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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY AM's
June 27, 1968

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES
DENVER, COLORADO
JUNE 26, 1968

We have lived and grown and prospered as a nation -- and have made democracy work -- on the simple good sense, as Jefferson put it, that "man cannot be both free and ignorant."

A greater proportion of young Americans finish grade school, high school, and college than in any other society on earth.

Yet the fact is that our educational system is still falling short of the mark.

There is no paradox in this. To the contrary.

We have set out now to perfect the society we have built.

The only nation in the world where the poor, by our standards, are a minority, we are determined now to eliminate poverty.

The freest society in history, we are intent now on making this freedom real in every citizen's life.

Possessed of unparalleled wealth in material things, we are discontent about the quality -- and, worse, the inequality -- of human life.

We used to measure our achievement in terms of averages, medians, and means.

Now we measure it by how many are left out of what we have . . . by the extent to which every American participates both in the responsibilities and in the benefits of membership in this society.

We have a new sense of what Walt Whitman meant when he said, "I give you the sign of democracy: I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms!"

And as we relied on general education to develop democracy's basic idea, we turn now to the perfection of our educational policy as the necessary means to make a reality out of democracy's highest ideals.

We know that the flaws that remain in America -- poverty . . . the disadvantages of "minority groups" . . . hunger . . . disease . . . crime . . . violence -- are all traceable in some measure to our remaining shortcomings in education.

So I come here today to talk with you about a New Education Policy for America.

That policy must go beyond a guarantee of twelve years of substantially-uniform instruction for every American boy or girl.

It must provide far more:

-- That every individual has the right to receive the fullest and best education that individual can put to good use.

-- And further: That every individual with the capacity to be self-sufficient has an obligation to use this educational opportunity toward responsible membership in a free society.

I mean to declare this policy, and carry it out, as clearly as we would declare and carry out the policy of protecting this country against invasion by a foreign power.

For ignorance is an alien force in America -- the enemy of everything we seek . . . everything we stand for.

We must therefore mobilize America against ignorance, illiteracy and intolerance. We must rally America for education, training, and opportunity.

I know the sensitivities of a federal official talking about education to a commission of state and local officers -- and all the hazards that surround the subject.

I know them well enough that they don't frighten me.

My first Senate vote in 1949 was on federal aid to education. We passed it in the Senate. It was killed in the House.

Year after year, federal aid to education was killed in one House or the other on one basis or the other -- race or religion.

Or it was defeated on the argument that it was too expensive . . . that we shouldn't "pass on the debts to the next generation."

So we passed on instead the one debt no generation can stand -- which is the burden of the ignorance, the lack of education and training, of some of its members.

Finally a man who had been a teacher, in a little school for Mexican-American children, became President of the United States -- and broke through those old, irrelevant barriers.

In 1968 your federal government is investing in all forms of education, almost thirteen billion dollars -- more than three times the level four years ago. The dividends are beginning to come, in the form of new jobs, new hope, new dignity.

But we still have a long way to go.

Only half of our sons and daughters go to college -- and only half of those who start college finish it.

Over 900,000 drop out of high-school before they get their diplomas.

You know, when people turn away from a store, a good businessman says "there must be something wrong with the merchandise or the service." And when young people turn away from the schools it is time to ask ourselves "why."

Is our education relevant to their needs?

Is it what they have to have to make a living?

Has it some real meaning to their life today or tomorrow?

Or, are we just in the business of selling old wares and hopefully thinking we can do it, because they have to attend school?

Yet the truth of it is that today's lost educational opportunity is not the result of not knowing how to teach children. It is a gap between what we know and what we do.

It is partly, too, a failure to break away from old patterns of administration in our schools and our school systems -- which is the particular subject of concern and responsibility of the members of this Commission.

* * *

Let me today offer three essential elements in the development of a New Education Policy.

First, we must be willing to pay the cost of quality education at all levels.

Second, we must provide not just mass education, but individual education.

Third, we must overhaul educational administration.

First, paying the price:

The cost of educating every American must be recognized as an investment that will be fully repaid.

We spend billions of dollars for relief and welfare, for institutional care, for crime and violence -- as the costs of people not being educated and trained.

The question is whether to pay as our children grow -- to educate them -- or whether to pay later the prices of ignorance, incompetence, frustration, and alienation.

The costs of a policy of full education will be large. They include the cost of training and paying teachers on a basis which recognizes that their work affects the future more directly than the work of any other profession.

They include the cost of a national pre-school program available to all children from age 4.

They include the cost of seeing to it that a child who comes to school hungry is fed.

They include the cost of whatever arrangement is necessary to put staying in school, right through college, on a straight ability-to-learn -- not ability-to-pay -- basis.

We need to look seriously, for instance, at the proposals which have been made for a liberal student-loan program -- with the terms of repayment to be geared to the student's post-education earnings.

They include the cost of providing and staffing adequate technical institutes and vocational schools which will give young people the skills they need for the jobs of tomorrow, rather than whatever skills of yesterday the available staff people happen to have.

They include the cost of educational centers, developing and providing creative and innovative teaching tools and methods, in each of our 50 states.

They include the cost of a minimum of 25 federally-subsidized centers of advanced study in high-school and college education.

They include the cost of community colleges which are more than glorified custodial high-schools, and which meet the legitimate needs of young people who may not be suited to a four-year college or who need better preparation before entering one.

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The members of the Association of American Universities have this week issued a detailed statement calling for a large-scale increase in federal support for higher education -- in public and private institutions, from junior colleges to graduate schools.

It is estimated that the implementation of this AAU proposal would mean an increased annual expenditure of as much as 8 billion dollars by 1975. That estimate may not be high.

The Association representatives urge consideration of their proposal in this election-year campaign.

I join in that.

This is the kind of thing we ought to consider and decide as a people.

I believe we must be willing to make our decision this year that forthcoming national "dividends" should be put into education -- a large part of both the "peace dividend" which will come with the ending of the war in Viet Nam, and of the "growth dividend" which will come in the form of increased revenues from economic expansion.

Second, providing education for the individual:

A new full-education policy must take into account individual differences and circumstances.

Equal educational opportunity ought to mean the preferential treatment of those who have gotten off to a slow start -- almost always for reasons entirely beyond their control.

Equal opportunity also means putting good schools in the "worst" parts of town, and good teachers with those youngsters who present the most difficult educational problems.

Our worst waste of human resources -- and our most direct contribution to poverty and to crime -- lies in the fact that we let almost a million boys and girls end their education every year without completing their preparation for what comes next... in most cases just because they have reached age 16.

I believe age 16 should not be a cut-off date for compulsory education. I believe there should be case-by-case handling of students who for any reason decide to leave school before they have finished the 12th grade.

We need new curricula for those who will go directly from high school to work.

We need institutes of remedial education to provide intelligent but educationally or culturally deprived young people with the essential tools required for college work.

The lack of true educational opportunity is illustrated by the racial composition of our major colleges and universities. The time has come for specific steps to correct this imbalance.

We need combination learning-and-earning programs, and closer relationships between the schools and the employers in the community.

It means insuring that each student should receive the right instruction for his level of intellectual capacity, and for his aptitude -- from the retarded to the most brilliantly-gifted.

I believe we can do this and at the same time continue to give all our young people education which exposes them to contact and experience with other students who are not carbon copies of themselves.

Years ago we tended to ignore the child who revealed early academic disabilities and shrugged him off as doomed to mediocrity.

We identified the child who seemed socially apathetic or troublesome and shunted him off to some isolated corner.

We tested a youngster and, perhaps unconsciously, carved out his educational niche well in advance of any chance to display his individuality.

We must nourish individuality -- the individuality of every child, white or black, rich or poor, urban or rural.

We must find and touch that priceless substance within each child which makes him a separate entity -- unique and precious -- so that he may utilize it to the fullest, on his own behalf and on behalf of his society.

Third: We must declare a deliberate policy of innovation in educational administration.

The current revolution in teaching methods at the primary and secondary level has produced the "new math" and the new methods of language instruction. This must be matched by drastic changes in the administrative aspects of education.

There is the obvious need for the 12-month use of our school facilities.

It does not make sense to use a 45 billion dollar primary and secondary educational facility only eight hours a day, nine months a year.

We would not stand for it in any other public service.

We need long-term planning so that our schools, at all levels, will be placed in areas of future population growth -- not according to old jurisdictional lines.

