOME SORT OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM.

AND IN THE LAST FEW YEARS EDUCATION HAS TAKEN

A MORE CENTRAL PLACE IN NATIONAL POLICY THAN AT ANY

OTHER TIME IN OUR HISTORY.

As a parent, as a former teacher and professor, as a friend of education in the Senate, as your Vice President, I am proud to say. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has put into operation 31 Major education and training laws. And these are laws not just in quantity, but of quality.

I NEED NOT TELL YOU THAT THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY
BREAKTHROUGH CAME, WITH YOUR HELP, IN 1965 WITH THE
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT.

THE IMMEDIATE IMPACT OF THE ELEMENTARY AND

SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, HAS BEEN ENORMOUS. IN ITS

FIRST YEAR IT PROVIDED ADDITIONAL SERVICES FOR 8.3

MILLION EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN -- NO

MATTER WHETHER THEY ATTENDED PUBLIC, PRIVATE, OR

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. OUR AVERAGE ANNUAL EDUCATIONAL

EXPENDITURE ON THOSE DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN HAS

INCREASED 119 DOLLARS PER CAPITA -- A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION

IN OUR POOR STATES, AND AN IMPORTANT AMOUNT

IN EVERY COMMUNITY.

BUT THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT IS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THIS. IT IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT WAS PASSED. AND THE PRECEDENT WHICH IT HAS SET FOR THE FUTURE.

AS A SENATOR, I WATCHED GOOD BILLS FOR

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION BLOCKED YEAR AFTER YEAR BY

INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDES ON STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS, Mace, or

BY STATE AND LOCAL INTERESTS WHO FEARED FEDERAL

INTERFERENCE IN THEIR TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL

RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE DEBATE WENT ON -- AND OUR CHILDREN SUFFERED.

THEN THE PEOPLE AND CONGRESS CAME TO THE

REALIZATION THAT IT WAS OUR CHILDREN, NOT LONG-STANDING

DOCTRINAL DISPUTES, THAT COUNTED, THEY REALIZED THAT

THIS COUNTRY -- IF IT WISHED TO GROW AND FLOURISH -
HAD BETTER START MAKING THE BEST POSSIBLE USE OF ALL

ITS EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES -- PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC,

PAROCHIAL AS WELL AS SECULAR.

AND THEY REALIZED WHAT SOME OF US HAD BEEN

SAYING FOR A LONG TIME -- THAT FEDERAL SUPPORT NEED NOT

AND MUST NOT MEAN FEDERAL CONTROL.

FOR QUALITY EDUCATION DEPENDS MOST OF ALL ON THE CREATIVE INITIATIVE AND COMPETENCE OF THE LOCAL EDUCATORS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, WHO PERSONALLY DEAL WITH THE CHILDREN WE ARE TRYING TO REACH. FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR LOCAL INITIATIVE IS THE BASIS OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, AND I BELIEVE THE BASIS OF AN HISTORIC FIRST STEP TOWARD THE FUTURE PATH OF EDUCATION IN OUR COUNTRY.

YES, THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS.

YES, WE HAVE OVERCOME SOME OF THE OLD

JEALOUSIES AND FEARS THAT STOOD IN THE WAY OF A

NATION WIDE EFFORT IN EDUCATION.

BUT WE HAVE STILL DONE ONLY ENOUGH TO BRING

ADEQUATE EDUCATION IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

The pulation younger new Technology - new Trium

WE HAVE PASSED THROUGH A SUMMER OF
UNPRECEDENTED LAWLESSNESS AND CONFLICT IN OUR CITIES.

THERE IS NO ROOM IN AMERICA FOR LAWLESSNESS

AND VIOLENCE -- AND IT WILL BE MET BY STRICT AND

UNCOMPROMISING ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW. THIS COUNTRY

IS NOT GOING TO BE TAKEN OVER OR HELD FOR RANSOM BY

Black white

INCITERS AND HATERS WHO WOULD WRECK THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES,

AND HARM THEIR INNOCENT NEIGHBORS, TO SATISFY THEIR

OWN LUST FOR PERSONAL POWER.

BUT EVERY THINKING AMERICAN KNOWS THAT THE

VIOLENCE WE HAVE SEEN, HOWEVER UNJUSTIFIED, IS AT THE

SAME TIME A SYMPTOM OF DEEP SOCIAL PROBLEMS -- OF POVERTY

AND DESPAIR, OF A FEELING ON THE PART OF FAR TOO MANY

CITIZENS THAT SOCIETY HAS NOTHING TO OFFER THEM THAT IS

WORTH SAVING.

IT IS A SYMPTOM OF GHETTO UNEMPLOYMENT

RATES THREE TIMES THE NATIONAL AVERAGE, OF POOR

HOUSING AND SHAMEFULLY INADEQUATE PUBLIC SERVICES.

AND TO A VERY LARGE DEGREE IT IS A SYMPTOM

OF GROSSLY INADEQUATE EDUCATION IN THOSE VERY COMMUNITIES

WHERE EDUCATION OFFERS THE ONLY AVENUE OF ESCAPE FROM

A LIFE, AT BEST, ON THE AMERICAN FRINGE.

now award about Education wine city

THE EDUCATION OFFERED IN OUR SLUM SCHOOLS IS

INADEQUATE FOR A GREAT MANY REASONS:

WITH SKILLS THEY NEED TO HOLD A DECENT JOB;

-- DECAUSE IT IS NOT TAILORED TO THE NEEDS

OF STUDENTS FROM DISADVANTAGED BACKGROUNDS;

DOES NOT ALLAY THEIR FEARS AND OFFER THEM A

SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH AND SUCCESS;

THE CLASSROOM MORE ATTRACTIVE THAN THE STREET CORNER;

RATE IN ACCOUNTRY WHICH CAN AND SHOULD AFFORD
THE BEST FOR ITS CHILDREN.

I DON'T THINK WE CAN POINT TO A SINGLE/CITY

IN AMERICA TODAY AND SAY "EDUCATION IS WORKING IN THE

THE COLEMAN REPORT FOR THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION...

THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION ... THE PRESIDENT'S

COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND MANY OTHER GROUPS

CONCERNED WITH URBAN PROBLEMS HAVE DOCUMENTED THE STORY

OF EDUCATIONAL FAILURE -- OF DROP-OUTS, DELINQUENCY AND

HOPELESSNESS IN OUR GHETTO SCHOOLS.

INDIVIDUAL CHILD?

LISTEN TO THIS DESCRIPTION OF DREADFUL

HUMAN DESTRUCTION BY A NEGRO MOTHER TRYING TO BRING

UP A FAMILY IN THE GHETTO IN ONE OF OUR BIG CITIES.

SHE IS TALKING ABOUT HER CHILDREN.

"THEY IS ALIVE," SHE SAID, "AND YOU BET THEY IS, AND THEN THEY GOES OFF AND QUITS. I CAN TELL IT BY THEIR WALK, AND HOW THEY LOOK. THEY SLOW DOWN AND GET SO TIRED IN THEIR FACE, REAL TIRED.

"AND THEY GET ALL FULL OF HATE; AND THEY

LOOK CROSS AT YOU, AS IF I CHEATED THEM WHEN I BROUGHT

THEM INTO THE WORLD. I HAVE SEVEN, AND TWO OF THEM

HAVE GONE THAT WAY, AND TO BE HONEST, I EXPECT EVERY

CHILD TO HAVE IT HAPPEN -- LIKE IT DID TO ME.

"I JUST GAVE UP WHEN I WAS ABOUT 14 OR SO.

AND WHAT BRINGS US BACK TO LIFE IS HAVING THE KIDS. AND KEEPING THEM WITH US FOR A WHILE AWAY FROM THE OUTSIDE AND EVERYTHING BAD.

