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EDUCATION -- AN INVESTMENT IN FREEDOM

Thank you very much, Mr. Trollingham, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Price, Mrs. Brown, Mr. Foster, and all the other distinguished guests here at the head table. I know it's not good etiquette to miss out on two or three names but I can't remember all of them. I want to say, Mr. Toastmaster, that after that wonderful introduction the best thing that a speaker could do is to file out and say "Thank you, it's been a wonderful meeting," and right now is the time for me to leave the hall. If half of the things you say about me were true, I would be invincible, and you wouldn't have to be looking for national leadership. Believe me, your kind words would furnish the answer to the problem.

But, seriously, I am deeply appreciative of the wonderful program which I have seen and heard so far. I can assure you that I am going to find out why we at home do not have such a convention bureau ensemble as you have here in Sacramento. I knew that this State of California went in for things in a big way. I knew that you have a great flair for theatrical art, and I knew that you knew how to do things up like they ought to be done. But, to use one of your expressions, this is out of this world. I just never have seen anything like this before a group of school teachers. By golly, it makes me feel that we're really making progress in this country.

I wasn't very optimistic when I left Minneapolis. Coming to California, I really feel as if I'd been born anew. Now I have a renewed faith that there is a great future and great hope for this striving and struggling people of ours.

I have to make one or two confessions to you tonight. I wasn't

quite sure whether or not I would be able to fulfill this engagement. As a matter of fact, the week before I left home, I found myself down in bed with a strep throat and somewhat indisposed, if you don't mind my saying so. I have been trying to take it just a little bit easy, but I find that that's been rather difficult. We made a flying trip down to Los Angeles from Minneapolis. I had some work to do down there; went on over to their governmental buildings to see their mayor and some of the governmental officials; took a look at some of the housing projects, talked a little politics, (I like that). I met as many good politicians as I could find. Of course, that didn't keep me very busy, but I met a lot of other politicians, too. I had an opportunity to meet some very wonderful people. I had interviews with some of the editors of the Los Angeles newspapers and tried to find out what they've been doing in that very lovely city.

I intend to spend a few days in San Francisco. This is supposed to be my vacation. I only have seven speeches scheduled, so I know that this is my chance to really relax. You can feel fortunate - you are the first victims - and I imagine I'll ease up a little bit on you. But as I get warmed up on this western trip, they'll be singing something more than "God Bless America" on that last speech. They'll be singing "God Bless the People of California."

I want to clear the decks here on a little information that you ought to have. First of all, about this Committee on Atmospheric Pollution. That was done in behalf of my political opposition, as you can well imagine. I figured after every campaign we need such a committee to clear the air of the things that I've said and of the

things that my opponents have said.

There are one or two other facts, I think, that should be brought up to date. It isn't Mr. Trillingham's fault because my office apparently sent him along the information we had. It makes me out to be a great guy. That's the Junior Association of Commerce report, I believe, that you have there. They like me. I'm one of their members - one of their "Dues-paying " members. That's why they like me so well, and they write up some very nice things once in awhile.

I have been Mayor just a little bit longer than seventeen months. I have a two-year term as most municipal officials do in our part of the country. Our people don't trust their officials much, and they surely don't trust them long. You have to stand up for public inquisition every two years. I just finished that recent period of inquisition in our very heated and arduous election. We threw everything in the book at each other, I guess - and when we added up the books, we came out all right. I'm pretty happy about it. We carried every ward in town and only lost two precincts - which would indicate at least we were able to convince a few. That's the reason for those 1800 speeches. Now I'm not proud of that. I want you folks to know that any man that will go around and make 1800 speeches ought to have his head examined. But I felt there was a need of it in the city of Minneapolis, and despite what the toastmaster said this evening, most of those 1800 speeches were made right within the jurisdictional limits of the city of Minneapolis. I had something I wanted to tell our people.

You know, I have a little story for our people back in Minneapolis

that might be apropos to the people out here. I haven't had a chance to meet your mayor of this community of Sacramento. I have had a chance to meet Mayor Latham in San Francisco, and Mayor Riley in Portland, Oregon, and Mayor Devon in Seattle, and Mayor Fletcher Bowan down in Los Angeles, and I've met a few of the other distinguished public officials in this part of the country. We have a lot of fun when we get together. In fact, I wish we could get together more often. I enjoy those trips, particularly when I come to such a beautiful part of the country.

I went out to our people, in these talks that have been mentioned here tonight, to tell them about their community. I am still a teacher. I love to teach. I wish that I were a good one. It's always been my first desire to be a good public teacher. I've often felt that there's an affinity of interest between preachers, teachers, and politicians. Of course, the preachers and teachers won't admit it, but maybe they ought not to for their own professional standards, but I do think that we're all engaged in the same business; the transmission of ideas, the process of communicating thought. And it's my opinion that far too many public officials in America have been either incapable, too lazy or unwilling to go to their own people and to talk to them about their problems. And I mean by theirs the people's problems - not the problems of the politician.

Problems of Minneapolis aren't my problems and no one is ever going to saddle them on my back. The problems of Minneapolis belong to the people of Minneapolis. And I'm just there as Mayor momentarily. I'm just one of the many people who have been elected to public office -

and I think it is my job as it is the teachers' job to get other people to think out the answers to their own difficulties, rather than to go along and draw charts and diagrams and present panaceas and say, "Now listen to me, everything will be wonderful, just follow the leader." Leadership in a democracy, I think, means being able to get all of the people to rise up and meet the particular problem that confronts them. A democratic leader doesn't solve problems for the people; he gets the problems solved by the people.