And we need conscious decision on the part of government at all levels, to encourage magnet centers of educational excellence -- such as we see now in Boston and California -- in those areas where economic and population growth is desired. Where there is educational excellence, economic and social dividends follow.

We are now involved in innovation and experimentation in unprecedented magnitude...the application of modern technology in the classroom...through such aids as programmed teaching machines; video recording; language laboratories -- through innovations such as team teaching; variable sized classes ranging from a one-to-one student teacher ratio to a lecturer speaking to hundreds.

Elementary schools are moving toward individual research projects and self-discovery rather than rote learning.

There is increased recruitment of gifted liberal arts graduates as teachers, and of housewives with special skills for part-time teaching.

And, at all levels, we see now the development of new attitudes regarding student sharing of responsibility with faculty and administration.

Our young people have idealism -- and capacity beyond what we had at their age.

They insist, and rightly so, in participating in the affairs of democracy.

They ask for channels of self-expression. Self-expression is a cornerstone of the individuality we seek, and we should encourage these young people to state and debate, to learn how to handle ideas in an orderly and American way.

Part of the disorderly spectacle we see on some college campuses may trace its origins to inexperience with the democratic handling of dissent and debate.

It seems to me that high school administrators and faculty members must prepare themselves far more than they have today to understand and work in the fields of social and political action, so that their students, in turn, will be prepared to do the same.

A natural extension of this is the need for our colleges and universities to more fully involve themselves in constructive social action in their surrounding communities.

The role for the faculty should not be just "publish or perish," but also "participate and prosper."

As our colleges and universities become more fully committed to the betterment of their own home towns, I have a feeling they will gain far more than they give in the accumulation of practical knowledge about the urgent problems they seek to understand.

As the students of our colleges and universities find themselves actively drawn into the decision-making process of their schools...as they find themselves, on a practical and direct level, helping to fight poverty and ignorance in their communities, I think they will gain a deep and lasting ability for citizenship -- and respect for the democratic process.

* * *

Now is the time -- this year -- for us to make decisions about policies and priorities of this country in the 1970's and the year 2000.

I believe that the base on which everything else must

be built is the educational policy of this nation.

We shall be either as strong, or as weak, as that policy permits.

Those are the stakes.

I believe, therefore, that we should -- as a nation -- declare here and now that 1968 will be the year when the decision was finally made to make the investments...to make the changes ...to make the personal commitments necessary to provide quality education for every individual American child -- from age 4 through college.

That is a big order. But this is a big nation.

And, if we do it, we shall be a great nation.

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY AM'S
JUNE 27, 1968

DENVER, COLORADO -- In a major address on education, Vice President Hubert Humphrey today called for a "New Educational Policy for America."

Humphrey's plan would provide full education for every child from the fourth year through college "on a strict ability to learn -- not ability to pay -- basis."

Addressing the Education Commission of the States in Denver, Humphrey called upon the nation to decide this year that "a large part of both the 'peace dividend' which will come with the ending of the war in Vietnam, and of the 'growth dividend' which will come in the form of increased revenues from economic expansion" should go to education.

Among the Vice President's proposals were:

- teacher salaries commensurate with the importance of their service;
- preferential treatment for those children who have gotten off to a slow start for economic or other reasons;
- case-by-case efforts to see that potential drop-outs stay in school;
- new curricula for those who will go directly from high school to work;
- institutes of remedial education to prepare gifted but educationally disadvantaged students for college;
- year-round use of school facilities;
- the use of man "magnet centers of educational excellence" to attract economic and population growth to areas where it is desired;
- greater participation for high school and college students in the decision-making process of their schools in that they may "learn how to handle ideas in an orderly American way."

Humphrey declared, "I mean to declare this policy and carry it out, as clearly as we would declare and carry out the policy of

protecting this country against invasion by a foreign power. For ignorance is an alien force in America...the enemy of everything we seek...everything we stand for."

Today's declaration on educational policy is the latest in a long series of educational firsts for which Hubert Humphrey has fought throughout his career in public service.

As Mayor of Minneapolis, Humphrey pushed vigorously for better schools and teachers, and for additional classrooms in all neighborhoods. To emphasize his dedication to good municipal schools, he once personally nailed boards across a structurally unsafe school which local officials refused to close.

For fifteen years as a Senator, beginning in 1949, he was in the forefront of the major legislative battles of our time over education.

In one of his first speeches as a Senator he sought to arouse the conscience of the nation about quality education:

"We must also build...better schools from the inside out -- the teacher, facilities, the general curriculum...I think it is a singular **tragedy** that a young man and woman starting family life are compelled to place their children in schools with inadequate teaching staffs, schools that are overcrowded."

He was one of the Founding Fathers of federal aid to education, and sponsored over 20 pieces of major legislation to aid America's educational system during his tenure in the Senate.

His proposals eventually led to passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and the National Defense Education Act of 1958 for higher education, and programs such as extended vocational education, Job Corps, and Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Years before they gained widespread popularity, Humphrey urged a Peace Corps, cultural exchange program to carry the advantages of American education abroad, and a national program for the Arts.

Appropriately, one of his last acts in the Senate, as Majority Whip, was to help guide Head Start to passage.

In the Vice Presidency, Hubert Humphrey has again developed programs to meet the educational needs of tomorrow. He has proposed and actively campaigned to open schools on a year-round basis for special education in disadvantaged neighborhoods. He led the Administration's struggle to pass landmark education measures -- many of which he himself conceived earlier in his career. And he recently called for an "educational minimum wage" for America's children as a "logical and necessary next step."

Humphrey often refers to himself as a "refugee from the classroom," who left the university for public service. As a student he was elected Phi Beta Kappa. He has a master's degree and taught at the University of Minnesota and Macalester College.

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Gov Rampton

Dr Pierce

Rev

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES

DENVER, COLORADO

Mayor Currieger

JUNE 26, 1968

↳ We have lived and grown and prospered as a nation -- and have made democracy work -- on the simple good sense, as Jefferson put it, that "men cannot be both free and ignorant."

↳ A greater proportion of young Americans finish grade school, high school, and college than in any other society on earth.

↳ Yet the fact is that our educational system is still falling short of the mark.

↳ It is particularly falling short when we see -- as we see to day -- education under brutal attack in the Congress.

↳ There is no paradox in this. To the contrary.

We have set out now to perfect the society we have built.

↳ The only nation in the world where the poor, by our standards, are a minority, we are determined now to ~~eliminate~~ ^{conquer} poverty.

↳ The freest society in history, we are intent now on making this freedom real in every citizen's life.

↳ Possessed of unparalleled wealth in material things, we are discontent about the quality -- and, worse, the inequality -- of human life.

↳ We used to measure our achievement in terms of averages, medians, and means.

↳ Now we measure it by how many are left out of what we have by the extent to which every American participates both in the responsibilities and in the benefits of membership in this society.

↳ We have a new sense of what Walt Whitman meant when he said, "I give you the sign of democracy; I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms!"

↳ And as we ^{have} relied on general education to develop democracy's basic idea, we turn now to the perfection of our educational policy as the necessary means to make a reality out of democracy's highest ideals.

↳ We know that the flaws that remain in America -- poverty ... the disadvantage^s of "minority groups" ... hunger ... disease ... crime ... violence -- are ~~all~~ traceable in some measure to our remaining shortcomings in education.

So I come here today to talk with you about a New Education ~~#~~ Policy for America.

↳ That policy must go beyond a guarantee of twelve years of substantially-uniform instruction for every American boy or girl.

It must ~~provide for more:~~ provide and assure that

-- ~~That~~ ^{has} every individual ~~has~~ the right to receive the fullest and best education ^{which he or she can} ~~that individual can put~~ to good use. ~~about and use.~~

-- And further: That every individual with the capacity to be self-sufficient has an obligation to use this educational opportunity toward responsible membership in a free society.

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~~For~~ Ignorance is an alien force in America -- the enemy of everything we seek ... everything we stand for.

↳ We must therefore mobilize America against ignorance, illiteracy and intolerance. ↳ We must rally America for education, training, and opportunity.

↳ I know the sensitivities of a federal official talking about education to a commission of state and local officers -- and all the hazards that surround the subject.

↳ I know them well enough that they don't frighten me.

My first Senate vote in 1949 was on federal aid to education.

We passed it in the Senate. It was killed in the House.

