

Meredith Wilson
Ch. Nat. Advisory
Council on the
Educ. of the
Disadvantaged
Children

Secretary Gardner
Ralph Tyler

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED

Commission Harold Howe

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JULY 18, 1966

Mr Blumfield
Job Corps
Center

(Paul Miller)
asst sec for Educ
Wilbur Cohen
Mrs Ellen Winston

Throughout history, we seem always to have revered
and honored education -- and almost in the same breath
we have also seemed to be damning the schools. (It's
remotely possible, of course, that some of you have
observed this phenomenon yourselves.)
Henry Adams -- who thought well ^{enough of} ~~of~~ education ~~since~~ ^{to}
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-- asserted nonetheless that "the chief wonder of education
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teachers and taught."

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Bob Wood - HUD
Tomte Gardner
Wilbur Cohen
HEW

mpls
New Orleans
Washington

Since
9AM

↳ Diogenes called education "the foundation of every state." In fact, it was truism among the ancient Greeks that "only the educated are free." Yet Socrates was executed by Athenians as a corrupter of youth -- perhaps the first in a long line of martyrs to progressive education.

↳ Our own American scholars, such as Jefferson and Emerson, have been loud in their advocacy of education and merciless in their criticism of the "the academies."

↳ You, as school officials, can undoubtedly call to mind a few other slings and arrows closer to your own time and circumstance.

↳ We should remember, however, that this seeming contradiction in attitudes does not spring entirely from some innate perversity in man. The truth is, that educational methods have never been good enough -- and indeed may never be good enough -- to feed man's insatiable hunger for knowledge and wisdom and useful skills.

↳ The ideal, of course, is an educational system that will train, rather than chain, the human mind; that will uplift, rather than depress, the human spirit; that will illuminate, rather than obscure, the path to wisdom; that will help every member of society to the full use of his natural talents.

↳ The desire to bring the reality of education closer to the ideal is here -- as it has always been.

↳ But the gap between the two is better perceived and defined, I believe, than ever before.

↳ Educators are being called upon to find ways to close the gap -- as they have always been. But we are closer to a true understanding of the methods than before.

↳ Most important, we today have the opportunity, and the means, to put those ways to work throughout the nation.

We see education, or the lack of it, as part of a larger social service system that has inadequacies -- particularly for the poor in this affluent America.

∟ And so we have moved in numerous ways to improve those social services -- in health, in welfare, in housing, in consumer protection, in urban development, in transportation.

∟ I need not tell you that a sick or a hungry child is never an eager or an alert learner.

∟ In the field of education for the disadvantaged, the ¹⁹60's have brought new programs and major improvements in old ones -- ARA training programs, Manpower Development and Training, Economic Development, Vocational Education, Library services -- and the whole range of anti-poverty programs, including Head Start, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Adult literacy, Upward Bound -- and much more.

∟ And to climax it all, we enacted the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

∟ Of course, the exciting thing about the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is not merely that it offers aid to education.

Through Title I of that Act -- with which you are primarily concerned here -- this nation has begun to clarify and define the true role of education in America.

It rejects the idea that the school is a mere facet of community life.

It rejects the idea that education is but a reflection -- and a delayed reflection at that -- of American thought.

It expresses, instead, an understanding -- not new in American life, but sometimes obscured -- that education must lead, rather than lag; that it is an instrument of creation, rather than a mirror only, of the American dream.

It offers to the schools the opportunity to strike at the roots of poverty by bringing intellectual awakening to millions of children who have in the past found only frustration and rejection in the classroom.

↳ If the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is sometimes referred to as a "revolutionary" step in American education, it is because it presents to the schools the magnificent opportunity of playing an active, rather than a passive, part in the continuing task of perfecting American democracy.

↳ The Commissioner of Education, Mr. Howe, has called you to this national conference, at President Johnson's request, so that you can help American educators make the most of that opportunity.

↳ This national program to aid the educationally disadvantaged has been in actual operation only ten short months.

~~I think~~ All of us here are probably agreed that, even in this short time, it has had a tremendous impact on our schools, and some substantial benefits for our children.

↳ Over 7 million deprived children have participated in projects funded under Title I this year.

↳ But it isn't just gross numbers that impress me. I'm impressed with the ~~imaginativeness, the innovativeness,~~ ^{Imagination the innovation} the simple brilliance of some of the projects I've been ^{seeing and} reading about.

↳ In Charleston, West Virginia, dinner is served one night a week in the school cafeteria to about 135 impoverished parents and children. Parents pay 35 cents, children nothing. Parents and children then go to separate study sessions. Subjects taken up by the parents were selected by them, and include the "new math," foreign affairs and homemaking. The program is creating a new, close relationship between the school and the community, and improving education for whole families.

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↳ They spend one hour each week together in an activity of their own choosing. The young adults are students in

educational psychology, trained to ask questions and elicit responses which sustain interest, promote further reaction, and stimulate linguistic effort. ^{This} ~~It~~ is the highlight of the week for both college students and first-graders.

↳ In New Mexico, Navajo children are going to summer school this year in ^a mobile classroom as they follow the herds across the summer grazing lands. ↳ In Arizona, Papago children "go to jail" to learn English: the tribal jail now houses a language laboratory center.

↳ Mentally-retarded teenagers in Bloomington, Indiana, are being trained in a work-study project so they may continue a meaningful school curriculum and, at the same time, qualify for promised jobs in the community.

↳ Some children have gained as much as five pounds in the first week of "hot breakfast" projects, and their ability to stay alert and participate in class correspondingly improved.

↳ Rochester, New York's Art Action Centers funded under Title I have caused much excitement among both teachers and pupils. ↳ One non-verbal second grader began to talk after the first day in the art center.

↳ What you are seeking here today are the ways to make "every Title I project" a quality project.

Pioneer! ↳ You are asked to chart the way -- or at least to find some of the guideposts -- by which your colleagues throughout the nation can steer their course during the coming year.

↳ You are dealing with a complicated set of social, psychological, and educational problems. ↳ There are no panaceas for "instant healing" of the cultural and psychological scars which the disadvantaged child carries with him to school -- or those which are, all too often, actually inflicted on him in the classroom.

↳ We all know, however, that these scars will not yield to the same old bromides that have failed in the past. We must find new and original approaches to education, or we will go on condemning millions of Americans to "generation after generation" of intellectual and economic deprivation.