Well, on my tour of 1800 speeches, I went to the Ladies' Aid and I went to the men's clubs, I was with the Lyons Club (in fact, I belong), the Tale Twisters, and the Kiwanians, and the Optimists, and the Rotarians, and the cooperative clubs, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and every conceivable convention that came to Minneapolis. The Mayor of Minneapolis was there. It didn't take long. You don't have to speak too long. I just tried to tell them a few things about their problems. I recall one afternoon I called 150 businessmen in Minneapolis together, and I know some of your school administrators here and some of the trustees will possibly receive a little inspiration out of this. We had a big dinner in a hotel something like this. Not nearly as large a crowd. It was a group of our top business executives in the city of Minneapolis - men, as we say, in the money. Sometimes men like them like to run the town, but they don't want to be elected to public office and take the brickbats. They want to run it from the outside - the third floor of a big hotel or the twelfth floor of a big executive office. I called these men together and that's when we set up the Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission. Our city was deep in debt. One-third of all of our

tax dollars were going to pay off for the dead horses - the mistakes, some of them, of the past, and some went for the public welfare and public relief expenditures incurred during the period of the depression. Our schools were badly in need of money, and they still are. But I'll tell you a little bit more about that later. Our whole municipal structure was facing what you might call insolvency and ultimate bankruptcy.

Well, I called these "men in the money" together a few months after having been elected Mayor of the city, and I said to them simply this, "This is going to be a short speech. Minneapolis is in trouble. It's in trouble because you men in this room haven't been willing to chart a course of leadership to get it out of its trouble. Now, I happen to be the Mayor of the city of Minneapolis. My salary isn't much. And maybe you're getting just what you pay for. You people own this town - I don't. I have a wife, three children, and a \$5,000 mortgage - that's all." (Now I'm going to have four children. But that was three children then.) I presented the facts of the economic situation and financial situation to them concisely and pointedly, and I said to them, "I don't need any moral support from any of you old codgers gathered together here. I can get more moral support from my three-year-old son than I can get from this whole audience. What I need from you is \$50,000 for an examination of city government, to find out why we're in trouble, what we can do to get out of it, and whether or not we have the courage to follow the prescription. And I don't need it five years from now. This isn't Moscow, this is Minneapolis. I need it within three weeks. Either you put it on the line, or tell me that you're not going to. Because

I'm a young man. I like fun. I want to go on out and play golf - I like to dance - I like to go out and have a good time with the fellows. We have friends in our neighborhood and I want to have them into my home. "Now, if you don't want to play for keeps, you let me know, because I'm going to be on a job that will take about two hours a day if we're just fooling around. But if you're willing to work 18 hours a day, I'm willing to work 18 hours a day. Or, if you mean business about your city, I'll outwork any man in this room."

That was the end of the speech. Three weeks later, we had \$50,000 and we started out with our job of analyzing the structure of our municipal government. And right this very hour in the city of Minneapolis in the mail tonight (because I checked on it by telephone) a new city charter is being mailed to 5,000 people in the city of Minneapolis to be studied. It will be voted upon on January 15. We've been waiting since 1872 to do this job. That's a long time, you know. The Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission report was completed. It has been published. It has been put in the hands of 15,000 Minneapolis citizens - men from all walks of life, women's organizations, church groups, labor organizations, business organizations. I started that report off by saying, "It's time for decisive action. The picnic is over."

I hope that some day I can come back to California and say to an audience just like this, that a community of better than 500,000 people saw fit to meet its own problems. That would be something in America these days. If sometime we saw fit to meet our own problems - problems that we ourselves created and problems that we only can master. I

think that's the task of education today - to point out the areas of conflict and also to offer some of the remedies and some of the possibilities or some of the alternatives or social or political or economic action.

Now, the topic I have is a pretty big one: What is America going to do about education? My mind is rambling a great deal as I talk on these issues. I'm just like you are, but maybe I'm not. I don't want to stand before this audience as an expert - I'm not an expert on education. I'm not a public school administrator. I happen to be a municipal administrator. I don't have any particular insight or any peculiar knowledge about the problems that confront American education. I'm going to talk to you as I tried to talk to the people in Atlantic City - as a father, as a citizen, as a person seriously interested in his community, and today America is one great community. And all the little cities and all the big communities and all the metropolitan areas are only a part of that whole or that oneness that we call this great nation of ours.

What I have to say to you tonight will not equal the wisdom of a philosopher. I have never claimed to be a philosopher. Surely not the prescription of an expert. I don't claim that title either. What I have to offer you are only some gleanings of thought, only some attitudes (often prejudiced attitudes - I think we all are sometimes prejudiced) of a person who believes with a deep fervor in the process of American public education - of one who believes what Thomas Jefferson told us was true: that this democracy of ours rests upon the wisdom of its people; one that believes with Edmund Burke, that education is the cheapest defense of a country; one that believes with Aristotle, that people must have wisdom,

must have learning if they are going to be able to know and solve their problems. Well, there are many thousands of statements that any speaker could quote from what great men have said about the educational process. I'm not going to burden you with a lot of that. I'm not even going to tell you that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, though this is an eternal truth we must never neglect.

And I'm not going to tell the superintendents of schools how to run their schools. Nor am I going to try to tell the trustees what mistakes they've been making, because if that were going to be my job this evening, it would only be fair for everyone in this room to answer and to get up and tell me the mistakes that I've been making in some of the problems we face right back in our own community. I want above all to be fair.

The City of Minneapolis faces an educational crisis - a real educational crisis. Our schools were faced with closing November 15, faced with closing simply because we didn't have the money in the municipal treasury to be able to adequately finance a modern and progressive educational program. There were those people that believed that what we ought to do was have the schools closed in order to shock the people into a realization of what the problem really was. There were those that believed what we ought to do was cut down on teachers' salaries, and there were those that believed what we ought to do was close down about one-third of the school buildings and thereby balance the budget.

Let me just say something about this last approach to the problem. We have too many people in America today that are thinking in terms of balancing budgets on 1930 standards. In fact, we have too

many people in government today that are putting up index figures on the basis of 1935 to 39. I wonder how many of you have thought about that. I was on a radio program not long ago and after the program was over I had a heated argument with some of the contestants. I said, "You know, this business of having index figures from 1935 to 39 shocks me because I remember 1935 to 39. I remember how much money my dad was making. I remember the economic poverty of thousands and thousands of our people. I remember the foreclosed mortgages - the farms in the midwest that were vacant and people came to California because they thought they could live off of orange juice and sunshine." You got some mighty good people that way, too, by the way - some very, very fine people. I remember those dark days of 1935 and 39 when every municipality and every school system in America was struggling for existence. And yet we have economists today who are trying to tell us that the norm of American life should be figured on the index base of 1935 to 39. If I say nothing else in this meeting tonight, I want to say that I am constitutionally opposed to that kind of reasoning, and I for one want to start having the American people thinking in terms of the day and age in which they live.

