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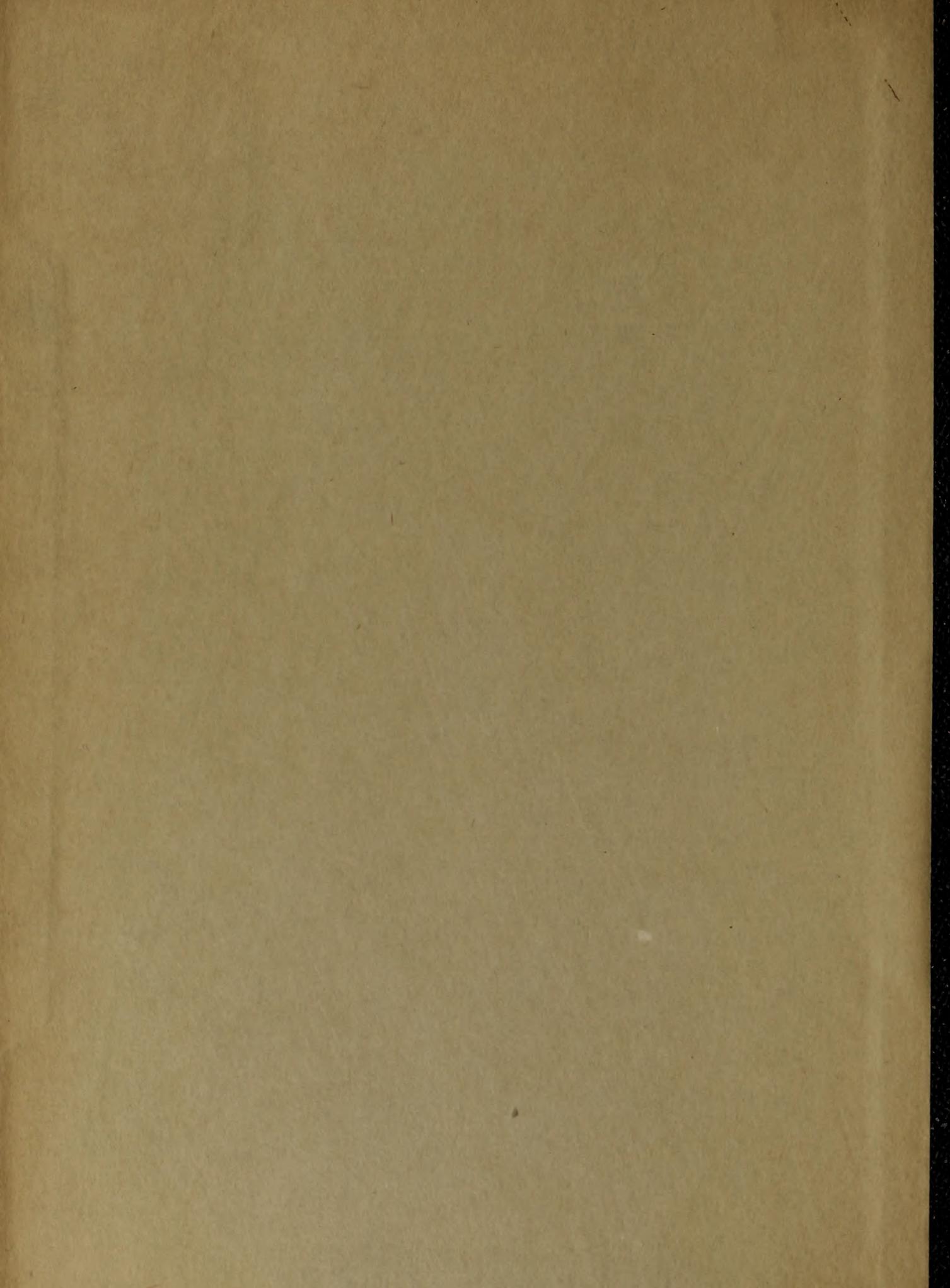
A detailed and critical analysis of the Martin Plan for Prohibiting Poverty

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Marsden, M.E.



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Mildred Elsie Marsden	25
(A.B. Boston University 1937)	25
submitted in partial fulfilment	100
of the	108
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Master of Arts	

1938

Master University Student's Journal

A REPORT AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS

OF THE

NON-PROFITING

MOVEMENT

IN

INDIA

(A. M. B. A. University 1957)

Submitted in partial fulfillment

of the

requirements for the degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

BY

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Today our country is in a state of depression. The business that is the unavoidable consequence of the capitalist system is paralyzed. More than the average number of persons are out of work, and though production is high enough, a more equitable distribution cannot be effected. Everyone's well-being including their livelihood is now to be dependent upon markets and prices, and since these are unstable, living is precarious. The intense force with which the realization of this fact has been impressed upon the people through actual suffering, want, and mental torture has produced much dissatisfaction with existing conditions. It is just such a realization that has prompted Mrs. Martin to write the National Livelihood Plan, the subject of the following discussion.

THE PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The wife of a professor at Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, the author has been a keen observer and student of people and society for a long while. Her plan in some respects bears the distinguishing features of an elderly mind. She views the present social panorama with an eye to security--and to the calm and peace that is so desirable to persons well along in years. She has disciplined her life to run smoothly with little emotional excitement and so, somewhat falsely I believe, feels everyone else can do likewise.

The National Livelihood Plan, if effected, calls for a more or less extensive revision of nearly every phase of our life--social, economic, and political. It is very inclusive, and a thorough treatment of every phase, though not impossible, would

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In any plan or subject that deals so importantly with human nature there are many "ifs" upon which all decisions and opinions are dependent. Consideration of all would have to lead to a very negative indecisive paper that would be of little value to anyone. Because of this, only more striking and major questions have been taken up. The writer earnestly hopes that there have been no very obvious points that she has failed to consider; also, that no significant questions arise in the minds of the readers that remain unanswered or unexplained when they have reached the conclusion.

The subject is thoroughly interesting but one upon which it is better for one to take no definite stand when discussing it with others. It is not uncommon to have a listener become "very hot under the collar" when the plan is talked over. Significant is the fact that these very persons can offer no good logical reason for their disapproval.

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STATEMENT OF THE PLAN

The Commons

The Capitals

STATEMENT OF THE PLAN

The following

The details

STATEMENT OF THE PLAN

"All able-bodied young people of the nation, both boys and girls at 18 years of age, as a continuation of their public and high school education would enter an industrial organization (The Commons) for the purpose of producing and distributing a basic Livelihood in Necessities only, (no luxuries) to the entire population. Like the school system, it would be universal and compulsory, but would operate without the use of money."

"Demobilizing at 26 years of age (after 8 years of service) they would then pass into "The Capitals," a society organized precisely as is our present All-Capitalistic society, namely, capitalistic, competitive, individualistic, but confined industrially to the traffic in Luxuries and Surpluses only (no Necessities). As inhabitants or citizens of the capitals they would be at liberty to enter any calling they chose in pursuit of wealth, fame, power, skill, pleasure, ease, etc., being provided steadily and for life with a regular supply of the basic necessities in goods and services to be furnished them by the labors of fresh, successive relays of young commoners coming up in turn from the schools and taking their places in the ranks. This continuous stream of necessary goods and services would be kept pouring out over the entire country, being provided successively by the moderate but well-trained and well-organized labors of strong young generations working in their turn to win for life economic freedom and independence."

STATEMENT OF THE TRUTH

"All anti-social young people of the nation, both boys and girls of 15 years of age, as a continuation of their public and with school education would enter the National organization (The Commons) for the purpose of producing and distributing a basic livelihood in necessities only, (no luxuries) to the entire population. Like the school system, it would be universal and compulsory, but would operate without the use of money. "Demobilizing at 18 years of age (after 7 years of service they would then be in "The Commons", a school organization) precisely as do our present All-Governmental society, namely, capitalistic, competitive, individualistic, but confined largely to the traffic in luxuries and services only (no necessities). As individuals of different of the capital they would be at liberty to enter any calling they chose in amount of wealth, fame, power, skill, pleasure, ease, etc., being provided liberally and for life with a regular supply of the basic necessities in goods and services to be furnished them by the labor of their, exclusive help of young conscripts coming up in the form of schools and being their places in the world. This continuous state of necessary goods and services would be kept flowing out over the entire country, being provided automatically by the national and well-organized forces of young conscripts working in pairs to win for the economic freedom and independence."

"The plan would satisfy the crying needs of our day for Work and for Security by obtaining Security through Work, so long as the nation shall stand.

"The Commons is the Nation's Mother. It extends the mother-principle on and over into the activities of early youth, seeking always the best interests not only of the youth but of the family. It receives the older children as they issue from the school and inducts them into a great New School for Getting-a-Living. It directs and controls them in motherly fashion, (aided occasionally by a taste of fatherly discipline) until their task is finished and they have gained their independence. Then, her task being completed, she turns them over to life -- to a free life in The Capitals where there-after they may find or lose themselves."

This, in Mrs. Martin's own words, is her plan as she states it in her pamphlet "Prohibiting Poverty". Following is an elaboration of her views and a discussion of their pros and cons.

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Ibid, pp.58 - 60

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SOCIAL - ECONOMICS

Why is any economic change necessary?
What are the alternatives to capitalism?
Could capitalism be altered so that it would be more successful?

SOCIAL - ECONOMICS

The profit motive is the characteristic of the capitalist system. The capitalist system is based on a system of private property and individual enterprise. Individual capitalists own the means of production and control the production process. The capitalist system is based on the division of labor and specialization in work and the use of power machinery. More recently its efforts and developments have been in the establishment and growth of big business, trusts and cartels, and public ownership. Its industrial structure has been built in such a way as to produce a high degree of efficiency, productivity, and growth. The last few years have brought forth considerable progress in various types of scientific and technical developments and the use of power machinery.

SOCIAL - ECONOMICS

Why is any economic change necessary?
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In recent years, the world has undergone a profound economic depression. Its far-reaching effects, the jeopardizing of standards and of the fundamentals of life for many, the background of social misery and unrest ^{or} ~~et~~ disorganization and loss of morale for others, have centered attention upon the civilization of which these conditions have become a part. The widespread opinion of the present time is that the capitalistic system, the prevailing economic order in the world today, has been found wanting.

The profit motive is the outstanding characteristic of the capitalistic system. The acquisitiveness that is its roots has evolved in a society that has been founded upon individual enterprise. Individual capitalism that came with the Industrial Revolution was marked by the period of rapid invention, outstanding mechanical discoveries, and large-scale production. It brought the factory system along with specialization in work and the use of power machinery. More recently its effects and developments may be seen in the establishment and growth of big business, trusts and mergers, and holding companies. Its immediate disasters have been felt in stock market crashes, bank failures, business failures, widespread unemployment, overproduction or underconsumption, and the like. The last few years have brought forth innumerable plans for various types of economic planning and various attempts on a national scale to stem the tide of depressed conditions. There are several alternative

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systems whereby radical, or possible even revolutionary, political changes might become effective remedial measures for society. Of these systems, Socialism, Communism, and Fascism are by far the best known since they have attracted the attention of the world by their larger followings.

The following is only the briefest description of some of the main points and philosophies of these movements.

Socialism exists as an organized movement that is working for more social justice and greater equality within society. Its principles are generally considered to be in practice wherever the government has taken over any of the functions of society, as has occurred where regulation, ownership, subsidies, and other aids in legislative and paternal tendencies directed to conserving the social good have been effected.

A definition of socialism can be given best in two parts— one economic, and one political. The first is concerned with the production and distribution of goods, while the other deals with the distribution of power.

In regard to production, all the land and capital must belong to the state. The state might have the privilege of delegating the possession of specific factories, etc. to some large body of producers or consumers. A trade-union or a cooperative society would be classified in this group. In regard to the distribution of goods, that amount paid for each type of work must be fixed by some public authority. A minimum of what is required for bare necessities and a maximum

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of what will give the greatest incentive to efficient work would be the considerations. There is no need of equality of income for all, as part of the definition of socialism; what is essential is that a man should not be able to extort unearned profit by his possessions of the means of production whether land or capital. However, Socialism certainly has, as one of its ideals, the equality of income, subject only to such modifications as may be imposed by the special needs of various classes or workers.¹

"On the political side, socialism is not compatible with autocracy or oligarchy, but demands that all sane adults shall have an equal share of ultimate political power. Even the Bolsheviki who oppose democracy during the time of transition, regard it as part of their ideal and admit that socialism will not be fully realized until it is possible to restore liberal democratic institutions."²

Communism originally implied idealistic community life and utopias, but has tended to become, in present-day usage, closely identified with Russia and its experiment. Throughout the world it has propagandist organizations, and these have influenced much of the more radical thought of the leading nations. Theoretically, Communism is an advocate of the Marxian principles,³ but practically it has been influenced and modified

1. Johnsen, Julia E., ed., Capitalism and Its Alternatives, pp.118-235

2. Russell, B., Socialism in Undeveloped Countries, Atlantic Monthly May, 1932, p.664

3. Wagner, Social Reformers 421-450

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1. Johnson, Miss E., ed., Capitalism and Its Alternatives, pp. 18-23.
 2. Russell, E., Socialism in Underdeveloped Countries, Atlantic Monthly
 May, 1932, p. 684.
 3. Warner, Social Reformers 1921-450

by Leninism and by the practical applications of the Russian Soviet policy.

Today, communism signifies an organized attempt to overthrow the existing social order and to replace it by a better one. Underlying this attempt are five main considerations. The communists believe that the capitalistic system, though it has been a necessary stage in world civilization, cannot possibly be the foundation of the true civilization. Secondly, they know that the capitalistic system is today in a state of extremely unstable equilibrium and they feel that it had become incapable of conducting its own affairs. Chaos is imminent--if it has not already begun.

Their third consideration is that social stability and the possibility of order and progress can only be regained by the establishment of communism, and this through the dictatorship of the proletariat. And fourthly, that the change must be revolutionary, and must involve the seizure of power by unconstitutional means, and that it will necessitate the forcible suppression of the counter-revolution are their firm convictions.

Their last main belief is that the overthrow of capitalism must be world-wide to be effective. Local revolutions will not suffice, and communism can be achieved in no other way than through realizing the program of the world revolution.¹

This compulsory communism may be effective, but it would also be intolerable. Russian leaders are strong in their claim

1. Paul, E. & C., Communism, p.21.

Johnsen, Julia El, ed., Capitalism and Its Alternatives, p.256

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that self-ambition and extreme desire for fair play for each individual is not a natural human characteristic, but a result of the capitalistic environment. Modern young Russia supposedly is taking great pride in her hardiness and her ability to get along without luxuries. New generations of Russians are expected to be wholly unselfish, exerting themselves to the utmost for the cause with no real ambition for advancement or even for a fair deal personally. The propaganda Russia has used to help this plan along has been heavier and more one-sided than any other known. Their censorship is so rigid that the people know nothing of what is happening in the rest of the world. Only a very favored few are allowed to leave the country. Could this really be the desirable civilization? Perhaps after the transition, things will be different. The next generation, since they know nothing else, may desire nothing else and so, such close restriction will be unnecessary. Only time can tell.¹

Fascism has been Italy's answer to her need for a new political, economic, and social order. It bears a strong resemblance to many of the dictatorships that have existed in many of the European and Latin-American countries, and even has something in common with Japan's strong military and reactionary elements. It differs from communism since it is definitely a nationalistic and not a would-be internationalistic

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movement. Ideally, Fascism claims to be ruled by those who can rise above self-interest and promote the social aspirations; actually, its critics hold that it would probably weaken free development and liberalism. The great mass of citizens are considered by the adherents of this system to be too ignorant and too concerned with private interests to undertake the difficult task of government.

The injection of a new spirit into the national life of Italy is regarded by Fascists to be one of their major accomplishments. It claims to have replaced the pessimism and discouragement of post-war years by confidence in Italy's future and to have substituted direct concerted action for political apathy and confusion. To those who have become weary of skepticism and competitive materialism, fascism offers a philosophy which, though it prescribes discipline and acquiescence, emphasizes the romantic elements of national tradition.¹

"There is much that the wisest of us may learn from Italy. Fascism has recognized some principles, which being fundamental, may emerge from the political welter in which many countries are already involved. To have dispensed with the wholesale corruption inherent in party systems, disestablished and disendowed the careerist politician, freed a nation from the degrading and economically disturbing gamble of frequently

1. Leighton, Social Philosophies in Conflict. pp. 26-27

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recurring elections, and made possible progressive reforms held up by cumbrous and clogged machinery - are fine achievements."¹

However fine these accomplishments may be, there are five main principles unfortunately involved in the Fascist program.