"BUT THERE COMES A DAY WHEN THEY ASK YOU WHY IT'S LIKE IT IS FOR US. AND ALL YOU CAN DO IS SHRUG YOUR SHOULDERS, OR SOMETIMES YOU SCREAM.

"BUT THEY KNOW ALREADY, AND THEY'RE JUST ASKING FOR THE RECORD. AND IT DON'T TAKE BUT A FEW MONTHS
TO SEE THAT THEY'RE NO LONGER KIDS, AND THEY'VE LOST
ALL THE HOPE AND THE LIFE YOU TRIED TO GIVE THEM."

THOSE WORDS ARE A TERRIBLE INDICTMENT OF
EVERY ONE OF US. AND THEY VIVIDLY POINT TO THE NEXT
GREAT CHALLENGE BEFORE OUR SCHOOLS. BOTH PUBLIC AND
PRIVATE.

IT IS THROUGH OUR SCHOOLS, AND THROUGH

OUR TEACHERS, THAT AMERICA MUST HELP TO MAKE UP

FOR THE HERITAGE OF DEPRIVATION WHICH DESTROYS

THE HOPES OF SUM GHETTO CHILDREN.

FOR EDUCATION IS THE BASIC STARTING POINT FOR THE GHETTO CHILD -- WHOSE FAMILY MAY HAVE BEEN IN POVERTY

FOR GENERATIONS -- IN BUILDING A LIFE OF PRODUCTIVE AND SATISFYING LABOR RATHER THAN A LIFE OF PENT-UP

FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR.

What are we going to do to make education to wake Education work for the Millions of American Youngsters who need it most? — now + in the fathere.

FIRST, AND MOST IMPORTANT, WE HAVE TO STOP

LOCKING STUDENTS OUT OF OUR SCHOOLS IN THE SUMMERS,

ON WEEKENDS AND IN THE EVENINGS .

IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR PRESENT NEEDS, THE NINE-

MONTH SCHOOL YEAR AND THE SIX-HOUR SCHOOL DAY MAKE NO SENSE. At least for the cheld of the school year lasted 78 days.

Now it averages 162 days. I have suggested before -- and I urge it again today -- that every American school now BECOME A FULL-TIME, YEAR-ROUND COMMUNITY CENTER OF OPPORTUNITY. Some communities have already adopted the 12-month school year with assistance from Title One of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN DRAMATIC -- PARTICULARLY

WHEN STUDENTS FROM DISADVANTAGED BACKGROUNDS HAVE BEEN

LED OUT OF THE STRUCTURED CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT.

PLACED IN SMALLER GROUPS, AND EXPOSED TO CULTURAL AND

RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES WHICH ARE NOT PART OF THE

NORMAL SCHOOL PROGRAM

INFORMALITY, AND THE ABSENCE OF GRADES AND

THE THREAT OF FAILURE, HAVE GIVEN THOUSANDS OF DISADVANTAGED

STUDENTS WHAT PROMISES TO BE A DECISIVE BOOST TOWARD A

SUCCESSFUL EDUCATION.

I AM NOT THE ONLY PERSON WHO THINKS WE SHOULD

BE MAKING MORE USE OF OUR SCHOOLS.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, IN A RECENT REPORT ON "JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME" RECOMMENDED THAT TITLE I OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT BE EXPANDED TO PAY THE COST OF KEEPING SCHOOLS OPEN YEAR-ROUND, 15 HOURS A DAY, SIX DAYS A WEEK.

I REGRET TO REPORT, HOWEVER, THAT IN THE SUMMER OF 1967, ALMOST 100 MILLION DOLLARS LESS WAS SPENT ON SUMMER PROGRAMS UNDER TITLE I THAN IN THE

SUMMER OF 1966.

Second, WE HAVE TO BE SURE SCHOOL LEADS TO

SOMETHING - GOOD JOB OR COLLEGE.

The third of the sure of

FOR THE YOUNGSTER, IT CANNOT BE JUST ONE MORE DEAD END STREET.

WE CANNOT PROMISE AND NOT PRODUCE.

CENSUS FIGURES FOR THE STATE OF OHIO TELL A STORY WHICH APPLIES TO EVERY STATE IN THE UNION.

Some 42 per cent of the Jobs in Ohio are for craftsmen or technicians, but back in 1960, when most of today's workers were in school, only 3 per cent were trained for such Jobs.

ALMOST 15 PER CENT OF OHIO'S JOB OPENINGS
TODAY ARE FOR RETAIL SALES PEOPLE. BUT ONLY 1.3
PER CENT OF OHIO'S YOUNGSTERS WERE TRAINED FOR THIS
KIND OF WORK IN 1960.

OUR CURRICULA MUST BE MATCHED WITH THE WORLD

AS IT IS TODAY, NOT AS IT WAS 10 OR 20 YEARS AGO.

MY THIRD POINT GROWS OUT OF THE SECOND. WE MUST

PREVENT DROP-OUTS A MILLION STUDENTS ARE GOING
TO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL THIS YEAR UNLESS WE DO SOMETHING
ABOUT IT: 8 MILLION WILL DROP OUT IN THIS DECADE.

AND MANY OF THEM WILL NOT BE DROP-OUTS AT ALL -THEY WILL BE KICK-OUTS OR FORCE-OUTS -- YOUNGSTERS WHO

HAD TO LEAVE BECAUSE IT WAS FINANCIALLY OR

PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO STAY.

OUR SOCIETY CAN NOT STAND TO LET THEM FAIL.

FOURTH, WE HAVE TO INSIST ON QUALITY IN OUR
SCHOOLS -- ADEQUATE BASIC TRAINING AND UP-TO-DATE

REFRESHER COURSES FOR OUR TEACHERS ... MODERN

LABORATORIES AND TEACHING AIDS ... SPECIALIZED

FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN WHO NEED THEM WE MUST HAVE.

IN SHORT, PEOPLE AND FACILITIES THAT WILL ELICIT AND

DEMAND THE BEST PERFORMANCE FROM OUR STUDENTS.

AND

THIS IS AS MUCH A MATTER OF EXACTING, DEDICATED

COMMITMENT BY THOSE WITH RESPONSIBILITY IN AND FOR

OUR SCHOOLS AS IT IS A MATTER OF THE NEWEST TECHNIQUES

OR HARDWARE

FINALLY, OUR COUNTRY MUST BE WILLING TO PAY

FOR EDUCATION IN PROPORTION TOILTS VALUE FOR OUR SOCIETY.

LAST YEAR OUR SOCIETY SPENT 32 BILLION DOLLARS -5 PER CENT OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME -- FOR ELEMENTARY
AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

AMERICA SPENDS HALF AS MUCH ON JUST ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO.

OUR INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION IS A SOUTH INVESTMENT
WHEN WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE HUMAN RESOURCES UPON WHICH
THE FUTURE STRENGTH AND PROSPERITY OF OUR NATION DEPEND.

ALL OF US BELIEVE IT, BUT WE MUST AWAKE THE

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS TO THIS FACT: AN EXTRA DOLLAR WELL

SPENT ON EDUCATION WILL BE REPAID BY A LIFETIME OF

DIVIDENDS ... A DOLLAR DENIED IS A DOLLAR THAT WILL

SOON BE WASTED IN UNPRODUCTIVE WELFARE.

AND SO I SPECIFICALLY ASK NOW YOUR FULL SUPPORT

FOR THE EDUCATION MEASURES STILL PENDING BEFORE THE CONGRESS.

LET YOUR CONGRESSMEN KNOW ABOUT YOUR SUPPORT. LET YOUR LOCAL

NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO-TV STATIONS KNOW. MAKE YOURSELVES

HEARD, NOW.

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I PROPOSE THAT WE DEDICATE OURSELVES TO A

FRESH CHARTER OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY

AMERICAN CHILD -- A PROMISE THAT HE CAN AND WILL GET

THE SKILLS AND THE KNOWLEDGE HE NEEDS TO MAKE THE MOST

OF HIMSELF IN OUR FAST-CHANGING AND COMPETITIVE SOCIETY.