This world of ours that we had a few years ago has been blasted to bits. If there is anyone in this room that doesn't recognize that by now, then I think you are in the wrong profession. If there is any one group of people that ought to know something about the nature of the times in which we live - the economic, the political and the social tensions which are a part of our very being - it's the people in public education. If we don't know it, how are we going to expect the people on the outside - the people who are not experts

in the art of learning - the people who do not have the time for careful analysis of trends and ideas, for programs of research and investigation. How are we going to expect these people to understand?

I'm one of those young men who believes that we are living in a new day and age - I suppose everybody has believed that in his time. I'm not one of those who longs for the good old days. I don't remember any good old days. They must have been a long time ago. I have no desire to go back into the dark past of the 1920's when America floundered, when it floundered in an abyss of ignorance, when it was a high protectionist nation, when its political policy was isolationism, and its national program was one of pleasant dozing. I don't want to travel back along the road of pitfalls - the economic pitfalls - of that great period of so-called normalcy in 1926 to 1929. I'm not saying that it was all bad. I'm simply saying that that was almost a good beginning for the end for our way of life. And as we look back upon it I think most of us will agree that those were indeed dark and terrible and troubled days. And I say to those of us who want to go back to those good old days, it would surely be a sad trail backwards. I surely don't want to go back to the 1930's. I don't want to go back into a world that made possible monsters - like Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler. I don't want to go back into a world that shut its eyes to the menace of Fascism, and at the same time was totally ignorant of the equal menace of Communism. I do not want to go back into a world that faced economic and political disintegration - a world that was near a moral breakdown. No, I have seen the past and I don't want to return to it. Our roads lie ahead, and if sometimes they are dimly seen, we shall not lose hope or courage.

And where the roads of the future do not exist, we shall build them as our forefathers did.

I want to look ahead, and I want to look ahead with the certain knowledge that there is a great American heritage which is a part of my life and a part of your life. I want to look ahead with my feet on the ground, and my head in the clouds, because I think if a man today doesn't have his head a little bit high and he can't get a good view of the horizon, he's lost. This is the day for pioneering. This is surely a day for new ideas and there's one thing I want to say about California. You people will try anything out here. It's really wonderful. You have zest and spirit and the willingness to take a chance. I've noticed it wherever I've gone. We're trying in our own little way back in the midwest where people maybe are just a little bit more stolid and a bit more conservative to get them to chart some new courses of action - to try something new. You know, we are trying it in just little things like a traffic problem in Minneapolis. Why, our people have been turning that corner the same way for 25 years. And they say, "What does this young fellow mean by coming around and saying we ought to change that? Our people have been parking their cars the same way for 25 years, and, " they say, "here's a guy telling us we ought not to park cars here, that we've got to do something else." Such little things are the true test of what we mean by people's rigid conservatism.

How many people in this room realize that political and economic freedom are on the defensive, not on the offensive? How many of us

realize we have almost gotten ourselves into a defensive mentality - of apologizing, of wondering whether or not we have the right way? How many of us recognize that the world that our grandfathers knew and even that some of you knew is a world that has slipped away from us? I wonder how many people in this room recognize that the United States of America today, with the exception of two or three other countries, is the one nation that still preserves both economic and political freedom such as we have known during the 19th and early part of the 20th century. American education has a job to explain that to young Americans. No, I'm not talking about Chauvinism and I'm not talking about propaganda. I've never liked propagandists, and I surely don't care for the Chauvinists. I'm talking about teaching some of the basic realities and some of the basic facts of the day and age in which we live. I wonder what we're doing in our schools, for example, to teach young Americans about the significance of World War I and World War II. I say that those wars were really one war - we had a breathing period and enough to regain our strength and then we went back at it again. I'm convinced that many of us didn't do a very good job at it. I know that among the teachers that taught me, many of them didn't do very well. I knew very little about the world in which we live when I graduated from high school. And I knew almost as little about that world when I was a sophomore in college. I'll grant you that the last two years of my training at the University of Minnesota were wonderful years. Wonderful years, and yet I can still hear some of my relatives say, "You know, this fellow is turning out to be a radical. Listen to what he's saying. Why this man doesn't

believe the way we used to talk around the dinner table." That's right, because the dinner table at home wasn't the same dinner table of 1937, 1938, and 1939. It was an entirely different one.

A political and an economic revolution has taken place in my time, and I'm not an octogenarian. A whole world has been transformed, and the United States of America stands in the middle of that world as the greatest military, economic, political and diplomatic power that the world has ever known; and I'll say tonight without fear of contradiction that not even one-tenth of the American people today understand the overwhelming significance of the position that our nation occupies in a world that has just gone through a violent political and economic revolution.

Now, if we are going to maintain what we call democratic liberties and democratic freedoms, we're going to have to understand it. We're going to have to be objective. We must be scientific in our approach. And we must be willing to face hard, cold facts - facts that most of us are almost unwilling to face. I think we're unwilling to face them because I find a great lack of comprehension and understanding in my own community about what we mean when we say industrialization. I find that the average American person doesn't understand what we're talking about when we say the corporate structure of American business. I find that far too many of our people have prejudiced notions - prejudiced either for or prejudiced against - what we mean when we say trade unionism in America. I find that many of us are addicted to poorly thought-out philosophies of rugged individualism on the one hand

and a type of collectivism on the other hand; oftentimes the rugged individualist is the biggest collectivist in the world. I wonder how many of you have thought about the rugged individualism of the men in the money. Individualistic? I'll say they are. They impose their individual will upon 200 million people, but yet they have a collectivist society. I wonder how many of you have thought about the individualism of some of our own people who speak out in strong terms about rugged individualism. Individualistic? I'll say they are. But they are also collectivists. Collectivists by the very nature of the business structure of America. A great and powerful corporation with a million shares of stock, a mighty business enterprise that has within it 2 to 3 to 400,000 employees is more than just rugged individualism. It's a new type of business practice and a new type of business entity.