1. Co-operation between Labor and Capital is under State supervision, and is with compulsory arbitration.

2. Their representation is on the basis of occupation as well as of residence.

3. They have extended governmental control over freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

4. They have increased the power of the central government over the local government.

5. In their central government, there is concentration of power in the hands of one man, the premier.²

The compulsory feature of these plans destroys personal liberty. It seems inconceivable that a majority of the liberty-loving "do-as-I please" Americans would willingly give up so much personal freedom for the chance of being one of a rather patriarchal organization. Even in Russia, a country that has long been accustomed to tyranny, the system has to be put over by terrorism enforced by the secret police who are above and beyond all civil law, and by the army which seems to

1. Lord Sydenham of Combe, The Fascist State, English Review, Feb., 1929, p. 167.

2. Johnsen, Julia E., ed., Capitalism and Its Alternatives.

the right of election, and the people's progressive reform
and by the people and elected assembly - are the
agreement.

However, the three countries have not yet done, there are five
and finally, the nations help involved in the World program.
1. Co-operation between India and China is under State
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2. The nations are to be on the basis of cooperation
as well as of independence.

3. They are to be under government control over freedom
of the press and freedom of speech.

4. They have indicated the power of the central govern-
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5. In their central government, there is concentration
of power in the hands of one man, the president.

The country is to be of those plans to be a central
authority. It is to be a central authority of the people.

6. The nations are to be a central authority, and to be
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7. The nations are to be a central authority, and to be
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9. The nations are to be a central authority, and to be
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be really only a military police organization¹

At the present time, these are the most prominent alternatives to capitalism. Many people apparently favor some one of these radically different plans, while others, for the sake of preserving what benefits have occurred from our present economic system, advocate an adjustment. These people do not feel that the evils which are so objectionable are inherent so much in the system itself as they are in the manner in which it has been allowed to run. These views are represented by that group of reformers, Keynes, Record, Salter, etc., who assume that the prevailing system, badly as it needs repairing, is the best system. They feel that if only its currency can be managed, financial stability achieved, foreign exchanges padded, reparations scaled down, the unemployed put to work or upon a dole of some sort, all will be for the best, and the result will be the best of all conceivable worlds. They ignore the criticisms of capitalism as a way of life. They ignore the methods, unethical as many of them are, of getting rich. They ignore the whole vast burden of those non-essential trades which Ruskin has termed "illth." They also ignore the high pressure technique, the ignorance of the consumer, and the threat of technological destruction. Their advocated reforms are only patches on a boiler that is bound to explode sooner or later according to Stuart Chase.²

1. Pittman, E.W., A Road to Opportunity, pp. 55-58

2. Chase, Stuart, A New Deal, pp. 188-9

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1. Pittman, E.W., A Road to Co-operation, pp. 88-89.
 2. Chase, Stuart, A New Deal, pp. 188-9.

With this group of reformers, Mrs. Martin has something in common. She too sees some value in the present system. Capitalism has given to the world more than any other system. It has raised the standard of living and provided more incentive to individual improvement than any order that has yet been tried. The individualism that has been fostered by it provides the variety and freedom that are desirable to foster personal achievement. Communism is the doing-together of a common task, and the meeting, through concerted action, of a common need. From such a system, there would be an increase in power and order. This method effected through mass collectivism would be most suitable for the large common task of getting a "good living for everyone" according to Mrs. Martin. Having taken care of all the necessities, and so having earned his freedom, each individual might do whatever seems to him to be most desirable in pursuit of the widest and wildest individualism. Thus, no one would suffer to any such extent as starvation or dependence upon charity as has happened so frequently in recent years.

Mrs. Martin is not the only plan to have a dual nature. D. W. Pittman has suggested the establishment of a "nation-wide government industrial organization, which should engage in all manner of productive industries and services among its members only. This organization should operate mines, factories, farms, and transportation systems entirely independent of those operated by private industry, and distribute its products and service only to its members."¹ In addition, the "United

1. Pittman, D. W. A Road to Opportunity, P. 79

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States Industries" as they would be called, should be maintaining all roads, waterways, schools, telephones, homes for the aged and all other governmental activities. So far as possible, the United States Industries aims to be entirely self-supporting, and to buy no more than is absolutely necessary to carry on their business. All of its production should be carefully controlled. Mr. Pittman thinks that with efficient management this organization should be able soon to furnish a high standard of living for its members, and in addition, have an excess of labor and supplies for use in public works, etc.

Any citizen in the country could enter the United States Industries at any time, and just as easily he could leave the organization. Thus, the United States Industries would offer work and opportunity for all, yet a person's independence would not be much more impaired than it is today. When he went into the organization, a person would be required to exchange all of his property that he could not use for a check of some sort for the estimated value of this property. If and when he decided to return to competitive capitalistic business, the value of his check would be given him in money. Pittman anticipates that the number of members would reach great heights in times of depression and be correspondingly low in times of prosperity, but in the management of such an organization, he feels that this fluctuation could be handled.

He makes arrangements for a surprisingly high amount of individualism, and he feels certain that security would be

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He takes arrangements for a surprisingly high amount of individualism, and he feels certain that security would be

assured.

There is a marked degree of similarity between this dual social organization and the one planned by Mrs. Martin.

Both offer security to all. Mrs. Martin would take her cooperative organization completely out of politics while Mr. Pittman would rather put political officers in the organization. He thinks that in this way, allowing them only the salary anyone else would earn for a similarly difficult position, there could be no graft. His operation of the United States Industries would be very similar to that planned for the commons, except that he hasn't quite the horror of corruption by money that Mrs. Martin has.

Both plans are attempting to solve the present economic difficulties by combining the two most obvious solutions. Cooperation and individualism are valuable theories of social organization and the attempt to combine them is a notable one.

Mrs. Martin's plan has been written in somewhat more detail and seems to be more like a really new social order. She presents the National Livelihood Plan as a totally different plan for the management of society, whereas Mr. Pittman advises simply an addition to the present system in the organization of the United States Industries. Both plans are worthy of consideration.

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Martin's booklet "Prohibiting Poverty" is the basis for the present discussion. It is broad and inclusive, and is a noble and thoughtful attempt to solve the social-economic problems of the present day.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONS

Who would rule and how would they be elected to office?

Who would comprise the supporting ranks of executives and technical experts?

How would the pay for these experts be taken care of?

Would there be real concern for the proper handling of the commons' affairs?

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

RESEARCH REPORT

NO. 1234

BY

J. D. JONES

AND

M. E. SMITH

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1965

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONS

The great organization of the commons, that new army organized for a new war, needs some exemplification. Its duties and needs are not at all as simple and obvious as the brief statement of its purpose might at first give one the impression that they are.

To these "gilded youth" of 18 would be given the task of providing the nation with its seven basic, essential goods and services - its food, clothing, shelter, transportation, protection, tools, and education (specialized). They would furnish economic protection against poverty and its accompanying ills.

The 8-year term of service that is now the estimate of what should be required to do the job, Mrs. Martin feels, would undoubtedly be shortened as the co-ordination of the organization was perfected.

"By industry instead of by guns, by working rather than by shooting, they would conquer their enemies - hunger, cold, and want. These are sleepless enemies who are never conquered and to be kept down only by means of concerted mass effort."

The ruling or governing power in this organization is of vast proportions. The scope of authority would be very wide, and the ability and trustworthiness of those in command vital. In the hands of those who have this power lies the fate and well-being, the hope, and even the very living of the entire nation.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONS

The great organization of the commons, that new army

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tasks and needs are not at all so simple and obvious as the

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To these "widened youth" of 15 would be given the task of

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economic protection against poverty and its accompanying ill-

The 3-year term of service that is now the estimate of

that should be restricted to the job, the service itself, could

unwisely be shortened as the re-organization of the organiza-

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"By industry instead of by force, by working rather than

by shooting, they would recover their species - hunger, cold,

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lies the fate and well-being, the hope, and even the very living

of the entire nation.

The governing method, as described in the pamphlet, requires that "the first president of the Commons - called, perhaps, the Industrial Chief - might be elected by popular suffrage." It would then be up to him to appoint the industrial cabinet that would contain seven commissioners, each one of whom would direct and be at the head of one of the departments of necessities - food, clothing, shelter, tools, transportation, protection, education. The term of the president may be determined definitely later, but a fairly long term of 8-10 years is suggested as being most advisable. Upon his death or at his retirement from office, another chief is to be elected from the seven members of his cabinet. This is similar to the election of the Pope at Rome from the College of Cardinals. The new president then could appoint the man to be his successor. There would probably be no man more capable of making this selection since, if his job has been properly done as his appointment to the presidency would assume, he should know the men and their work in his field very well. The high directing staff would then be self-perpetuating.

Each commissioner or department head would be responsible for the men in charge under him. All of these subordinates are to be **selected** from civil service lists or upon reputation and proven merit, similar to the manner in which a large private industrial organization selects its personnel today. These men are all to be taken from the capitals. The older and more capable commoners may well serve in the lower ranks

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 are to be selected from civil service lists on upon nomination
 and proven merit, similar to the manner in which a large
 private industrial organization selects its personnel today.
 These men are all to be taken from the colleges. The cabinet
 and some agencies will have to all serve in the lower ranks

as superintendents, supervisors, and the like. "Any officer could, of course, be removed on impeachment for malfeasance in office."¹

A corps of technical experts, researchers, scientists, etc. would be employed in each department, working constantly to improve methods and to better the product and the working conditions. These experts would be the "vital nerve and brain center of the commons government."

The findings of these men would, without a doubt, determine the industrial practices of the commons, and any decision emanating from or recommended by them would be duty-bound to be put into practice by the executive government. This would mean that science would really have the upper hand. No longer would we be ruled and led blindly along by politicians, priests, lawyers, business men, or bankers. "Science would take its rightful place in human affairs as the most devoted servant, the most disinterested friend, and the most capable leader of mankind,"²

The executives and the scientific leaders of the commons upon whom so much depends would all be experienced men of middle age. They would have gained renown for their ability and work in the capitals before being hired by the commons. Because the work of these outstanding men would be so necessary,

1. Martin, Mrs. Prestonia Mann, Prohibiting Poverty, p. 25.

2. Ibid, p. 25.

As experiments, suggestions, and the like. They often
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A corps of technical experts, researchers, scientists,
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Industry would be ruled and led directly along by scientists,
engineers, lawyers, business men, or bankers. "Science would
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leader of mankind."

The executives and the scientific leaders of the economy
upon whom so much depends would all be experienced men of
wide eyes. They would have gained renown for their ability
and work in the hospitals before being hired by the economy.
Because the work of these outstanding men would be so necessary,

1. Worlic, Mrs. Frederic Mann, Prohibition Society, p. 28.

and in order to obtain their services in competition with corporations in the capitals, it would be necessary to pay them for their efforts in leading the commons. This would necessitate the handling of some money. "The funds for defraying these salaries as well as the funds for providing the commoners with a little pocket money, would be the only money used in the conduct of the commons and these monies would be by no means handled by the commons whose hands must be kept perfectly clean, but would be collected in the capitals by bequest, endowment, patriotic foundations, taxation, etc." ¹ "That there could be no difficulty in doing this will be readily seen when we remember the enormous importance and value to the nation of keeping its young army fit and capably led."

Even more than the soldiers and sailors of today, the young commoners would be the idols, heroes, [~~and darlings~~] of the nation. Their welfare should and would be the first concern of all. Their well-being is an aid to that of everyone else and for this reason it should be the pleasure and duty of every citizen to show helpful encouraging concern.

This organization would be the difference between satisfaction and want for the whole country. They are the ones who would preserve the nation forever, from the enormous "waste, confusion, insecurity, dishonesty, crime, cruelty, injustice, and industrial chaos in which our civilization welters at the present time."

1. Ibid, p. 26.

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LEGAL STATUS OF THE COMMONS

The Commons have been the will of the people...
locally expressed in the context of the government...
too great an assumption in these days of extreme...
Decisions by the...
the power of the...
national...
subject...
it could grant a charter...
necessary to...
could also have...
distribution...
equivalent.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE COMMONS

Origin of Commons

Financial Arrangements

Livelihood Industries Board

Mrs. Martin suggests that the Board...
power...
Living of the Commons...
Board...
service...
limited...
type...

The...
either...
over property...
the Commons...

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE COMMONS
 OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX
 IN RELATION TO THE
 NATIONAL TRUST FOR
 PRESERVING AND IMPROVING
 THE RURAL LANDSCAPE

By
 J. H. COLEMAN
 Esq.
 Barrister at Law

LONDON
 1911

LEGAL STATUS OF THE COMMONS

"The Commons would rest upon the will of the people legally expressed by the consent of the governed."¹ It may be too great an assumption in these days of adverse Supreme Court Decisions to say that the United States government would have the power if they had the inclination to establish such a national production organization. By virtue of its rights of eminent domain, of taxation, and of issuance of bonds, however, it could grant a charter and establish the financial foundations necessary to begin such an organization. Besides this, it would also have to endow it with the right to carry on the production and distribution of basic necessities without the use of money or its equivalent.

Mrs. Martin suggests that the board or group given the power to plan and effect the actual transition and the establishing of the Commons might be called the Livelihood Industries Board. The War Industries Board that registered such valuable service in 1912-1919 is a rather good facsimile. This Livelihood Industries Board should be composed of the same high type of men.

The money required to purchase from the private owners either by contract or through condemnation proceedings whatever property would be required to form the working plant of the Commons could be raised in the name of this board from a

1. Martin, Mrs. Prestonia Mann, Prohibiting Poverty, p. 68.

LEGAL STATUS OF THE COMPANY

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1. Martin, W. W. Economic Basis, Special Committee Report, p. 10.

Bond issue by the United States Government. The government then would have to hold title to this property until the total obligation which would include the interest and the amortization charges had been completely met by the commons. These obligations could be liquidated by the Board in one of the following ways.

1. By supplying the population with necessaries. If this should be in return for money that could be applied to the debts incurred, it would be right at the start involving that organization with the "filthy lucre" that is one of her main points of aversion. If they once got started doing this, would it not be very hard to give it up? There might be many things that would be very desirable to the well-being of the commoner that it would be easier and quicker at first to buy rather than to make. Another question that arises in my mind is: where would the market be if all were supplied with necessities? Would they sell the sugar, flour, etc. only to the capitalistic producers desiring them and needing them in the production of luxuries?

2. By selling the labor of the young commoners to capitalistic employers on account.

One of the main advantages of the system is supposed to be the better working conditions provided for the commoners. If they are intermingled with the capitalistic workers and allowed to work for capitalistic employers, they probably would be shown no favoritism, and so would not really have better working environments.

Good issue by the United States Government. The government then would have to hold title to this property until the total obligation which would include the interest and the amortization charges had been completely set by the owners. These charges should be financed by the State in one of the following ways.

1. By applying the capitalization with necessary. This should be to return the money that would be applied to the State incurred, it would be right at the time investment was made in the "Risky Issue" that is one of the main points of operation. It may once get started, it would not be very hard to give it up. There should be some way that would be very difficult to the well-being of the country that it would be easier to get rid of than to put it back to work. Another question that arises in my mind is: where would the money be if it were applied with necessity? Would that be the case, then, then, etc. only to the capitalist producers besides that and nothing else in the production of interest?

2. By selling the labor of the young workers to capitalistic regions on account. One of the main advantages of the system is supposed to be the better working conditions provided for the workers. If they are satisfied with the capitalist workers and allowed to work for capitalist employers, they probably would be shown no favoritism, and so would not really have better working

3. By reductions from the present national charity bill.

Truly this bill would be cut considerably, but the increased expenditures necessary in other lines because of the plan seems to be the necessary place for this surplus to be absorbed.

4. By similar deductions from the present enormous crime bill.

It would take some time before this economy would be felt. The present police system would have to be enlarged or some new branches inaugurated to extend and more fully and closely supervise the workers in the commons. Perhaps the force could gradually be reduced, but at first, there would be no reduction. Prison, court, and detective costs might be somewhat lowered the difference would not be very appreciable.

5. "Donations, subscriptions, bequests from patriotic citizens, and periodic national drives to liberate the people from its obligations, such as occur in war or any other engagement or emergency of national importance would be counted upon."¹

For some of the amount this would be perfectly all right and very successful, but the entire amount would be tremendous and the schemes for paying it off must be capable of taking care of a very large sum.

Though the final purpose is the "attainment of liberation from control by finance", money would of necessity be the

1. Ibid, p. 68-69.

reckoning measure of all transactions during the transitional period. There seems to be no other way out.

She suggests that the gradual discontinuance of the use of money might be effected by the establishment of reserve stores against which checks could be issued for rations until the system became consolidated.

The Livelihood Industries Board, during the transitional period, would exercise supreme authority in the commons appointing all supervisors and the chiefs of all the departments. They would control all the finance and determine the people's basic requirements upon the investigation of the expert statisticians, and select the best methods upon the advice of, and as scientifically proved by the researches of, qualified technicians.