WE DO NOT NEED TO SETTLE FOR LESS.

I THINK THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS OF THIS COUNTRY

HAVE AN ESPECIALLY GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO HELP MAKE THAT

CHARTER A REALITY.

You already have SIX MILLION STUDENTS, AND YOUR SCHOOLS HAVE GROWN TWICE AS FAST AS THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS.

You have a cadre of Dedicated LAY AND CLERICAL TEACHERS.

You are in a unique position to experiment

AND INNOVATE BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT BOUND BY POLITICAL

RESTRAINTS AND RED TAPE. YOU CAN OFFER HEALTHY

COMPETITION FOR OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE KIND OF COMPETIT

AND, I MIGHT ADD, FREEDOM OF CHOICE -- THAT IS THE LIFEBLOOD OF A SPLURALISTIC SOCIETY.

Moreover, Many of Your Schools are in the

INNER CITY WHERE DEFICIENCIES IN EDUCATION ARE MOST

ACUTE. You, THE LEADERS OF YOUR COMMUNITIES AND

GOVERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS CAN COOPERATE TO KEEP THOSE

SCHOOLS OPEN AND EXTEND THE OPPORTUNITIES THEY REPRESENT

TO ALL CHILDREN -- WITHOUT RESPECT TO RELIGIOUS

AFFILIATION.

Monsignor Donohue, My Good Friend and Your great educational leader, has made that suggestion, and I wholeheartedly endorse it.

THE TASK BEFORE EVERY EDUCATOR AND EVERY

PUBLIC OFFICIAL IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS TO MAKE

THAT NEW CHARTER OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AVAILABLE

TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THE CHILDREN GOD PLACED IN

We must experiment—Task force on U.S. Chamber of commerce - Task force on Theorement strough and apportunityAnancing to competition :

THAT IS GOD'S WORK. AND THAT IS A
RESPONSIBILITY THAT NONE OF US WHO ACCEPTS

JUDEO-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS TEACHING CAN NEGLECT.

# # #

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY PM'S September 28,1967

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY BEFORE THE CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Cincinnati, Ohio --- Vice President Hubert Humphrey said Thursday, 9/27/1967, that American education is "grossly inadequate" in those slum schools where education offers "the only avenue of escape from a life that is, at best, on the American fringe."

"I don't think we can point to a single big city in America today and say, 'Education is working in the innercity there,'" the Vice President declared at a meeting of the Catholic Education Association.

He criticized the education offered in ghetto schools because: "It does not equip students with skills they need to hold a decent job. It is not tailored to the needs of students from disadvantaged backgrounds. It does not succeed in making the classroom more attractive than the street corner. It is too often second or third rate in a country which can and should afford the best for its children."

The Vice President repeated his strong stand against lawlessness and violence in American cities, which he said will be met by "strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law.

## Page 2

"This country is not going to be taken over or held for ransom by inciters and haters who would wreck their own communities and harm their innocent neighbors to satisfy their own lust for personal power," he declared.

But he said every thinking American knows that this violence, however unjustified, "is at the same time a symptom of deep social problems of poverty and despair.

To a very large degree it is a symptom of grossly inadequate education" in inner-city schools.

"It is through our schools, and through our teachers, that Americans must help to make up for the heritage of deprivation which destroys the hopes of ghetto children," the Vice President said.

"Education is the basic starting point for the ghetto child in building a life of productive and satisfying labor rather than a life of pent-up frustration and despair."

The Vice President told the Catholic educators that Catholic schools, many of which are located in inner-city neighborhoods, are in "a unique position to experiment and innovate because you are not bound by political restraints and red tape.

"You can offer healthy competition for our public schools," he said.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CINCINNATI, OHIO SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

When the Office of Education was established by Congress just a century ago, the Secretary of the Interior -- who was put in charge -- very clearly set forth his regard for the new agency. "There is no necessity of anyone knowing anything whatever about education," he said.

Education has come a long way since then within our government — and within our country. I sometimes think we've forgotten just how far.

At the turn of this century, only 7 per cent of our teenagers were receiving secondary education of any kind. Today the figure is 93 per cent.

In the last 20 years alone, the percentage of American young people going to college has doubled.

Today, one American in four is enrolled in some sort of educational program.

And in the last few years education has taken a more central place in national policy than at any other time in our history.

As a parent, as a former teacher and professor, as a friend of education in the Senate, as your Vice President, I am proud to say it: The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has put into operation 31 major education and training laws. And these are laws not just in quantity, but of quality.

I need not tell you that the most revolutionary breakthrough came, with your help, in 1965 with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The immediate impact of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has been enormous. In its first year it provided additional services for 8.3 million educationally disadvantaged children -- no matter whether they attended public, private, or parochial schools. Our average annual educational

expenditure on those disadvantaged children has increased 119 dollars per capita — a major contribution in our educationally poor states, and an important amount in every community.

But the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is important not only because of this. It is important because of the spirit in which it was passed, and the precedent which it has set for the future.

As a Senator, I watched good bills for federal aid to education blocked year after year by intransigent attitudes on state-church relations, and by state and local interests who feared federal interference in their traditional educational responsibilities.

The debate went on -- and our children suffered.

Then the people and Congress came to the realization that it was our children, not long-standing doctrinal disputes, that counted. They realized that this country -- if it wished to grow and flourish -- had better start making the best possible use of all its educational resources -- private as well as public, parochial as well as secular.

And they realized what some of us had been saying for a long time — that federal support need not and must not mean federal control. For quality education depends most of all on the creative initiative and competence of the local educators, public and private, who personally deal with the children we are trying to reach. Federal support for local initiative is the basis of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and I believe the basis of an historic first step toward the future path of education in our country.

Yes, there has been progress.

Yes, we have overcome some of the old jealousies and fears that stood in the way of a nation-wide effort in education.

But we have still done only enough to bring us to the starting line in the momentous race for truly adequate education in the last third of the 20th century.

We have passed through a summer of unprecedented lawlessness and conflict in our cities.

There is no room in America for lawlessness and violence — and it will be met by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law. This country is not going to be taken over or held for ransom by inciters and haters who would wreck their own communities, and harm their innocent neighbors, to satisfy their own lust for personal power.

But every thinking American knows that the violence we have seen, however unjustified, is at the same time a symptom of deep social problems — of poverty and despair, of a feeling on the part of far too many citizens that society has nothing to offer them that is worth saving.

It is a symptom of ghetto unemployment rates three times the national average, of poor housing and shamefully inadequate public services.

And to a very large degree it is a symptom of grossly inadequate education in those very communities where education offers the only avenue of escape from a life, at best, on the American fringe.

\* \* \*

The education offered in our slum schools is inadequate for a great many reasons:

- because it does not equip students with skills they need to hold a decent job;
- -- because it is not tailored to the needs of students from disadvantaged backgrounds; does not allay their fears and offer them a sense of personal worth and success;
- -- because it does not succeed in making the classroom more attractive than the street corner;
- -- because it is too often second or third rate in a country which can and should afford the best for its children.

I don't think we can point to a single big city in America today and say "education is working in the inner-city there."

The Coleman Report for the Office of Education... the U.S. Civil Rights Commission ... the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and many other groups concerned with urban problems have documented the story of educational failure — of drop-outs, delinquency and hopelessness in our ghetto schools.

What does this national failure mean to the individual child?

Listen to this description of dreadful human destruction by a Negro mother trying to bring up a family in the ghetto in one of our big cities. She is talking about her children.

"They is alive," she said, "and you bet they is, and then they goes off and quits. I can tell it by their walk, and how they look. They slow down and get so tired in their face, real tired.

