

California 6955 HOMEOOWNER

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Twenty-five cents

How can our cities survive?

This is a speech made to the Homebuilders Association of Greater St. Louis by Perry Prentice of TIME, on November 22, 1971.

All of the things pointed out about the problems of St. Louis are the same problems that you have in your city, or problems every major city in this country has.

What Mr Prentice is telling the Homebuilders in St. Louis could just as well apply to all the Homebuilders in America. He titled his talk, "Is there a Land Shortage Around St. Louis?"

When I first accepted your invitation to speak here tonight I thought this was going to be easy.

For I already had two St. Louis speeches, and in all modesty they were both good St. Louis speeches. One was the speech I made to your Homebuilders back in 1967 in which I gave you some good advice that you promptly forgot. The other was the speech I gave in July to the Chamber of Commerce of Greater St. Louis on "How to get St. Louis Going Again," the speech that reminded you that maybe it was time to invite me back again.

So I figured all I had to do was dust off one of my two St. Louis speeches — the one you had forgotten or the one that a different audience had seemed to like last summer; either way I figured I would be home free without having to go to work and write a third St. Louis speech.

And then somebody sent me a copy of this pamphlet of yours entitled "The Crisis Now for Metropolitan St. Louis," packed with sentences like:

"Unless something is done now the result will be a monstrous chaotic urban

sprawl with few benefits and many problems" and, "There is neither time nor space left to allow suburban growth to continue its unchecked unplanned helter skelter pattern," and, "New approaches must be taken."

This is a fine, exciting pamphlet and I couldn't agree more with whoever wrote that sentence about quote "Unless something is done now," and I couldn't agree more with what he goes on to say about the unwisdom of so much large lot zoning and the wisdom of building to densities that will make fuller use of the land.

And of course I was happy to learn from this pamphlet that at long last you Homebuilders do realize that your land problem is critical. Your pamphlet also showed me that you still have no more understanding of why land is such a problem for you than you had when I made the 1967 speech you have all forgotten. And because you still don't understand the reasons that make land a problem you still don't understand what should be done to make the problem go away.

I also learned from this pamphlet that
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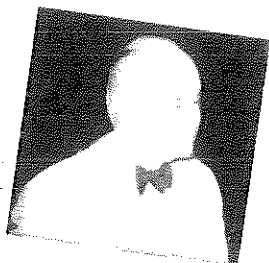
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**"YOU CAN'T BLAME
YOUR LAND PRO-
BLEMS ON GOD. HE
PROVIDED PLENTY
TO MEET THE NEED
FOR MANY YEARS
TO COME."**



Perry Prentice

(continued from front cover)

I'd have to go to work and write a brand new St. Louis speech in the hope that at long last I could help you understand at least the most elementary facts about land and why land is such an urgent problem for homebuilders not just around St. Louis but around almost every central city.

THERE IS PLENTY OF LAND

You probably won't be much interested in having me reassure you that nationwide we have so much land that according to an official United Nations report the entire population of the whole United States could live at single family density within sight of the Pacific Ocean and give all the rest of the country back to the Indians.

So instead of my telling you that it is fantastic nonsense for so many people to be saying the United States is running out of land, perhaps I should start my talk by giving you some good news about the land supply right here.

Right here on the 600,000-odd acres of the area this pamphlet is worried about, namely, St. Louis city and county, the Eastern tip of St. Charles county, and the Northeastern tip of Jefferson county there is land enough to house the entire 1970 population of the whole state of Missouri at single family densities, with nearly a quarter of a million acres left over for airports, factories, shops, office buildings, schools, golf courses, and fox hunting.

And at the planned community densities

the pamphlet recommends all the people in Missouri plus all the people in Iowa plus all the people in Kansas plus all the people in Arkansas could live here a lot better than most of them live now and still have plenty of land left over for airports, factories, shops, office buildings, schools, golf courses, and fox hunting.

And if you ever get around to making full use of your land you would find that all the people who now live between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains in Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas could live here without being too overcrowded.

Now please don't think I'm seriously suggesting that 40 million people should come live on 600,000 acres in the corner of Missouri your pamphlet is all about, even though I myself have managed to live quite happily at much higher densities than that.

GOD PROVIDED PLENTY OF LAND

I'm just trying to cheer you up by letting you see you can't blame your land problem on God. He provided plenty of land to meet all your needs for many years to come.

Now I'm not questioning for a minute that your land problem is not only real but urgent and critical. But if we can't blame the problem on God, who then is to blame and why are you builders facing a land shortage in the midst of so much plenty?

This is the same problem that the Chamber of Commerce presented to me before my Chamber of Commerce Talk last July. Said the General Manager of the Chamber in his letter inviting me to speak quote, "The major problem of the City of St. Louis is that land is not available for expansion."

Now I don't question for a minute that what Mr. Schoon wrote me was true, but I had to tell the Chamber of Commerce luncheon that it is just plain preposterous that it should be true. Here is a city that is losing

population faster than any other big city; a city that has lost a third of its population; a city that has lost hundreds of industrial plants; a city described in a research report by the Center for Community Change as "perhaps further down the road to total abandonment than any other central city in the United States," a city whose whole downtown has been officially voted a depressed area by the City Council — and still Mr. Schoon could tell me — and tell me truly, I'm sure — that there was no land in the city available for expansion!

I thought that was the paradox to end all paradoxes.

I thought it was the paradox to end all paradoxes until you sent me this blue pamphlet about how you are running out of land in the county when in fact there is more land in St. Louis County than you could put to good use before everyone in this room is dead — enough land to house all your present population if almost every square foot of your County were zoned for two acre lots.

Your problem is not that there is any shortage of land. There's more under-used land here than you could possibly put to full use in the lifetime of the youngest man in this room.