↳ Year after year, federal aid to education was killed in one House or the other on one basis ~~or the other~~ -- race or religion.

Or it was defeated on the argument that it was "too expensive"

... that we shouldn't "pass on debts to the next generation."

↳ So we passed on instead the one debt no generation can stand -- which is the burden of the ignorance, the lack of education and training, ~~for~~ some of its members.

Finally a man who had been a teacher, in a little school for Mexican-American children, became President of the United States -- and broke through those old, irrelevant barriers.

In 1968 your federal government is investing in all forms of education, almost thirteen billion dollars -- more than three times the level four years ago. The dividends are beginning to come, in the form of new jobs, new hope, new dignity.

↳ But we still have a long way to go.

Only half of our sons and daughters go to college -- and only half of those who start college finish it.

↳ Over 900,000 drop out of high-school before they get their diplomas.

↳ You know, when people turn away from a store, a good businessman says "there must be something wrong with the merchandise or the service." And when young people turn away from the schools it is time to ask ourselves "why".

- ↳ Is our education relevant to ^{the} ~~their~~ needs? ^{of our young people,}
- ↳ Is it what they have to have to make a living? ^{in order}
- ↳ Has it some real meaning to ^{their} ~~their~~ life today or tomorrow?

Or, are we just in the business of selling old wares and hopefully thinking we can do it, because they have to attend school?

↳ Yet, the truth ~~is~~ is that today's "lost educational opportunity" is not the result of not knowing how to teach children. It is ~~the result of~~ ^{the} gap between what we know and what we do.

↳ It is partly, too, a failure to break away from old patterns of administration ~~in our schools and our school systems~~ -- which is the particular subject of concern and responsibility of the members of this Commission.

Let ~~me~~ ^{me suggest} three essential elements in the development of a New Education Policy.

↳ First, we must be willing to pay the cost of quality education at all levels.

↳ Second, we must provide not just mass education, but individual education.

Third, we must overhaul educational administration.

First, paying the price:

The cost of educating every American must be recognized as an investment that will be fully repaid.

↳ We spend billions of dollars for relief and welfare, for institutional care, for crime and violence -- as the costs of people not being educated and trained.

↳ The question is whether to pay as our children grow -- to educate them -- or whether to pay later the prices of ignorance, incompetence, frustration, and alienation.

∟ The costs of a policy of full education will be large.

They include the cost of training and paying teachers on a basis which recognizes that their work affects the future more directly than the work of any other profession.

∟ They include the cost of a national pre-school program available to all children from age 4.

∟ They include the cost of seeing to it that a child who comes to school hungry is fed.

∟ They include the cost of whatever arrangement is necessary to put staying in school, right through college, on a straight ability-to-learn -- not ability-to-pay -- basis.

∟ We need to look seriously, for instance, at the proposals which have been made for a liberal student-loan program -- with the terms of repayment to be geared to the student's post-education earnings.

(A)

They include the cost, at State level, of financing ambitious programs such as those, for instance, contained in Governor Hughes' special message to the New Jersey legislature — programs for school construction, an urban education corps, an educational opportunity fund, neighborhood centers.

↳ They include the cost of providing and staffing adequate technical institutes and vocational schools which will give young people the skills they need for the jobs of tomorrow, rather than whatever skills of yesterday the available staff people happen to have.

↳ They include the cost of educational centers, developing and providing creative and innovative teaching tools and methods, in each of our 50 states.

↳ They include the cost of a minimum of 25 federally-subsidized "centers of advanced study" ^{for Teachers in} high-school and college education.

← (A) ↳ They include the cost of community colleges, ~~which are more than glorified custodial high schools~~ and which meet the legitimate needs of young people who may not be suited to a four-year college or who need better preparation before entering one.

The members of the Association of American Universities have this week issued a detailed statement calling for a large-scale increase in federal support for higher education -- in public and private institutions, from junior colleges to graduate schools.

↳ It is estimated that the implementation of this AAU proposal would mean an increased annual expenditure of as much as 8 billion dollars by 1975. That estimate may not be high.

↳ The Association representatives urge consideration of their proposal in this election-year campaign.

I join in that.

↳ This is the kind of thing we ought to consider and decide as a people in this year of national decision,

↳ I believe we must be willing to invest substantial yes national "dividends" in education -- a large part of both the "peace dividend" which will

come with the ending of the war in Viet Nam, and of the
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"worst" parts of town, and ~~good~~ ^{skilled} teachers with those youngsters
who present the most difficult educational problems.

Our worst waste of human resources -- and our most direct contribution to poverty and to crime -- lies in the fact that we let almost a million boys and girls end their education every year without completing their preparation for what comes next ... in most cases just because they have reached age 16.

↳ I believe age 16 should not be a cut-off date for compulsory education. I believe there should be case-by-case handling of students who for any reason decide to leave school before they have finished the 12th grade.

↳ We need new curricula for those who will go directly from high school to work *gainful employment*

↳ We need "institutes of remedial education" to provide intelligent but educationally or culturally deprived young people with the essential tools required for college work.

The lack of true educational opportunity is illustrated by the racial composition of our major colleges and universities. The time has come for specific steps to correct this imbalance.

↳ We need combination learning-and-earning programs, and closer relationships between the schools and the employers in the community.

↳ *Equal Educational opportunity*
It means insuring that each student should receive the right instruction for his level of intellectual capacity, and for his aptitude -- from the retarded to the most brilliantly-gifted!

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↳ We identified the child who seemed socially apathetic or troublesome and shunted him off to some isolated corner.

↳ We tested a youngster and, perhaps unconsciously, carved out his educational niche well in advance of any chance to display his individuality.

We must nourish individuality -- the individuality of every child, white or black, rich or poor, urban or rural.

↳ We must find and touch that priceless substance within each child which makes him a separate entity -- unique and precious -- so that he may utilize it to the fullest, on his own behalf and on behalf of his society.

Study our new Education Policy

~~Third~~ We must declare a deliberate policy of innovation

in educational administration.

The current revolution in teaching methods at the primary and secondary level has produced the 'new math' and the new methods of language instruction. This must be matched by drastic changes in the administrative aspects of education,

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↳ It does not make sense to use a 45 billion dollar primary and secondary educational facility only eight hours a day, nine months a year.

↳ We would not stand for it in any other public service.

↳ We need long-term planning so that our schools, at all levels, will be placed in areas of future population growth -- not according to old jurisdictional lines.

∟ And we need conscious decision on the part of government at all levels, to encourage magnet centers of educational excellence -- such as we see now in Boston and California -- in those areas where economic and population growth is desired. ∟ Where there is educational excellence, economic and social dividends follow. !

∟ We are now involved in innovation and experimentation in unprecedented magnitude ... the application of modern technology in the classroom ... through such aids as programmed teaching machines; video recording; language laboratories -- through innovations such as team teaching; variable sized classes ranging from a one-to-one student-teacher ratio to a lecturer speaking to hundreds. } communication satellite —

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∟ Our young people have idealism -- and capacity beyond
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∟ They ask for channels of self-expression. Self-expression
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encourage these young people to state and debate, to learn how
to handle ideas in an orderly and American way.

Part of the disorderly spectacle we see on some college campuses may trace its origins to inexperience with the democratic handling of dissent and debate.

It seems to me that high school administrators and faculty members must prepare themselves far more than they have today to understand and work in the fields of social and political action, so that their students, in turn, will be prepared to do the same.

A natural extension of this is the need for our colleges and universities to more fully involve themselves in constructive social action in their surrounding communities.

The role for the faculty should not be just "publish or perish," but also "participate and prosper."

As our colleges and universities become more fully committed to the betterment of their own home towns, I have a feeling they will gain far more than they give in the accumulation of practical knowledge about the urgent problems they seek to understand.

As the students of our colleges and universities find themselves actively drawn into the decision-making process of their schools ... as they find themselves, on a practical and direct level, helping to fight poverty and ignorance in their communities, I think they will gain a deep and lasting ability for citizenship -- and respect for the democratic process.

* * *

Now is the time -- this year -- for us to make decisions about policies and priorities of this country in the 1970's and the year 2000.

I believe that the base on which everything else must be built is the educational policy of this nation.

We shall be either as strong, or as weak, as that policy permits.

Those are the stakes.