We have a lot of these terms mixed up. I think that most of us are a little bit individualistic and most of us are a little bit collectivistic. We are collectivists, if it's only in our family life - meaning that as families we stand together, possibly forced by the environment in which we live - the modern environment of tensions and the strains social, psychological, economic, and political. You can't be very ruggedly individualistic in that sort of environment. What do I mean by that, to be more explicit? Let's just take a look at one of the great problems that faces America today - the housing of our people, the housing of American people today. Think it over for just a moment. Here is the richest nation on the face of the earth. Here is a nation that has 60 million people at work - more people at work than we've ever had

before in our history. Here is a nation that doesn't have a birth rate that's increasing very rapidly. And yet here is a nation today that not only has its one-third ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed, but the ill-housed one-third is growing into a larger fraction every day. Is there anyone in this room that thinks the rugged individualist can take out his hatchet and his saw and his hammer and answer that problem? That, I submit to you, is a problem that requires the cooperative combined efforts of every man, woman and child in America. And that problem is significant to American public education, because the housing industry of America today is addicted to a tradition - a tradition they learned - a tradition of building houses like King Solomon built them. It's been good enough for Grandpa Snazzy and it's going to be good enough for you and good enough for all the little ones that come along from here on out. There have been many people in politics and public education, in business and in every field of endeavor that we can think of that have said exactly the same thing.

There are still people in this world of public education that feel that reading, writing and arithmetic is still the main basis - not only the main basis - but IS public education. I'm one of those that doesn't. I'm perfectly willing to admit that public education has to have certain programs - it has to have certain standards. I'm willing to admit that reading, writing and arithmetic are the tools with which we work. But I submit to this audience tonight that reading, writing and arithmetic alone isn't going to be sufficient to meet the problems that face this nation when it's talking about a Marshall plan, when we don't know from day to day whether the United Nations will survive, when our nation is

faltering and floundering without a foreign policy that is understandable to the American people. It's going to take more than reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Now what does the school program have to offer, and what must America expect from public education? Let's go back to some first principles. First of all, what is the purpose of the school? To make superintendents happy? (I like superintendents - don't misunderstand me.) Not at all. The purpose of public education is the same old purpose of every institution that humanity has ever known - to serve the people. That's the only justification for any kind of an institution in democratic life. That's the only justification for American business. It's the only moral justification for a trade union. It's the only justification for American government - it must serve the people. The public school of America has to keep in its mind, not the balanced budget alone, not just the size of the building, not just the fact that it has a broad course of study; but it must keep in its mind the child - the individual child and his unique problems. Suffer the little children that come unto the schools, if I may paraphrase a great religious statement. Now this is a bad place to be talking like this, because I know of no state in the Union that has a finer system of progressive education than California. And I say that not to flatter you - it's true. I know of no state in the Union that has done more to finance its schools. I know of no state in the Union that has been more courageous in its approach to the problem of school curriculum, or more courageous and more bold in its approach to the problem of individual relationships within the schools. But maybe you'll be going someplace else. I looked

over the figures here and you know there's a turnover in education. Sometimes you go to another community and other people come into your community. So maybe we need to talk about it.

In my area out in the middle west people are not sure whether they should have visiting teachers. They're not quite sure whether or not they need psychiatric treatment in the schools. There are some people that think these things don't square with the purposes of education.

The first principle that I offer to this audience tonight is that the school is dedicated to the child - to the individual child - not to the mass. This business of talking about the mass of the American people doesn't ever get right down to human personality. There is no personality to a mass, and it's the human personality that's important. It's souls, individual minds, individual bodies - not the thousands, but the one. It's the old biblical story of not the ninety and nine but the one that's lost in the wilderness that's important. And I think we judge public education today not what it does for the 85% who are quite normal in terms of standards that we normal people set up, but what we do in terms of saving the 15% who may be abnormal or subnormal. We know the normal ones will be able to get along. Yes, that's where we need that visiting teacher. That's where we need that psychologist - where we need aptitude tests and vocational guidance. There are more unhappy people in America today because they are in the wrong job. There are millions of unhappy, frustrated, neurotic souls in America today because they were never given a chance to know what was really wrong with them - they were sick -

sick when they were children and became increasingly sick as they became older.

The State of Minnesota just appropriated \$25,000,000 to build new mental hospitals. \$25,000,000 to take care of those who have almost gone to the stage where they are incurable. And I submit without being a doctor but having been interested in psychology, that the vast majority of the mentally sick in America were salvageable material. The vast majority of the people in America, when they went into the public schools, had they been given the care and the guidance and the training and had they been given the personal attention and the mental attention for mental health would today be productive, normal, happy American citizens.

And this crime wave that we have, and the wave of neurosis which is creeping over this country in many areas, would be infinitely smaller if public education had done its job. I believe, as a public official and as a citizen, that a good public school must go into the whole field of what we call these fringe elements or these fringe factors in the old standards of public education. Vocational training, yes. But not only the chance to do a job with your hands, but the chance to have a healthy mind. We need aptitude tests, vocational guidance, psychiatric treatment, mental care, dental care, physical care - every kind that you can think of. That brings me to this: that every child that enters into the schools of America ought to come out, whether he's in there one day, one week, one month, one year, or twelve years, a healthier person than he was when he came in. It does no good for the good people of America to say "Well, this isn't the problem of the school. After

all, the health of the child is the problem of the family, or it's the problem of the public health service."

You parents in this room, and you school administrators, and members of the board of trustees - you know that the public school of America takes more time of a child's life than a mother does. The schools of America are doing as much to mold the character of American boys and girls as the family. There isn't any use in kidding ourselves and just talking about the family all the time, when we know that most people are away from the family more than they are with it. The superintendent of schools, the principal, the teachers, the gym coach, the fellow that's out there on the athletic field, the director of athletics, are doing more to mold the character of that boy or that girl in many instances than the father and the mother. Every boy and every girl that enters American public schools today should come out a healthier boy and girl than when he went in. And that process of building physical and mental health must start from the day he comes in to nursery school or the kindergarten right on up through the high school. The war has brought to our attention the importance of physical health. It is possible the war has brought to our attention the importance of mental health.