"And they get all full of hate; and they look cross at you, as if I cheated them when I brought them into the world. I have seven, and two of them have gone that way, and to be honest, I expect every child to have it happen — like it did to me.

"I just gave up when I was about 14 or so. And what brings us back to life is having the kids, and keeping them with us for a while away from the outside and everything bad.

"But there comes a day when they ask you why it's like it is for us, and all you can do is shrug your shoulders, or sometimes you scream.

"But they know already, and they're just asking for the record. And it don't take but a few months to see that they're no longer kids, and they've lost all the hope and the life you tried to give them."

\* \* \*

Those words are a terrible indictment of every one of us, and they vividly point to the next great challenge before our schools, both public and private.

For it is through our schools, and through our teachers, that America must help to make up for the heritage of deprivation which destroys the hopes of such ghetto children.

For education is the basic starting point for the ghetto child -- whose family may have been in poverty for generations -- in building a life of productive and satisfying labor rather than a life of pent-up frustration and despair.

What are we going to do to make education work for the millions of American youngsters who need it most?

First, and most important, we have to stop locking students out of our schools in the summers, on weekends and in the evenings.

In the context of our present needs, the ninemonth school year and the six-hour school day make no sense.

A century ago the school year lasted 78 days.

Now it averages 162 days. I have suggested before -- and I urge it again today -- that every American school now become a full-time, year-round community center of opportunity.

Some communities have already adopted the 12-month school year with assistance from Title One of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The results have been dramatic -- particularly when students from disadvantaged backgrounds have been led out of the structured classroom environment, placed in smaller groups, and exposed to cultural and recreational opportunities which are not part of the normal school program.

Informality, and the absence of grades and the threat of failure, have given thousands of disadvantaged students what promises to be a decisive boost toward a successful education.

I am not the only person who thinks we should be making more use of our schools. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, in a recent report on "Juvenile Delinquency and Crime" recommended that Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act be expanded to pay the cost of keeping schools open year-round, 15 hours a day, six days a week.

I regret to report, however, that in the summer of 1967, almost 100 million dollars less was spent on summer programs under Title I than in the summer of 1966.

Second, we have to be sure school leads to something -- a good job or college.

For the ghetto youngster, it cannot be just one more dead end street.

We cannot promise and not produce.

Census figures for the state of Ohio tell a story which applies to every state in the union.

Some 42 per cent of the jobs in Ohio are for craftsmen or technicians, but back in 1960, when most of today's young workers were in school, only 3 per cent were trained for such jobs.

Almost 15 per cent of Ohio's job openings today are for retail sales people. But only 1.3 per cent of Ohio's youngsters were trained for this kind of work in 1960.

Our curricula must be matched with the world as it is today, not as it was 10 or 20 years ago.

My third point grows out of the second. We have to prevent drop-outs. A million students are going to drop out of school this year unless we do something about it; 8 million will drop out in this decade.

And many of them will not be drop-outs at all — they will be kick-outs or force-outs — youngsters who had to leave because it was financially or psychologically impossible for them to stay. Our society can not stand to let them fail.

Fourth, we have to insist on quality in our schools -- adequate basic training and up-to-date refresher courses for our teachers ... modern laboratories and teaching aids ... specialized

facilities for children who need them. We must have, in short, people and facilities that will elicit and demand the best performance from our students. And this is as much a matter of exacting, dedicated commitment by those with responsibility in and for our schools as it is a matter of the newest techniques or hardware.

Finally, our country must be willing to pay for education in proportion to its value for our society. Last year our society spent 32 billion dollars — 5 per cent of our national income — for elementary and secondary education, both public and private.

America spends haif as much on just alcohol and tobacco.

Our investment in education is a scant investment when we are talking about the human resources upon which the future strength and prosperity of our nation depend.

All of us believe it, but we must awake the national consciousness to this fact: an extra dollar well spent on education will be repaid by a lifetime of dividends ... a dollar denied is a dollar that will soon be wasted in unproductive welfare.

And so I specifically ask now your full support for the education measures still pending before the Congress. Let your Congressmen know about your support. Let your local newspapers and radio-tv stations know. Make yourselves heard, now.

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I propose that we dedicate ourselves to a fresh Charter of Educational Opportunity for every American child -- a promise that he can and will get the skills and the knowledge he needs to make the most of himself in our fast-changing and competitive society. We do not need to settle for less.

I think the Catholic schools of this country have an especially great opportunity to help make that Charter a reality.

You already have six million students, and your schools have grown twice as fast as the public schools over the last 20 years.

You have a cadre of dedicated lay and clerical teachers.

You are in a unique position to experiment and innovate because you are not bound by political restraints and red tape. You can offer healthy competition for our public schools, the kind of competition and, I might add, freedom of choice — that is the lifeblood of a pluralistic society.

Moreover, many of your schools are in the inner city where deficiencies in education are most acute. You, the leaders of your communities and governments at all levels can cooperate to keep those schools open and extend the opportunities they represent to all children -- without respect to religious affiliation.

Monsignor Donohue, my good friend and your great educational leader, has made that suggestion, and I wholeheartedly endorse it.

The task before every educator and every public official in the United States today is to make that new Charter of Educational Opportunity available to each and every one of the children God placed in this land.

That is God's work. And that is a responsibility that none of us who accepts Judeo-Christian religious teaching can neglect.

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[unedited transcript]

## SPEECH BY MR, HUMPHREY - O.C.E.A, CONVENTION Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept., 1967

Archbishop Alter and Bishop Elwell, my friend the distinguished mayor of this beautiful city, Mayor Bachrach, and Mrs. Bachrach, Reverend Fathers and Reverend Sisters, distinguished educators, and my fellow citizens.

Mrs. Humphrey and I are particularly happy to share this morning with you and to know and at least to learn, that this is the first convention in this great, new convention facility. This is the proper kind of inaugural ceremony for a facility like this. I know that Monsignor Ryan and Monsignor Hughes, Father Kenning, and others are very, very pleased that we can gather together today to talk about our common concerns. I was so interested in hearing the remarks of Dr. Essex (even though I interrupted them) and catch at least one phrase that is so apropos of my life. Dr. Essex said: "Well, I am just here to fill in." That's what they have Vice-Presidents for, you know. Just a sort of a filler-inner.

I listened with great interest to that objective, totally neutral speech of welcome and greetings by the Mayor. I realize that everything was subdued in his comments about the city. He in no way tried to point out its many great features. But he did give us quite a lesson in history, I must say. And I was so pleased that he mentioned a word about baseball. I am a baseball fan. In fact, I am happy today that the Twins are not playing. At least I can concentrate for a moment, at least, on this meeting. The other day I was at a dinner at the White House. The Twins were playing Chicago. It was a bad weekend, I might add. And the President had a few members of Congress for an evening meal, and about every

twenty minutes or so the head usher at the White House would come in and put a little slip of paper near my plate. I made a deal with him before I came in. I said "you know I am not particularly interested in this dinner, in light of the baseball game out in Chicago, "and I said, "I want you to do me a favor. Every fifteen or twenty minutes you pick up the phone and call someplace, somewhere and get the score and slip it to me, because", I said, "I want to know how the game is coming out." And I want to tell you, I didn't enjoy the night at all. The score was bad. And when the meal was over and we walked out, the President came up to me and said, "What are you up to tonight? Who do you think you are, President?" I said, "Mr. President, I just feel like I am a failure tonight. The Twins have just lost." Today they do not play. I have to wait for that fatal hour when they play the Boston Red Sox. And I noticed the other day that Cardinal Cushing and the Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church were both Red Sox fans. I hope that I can get his Grace, the Archbishop here, Archbishop Alter, to say a kind word someplace, somewhere for the Twins. You can say a word for Cincinnati, too, your Grace.