↳ In truth, what we are doing in our schools today simply does not work well enough for most of our children, and it does not work at all for millions of children whose values and experiences differ from the middle-class norm.

↳ This knowledge is profoundly disturbing, I know, to you and to educators all over the country. You and others are raising some basic questions about education which you will undoubtedly explore in depth at this meeting.

↳ May this ex-teacher raise some of the questions which I know are of concern to America's educators and to your government:

Questions

- 11 -

↳ Are schools structured to suit the convenience of the teacher rather than the needs of the child?

↳ Do some of our schools stifle initiative and the development of self-mastery?

↳ Do we stamp some children with failure from the day they enter the first grade?

↳ Are we actually reinforcing, in the classroom, the sense of inadequacy, ~~of~~ humiliation, ~~of~~ hopelessness, that begins in a deprived home environment?

↳ Can it be that our schools actually contribute to non-learning among the children of the poor? ?? =

↳ If any of these things are true, then it is time we re-examined some of the time-honored shibboleths of the profession and sought new insight into the educational process.

You will not, of course, be able to find all the answers at this conference, but you will make progress toward that goal. America is determined to build a Great Society in which all her citizens can be full participants. You are here to help move us forward toward that goal.

~~You are going back to your own states so that you can hold similar conferences with your colleagues there. Yours will be the responsibility of transmitting to them the fresh and invigorating ideas which are bound to come from your discussions here.~~

Our goal of a Great Society is based, first and foremost, upon our abiding faith that all levels of government, and all social institutions in this great land, are ready and anxious to play their full role in moving America forward.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act was perceived by the President and enacted by the Congress in the true spirit of a creative federalism which reflects that faith.

↳ It places, in fact, the principal areas of responsibility right where responsibility for education has always been in America -- at the state and local level.

Local ↳ Local school superintendents and their staffs have the freedom to develop Title I projects tailored to the specific needs of the deprived children in their own communities.

↳ And they have the responsibility for seeing that the projects work toward that purpose. Theirs is the first, and the decisive, role in the three-way partnership.

State ↳ State officials have a responsibility to review carefully the proposals of the local schools to make doubly sure that this great program is actually working to meet the needs of the children for whom it is intended. ↳ But, their responsibility cannot end with merely approving or rejecting those proposals.

↳ Some schools in every state -- usually those that need good Title I projects the most -- lack the staff or the time or the originality to do effective planning on their own.

Here is where state leadership can make itself felt.!

← We have heard much -- and appropriately so -- about our urban problems. But let us not overlook the special problems of our rural areas. Here especially we must provide adequate technical assistance -- on all levels.

← ~~There is no room for apathy or pedestrianism at either state or local level.~~ Enthusiasm, originality, and sound planning are the keys to making this program work. State and local superintendents must carry their full share in the partnership. If they do not, they are not only turning their backs on opportunity, but on the children who look to them for help. The tragic loss will be all America's.

Pause ← I am sure that one of the problems for which you will be seeking solutions at your conference is one which has beset the schools for many years. And it is a problem that new educational programs -- for the time being, at least -- tend to make worse rather than better.

Rural Areas,

Pause

~

~

Refer to

~~that is~~ the shortage of trained teachers and other skilled school personnel.

Over the years, through such new programs as the Teacher Corps, and through special scholarship and training programs, I am sure that we will be able to attract many more people into the schools.

I believe, too, that the new and invigorating climate of education in this country ~~the~~ opportunity for doing challenging and worthwhile work is already stimulating a new trend back into the educational professions.

The problem of course, is that today's children cannot wait for tomorrow's teachers. The shortage is going to persist, for some years, but already we have begun, and particularly in the Title I projects, to find some new solutions to the problem.

*Educ
big
business
exciting!*

Commissioner Howe tells me that he has urged chief state school officers to take the lead in recruiting teacher aides, part-time staff, and volunteers to help out in the schools.

I want to add my voice to his in urging you to explore this sensible, and typically American, solution to the teacher shortage.

It is typically American because it is based upon an American tradition that is at least as old as the "little red schoolhouse" → the tradition of community involvement and participation in education.

Our forefathers built their own schools with the help of their neighbors. They had box suppers and bazaars and hoe-downs to raise money to keep the schools going. They took turns providing bed and board for the "schoolmarm."
(That's a part of the tradition I imagine most schoolteachers are glad to see is on the way out.)

*Join
the
neighbors*

↳ In recent years, it seems to me, schools have too often tended to become aloof from the community. ↳ It is time we reversed this tendency. ↳ The problems we face in our schools today are too big for the schools alone. ↳ They require that all the resources of the community be put to work.

↳ Last year some 50,000 teacher aides were at work in our schools, freeing the teachers from routine duties to do a better job of teaching. ◦

↳ When school opens this fall, many more will undoubtedly be on the job.

↳ I am sure that many homemakers who are qualified teachers would be willing to work part-time if the need were known to them. — *Dramatize the need.*

↳ And let us not forget the volunteers. ↳ If there is any doubt that community volunteers can make a willing contribution to education, I refer you to the experience of the Head Start

program, which in its first year recruited nearly 100,000 volunteer helpers, as well as 46 thousand paid neighborhood workers. o #

↳ The truth is that the American school, and particularly the school serving the poor can no longer afford ~~for many~~ reasons, to be an island cut off from community life. There is a mutual need. The community needs the school, and the school needs to become a real part of the community. o

Head Start ↳ Here again, Head Start has made the point quite clear. In last summer's program alone, more than half a million disadvantaged kids were reached and given a short but wonderful experience. We know how dramatic and hopeful have been the immediate results of this experience.

↳ But many are asking -- and I now ask -- will Head Start be a waste because the community does not do the necessary follow-through on the health and family problems detected . . .

or because the schools to which the Head Starters go just are not good enough or resourceful enough?

↳ There are many ways we must employ to secure constructive cooperation between the school and the community. Let me cite just a few.

↳ Active involvement of parents -- a hallmark of Head Start -- must be stepped up at all levels of elementary and secondary schools. ↳ This is particularly true in districts where our disadvantaged children go to school. The children will benefit; the parents will benefit; the school will benefit; and the community will benefit.