I believe, therefore, that we should -- as a nation -- declare here and now that 1968 will be the year when the decision was finally made to make the investments ... to make the changes ... to make the personal commitments necessary to provide quality education for every individual American child -- from age 4 through college.

That is a big order. But this is a big nation.

And, if we do it, we shall be a great nation.

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Excerpts from Speech
to Education Commission
of the States, Denver,
Colorado, June 26, 1968

A New Educational Policy for America

So I come here today to talk with you about a New Education Policy for America.

That policy must go beyond a guarantee of twelve years of substantially-uniform instruction for every American boy or girl.

It must provide far more:

-- That every individual has the right to receive the fullest and best education that individual can put to good use.

-- And further: That every individual with the capacity to be self-sufficient has an obligation to use this educational opportunity toward responsible membership in a free society.

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The cost of educating every American must be recognized as an investment that will be fully repaid.

We spend billions of dollars for relief and welfare, for institutional care, for crime and violence -- as the costs of people not being educated and trained.

The question is whether to pay as our children grow -- to educate them -- or whether to pay later the prices of ignorance, incompetence, frustration, and alienation.

The costs of a policy of full education will be large. They include the cost of training and paying teachers on a basis which recognizes that their work affects the future more directly than the work of any other profession.

They include the cost of a national pre-school program available to all children from age 4.

They include the cost of seeing to it that a child who comes to school hungry is fed.

They include the cost of whatever arrangement is necessary to put staying in school, right through college, on a straight ability-to-learn -- not ability-to-pay -- basis.

...

They include the cost of educational centers, developing and providing creative and innovative teaching tools and methods, in each of our 50 states.

They include the cost of a minimum of 25 federally-subsidized centers of advanced study in high-school and college education.

...

I believe we must be willing to make our decision this year that forthcoming national "dividends" should be put into education -- a large part of both the "peace dividend" which will come with the ending of the war in Vietnam, and of the "growth dividend" which will come in the form of increased revenues from economic expansion.

Second, providing education for the individual:

A new full-education policy must take into account individual differences and circumstances.

Equal educational opportunity ought to mean the preferential treatment of those who have gotten off to a slow start -- almost always for reasons entirely beyond their control.

Equal opportunity also means putting good schools in the "worst" parts of town, and good teachers with those youngsters who present the most difficult educational problems.

...

I believe age 16 should not be a cut-off date for compulsory education. I believe there should be case-by-case handling of students who for any reason decide to leave school before they have finished the 12th grade.

We need new curricula for those who will go directly from high school to work.

We need institutes of remedial education to provide intelligent but educationally or culturally deprived young people with the essential tools required for college work.

The lack of true educational opportunity is illustrated by the racial composition of our major colleges and universities. The time has come for specific steps to correct this imbalance.

We need combination learning-and-earning programs, and closer relationships between the schools and the employers in the community.

...

Third: We must declare a deliberate policy of innovation in educational administration.

The current revolution in teaching methods at the primary and secondary level has produced the "new math" and the new methods of language instruction. This must be matched by drastic changes in the administrative aspects of education.

There is the obvious need for the 12-month use of our school facilities.

...

We need long-term planning so that our schools, at all levels, will be placed in areas of future population growth -- not according to old jurisdictional lines.

And we need conscious decision on the part of government at all levels, to encourage magnet centers of educational excellence -- such as we see now in Boston and California -- in those areas where economic and population growth is desired. Where there is educational excellence, economic and social dividends follow.

...

I believe, therefore, that we should -- as a nation -- declare here and now that 1968 will be the year when the decision was finally made to make the investments...to make the changes... to make the personal commitments necessary to provide quality education for every individual American child -- from age 4 through college.

ERASABLE
TRANSPARENT

ADDRESS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Denver, Colorado

June 26, 1968.

Annual Meeting of the
Education Commission of the States.

Utah/ook

BANQUET SESSION OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES, Wednesday Evening, June 26, 1968, Brown Palace Hotel, Denver, Colorado.

GOVERNOR CALVIN L. RAMPTON: Ladies and gentlemen, may I present the Vice President of the United States.

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Governor Ramp-ton, I want to thank you very much for this moving introduction. I was moving in, you were just moving away here from the podium. [Laughter]

I was very pleased when I came in the door and saw the Governor of the State of Minnesota was right there to extend a friendly hand of bipartisan welcome.

Governor Love, to put it quite simply and directly, I love to come to Colorado and I always enjoyed so much, as Mayor Currigan knows, the privilege of being in this great City of Denver, which is one of the prize cities of America, one that has been very close to my heart since I was a student out in these precincts. I don't know why I used the word "pre-cincts," but it does sound natural.

Dr. Conant, my distinguished colleagues in public life, the governors who are here, Dr. Pierce, Reverend-clergy-men and fellow educators and fellow public servants: I come

here tonight to visit with you about the health and the welfare of education in the United States. That's what you are interested in, that's the purpose of your conference, and I come here with the sincere desire just to share some thoughts with you, hopefully to do it in a spirit of understanding and dialogue maybe at a later time, and at this time, I am afraid on my part, a monologue.

I can't think of any subject that is more meaningful to the American community, and, indeed, more difficult to deal with in the days ahead than the education of our people, and I want to make it clear before I proceed any further that I am speaking now of education in all of its dimensions, public and private, secular and nonsecular, elementary, secondary and higher education, adult education, preschool, the whole spectrum of education, because every one of these areas is vital to the educational process and to the totality of the educational experience. Also, each and every one is needed, public and private, preschool, to college, to adult education, to technical schools, and as public servants and as interested citizens we need to think through how we can best serve this mighty cause of freedom - education.

We have lived and grown and prospered as a nation

and we have made our democracy work on the simple good sense, as Jefferson put it, that "Men cannot be both free and ignorant." A greater proportion of young Americans finish grade school, high school and college in this country than in any other society on earth. Yet we set our own standards. We do not seek to compare with others. The fact is that our educational system is still falling short of the mark. It is particularly falling short when we see, as we see today, education, mind you, and educational funds under attack even as of this day in the Congress of the United States.

Now, there is no paradox in this. To the contrary, we have set out now to perfect the society that we have built. We seek to build a better America. Some people say a new America. I prefer to say a better America. The only nation in the world where the poor, by our standards, are a minority is in this nation, and yet we are now determined to conquer the last vestiges of poverty, something that has never been accomplished in all of the history of mankind, and yet we feel we can do it. The freest society in history, and yet we are intent now on making this freedom real in every citizen's life. Possessed of unparalleled wealth, that is, in material things, we are discontent about the quality, and worth, the inequality of human

life. At one time we measured our achievement in terms of averages and medians and means. Very dangerous, may I say, and inadequate measurements. Now we measure it by how many are left out of what we have, or by the extent to which every American participates both in the responsibilities and the benefits of membership in this society.

I think that all of this is to the good, these new demands, these new standards. We have a new sense of what Walt Whitman meant when he said, "I give you the sign of democracy. I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms." Walt Whitman, the poet; Walt Whitman, the political man.

Now, as we have relied on general education to develop democracy's basic idea, we turn now to the perfection of our educational policy as a means to make a reality out of democracy's highest ideals. We know the flaws -- I think we do, at least -- that remain in America -- poverty, disadvantages of minority groups, even hunger, disease, far too much crime and violence, and I believe that all these are traceable in some measure to our remaining short-comings in education. So I come here tonight to outline for you or to talk to you about what I believe is a new education policy for America or a better edu-

cational policy.

Now, that policy must go beyond a guarantee of 12 years of substantially uniform instruction for every American boy or girl. I come here tonight to raise our sights, to look to broader horizons, if you don't mind, to gaze at the stars a bit so that we may extend our vision. We must provide and assure, indeed, guarantee that every individual has the right to receive the fullest and best education which he or she can absorb. The richest country on the face of the earth can do no less than that.

Further, this policy must provide every individual -- and I repeat the word "every" individual -- with the capacity to be self-sufficient, to have an obligation to use this educational opportunity towards responsible membership in a free society. Another way of saying that the educated man should be the responsible person above all others.

Now, I mean to declare this policy and to carry it out as clearly as we do declare and carry out the policy of protecting this country against invasion by a foreign power, because ignorance is an alien force in America, [applause] and its ally is illiteracy, both the enemy of everything that we seek and everything that we stand for. We must therefore do nothing less than mobilize -- yes, mobilize -- as if we were at war against

ignorance, illiteracy and intolerance, and we must rally America for education, for training of those that desperately need it, and for opportunity.