Now I didn't come here just to talk to you about baseball, even though it's a part of our life; it's a great American game. And since the Mayor mentioned that it had its inception, its beginnings here in Cincinnati, I thought it was somewhat appropriate. I want to talk to you about education. I am in a very real sense a refugee from a classroom. I always mention that, and one of the reasons I like to come to educational meetings is you never can tell when I may need work. And a person can't help but feel that way as a Democrat when he comes to Ohio. But I want to talk to you about my favorite subject, which is education. I think one of the most challenging and one of the important subjects of our time.

Mrs. Humphrey and I have raised a family; a daughter and three sons. They have gone on through their elementary and secondary education, both in public and parochial schools. And they have gone on into higher education in public universities and in private universities. We be believe in a pluralistic society and we believe in having our young people have the finest of experience in terms of their education. You know, the office of education in the American government has had quite a time over its history. And when that office was established about century ago it was put under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, and he didn't really have much regard, apparently, for either the office or for education. His first comment, and I believe his only comment, was "There is no necessity of anyone knowing anything whatever about education." So you can see the poor office of education got off to rather, well a bad start, with not too much support.

But since that time education in all of its aspects, elementary, secondary, higher, every form of education, has come a long, long way. I suppose there is no nation on the face of the earth that has done so well in terms of its educational programs and structure as we have here in this great republic. This does not, however, relieve us of the responsibility of wanting to do better. You see, I am one of these Americans that never likes to compare our country with anybody\_else; or anyone else's country. The reason being that we ought to have our own standards. We myst set our own standards to which we aspire, instead of trying to comfort ourselves on occasion by saying, well we're better than the other country, or seventeen other countries, or fifty other countries. We ought to be better. We have more to do with. And we have more to do for. We have greater responsibilities, and greater opportunities. So I believe in setting our one standard in America of excellence and reaching out to it, and constantly aspiring to its attainment.

Now our history tells us that we have moved in that direction. At the turn of this century, just sixty-seven years ago, only seven percent of our young people, our teen-agers, were receiving a secondary education of any kind. Just seven percent. Today that figure is ninety-three percent, in secondary education. In the last twenty years alone the percentage of American young people going to college has doubled. Six and a half million young people in our universities this year. And when we look ahead, we know that this is just the beginning. Today one American in four, one American in every four is enrolled in some sort of educational program. Education is big business in this country; tremendously big business. And the last few years we've noted that education has taken a much more central place, not only in local and state government policy, but in national policy. A greater place than in any other time in our history. So, I speak to you as a parent, as a former teacher and professor, I hope an established friend of education in my sixteen years in the United States Senate, and now as your Vice-President. And if I may, with a certain degree of immodesty make a statement, let me just say that I am proud to say that the administration of President Johnson has put into operation more educational bills in the past three years than in the previous one hundred. We have enacted thirtyone major education and training laws and these laws are not just in quantity, but they are in quality. We have literally in the last six years in your government tripled the total investment of the American Federal government in the educational systems of our nation. Now I need not tell you that the most revolutionary breakthrough in education took place in 1965, with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This was the great breakthrough. The immediate impact of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has been enormous. In the first year, just in its beginning, it provided additional educational services, upgrading the

quality of education for 8,300,000 educationally disadvantaged children. No matter whether they attended a public, a private, or a parochial school. We directed this educational act to the child, because it is the individual that is important. And this national policy is designed to serve that individual and to find institutions and instrumentalities to act as an agent. Our annual, average educational expenditure on those disadvantaged children has increased \$119 per person and it is a major contribution in our educationally poor states, and an important contribution in every single community. But the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is important not only because of the money; it is important because of the spirit in which it was passed, and the precedent which it has set for the future, and the possibilities of its improvement, its expansion, and its adaptation to the educational needs of our people. As a Senator I watched good bills for federal aid to education knocked down and blocked year after year by fixed, intransigent attitudes on state-church relations. I saw good educational measures killed off because of racial prejudice, and religious bigotry. And then I saw these bills fall by the wayside because state and local interests feared federal interferance in their traditional educational responsibilities. It was like a ping-pong game. We'd pass a bill in the Senate -- the first bill I ever voted on as a Senator in 1949 was a federal aid to education bill. We passed it in the Senate and just as surely as the sun would rise in the east and set in the west, they'd kill it in the House. Two years later they'd pass it in the House and we'd kill it in the Senate. It gave everybody a chance to say they voted for education, but you never got any help. And finally in 1965, we were able to make the breakthrough and you were of immeasurable help. People finally came alive and awake in America. The debate, of course, went on during those years of failure, and our

children suffered. And then the people and the Congress came to a realization that it was our children, not these long standing doctrinal disputes, that really counted. They realized that this country, if it wished to grow and to flourish had better start making the best possible use of all of its educational resources, private, as well as public, parochial as well as secular. I came into this auditorium and saw this fine sign behind me and ahead of you: "Catholic Education, American Phenomenon". And indeed it is. Every part of education in America is unique. But let me say, vitally needed, vitally needed. Those who are critical of our pluralistic society and our pluralistic approach, I ask them to face up to the fact, what would you do if it were not for the public and the parochial - the private and the parochial school in our public and secular system. Just imagine the impact. So I come as a friend to talk with you of how we might do a better job.

Well, we've come to realize that federal aid - it's your government, you know - federal isn't a word that was coined someplace else and imposed upon upon you by a foreign enemy. The federal government is a government of the people, by the and people, for the people. I've been a mayor or a city and the federal government is just as sensitive to human need as local government. In fact it was much more sensitive, may I say, than my state government was when I was mayor, because I couldn't get anything out of the state government at the time. But it's changed for the good, I might add. But the federal government is our government, not a foreign conspirator, and we have now come to recognize that federal assistance, the people going to work to help the people, through their federal government, can be helpful, without destroying local values and local initiative. For quality education, and that's what we're interested in, not just quantity education, quality, depends most of all creative

initiative and the competence of the local educators - public and private - who personally deal with the children who we're trying to reach, who are there at the community level, neighborhood level, working with the people. Federal support for local initiative is the basis of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. And  ${
m I}$ believe it's the basis of an historic first step towards the future path of education in our country. And what I hope this conference will do in its deliberation is to point the way how your government - and it is your government - how it can be more helpful in your mission, in your work, in the effort you're making to lift the quality of life, to improve the quality of life in America. We can do this within the Constitution. We know that it can be done. We've made the first step. Now let's take the rest of the journey in stride. And that's what you are here for. Not just to think of the yesterdays, but to think of the tomorrows, to pioneer, to experiment, to think out, reach out with your thoughts. And if you do, we can do things in the days ahead that people never dreamed possible in the yesterdays, and we can have this great American phenomenon be even greater than it is at this particular hour. It looks pretty good to me right now, too, I might add.

Well, having said what we've done, I want to make it quite clear I know this is only the beginning. We are approaching the last third of the twentieth century. Now that ought to make everybody feel a little older. And there's going to be more things happen in the last third of the twentieth century than's happened in the preceding three centuries. In science, and in technology, and I think in human relations, if we can - if someway or another we can keep this world from blowing itself to pieces. And I think we will. I think man can do that. We're going to make tremendous changes in the days ahead. We're going to be beset with numbers of great changes,

too. One little change that you ought to face up to is that in the next thirty-three years there'll be one hundred million more Americans. Now there's a lot of space. Don't get excited. It isn't as if we're going to crowd each other out. But look what a problem this poses and what a challenge. Remember every problem and every difficulty poses a challenge and an opportunity. It just depends on how you want to take it. You can go around here - you can get stoop-shouldered, heavy laden, talking about problem and difficulties. And I see them, and they start to, you know the get pessimistic, and their eyes start to droop, and the people lose their zest for living. Well, I'm a fellow who believes in challenge and opportunity. That lifts you up and starts you going, stirs up the glands. Makes you want to do something. Well, now we have a hundred million more people, as surely as we're in this auditorium today, that are going to be American citizens with us in this great America by the year 2000. At a minimum. How fortunate they can be; what a challenge it poses to us. Where are they going to live? Are they going to crowd in on the evergrowing big cities, or are we going to find a way to have some balance in America between our rural areas and our metropolitan areas? Are we going to be able to upgrade the quality of life in the smaller community, so that people will want to live there? So that there can be colleges and universities and good educational structures there, too, and jobs, big industry? Or are we going to let it just happen? A migration of illiterates; a migration of ill-trained people, pouring into over-burdened cities, over-burdened social services, over-burdened school systems? Or are we going to try to give some sense and direction? What a challenge! I meet on this. Only yesterday I had a cabinet committee meeting on it. We're thinking about what the federal government might do to bring some sense of direction with our programs