↳ Our private organizations -- labor, business, civil rights, fraternal, women's, and civic -- are looking for a chance to serve. It is your responsibility, and opportunity, to add this important resource.

↳ Dedicated and talented students in nearby colleges and universities represent a rich source of tutors for disadvantaged children -- as the burgeoning student-tutorial movement attests.

↳ I have already referred to the need for educators to be concerned with the broad range of social services which must complement education as such. ↳ To all of this must also be added the need to face with increasing determination the issue of segregation in our schools.

I want to stress, in the strongest possible terms, that we must press forward vigorously toward full integration of our schools.

↳ In our large cities, particularly, economic factors and the movement to the suburbs are creating serious racial imbalance in the inner city schools.

↳ Many states and communities have developed ESEA projects which successfully aid the cause of school integration.

Remember

~~They are showing that~~ we can have both quality and equality in our schools.

It is unthinkable that compensatory education should be misused as an excuse to postpone integration. They are in reality effective and complementary allies in achieving our objective -- an educational system in which every child can lift up his head and glimpse the true vision of America.

For our goal is nothing less than the fulfillment of the American dream.

Our goal is the one expressed a generation ago by the American author Thomas Wolfe:

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

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED

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Main Ballroom
Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Monday, July 18, 1966

The meeting was convened at 7:20 p.m.

MR. JOHN W. GARDNER, presiding.

MR. COHEN: You see, I ran him out on that one.

(Applause.)

(Dr. Tyler left the room.)

MR. COHEN: We now are going to have the opportunity to have Coleman Bloomfield, our pianist, give us a couple of numbers.

Where is Mr. Bloomfield?

(Applause.)

MR. BLOOMFIELD: The work that I have chosen to perform this evening --

(Vice President Humphrey came in.)

(Applause.)

(Standing ovation.)

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: This silence disturbs me.

(Laughter.)

MR. GARDNER: I am going to give the Vice President a chance to catch his breath, while we listen to the piano.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Great.

MR. GARDNER: So, we will go right ahead.

(Applause.)

MR. BLOOMFIELD: The work that I have chosen --

(Laughter.)

MR. BLOOMFIELD: -- was chosen for two reasons. Number one, it is very beautiful, and number 2, it will give you

educators an opportunity to listen to the type of our statistics standard that we have attempted to bring to the young, disadvantaged children throughout the U.S. I would like to play the serious, "Variations" of Mendelssohn.

{Applause.}

{A piano solo was performed.}

MR. GARDNER: Thank you, sir. That was every bit as good as we had been led to expect.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege to introduce one of the most devoted friends of education for the disadvantaged, and one of the finest human beings I have ever known, the Vice President of the United States.

{Standing ovation.}

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Thank you very much, Secretary Gardner. At this hour of the night, these generous words lift the spirits, give one a sense of self-confidence, and reassurance.

Commissioner Howe and Secretary Cohen, my good friend Ellen Winston, and all of those of the National Advisory Council on the Education of the Disadvantaged Children, I was looking around this audience tonight, to see if I could find the President of my university, the University of Minnesota, old Meredith Wilson. But, I guess he heard I was coming, and he decided he was going to escape this torture, and he didn't need to be here once again. He has heard me repeated

May I first of all just pause to thank Mr. Bloomfield for that remarkable musical solo, and wonderful musical rendition that he just gave to us. I am sure that you all know that this gentleman has been playing for our Job Corps Centers, to these young men and women that are truly disadvantaged. And, he has brought to them the gift of his artistry, the gift of classical music. I don't know how you feel about it, but after having had five hours and 25 minutes on a jet star today, that little interlude of beautiful music sort of revived my spirits, and I want to thank you very much.

I think you ought to thank him again.

(Applause.)

I don't suppose you came here for a travelogue, but I left Minneapolis, Minnesota this morning at 9:30 a.m., and I flew to New Orleans, Louisiana, for the National Association of County Officials, where we talked about the very things that you are talking about here, where I also visited with some of the leaders of industry and labor in that great community, on matters of concern to them and their industrial development, the space program, maritime policy, a press conference, and then a little journey back to New Orleans around thunderheads, up to Washington D.C., where I met for a very few moments with members of my staff, and they said, "I hope you haven't forgotten that you are supposed

to be present at a conference on education and the disadvantaged".

And I said, "No, I haven't forgotten about it". I am the number one recruit. I feel totally disadvantaged today, myself.

(Laughter.)

I have been at one lunch and one dinner, and haven't eaten yet. --

(Laughter.)

-- except for sandwiches and cookies and coffee, and whatever else was available just for the quick touch of the hand.

This noon, I was with our good friend, Secretary Gardner and Secretary Cohen and Bob Wood of the Housing and Urban Development, the Cabinet post. We held forth with our local officials on the subject of creative federalism, and how we could work together as officers of a nation, not of a government, but of a nation, to improve the lot of people.

Sometimes I become concerned about all of us in public life. My concern is that we are so engrossed with our work, that we forget for whom we work. And, it is moments like this evening, where we once again remember that we are working for the people. It is always told that to quote Abraham Lincoln's immortal words of the Gettysburg Address, is trite. But, trite or not, it is worth remembering.

I work on the proposition that most people are so busy

and so constantly badgered with noise and commotion, and activity, that they forget some of the verities. And, the only way to make a virtue a virtue, is to repeat it. And, a government of the people, by the people and for the people, needs to be repeated about a thousand times a day to the people that run the government, so that they don't forget exactly what their mission is.

We are not here to make ourselves great. And we are not here as public officials, to prove that we have some unusual capability. That proof will come when we have demonstrated by our actions and our deeds, that we have served the people and served them well. The only way that I know that a President or a Cabinet officer, or a Vice President can ever prove that he has really done a good job, is when history judges that the generation that he served was a better generation than the one that he came in on. And, I believe that will be the final test.

So, tonight we are here to meet about generations yet to come. And, we are here to talk about people that have been bypassed. Whose Fault? Why spend your time trying to find that out? You could have several years of seminars trying to figure out why people are poor, or why they are disadvantaged or should they have been, should they have done better on their own? I have heard all the lectures on all sides of the question. I guess I get myself in a bit of trouble every

so often about this frankness.

I said, not long ago, in a recent speech, that there is no use of arguing about Viet Nam and why we are there. We are there. That caused me several editorials that took the living hide right off of me. But, you are right about it. We are there, hide or no hide. I feel just as good without it as I do with it, and from there on out, you figure out what you are going to do about it.