Perhaps existing management of certain businesses could be left in charge for a while even as long as three or four years when factories are taken over by The Board. The first relays of young commoners could be placed in subordinate positions as rapidly as possible until the industry should finally pass completely under the direction of the commons. There is a very real danger in doing this supplanting too rapidly. Business requires much experience and training today, and there is no good reason to suppose it will not necessitate as much, under this new system. Poor management could cause waste that would help to equalize what co-operative organization is attempting to save, and there would surely be no object in such a practice.

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Business industries with experience and training today, and there is no good reason to suppose it will not approximate as such, under this new system. Your management could cause

what that would help to realize what co-operative organization is attempting to save, and there would surely be no object in such a practice.

The Livelihood Industries Board, upon the completion of its task of transition, could then be dissolved and its place would be the council of the commons which would thenceforth carry on and conduct the activities of the seven departments: Food, Clothing, Housing, Transportation, Tools, Protection (including hygiene and public recreation) and Education.

The Industrial Institutes Board, upon the completion of
 its task of transition, would then be dissolved and its place
 would be the Council of the persons which would thereafter
 carry on and conduct the activities of the seven departments:
 Food, Clothing, Housing, Transportation, Health, Protection
 (including hygiene and public recreation) and Education.

CAPITALS

Who would the capitals include and what would be their status?

Why in forming a new society do men want to retain any of the old that has become so objectionable?

What are the alternatives for youth of 26?

Is this the ideal arrangement for scholars?

What would become of the unskilled laborer?

What would be the result of so much extra leisure time?

Is everyone going to desire luxuries and should they?

CAPITALS

How would the capital include and what would be their status?
 Why is forming a new society to men want to retain any of the
 old that has become so objectionable?
 What are the alternatives for youth of today?
 Is this the ideal arrangement for education?
 What would become of the unskilled laborer?
 What would be the result of so much extra leisure time?
 Is everyone going to desire luxuries and amusements?

THE CAPITALS

In this division of this proposed dual society there would be no person under the age of 26. None would have any cause to worry over ever lacking the goods and services necessary to his or her existence. The strongest and surest insurance company imaginable would have taken over this task and all payments would have been met.

I do not agree with the author when she says that the capitals would contain no poor people and none who would ever fear poverty or want. "Poor people" is a relative term and so is "poverty". If any family is living near and is socially connected with persons holding good capitalistic jobs and so having an abundance of luxuries, they are not going to feel rich if they can get little or no work and have only their necessities to live on. Actually, they are going to feel rather poor and justifiably so.

Here in the capitals, each individual may look forward to the rest of his life being free for him to pursue wealth, fame, fortune, honor, pleasure, sport, adventure, travel, study, ease, power, friendship, crafts, art, philosophy, religion, science, or anything he may desire.

At 26 he will be in more or less the same confused civilization that is ours today. Politics will hold the ruling power, and wealth will be worshipped. There will be banking, speculation, risk, enterprise, and adventure. The

THE CAPITALS

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At 25 he will be in care or less the same continued civilization that is ours today. Politics will hold the ruling power, and wealth will be renounced. There will be banking, speculation, risk, enterprise, and adventure. The

prosperity peaks and the depression depths will be a part of the economic cycle, will be in full swing. Human nature is not the rational, peace loving, sensible thing that some persons imagine it. The capitalistic system is admittedly wasteful. Many feel that it should be utterly and completely abolished, but there are still those who feel that this wastefulness is the price we must pay for liberty. Perhaps it's not worth so much! The researchers in the field of Industrial Psychology have proved conclusively that the average person does not like to be left wholly on his own. He shuns responsibility and prefers moderate control. This is an expression probably of that inherent quality of inertia that is so firmly entrenched in the character of man.

There is considerable doubt as to whether man would wholly want to eliminate the exciting, breath-taking, gambling features of the capitalistic economic system. It has been done for the greater part of the population in Germany, Russia, and Italy, but its elimination has been accompanied by troublesome or adverse effects. As a group man gets too much fun out of gambling. Whether they are on the top or the bottom, they enjoy the risky adventure of gaining some winnings by chance. The losings are not as enjoyable, but are endured, for there is always the prospect of winning. It is the hazard in the game that makes it so much fun. The obsession of such persons, as of every gambler, is that in his case, perhaps because of some subtle charm or quality in himself, the "goddess of fortune will always smile." This is false, of

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"chances of fortune will always smile." This is false, of

course, and it is far from being logical, but who claims that man is logical?

There is a very decided difference in the new "capitals" that Mrs. Martin hopes to create. Everyone here is endowed with a trust fund. The commons is the executive. They handle the duties, and see that all are provided with what necessities they need. If he wins or loses on Wall Street or in business, a man still does not need to burden the "old folks" for his living. No one else has to suffer for his mistakes and folly. He does not have to go through that distasteful, morale-breaking condition of accepting charity.

Just exactly what is apt to happen to a fair, young, healthy youth who has been released from his with his life's labor done at the age of 26? Is this a happy thought? If all persons were equally ambitious or unambitious it might assume a different aspect, but they aren't. A whole life is ahead of every person in the land and there is nothing definite to do with it. There is little as tiring or boresome as having nothing to do. Probably everyone has been through a period in which there was nothing important and definite to be accomplished. There may have been dozens of little things to be attended to, but none were usually accomplished. They were undoubtedly postponed until some later time when ~~you~~^{he} ~~were~~^{was} extremely busy and then done without too much added effort. Work is a human habit. Most persons have discovered that they are happier when their minds are occupied. They have no time

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Work is a human habit. Most persons have discovered that

they are happier when their minds are occupied. They have no time

then to feel poorly, to get into mischief, to mourn, or to worry. Work is natural and wholesome.

Perhaps their first desire would be to travel about the country. If so, they might spend their first summer in one grand vacation of sport and recreation. According to the author, they might spend their time "reading novels, swinging in a hammock, dreaming of romance, lying under the trees, or in the seashand, swimming, climbing mountains, dancing in the moonlight." A glorious picture and one that anyone now might like to dream of. She does not say what would be done about housing for these wanderers. Would the commons provide resort shelters or would the families be required to reimburse those young people who elected to do this travelling? Surely it isn't a necessity!

The young commoner might choose to marry upon his graduation and spend his first few months on a honeymoon before he returned to his home and work (if that's what he would do) in the capitals.

Those young people possessed of higher mental powers and greater studiousness could work for their degrees. The fields of science, art, literature, music, poetry, research, religion, and philosophy would all be available for the perusal of these more earnest, more mature students. Genius, now in comfort, could bud and bloom as never before has been possible. They could live in ease, free from worry. I doubt whether these are the necessary accompaniments to real accomplishments. The

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life of an author, a poet, a musician, yes, and even a painter, is portrayed in his work. It is this quality of real feeling and emotion that makes them appeal. It is that which finds a kindred spark in the minds of the listener or admirer. If all life were so easy, how would it affect these artists? Would the strong meaningful character analysis in art disappear and also the tremendously emotional, impressive music be lost somewhat also?

Another and perhaps more influential factor against such an aid to genius being a fact is the consideration that many of our greatest men have created their most notable masterpieces while they were in their twenties. She is entirely right in citing instances of Keats, Beethoven who had great difficulty in attaining a living. Their work may have been impaired by adverse social conditions. However, if great men are taken as a group, they have had difficulty in getting along with society. They are apt to be high strung, nervous, and inconsistent, to lack organization and tact. Perhaps society alone has not been totally to blame for their failure to make a living. Surely their contributions to any civilization are worth any consideration and aid that we can give. The only question that would arise is : is this the way?

For the ordinary unskilled laborer there would be freedom similar to all others. Mrs. Martin thinks they might continue to work at their jobs in the commons simply for the sake of having something to do. This seems more like a hope

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than a prediction, though why she should feel the commons needed added strength I do not know. Gradually they would become more and more skilled, and if they had sufficient ability they might later be raised to one of the higher and better paid positions in the organization.

She expects that special schools would spring up to teach the people how to use their new leisure. Such a thing could not be left to chance. Some arrangement would definitely have to be made or the crime age, instead of being permanently blotted out, would simply be pushed forward to the ages of 26-35. Satan has usually found mischief for idle hands to do, and with so much more idleness, he will not be at a loss. The problem, then, of adult education would be very great.

It is to be hoped that in this new world all would not be satisfied with the necessities. The greater majority would have to desire and work for the extra comforts and services in order to have the system succeed and to increase, or even maintain our present standard of living.

The desire for luxury would have to be relied upon as an adequate incentive to supply the capitalistic employers with labor. It would probably prove fairly sufficient. The love and of/the desire for luxuries are practically universal and are constantly expanding. They have added charm, zest, and meaning to our existence, and so should be available for easy acquisition.

Upon the intensity of the desire for bigger, better, and finer things would depend the standard of our living and the extent of our culture.

... a position, though you should feel the enormous

needed about strength. I do not know. ... certainly very

... and it may not be the same as the

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NECESSITIES

What are necessities?

What do we need for a high standard of living?

What would be supplied by the commons?

Would the division be easy?

The members of the American Expeditionary Force were...

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NECESSITIES

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NECESSITIES

The commons would concern itself with necessities only, but this is not as simple as the statement may seem. "Just what are necessities" and "Who is to determine what things are necessary?" These are very vital and very complicated questions that are bound to arise in the minds of interested persons, and questions which I think the author dismisses rather lightly. She finds "little difficulty in deciding what necessities are", and she feels that we all "jolly well know the difference between the numerous things that we want and the few things that we actually need." If each person could sit down at any given time to list the things that are absolutely essential to them, perhaps they might do it as easily as Mrs. Martin claims, but the line of division does not seem as clearly marked to me. Would she not get a variety of "musts" and "needs" that would vary so greatly with the individual that any attempt at merging any two or more lists would be a rather difficult task?

She mentions as the example of living on necessities the American Expeditionary Force, who undoubtedly lived on the few things that were given them during the World War. As an example of what can be done in an emergency, this is fine, but for the normal life of the average American, I think there is little comparison.

The members of the American Expeditionary Force were all men who were the "cream of the crop" so to speak. Physically they were the best that the United States had to offer. They

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The common word "necessities" is used in a very loose way, but this is not as simple as the statement may seem. "That what are necessities" and "who is to determine what things are necessities?" These are very vital and very complicated questions that are bound to arise in the minds of interested persons and questions which I think the author discusses rather lightly. She thinks "little difficulties in deciding what necessities are," and she thinks that we all "joyfully" know the difference between the necessities that we want and the few things that we actually need. If each person could sit down at any given time to list the things that are absolutely essential to them, perhaps they might do so as easily as Mrs. Martin did, and the line of division does not seem so clearly marked to me. Would she not set a variety of "wants" and "needs" that would vary so greatly with the individual that any attempt at merging any two or more lists would be a rather difficult task?

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The members of the American Expeditionary Force were all men who were the "cream of the crop" so to speak. Physically they were the best that the United States had to offer.

were being called upon at their country's hour of need. Excitement and emotionalism ran high. This alone would have carried them far. An occasion presented itself and they rose to it. They needed nothing more than their one suit, their toothbrush, and their gun to accomplish their purpose. But was the reason they had what they had as much because they needed no more, or because more might have put a burden upon them that would have defeated their purpose. Surely they had all they "needed" and at the moment, this was living at a subsistence level.

A discussion of this topic evolves itself around the subject of a standard of living which obviously includes a great many items which are exceedingly difficult to measure.

Some degree of success has been achieved by a number of research bodies which have reduced the most tangible elements of a standard of living to objective statements.

Some of these statements are in terms of a plane of living that merely keeps body and soul together. Some are based on mere animal existence, allowing little for the needs of men as social creatures. Others are what might be called "health and comfort" standards, and still others might be designated as "standards of luxury". A word about the work that has been done on establishing a living wage basis in our present system may bring to light the difficulties involved in such a study of what would be necessary.

A careful examination of these various studies enables one to distinguish four rather definite levels or standards of

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PARSONS

FALCON BOND

FALCON BOND

living. Following is a description of the four levels now commonly recognized.

First there is the poverty level. This standard represents roughly just above where at present the families receive aid from charity or where they run into serious debt. It's a level at which the income even though carefully extended with ordinary prudence, is not enough to provide what is necessary for more than the meager physical existence. It appears that families in the larger American cities now living on from \$1000 - \$1100 a year exist at that level.

Second, there is the minimum of subsistence level. This is based essentially on mere animal existence and allows little or nothing for the needs of man as a social creature. In other words, it makes possible the physical and material upkeep of the family, barring the emergencies of life, and ignoring the social pleasures that cost money. It is not that the social pleasures are not obtained, but only inferred that they must be attained at the cost of other essentials. (Families living on from \$1100 - \$1400 at the present time live at the Minimum of Subsistence Level.)

Third, there is the subsistence plus or minimum of Health and Decency standard. This represents a higher level than that of subsistence. It provides not only for the material needs of food, clothing, and shelter, but also for certain comforts such as extra clothing sufficient not only for bodily comfort, but also to maintain the wearer's self-respect; insurance

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against the major misfortunes of life, a degree of education for the children, and some expenditures for amusement and self-development." This the standard that I think all earlier students of the standard of living problem considered as basic. This standard, in my mind, is the only decent one for American families.

Fourth is the Comfort Level. When there have been any attempts to go beyond the health and decency standards, serious difficulties have been encountered. The term "comfort" is very vague and at once precipitates discussion as to what particular comforts shall be included. The dividing line between comfort and luxury is not a clear-cut one, and unless much care is taken, a standard becomes so high that it is very much out of proportion and of very little use. At the comfort level the expenditures for food will not rise very much, the larger increase being taken up almost entirely by clothing, housing, and especially sundries. The proportion spent for sundries increases in about the same ratio as the proportion for food decreases.¹ Indeed a fairly good criterion of the point at which the "subsistence plus" level is passed and the "comfort" level begun, would be the point where the expenditures for sundries passes the 25% mark. At the present time, such a comfort budget for families of five would probably exceed \$2000, and from census data one can compute the average American family to consist of about five persons. The amounts of various articles needed by a family of this size were ~~estimated after careful study of accounts kept for one year by a~~

1. Engles Law.

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amounts of various articles needed by a family of this size were estimated after careful study of accounts kept for one year by a

large number of families under the direction of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the various cost-of-living studies that have been made in the past few years based upon these, the totals vary considerably with the time and place. The National Industrial Conference Board in 1919 arrived at a total of \$1268 as the cost of living on the lowest human level in Fall River, Massachusetts. The cost of what was termed an American Standard was \$1574. Prof. Ogburn studying two coal mining communities in 1920, found the cost of living to be \$2144. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1930 priced its own budget in Washington, D.C. at \$2260. The Labor Bureau, Inc. has found the cost of a slightly different budget to be \$2338 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. While these figures vary from time to time and from place to place, there seems to be some justification in assuming that \$1500 is a minimum below which a family of five cannot be maintained without the constant danger of serious maladjustment. Of course, there is to be no money under the "necessities" scheme, but it takes little imagination or thinking to show that this figure is allowing for more than the very basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. This is the lowest that can be safely considered. Would all have the opportunity to earn the difference between the commons standard and this present necessary standard? Could they be made to coincide without lowering the average standard of living?

In discussing further just what we could call necessities, Mrs. Martin says, "We are all familiar with this difference and

large number of families within the direction of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the various cost-of-living studies that have been made in the past few years based upon these, the totals vary considerably with the time and place. The National Industrial Conference Board in 1919 arrived at a total of \$1208 as the cost of living on the lowest human level in Fall River, Massachusetts. The cost of what was termed an American Standard was \$1274. Prof. Ogden Publishing two cost living computations in 1920, found the cost of living to be \$1144. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1920 placed the new index in Fall River, N. J. at \$1200. The Labor Bureau, Inc. has found the cost of a slightly different basket to be \$1228 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. While these figures vary from time to time at this place or place, there seems to be some justification in assuming that \$1200 is a minimum price which a family of five cannot be maintained with the constant quantity of various commodities. Of course, there is to be no rigid index but "flexible" index, but it takes little imagination or effort to show that this figure is allowed for more than the year basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. This is the lowest that can be safely considered. While it is the opportunity to earn the \$1200 between the season extended and the present necessary assembly - could that be made to coincide without lowering the average standard of living?

In discussing further that we could call necessities and

are called upon to make the distinction between what we desire and what we require every day of our lives."

"We may buy an Oriental rug, but we must have a kitchen stove and a bed to sleep on. We may buy a fur coat, but the rent has to be paid. The baby may or may not have a new toy, but he must have milk. Bread is necessary, caviar can be omitted. Water is a necessary, champagne is not.

"Transportation has become necessary since without it we cannot reach our work or have brought to us the things we need, but limousines and racing yachts are luxuries."¹

There is another difference, she claims. "Luxuries are desired only by special persons here and there, but necessities are required by everybody without exception. They are required moreover equally by everybody." This is rather a broad statement to have made, and seems to be an attempt at an over-simplification of the question.