and policies in handling this great, new flood of people. But remember people are an asset, if you want to make them so, or help them make themselves so. And I think we might add that this population's going to be younger. Fifty percent of the people of the United States are now under twenty-five years of age. By the year 2000 sixty-five percent will be under twenty-five years of age. That means you've got to have classroom space; it means you have to have teachers. It means we're going to have to take a look at what we have in education and say this was but the beginning. So we have to look down the road. Every big business plans ten years ahead. There's no bigger business in the world than the business of education. No bigger business in America. We have to look down the road, plan ahead. What about the new technology that we know is going to be upon us? These space probes tell us what is going to happen to us. The technology of the computer, of electronics, of the transitor has revolutionized industry and communication. What is that new technology going to impose on the educational structure of our land? You can't teach what you used to teach, just as you used to teach it. You are going to have to redesign school programs, school curricula, school teaching methods, teaching techniques, motivation, in light of what kind of world we are going to have in 1976 on our two hundreth birthday. The year 2000. So there are many questions.

Are we arranging our educational programs for the urban society? Are we using or preparing to use modern, advanced teaching aids? Are you ready, my dear friends, to have the communications satellite become your number one teaching aid? And it will, it will. Ten years from now, as I stand here on this platform, my dear friends, ten years from now, most of your great teaching will come via television. Teaching aids from the communications satellite. We will be able to pipe into the schools of America, through the closed circuit television from the communications

satellite, that makes this world only one, little, small neighborhood. We will be able to bring in our finest minds of the world. Right into our colleges and our high schools, and even into our grade schools. We will be able to see the world as it is, not as somebody portrays it to us. The television has literally revolutionized communication. The first time you've ever seen a war fought in your home is on the tube now. Never before have the American people sensed the terrible pain and tragedy of war until it was there. They see it in the quiet of their home, the tragedy of Vietnam. And the American people will be able to see on that television the unbelievable, despicable poverty and agony of God's children around this world. The communications satellite just beginning, just beginning. Great teachers from Paris and Rome, from Tokyo and Calcutta. I don't know, from everyplace, will be available on the international communications satellite, ten years from now.

I'm in the business. Chairman of the Space Council. I know of what I speak. Oh, what it can mean for good or for evil, because, as was said, knowledge does not necessarily mean good. Wisdom, yes. And it takes the development of the sensitivity of morals and ethics to change knowledge into that which is good. So our challenge is pretty broad. Now we've passed through a summer of discontent. A tragic summer - one that almost broke our hearts. With unprecedented lawlessness and conflict in many of our cities. I think you and I know that we can't have a democratic society where there is lawlessness and violence. There can be no room for it in our country. And it has to be met, and it will be met, by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law. We have ways to redress our grievances other than fighting in the streets. This country is not going to be taken over or held for ransom by inciters or haters, whether they are white or black, who would wreck their own communities and harm their own innocent neighbors to satisfy their own

lust for personal power, or to try to redress a grievance that they feel that they have by violence and lawlessness and looting and crime and arson. We can't have that happen. And every thinking American knows that this is true. And we must set our house in order.

But every thinking American knows that the violence that we've seen, however unjustified, is at the same time symptomatic of deep social problems, of proverty, of despair, of a feeling on the part of far too many citizens that the society in which they live has nothing to offer them that is worth saving. John Stuart Mill once said, "Give a man nothing to do for his country and he will not love it." I think it is very important that we remember that. Or to put it in the affirmative, "Give a man something to do for his country and he will love it." Give a man nothing to do for his country and he will not love it. Too many Americans have had nothing to do for their country, maybe through no fault of their own, and when there is no involvement, no stake in it, there is very little love for it.

This violence is a symptom of ghetto unemployment - unemployment rates three times the national average - of poor housing and shamefully inadequate public services. And to a very large degree this violence is a symptom of a grossly inadequate education, in those very communities where education offers the only avenue of escape from a life at best on the fringes of America. Really, the school substitutes for the home in so many areas of our great nation. That is why it must be the best that the nation has to offer as we seek to rebuild the communities and rebuild, if you please, the people in those communities. I've never been able, quite, to figure it out. Does the slum come first, or does the depravity, the deprivation, and the hopelessness of the people come first? Is it the obsolescence of the facilities that make for the obsolescence, in a sense, of people; or is it the breakdown of the people that make

for the breakdown of the physical? I think so. And it isn't enough these days just to attack the physical slum. We have to get what I call the "slumism", the bitterness, the hatred, the frustration, the feeling of not being wanted, the rejection, and people start once again to live a new life, to breath clean air - not just the clean air of the atmosphere, but the clean air of good thought and of promise.

Well, now a word about that education that I said was inadequate in our inner city. The education offered in our slum schools is inadequate for a great many reasons, and I know I', talking to people that know this better than I. But sometimes I am of the opinion that we forget. One problem about we Americans, we want something new every time, you know. And I'm a slow learner, myself. I've always believed that education was in a sense repetition. Some people learn by osmosis. You have to just soak them in it. So we'd have to soak ourselves, possibly, in what are the facts. What's happened in these slum schools? Well, it does not - these slum schools or a slum school - does not equip students with skils that they need to hold a decent job. The education offered in our slum schools is not tailored to the needs of students with disadvantaged backgrounds. Much of it has been designed for the middle income family. The experience of the slum child is not my experience; it's not the experience of many that you know. Therefore, we have to give special attention, special needs to be filled by special attention, that education does not allay their fears and offer them a sense of personal worth and success. The education in the slum school does not succeed in making the classroom more attractive than the street corner. It is too often second or third rate in a country which can and should afford the best for its children. I know. I get around this country a great deal. The best schools are in the areas where the people have the most money. The new areas. The newer schools are in the new suburbs. It's only

in the most recent years that we've begun to reverse the trend. And isn't it true that the better schools ought to be where the people have the least in terms of individual resources? That's where they ought to be. I often think that if we were as concerned about opportunity in America as we are about welfare, we'd begin to understand what we're talking about here. We put most of the welfare payments into the community where people have the least financial resources. You say, well that's obvious. They don't have money. You've got to give them some money My dear friends, they are also culturally bankrupt. They're disadvantaged not only in the purse -- it isn't only the poverty of the purse that afflicts them. It's the poverty of hope; it's the poverty of culture; it's the poverty of their body and their mind, as well as the poverty of their purse. And this is why we need the social, cultural, spiritual, educational facilities in the area where people have the least themselves. And then they begin to build. Then they begin to become full participating citizens. Well, I don't think that we can really point to a single big city in America and say that education is really working top-grade, first class, in the inner city. There are examples where it is beginning to take hold. I don't think that we can say that education is doing the job of educating and training young people in our ghetto areas, slum areas, for productive citizenship. Most education is college oriented. Every child today is confronted with these tests, for college entrance. Fine! Good! But what about his entrance into life? What about his entrance into a job? I'm not asking to do away with the college entrance exam or the college prep curriculum. I'm simply saying, remember everybody is not going there. And you have an obligation, public or private, parochial or secular, to train people for life, as it is, not as you may want it just for them. Now the Coleman report of the Office of Education, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement,

and many others that are concerned about urban problems have documented the story of educational failure, of dropouts, delinquency, and hopelessness in many of our ghetto schools. I don't want to be misunderstood. I know we're doing much good work. Listen, the advantage of being an American these days is that you can talk about your failures and not be a failure. You would have the basic inner strength that comes from the knowledge that you can do a better job of talking about our limitations. The only people that never dare admit their weaknesses are the weak. The only people that never dare admit their failures and their limitations are people who are really on the precipice of failure. We're not. We can talk out loud, openly. And we ought to. We ought to have a dialogue, a crossfire, so to speak, of how we, what we're doing, how we're doing it, and how we could do it better. So that's why I point out a few of our inadequacies. Not because I'm not proud of my country. I love it. I think it's a marvelous country. I just want it to be "marvelouser", if you know what I mean.

