What Price Security:

If we try to simmer down the meaning of the agitations of this world, past and present, sum it up in one word the nearest approach to society we reach is in the word "security". material security that men and governments have been forever in search of, to feed, clothe and house yourself and to see that your people are fed, clothed and housed. What all this pother in the world is about if you get down to the bottom of it is what is agitating the world so mightily today. What is Mussolini about but an effort to insure that all the Italians shall have food, cloths and a roof. That was what Lenin was after for his Russians. That is what the Soviet Government is after today, security from outside in order that she might carry on her inside operations in such a way that her people would be materially safe. That has been France's cry ever since the War to demand on her allies that they insure security and the allies refused to insure it as she understood it in their fear that they might in so doing endanger their security, cut down the food, clothes and roofs of the mass of people.

Irony of Security:

It is an ironical search this price of security things being as they are. The earth on which we stand continually threatens man's ambition to be safe. The earth shakes itself in tremendous quakes; it breaks its crust and over-powers countrysides and cities with lava and ashes, gathers itself up into tremendous revolts, tidal waves, drowns whole countrysides

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not Independent Taylor
.. Henry Ford

conquest later freedom
just as once you got adventure - ~~justice~~
~~the~~ this continent - in these states
~~the~~ mixing conquest & freedom we got
richer - learned how to make more than
we learned how to ~~[illegible]~~ spread [illegible] - this absurdity
has bothered us for many years = ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ we lead the world for abundance
but we didn't know to handle abundance
~~were~~ afraid of it = mistrom an
administration so afraid of it today
that it is willing to destroy food
& cotton ~~that~~ so that scarcity
may continue to pay those who
created abundance & ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ & one of whose great creative
efforts lead always been finding
more people to take it on - making
markets - But making markets later time
if they are to be permanent = markets born of the
workingman of men to write to satisfy a need ~~they~~
a desire they recognize - not tempting patients make
born of dyer & boomer

Richer in population to
buy markets = so that spreading
the buyer may
serve well -

If we would carry the [illegible] for
they not buy his food

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makes security on an insecure earth. In talking of the insecurity of the crust we stand on I remarked in last October to a group at the Pen & Brush that I saw no reason why we should expect New York City and its suburbs should be forever exempt from earthquakes, that one might come which would engulf us or we might be swept by a tidal wave. My friends laughed at such extravagance but that very night you hear in Brooklyn were so shaken that if the newspaper accounts were true some of you rushed to the street, some of you lost your window panes. At all events it was a severe enough shake for one of my friends who lives here and who had heard me making my ominous ~~statement~~ remark to asked me not to do it again.

The earth is uncertain and the society which we have built up to take care of security ~~in all its institutions cannot be counted on to function with anything like the perfection that is necessary if we are to be secure.~~ Broadly speaking we have four recognized social institutions to take care of us from birth to death - our personal, our collective and our international relations. Without desiring to be academic it is well for us to keep them clear in our minds in any consideration of our personal problems of security. The institutions are - first the family. Personally, I consider the family the most successful of all our institutions and the most essential. It protects you at the start; it has a chance of helping you, giving you a good start as no other institution has. There is no other place where women, as I see it, have so tremendous a chance to

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We are built on 4 timbers -
men leave laid 4 timbers - on which to build
what they call society - In order of this of their
laying they are a family

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contribute to the intelligence, integrity, in the consideration of others upon which after all we must depend if we are to set about for the peace of the world as we are told today we must. ~~Excited~~ primitive instincts." There is no recipe for exterminating the primitive instincts. We can take it for granted that they come along with the child I think, and also as I see it there is no place where there is so good a chance getting them into control as in the family.