Surely the articles required by the Indians on the reservations in the west, or by the pioneers in the Middle West would vary considerably from those needed by the persons living in an eastern city. In general, it is easy to say that they all need food, clothing, and shelter, but these are broad terms. There are very few things that millionaires have today that cannot be classed under one of these headings. The quality, the type, the degree is important, and it is this feature that determines the

1. This statement about transportation is nowhere amplified in the pamphlet. Would private automobiles be necessary? (An ordinary Ford or Chevrolet?) This seems to be an extension of the general necessities standard to include what might by many be considered a luxury. ~~If any ordinary low-priced family car is what she means by "necessary transportation", her commons necessities standard of living is not very consistent.~~

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But the article referred to by the Indians on the coast

various in the text, or by the Indians in the middle West would

very considerably from those mentioned in the article living in an

arctic climate. In general, it is hard to say that they all need

food, clothing, and shelter, but these are broad terms. There

are very few things that all classes have today that cannot be

classified under one of these headings. The ability, the will, the

desire is important, and it is the latter that determines the

importance of things. In this connection it is now well established in

the sciences, that private necessities are necessary. An article

may be of great value to one person and of no value to another. It is

not necessary to have what is not needed by any one person. It is

not necessary to have what is not needed by any one person. It is

scale and standard of living. It is in this phase that each line of necessity versus luxury needs to be drawn. And it is in this phase, too, that the difficulty arises.

"A budget of necessaries is drawn up by the governments, by private groups, by individuals, by every intelligent family, by all large collective undertakings such as public works, institutions, asylums, schools, hospitals, churches, clubs, every Arctic expedition, picnic, camping party, excursion - and all of these are concerned in separating Necessaries from Luxuries in order that they may confine themselves to Necessaries alone."

I think no one would doubt the advisability or the prevalence of budgets for either personal or public organizations, and it is very true that a budget does separate the necessary items from the purely desirable ones, but each Board of Directors or each individual has the right and privilege to make his own list of necessities. It would be little short of miraculous if any two lists coincided at all, and even valiant attempts to make one list of any two budgets would probably encounter many difficulties. There would be many more obstacles if all such groups were to have one list. Every person supposedly has a right to his own opinions and such freedom is dear to the hearts of all good Americans. Would they be satisfied with anything less?

The housing service, Mrs. Martin believes should be the least used of any of the common services since this factor could not be delivered by her proposed enlarged parcel post system in any uniform quality, nor could it meet the varying prefer-

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 and it is very true that a budget does separate the necessary
 items from the purely aesthetic ones, but each Board of Directors
 or each individual has the right and privilege to take his own
 list of necessities. It would be little more of a list of
 any two lists coincided at all, and even variant items would
 one list of any two but one would occur in encounter any other
 outline. There could be any sort of list it all with group
 were to have one list. Every person necessarily has a right to
 his own opinions as with freedom in fact in the hearts of all
 foot Americans. Would you be satisfied with a uniform list?
 The honest answer, Mr. Lincoln believes should be the
 least need of any of the common services which the factor
 could not be delivered by that process which is termed 'free trade'
 can in any uniform quality, nor could it meet the various require-

ences of people to live in this or that locality, as one Park Avenue or at Palm Beach, for example. The commons could promise only that all would be provided with "a clean, sunny, airy room adequately equipped in a clean, airy, safe building." Housing has been given much thought in many countries today, and all are aiming at somewhat higher standards than these. Sweden's cooperative houses are very ultra-modern apartment houses with co-operative nursery accommodations, play rooms, recreations rooms, laundries, etc. Services that are rarely provided in our most expensive apartment houses are provided there on this co-operative plan.

Russia's housing plan, though still inadequate in its extent, has high ideals and aims. The amount of space, or rather the number of rooms per person varies with the district and housing facilities available. Gradually, though, they are building, and so are raising their standards.

The author not only hopes, but rather predicts, that before very long the commons would have at its disposal thousands of remodeled farmhouses all over the country abandoned by the vanishing farming class. "While the majority of the population would undoubtedly follow its individual desires in housing instead of using the Shelter Inns provided by the commons, yet these would always be ready to give shelter to the wayfarer, and to serve as a refuge for rest or retirement, for solitude, for study, for recuperation from sorrow or strain, for escape from

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 study, for recuperation from sorrow or strain, for escape from

trial, or from irksome domestic conditions, for leisure and for peace. Not uncommonly old people might return to the simple comfort of the National Shelter Inns as to a father's house."

A pretty peaceful picture this is. What a dream come true its fulfilment would be!

There would very definitely be a need for transportation for the carrying on of common affairs, and this would form a part of their work. Trade and competition would have no part to play and so the necessity for frantic nerve-wracking activity would be lacking. Waterways could be more widely used since cheapness would be an object and slowness not a detriment. The airways and the streamline trains and other rapid and luxurious means of travel would be left to be enjoyed by the capitalists, the wealthy, who supposedly would be then, as now, always in a hurry.

Necessary transportation would, she hopes, like the rest of the commons organization "move slowly like the forces of nature, but steadily without haste and without rest."

Under Protection, persons could expect three phases. They would be protected from violence through the strict supervision and discipline she plans shall be organized. They shall not be exposed unnecessarily to the dangers of disease. A sufficient and efficient corps of doctors and nurses would take care of the valuable young army. Also they would be shielded from debility. In short, every means in the organization's power would be sought and used to keep them fit with sport and recreation.

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power would be sought and used to keep them fit with speed and

protection.

Under the classification of Tools should be grouped all those implements and all of that machinery that would be required by the commons in the conduct of its enterprise. Upon their graduation, the commons would be provided with a few tools, including only those which are absolutely necessary for petty household use. None that were to be used in the conduct of outside business could be provided. "The commons supplies a livelihood only, and has no concern with business carried on for the individual's profit, and such expenses he must, of course, defray himself."

The publicly accepted list of necessities maintained by the commons might be expanded by the vote of the young commoners. They are the ones to be concerned. Gradually, she suggests, they might include some luxuries for "all things are possible to the young and energetic".

The division of necessities and luxuries is comparatively easy when the problem is viewed from the consumer's angle; it is not so easy when considered from the producer's side. Basically, things are made very similarly whether they are used to keep an individual alive or whether to increase his enjoyment and fulfil one of his fondest desires. Nearly all the staple products, the wheat, the corn, the sugar, etc., as well as the iron, the coal, and the like would be required by both commons and capitals. This would necessitate a division of sources of the various products. Mrs. Martin says the capitals may traffic in what they wish, but they must not touch the necessities.

Under the classification of foods should be grouped all those ingredients and all of their derivatives that would be prepared by the consumer in the amount of 1/2 ounce or more. Their preparation, the one that would be provided with a few exceptions, only those that are absolutely necessary for the household. Some that were to be used in the preparation of outside business could be provided. The amount required for household use, and has no concern with outside parties for the individual's profit, and such expenses in such a course, they should.

The primary objective of the committee is to study the various aspects of the problem of the food supply. It is one of the most important, especially, the committee, the main objective is to study the various aspects of the problem of the food supply for the young and energetic.

The division of responsibilities and functions is comparatively easy when the problem is stated from the consumer's point of view; it is not so easy when considered from the producer's side. But, there are some very important considerations that are used to keep the individual alive or rather to increase his enjoyment and health out of his limited resources. Generally, the staple products, the wheat, the corn, the sugar, etc., are sold as the food, the oil, and the like would be provided for both domestic and foreign. This would necessitate a division of sources of the various products. Mrs. Martin says the capital is very important in these days when they must not touch the new lines.

Sugar is a necessity, candy is not. Could the capitals refine their own sugar?

Farming is very necessary to supply the people with the fresh vegetables that are indispensable to good health - these are necessities. The capitals, however, may still produce fancy foods including rare varieties and choice packaging. The attaining of these ends means much experimentation and the growth of many ordinary products before the choicest ones are obtained. Would the ordinary ones have to be thrown out - discarded, or allowed to rot? Would they have to eat them all themselves or give them all away?

Silks, and satins, as well as the finer grade of choice novelty cottons, are considered as luxuries, yet neither the commons nor the capitals can control all the source material required for these materials.

Mrs. Martin makes no provision for this. She claims only that the commons would make all the necessities. Would they "control" all the necessities? If they gained control over all the necessities, there would rise the problem of money, since the capitals who have any business would have to procure the ingredients or the materials for their finished articles. That the commons should keep their hands free and clean of all stains from money is one of the chief aims of the author. This, she claims, would keep the organization free from graft, since when people have what they need they have no cause to steal more. She cites the water supply in the modern city as an example.

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 The situation of these and other things is different and the
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 required for these materials.
 The capitalist makes no provision for this. The sinking
 only that the capitalist will take all the necessities. Sinks
 they "control" all the necessities. If they failed control
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 since the capitalist who have any business would have to produce
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 This the account books keep their hands free and clean of all
 relation to money - it is the sink side of the sink. This
 the sink, would keep the production free from waste, since
 when profits have what they need they have no need to steal and
 the other the water supply in the bottom city as an example.

No one would think of taking water from a reservoir when a turn of the tap would bring all he could use. This is true undoubtedly, but in this instance there are some who need things in their business who are paying cash while others are getting it free. There would be still a great distribution problem to maintain an equality and insure the supplies against the grafting capitalists who would enjoy using them in their own products.

I am not sure that this separation and problem of distribution can't be done, but I am certain that the task is a very difficult one, and one that Mrs. Martin seems to minimize unjustly.

Public Utilities, the big question before the aggressive master minds of all countries today, would be affected by this problem of division. Would the commons take over all the natural resources? Would they take only part? If so, what part, and who is to determine what part it shall be?

Advocates of nearly all socialistic plans have suggested as a first step toward better conditions the state or public ownership of all public utilities, and many have gone so far as to include all natural resources in this recommendation. There is a real problem in this phase of the plan. One company can produce the electricity, gas, water, etc. much more economically than could two. Would there have to be companies, one for the commons and one for the capitals regardless?

The problem of distribution is a mighty one, and one that ~~the National Livelihood Plan must solve to have it be of any~~

...one could think of taking water from a reservoir which
part of the population would be able to use. This is the
approach taken in this instance of the two who have
things in their business who are paying each other's
debts in fact. There would be still a great distinction
needed to maintain an equality and hence the equalization
the greater capitalists who would enjoy their share in their
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the common and one for the capitalists?

The matter of distribution is a matter of, and one that

value and to have it be really superior to our present system.

Here in the United States our productivity has reached bewildering proportions. In this line we have excelled. However, in this system we have produced no adequate means of distribution. To produce vast quantities is an attainment, but if the ^{goods} cannot be delivered to the people who could use them without stoppage or breakdown, of what use is the production?

At the present time, goods flow to and from people through the channels of Buying and Selling. These avenues of distribution are wholly controlled by the money markets which are not steady, easily flowing highways. Because these avenues get clogged, blocked, and torn up at irregular but certain intervals, the goods are prevented from reaching the consumer and so being consumed since they first must be sold. Such impediments must be removed so that goods may flow directly to the people where and when they are needed.

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DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKER

The distribution of the worker is an item of work
concern. Mr. Martin suggests that any young man might
prefer to remain in his own country and be able to

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKER

Would the youth find their work within commuting distance of
home?

Would the welfare of the workers be considered?

Would the general movement of youth be advantageous?

Since the organization is not a profit-making business,
there would be no compelling force requiring that they get the
best of all every individual. Though the productivity per per-
son is naturally very important, of more importance is the over-
all aim to maintain an environment in which the workers
enjoyable conditions for their health, spirits, development, and
growth. This would probably mean the avoidance of such of the
daily routine especially in the more advanced industrial
plants.

In the case of segments of workers of various
backgrounds and abilities, the workers, and to their education,
and to their knowledge of their own country
and the world, and to their physical, mental, and
emotional development, and to their social, economic,
and self-expression in whatever way, and to their
and to their physical, mental, and emotional development.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKERS

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hours

hours, the welfare of the workers be considered
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DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKER

The distribution of the workers is an item of much concern. Mrs. Martin suggests that many young women might prefer to remain in the vicinity of their home and be engaged in their work there. This, she thinks, could probably be arranged, but the more adventurous together with the greater majority of male commoners would delight in the thrill of travelling and moving around.

Since the organization is not a profit-making business, there would be no impelling force requiring that they get the most of out every individual. Though the productivity per person is naturally very important, of more importance is the consideration that it is possible to give in obtaining the most favorable conditions for their health, spirits, development, and morale. This would probably mean the avoidance of much of the deadly monotony apparently inseparable from commercially exploited labor.

"To move about with frequent changes of scene and of occupations would enliven the workers, add to their experience, enable them to enlarge their knowledge of their own country and its resources, expand their acquaintanceship with human nature, form valuable friendships, meet girls and boys of many types, develop firmness of character, promptness, obedience, respect for superiors in whatever rank, modesty, self-respect, a discipline which would turn crude boy and girl material into

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favorable conditions for their health, safety, and enjoyment, and
welfare. This would probably mean the avoidance of such of the
daily monetary expenditure for the worker as is generally ex-
pected labor.

"To know about the present changes of some of the
occupations would allow the workers, and to their experience,
could then to enter their knowledge of their own country
and the resources, of their own knowledge of their own
nature, for valuable relationships, and the boys of many
types, develop fitness of character, progress, and
respect for themselves in whatever way, money, self-interest,
a discipline which would turn out a boy and his material into

men and women who would be a credit to their country."

Invaluable as all these would be if they became actual facts to the individual's well-being, the cooperative system would prove its worth through an actual saving of labor now wasted in off seasons and slack times. This is particularly true of the farming industry of today. This business however is not alone in having characteristic peak loads and slack times, and to dispose of the extra labor force a general planned economy is very necessary. There is no money or time for such distribution under commercialism. Henry Ford expressed the need for what Mrs. Martin hopes to accomplish when he said "We ought to have a flying squadron of young men who would be available for emergencies in harvest field, mine, or shop." The labor strength of the nation could thus be massed first here, then there, in a manner similar to that used by the majors in an army who withdraw men from here and concentrate more there where and when the need arises.

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THE STATUS OF THE COMMONS

'The army of the Commonwealth would be an industrial army and nothing else'. They should be given an vote and allowed to take no part in politics. This would mean a postponement of five years from the present voting age. This delay of voting power is perhaps desirable. Intelligent voters are rare anyway.

POLITICAL STATUS OF THE COMMONS

Would commoners be allowed to vote?

Could they be sent to war?

Would they be assured of a non-political management?

That is all this plan is for the pacifists whose main cry is the fact that all the young and most promising youth are taken for war. Each commoner has a task to perform, a post to stick to; not one of them can be spared. They would not be allowed to desert and join the army. The military and naval men would have to fill their ranks with the older men, the capitalists. The efficiency of this constructed unit may be impaired, but should this have compensation over the livelihood of a nation?

Money would be saved in the matter of pensions for ex-service men. They are over 40 when they enter the war. They have earned their living anyway. Regardless of the cripples and invalids they return, they will not want for necessities and so would not need any governmental support.

POLITICAL STATUS OF THE DOMAINS

Would someone be allowed to vote?

Could they be sent to war?

Would they be treated of a non-political community?

THE STATUS OF THE COMMONS

"The army of the Commons would be an Industrial army and nothing else". They should be given no vote and allowed to take no part in politics. This would mean a postponement of five years from the present voting age. This delay of voting power is perhaps negligible. Intelligent voters are rare anyway. They might not be so proportionally rare if they were fewer. If the commoner were given a vote, crafty politicians would find some method of patronage that would influence their votes. An institution as idealistic as the commons should have as little as possible to do with anything as questionable as politics.

What an aid this plan is for the pacifists whose main cry is the fact that all the young and most promising youth are taken for war! Each commoner has a task to perform, a post to stick to; not one of them can be spared. They would not be allowed to desert and join the army. The military and naval men would have to fill their ranks with the older men, the capitalists. The efficiency of this destructive unit may be impaired, but should this have consideration over the livelihood of a nation?

Money would be saved in the matter of pensions for ex-service men. They are over 26 when they enter the war. They have earned their living anyway. Regardless of how crippled and incapacitated they return, they will not want for necessities and so would not need any governmental support.

THE STATE OF THE COMMONS

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What is this plan for the pacifists whose main cry is the fact that all the young and most promising youth are taken for war? Each commoner has a task to perform. A post to stick to; not one of them can be spared. They would not be allowed to desert and join the army. The military and naval men would have to fill their ranks with the older men, the capitalists. The efficiency of this destructive unit may be impaired, but should this have consideration over the livelihood of a nation?

Money would be saved in the matter of pensions for ex-service men. They are over 65 when they enter the war. They have earned their living anyway. Regardless of how crippled and incapacitated they return, they will not want for necessities and so would not need any governmental support.