I mentioned a while ago that every child should have an adequate set of tools. Just as does a carpenter, we need them, because we are building. We're building ourselves a life. We're building ourselves a community and a nation. Every boy and every girl in very short order

and much too quickly for some of us becomes an adult. That boy and girl should come out of school with the basic tools to do the job of American citizenship. Yes, that does mean reading, so that others can communicate with him. It does mean writing so that he can be articulate when he wants to communicate with others. It does mean arithmetic as we put it out so that he can develop some system of logic - some system of understanding and mental discipline. So we offer to the boys and girls in American schools, we hope, the basic tools to do a job. Some schools are falling down on that basic part of American education. They've gotten themselves way off here on the other side of what we call just the art of living within the school, what we call super-progressive education. I don't want to sound like a conservative because I hope I've already made it clear that I'm not. But I believe in these new things that we have, these new techniques, group participation, individual participation. But I still say that just as you have to learn the fundamentals of driving a car before you can be on the speedway, so you have to learn the fundamentals of education. Our boys and girls have that job. It's up to the superintendent to see that they do it.

Now we'll skip by that quickly and I'll get down to what I think is the most important part - what Americans want from public education. Our toastmaster stole my speech when he said that American education today must offer, through the youth of America, a basic set of ideals, a set of principles, a moral code. Morality doesn't seem to be very good to talk about. When I talk about morality, I'm not asking whether or not you smoke or take a drink. I'm not putting the stamp of approval on it, but I'm not going to talk about it. I'm talking about whether or not there's a type of morality which is being developed in American boys and girls

to understand that we are our brother's keeper. I wonder whether or not there is a morality which is being developed in us that recognizes the preciousness of human personality. I wonder whether or not we are developing a sense of morality, of democratic morality, in the young boys and girls of America where they do understand that "whatever ye do unto the least of these ye do unto me also". There is a fundamental relationship between American democracy as we know it and the Christian ethic and it's inescapable. There isn't any way that a person can be thoroughly democratic in his thought and action if at the same time he hasn't embraced to himself some of the great principles of Christianity. If he hasn't done that, it is my opinion that he is going to have a very difficult time in fulfilling the challenges of democratic liberty.

An individual is what he is. An individual is his own set of attitudes and opinions, his own basic beliefs. Human personality is a naked, dull thing, without beliefs, opinions and attitudes. Those beliefs and opinions and attitudes are nourished more in the public school than they are in the front yard. They are nourished more in the classroom than they are in the parlor of your own home.

I'm awfully happy to see tonight the parent-teachers association represented here. I'm a P.T.A.'er. I belong to Tuttle P.T.A. in Minneapolis. Skipper's in kindergarten and Nancy's in the fourth grade. I'm very interested in the P.T.A. I'm interested in the P.T.A. because it brings together those two important forces that mold the characters of the boys and the girls - the teacher and the father and the mother - all too often, may I say, gentlemen, it's generally the mother - the father generally stays home. Surely the father needs to be there more than just on Dad's Night.

Moving along, I think the American public expects from the school system of this nation that the school serve the community. You here in California have undoubtedly done this very, very well. But I'll venture to say that 95% of the schools of America at this hour are closed. 95% of them have their doors closed. But I'll also venture to say that 99% of the night clubs are open, and 99% of the bowling alleys and the billiard halls are open. But 95% of the people's property, the public schools, owned by the people, constructed in the name of the people, are closed. Why? Well, because we've been doing it that way, you know. Schools are always supposed to be closed at four o'clock or three-thirty or four-thirty. Schools just aren't supposed to be open at night. Now, in California it may be different, but in the States of South Dakota, North Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, those states that I'm very familiar with, I can tell you tonight that most of those schools are closed. Now, if people in public education want to receive the support of the people in the community, the way to do it is to have the people come to your schools and not just the children. Have the fathers and the mothers and the community leaders be in there and see what the school system really is, see it when it's good and magnificent and see it when it's deteriorating and becoming degraded. That is true in many parts of America today. A school is the people's property. As I said in Atlantic City, it doesn't belong to the janitor - sometimes he thinks it does - it doesn't belong to the school board - they're just elected to take care of it momentarily, and it doesn't belong to the principal or the superintendent. They too have simply been appointed the custodians of it. I'm happy to see in this state that you went to

the people in a constitutional amendment to do something about your problems of public education, and I say that's still the answer in every task that we face in this whole field of education. Go directly to the people, but you better have a few people know where the school is before you go to them to talk about it. Many of them don't even know where the school building is located.

We not only need good education for our boys and girls, but we need adult education. Somebody tells me "Mr. Mayor, the trouble with you is that you don't seem to understand that these things cost money." I have people tell me that in Minneapolis all the time. I've never seen anything that was any good that didn't cost money. The only thing that's free in this country is advice, and it's generally worth just what you pay for it. If we're going to have the kind of an educational structure that America needs, we're going to have to spend plenty, and we're going to have to spend much more than we're spending now. We're going to have to spend from two to three times as much as we're spending now. I know that Dr. Fine who made this survey about a year ago this coming February, pointed out that American Public education was spending somewhere around three billion dollars per year in America. You know these figures better than I do so why should I burden you with them. I want to say this, however, that American public education better have as its ultimate goal between now and 1950 and expenditure of ten billion dollars per year to properly put American schools back where they belong in the communities of this nation. That means a three-fold increase in the cost of American education. Why not? Everything else is going up. Can't buy a pound of

butter for what you used to. You surely can't buy an automobile for what it used to cost. You can't purchase a house at the cost it used to be. And you can't buy American education today at the cost it once was. I understand that this year the cost is apt to be a little over 4 billion. You would think that was a phenomenal increase. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to point this out to you. The three billion dollars that was spent last year in America for public education was only a half-billion dollars more than was spent in 1940. What was the national income in 1940? The national income in 1940 was between 80 and 85 billions of dollars. What is the gross national product for 1947? Two hundred twenty-five billion dollars. You people are sissies, and I mean it. You don't know how to ask for enough. What American education needs today is a lobby and a big one. Not a lobby of superintendents, not a lobby of trustees, but a lobby such as the Parent-Teachers' Association which is truly the best lobby in the world. Not a lobby for special interests but a lobby for the people of this nation. Every moment of time that is devoted to the work of the Parent-Teachers' Congress, every job that they undertake is a job in behalf of the future salvation and the future well-being of the American people. Our legislators need a good deal of work to be done upon them in this field, and I know of no one who could do it any better than people who represent families of America.