But the family does not stand alone, cannot stand alone. It was discovered early enough in the game of living in this world in anything like security that you must bring families together, for collective protection, collective action. That is our second institution of importance in securing security is in the community, little or big. It does not make any difference. Its main object is to save. There is much in my judgment to speak of for the small community. There is nowhere you get so close a look-in to the needs of men and women working together, the nature of them, what they can and what they cannot contribute, the heighth and depth of their natures, as you do in a resonably small community, that is in a town of ten thousand you can see better what men and women really are than you can in Brooklyn, if you have a keen eye, a tolerant nature and a real interest in human beings. The town is not all Main Street as some would have it, but a town has heighths and depths which the effort to satirize Main Street does not touch. Sinclair Lewis' "Main Street" left me with a sense of inadequacy. He said he never knew how great some of these human beings were in these towns and certainly never knew how low some of them were. Very good for Main Street but not good for

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the town. These communities must look after the personal services which security of families require, must do it collectively, must see that we are protected from disease, that we are enjoying the conveniences and comforts that science and industry is increasingly opening to us. It must see that we have the opportunities for education, for books, for amusement, for health. It gives us the frame work for healthy growing living.

The Nation:

We gather these communities high and low, big and little, of towns, counties, states, into the great aggregation we call the Nation, which has its distinct functions in this plan of working out security. My own judgment about the Nation is that when it attempts to do the work of the family or of the community it gets itself in~~to~~ too deep, that it isn't humanly possible for it to do the general work of the government assigned it and to do the work of the community any more than it is possible for the community to do the work of the family. A government has a great job on its hands, ~~it must protect us from~~ We are one in a world of nations and these nations are not always friendly or hospitable. They are jealous and greedy and seeking for power, and take in our own case they have always been anxious to get a look-in on our resources. We have got to protect ourselves. The government is for the general defense of the communities, for the relation between the state and the community - a great regula~~r~~tory body. To decides what is necessary just at any one time cannot be told off hand. Our whole experience is that if we

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give ourselves time and the patience we can work out any problem that the changing conditions of this world produce. A great difficulty is that on one side you contribute to the party who does not want to change rather to those who do want it, that is you help the conservative lunatic instead of the radical lunatic.

World Unionism:

It came into actual existence in our time. Those of us who remember the War and the Peace Conference know it was an effort to bring all the nations of the world together in a union which would do for nations what the government does for communities inside a country. We have adopted a machinery for this which we call the League of Nations. It is no new thing. It dates back to Henry VIII and Elizabeth who both worked to get something of the Tudor, that is for Europe. That is, they were not willing to take in the Turk. We have been working ever since through machinery and diplomacy to try to find some kind of an international stability, international procedure which would protect.

We are undertaking one of the most difficult operations which the world as a world has ever seen. We have to work together in an international combination before an end can be secured. I believe myself if you studied the record of the League of Nations through the years in which it has been in operation you will find that it has accomplished work of tremendous importance, made a real contribution towards the great

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end. It has wrestled with one problem and another and if it failed it has always done something. As a matter of fact what is happening now is a testing out of the machinery and there is a willingness to see why it don't work, what are the dangers in it. What are the dangers in this business of neutrality. It is a great thing for us to find out. Easy to make a government such as the nations found in 1919 but to find out the weak points in that government that means years of experience and that is what is going on now in regard to the League of Nations. One of the most important things it seems to me from the start about the government we find is that it gave an opportunity for its own correction. There is nothing in the League, not an article, which cannot be changed when it is found what the League calls inapplicable. That is something of it has the flexibility of our Constitution, not so great because when you come to consider the Constitution of the United States it is an extraordinary flexible document, and perhaps one of the best things about it is that it cannot be changed over night. That is one of the surest ways to defeat your end. But it can be changed. You can even under the Constitution make what you find to be a radical mistake, as I believe the prohibition amendment was, and you can take it back. Now there is nothing hard and fast about such a document as that. It has not only the permission but the machinery to change when it is proved that it is in the interest of the welfare of the people. But because a certain group thinks the thing is for the welfare is not necessarily so, not necessarily so even if three Judges consider it so. It is the kind of thing that has to be thrashed out and you don't get anywhere by simply calling names I am convinced.