So what I've tried to say is that it's through our schools, and frankly, through our teachers, through you, Reverend Sisters, and through the lay teachers, that America must help to make up for the heritage of deprivation which destroys the hopes of so many of the children of the poor. And remember, the children of the poor are not just the children of the black poor. Poverty knows no race. It knows no region. We must think in terms of people. For education is the basic starting point for the child of poverty, whose family may have been in poverty for generations. Education is the starting point in building a life of productive and satisfying labor, rather than a life of pent-up frustration and despair. Now what are we going to do to make education work? And to make it more meaningful for the millions of American young-sters who need it most, now and in the future?

Well, here's a few thoughts. Most of them you know. First and foremost, I think we have to stop locking students out of our schools in the summers and on the weekends, and in the evening. We've got to find a way to open them. And I know that I run right up against a whole set of attitudes here. People say, "you mean to tell me you're going to have a school that would operate twelve months a year?" I do. If you can operate a hotel, a saloon, a telephone company, or a drugstore twelve months a year, why can't you operate a school? Of course, it takes more manpower; it takes more money. We know that. But when we see what we're dealing with today, the time that the school is closed is when it's needed the most. Those summer months when millions of our young people pour out of our schools into our dirty streets. That's when the school is needed the most. That's his home, her home. That's the only community center that child may know. That's the only place where life can be meaningful. And I'm not talking now that you keep them there twelve months under the same old curricula. I wouldn't want to do that to youngsters. I mean I love them too much. But I do know that we are ingenious enough to know how to use an industrial plant twelve months a year. Why, they're even finding out how to use race tracks twelve months a year. Oh, yes, I'm up there in Washington, and I hear of them having horse races in the middle of the winter, and people go. Oh, we've found out how to do it. We've found out how to use a hotel in the heat of a desert by air-conditioning twelve months a year. We've even got Congress going twelve months a year now. I don't know whether that's good or bad, but that's what we have.

Now in the context of our present needs the nine months school year and the six hour school day just don't make sense, at least for the child of the slum and the

needy. A century ago the school year lasted 78 days. They changed it and now it averages 162. I have suggested before, and I urge it again, that every American school now become a full time, year-round community center of opportunity. Some of the finest playgrounds in America are locked up, when we need them unlocked. I've been chairman of the President's Youth Council. I've had to go from city to city, breaking padlocks. I hope I won't be arrested for that. But in a sense, breaking down dates, tearing down those wals of Jericho and saying "open up". Let's use the swimming pool, the playground, the basketball court. Let;s use it. When I hear people say, and I've hears it from the great cities. They say, "well, we just don't have any lighted playgrounds, Mr. Vice+President." I say, "you've got about forty of them. They're in your school yards." Why, I've even gone to some of the cities and said, "Listen, when you're through parking your cars on the parking lots, make them into playgrounds from seven o'clock at night until ten. The lights are there; the parking lots are there." Do you know what? Big companies have done that. It's an interesting thing. You can go to a private business corporation and talk to the manager and he will sense right away that it can be done. Do you know why? Because if he didn't he wouldn't be manager. But we'll go to some of our other authorities, public authorities, and say, well, now we'd like to change that. Of, we've never done it that way. I'm sorry we can't do it.

Now, my friends, some of our communities have already adopted this twelve months school year with assistance from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. See, I told you I was going to come up with a solution. I know it costs; I know it takes manpower; I know it takes time; I know it takes extra care. That's what the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is for. It's yours. It works for public, parochial, private and secular schools. It can make your school a community

center; it can make it a youth center; it can make it more than a school. All you need to do is tell your Congress and your President, and you're telling your Vice-President. I'm telling him right now that we ought to make the Elementary and Secondary Education Act the key to opening those gates and to turning on those lights, and using those facilities. Yes, we've tried it; it works. Beautifully. We did it in Washington, D. C. this summer. And do you know what? We didn't have any trouble. I have to keep my fingers crossed.

But I remember when a certain man came to our capital city, who was preaching hate, who was preaching violence, and he said we're going to have this city in ashes and ruin. I went to the business community, the church community, the labor community, in Washington and called a meeting. I said "let's accept the challenge. Let's see who runs this town. Let's see what we can do in this city." And I'm happy to tell you that a city that only a year ago had only 18 illuminated playgrounds had 132 this summer. I was told two years ago that you couldn't do it. We went out and raised privately \$150,000. I didn't wait for a school board. I thought I was mayor of Washington, D.C., once again, Mr. Mayor. We had no swimming pools. I said that any self-respecting community in Minnesota has a lighted baseball park, playground, and most of them have a swimming pool. Now I would think sophisticated Washington could have one, too. I sort of scared them into it, no, shamed them into it. Because they sometimes feel back there that we are sort of from the sticks - out in the middle-west. Well, we put the challenge and we came through, and much of it because of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds under Title I and the O.E.O. funds, the war on poverty that gives us a chance to experiment. Oh, we don't know all the answers. Goodness me, we've made a lot of mistakes. And if you don't believe so, you read about them everyday. Every day you'll find out that we made a mistake and hired someone that wasn't any good, and overpaid him, and

so on. And I guess it's true. But I want to tell you something. Everyday a doctor fails in an operation. Every day some member of the clergy fails in saving a life. Every day somebody fails. Now if you're going to write up your failures all the time you will be in utter despair. I don't think American is the sum result of continuous failure and foolish leadership. I think what America is represents pretty good leadership over a long period of time, and of many, many individuals' success stories.

We do not run the doctors out of the national institutes of health because they haven't found a cure for cancer. And we've spent billions looking for a cure for cancer. We'll give them another billion dollars this year. And they haven't found it yet. But we say go to it, doctor. Try, experiment, and if he even comes close we give him a medal. But when we try to find a cure for poverty, to find out how you can get a family that's been on relief for three generations off of relief, how you can break through and get the chil dren to come and live a new life, a life of productivity and of good citizenship, when we experiment and try and we fail, somebody says, "There they go again. A bunch of big wasters and boondogglers." Well, I believe in social experimentation just as much as I believe in experimentation in the laboratory of medicine or science. I know of no other way that we can meet our social problems of the day. And we run risks. Well, I get all wound up in this, as you can see.