I have said from other platforms I think we are at a point in our history now where we are less concerned about social security and more concerned about social opportunity, and the only way that I know to have real social security and social opportunity is through the enrichment of the mind, the upgrading of the intellect, the perfection of the human spirit.

I know the sensitivities of any federal official coming along here and talking about education to a Commission of state and local officers. I have been a local officer, and I used to look with some suspicion, and justly so, on some of these federal fellows that came through. So I am well aware of all the hazards that surround this subject. I have been both the one that frightened and the one that has been frightened. But I know all the hazards well enough so they don't really frighten me now.

My first Senate vote in 1949 was on Federal aid to education and, you know, we passed it in the Senate. I remember the vote. It was 77 votes for it and I think there were only 12 against it. [Applause] And I remember that the then Senator from Massachusetts, Cabot Lodge, was one of the leaders for that

program. So it was plenty bipartisan. Well, we passed it in the Senate and lo and behold, you could expect it, it was killed in the House. Two years later they passed it in the House, we finished it off in the Senate. It was sort of like a political tennis match with the ball netted on every other serve. Year after year Federal aid to education was killed in one House or the other on one or two issues -- race or religion. Never on the basis of logic, but demagoguery, bigotry, intolerance, or it was defeated on the argument that some put up that it was too expensive and that we shouldn't -- and I remember this phrase, I took it right out of the Congressional Record of that debate -- "Pass on debts to the next generation."

I just warn you parents about that. I don't know what your mortgages are, but my wife never gave me such a compliment as when she asked me to sign a thirty-year mortgage about a year ago. I said, "My goodness, she must think I'm a young man." [Laughter]

Well, so instead of passing on those debts we passed on the one debt that no generation can afford or can stand, the burden and the debt of ignorance, the lack of education and training for some of the members of our society.

Now, we have a man who is President today who is a former teacher and a man who is Vice President who is a former

teacher, and by the way, I would like to come and renew my credentials. I am in a rather precarious occupation. (Laughter) I have no seniority clause and I have been writing a new job description lately. Just in case it doesn't work out, please look me over.

Well, we have teachers and educators all over the government today -- President, Vice President, majority leader of the Senate, majority leader of the House of Representatives, one after another, and we have been able to break through some of those old, irrelevant barriers.

In 1968 your Federal Government is investing in all forms of education, elementary and secondary, higher, preschool, about thirteen billions of dollars. That is more than three times the level of four years ago, and it is more money than we spent in the last hundred years of Federal aid to education.

The dividends - and there are some generous dividends - are beginning to come in now, and they are coming in in new forms of jobs, new hope, new dignity. The fact is, we have only scratched the surface. We have a long ways to go. Only half of our sons and daughters today go to college, and only half of those who start college finish it. I am not saying that this within itself proves any inadequacy, but it is at least a factor that you have to consider. Over nine hundred thousand drop

out of high school before they get diplomas.

I grew up as the son of a druggist. I am the son of a merchant, and I want to tell you educators something here and friends in public life. When people turn away from the store a good businessman says there must be something wrong with the merchandise or the service. Now, the service includes management as well, and when young people turn away from schools by droves, I think it is time to ask ourselves at least one question: Why? Is our education today relevant to the needs of our young people? Is it what they have to have in order to make a living? Has it some real meaning to their life of today and tomorrow? Or are we just in the business of selling old wares and hopefully thinking that we can do it because they have to attend school.

I want to put a little free enterprise in education, in the spirit of that. One of the dangers of a socialistic enterprise is you don't have any escape from it, and compulsion is not my idea of the way that you get people to do what they ought to be doing. But we do have compulsory education laws, and therefore it is all the more important that we find a way to downgrade the impact of compulsion and upgrade the desire for participation.

The truth is that today's lost education opportunity

is not the result of not knowing how to teach children. It is the result of the gap between what we know and what we do.

[Applause] I also think it is partly the failure to break away from the old patterns of administration, which is the particular subject of concern and responsibility of the members of this Commission, and I am talking as a member of the Lodge. I am a public servant, too.

Let me suggest, then, three essential elements in the development of a new educational policy.

First, and we have to tell the people this, we must be willing to pay the cost of quality education at all levels and the American people must be willing to pay the cost, [applause] and it is costly.

Second, we must provide not just mass education, but individual education, individualized education. This is what is needed more today in every aspect of life. Everything is too big. People are resenting it, revolting because of it. Part of the rebellion that you sense in many of your institutions today, public and private education, political, economic, is that everybody feels that they are just a number. Students, workers, even corporate executives, technicians, have come to that corporation, they do their job and go home and resent the fact that they are given a computer card that tells them what

their job is and what their salary is.

I will never forget the first time my youngest son brought home his grades. I sent that card back to the president of that college and said, "Will you please send me something I can understand?" They had punches all over the blamed thing. I couldn't understand one bit of it. I didn't send my son to come home like a punch card.

Well, I had to get over it. They won, but I put up a fight for awhile. [Laughter] But it is indicative of what I am talking about.

Third, we must overhaul educational administration, and I am talking of the people that can do all three things and help us do all three things. If we are really interested in education we lead the fight. If we really believe that education is here to enrich the human mind and the human spirit, then you don't do it by the mass. That is an ugly word in the first place. You do it individually. And when it comes to educational administration, we are in charge.

Now, the cost of educating every American must be recognized as an investment that will be fully repaid, and I am going to make a statement here that no one can contradict. There has never been a society that has gone bankrupt because of the investments it has made in education -- never -- and we

in public life ought to be telling our constituents just that. We spend billions of dollars for relief and welfare, for institutional care, for crime and violence, as the costs of people not being educated and trained. The question is whether to pay as our children grow up to educate them or whether to pay later the prices of ignorance and incompetence, frustration, crime and alienation. You are going to pay one time or another, one way or another.

The costs of the policy of full education will be large. Those costs will include the costs of training and paying teachers on a basis which recognizes that their work affects the future more directly than the work of any other profession, and it does. [Applause]

The costs of a policy of full education include the cost of seeing to it that the child who comes to school hungry is fed - period. I get a little weary over all this bureaucratic wrangling. There's plenty of food in this country to feed every hungry child, and you know it and I know it, and it has already been paid for. It is just stored up. If we can't figure a way out of this one, we ought to fold up the tent and quit. I think we can, and I think educators and school commissioners have a responsibility to help us find that way.

I have been in government a long time and I want

to tell you beware of a system that tends to answer its own questions, it polls itself rather than the public.

One of the reasons I have always believed that experts should be on tap and not on top is because the people on top ought to make policy and then tell the people below to execute it, get it done and don't come around giving me reasons why not. That's another talk. I will get to that another time. I promised my staff tonight I would stick to script. I have violated it four times.

Now, these costs also include the cost of whatever arrangement is necessary to put staying in school, hopefully right up through college, on a straight ability-to-learn, not an ability-to-pay basis, and this country must figure that one out.

We need to look seriously, for instance, at the proposals which have been made for a liberal student loan program, with terms of repayment to be geared to the student's post-education earnings.

Now, my dear friends, if you can figure out a 40-year loan for a developing country you ought to be able to figure out at least a ten-year loan for a developing child. [Applause] What's more, you generally make money off the interest, not the principal.

The costs include providing and staffing adequate technical institutes and vocational schools, which will give young people the skills they need for the jobs of tomorrow, and may I say, upgrading those schools so that the person that attends doesn't feel that he is being shoved aside into something that is beneath the average and beneath the dignity of the self-respecting person. And we need to have vocational schools and technical institutes that teach skills that are required today rather than some of this old shop talk that you

have learned a long time ago, and I have been in a lot of vocational schools. Once I ran a vocational program in our State.

The costs include educational centers, developing and providing creative and innovative teaching schools and methods in each of our fifty States. There isn't a corporation in America that is worth its salt that you would invest your money in unless you found out that it had an adequate research program going on for new products, new methods of distribution, new methods of sales. I think that every State in America has a requirement to have research institutes on better ways to teach. We ought to have some competition. One of these days I intend to propose across this country an "E" Award for the State that comes up with the best educational program, instead of an "E" award for the factory that produces the best guns. Maybe we need some of that. Excellence!