Mrs. Martin argues also that when these men go to war at the age of 26, there is more probability that they will leave offspring than if they were allowed to go earlier as they may in our present system considering the fact though, that under the N.L.P. these men could not marry until they were 26 years old, her argument is not conclusive. If the United States entered a war, the youngest men available would be chosen to fight. In such a case and under this system a man has had no more chance to leave heirs at 26 years than have boys of 18 today.

Corruption has reached great heights under capitalism. This in itself is a condemnation of the system and any method by which this graft could be eliminated would find favor with the thinking public.

In two ways she would insure this organization against this vice. She would allow it to have no connections with politics. It would be under the National Government and subject to its general control. However, no more than in our present army and navy would it be "in politics". Probably not even as much.

The fact that the commons would use no money is the second fool-proof method she uses. Only portable goods are used and taken by thieves, and "money is the 'sine qua non' of the whole burgling, grafting, swindling tribe". Since everyone would have a sufficiency of all the goods that the commons would have, they would not want more. Here I think that she is forgetting that the ruthless capitalists are still in the economic scramble. They could use a great deal of what the commons are giving away in their money-making business. If the opportunity arose, I think she would find inaccountable leakage in various commodities

and at various places. Perhaps this could be prevented, but it would take careful supervision and its absence could certainly not be taken for granted,

CONSTITUTION OF STATES AND SERVICES

Theory of Distribution.

A statement of Mrs. Garcia's experiments and discussion.

Method of Distribution.

How much the goods produced are distributed?

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DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

Theory of Distribution.

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Method of distribution.

How could the goods produced be distributed?

DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD AND SERVICES

Theory of Distribution.

A statement of Mrs. Martin's viewpoint and discussion.

Method of Distribution.

How could the work be done by history?

DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

"It has been women's lot throughout the ages to be the distributing member of the human family, and in the home she has developed a technique of distribution which can well serve as the model for the nation to adopt in distributing Necessities. The relation which women bear to the children of their family resembles in a marked degree the relation which the commons would bear toward economic society in the large."¹

This is the author's comparison, but it does not seem like a very logical one to me. There is no one on earth, not even in most cases, another member of the same family who knows the needs and wants of a family as does the mother. Hers is the ideal distribution method undoubtedly. She is keenly interested in the welfare of every member as an individual, and she has the first-hand information that is necessary to go with it.

There is no public officer or group who could have either of these in anywhere near the same capacity. The same method of distribution is a difficult problem that would have to be worked out fully before any idea of putting the plan into operation was seriously considered.

Man has been engaged in the outside world in a fierce fight and struggle to obtain the means of livelihood. Once he has gained it and brought it home, the women have adopted a

1. Martin, Mrs. Prestonia Mann, Prohibiting Poverty, P. 30.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is easy to read. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's development.

The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's economic development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is easy to read. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's economic development.

The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's social development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is easy to read. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's social development.

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very different method of distributing it. According to the need of each member it is carefully apportioned. She does not fight, struggle, or contend for it, and she certainly does not allow any of this among the children. There is comparatively no competition, squabbling, or fighting in the home. There is no buying or selling. Things that are needed are distributed for use and not for sale. "A capable mother keeps her young people employed and thus out of mischief. She demands from them co-operative helpfulness. She maintains discipline. She distributes praise and blame. She keeps order. She does not pretend to practice 'Democracy', the children do not elect their teachers nor determine the methods of family government." This may be very true, but it does not take much looking around or searching to find a disastrous family situation caused simply because democracy was not practiced. It is not demanded as such, but the essence must be there if the home is to be constructive and happy. "How many delinquencies can be traced to the overbearing rule of a mother or father? A great many, I am sure.

"Any mother who knows her business is in her home an absolute domestic dictator."¹ It is she who decides what the children shall eat and wear, when they shall get up or go to bed, and go to school and come home. Her reign extends, however, only over the young and her sole object is to fit them to take proper care of themselves later and to make their own way in life when she has fulfilled her duty towards them. As soon

1. Ibid, p. 31.

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take proper care of themselves later and to make their own way
in life when she has fulfilled her duty towards them. As soon

as they are fitted thus to the best of her ability, she turns them loose to fend for themselves and to make their own careers. This is ideal, but what a tremendous undertaking to guide so closely so many persons. The work and expense of undertaking this would be staggering. To some extent it could be done, but whether it would or not is a matter of conjecture.

The commons, ideally, would fill the part of the mother ^a in/well-regulated family. Under its direction and guidance, the youth of the country would be employed, their energies directed into productive channels in an orderly manner and for their own good. Then they could be turned loose to make their own careers in the capitals.

There is no really well-worked-out plan for delivering the goods made by the commons. An enlarged parcel post system has been suggested by the author to carry the necessary food to each person's door daily. The decisions as to amounts and varieties would be determined by an experienced board of nutrition experts. The number, ages, and state of health of the various members of each family would be the controlling, or rather, determining factors. Mrs. Martin believes that special diets for the sick, the invalid, or the aged could be arranged. These things she counts on as part of her plan, but it would take many years to work such a system out successfully. What might be done for those persons living in sparsely populated sections, way out in the country, or where they would not be easily accessible, is not mentioned. This would create another problem to this distribution question which is so very important.

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EDUCATION

What changes are necessary in education under the new plan?

What would be the classification of higher education?

Can education at 26 years be gained easily?

Is there a possibility of having evening colleges?

Would guidance be necessary?

EDUCATION

What changes are necessary in education under the new plan?
What would be the classification of the education?
Can education at 20 years be raised easily?
Is there a possibility of having evening colleges?
Could guidance be necessary?

EDUCATION

This plan would call for some wide changes in the present methods of education. It would, from necessity, take on an aspect of uniformity that in itself would not do any harm. Uniformity in education under the direction of some well-versed central board is an ideal that many have dreamed of even in our present system, though it has seemed very unprobable and even impracticable. This centrally organized and all-powerful board could determine their methods and practices after a most thorough and scientific investigation and research into requisite curriculum that should be designed to best precede the new life in the commons.

"Its sole aim would be to adopt juvenile education so as to fit the youngster first of all to serve with distinction in the patriotic task of gaining the nation's livelihood, and at the same time to win his own economic freedom."¹

Mrs. Martin feels that sufficient time would remain after he had completed his task to enable him to gain any amount of higher, ornamental, and cultural education that he may desire. She would class all of the so-called higher education of today in the Luxuries class, excepting those of the technical sciences and medicine.

She considers medicine as a necessity, and I grant that there are few communities that exist either in the imagination or in fact in which the doctor is not one of the most indispensable

1. Martin, Mrs. Prestonia Mann, Prohibiting Poverty, p. 9.

EDUCATION

This then would call for some other changes in the present methods of education. It would, for instance, take on an aspect of utility that in itself would not do any harm. Utility education under the direction of some well-versed central board is an ideal that many have dreamed of even in our present system, though it has seemed very un-possible and even impracticable. This centrally organized and all-powerful board would determine their methods and practices after a good thorough and scientific investigation of the present system. This board would be organized to best promote the new life in the present.

"The state should be able to select the best material to fit the younger first of all to serve with distinction in the various tasks of raising the nation's living standard, and at the same time to fit his own economic freedom."

Mr. Martin L. King, Jr. would like to see the state after he had completed his task to enable him to gain some of higher, organized, and cultural education that he may desire. He would like all of the so-called higher education at once in the various class, executive, and technical schools and colleges.

The authors believe in a democracy, and I want that there are two communities that exist either in the past or in fact in which the factor is not one of the most important

1. Martin L. King, Jr., Strategic Planning, p. 2.

of men. However, when she gives it this classification as a necessity, would she provide free medical education for all who desire it and were capable? The capitals as well as the commons need medical education. Would some young people be given their education, and others have to pay for theirs? If she provided this training for a limited number sufficient to meet the requirements of the commons, would those thus educated be forced to practice always among the commoners? Unless they were paid as much as capitalistic physicians (if their training and ability were on a par) there would be difficulty in holding them to their jobs. If they were given equal pay, why should they be given the free education? If free medical science is provided in the capitals as a necessity, there would be a tendency for ambitious young people to be drawn towards medicine as a career because of the lack of expense of the training regardless of whether they had any particular aptitude along that line or not. Also, if doctors were expected to give their services for a small amount, the quality of the profession might suffer, for many would aspire to more money-making positions in the capitals. This same line of reasoning could apply with even more emphasis to the technical sciences.

At the present time, all the better Medical Colleges require a regular Bachelor's Degree before they admit students. Is this really superfluous, and could it be done away with entirely? Mrs. Martin might add two or three years onto the medical training to include what, in the present undergraduate

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college was necessary, but this would only be changing the name; the studies would still be the same. This training is a luxury today, and there are few who will not champion the high standing and position of the medical profession, yet it is considered necessary to gain the desired ends. If you grant that this pre-training gives only culture, tact, poise, a better understanding of people, you will also have to admit that the greater percentage of ills are more mental than physical. The man who knows his medical books thoroughly need not necessarily be the best doctor in the sense that he would cure the most people.

The study of the law is the only phase of higher education that I can think of that would not be used just as much in the production and distribution of necessities as of luxuries. Even here, the law suits and legal advice are not to be entirely unheard-of in the commons. The contact between the two phases of this dual society and the discrepancies in human nature are sure to make many arguments and questions arise. Who but lawyers could settle them? These men would probably be a part of the paid corps of leaders and workers. If so, why bother with any education above the pre-commons level as a part of the commoners' enterprise? The organization would most certainly need typists, stenographers, mechanics, designers, electricians, engineers, school teachers, etc. Perhaps it was only the Liberal Arts College Mrs. Martin was thinking of as unnecessary. [Hf so] There are two possibil-

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ities for a training ground, a school of Education, or a Liberal Arts College. She will also admit she wants the best. Not all would agree with her that it should be the former. The secondary education required of all would be "plain, sound, and thorough." I have inferred, though she makes no definite statement about it, that there would be ^{Few} little, if any, cultural courses in the secondary schools - no college preparatory courses. There would be increased technical training which would be very advantageous to some, of much value to the organization as a whole, but not so good for some others. Human beings are not a group or a class; they are separate individuals. That they differ one from every other is an indisputable fact. What shall be done with the person with a mind that grasps the abstract, or who has decided creative or literary tendencies? They may not all be geniuses, yet they may do something of value to the country as a whole. If a person is made to conform and work at some routine or mechanical job for eight years, are not his or her natural tendencies apt to be permanently suppressed? I think the author feels that if the spark of interest and ability burns brightly enough, it will still be ready to blaze at 26. And even more, it will burn more brightly and more rapidly for having been thus delayed. This, I think, depends upon the individual personality and this can be little affected by any Utopian scheme. If the individual is forward, strong-minded, and strong-willed, he will cling to his ambitions through

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 and a front-runner, so all things to his relations through

thick and thin. However, if the youth is quiet, shy, and generally unaggressive, any natural talent or desire is suppressed to enable them to conform.

The question of higher education at night was brought up and dismissed with an of-course-you-may attitude, but little real expression. At present, the courses given in New York city in the evening in connection with the University of New York enable a person to get his degree in eight years. It is quite possible that such a scheme might be devised so that it could be worked along with the commons. There is one factor that looms large as a stumbling block. The movement of the commoners first here, then there, would prevent any really permanent connection, though for those remaining in one city (near home) this is a possibility, and I should think an inducement.

At 26, all persons would be free to do what they wanted to and, at this age, they could enter any field that interested them. At 18, she rightfully states that most persons are at a loss as to what they should or want to do. At 26, they should and would know. Right she is, but psychologists have proven that we don't learn as easily nor as rapidly as we get older, and as far as the learning curve is concerned, 26 is getting along in years. With this natural slowing up and still a whole education to be gained, the end would probably be pretty hard. There are exceptions, of course. Professors continue to study and learn until they are well along in years. However,

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we are not all of professional timber, and this plan seems to reduce the possible number of college graduates in this society. It would not be fair if I did not mention the fact that, whereas fewer would complete the whole of a present college course, there would undoubtedly be more single and group courses taken to cater to specific interest tendencies. There is a probability that culture might not suffer even though degrees would not be as numerous.

Education would be more evenly and generally accepted, but outstanding persons who fall short of being geniuses will not be catered to as they are more apt to be now - not always.

Drastic changes and re-arrangements would have to be made and much would depend on the skill with which it was done. If I were to name the one factor upon which the success of the scheme, educationally speaking, would depend, I would unhesitatingly say "guidance". Upon the success or failure, upon the scope and thoroughness of this hangs all the threads of success or of failure. A large, efficient, capable guidance set-up could handle many of these problems. Such a set-up is an aim of modern education, but there are many drawbacks. It is a tremendous undertaking. It is very expensive, but it could be done.

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CRIME

Prevalence and cost of crime at present

Brief history of causes

Beccaria

Lombroso

Thomas's four wishes

Influence of personality

Social disorganization

Epileptics

Conclusions

CRIME

Investigation and cost of crime at present

Brief history of crime

Geography

Language

Those's four views

Influence of personality

Social disorganization

Epitaphs

Conclusions

CRIME

Every intelligent American now knows, Wade H. Ellis of the American Bar Association has said that the United States has the most money, the most power, the most laws, and the most criminals of any nation in the world. The total crime cost to the country is estimated by the Baumes Commission at \$13,000,000,000 a year, or approximately, the total of the war debt, and this is incurred every year. Exaggerated as this statement may be, there are other facts that bolster its essential idea, and a comparison of English and American statistics are interesting perhaps, but give a just cause for chagrin.

In 1917, Chicago had 17 times as many murders as London, 19 times as many felonious homicides, 7 times as many burglaries, and 60 times as many robberies. New York City had 8 times as many homicides as London, $5\frac{1}{2}$ times as many burglaries, 30 times as many robberies. St. Louis had 28 times as many homicides as London, and 17 times as many burglaries. Detroit had 18 times as many burglaries and Cleveland 13 times as many. Liverpool, however, is more nearly like the American cities in this respect, having in proportion to population a larger number of burglaries than New York City and almost as many as Chicago, and its superiority over American cities regarding murder and felonious homicide is less than one-half as great as London's. On the other hand, some other offenses are more frequent in English than in American cities.

The cost of crime undoubtedly is great, but just how

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great is difficult to determine. The Baumes Commission is quoted in the pamphlet as estimating the annual cost to be \$13,000,000,000. This is high, but perhaps not too high. In 1900, Smith estimated the total cost of crime to be \$600,000,000 a year. Weir later fixed this figure at \$1,370,000,000; Lydston at \$5,000,000,000; Bushnell at \$6,000,000,000, and the Institute of Economics at \$5,000,000,000. Little dependence can really be given any of these estimates, in view of the large number of items that should be included in them and the immense losses that are experienced. These figures are vague and indefinite which makes them very difficult to determine.

This is a tremendous drawback upon any group of persons banded together for the good of the whole, and any pain that might remedy or lessen the burden would surely be an aid to society in general.

To claim that any social scheme would cut the cost and so the number of crimes, one must have some idea of what lies at the basis of criminal acts. These causes have changed considerably in the minds of those who have attempted remedies, and a very brief review might be helpful in gaining a more well-rounded perspective. The whole matter has many more sides to it than Mrs. Martin's plan would change, though undoubtedly her plan might help.

During the medieval and early modern periods, crime was said to be due to some type of innate depravity and the instigation of the devil. There was little if any interest shown in motives, intentions, circumstances, or other factors.

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During the medieval and early modern periods, crime was said to be due to some type of innate depravity and the institution of the devil. There was little if any interest shown in motives, intentions, circumstances, or other factors

Punishments were very arbitrary and very unequal. Torturing was the accepted mode of the retaliation of society. Beccaria, one of the first persons to make really lasting contributions to the study of crime, stated the doctrines of the classical school in 1764. He was champion of the group who tried to make punishment less arbitrary and severe. They believed that all persons violating any one law should receive the same punishment regardless of age, sanity, wealth, position, or circumstances. One aim was to make the pains of punishment exceed the pleasures of the crime, and to let the criminal know in advance what result awaited evil conduct. At this time, one can see that they were not interested in causes; they felt that hedonistic calculations would settle the problem, but since this was no truer than it is now, children and lunatics soon forced a modification of this theory of punishment. These groups were and are unable to calculate pains and pleasures.

Lombroso, the leader of the Italian or Positive school in 1876, insisted that the only hope lay in the study of the criminals themselves, as individuals. This was the basis of individualization in the treatment of criminality. This school, however, had a poor technique and was obsessed by preconceived notions of the character of the criminal. Their principal argument was that criminals constitute a born type and that they could be recognized by stigmatic anomalies, such as asymmetrical cranium, long lower jaw, flattened nose, scanty beard, low sensitivity to pain. If a person had five or more

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of these stigmata, he was considered a complete criminal type; from three to five, he was thought to be an incomplete criminal type; and less than three did not indicate a criminal type. These stigmata were thought to be a reversion to the savage anatomism or a degeneration especially of the epileptoid type.