And the same thing is true about the poor and the disadvantaged. Now, you can have your mother and your father and your uncle and all of them lecture you on why they are poor, and if that makes you feel any better, why go right ahead and listen to the lecture. I have heard them all, and I never felt a bit better. The fact is, we have poor people, and disadvantaged people, and because we do, we are meeting here tonight. And, even if we weren't meeting here tonight, we would still have them.

The question is, what are we going to do about it? So, I start on that basis.

Now, having said that -- and that wasn't in anything I had prepared -- but just since I didn't need it, I just felt that way to start out.

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

Now, the words that I am about to say to you are much

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more temperate. They are much more judicious, and they are measured, and these are the ones that you are supposed to remember.

(Laughter.)

For example, I think that we would all agree that throughout all of our history, we have literally worshipped at the shrine of education. We have revered it. And, this is one of the factors of greatness in our nation. And, almost in the same breath that we worshipped education, we have spent a good deal of our time damning the schools.

Now, that is a normal American attitude. It is remotely possible, of course, that some of you in this room may have observed that phenomenon.

(Laughter.)

Henry Adams, who thought well enough of education to entitle his autobiography, "The Education of Henry Adams", asserted that nonetheless that the chief wonder of education is that it does not ruin everybody connected with it -- teachers and taught.

Now, I want you to know that teachers' colleges have not used that on their edifices as a quotation to entice young people into the teaching profession. But, that is what he said.

And, Diogenes took a better view of matters. Of course, he lived a little earlier in the life and time of man, and

he hadn't as yet had a chance to witness so much trouble. Diogenes called education the foundation of every state. In fact, it was truism among ancient Greeks, that only the educated are free. And, I suppose that is where Thomas Jefferson received the inspiration for the quotation that is so often related to Jefferson's life: "You cannot be both free and ignorant". This has posed a very difficult decision for a large number of people.

(Laughter.)

I hope that it is one that we had resolved a long time ago. Yet, Socrates, just going back a little further in history, was executed by the scholarly Athenians as a corrupter of youth, perhaps the first in a long line of martyrs to progressive education.

(Laughter.)

So, if any of you feel that you have been touched up a bit in recent days, join the society of Socrates.

Now, our own American scholars, such as Jefferson and Emerson, have been very loud in their advocacy of education and merciless in their criticism of, well, of those who took a lesser view of education. You, as school officials and as persons deeply involved in the educational experience of our country, can undoubtedly call to mind a few other slings and arrows close to your own time and circumstances. I gather that each teacher and every educator has had a few,

just a few scars on his countenance and on his back.

We should recognize, however, that this seeming contradiction in attitudes does not spring entirely from some innate perversity of man. The truth is, that educational methods have never been good enough, and indeed, may never be good enough, never be good enough to feed man's insatiable hunger and desire for knowledge and wisdom and useful skills.

And, isn't that fortunate? Because, if ever we were satisfied with what we do in the educational process, I am afraid that man's quest for new knowledge would be at an end.

Tonight, as I speak to you, there are astronauts in orbit, who are seeking new knowledge, and they will find some too. But, had they been content with what they knew ten years ago, we would still be exploring the badlands of South Dakota -- and that is worthwhile too, I might add --

(Laughter.)

-- rather than the great unknown spaces of outer space.

Now, the ideal -- and I am one that likes to think in terms of the ideal or the ideals -- is an educational system that will train rather than chain the human mind, that will uplift rather than depress the human spirit, that will illuminate rather than obscure the path to wisdom, and that will help every member of society to the full use of his

natural talents.

That is what we really seek. Those are our ideals or the ideal of education.

The desire to bring the reality of education closer to the ideal is here, as it has always been. I have never known a group more restless to search for the ideal than those in the field of education. But, the gap between the ideal and the reality is better perceived and defined, I believe, than ever before.

Educators are being called upon today to find ways to close that gap, as they have always been trying to close it. But, we are closer to a true understanding of the methods than before.

Most important, we have the opportunity and the means now, to put those ways to work throughout the nation.

Toynbee said something recently, a couple of years ago, that sort of set me to thinking about the chances and the opportunities of our time, when he said that "This period could well be remembered as the time when man was able to bring the benefits of civilization to more people than ever before, that we could be remembered", as he put it, "not for our crimes and not for our wars, but for the fact that we were able to bring to bear the resources of modern man and modern society to more people than ever before, and to help them solve their problems".

We have today, therefore, the opportunity, as I say, and the means to do what we seek to do in our ideal.

We see education, or the lack of it, as a part of a larger social service system that has inadequacies, and particularly inadequacies for the poor in this affluent America.

I doubt that we would be having meetings like we are having tonight, if it wasn't for the fact that so many people are doing so well, and that the contrast between the many who are so well off, and the yet too many who are so denied, bothers our conscience. The greatest tribute that we can pay to this wonderful nation of ours, is the fact that at a period of our greatest wealth and our greatest power, that we are still concerned for the least of these, for the person that hasn't had a break.

You know, we could almost ignore it in a way, if we were really materialistic. But, I weary over those who talk about America being a land of materialism. We are not, we are the most idealistic people on the face of the earth. Sometimes, naively idealistic. And, above all, this is still a nation of great conscience. It isn't that we always do what is right, but we worry when we don't do what is right. And, as long as you are worried about it, there is a chance that you may do something about it.

And, it seems to me rather important that at the time of

our greatest prosperity, at a time when we were proclaiming the wealth of this Republic, that we always recognized that one-fifth of this nation lived in the land of the poor. One-fifth of the American population was still listed, for the purposes of census and statistical evidence and indeed, sociological data, as poor, deprived, left out of the mainstream of American life. And the fact that we have understood that, I think is a sign of our greatness.

You remember that famous study of Gunnar Myrdal on the United States. I think the title of the book -- you know it has been so long since I was a teacher -- "The American Dilemma", isn't that right? "The Negro, the American Dilemma". I remember asking students to read it and I remember reading it myself. And, one of the places in that, in one part in that book he said, "If you really want to find out what is wrong with America, just go ask somebody. They will tell you."

(Laughter.)

Paraphrasing it, I think this is true. We are the kind of a people that are willing, if we can be asked, and sometimes even when we are not asked, to face up to our own inadequacies.