The costs include the minimum of twenty-five, maybe thirty, but at least a number, around twenty-five federally subsidized centers of advanced study for teachers in high school and college education. We've got a few such advanced study centers in Princeton and Harvard and M.I.T. and Berkeley. Not enough.

We need to upgrade not only the quality of life

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in American, but quality, may I say, of those who seek to bring better life to America. We need advanced institutes, maybe one in every State, but if not that, at least I said twenty-five.

Those costs include, at the State level, financing ambitious programs such as those, for instance, that I read about -- if Governor Hughes will permit it, he came out with me today -- his special message to the New Jersey Legislature, programs for school construction and urban education corps, an education opportunity fund and neighborhood centers. You know where we're going to get the best ideas for education? Right out of you Governors and the people that work with you because you are close to the people.

We need to have the ideas of American education come from a thousand and one sources. There isn't any assistant secretary of Education in Washington, no matter how good he is, or commissioner, or their technicians that are going to be able to fashion this educational structure that we need for a pluralistic society. One of the joys of a great educational system is its diversity, its uniqueness. It's what gives you conversation when you get together. If you were all doing the same thing you wouldn't have anything to talk about and you'd bore each other. We need to have variety, and in that variety and diversity comes competition that produces excellence.

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The costs of a good educational policy include community colleges far more than we have today, which meet the legitimate needs of young people who may not be suited to a four-year college course or may not want it or who need better preparation before entering a major college.

Now, members of the Association of American Universities have this week issued a detailed statement calling for a large-scale increase in federal support for higher education in public and private institutions, from junior colleges to graduate schools. I would add one other facet. You are not going to have better higher education until you get better elementary and secondary education. That's where it starts.

[Applause]

It is estimated that the implementation of this proposal from the Association of American Universities would need an increased annual expenditure of as much as eight billion dollars by 1975. By 1975 this country will have over a trillion dollars gross national product, and don't tell me that out of a trillion dollars you can't find eight billion if you really start planning for it now and readjust our priorities. The estimate I don't think is a bit too high.

The Association representatives urge consideration of their proposal in this election year campaign, and I join in

that. It would be very wholesome and healthy if we could start to talk about some things like education and health, about the promise of America rather than its sickness; about the hope of America rather than its despair; the future of America rather than the limitations of its past.

Some people indulge in the politics of fear, others in the politics of hope. I have made my choice a long time ago. I think you have two ways to move this country -- either frighten them or inspire them. I never look good in a witch's suit and I don't intend to engage in the politics of fear or in the dogma of fright. I think there is a wonderful opportunity, though, to lift and to inspire and to engender hope and faith in this great country of ours. I think we have a lot to be grateful for and much that we can put to use.

This is the kind of thing that I think we ought to consider and decide on as a people in this year of national decision. I know that most educators hesitate to get involved in this business they call politics. Well, you're in it up to your ears and you just as well come clean. Woe unto ye hypocrites! Let's just understand you are fighting for the public dollar and the private dollar and you are fighting for the priorities of this nation, and if you are unwilling to lead that fight

don't expect a child to do it. And if you're unwilling to lead it, you can expect some irresponsible demagogue or militant to lead it. I think we just have to make up our mind who is going to be in the front of the parade, whose banner is going to be held high and who is going to hold the flag.

Well, I believe we must be willing to invest substantial national dividends far greater than we have in education and a large part of both the peace dividend which will come with the ending of the war in Vietnam - and it will end - and the growth dividend which will come from the increased revenues of the expansion of our economy. Let's plan on it. Let's look at it. I guarantee you there are people right now planning to repeal the taxes, Federal and State. I think you had better start planning on what you are going to do with the funds that could be available, the revenues that could be there if the victory of peace could be ours, and if the economy can keep going and growing.

The second essential in this element of a new educational policy I said was providing for the individual, and this is close to my heart; a new full education policy must take into account individual differences, needs, and circumstances. I have taught many a student, thousands of them, and I sometimes feel, after having been in government for these past twenty some years that I owe every student that I taught

in American Government a refund. My, the difference between the textbook and reality!

Equal educational opportunity -- we talk about it, and it ought to mean the preferential treatment of those who have gotten off to a slow start, almost always for reasons entirely beyond their control.

You know, my dear friends, if you are the victim of malnutrition and you go to a hospital, the doctor doesn't just give you an equal diet with the person that's well on the outside. He doesn't say, "Look, hamburgers and onions and a malted milk and a little salad." Not at all. He holds you there long enough to get you pumped full of the vitamins and the minerals and the chemicals and the nutrients that you need so that you get back to where you can have an equal diet.

We have millions of children across this land who are the victims of educational vitamin deficiency, and they need educational minerals, educational vitamins until they can stand up on their own feet and compete and really be available for equal educational opportunity.

Educational opportunity? Here's what it means to me. It means putting the good schools in the worst parts of town. As an old preacher said, "In the worst of times, do the best of things." In the worst part of town, put the best

schools, put the best teachers with those youngsters who present the most difficult educational problems, and put the whole spectrum of educational services in the area where the public services are the least. I speak of this as a father that could send his sons and daughters in private schools as well as public schools.

There is no equality in America, my friends, until we make it that way. I have been a mayor of a city, a big city, and I have seen the oldest schools where the poorest people live. I have seen schools that should have been condemned and were condemned under the fire ordinances that we still let our children go to. But a night club where you are going to pay a dollar for a martini, if that wasn't up to snuff, didn't meet the standards of the health and the fire ordinance, they closed it down. They were more concerned about whether you had a night out than a year in school, when it came to the health and the well-being, and you know I speak the truth. One of the advantages of having been in public life as long as I have, I have seen it all, at least a lot of it.

Our worst waste of human resources and our most direct contribution to poverty and crime lies in the fact that we have let almost a million boys and girls and their education every year without completing their preparation for what comes

next and in most cases just because they reached age sixteen. What has age sixteen got to do with education? That was passed on by our great grandfathers. I believe age sixteen should not be the cutoff date for compulsory education. I believe there should be a case by case handling of students who for any reason decide to leave school before they have finished the twelfth grade.

We need new curricula for those who will go directly from high school to gainful employment, and lots of them will and should. We need institutes of remedial education to provide intelligent but educationally or culturally deprived young people with the essential tools required for college work. We need combination learning and earning programs, and this is vital today, and closer relationships between the schools and the employers in their community.

Young people today many times don't have a chance to learn how to earn. You can't take your son to the Ford factory with you, and if you're in public life they call it nepotism.

I learned how to work when I was a boy because my father had a private enterprise. Most Americans today work for somebody else and they just don't let dad bring along his son and his daughter. Therefore, the school must work out a

program of learn and earn, because the discipline of work is essential to a free people and a responsible people.

Equal educational opportunity means insuring that each student should receive the right instruction for his level of intellectual capacity and for his aptitude, from the retarded to the most brilliantly gifted.

What is it in this country that makes us believe that a retarded child shouldn't have every opportunity that God and man can provide. I am the grandfather of one. Why should the other three get an educational break in school and little Vicky not? What is wrong with a society that is willing to cast aside in an institution, so to speak, hide them out, when many of them are educable? There shouldn't be a public school in America in an area where there is a retarded child that doesn't provide specialized training for that child. (Applause) Or are you to say that only the rich shall have the chance to send their retarded child or the retarded loved one to an expensive, and a very expensive, private facility. That's what's going on in far too many places. And I can produce the solid evidence that many a retardee can become a self-sustaining citizen, and I know I can produce it on the physically handicapped, and I'll tell you some of them are more productive than some of the more restless ones.

I believe we can do this, and at the same time continue to give all of our young people education which exposes them to contact and experience with other students who are not carbon copies of themselves.

Now, years ago we tended to ignore the child who revealed early academic disabilities and we shrugged him off as doomed to mediocrity. We identified the child who seemed socially apathetic or troublesome and we shunted him off in an isolated corner. We tested a youngster and perhaps unconsciously carved out his educational niche well in advance of any chance to display his individuality. We must nourish individuality. That's what a democracy does. A totalitarian state nourishes the mass.

The individuality of every child, white or black, rich or poor, urban or rural, is a precious ingredient. It is God's gift to that child. We must find and touch that priceless substance within each child which makes him a separate entity unique and precious, so that he may utilize it to the fullest on his own behalf and on behalf of his society. That is what I meant about individuality.