I say that our schools must not only serve the community, they must learn to serve the nation. You're serving the nation. You served it during the war. You served it because the government paid you. The government came out with vocational equipment, put in machine shops. I helped do it,

I know. And I had plenty of trouble getting people to take it, too. I went from school to school in the State of Minnesota and had to argue with everybody in the community to get them to put another lathe in the school. They said, "How are we going to take care of it after the war is over?" This is our tradition of an economics of scarcity - not only scarcity in food production, not only scarcity in automobile production and steel production, but a scarcity in economics in terms of what should be done for the welfare and the well-being of our own people. Now, I grant you that some people have become accustomed to having some new equipment in the schools. The government during the war gave us a sort of impetus, and now we recognize that maybe we are going to have to carry along.

But are you adequately housed, speaking of housing? Are the universities of America adequately housed? Let's take a look at that for a while. Let's see how well we're serving the nation and how well the nation is serving us. Are you convinced that these barracks that they're putting up around on the campuses are just temporary? I want to offer a suggestion here. I don't want this to be too conclusive. But I'll venture to say that many of these wooden barracks that have been converted into classrooms will be there a lot longer than a lot of you people think, unless something is done to remove them and put up concrete construction or brick construction because American boys and girls are going to want to go to school from here on out. This isn't just the G. I. Bill of Rights. Once that 24-year-old son tastes of it, that 13-year-old son is going to want it. And whether the government gives it to him or anybody else gives it to him, he's going to want

it. And whether the government gives it to him or anybody else gives it to him, he's going to want to go to college. His big brother Johnny went there, and he's going to want to go, too. I've talked to too many college administrators that sort of believe that this is the post-war era - you mustn't become excited about this - after all, this is in the period of flush prosperity.

I want to offer another suggestion. That America can no more endure nor have anything else but prosperity. We've got to have the National income that we have today. Even this matter of prices that we're talking about - people wanting prices to be taken way down. I want them to go down, too, and I'm pretty outspoken about it. I want them to go down so bad that I'm even for the reinstitution of price controls in certain areas. But I don't believe that America can ever prosper again with the price structure of the 20's and 30's. And I don't believe that you can pay off the debt by cutting taxes and cutting our national income. And I don't believe that America can prosper by trying to force down wages to the level of the 1935-39 indices. This is big time stuff. We left that penny ante game a while ago. We're playing now in the big field. We're playing for national incomes in the hundreds of billions of dollars. We have a national debt that's almost unbelievable in terms of its figures of 250 or 300 billions that stands over us.

Well, the same thing is true of public education. The University of Minnesota used to have 14,000 students in 1937. Today it has 32,000. Now I'm convinced that 95% of the people in our community and in the State believe that that's unusual. I submit to this audience that if that's unusual then public education and university education

has failed. We need not only 32,000 students in the University of Minnesota - we need 100,000. Five per cent of the boys and girls that graduate from high school go to the university. Is that the ideal for America? Are we over-staffed in education? Are we overbuilt? I should say not. We're under-staffed. We're under-constructed. We have totally inadequate facilities. We have to be visionary, I'll grant you - very much visionary. We have to be thinking in terms of building a brand new society - not repudiating our traditions or our best points of the past - but building on these foundations a new and better society.

This school system of ours must serve not only the nation in building for citizenship, teaching young people the art of democratic participation in the classroom, bringing to them an appreciation of democratic values. It must build for one world. That one world is getting kind of split up, isn't it?

Maybe I ought to say something about the atomic bomb. Everybody talks about the atomic bomb. Nobody seems to be very frightened about it, of course, even though we're building more and more of them. I was down in New Mexico not long ago and I'm told that they're going ahead full steam. I find out that the great nations of the world can't agree upon atomic energy control. I find out that we're not doing very much about converting it into peace time use. We're going to become a nation of fearful, frustrated people. Everyone of us is going to bed night after night, as long as this world situation keeps the way

it is, with the feeling - if we're thinking at all - that this may be our last day. And we can't blame people for doing that in the kind of a world we live in.

What are we doing in the public schools to build for one world? Maybe we are now, but I want to tell you we've missed the boat a long time. Why do I know? Because it took a long time in the City of Minneapolis to pass the fair employment practices ordinance. And everybody that was talking about it and everybody that was voting on it had a good education, in terms of what we call a good education. We had 26 aldermen. It took 15 months - 15 months of argument - 15 months of pressure - 15 months of education - 15 months of meetings - hundreds and hundreds of meetings to convince 26 people that the fair employment practice in the City of Minneapolis was a moral, democratic procedure. Well, if the schools had been doing their job there wouldn't have been any problem there. They all went through Central High School and West High School and Southwest High School. What went wrong? The schools were being victimized by the environment of which they were a part. And I leave this challenge to the teachers. You have to be pioneers of thought. I had an editor take me to task not long ago, saying that what I wanted teachers to be was propagandists. Oh, no. I submit that most of them are right now. Not propagandists for something new, but apologists for the status quo. Propagandists in the sense that it's so much a part of them in the life they are living that they can't quite understand that there may be something that needs to be changed.

Again I'm talking to the wrong group of teachers. This is like

preaching prohibition to people who never drink. You see, you do not represent a cross-section of American teachers or American school administrators. You represent the best. You don't represent that part of America where \$100 per year is spent per classroom unit, and there are a lot of areas in America where that is true. You do not represent that section of American education where totally incompetent teachers are in the classroom. You don't represent that section of America where from 2 to 3 million of our boys and girls are not even in school because there are no schools or adequate laws to see that they get to school. You do not represent American teachers and the American education system where there are from 5 to 6 million boys and girls in America today who are being taught or being given instruction by incompetent and incapable teachers. The State of California has high standards. Why in the world you ever wanted to hear what I have to say is more than I'll ever know. What I need to say tonight, or what I should be saying, should be said in Mississippi; it should be said in Georgia, South Carolina; it should be said in the rural areas of the State of Minnesota because our rural education program isn't anything to be proud of. We still have people who feel that we are spending too much on education for the little one-room school houses in the rural areas of our mid-western states. I speak particularly of my own state of Minnesota.