What I'm trying to tell you is we're trying, And the sure way not to make a mistake is not to move. Just die in the self-assurance of your own indifference and apathy. Well, I believe that it's better to make the mistakes - to make mistakes by doing, than it is by not doing. And I believe in the long run they won't be mistakes. We'll experiment and find the answer. That's why I think that this great, pluralistic society of ours is so important. And I'm coming to it now to show you how you can

experiment, and how we can help you. Well, we have to make our schools -- make sure that the school leads to something more than just a diploma. A good job, or maybe even college. For the slum youngster or the child of poverty, a school experience cannot be just another dead end street. We cannot promise and not produce. It only builds hostility. Census figures for the state of Ohio tell the story, which applies to every state in this nation. Some 42% of the jobs in Ohio are for craftsmen and technicians. But back in 1960, when most of today's young workers were in school, only 3% were ever trained for such jobs. Now this is a different day and age. When I grew up as a boy -- I'm a registered pharmacist -- where did I learn most of my pharmacy? By my father's side. He owned the store. I was his apprentice. Sure I went to sharmacy school, but I was born above a drugstore, raised inside of one, and stood along side of my daddy all through his life. Can I do that now with my boys? Can most of the families? No. You're hired to work in somebody else's place. If I take one of my boys into government, they call it nepotism. So I got to keep it out. I can't teach my boy how to be in government, except to have him read books, and that would most likely disqualify him over a long period of time. No, most of the fathers today, most of the fathers today, can't have their boy along side of them at the automobile factory or over to the International Business Machines. They are employees, not entrepreneurs. Therefore, the school must provide what dad used to; what mother once did, at least in part. Almost 15% of Ohio's job openings today are for retail sales people, but only 1.3% of Ohio's youngsters were ever trained for this kind of work in 1960. And it takes a little training to even work in a retail establishment. Our curricula, therefore, must be matched with the world as it is and as it will be, not as it was twenty, ten, and thirty years ago.

Now my third point grows out of the second. We simply have to prevent school dropouts. A million students are going to drop out of school this year, under present estimates, unless we do something about it. And eight million will have been dropped out - will have dropped out in this decade, from 1960 to 1970. Those are youngsters that will have lost an opportunity many of them. And many of them, by the way, will not be dropouts at all, though. They'll be kickouts, or forceouts. Youngsters who had to leave because of certain standards, or because they were financially unable to stay; or psychologically impossible for them to stay. I don't know what the reasons for dropouts are. We don't have any simple answer, but we've got to do something about it. And we are experimenting and there are results.

Fourth, we have to insist on quality in our schools, adequate basic training and up-to-date refresher cpurses for our teachers, modern laboratories and teaching aids, specialized facilities for children who need them. We must have, in short, people and facilities that will elicit and demand the best performance from students and community. I think many of you know Mrs. Humphrey and I are keenly interested in the education and training of the mentally retarded. Yes, of the handicapped, of the emotionally distrubed. My fellow Americans, these people, more than anybody else deserve our help. And yet in community after community there is no place for them to go. Not even a decent institution where you can lock them up. Yet, I know that great factories take pride in the fact that they have a gymnasium for their employees or a fine lunchroom. Well and good. The fringe benefits -- I believe in them. But what about a little fringe benefit for that little one who through no fault of his or her own is retarded, yet educable; or is mentally disturbed and yet curable; or handicapped, and yet could be made employable? Oh, I know it's being done in some places, but it ought to be done every place. Whatever ye do to the least of

these, says Scripture, ye do until me also.

Do we mean it, or don't we? I think the educational structure of America should not be geared just for the gifted, and even just for the children of the well-to-do and the medium incomes. But it should, if you please, be designed for every child, every child, gifted or not gifted. Now this is not going to happen until you fight for it. If there is one little thing that Mrs. Humphrey and I are trying to do it is to arouse a sense of public interest in, and maybe even public shame about, how little care has really been given to some of the unfortunate. And we're going to keep at it. Every school district in America, at least the public schools, where they are tax supported, every school district in America should have training facilities for the educable handicapped, for the retarded, for the emotionally disturbed, and for the physically handicapped. If they don't, they don't run a first class school, and they ought to be given a less than a passing grade. Just like we grade kids. Give them "D-". When we start thinking that way we'll start saving precious lives.

Finally our country must be willing to pay of course. Pay not only money, which is required, but pay in attention and commitment to put education where it belongs on our sense of values, right near the top of the list. Last year we spent about 32 billion dollars - 5% of our national income - for elementary and secondary education, both public and private, America spent half that much just on alcohol and tobacco. Indeed we did. I must say we spent more last year than we ever had before. But I can make this statement without fear of contradiction. There has never been a society or a community that became financially insolvent or economically backward by investment in education. The top five hundred corporations in America when they look now for a place to invest, to put in a new plant, the first thing they

look at is what is the present educational structure, what is its quality, and what do you plan for the next decade? That's the decisive factor. Education is the wisest investment that people, nations, churches, groups, associations ever made. So let's be willing to pay the bill. Our investment is modest; it needs to be greater. All of us believe it, but we must awake a national consciousness to this fact, that the extra dollars spent on education will be repaid by a lifetime of dividends. The Office of Education estimates that a school dropout loses \$63,000 in potential earned income because he failed to get that last year in high school. The rate of unemployment among school drop outs is three times as high as among those who finished school. And interestingly enough, I'll give you another fact that a boy or a girl that has part time work is less apt to drop out of school than a person who doesn't. The rate if ten to one. If you don't have anything else to do but go to school, the chances are that you'll drop out ten to one over the person that has some other little activity. I therefore propose that we dedicate ourselves here today to a fresh charter of educational opportunity. Not just education, but educational opportunity for every American child. A promise that he can and will get, to the best of our ability, the skills and the knowledge and hopefully, out of that to generate the wisdom that he needs to make the most of himself in our fast changing and competitive society. We ought not, and need not settle for less. America doesn't need to be known as the welfare state. America should be known as a nation in which there is a state of opportunity for everyone of God's children to make the most out of their respective lives. We can have it. And I think that our Catholic schools of this country, yes, all parochial schools, have an especially great opportunity to make that charter of educational opportunity a reality. You already have over six million students, and your schools

have grown twice as fast as the public schools over the last twenty years. That tells something. It tells that you're serving a need, fulfilling a great need. You have a cadre of dedicated lay and clerical teachers. I see them here this morning. You are in a unique position to experiment and to innovate, because you are not bound by political restraints and bureaucratic red tape. You can offer healthy competition for our public schools. And there's nothing like competition. The kind of competition, I might add, that makes freedom of choice a reality. This is the life blook of a pluralistic society.

I read the United States Chamber of Commerce study on the task force on economic growth and opportunity, and the disadvanted, the educational needs of the disadvantaged, and in that study there's some very, very constructive suggestions for Congress, for legislatures, and for schools, public and private, secular and parochial. What is the emphasis? The emphasis is that this is a pluralistic society. We want it that way. We do not want a monolith. The emphasis is that education should not be the special perogative of any just one group. The emphasis is that competition in making education better, making it more relevant to the human need, making it more meaningful, competition will provide that, and it will improve the quality of public education, as well as private. If you're both in there with the resources, and competing. And, as I said, the Elementary and Secondary Education act, if you keep it intact, and don't let some of the attacks made upon it be a success; if you keep it as it is and improve it, you can have the resources to do the great job of experimentation. Well, 1944

Well, I think I've taken more of your time than I should. I just want us to remember that the whole purpose of our social institutions, whether it's church or

state, or whether it's school or business; the purpose is the enrichment of God's greatest gift, namely, man, people. And the whole purpose of education is not just to pile up data, which you can get out of the World's Almanac, but to sharpen the sensitivities to, in a very real sense, bring out the angels of men, rather than the devils. To do as the Archbishop said to us, to move from mere information to wisdom. To have information provide the sea bed for judgment and to have judgment refined by that God-given, or godly gift, of what we call wisdom. So much is in your hands. Everything, in a very real sense, is in your hands. If you want better politics and better politicians, you have to start them very young, in the schools, in the church, in the home. And I think America better take inventory. Our nation is not going to be known for its wealth or its strength based on factories and bank deposits and gross national product. The real strength and wealth of this nation is in its people. Its people educated; it people with a sense of values; its people with a moral purpose; a people who are willing to help other people help themselves; a people that are willing to share, and in sharing grow themselves; that's the real wealth and strength of this nation. I think you're making a great contribution to it, and you've honored me by letting me come and ramble this morning with you, talk to you, be with you, think out loud with you. If some things you didn't like - sometimes I don't like what I say, either. If some things you did like, and you feel its worthy of your attention, talk about it, think it through. Help us. Make this really a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Thank you very much.

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