Because of his characteristics and nature, the criminal could not refrain from criminal acts unless the circumstances were unusually favorable. They granted that one who was not a purely criminal type might commit crime regardless, if his environment were unusually unfavorable. This was the beginning of the emphasis on environment, and it is this phase of causation that the Martin plan would most specifically alter.

Cranial measurements of graduates of Oxford and Cambridge were found by Dr. Goring to have about the same differences as those between criminals and ordinary law-abiding persons. The only differences he found were that on the average, and in a similar occupational group, criminals tend to be several inches shorter and several pounds lighter in weight than non-criminals. With modern scientific knowledge in nutrition available, lack of poundage may readily be considered one of environment and more specifically, one of the lack of proper food fresh air, and healthful, hearty activity.

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as always being a joint product of an individual and a social factor. If the social factors are erased, there is less liability that a defective individual will come to grief with the law. Here perhaps is the helpful point in this plan.

Healy and Spaulding have championed the view that criminality is not inherited and their studies have attached much importance to, and given impetus to, the study of society and its effect upon the individual. Dr. Healy says that altogether there seems to be no proof whatever from the extensive material available that there is such a thing as criminalistic inheritance, apart from some otherwise significant physical or mental trait, which in the offender and his forebears forms the basis of delinquencies. Vague tendencies may be inherited that may be directed in specific ways by contacts with others.

Cooley has explained this by the following comparison; Roughly speaking, the heredity of other animals is a mechanism like that of a hand-organ; it is made to play a few tunes; you can play these tunes at once with little or no training, and you never play any others. The heredity of man on the other hand, is a mechanism more like that of a piano; it is not made to play particular tunes, you can do nothing at all on it without training, but a trained player can draw from it an infinite variety of music. Consequently there is no evidence that there can be such a thing as a born criminal. Both the individual trait or attitude and the situation must be included in the causation.

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This optimistic attitude gives hope and encouragement. It is upon this belief that Mrs. Martin bases her claim. Plenty of all that is necessary in life and carefully controlled environment when most needed ought to be the answer to any social worker's prayer.

Human beings find within themselves certain definite desires that seek satisfaction. If these are not satisfied in a normal, social helpful way, they must find abnormal, anti-social expression. Also it is important to note that there is no one set of answers to these satisfactions, since those appeasing one person may in no way satisfy another. The fact of individual differences cannot here be ignored. W. I. Thomas has summarized the motives of human behavior into four wishes. His groupings have been widely accepted.

The first, he terms the Wish for New Experience. Here may be classified the ever-present craving for excitement, fresh stimulation, adventure. This may take any of a number of forms. It may mean hunting, athletics, gambling, crime, scientific investigation, exploration, or even a good new book.

The second is the Wish for Security. This takes the form of avoiding danger and securing adequate means of subsistence. However, it may assume the form of avarice, of systematic labor, or of conservatism. It is in this group where the National Livelihood Plan offering the soundest security will have its chance to aid.

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ving of individuals for the intimate appreciation of others, and is seen especially in the various kinds of love. Sexual offenses are now definitely related to this wish. There is a big question in my mind as to whether in this wish the plan would not be found most obviously wanting! A more detailed discussion of the craving and satisfaction of the sexual impulse is taken up elsewhere in this paper. Suffice it to say here, then, that with present standards of absolute incompetence outside of marriage there would be an added burden upon the individual under the new plan which forbids marriage until he has reached the age of 26. However, sexual offenses are more or less definitely related to public opinion. If this could be altered there may not be any particular increase in this type, but if standards and morals remained the same, there undoubtedly would be.

The fourth is the Wish for Recognition. All individuals, admittedly or not, crave the appreciation of the general public and of one's own particular group. Everyone enjoys and strives for social position or status in some field. It may lead to a form of bravado, of showing off, of humility, of accumulation of wealth, or of public service.

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I. Thomas, W. I., The Unadjusted Girl, pp.1-69

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Mrs. Martin gives a flowing description of honor and glory that will go along with being a member of the commons, the organization that would be the pride and joy of the whole country. With the blare of trumpets and the steady rat-a-tat

of the drums, the commons would march to their posts. All the rest of the country would stand on the side-lines, cheering their darlings on. They would be the idols of the populace. Here is a certain amount of recognition for all persons. There is much compelling force behind the attitude that "everybody's doing it", but I am inclined to believe that real recognition needs something more exceptional. There is little satisfaction or feeling of accomplishment if everyone is, can, and has to do the same thing that you have done. Mrs. Martin uses the Army and Navy of today as a fairly close simile. Truly there may be some resemblances, but everyone is not in the Army or Navy. They are rigid in their physical qualifications, and not easy when they test mental and moral standards. These men have passed the test. They are above, not on a par, with every other young man of the same age.

Personality is intricately connected with abnormal and anti-social behavior for it is a social product. No person is born with it, but all acquire a certain amount in contact with others. A feeling of inferiority or of rebellion, negativism, or an anti-social grudge may develop in childhood and may remain through life. E. W. Buggess has classified the factors that enter into personality as follows: Group participation, character, personal behavior patterns, social type, and philosophy of life. Some of these factors could be very definitely related to and altered by the operation of the National Livelihood Plan.

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it would be forced upon everyone. Man is naturally somewhat gregarious, and so the general run of individuals may prosper under such a proposed grouping. However, there are those for whom it would be very difficult and not in the least advantageous. The introvert finds joy and consolation with his books and in his studies. His emotional balance will probably be harmed if eight years of forced compliance to set regulations was enforced.

Character, according to modern psychology, is formed when a child is very young. Hence a plan which does not directly affect the child as a youngster would not have so great an influence upon his personality in this respect. However, home environment is very important, and the better food, cleaner homes (and we can only hope they would be cleaner), and more general security with less nervous tensions on the part of the parents could not help but improve each child's early surroundings and so have an effect on his character.

Personal behavior patterns should be pretty well determined by the age of 18, and this along with the individual social type which is partially at least determined by his heredity and his philosophy of life, which in turn are influenced by the family more than any other one factor, might be effected by this plan. This would not so easily and simply lift all children from the doldrums of temptation and of anti-social behavior.

The psychopathic personality has, as a type, been prominent in criminal groups. The ego-centric type particularly

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The developmental personality, as a result, would be

will get into difficulty with other people more commonly than the average individual. Criminals with mental disorders are much more frequently recidivists than are other criminals. Insane persons may be criminals because of irritability, because of hallucinations or delusions, because of inability to learn the codes or standards of the group, or because of reduced industrial efficiency. The behavior of the insane is partly determined by prior experiences and interactions, though in the extensive guidance program she plans to inaugurate as part of the educational system some of these difficulties might be detected. It would be a tremendous job, however, and one that probably could not be worked out for a long while. Upon these victims of physical and mental deterioration, a new society would have very little effect.

While social disorganization may lead to progress, it has also been one cause of much delinquency. Family ideals are affected when children meet others with a different religion and different morals. The newspapers, movies, and travel affect standards. Isolation and segregation, physical and social, affect racial, immigrant, and economic groups. Mobility from one group to another or from one neighborhood to another affects ideals and behavior. When all the nation's young are grouped together, this inconsistency of ideals and background will not lessen the unrest caused now by such intermingling. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to see why it would not greatly increase it. It is all well and good

to build idealistic attitudes about how grand our youth is and to talk in an inspired manner about the generalized term of "young people". One would have to admit that the picture before one's imagination in such instances is not of a group on the corner in the poorer section of the city, but perhaps a college group, a church group, or some lodge group. These have provided the inspiration, and these are not examples of average American young people.

The fact remains that, regardless of hopes and plans, these people will come from very different homes. Their financial background will vary practically as much as they would if all persons of any one age were grouped into a single organization now. Colleges were cited as an example of what this organization would be like, but this is a poor example. The intermingling of students is a refreshing thought, and it may be to some ^abright spot in this gloomy world of ours. But all is not easy at such an institution, even though the backgrounds are to a certain degree similar. Gathered here you have a fairly uniform group, yet, moral degradation has given many persons much concern and the discipline problem has had much consideration.

Economic and occupational conditions affect crime, and though poverty is in itself thought to be conducive to crime, it has always meant segregation away from cultural influences. It means a low status with little to lose, little to respect, little to be proud of, and little to sustain

efforts towards improvement. It means bad housing and lack of attractive community institutions. It generally means both parents stay away from the home for long hours, with the resulting fatigue, lack of control of children, and irritation that go with these. It generally now means the withdrawal of the child from school at an early age and the beginning of his life at mechanical labor. Home control is weakened, anti-social grudges develop, and cultural contacts are lacking. It produces envy and often hatred.

Poverty seldom forces stealing or prostitution to escape actual starvation; it produces its greatest effect upon attitudes rather than upon the organism. This is rather well exemplified in the case of the modern servant girls. They have the necessities, good and sufficient food, good housing accommodations, clothing, yet fifty percent of the professional prostitutes have come from this class, and in other forms of delinquency also they have played a major part. They have had actually no economic anxieties, but they have been treated as an inferior class. Their job gains them little or no social recognition. The monotony of the day makes them long for pleasure, response, and recognition in the evening. The methods to be employed are of small concern, it is the end they are seeking that is of most importance.

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criminal act that a victim is most apt to commit, but it is their general mental peculiarities that help to explain why they become criminal more frequently than normal people. Dr. Healy has stated that these peculiarities are due to (a) strange variabilities in mental functioning; Today the epileptic may be apparently as normal as anyone else, while tomorrow he may manifest an entirely different character. One day he may show a high degree of mental capacity, and the next he may appear to be mentally dull. Moreover, this very ability extends also to fluctuations of mood and entire disposition. (b) The remarkable general characteristics typical of the epileptic, such as tendency to emotionalism, but with much inconsistency in his feelings; irritability either constant or manifested in a sudden burst of anger and vicious conduct; sometimes the assumption of a virtuous attitude accompanied by moralizing or preaching, and at other times the utmost cruelty; sullenness; bad temper; impulsiveness; ego-centric tendencies; obstinacy; lack of ethical perception; frequently an over-development of the sexual life. (c) Mental peculiarity connected with general deterioration, including loss of mental power, affecting the perceptions, the will, the finer ethical discriminations, and the moral inhibitions.

From these characteristics it is apparent how easily the epileptic gets into trouble. As in every other case, characteristics of the individual make-up are not the only factors in the career of crime. Social conditions and habits operate upon him as upon other personalities.

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Most serious crimes committed against society today are instigated by the desire to get money. In this statement, Mrs. Martin is right, but the desire for the money is not as much for what it is in itself, as for what it can do for them. As previously stated, crime for the necessities forms a very small part of the total now. Most persons in stealing or other abnormal behavior are gaining recognition in their particular crowd, and social standing where they most desire it. In more or less equalizing the general status of living, and though perhaps not raising it, still relieving the persons of the nervous strain and anxiety due mostly to the justifiable fear of insecurity, some of this tension would be lessened.

The criminal has supposedly figures that crime was easier than work. He has come to the conclusion that honest work does not pay. Would regular hours of useful work under supervision cure youth of this notion? Work has been said to constitute a sound moral tonic, but this is not so unless mental attitudes, physical fitness, general capability, and individualistic desire and taken into consideration. Under the proper emotional set-up, the crime impulse to which the adolescent seems to be subjected might be "purged and sweated out of his system".

"In later years the temptations to steal and swindle would, presumably, be minimized among a people all of whom were provided with a competence, and none of them were haunted by fear of want. The assumption seems therefore warranted

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"In later years the temptations to steal and swindle would, presumably, be minimized among a people all of whom were provided with a competence, and none of them were haunted by fear of want. The assumption seems therefore warranted

that the National Livelihood Plan would greatly diminish crime.

"There would moreover, under the National Livelihood Plan, be no excuse for crime. The sort of excuse which now springs perhaps from an uneasy consciousness among us that the poor do not get a square deal and cannot earn a decent living with a reasonable exertion or with a proper guarantee of security. Under the National Livelihood Plan the pressure of want, the harrassments of insecurity could not be urged in the extermination of crime, and then with a clear conscience, a ready hand and a firm will, society could deal rigorously with the criminal."

These are her conclusions and they are pretty well founded. They hinge, however, on the big assumption that homes would be cleaner and families would have higher standards if only they were given the opportunity. This is basing much faith in the quality of human nature. The plan provides the opportunity. Would every individual arise to all his capabilities? An elaborate and expensive system of educational preventive measures including vocational guidance, organized recreation, visiting teachers, and psychiatric clinics would undoubtedly go a long way towards helping. However, these would also make the capitalistic system we are now living in a much better place were they put into effect.

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THE FAMILY UNDER THE NATIONAL LIVELIHOOD PLAN

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Should the welfare of the family be considered in a new social order?

Has there been change in this institution during recent industrial progress?

Does the family justify its existence in its value to the state?

What are the most recent trends in its development?

What effect has age upon marriage?

The life of the family as an organized social institution is created from man's family and human life is made permanent and continuous that, because they have become civilized, we must be able. The present condition is regarded as the family has to be able to adjust itself to the conditions of the present and to the conditions of the future. It is an evil or from the failure to realize that the family, in the course of adjustment, will adjust to the conditions and changes.

The family today is a development of conditions, with adjustment and ability that have occurred through the gradual adjustment of man to his environment. Each phase or step in the progress of civilization has a family institution that, better than any other, adapts itself to human needs, and

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In characterizing any particular society which deals with human relations, there are two elements rather closely interconnected which are considered to be of prime importance. The first of these is the economic system, and the second is the family situation. Surely any institution of as much influence and importance in the life of so all-inclusive a group as the citizens or perhaps, more accurately stated, the inhabitants of any state, deserves very careful consideration.

Most persons think of the family as being static, and suppose that through social evolution it has reached a final form which is completely adjusted to an unchanging situation. This idea of the family as an unalterable social institution is created from man's faulty but human wish to make permanent conditions that, because they have become habitual, are comfortable. The present pessimism in regard to the family has to do mainly with the conviction (held with the tenacity so characteristic of strong emotional bias) that any change is an evil or from the failure to realize that the family, in the course of adjustment, must suffer some disturbances and losses.

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The family today is an outgrowth of a nation, with economic and social that have occurred through the natural adjustment of man to his environment. Each phase or step in the progress of civilization has a family institution that is better than any other, adapted itself to human needs, and

accomplishes its social task at the time it is in vogue.

In view of this fact, there is no reason to believe that some part of an Utopia could not also have its distinctive family institution, or that a rearrangement from the present status must necessarily be impossible or undesirable. A study of the success of the present-day marriages and a glance at the divorce rate leaves little doubt as to the non-ideal character of our present practices.

The rapid development of science and industry during the nineteenth century has influenced the family to a great extent both directly and indirectly. Directly, home life has profited by a definite rise in the standard of living and by an enormous increase in comfort and leisure for most classes. Indirectly, social and economic changes have had their effect. Transportation and communication have made greater headway than ever before, causing isolation of the family to become a thing of the past.

Today, the importance of the family is seen more in its value as regards the emotions with which it provides parents than through any other one factor. Parental emotions arising in men (though less obviously perhaps) as well as in women are probably more important than any others in the power they have for influencing action.

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characters and dispositions before marriage, of their own accord consistently act unselfishly after the wedding. Consummated love has a softening, healing, inspiring influence. It often expands the sympathies, stimulates forbearance, teaches self-denial, forgiveness, and consideration towards faults. The harsh egoism is lessened; there is regard for the continual well-being of the other half of the unit, and a reciprocal desire to give happiness. Unquestionably this aids the moral tone of a state and is a step in the right direction since idealists and philosophers from the earliest days have exalted the virtue of altruism and degraded any emphasis of the ego.

The revolt of women against the domination of men is a movement which in its purely political sense is practically completed, but in its wider aspects is still in its infancy. Its remoter effects will work themselves out very much more rapidly under this scheme. The emotions women are supposed to feel are still, as yet, a reflection of the interests and sentiments of men. Civilization has tended to greatly diminish women's maternal feelings. Feminism seems certain to have a profound influence in breaking up the patriarchal family which represents man's triumph over women in early pre-industrial societies.