I'd like to leave you with the thought that you really are the molders of human destiny - much more than any politician, as we politicians are the product of the school system of America and the family life of America. Those of us who are in public office today, who

are the mayors, governors, presidents, aldermen, county commissioners, and county supervisors, legislators and congressmen and senators are products of the school system. What we are, we are because of the communities from which we came, because of the attitudes and opinions that we received while we were at school. I know that some of the convictions I hold most deeply here today came from the people that taught me when I was in school, particularly when I was at the University.

But 95% of the boys and girls, 95% of America, will never go to the University under present standards, as I said a while ago. And the important area of education is not the University of California. Oh, yes, we need the leaders, we need the trained technicians. But it's not Leland Stanford; it's not the University of Minnesota, or Wisconsin or Michigan or Chicago that are so vital to the education of democratic citizens. The crucially important area of American education today is in the primary and secondary schools, because there is where the voter and the citizen gets what he calls his education. That means that the high school superintendent, the junior college superintendent, the principal in the primary school or the secondary school is the molder of human personality. And if you in your own mind haven't come to some conclusions about the kind of a world that you want to live in - if you haven't tried to examine factually and objectively the political and economic forces that are working in this world today - then how in the name of common sense are you going to be able to give direction to a great system of learning in this great nation? How many of you have made up your mind whether or not

Europe is going to starve this next year? How many of you think that America ought to share her food? How many of you believe that this nation of ours can afford to go on with a horse-and-buggy mentality in an industrialized world? And that's what we have. We still use the cliches of the 1850's to talk about a world that today is just getting ready to be driven by atomic power - no longer just the power of electricity or of coal, but of atomic energy. How many of us have really made up our minds or have come to some conclusion about the human problems that are implicit in our mass production industrial society? How many of us have made up our minds that we're not going to teach other people to think as we think, but we're going to try to help other people to have the capacity to think? Not what to think, but how to think. And how to think on these basic issues that confront us every hour of the day in every part of America.

It's much more interesting nowadays to tell people that for the next few months this nation of ours will feed the people of Britain, the people of France and the people of Italy. It's much more interesting. I think we're much more enticed by speeches that tell us that this nation of ours has got to go on out now and prepare to live a very perilous future for the next 15 or 20 years; that we have to be strong in our might; that we have to somehow or other increase our production; that we have to keep our Merchant Marine and our Navy powerful. I submit to this audience that those are products of individual response, and that individual response starts when the boy or the girl comes into that nursery school or that kindergarten, and you

can start that process of teaching right then and there. No, what's America going to do about this? It's going to do what you want it to do. It's going to do what the superintendents and the principals and the trustees want to do - want to have done. You underestimate your political power. You underestimate your community leadership ability. You underestimate the important position that you occupy in the whole economy of America. When the trade union people, for example, want to get something done, what do they do? They strike. Believe it or not, sometimes things happen. I've never been one to believe in teachers' strikes. I don't believe in a strike anyplace if it can be averted. But I told our teachers in Minneapolis, and I'll tell them anyplace else I go, that if you're foolish enough - if you're downright immoral enough - and if you are so unconcerned about the future of America that you won't mobilize your energies to work for a proper salary, you are unfit to be in public education - totally unfit. Because when America puts its standards of reimbursement for professional service at a high level, then people are going to respect the position. I want high standards of improvement. I believe in teacher tenure. But I don't believe in keeping people on who have outlived their usefulness. But equally strongly I believe that they should be taken care of by adequate teachers' pensions. I surely believe we're going to have to finance this program. How are we going to do that? You in California have led the way. I wish we were doing as well in Minnesota.

But all over America we have problems - basic political problems that I'm involved in. What do you have in this state? If I'm not

mistaken you have a great section of your people living in large cities that have very little or no representation in the State Legislature and a tremendous number of legislators living in other parts of the state where there are very few people. In the State of Minnesota and in the City of Minneapolis we haven't had reapportionment since 1910. You call that representative government? Now this doesn't sit well with some people, I know. But representative government means just what it says - representative government on the basis of equality of representation. We had a revolution over that once, you know. Taxation without representation. My city is not represented in the Legislature as it ought to be. So when my city comes up with a problem of public education we have to play politics. I submit there are 500,000 people in the city and that those 500,000 people should be given adequate representation on the basis of their number. Their vote should be registered. But those 500,000 people - their representatives do not need to threaten the safety of rural minorities or any minorities if they are properly educated, if they have the right background, the right experiences. Because in this world of ours it is one world and it is one America, and good schools for Podunkville are just as important as good schools for Minneapolis. In the State of Minnesota our best schools are on the Iron Range. You don't even have them any better here in California than we have in Buhl, Minnesota, and in Virginia and Ely and Gilbert. Schools that are as beautiful as your state Capitol. I've heard a lot of people say, "Oh, those schools are too good." Oh, no, they aren't. Those are the right kind of schools. The other kind of schools

are too poor. In these right kind of schools they have everything to do the job that I've talked about - the job for the individual - for his health - his physical health - his mental health - his ideals and his participation as a citizen. The legislatures of the 48 states of America have to be brought to a realization that you can't play politics with public education, because you are playing with the lives of the people.

I'm a little radical on this: I believe in Federal Aid Education, and I'll tell you why. Because I don't think it's possible for South Carolina to have as good schools as you have in California. They haven't the money. It isn't possible for Mississippi to have as good schools as you have in California. They haven't the money. And yet the people from Mississippi are a part of America. When the nation is at war, they fight for America. When the nation is sick, some of it comes right from the degradation and the filth of Mississippi. I spent two years of my life down in the deep south, and in all my life I have never seen such degradation - such poverty. I say the only way for them to lift themselves out of it is for somebody to help them.