I know it is difficult. But, my dear friends, this is the way we treat our illness today. You can hardly find a general practitioner any more. Very difficult. They are

almost unique. They are a sort of limited group in the medical, in the healing arts. We have specialists. So if you get a special disease, you get special care.

Well, now, what if you don't have a disease, aren't you entitled to some special consideration for life?

Thirdly, our new educational policy must declare, I said, a deliberate policy of innovation in educational administration. The current revolution in teaching methods at the primary and secondary level has produced a new math. Boy, has it ever! And the new methods of language instruction. This must be matched by drastic changes in the administrative aspects of education.

There is an obvious need for a 12-month use of our school facilities. I have been going across this country as Chairman of the Youth Opportunity Council, begging for the use of our schools. I really think I could prove that you could save almost as much on breakage of windows in closed schools, if you kept them open, it wouldn't cost much more. Anyway, they ought to be open. I am not against the padlock industry; there are other uses for padlocks.

It does not make much sense to use a 45 billion dollar primary and secondary educational facility about eight hours a day and nine months a year, and in many communities

that happens, all paid for by the taxpayers. We wouldn't stand it in any other public service and if you owned a stock in a company that was only manufacturing nine months a year you'd fire the management. I am not asking that you do that to the superintendent, but I am suggesting that we ought to take a look at the use of these facilities.

We need long-term planning so that our schools at all levels will be placed in areas of future population growth. When the model cities program gets underway, are you as an educator going to be in there figuring out where your educational system ought to be? We can't abide by the old jurisdictional lines. There are going to be a hundred million more people in this country the next twenty-five years. You better take a look at where you think they are going to live and we better start planning ahead where our schools are to be located.

And what's more, we need a conscious decision on the part of government at all levels to encourage magnet centers of educational excellence, such as we now see in Boston, in California, in those areas where economic and population growth is desired, such as you see down in the federal triangle, down in the area of North Carolina where I have been and some of the other States. I guarantee you that where you put your educational facilities, that's where the capital is going to come.

It is a mighty magnet. Where there is educational excellence, economic and social dividends follow.

We are involved now in this new experimentation of unprecedented magnitude. The application of modern technology in the classroom, such things as program teaching machines, video recording, language laboratories, through innovations such as team teaching, various size classes ranging from one to one student and teacher ratio to a lecturer speaking to hundreds.

We better, may I say, prepare ourselves for the impact of the communications satellite, and I speak to you now out of some knowledge as Chairman of the Space Council. Fifteen years from now the communications satellite will be your most effective instrument of education. We will tie the universities of the world together in one massive communication setup. It is even now going back behind what we call the Iron Curtain. The Eastern European countries today are beginning to make application to be a part of the international telegraphic, telephonic, and this whole international communications satellite apparatus.

The communications satellite of a generation from now will bring the lecturers from the great universities of Europe into your State, instantaneous language translation,

and the students at the University of Minnesota will be listening to lectures from the University of Tokyo with instantaneous language translation from Japanese into English, and vice versa. Are we ready for it? Are we planning it?

Elementary schools are moving towards individual research and self-discovery rather than rote learning. There is increased recouplement of gifted liberal arts graduates as teachers and housewives with special skills for part-time teaching, and at all levels we see now the development of new attitudes regarding students sharing of responsibility with faculty and administration. Sometimes it's rather rambunctious. Our young people have idealism and a capacity beyond what we had at their age. They insist, and I think rightly so, in participating in the affairs of democracy.

It is a new age. It is a new time. Things are different and we must respond with new answers. They ask for channels of self-expression. I am speaking now of that responsible articulate student, that activist, not the nihilist, not the anarchist.

Self-expression is the cornerstone of the individuality that we say we seek, and I think that we should encourage these young people to state and debate, to learn how to handle the ideas that they have in an orderly and American

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way. And part of that disorderly spectacle that we see on college campuses may trace its origins in part to inexperience with the democratic handling of dissent and debate by student, faculty and administrator. It seems to me that high school administrators and faculty members must prepare themselves far more than they have today to understand and to work in the fields of social and political action so that their students in turn will be prepared to do the same.

A natural extension is the need for our colleges and universities to more fully involve themselves in constructive social action in their surrounding communities. I have taken this message to thousands of university teachers and professors. You don't need to build a new social science laboratory. It is right there in your town. Everything you need to discover is there, and we need professors and students, not who are parading around the college campus but are working out in the field, so to speak, of democracy. The role of the faculty should not be publish or perish, but participate and prosper. (Applause) A university is not a meadow of meditation, but it should be an acre of action - involvement.

We need it in our urban problems, our rural problems, our moral problems. The best that we have is in those universities and colleges. They ought to be put to work, and

as they become more fully committed to the betterment of their own home towns, I have a feeling they will gain far more than they give in the accumulation of practical knowledge and the urgent problems as they seek to understand. Theory will be translated into reality, and as the students of our colleges and universities find themselves actively drawn into the decision-making process of their schools, as they find themselves on a practical and direct level helping to fight poverty and ignorance in their own communities, I think they will gain a deep and lasting ability for citizenship and respect for the democratic process. And my fellow Americans, we simply have to teach respect for the democratic process. A permissive society that permits its people to indulge in the luxury of violence and lawlessness and disorder does not lend itself to social progress. (Applause)

I believe we have to have the courage to go to people and say, "Look, roll up your sleeves and go to work. Join in the action for a better time and a better town." Now is the time, this year, then I say, for us to make the decisions about policies and priorities of this country in the 1970s.

I would like to set a bench mark for you - 1976. It's only eight years away. It is the two hundredth anniversary of this Republic. When you leave here and you go back to

your respective communities, ask yourself, "Where will my State be in 1976? What can I point to if I were asked to write the history of two hundred years of my people? What will America be like?" And for the younger, they will want to go further. They'll say the year 2000. But take two bench marks, one for the short term and one for the long term, and plan for America. You do the planning individually at your local level and share it with some of us at the Federal level.

I believe the base on which we must build everything else is the educational policy of this nation. We shall be either as strong or as weak as that policy permits, and those of the States. Who was it that said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe, Toynbee, I believe, or whoever it was, he was right. I hope we win the race. But let me tell you it's a muddy track, and there are an awful lot of folks that are throwing beer bottles and bricks along the way. We better be sure-footed and keep at it.

I believe, therefore, that we should as a nation declare here and now, and you can surely do it, 1968 will be the year when the decision was finally made to make the investments that you know are necessary, to make the changes that you know are necessary, to make the personal commitments necessary to provide quality education for every individual American

child from age four through college. Preschool education, my dear friends, is as necessary as milk for a baby. We know it's a fact.

Ladies and gentlemen, if I could produce to you tonight the cure for cancer and I could demonstrate that my cure works, there isn't a man or woman in this room that wouldn't demand that the government of the United States, your State Government or whoever else, whatever other institution you could get to would make that cure available because one out of every five in this room will have it and one out of three will die of it. That is the statistical evidence.

Ladies and gentlemen, if I can demonstrate to you that the learning process from age four to seven is the most important period of the human life, and it is demonstrable, it is a fact, then why do you deny that child that learning period? Why do we deny it? Preschool is as important, or maybe more important, than any other period in school. So I am going to fight for preschool because that's the new day in education, for the 12-month use of our facilities, for individualized education, for the best education for the least of these, for the best schools in the worst places, and for the best teachers for those who need teachers the most, for the whole spectrum of services that go into an education from counselling, to

health care, to nutrition, to guidance, to social action, to new curricula, to advance learning, to inspire teaching.

Now, all of this is a big order. I know it. But this is a big country, and it is time to think big and if we do, I think we'll be a great nation, and that's what America ought to be.

Thank you very much. (Standing ovation)

GOVERNOR RAMPTON: Mr. Vice President, those of us whose principal business is education have been heartened by your understanding of the problem and uplifted by your words of encouragement. I believe the standing ovation given to you is a demonstration of the gratitude of these educators for such understanding of their problems in the high councils of government of this nation.

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Education Commission of the States
Denver -- June 26, 1968
Draft -- 6/24

If there has been one central invigorating and sustaining force in American history that force has unquestionably been education -- the American idea of "universal public education."

We have lived and grown and prospered as a nation . . . and have made democracy work . . . on the simple good sense that "men cannot be both free and ignorant."

It is our pride today that a greater proportion of young Americans finish grade school, high school, and college, than is true in any society on earth.