The substitution of the state for the father, as far as it has gone in the west, is in the main a great advance. It has immensely improved the health of the community and the general level of education. It has diminished the cruelty to

characters and dispositions before marriage, of their own accord consistently and unselfishly after the wedding. Commanded love has a softening, healing, inspiring influence. It often expands the sympathies, stimulates forgiveness, teaches self-denial, forgiveness, and consideration towards faults. The harsh egoism is lessened; there is regard for the condition and well-being of the other half of the unit, and a reciprocal desire to give happiness. Unquestionably this aids the moral tone of a state and is a step in the right direction towards idealists and philosophers from the earliest days have exalted the virtue of altruism and degraded any emphasis of the ego. The revolt of women against the domination of men is a movement which in its purely political sense is practically completed, but in its wider aspects is still in its infancy. Its remote effects will work themselves out very much more rapidly under this scheme. The emotions women are supposed to feel are still, as yet, a reflection of the interests and sentiments of men. Civilization has tended to greatly diminish women's maternal feelings. Feminism seems certain to have a profound influence in breaking up the patriarchal family which represents man's triumph over women in early pre-industrial societies.

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children, and has made impossible such suffering as is so vividly portrayed in 'David Copperfield'. It may reasonably be expected to continue to raise the general level of physical health and intellectual attainment, especially by preventing the worst evils resulting from the family system where it goes wrong. There are many grave dangers, however, in this substitution of the state for the family, and the objections seem now in no way to be minimized by the social plan under consideration. If effected, it would be on the side of exaggeration and increased danger.

Parents, as a rule, are fond of their children, and do not regard them merely as material for political schemes. The state can hardly be expected to have quite the same attitude. An opinion on this point would probably rest on the individual's idea of society - that is, on his social philosophy. If he felt that any social group was, as a whole, more important than all of its parts and that it had the right of prescribing duties to its parts for the sake of and as a benefit to the whole that was irrespective of or even contrary to the welfare of the individual, his outlook on life and opinions would be pretty much determined. However, if he was a true individualist, and was a champion of the idea that a group or state is merely a means to greater welfare of the individual, the all-important element in society, his opinions would vary correspondingly.

Neither view is wholly true or wholly false, and not many persons claim devotion to one side. However, the average person's sentiment is more in sympathy with one than the other

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state is merely a means to greater welfare of the individual, the all-important element in society, his opinions would vary

considerably. Neither view is wholly true or wholly false, and not

many persons claim devotion to one side. However, the average person's sentiment is more in sympathy with one than the other

The present tendency in all Western and in the more industrially advanced countries is toward a continually increasing interference of the State with the powers and functions of the family. The humanitarian sentiment towards children which probably originated and has caused most past interventions of the State gives every indication that it will continue, broaden, and cause more and more interventions. Actually it has done so, and under Mrs. Martin's plan, it will be given opportunity to do so at even a greater rate and with much less opposition.

There are several powerful forces causing this assumption of the father's duties by the State, and one of the strongest has been the desire of women for economic independence. They would have complete economic freedom if at 26 they too had earned their living for their lifetime.

Having all the original *raison d'etre* of the family, such as economic support, protection, and education minimized or wholly assumed by other agencies, the success of marriage is today more vital. Its value in developing individual personality and character has assumed greater proportions. One who is about to invest his life in marriage has no disposition to look for the consequences which may issue from his marriage or from marriages in general, whereof his own is only an inconspicuous instance. That his own marriage, together with millions of others, may perpetuate the race and transmit the social heritage is a fact of very meager importance to him. The occidental does not marry in order to fulfill a public duty. In China, however, the situation is somewhat different. According to Keyserling these general considerations very strongly motivate

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marriages, but this fact must be considered in view of the customary submerging of the natural family in the Chinese household. The Western world at present is especially hostile to the idea of making marriage a matter of duty and obligation. Here, if anywhere, the thing must be done for its own sake. Marriage is not a unique institution in its disparity between the social or racial functions it fulfills and the actual motives and purposes of the persons who engage in it.

From the standpoint of society, a scrutinizing interest is warranted toward this "marriage at 26 or later" phrase. Population and its decline is taken up elsewhere in more detailed study, but here the problem of fecundity deserves mention.

Normally, the reproductive system matures between the twelfth and sixteenth years, and in its narrowest sense, youth is prepared then for marriage. However, from the studies that have been made and from the knowledge gained from increased research in medical science, it has been proven that it is not at all desirable that this should take place until after physiological development as a whole is completed at about the ages of 18 to 21.

Mental development is somewhat slower and requires about 5 or 6 years longer to mature. If other things are equal, and authorities are not being misled in their logic which seems rather unlikely, young people should marry soon after they complete their mental development. If marriage is

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delayed until this mental development is closed, both personalities would probably be completely developed, and both individuals set in their ways. Both parties would have a large stock of habits that would be firmly rooted, and their ruts would be difficult to merge into one. These individuals encounter difficulties in trying to fit themselves into a new family life that requires so much give-and-take, especially give, to make it entirely successful.

Age in marriage is a very important consideration, both from the standpoint of the individual and from that of society as a whole. Looking at it with the interests of the individual in paramount consideration, too great a discrepancy between the ages of the two persons entering the marital state is a real disadvantage. Not only does it interfere with the feeling of perfect comradeship that should exist if success is to be insured, but also because it is definitely unphysiological. To require all young persons to graduate from the commons before seriously considering marriage would probably tend, through compulsion, to even up the age of the man and woman, though not necessarily would this have to follow. Upon graduation there would be, according to the author of the plan, a general marrying spree. These young lovers could marry if they chose on graduation day. There would be no need to wait until the man had "amassed a competence" and could support her.

Extremely romantic and appealing is her description of the young couple on their first summer's-long honeymoon.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1914

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"Supreme happiness is theirs - young, strong, healthy, independent, free, and in love! Each will receive daily their necessary rations. The whole country is before them. We can picture them wandering over hill and dale, picknicking, camping, by lakes and streams and the sea, swimming, fishing, singing, chattering, deliciously quarreling, reading, poetizing, planning for their future."

"Cold weather soon drives them indoors. A desire for luxury, for occupation, and for companionship awakes in them. The young husband tires of loafing, love-making begins to pall, and love begins to seem to both of them not quite 'enough'. He begins to long for the world of men and affairs; she wearies a little of his constant company and would like to see her mother, her brothers, her sisters, and her friends. So he takes a job in the capitals and proudly brings home money, receives her grateful smiles, and feels elated. She immediately goes shopping. Presently she calls for a home, and soon other wants appear - a motor car, jewels, fine raiment, parties, theaters, fine furniture. 'The simple life' begins to seem a little tame; they begin to talk earnestly of the 'full life'. They throw their energy into the capitals. Society has had the right to demand, for its own protection as well as for his, that he earn his own keep. But now he has satisfied that obligation; he has won his own freedom."¹

This sounds well, and to persons with any imagination

1. Martin, Mrs. Prestonia Mann, Prohibiting Poverty, pp.84-85.

it may picture an ideal. Where is the young couple who would not revel in such a vacation or honeymoon! However, is this not a possible case rather than a probable one? Is she not depicting the ideal for young people about the age of 20, 21, or 22?

Many persons are convinced that age is more mental than physical, and often persons working with young people or with those who are vitally interested in life in general and their own surroundings in particular actually seem to retain their youth much longer than the average. Perhaps the carefree work in the commons will be conducive to such an attitude, and the 26-year-olds, under this plan, will have a mental attitude similar to the young people in the late teens and early twenties of today. However I think this is leaving a big "if". Besides this psychological attitude, the economic phase does not seem as simple, uncomplicated, and ideal as she portrays it. The uncertainty of their own economic condition has, with little opposition, been stated by many to be the strongest of the elements that are at the present time preventing the young people from marrying as early as would be eugenically advantageous. The higher two persons are on the social scale and the higher are their standards of living, and accordingly the greater their list of "musts" and "necessities", the longer these economic forces are called upon to operate. There are many persons who at 19 or 20 might marry on love and love alone, but there are few who, if they wait until later, do not demand considerably more. "Love in an attic" is a romantic picture

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to many youngsters, but it appeals to a decreasing proportion as they advance in years. That a few who are well along in years still cling to some such illusion is without a doubt due to maladjustment of one kind or another. Probably they are so poorly adapted to their home and work, and so unhappy in their present situation that love in any form at any sacrifice is a haven of refuge, an ideal.

Marriage at the age of 26 imposes another handicap. If compelled to wait until that age, much of the ardor and enthusiasm of youth for life in general have^s been lost, and a great deal of the more adventuresome spirit that is so characteristic of adolescents has disappeared. The more stable, factual, mature minds will demand a great deal more from their future mates than they previously would even have thought of. This may be for the best. Persons will be more careful perhaps, in their choice, but does it not seem possible that there would be many more persons who would not marry at all because of this?

If they have worked for eight years for their "keep" and a mere pittance, the desire for "extras" will be exceedingly strong, and there is considerable doubt that marriage would appeal as strongly as a job would that enabled them to obtain a few luxuries. A guarantee of food, shelter, and clothing is rarely sufficient today to induce young people into marital bands. Most of them must have a wage that enables them to live as they have been accustomed to living.

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or would it, by forcing the lower classes to comply with the standards now more generally held by the upper strata of society, beget in them similar feelings and emotions and so put greater emphasis on the standard of living item.

Another important consideration of the age delay from the standpoint of the individual has much to do with the sex impulse or the emotions. Emotion plays its part in marriage and this would be most decidedly affected by the delay in the age of marriage.

Professor Karl M. Bowman, M. D. says that sex is one of the strongest instincts in man, and it is very evident that unless it were strong, the human race would have ceased to exist long before this. It is important to realize that the strength of the sex instinct, like that of the other instincts, varies enormously in different people. In some individuals there appears to be little or no sex drive, and so these individuals not only have no difficulty in controlling the tendency but apparently never have any desire to give it expression. In others, however, there is a very strong sex drive which is expressed through an excessive indulgence or a marked conflict. While the effects of early environment may serve to stimulate or repress the sex instinct, it does not seem that such an explanation alone is sufficient to account for the tremendous differences which one encounters. Convention even now takes this little into account, and it is a fairly universal source of conflict, since society demands so tremendous a suppression of the instinct. The social code allows its expression only under very special conditions,

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and it is obvious that very highly sexed individuals or even those moderately sexed who are unstable and incapable of enduring much mental conflict are likely to have difficulty concerning this item. The instinct is demanding expression on the one hand, while society demands complete repression on the other. It is not to be wondered, then, that studies of mental diseases consistently disclose sex as an extremely common source of conflict.

The average, normal, healthy individual can't help having some conflict in trying to conform to these demands of society. The more sensitive he is and the more important he feels it to be to accept the customs of the group, the greater will be his conflict. The majority of individuals are unable to conform completely to the conventional standards. This has been shown by every study of the sex life of individuals that has been made, and it may be well, therefore, to realize that there may be certain ideals with regards to sex, but that the majority of persons fail to attain these ideals.

Does this not seem to give fair indication that all might not be well if commoners were not permitted to marry? If all sex impulses were to be held in abeyance by all persons until after they had reached the age of 26, this suppression or oppression of society would be considerably increased. The thrusting down of deep emotions into the unconscious, and the attempt to ignore and forget them does not expel them. The desires are submerged and apparently vanquished, but their in-

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fluence upon the mind, character, and conduct is still active. Apparently the conflict may be at an end; actually it is still working invisibly. Such victims are compelled to sublimate the force, while their success depends upon their mental and moral capacity, strength of will, early training, environment, and aptitude for discovering substitutes. Could the average citizen be successful in these substitutions? It is common knowledge that college men and college women do not, on an average, marry until rather late, and some may feel that were all persons given similar training and education, their conduct would be regulated similarly. However, I do not think anyone has proven the fact that colleges attract a class of men and women who differ from the rest only in background or, more specifically, in education. Many in the same families do not go to colleges and universities because of individual differences making them better fitted for something else. Uniform education and training undoubtedly would help, but could it appreciably affect anything as deeply rooted in human nature as the sex impulse?

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MENTAL ATTITUDES

If the National Industrial Plan were perfect in its technical details; if the young people could be organized into a group like the Commons; and if this organization could produce enough to provide all of our population with 'necessities'; if the separation between the basic essentials, the control of public utilities and natural resources, the distribution of the necessities, the hiring and paying of the technical experts, could be worked out, one part of the requirements for social progress could be effected. However, there are more than these that are necessary to any real advancement in society.

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Is well-worked out technical detail all that is necessary for Social Progress? There are more than these that are necessary to any real advancement in society.

Mental attitudes play a very crucial part in social progress. Any advancement is blocked completely by the wrong attitudes, and cannot occur without the right ones. Attitudes seem to be of a strongly emotional nature, yet they do have some cognitive elements. They appear to function somewhat similarly to habits, being deep-seated habitual ways of reacting to life. Motives, the impulses behind the motives, the extra-intellectual forces, and the controls that influence specific action have much bearing on the type of attitude held by each individual. All of these directly affect his interests, prejudices, judgments, and decisions.

The gathering and analyzing of facts in regard to social problems and aspirations are very necessary, but anyone that feels that such a presentation of the facts will be sufficient to attain the end actually intended. The most

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If the National Livelihood Plan were perfect in its technical details; if the young people could be organized into a group like the Commons; and if this organization could produce enough to provide all of our population with 'necessities'; if the separation between the basic essentials, the control of public utilities and natural resources, the distribution of the necessities, the hiring and paying of the technical experts, could be worked out, one part of the requirements for social progress would be effected. However, there are more than these that are necessary to any real advancement in society.

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If the National Youth League plan were perfect in its technical details; if the young people could be organized into a group like the Commons; and if this organization could produce enough to provide all of our population with necessities; if the separation between the basic essentials, the control of public utilities and natural resources, the distribution of the necessities, the hiring and paying of the technical experts, could be worked out, one part of the requirements for social progress would be effected. However, there are more than these that are necessary to any real advancement in society.

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The gathering and analyzing of facts in regard to social problems and aspirations are very necessary, but anyone that feels that such a presentation of the facts will be sufficient to attain the desired result is mistaken. The facts

obvious truths and the most convincing facts will not be enough to influence people to change their minds or manners of living. Before the facts lie attitudes. People rationally assent to the findings of science, both physical and social, but it is their attitudes that make them radicals or revolutionists, anti-vivisectionists, or opposed to conservation of resources. In such a manner, mental attitudes play their major part in influencing social progress. They are such strong defensive walls that no amount of rational and logical truth is sufficient to break through their resistance.¹

It seems, then, quite logical to assume that progress, both personal and social, is a matter primarily of change of attitudes. This change must come first. It leads to a new orientation; most aspects of life assume a new color, and it is not until quite a little later that the social change really comes. It is this phase of human behavior that revolutions and radical changes do not take into account. The mechanisms of government and society may be changed by a single upheaval, but this does not affect the real attitudes and habits of a whole people. These cannot be affected so rapidly nor as easily. They will change outwardly to some extent, but gradually they will persist and nullify most of the effects of the drastic change.²

The technique for changing attitudes would then seem to be one of the keys to social progress. Hence any plan would

1. Hertzler, Joyce O., Relation of Mental Attitudes to Social Progress.

2. Bogardus, Fundamentals of Social Psychology.

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have to be presented and carefully worked out by all the facts of social psychology in order to have it succeed in actual operation.

Attitudes are most difficult to alter if they have been connected with emotional experience, and any plan for the alteration of society such as the one that has been discussed would be seriously affected by this. Decided changes would be necessary as regards the family, marriage, education, and these are closely bound to the major emotional ties.

Professor A. B. Wolfe has worked out a keen and clear-cut analysis of and distinction between the different current attitudes concerning social change. This scale of attitudes he likens to the solar spectrum in which, from left to right, he lists radicalism, liberalism or progressivism, conservatism, and reactionism in that order. Each of these has its varying degrees of intensity and its shading into the adjacent attitudes.

Progress has always met with much resistance. Nearly all really great men have been accepted under protest, if at all. Few have known during their whole lifetime anything but public disapproval. New ideas must oppose some well-planned and settled habits, and so people for this reason have tried to stamp them out. 'Heresy', 'sedition', 'disloyalty', 'un-Americanism' have been the condemning names given to such new ideas, and society has generally met the exponents of these ideas with ostracism, banishment, or death.

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Actual instances of such treatment are found frequently in the pages of history. Socrates was accused and condemned for corrupting the youth of his day. Jesus was condemned before Pilate for attempting to put something real into the decadent religion and philosophy of his time. Galileo had to swear the world was stationary to avoid a death sentence.

As previously stated, no new truth has ever gained real recognition without displacing some honored and precious belief. These beliefs are never given up easily or without a struggle. Discouraging as this may be to the enthusiastic supporters of any new plan, there is an element of stability in this characteristic without which our society would be of little value. There would be a certain amount of treachery in disregarding any cherished conviction upon the dictation of an authority, however scientific and esteemed the authority was. Progress is founded upon a slow but steady breaking down of former methods of social adjustment and the building of new ones to take their place as rapidly as needed.