Well, now, we have moved a long way to improve our social services. Time doesn't permit tonight to go through all of it. But, we have surely moved a long ways in the

field of health, and welfare, and housing and consumer protection, in urban development and transportation. This isn't to say we have gone far enough, but we have made some starts.

One thing I found out about a vital, ambitious people, is that if you start, you are on the road.

Now, I need not tell you that a sick or a hungry child is never an eager or an alert learner.

In the field of education for the disadvantaged, the 1960's have brought new programs and major improvements in old ones. The ARA training programs, Manpower Development and Training, Vocational Education, Economic Development, library services. You just start listing anything you can think of, and we have tried to have it here at the national level in terms of programs.

And, in the anti-poverty programs, Headstart, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Adult Literacy, Upward Bound, Vista and much more.

Today, in New Orleans, I met with the children and the teachers of a Headstart program. What a thrilling experience. If those little children hadn't learned anything else but new songs and nursery rhymes, and had a physical examination, it was all worth it. And, more importantly, there at the airport were parents, were the parents of these little children in Project Headstart. One of the

teachers told me it was the first time that the parents had ever been involved with their children in an educational experience. And, if I say nothing else that you remember, remember this, you cannot have an educational experience in America without the involvement of the family and the neighborhood and the community. Education is more than just a personal matter, it becomes a family matter, a community matter. And how much we have learned in recent days about that!

And, to climax all of these endeavors in the field of education, we enacted the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. You know, I guess a man, when he gets along in public life likes to reflect upon the things that he thought were important. One of the first bills I ever voted on in Congress, when I came here in January of 1949, was Federal Aid to Education. We passed it in the Senate and it always died in the House, either on the basis of states' rights, or religion, anything to kill it. And then they threw in race just for an extra shaker or two, just to make sure that it was going to be dead. Well, we finally got over that. And we have passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and education today is a subject in which most members of Congress seek to do something about, rather than something to.

Now, the exciting thing about the Elementary and

Secondary Education Act, is not merely that it affords aid to education. It goes beyond that. Through Title I of that Act, with which you are primarily concerned here, this nation has begun to clarify and to define the true role of education in America.

It rejects the idea that the school is a mere facet of community life. It rejects the idea that education is but a reflection and a delayed reflection at that, of American thought. It expresses instead, an understanding not new in American life, but sometimes obscured, that education must lead rather than reflect, lead rather than lag, that it is an instrument of creation rather than merely a mirror of the American dream.

So, to those who are here as educators and education administrators, and professionals, you are to be creators. You are to be leaders. If you are only to be followers and mirrors, you are in the wrong meeting and the wrong hotel and the wrong city at the wrong time. But, I see no one left. So, I know you are at the right meeting and you are the right people.

Now, this bill that I speak of, this Act, offers to the schools the opportunity to strike at the very roots of the poverty that grips some of our people, by bringing intellectual awakening into millions of children who have in the past found only frustration and rejection in the classroom.

This wonderful classical music tonight that you enjoyed, believe it or not, young men and women that have never been through grade school enjoy it too. This gentleman that played, Mr. Bloomfield, that played this music for us this evening, has been to Job Corps Centers one after another. And, there are the 17-year olds, 18, 19, 20-year olds that have been listening to rock and roll, or what have you, and they enjoy classical music too, if they get a chance. And, it merely goes on to prove that people do love to have their sights lifted.

If the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is sometimes referred to as revolutionary -- and it is -- or a revolutionary step in the American education, it is because it presents to the schools the magnificent opportunity of playing an active rather than a passive role in the continuing task of perfecting American democracy.

The Commissioner of Education who is with us tonight, Mr. Howe, has called you to this National Conference at the President's request, so that you can help American educators make the most of the opportunity that is available.

Now, somewhere I read a book about these acres of diamonds being at your feet. And, I want to say to every person in this room that if you will examine the super market of American educational opportunities that are available in your federal government, while you are here in Washington

you will do more for your State than on any trip you have ever taken. The shocking thing that I have found out, Mr. Secretary, travelling across this country as I do -- and by the way, that is one thing a Vice President can do, he doesn't have too much to do on the job here, so he can move around.

(Laughter.)

I am sort of the Eleanor Roosevelt for Lyndon Johnson, you know.

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

Well, I have been going around.

(Laughter.)

And, you would be surprised. I keep finding people that don't even realize all of the goodies that are available. That is a fact. They are not fully aware of the opportunities that are here to be used, not to be seized, just to be asked for and to be used. So, if you have any doubts as to what goodies you are looking for, you can write to the Secretary, the Commissioner, the Under Secretary, you can write to my friend Ellen, and if you want to, you can drop me a copy of the letter and we will all get together and see what we can do about it.

Now, this national program that I speak of, to aid the educationally disadvantaged, has actually be in operation

a very short time, only ten short months. And, all of us here are probably agreed that in even this short time, it has had a rather substantial impact on our schools and substantial benefits for our children.

And, let me just repeat again the whole purpose of all of these programs is for the people.

I got wound up the other night at a friend's home in Minneapolis. My friend is the Mayor of Minneapolis, Arthur Naftalin. He was my secretary when I was Mayor of Minneapolis, and he always says he is the greatest Mayor that Minneapolis ever had. I think that is not the way to treat his benefactor, but that is what he says, and I always agree with him, with the exception, I say, with 23 specific instances that I can remember, including myself.

(Laughter.)

But, on that evening, we were talking about liberalism and I am sure you didn't expect me to venture off into this, nor did I intend to either, but I think I will.

(Laughter.)

I said, one of the things that disturbs me about liberalism for some people is that they indulge only in ideas and not in people. Now, I don't think that they are necessarily separate. In fact, they are supposed to be companions. But, I have very little time for those whose hearts are filled with ~~somebody's~~ ~~for some~~ ~~people~~

indefinable substance that no one can discover or ascertain, when they can't see human misery right here at home, and do something about it. It is sort of like I said -- and this is not the night to say it, but I will say it anyway -- I feel, as Chairman of the Space Council, and I am very proud of what we are doing in space, very, very proud of it, I think it has had a tremendous impact upon American education and American life all for the good. Emphasizing what the Secretary Gardner has had as his key, as his key philosophy, excellence. Because you can't be halfway good and still live in the space program. You have got to be very, very good. A few mistakes and you have had it. You are a small paragraph in you know what page.