Unemployment in America has decided to be a national problem. Some people didn't want it that way, but the decision has been made. Security for the aged people in America, a national program of insurance - old age and survivors insurance - is a national program. They tax you in California and the people in Minnesota. It's all put into a great big fund in Washington and it's fed back into the states. I don't think there's been any encroachment on states' rights (All of this talk about states' rights when human rights are being sacrificed and crucified.) The only

way that South Carolina or Georgia or Mississippi or Alabama can have the kind of education that you have in California is through Federal aid. And lots of it. And every dollar that you good people here in California put into education is being adulterated and diluted by the ignorance and by the poverty and by the sickness in other areas of America. This nation is only as rich and strong as its people. Not the people of Delaware, where they have plenty of tax money. Not the people of New York or of Minnesota or of California. This nation is only as strong as all of its people. And I would say that it would be good business for the future welfare of America and of the world if the people of California and Minnesota helped educate and helped pay for the education of the people in other sections of America where they can't pay for it themselves. It would be the best money you ever spent. Now don't tell me that you are opposed to, because you are not. You're building highways through there. Federal aid to highways is an accepted program. You are building all kinds of public buildings. Do you think that the tax money comes from Mississippi to build the post offices they put in Mississippi? You are contributing to public health programs, because the United States Public Health Service is financed through Federal revenues and it puts its money in each one of the 48 states. It's high time that the educational administrators, the superintendents, the teachers, the parent-teacher associations and the trustees made up their minds that they are addicted to a concept of financing public education which is unworkable in America. Local, state financing is unworkable. That's my opinion, and I would argue

the point from here on out, because if there is any man or woman in this room that can show me how the people of Mississippi can have as good schools as you have in California or we have in Minnesota, then I'll retract every word that I've said here tonight. They just haven't the means at this time to do the job. I'll say in due time they will, because as they educate their people, they will improve their productivity. As they educate their people, they will improve their health. As they educate their people, they will liquidate their poverty and they will become a much more prosperous people. This is the story of America.

What can America do for public education? Or what must we do about it? First of all, we've got to pay for it. And after we pay for it, we leave it to our local people to determine how it shall be managed. I'm not talking about centralized department of administering information. There isn't anyone in this room that would look with more disfavor upon a program of centralized control than the mayor of Minneapolis. I'm a local government fellow. But I know this much. Local government in Minneapolis isn't going to be able to keep the schools of Minneapolis open. I know that. Local government in Minneapolis has got to look to the state for help just like you've done it here in California. And all this talk and all this propaganda that we put out and all these nice words about just being able to do this job all by ourselves is to deny the fact that we're still citizens of a great republic - the United States of America. And then after we're all through with it here, we've got our job of telling our story.

How many of you know of the debate that took place in the Congress

of the United States on the Voice of America? All you heard about was a radio program. Mr. Benton, who spoke in Atlantic City, was the head of that program as Assistant Secretary of State - the Assistant Secretary of State recently resigned. But how many people in this room know that all over Europe are libraries - American libraries. No one forces the people to come in - they're just there. And the Congress of the United States sat there and argued for months as to whether or not we could afford to give to Europe the story of America so they could read it. That was one of the biggest arguments they had. They had hearings and testimony. You would have thought that the nation was going to go bankrupt because we were going to buy a couple copies of Business Week and the Ladies Home Journal and send them someplace over in Italy. This nation has a story to tell and it's not going to be able to tell it by the tourists at the cocktail bars. It's going to be able to tell it through the process of American Education, through the radio, through the press, through the library. There again, you have your chance. I wonder. Was there an organized group of school superintendents that went to Congress and said, "Listen, Congress, we want libraries put in every country in Europe where American forces of occupation are. We want libraries put in every country of Europe where our dollars are going to come. We want the story of America told. I saw no marks on Washington on that. But the N. A. M. was there and the A. F. of L. was there and the C. I. O. was there and the Chamber of Commerce was there - all batting their brains out for what they wanted. But we weren't there at all - any of us - to tell what we need for American education, not only here but

abroad. I speak specifically of abroad, because this is one world, and if we're going to win our battle for democracy we're going to win it on more fronts than just here in Pomona or Sacramento or Oakland or San Jose. We're going to have to win it in every area of human conflict or contact.

The school administrators of America have a chance to lead in this fight. I hope these thoughts have been somewhat useful to you. They are only the small parts of what I think about a good deal. I want to pay a real tribute to the teachers of this nation. During the days of depression, they made a greater sacrifice possibly than any other one group. I want to pay a tribute to the school superintendents and members of the boards of trustees of schools, most of them serving without any pay - without any reward. I don't pay this tribute in order to ward off criticism of myself. As a public official I've had plenty of criticism; I believe I ought to have more. I can assure you that what the toastmaster said about me tonight is not said by every person in Minneapolis. Not at all. There were thousands of them that didn't agree with his kind remarks about me. And not only they didn't agree, but they told me what they thought of me and they're still telling me. There were two or three national editorials just the last week. That's all right. That's the way it ought to be because that's going to make me a better public servant if I have anything at all to offer.

And I'm of the opinion that there hasn't been enough critical analysis of public education in America. There hasn't been a sufficient number of people on the outside looking on the inside. There was not a sufficient number of people in the public school system of America planning for the postwar schools. We were all too busy giving speeches about postwar plans for industry. I remember half the University of Minnesota's faculty going around talking about

whether or not there would be a depression or a recession, talking about whether or not we were going to be able to maintain 7,000 people out at the University in Minneapolis. Nobody ever thought there would be 28,000 students at the University of Minnesota or how we were going to handle them. Now that problem is ours.

One other thing we need to keep in mind is that no matter how much production bogs down in this country, there's one type of production that isn't bogging down. I know of no group that has a more steady demand for their services than this one of teachers--and prosperity sometimes isn't conducive to that high peak of production. So even if there should be a recession in America, no group will be called upon more than the public school system of America. Make yourselves combat patriots. Fight for American democracy. And I'm not talking about democracy in the market place. I'm talking about democracy on the playgrounds, democracy in the auditorium, democracy in the classroom. Make it your business to become informants. Yes, make it your business to become the town crier--a crier in the highest sense of the word--sounding the clear call of leadership in every community activity, in every community organization that you have. Thank you very much.



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