Yet with all of this . . . the fact today is that the problems we face as a nation can be met . . . and the new purposes we aspire to can be served -- only as we improve substantially on our present educational system.

There is no irony here . . . no paradox. To the contrary.

We have set out now to perfect the society we have built.

The only nation in the world where the poor are a minority . . . we are determined now to eliminate poverty.

The freest society in history . . . we are intent now on making this freedom real in every member's life.

Possessed of unparalleled wealth in material things . . . we are discontent about the quality . . . and, worse, the inequality . . . of human life.

We used to measure our achievement by our gains as a nation -- reported in terms of averages, medians, and means. Now we measure it by how many are left out of what we have . . . by the extent to which every American participates both in the responsibilities and in the benefits of membership in this society.

We have a new sense of what Walt Whitman meant when he said, "I give you the sign of democracy: By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms!"

And we we relied on general education to develop democracy's basic idea -- we turn now to the perfection of our educational policy as the necessary means to make a reality out of democracy's highest ideals.

We know that every flaw that remains in America -- poverty . . . the disadvantage of "minority groups" . . . hunger . . . disease . . . crime . . . violence -- is traceable in large measure to the incompleteness of our effort to achieve a fulness of educational opportunity.

So I come here today to talk with you about a New Education Policy for America. That policy must be

- * That every individual has the right to receive the fullest and best education that individual can put to good use.
- * And further: That every individual with the ability inside him to be self-sufficient has the obligation to use this educational opportunity to assure his responsible membership in a free society.

I mean this policy as an absolute. It makes all the difference in the world whether we put education in the first place or someplace on down the line.

I mean to declare this policy, and carry it out, as absolutely as we would declare and carry out the policy of protecting this country against invasion by a foreign power. For ignorance is an alien force in America -- the enemy of everything we seek . . . everything we stand for.

I know the sensitivities of a Federal official talking about education to a Commission of State and local officers -- and all the hazards that surround the subject.

The very first bill I voted on when I came to the Congress in 1949 was on federal aid to education. We passed it in the Senate. They killed it in the Senate. Year after year federal aid to education was killed in one house or the other on one basis or the other -- race or religion.

Or they killed it on the argument that it was too expensive . . . that we shouldn't "pass on debts to the next generation." And they passed on instead the one debt no generation can stand -- which is the burden of the ignorance, the lack of education and training, of some of its members.

Finally a President who was a school teacher himself, who taught in a little school for Mexican-American children, became President of the United States. That man made up his mind that he was going to see to it, so far as it was humanly possible, that every boy and girl in America would have all the education they were capable of absorbing. He started out to do the job, to reconcile people of every walk of life, to overcome all prejudices. Remember, federal aid to education was nothing but a phrase, nothing but a hope, nothing but an aspiration until just a few years ago. It was always coming up, and always being knocked down.

Today your Federal Government is investing in all forms of education, in the year 1968, almost thirteen billion dollars. That's quite an investment.

But we still have a long way to go.

Only half of our sons and daughters go to college -- and only half of those who start college finish it.

Over 900,000 drop out of high-school before they get their diplomas.

You know, when people turn away from a store, a good business man says "there must be something wrong with the merchandise or the service."

And when young people turn away from the schools it is time to ask ourselves "why". Is our education relevant to their needs? Is it what they have to have to make a living? Has it some real meaning to their life today and tomorrow? Or, are we just in the business of selling old wares and hope-fully thinking we can do it, because they have to attend school?

But the truth of it is that today's lost educational opportunity is not the result of not knowing how to teach children. It is a gap between what we know and what we do.

It is partly a failure of the national will to educate all our children -- and I consider it a critically important part of the responsibility of this year's candidates for public office to regenerate that national will.

It is partly a failure, I think, to break away from old patterns of administration of our schools and our school systems -- which is the particular subject of concern and responsibility of the members of this Commission.

There will be subsequent occasion during the year to consider the fuller outlines of a new Education Policy for America.

I suggest here today, however, three essential elements in the development of such a policy.

First. The economic truth underlying educational policy in America is that every cent we spend on educating our children will be returned to us. Whatever we don't spend will cost us -- and our children -- more than what we don't spend.

A large part of our present multi-billion dollar annual costs -- for "relief" and "welfare," for institutional care, for crime and violence -- are the price we pay for people not having the education and training they need. The question is simply whether we will pay as our children grow -- to educate them; or whether we will pay later, and have them pay, the price of not educating them -- in terms of the costs of poverty, and of crime and violence.

The costs will include whatever is necessary to permit every child, every young American, to learn all he can learn.

This means seeing to it that the child who comes to school hungry is fed. Indeed, it means seeing to it that no child in this country ever goes hungry -- from the day that child is born.

It means that the only measure of how far a boy or girl goes in school -- including college -- is the student's ability to learn, not the parent's ability to pay.

It means the training of teachers to take full account of the fact that they will develop or fail to develop this nation's most precious and essential resources; and it means paying them on this same basis.

It means, in general, recognizing that every dollar spent on education is an investment more than an expenditure -- an investment that will be returned in tax revenues, earning power, and in immeasurable dividends of human fulfillment.

Second. A new education policy for America must be built around the fact of "individuality" and different circumstance instead of around the idea of a uniform system.

This means providing kindergarten and pre-school training for every child whose home circumstance warrants that child's starting school at age four or five.

It means putting the best schools in the "worse" parts of town, and the best teachers with those youngsters who present the most difficult educational problems. The truth is that we are not "created equal." And the inequalities we are born with are inevitably compounded by the differences in the facts of family circumstance. Equal educational opportunity ought to mean the preferential treatment of those who have gotten off to a slow start -- almost always for reasons entirely beyond their control.

Our worst waste of human resources -- our most unconscionable contribution to poverty and to crime -- lies in the fact that we let almost a million boys and girls end their education every year without completing their preparation for what comes next.

I urge the paying of as much attention to the boy or girl who is not going on to college as we pay to the one who is.

This means the development of new curricula for those who will go directly from high school to work.

It means the development of counseling and placement services for those who "drop out."

It means the development of combination learning and earning programs, and of closer relationships between the schools and the employers in the community.

I commend consideration of the replacement of State rules making age 16 a cut-off date for compulsory education by procedures for the case-by-case handling of students who for any reason or any time decide to leave school before they have finished the twelfth grade.

Third. There is obvious need for developing a deliberate policy of innovation in educational administrative practices.

The current revolution in teaching methods at the primary and secondary level has produced the "new math" and the new methods of language instruction. This must be matched by drastic changes in the administrative aspects of education.

There are such obvious possibilities as the 12-month use of school facilities. It doesn't make sense to use a \$45 billion primary and

secondary educational facility only three-fourths of the time.

I commend consideration of ways and means to establish greater community involvement in the affairs and even the management of our schools.

We must make television an instrument of our educational purpose. The child of television comes to first grade an immensely knowledgeable, influenced, propagandized and socialized human being. So much that he sees in his books bears no resemblance to the world he has seen on television or in the city streets. He knows the violence of war and riots. He knows the world of the rich and the poor. And he has been trained to respond to the expert and subtle message of the commercial copywriter.

To many of these children -- rich and poor -- school is irrelevant.

We know that this need not be so. And I have faith and confidence in our American education system that, given a chance, it can prove it is not so.

* * *

The Advisory Commission on Inter-governmental Relations recently reported to the President that the American political system is on trial as never before in the nation's history, with the sole exception of the Civil War.

It is on trial not only because of our fast changing times, but because we are awakening to a new vision of what a free society can truly mean.

What can full and equal educational excellence mean to America?

I say it can mean the difference in whether or not we are finally able to meet the clear and present challenges of our time:

- To insure that history's mightiest instruments of destruction will never be used and that peace may prevail;
- To use and master science and technology for man's benefit, and not to increase his peril;
- To lift the yoke of poverty from our fellow citizens, and to reverse the tragic equation which has too often decreed that the poor beget the poor and ignorance begets misery.

A vast, sprawling, mobile, motorized population -- living impersonally with computerized institutions -- must somehow again become a neighborhood -- of neighbors and not strangers.

We must retain our essential humanity in a vast new cybernetic wonderland of efficiency.

These are no tasks for the timid, for the weak or the cowardly or the frightened. They are tasks for Americans, for the brave. If we have faith in ourselves and in each other -- if we will understand each other and tolerate one another in^a spirit of fair play -- then we can do what needs to be done.



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