But, our space program is a tribute to American excellence. But, I have often said that if a nation can afford to spend -- and we can and we will -- anywhere from 25 to 30 billions of dollars to put a man on the moon -- and we will do it -- in this decade, then we ought to be willing to make at least a reasonably large investment in helping to put a man on his feet right here on earth. Don you think so?

(Applause.)

It is just another way of saying that we are interested in people. The Minister in my church, I listened to his sermon about two months ago. I was home in Minneapolis and his title was, "The way you treat people, is the way

you treat God". And I said, "Stop, that is enough for me. That is the whole business right there".

You can take it scientifically or you can take it in terms of theology or religion, and people are at the very center of it. And, that is the purpose of why all of these programs, to help lift people, to help them lift themselves, to give them some feeling of meaningful life. That is the only reason I want to be in public service. Very frankly, at about the end of every week, I wonder why I am in it. And, I am sure that is characteristic of most of you too. But, by the time you get over the weekend, it is a little better.

And, I wouldn't want any of you to take this too seriously. I want the job. Don't kid yourselves.

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

You have got to spike these rumors in Washington in a hurry, you know.

(Laughter.)

Well, I said I wanted to talk to you about some of the benefits, not only to the schools but to the people that the schools serve, the children. Over 7,000,000 deprived children in these ten months have participated in projects funded under Title I this year. I have heard our President say what a marvelous feeling it was to be able to put

250,000 men in Viet Nam in less than a year, with all of the

equipment that was necessary, wonderful troops, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great accomplishment, and we ought to be proud of it.

But, let me tell you, to be able to do something of benefit to 7,000,000 deprived children in ten months, is no small feat either. It is quite an accomplishment.

(Applause.)

But, it isn't just the gross numbers that impresses me. What I am impressed with most is the imagination, the innovation, and the simple brilliance of some of the projects that I have seen and about which I have read. In Charleston, West Virginia, for example, dinner is served one night a week in the school cafeteria to about 135 parents and children deprived children and poor parents, impoverished is the word. Parents pay 35 cents, children nothing. Parents and children then go to separate study sessions. Subjects taken up by the parents were selected by them, and they include the new math -- that is too much for me -- foreign affairs, and homemaking. I am glad that they are in foreign affairs, because everybody has a point of view or two on that.

(Laughter.)

This is a country that has at least 100,000,000 available Secretaries of State.

(Laughter.)

The program is creating a new and a close relationship

between the school and the community and improving the education for whole families. In Tucson, Arizona -- I have been at both of these cities that I speak of -- 200 college students are paired on a 10 to one basis, with first graders from a slum school. They spend one hour each week together in an activity of their own choosing. The young adults are students in educational psychology, trained to ask questions and to elicit responses which sustain interest, promote further reaction and stimulate linguistic effort. This is the highlight of the week for the children, and needless to say, for that gifted college student.

I have seen the same thing when I was in Philly recently in some of the schools in slum areas of that city, where I saw gifted high school students as tutors for the children in what they called the jungle. I hesitate even to use that phrase, but that is what they called it.

In New Mexico, Navajo children are going to summer school this year in a mobile classroom as they follow the herds across the summer grazing lands.

In Arizona, the Papago indian children go to jail to learn english. You see, the tribal jail now houses a language laboratory. At long last, it has been put to some good use.

Mentally retarded teenagers in Bloomington, Indiana, are being trained in a work study project, so that they may

continue a meaningful school curriculum, and at the same time qualify for promised jobs in the community.

We are breaking through. We are getting at people at long last, that everybody had forgotten.

Listen, I talked to the Mayor of New Orleans today. He sat alongside of me at a meeting, and he was telling me in New Orleans, Louisiana, of how this program that we are speaking of right now, had reached down in to find children that were the victims of unbelievable malnutrition and misery and ignorance and sickness, the poverty program and the education program, Title I, and OEO, working together, the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity, working together as teammates, for whom? For the children. You can jerk a tear in time if you really want to get out here and find out what is going on in this country. Of course, I admit that it is hard to get the good news. But, if you look for it, it is there. That is why that biblical admonition, "Seek you the truth". It is hardly ever available. You really got to look for it. It is not on the front page. Good news of America, that is what I am talking about, when you save a life.

I would like to have this nation known as the lifesaving nation. I would like to have our America known as a nation of scholarship, as a nation of inspiration. And, it can be. But, if we keep talking ourselves out of it, if all we want

is the violence, if all we want to read about are the deaths and the tragedy and the war and the misery, you can find that. There is enough of it to go around. And, I am no little old pollyanna from out in the sticks. As I say, I have been around, but I can tell you there is more good that goes on in this country every hour than there is bad that goes on every year, if you look for it. And, if somebody will just stand up and say that it is happening.

So, let me tell you a little bit more about the good. Some children have gained as much as five pounds in the first week of hot breakfast projects. And their ability to stay alert and participate in class, accordingly improved. Why not a front-page picture of that child rather than the one that seemed to be the victim of some kind of a bomb in Viet Nam. I am not saying they ought to take the other one off the page. Just give us a little balance. Let it be known that America is a nation of conscience and compassion, but somehow or other, that doesn't seem to make it.

Rochester, New York's Art Action Centers, funded under Title I, have caused much excitement among teachers and pupils. One non-verbal second grader began to talk after the first day in the Art Center.

Now, I don't like to intrude on the clergymen, because I do not qualify. I am amongst the sinners rather than amongst the saints, but I want to say that I remember the line that

said, "Greater things than I have done, ye shall do also". And, anybody or anything that can restore talk, communicate to a child is good news.

(Banging his fist on table.)

And, it ought to be a ringing headline in America. Instead of that, you have got to go around and probe around with a Geiger Counter to find this out, or for me to tell you about it. The fact that a life was saved, a voice was restored, say it was made possible -- and it is every day in the things we are doing -- this is the good news. And if I do nothing else in the days that I have from here on out, I am going to talk about the good news, because there are enough people spending their time talking about the bad news, I will guarantee you, and they are overworking too.

I have a sort of a special field of my own. I got sort of a monopoly on the good news now.