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Well, now these are the institutions by which society proposes to keep men ~~world~~ secure. ~~Submitted to~~ Born into their social machinery just as we are ~~living on the earth~~ we are less conscious of its vagaries and its dangers and so less liable to take precautions. We have learned to come in out of the rain - the physical rain, but not out of social rain and we go through all sorts of ~~catechisms~~ cataclysm because we are unfamiliar with the laws ~~and~~ of society. And we revolt constantly from the failure of these four institutions to do what we think they ought to do. Generally we revolt in the name of freedom.

I grew up in the period of revolt.

1. Revolt from the family. There is no denying that a family is a cramping, frequently irritating, ~~for~~. The price you pay for what it can give and what it gives you depends a great deal upon your own powers of adjustment, your own interior freedom. You are holding that more important than exterior freedom. The penalty of revolt from family which I have seen myself among women in my time appears to me most painful. To come to my time of life, for instance, and to be cut off entirely from my family as some of my friends have cut themselves off, is one of the most ghastly things in its effects that I have seen. Here is a case in point:

   Story of Dr. Putnam.

   This cutting off from you

2. Revolt from community.

   A revolt from your family usually means a revolt from your community, from the restrictions and conventions and habits of a town, from Main Street. It won't let you live your life and it won't let you reform it, and if you revolt from your

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family it disapproves and the logic of the revolt is that you leave the community and seek the city where you can lose yourself and be what we call free. Well, I have my opinion of the freedom of the city, but that is neither here nor there.

You cut off your community, seek a great city or a foreign country. For fifty years I have been active in professional life; I have meeting women here and abroad who had cut themselves off from the community and family to seek freedom. I remember a dinner party forty years ago in Paris where a group of expatriated ladies living on comfortable incomes were telling of their experiences - why they had left America, why they had left their husbands and families behind. And with all of them it was a story of the personal irritations and dislikes, dissatisfactions. At the table was a little woman who had not been long in Paris; she was sight-seeing. And as she listened to these tales she was more and more horrified. "You - why did you leave America and come over here," they asked her. She blurted out, "Well ladies, I left my husband behind but thank God I left him in a Church yard." I don't remember in my experience to have seen any group of women that seemed to me less productive and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to have had less of the really essential elements of life - and those essential elements are not always easy or happy - but less of the essential things as I see them then these expatriated women. It is the same thing about women in great cities like this. They come to be free but must make their way, and who cannot or will not go back to their towns like my

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Dr. Putnam - they cut themselves off.

3. Revolt from the Nation.- revolt from National Unionism.

A man without a country, a woman without a country To be a nation who revolts from international Unionism is not the way to security.

Now what is the individual to do in this machinery devised to make him secure? What is the practical end that he must have in view? The first thing we have to familiarize ourselves that we want to be sure of our future with the technique which has been worked out for individuals - for you and me - by society. There are things we must provide for ourselves. First, we must have some way of producing an income. Second, we must provide a home for ourselves; we must have a backlog for old age. We must remember we started from scratch, that is most of us; we depended on opportunities and natural resources. And it is very interesting to what the individuals of this country, starting as I say from scratch, have laid up in the one hundred and fifty years since the colonies came together and adopted our Constitution. What have we done remembering always that this is a material security we are talking of? What have we produced in the way of wealth, the national backlog? Take the year 1932. What have we produced in the way of homes? What have we produced in the way of incomes?

First it depends on the technique of production. What do we do with the things produced? I am taking it for granted that everybody should be a productive agent - man and women, that our system does not provide for drones. When it provides for those

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it is an admission that in some point we have failed. Well then the individual must know something about the technique about production. And what is his attitude about the thing produced - the practical attitude? First, it must give you an income; it must give you a home. It should give you this backlog or capital for the time when your age makes you non-productive. I think that is the plan of security that we have roughly worked out for the individual and it has been the plan for the nation, that is there has been a national technique of producing wealth and what to do with that wealth. First, to give everybody an income to live on according to his productive value. Second, to give him a home which would be a permanent place and third, to give him his capital or backlog.

What as a Nation have we done in carrying out this roughly sketched plan? What is our wealth?

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