The right material, the proper legal and social conditions are not necessarily guarantees of progress. There must be some high ethical standards to serve as stimulating and disciplinary elements. Self-sacrifice, loyalty, devotion, and allegiance are important to the best achievements of the individual. If these are combined in a people trained to moderation, restraint, self-control, self-denial, limitation of desires, resistance to temptation, and a sense of responsibility, great heights can be attained. Here would be the

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qualities necessary to put a plan or scheme of reorganization into effect. "The spiritual and ethical elements are so significant in progress that technical proficiency is an empty shell or a runaway machine without it."¹ Mrs. Martin has skillfully played upon the nobler emotions and feelings in writing and planning the presentation of the National Livelihood Plan.

Parental love, sympathy, hatred of injustice, patriotism, moral indignation, hope, love of security, and public spirit, are definitely recognized and built up in her earnest and sincere effort to convince others of the valuable elements in her plan. That she could really put it before the average citizen so that it would meet with his whole-hearted approval and convince him of the necessity for his earnest support is possible, but it would require a long and carefully planned campaign. Attitudes obstruct, but they also construct. When they are favorable, the greater part of any battle is won. Thus, on such an intangible and indefinite thread hangs the probability of success or failure of Mrs. Martin's plan.

1. Hart, Hornell Norris, The Technique of Social Progress, pp. 105-129

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CONCLUSION

All of the nation's young people of both sexes, between the ages of 18 and 25, as a continuation of their school education, shall be industrially organized to produce under national direction, a sufficiency of the necessary goods and services to constitute a decent level of living.

CONCLUSION

services without having had training that is the entire responsibility

- What is the plan?
- What are its strongest points?
- Would the commons be a successful organization and advantageous to the individual?
- Could all of the necessities really be provided by them?
- Could the discipline problem be worked out satisfactorily?
- Will incentive suffer to too great an extent?

of the product is rapidly increasing to meet the demand. It is the aim of a planned economy to utilize the most efficient means of production and distribution of goods and services that are possible, to meet the needs of the community as a whole.

The abolition of barriers of money and the labor market, the practice of buying and selling illustrates the desirability of making the producer more security than is possible in our present order.

Progressive labor and inventions in the industrial line would no longer make unemployment inevitable. It would only serve to shorten the length of service required of workers and lighten the household burden.

CONCLUSION

What is the giant
that has its strongest
Would the company be a successful organization and its
to the individual
Could all of the activities really be provided by
Could the Association's problem be worked out satisfactorily
Will inevitably suffer to the extent as a result

CONCLUSION

All of the nation's young people of both sexes, between the ages of 18 and 26, as a continuation of their public school education, shall be industrially organized to produce under scientific direction, a sufficiency of the necessary goods and services to constitute a decent livelihood, and to distribute these goods and services without buying and selling them to the entire population."¹

This National Livelihood Plan definitely has its advantages. By separating the necessities from the luxuries and treating both factors individually, there is more opportunity and chance that each might be within the managing ability of human power. The necessity phase would be taken care of by this great new institution that could not only supply the whole country with necessities, but would provide every young person with a job. The fuller use of the productive capacity of machinery to no one's detriment through the means of a planned economy would eliminate the waste and the other conditions that now cause poverty. No one really would need to lack the essentials of life.

The abolition of the use of money and the doing away with the practice of buying and selling eliminates the probability of chance and provides more security than is possible in our country today.

Progressive ideas and inventions in the industrial line would no longer cause unemployment and misery. It would only serve to shorten the length of service required or broaden and enlarge the necessities provided.

¹. Martin, Mrs. Prestonia Mann, Prohibiting Poverty, p.6.

CONCLUSION

All of the nation's young people of both sexes, between the ages of 18 and 22, as a condition of their public school education, should be habitually organized to produce under scientific direction, a sufficiency of the necessary goods and services to constitute a decent livelihood. Not to distribute these goods and services without having first satisfied the entire human condition. This National Livelihood Plan definitely has its advantages.

In regarding the necessary food and shelter and clothing and other necessities, there is one opportunity and chance that each might be within the capacity of the human power. The economic phase could be taken care of by the human condition. It is not that while at any one time the whole country is made self-sufficient and could provide every young person with a job. The failure of the production capacity of humanity to meet the needs of the present and a planned economy would eliminate the waste and the other conditions that are now present. It is really a good deal to lack the essentials of life.

The solution of the use of money and the other economic conditions of nature and the other conditions of the human condition and provide the security that is possible in our world today.

Progressive ideas and techniques that are fundamental to the human condition are being developed and it is only a matter of time before the human condition will be able to provide the necessities of life. The human condition is being developed and it is only a matter of time before the human condition will be able to provide the necessities of life. The human condition is being developed and it is only a matter of time before the human condition will be able to provide the necessities of life.

These are the author's main claims for her plan. She has built her system carefully. The more obvious indictments against the majority of other plans seem to have been taken into consideration and avoided. She does not suppress all liberty or individuality as have most other schemes, but the human element being as it is, uncertain, irrational, and difficult to determine, there would have to be changes in order to have it work.

This necessary change in attitudes is of very considerable proportions, and would require much thought and planning. An intensive campaign to school the minds of the people would have to be undertaken.

Military conscription is an accepted fact in many European countries, and during a war, military training is compulsory even in our own country. If this can be effected for such disastrous undertakings, it seems logical enough to assume, that with proper conditioning, people might conceivably give up the eight most promising years of their lives for security for the rest of their days. However, this plan compelling all young persons to engage in the productive operation of basic necessities does not take into consideration the natural trend or instinct, hereditary or otherwise of the individual. For instance, it would be a difficult task to make a farmer out of an artist, and by the time he or she reached the age of 26, it is quite conceivable that such a person would be spoiled for successfully doing either.

What a person wishes to engage in for his life work is usually formed in his own mind long before he reaches the age of 26, and to suppress his ambitions until that age would react to the

These are the author's own claims for his plan. One may
 doubt her power or ability. The more obvious indications against
 the desirability of other things seem to have been taken into consideration
 and not weighed. The fact that she suggests all interests or individual
 interests as having more other interests, and the human element being as
 it is, uncertain, fractional, and difficult to determine, there
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 importance, and this requires much thought and planning. As in
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Military cooperation is an essential fact in many European
 countries, and during a war, military training is compulsory even
 in our own country. It has to be studied for our own defense
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 spoiled for successful farming.

That a person might be engaged in for his life work is
 usually formed in his own mind long before he reaches the age of 20,
 and to suppose his education might that the world would be the

detriment of the work that he could have done if allowed to begin his life's work at an earlier age. This could not help but have its effect upon the quality of the resultant civilization.

A word about the necessities to be provided by these commoners is quite important. Mrs. Martin's list of the seven basic essentials includes food, clothing, housing, tools, specialized education, protection, and transportation. These she claims would be provided for by the commoners, but I am inclined to challenge this statement. There is a very good chance that young people at this age could produce the required food. The clothing too could be made, tools provided, and transportation arranged for if enough supervision and instruction were given them. It seems fantastic, though, to expect these youngsters to provide sufficient protection. Mrs. Martin may not have a system similar to the present police force in mind. She may have assumed that the plan in operation would decrease crime so much that such an organization for law and order would have very little to do. One does not know exactly what she was thinking of, but to have protection in the present sense of the word dependent wholly on youth seems unwise. Seniority in itself gives power, prestige, and authority. Lacking this, how are such children going to handle the older people who, with so much greater leisure, will probably be much more apt to be troublesome than they are now? Protection and education seem to be two necessary items that had better be provided through other means rather than by the commons. One cannot, by the greatest stretch of his imagination, see how the commoners could provide the education. Teachers need training, and how could the com-

detriment of the work that he could have done if allowed to begin his life's work at an earlier age. This could not help but have its effect upon the quality of the resultant civilization.

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moners be expected to have training enough to enable them to make good teachers? They will have to wait until after their graduation for any higher education that they may desire, and surely this is necessary to insure good instruction. The happiness and well-being of persons under this plan would be very much dependent upon the success of its educational system. Who would trust so much responsibility to inexperienced youth!

Everyone must have some discipline in his or her life or chaos will inevitably result. However, there is a very real danger that it will be overdone. The general trends today are growing more definitely away from any type of group discipline. The fewer the rules and customs, the better any organization or institution seems to be. This can be readily seen in the latest plans and ideals of all phases of education. To encourage individual expression and to foster a creative attitude have seemed the proper aims to specialists and researchers in this field. Could this be continued under the commons, or would it be discarded? George Bernard Shaw has said about the matter of discipline and freedom, "There is a need of discipline, but it should be that discipline that comes from the realization of one's own needs, from the feeling of something which one wishes to achieve. Nothing of importance is ever achieved without discipline. I feel myself sometimes not wholly in sympathy with some modern educational theorists, because I think that they underestimate the part that discipline plays. But the discipline you have in life should be one determined by your own desires and your own needs, not put upon you by society or authority."¹

1. Shaw, George B., How to be Free and Happy, pp.32-34.

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 Kolbert's of discipline is not, however, about discipline.

...not the only way by which an individual...
 ...has to be treated...
 ...and without words...

The youth of our nation would be required to wear uniforms. Practical, comfortable, and becoming (if one mode of dress could ever be good-looking on all types of people) but nevertheless uniforms.

They will eat in huge mess halls "just like students in a college dormitory." College life is, in the hearts of most of America, the ideal, and any reference to it strikes a soft spot in the emotions of the greater majority. As far as eating is concerned, though, what college student does not spend the greater part of his allowance "eating out?" The satisfaction of a good meal at home where whims and fancies can be considered once in a while is very considerable.

All day they work at a job that perhaps they like and are fitted for, but just as possible they are not. The guidance clinics, if very efficient, and successful, having all the necessary jobs available, could not possibly give one hundred percent satisfaction because of the difficulty of determining the individual's capabilities, tendencies, and interests. Actually in the common organization, there would be a specified number of jobs available to be filled. Under no consideration could any guidance center change these specifications. They can do much to help in the placement, but some individuals must suffer.

That many suffer now is undeniable. There is little logic, though, in changing a system if there is not some betterment, for change in itself does not denote progress, and in the present system there is at least the reward of payment in cash with absolute freedom of choice in spending.

What uninteresting and dull specimens of humanity this

plan seems apt to breed! They would be coddled, pampered, guided, and supervised until they were 26 years old. What would happen to their initiative? Their courage? Their work would be made easy, their working conditions ideal, their every move (except of course their evenings) would be planned and directed for them. Their brains would not have to be stirred from the serene complacency they should be in when life flows along regularly, easily, and "like a song". Between the ages of 18 and 26, initiative, enthusiasm, and optimism naturally reach their peak. If smothered then, will they be able to be aroused again? Probably not to the full capacity and strength that once they might have had.

At the age of 26 and upon their graduation, are the young people really going to continue to work? Some will, of course. I cannot imagine many women wearing "cotton in summer, woolen in winter, plain but sturdy" for very long without doing something about it. However, if it became the accepted standard, their ideas and wants might conceivably be changed.

Such a spirit as the one she portrays that would prevail, of the easy-going, all-is-well, no-one-can-starve, anything-is-possible-to-the-young variety as a contrast to our own hurrying competitive system of today seems gloriously ideal and peaceful. It would not be really satisfying nor would it be very conducive to progress.

Incentive is a very important element in progress, whether individual or social. When it is great enough and of the right kind it can inspire an individual to attain tremendous heights. This is the power behind the psychologist's theory of compensa-

plan seems apt to breed! They would be coddled, pampered, and
fed, and supervised until they were 28 years old. What would
happen to their initiative? Their courage? Their work would
be made easy, their working conditions ideal, their every move
(except of course their evenings) would be planned and directed
for them. Their brains would not have to be stirred from the
serene complacency they should be in when life flows along regu-
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tion. It can mean the difference between life and death to a person who is physically ill. This valuable quality is one that would suffer greatly under this new scheme. Why, after they have spent eight years as a member of the organization and so are provided with the necessities for life, should a person work very hard? With Mr. Smith on his left a naturally poor worker, and John Jones on his right, a shirker, should Mr. X do any more work than necessary to keep up with them? Russia has worked out a system bearing some resemblance to the commons except that they are required to work for life at their job of gaining a living. The production rate of the country as a whole is high, but individual production does not equal that of the United States. One could argue that there is little need then of forcing and burdening the worker if the collective result is better and more satisfactory. Perhaps there is not. The waste in our system allows the individual to function to full capacity. The other, subordinates the individual for the collective advantage of the whole. Ideally, if every person could be given, under good working conditions, the opportunity to produce all in his capacity, the race would probably be finer and potentially greater. Any state should be at its strongest when the individuals comprising it are allowed and encouraged to reach the full extent of their ability.

The National Livelihood Plan is dependent upon a perfect human element in the management and the labor of the commons organization. Politics is not discriminating, and it should be remembered that all of these young people are not going to

The first part of the paper is devoted to a
 description of the general situation in the
 country at the present time. It is shown
 that the country is in a state of
 transition, and that the old order
 is being replaced by a new one. The
 author then proceeds to a detailed
 analysis of the various factors which
 are influencing the development of the
 country. He discusses the political
 situation, the economic conditions,
 and the social progress. He also
 touches upon the cultural and
 educational aspects of the country.
 The author concludes by expressing his
 confidence in the future of the
 country, and his belief that it will
 soon reach a stage of full
 development.

be wholly and completely segregated from the rest of the country. Also, every one of these workers is one day going to vote. Where there is a will there is a way and it would not be difficult to find some loopholes through which politics might conceivably touch the commoner.

The government would have a very powerful influence over the youth of our nation. The educational system would become very much centered upon the individual's training for work in the commons. This would narrow its objective and so limit the width of a person's freedom of choice. Students may not know what they want or what they need, but I doubt whether the state could have a better knowledge. A tendency to have the best interests of the state in predominant importance could hardly be avoided.

There are innumerable other questionable practices that would have to become the accepted mode of behavior if this plan were effected. The method and manner of inauguration is of primary importance.

A political upheaval might seem desirable to some persons as the only way to attempt to put such a plan into effect. The other methods of gradually influencing the minds of the people and aiding them to see the advantages of such change are admittedly very slow. They take time and patience, and require also a great deal of ingenuity and intelligence. However, the end does not justify the means. To have peaceful security one cannot use belligerent or forceful methods. Mrs. Martin does not advocate anything startling or extreme, but

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country. It is noted that the economy is showing signs of recovery, but that inflation remains a serious problem. The government has taken measures to control inflation, but these have had limited success. The report also discusses the state of the foreign trade and the balance of payments. It is noted that the trade deficit has widened, and that the government is seeking ways to reduce it. The second part of the report deals with the social and economic conditions of the population. It is noted that the standard of living is low, and that there is widespread poverty. The government has implemented various social welfare programs, but these are inadequate to meet the needs of the population. The report also discusses the state of the education system and the health services. It is noted that the education system is in a state of crisis, and that the health services are inadequate. The third part of the report deals with the political situation. It is noted that the government is facing a crisis of confidence, and that there is widespread dissatisfaction with its policies. The report also discusses the state of the opposition and the prospects for a change of government.

neither has she laid any definite plans for the initiation of a new order beyond the technical details.

When such tyrannical rule holds sway in Germany, when oppression is as continuous as it is in Russia, when supervision is as close as it is in Italy and people seem to live, prosper, and be happy, anything seems possible. Human nature is an indefinable quality that has to be reckoned with. Perhaps the Russians are right in their belief that human nature is not as stable a thing as we have supposed, and that it can be changed to meet any conditions by a change of environment and training. Surely American psychologists have as much authority as the Soviet in their respective views, and time may be the judge. Will the Russian people be as they are anticipated to be? Many are anxious to see how this experiment works out.

Meanwhile Americans are quite different from Russians. Their backgrounds and training vary so that there could be little comparison insofar as workable social schemes are concerned. The question is, though, whether this National Livelihood Plan could be really effected as smoothly as Mrs. Martin pictures it. An act of Congress, the appointment of a Board of Directors, an extensive scientific investigation and research of the various phases of the plan do not take into account any public opinion or opposing political factions. These would be strong influences upon any undertaking, and must be reckoned with.

Technically the plan might work. Its faults and difficulties do not seem as extreme as those of schemes already in effect. Actually, it would take a long period for planning the

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Technically the plan might work. Its faults and difficulties do not seem as extreme as those of schemes already in effect. Actually, it would take a long period for planning the

details and a longer period for conditioning public opinion and attitudes so that it would be successful.

There is one big reason for the failure of previously suggested plans for Utopian civilization. The planning is faultless in many of these. They need one thing, however, that has always and always will be lacking. A perfect state requires a perfect man, and no one has yet made humanity perfect.

Mrs. Martin, like many others, has put much thought into her efforts to solve the problems of the present day. Her plan for social improvement is set forth clearly and convincingly. Her enthusiasm for, her confidence in, and her hope in regard to humanity is refreshing. She has done a commendable job, but whether the details of the plan are founded on the facts of experience is questionable.

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...and a longer article ...

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