So, what you are seeking here today, are ways to make every Title I project a quality project. You are asked to chart the way, to be pioneers, to develop in a sense, and find some of the guideposts by which your colleges throughout the nation can steer their course during the coming years.

You are dealing with complicated social, psychological and educational problems. It isn't easy. There are no panaceas, no instant healing of the cultural or psychological scars which the disadvantaged child carries with him to

school. Or those which all too often actually have been inflicted on him in the classroom. We all know, however, that these scars will not yield to the same old bromide. I had to put that in, because I graduated from pharmacy first.

(Laughter.)

I ought to tell you that bromides are seldom used any more. And these old bromides didn't work too well when they had them, and they are not working too well now.

We must find new and original approaches to these problems of education, or we will go on condemning millions of Americans to generation after generation of intellectual and economic deprivation.

Now, I have made a generalized statement there, but we can back it up. We have learned that we can do something with the mentally retarded, that they can be self-sustaining, many of them. We emptied the veterans' hospitals in this nation after World War II, by new medical care. I can remember veteran hospitals that were nothing, more or less, than a sort of home of retirement, or it was a permanent residence for thousands and thousands of men that were, by those standards in those days, judged to be unemployable, could not be held. And then came along a Dr. Paul Magnuson, then came along a Omar Bradley, and then came along an Admiral Boone, and a number of others, and I worked with these men when I was in the Senate. We put our veterans'

hospitals in cooperation with our university medical schools, and the lame began to walk, and the blind began to see, and the ill stood strong, and the mentally retarded were rehabilitated. And, instead of having people in those hospitals for ten and 20 years and 30 years, dying, day by day, they began to live. We learned it could be done.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if a doctor can transplant one organ from one body to another and can take an artificial organ and transplant it into your body, if a doctor can massage a heart that has stopped beating, if a doctor can perform miracles of surgery upon the brain, then teachers can do something to inspire the disadvantaged. I know they can, if they will but get at it, if we will but have the same motivation, the same willingness to experiment, the same desire to save life.

I have never been much for survival. I like those words in the Declaration of Independence, "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness". I never considered them to be separate. It is a trilogy. You ought to take the commas out, because life without liberty is meaningless, and liberty with life does mean the pursuit of happiness. And, survival is for animals and vegetation.

But, life with liberty and the pursuit of happiness is for humankind, and that is what education is about. It is to illuminate one's life, to be as bright as those

spotlights are upon me tonight, so that life takes on a luster.

Let me then just talk to you a little bit about these old bromides. What we are doing in our schools today, in many of them, simply does not work well enough for most of our children. That is why you are here. And, it does not work at all for millions of children whose values and experiences differ from the middle class norm. This knowledge is profoundly disturbing, but it is true. You and others are raising some basic questions about education. I saw your questions tonight. I have a whole sheet of them here that you are asking yourselves.

May this ex-teacher then, raise some questions which I know are of concern to American educators and to your government. And, I am an ex-teacher. I always mention that. My tenure is somewhat precarious, and I like to have you keep in mind my qualities.

(Laughter.)

Now, here are my questions to you.

Are schools structured today to suit the convenience of the teacher rather than the needs of the child? I know many a Congressional office that is structured to suit the needs of the Congressman or the Senator, rather than the constituents, but we have a way of taking care of that -- the election -- that lasts just one term.

Do some of our schools stifle initiative and the development of self-mastery?

Do we stamp some children with failure from the day they enter the first grade?

Are we actually reinforcing, in the classroom, the sense of inadequacy, of humiliation and hopelessness that begins in a deprived home environment?

Can it be that our schools actually contribute to non-learning among the children of the poor?

If any of these things are true, any of them, then it is time that we reexamined some of the time-honored shibboleths of our profession, and sought new insight into the educational processes.

You will not, of course, be able to find all of the answers at this conference, but you will touch on a few. And, you will make progress. You see, our America is determined to build a great society in which all of her citizens can be full participants. We have been like an eight engine motor going on six, an eight cylinder engine, I should say, going on six. We have been denying ourselves some of the power that is there, if we had but tapped it. We need everybody in this country, everybody working to his best. And, you are here to help us move towards that goal of a great society, which is based, first and foremost, upon the abiding faith that all levels of the government --

that is what I talked about in New Orleans today with county officials -- all levels of government and all social institutions in this great land are ready and anxious to play their full role in really moving America forward.

Now, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was perceived by the President, and enacted by Congress in the true spirit of all levels of government, creative federalism which reflects this faith in the people. It places in fact, the principal areas of responsibility right where the responsibility for education has always been in America, at the state and the local level.

Federal aid doesn't in any way release you from your responsibilities. All it does, is give you a little extra energy -- well, a few extra vitamins to do the job. That is really what it provides, just a little extra resource.

Local school Superintendents and their staffs have the freedom and not only the freedom, but the challenge to develop, under Title I, projects, programs tailored to the specific needs of the deprived children in their communities. No one is putting you in a straightjacket. You take those Title I funds and design what you think is needed.

And, these Superintendents and school administrators have the responsibility for seeing that the projects work towards that purpose. Theirs is the first and the decisive role in the three-way partnership of federal, state and local.

State officials have a responsibility to review carefully the proposals of the local schools to make doubly sure that this great program is actually working to meet the needs of the children from whom it is intended. But, their responsibility cannot end with merely approving or rejecting these proposals. So, schools in every state, usually those that need good Title I projects the most, lack the staff, regretfully, or time or the originality to do effective planning of their own. And here is where state leadership can make itself felt and if you wanted to say something to your government and your local legislature when you get home, you tell them to join education. It is the biggest going business in this country.

I talked to the Minnesota legislators Saturday night, and I reminded them that there will never be a legislator that will be banished from the memory of the people in Minnesota because he was for good schools.

And, I said, you can forgive a man in the legislature of Congress for almost anything except denying children a chance. The other one that you can hardly forgive him for is to deny him the elderly protection and security. "Anybody between the ages of 20 and 60 ought to be able to make it pretty well on his own. But, I have often felt there is a sort of trilogy in our society. Those that are in the dawn of life are entitled to a break, and those that are in the twilight

of life, the elderly, are entitled to security and those that are in the storm clouds of life, those that are in the disabled, and the needy, are entitled to compassion. The rest of us ought to be able to stand pretty well on our own.

Well, I don't want to just speak now of the cities, and I am about ready to leave you. I want to talk now about the rural areas too, because poverty in America and deprivation is not a special monopoly of the big city. Most of the poor live in the smaller cities, and that is where they can be forgotten rather easily because they are unorganized, inarticulate. So, we have to attack the educational problems of our rural districts as well. Enthusiasm, originality, sound planning are the keys to making the rural program, as well as the urban program, work.

And, state and local Superintendents must carry their full share of this partnership.

Now, I am sure that the problems for which you will be seeking solutions at this conference, the main problem, I should say, is one which has beset the schools for many years, and it is the problem that new educational programs support for the time being, at least, tend to make things worse rather than better.

Now, that is a poor way to get into a speech, in sort of summarizing, but it is a fact. I refer to the shortage of trained teachers and skilled school personnel. With all

of these wonderful new programs, we find all at once we don't have the trained people for them. Over the years, through such new programs as the teacher corps, special scholarships and training programs, I am sure that we will be able to attract many more people to education. But, in the meantime, there are serious problems of personnel shortage

I believe too that the new and invigorating climate of education in this country is already stimulating a new trend back to the educational professions. In fact, you can advise your son or daughter or your young friend to make a career out of education. The day of the poorly paid teacher and the inadequately paid Superintendent and School Administrator is all over. I will tell you it is changed, and all for the good. And, if you don't know it, let me remind you that it has changed, and don't be so timid, any of you, that are in this education business, don't you hesitate to knock on the door of your state legislator, your school board member, if you are a School board member, knock on your own door --

{Laughter.}

-- your Governor or your Congressman or your President, you will not be asking for something for yourselves. You will be asking for something for the nation.

The problem, of course, is that today's children cannot wait for tomorrow's teachers. The shortage will persist.

But, already we have begun, and particularly under the new programs, to find solutions to the problem. Commissioner Howe tells me that he has urged the chief state school officers to take the lead in recruiting teacher aids, part-time staff, and volunteers to help out in the schools.

Well, I want to add my voice to his, in urging that you explore this sensible and typically American solution to the teacher shortage. I say it is typically American, because it is based upon the American tradition that is at least as old as the little red school house, the tradition of community involvement in education. Our forefathers built their schools with the help of their neighbors. They had box suppers and bazaars and hoedowns to raise money to keep the school going. They took turns providing bed and board for the schoolmarm.

Now, I am sure that is a part of the tradition that some of you had just as well see completely removed from the American scene. In recent years, it seems to me, schools have too often tended to become aloof from that community that kept them alive. Therefore, I think it is time to reverse that tendency.

The problems that we face in our schools today are too big for the schools alone. They require the full resources of the total community.

Last year some 50,000 teacher aids were at work in our

schools. When schools open this fall, many more will undoubtedly be on the job and will be needed. I am sure that many homemakers who are qualified teachers would be willing to work part time if the need were known to them. And, I ask you to dramatize the need. Americans respond, if they are asked. And, I am confident that there are literally thousands of college-trained men and women that would respond for volunteer service or part time service, if it was made a matter of national priority. And, let's not forget therefore, the volunteers.

If there is any doubt that community volunteers can make a contribution to education, I refer to Project Headstart which in its first year, recruited nearly 100,000 volunteer helpers, as well as 46,000 paid neighborhood workers. And, frankly, the biggest complaint I have heard about Project Headstart thus far, is that they thought that the new emphasis had somehow or another played down the volunteer aspect. People want to volunteer. There is one person around which you can unite, negro and white, protestant, catholic and jew, labor and business, you can unite them all around a child. They will sit down and talk and work for that child, but when you get up to be an adult, they will start to dislike you a little bit, and it gets a little more difficult. But, as long as you are talking about a child, you can get anything done.

Now, the truth is that the American school and the schools serving the poor can no longer afford to be an island cut off from the community. And, this is where Project Headstart demonstrated its real meaning. In last summer's program alone, more than a half a million disadvantaged children were reached and given a short, but wonderful experience. And this year, the program continues to move on even to greater goals.

Now, we need to ask ourselves just a few more things about Project Headstart.

What else did it do besides bring children into it?

It taught the teachers something about teaching. It provided an opportunity for parents to take a look at their own children, and for the children to lead the social worker and the teacher back to the community of the parents. Active involvement of the parents, a hallmark of Headstart which started a year ago, and must be stepped up at all levels of the elementary and secondary schools. And, this is particularly true in the districts where the children of the poor go to school.

Our private organizations, labor, business, civil rights, you name it, are looking for a chance to serve, and it is your responsibility, those of you in this room, to recruit them.

Well, we are here for a noble purpose. And, I am not

going to keep you a minute longer. I only want to say that you can do no greater than the help a child live a full and rich and rewarding life.

A great American author, Thomas Wolfe, gave me the creed for this program of which we speak. And, it was a goal that represents the American dream. It was expressed a little over a generation ago, and listen to these words, and if you care to, sometime, just mark them down and read them at least once a day as a sort of secular verse, if not a prayer. Here is why you are here, and here is why we are trying to do what we are trying to do at the federal level.

We are trying to expand this great horizon of opportunity for the greatest gift that God almighty gave this earth, humankind. Thomas Wolfe said, "To every man, his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This .. is the promise of America."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is what America is all about. It is not about the money in its banks. It is not about the power of our weapons. It is not even about the expansion of our economy.

America is about people, people enlightened, emancipated, people released from fears and prejudices and deprivations,

people that reach out to help not only themselves, but to help others.

This great nation of ours has so much to give and so much to draw from, and I look upon this audience tonight as part of the great army of those who can lead the nation, and lead America to its greatness. And, the greatness is in its love of humankind. One nation under God, and indivisible and with liberty and justice for all. It can't be that kind of a nation unless we mean it. And the word "all" means everybody, the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, the black and the white, whoever they may be. They are ours. They are Americans and they are entitled to every, every opportunity of American citizenship.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

(Standing ovation.)

MR. GARDNER: Thank you very much Mr. Vice President. That really spoke to our condition and started us off wonderfully on this conference.

I am going to ask the Director of the Conference, Rupert Picott, to make some announcements.

MR. PICOTT: To the greetings which have been extended to you, may I add those of a devoted staff, Jack Hughes, and my own. We are sincerely grateful that you are here, particularly amid trying circumstances so far as travel is



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