Your problem is that the people who own this land are hanging on to it and won't let you buy it from them now to put it to what economists call "a higher and better use."

And if I were a landowner here you can be very sure I wouldn't let you have it now either, even if you cut my zoning from two acres to one acre or to half an acre or to five lots per acre or to planned unit density as this pamphlet recommends. I wouldn't let you have my land now, because

1. *I'd know from what's happening around every American city that the longer I hang on to my land the more I could make you end up paying for it;*

2. *I'd know that since World War II land prices have been going up*

6.19 times as fast as the rest of the price level;

3. *I'd know that the one best way to get rich in my sleep (to use the phrase first applied by the great classical economist John Stuart Mill) would be just to sit tight on my land and do nothing until an enormous investment of other people's money and other taxpayers' money to develop the land around my property had multiplied the value of what I was holding off the market;*

4. *I'd know that urbanizing land on the urban fringe can raise its price from a farm use value of say \$500 an acre to an urban or suburban use value of \$5000 an acre or \$10,000 an acre or often \$20,000 or more an acre; and*

5. *I'd know that today's crazy mis-application of the property tax and crazy undertaxation of land would let me cash in on the enormous land profits of urbanization without contributing more than a few pennies per dollar towards meeting the equally enormous costs of urbanization — the costs that somebody else would have to pay to make my land worth ten times as much, or 20 times as much, or 40 times as much as its pre-urbanization value.*

Let's stop a minute to take a quick look at these costs someone else has to pay to enable urban-fringe landowners to get rich in their sleep.

Five years ago the Regional Plan Association added up those costs of urbanization in the New York area to \$16,850 of 1967 purchasing power or say \$20,000 of today's dollars per residence just to pay the proportionate capital cost of the new streets, new schools, new water supplies, new sewage systems, new police and fire facilities, new hospitals, new universities, new libraries, etc., etc., etc. that would be needed

to make that residence and the land for that residence reachable, livable, and richly saleable. That \$20,000 per residence figure would work out to quite a bit more than \$20,000 per lot, when you allow for multi-family multiplying the number of residences on the lot, but just to be conservative let's just stick to \$20,000 as the urbanization cost per lot.

On the other side of the country the Southern California Real Estate Research Council added up the urbanization costs around Los Angeles to only about \$1000 less than around New York, so I'm reasonably sure your urbanization costs per lot half way between Los Angeles and New York can't be running very much less. Perhaps other taxpayers hereabouts would have to pony up only \$16,000 per lot to enable me to sell lots on my land for \$4,000, but whatever the exact figure I'm sure you'll have to agree that it amounts to one hell of a big subsidy for land hoarding.

What I'm trying to help you see is that the land problem that your pamphlet rightly says is threatening to "create a monstrous chaotic urban sprawl with few benefits and many problems" is mostly a subsidy problem and a tax problem. If the landowners who are now holding their land off the market to cash in on every last dollar of the profits of urbanization were taxed to pay even half the costs of urbanizing their land instead of getting an almost free ride while other past, present and future taxpayers pay those costs for them, the landowners would not be holding the land you need off the market. On the contrary, they would be standing in line to get you to take it off their hands.

LAND MUST BE TAXED MORE HEAVILY

In brief, the reason your land problem is so critical is that like every other Metropolitan area I can think of, you are subsidizing land hoarding by undertaxation. You are taxing the land needed for urbanization so lightly that you have made it much more profitable for landowners to hang on to their land instead of letting you buy it now at a price you can afford to pay.

And once you start subsidizing what you don't want there seems to be no end to the subsidies and the tax costs needed to offset the first wrong subsidies.

And now let me remind you of the words of wisdom spoken by your former Congressman Tom Curtis, who served with such distinction on the Joint Economic Committee of the House and Senate in Washington. Said he:

"The property tax needs more understanding and certainly a lot of updating. It requires an understanding that land should be taxed at a higher rate than improvements on the land, so that there will be encouragement to put land to its most productive use. The land tax is the only tax that is anti-hoarding, and hoarding, I submit, is the basic sin in a productive economy."

I believe as strongly as anyone in the private ownership of land, but it's high time for all of us to face up to the all-too-obvious fact that around our cities the private ownership of land isn't working out the way it's supposed to work, so now there is a growing agitation in Congress to have the government create government-owned land banks for which they would buy back thousands of acres of fringe land at a thousand or more times the price at which the government originally released it to private ownership.

LAND HOARDING

There would be no need of any such land banks and no agitation to have the government spend hundreds of millions of dollars to establish them if land were taxed heavily enough to make it more profitable for landowners to let their land be put to good use now than to hoard it.

This land hoarding, which is made possible and profitable only by the undertaxation of underused land, is the No. 1 reason if not the only reason you homebuilders are having to leapfrog out into the boondocks of premature subdivision, so perhaps it would be helpful if I were to suggest a dollar figure for what this leapfrogging is adding to community costs. A study headed

by the director of the Metropolitan and Regional Research Center at the University of Syracuse found that community costs for a tract of 377 houses a few hundred miles from here were increased \$658 per house per year because the builder of those houses had to leapfrog just 2½ miles beyond the edge of town to get land he could afford to buy. That multiplies out to an added community cost of \$248,066 dollars per year that the taxpayer had to pay because that small tract had leapfrogged 2½ miles — in addition to which the research found that it cost the people who bought those homes \$909 more per family per year to live 2½ miles further out!

SUBSIDIZED INFLATION

The undertaxation of subsidized inflation that has had land prices soaring 6.19 times as fast as the rest of the price level also accounts for well over half the inflation in housing costs that is pricing good homes beyond the means not only of low income families, but also beyond the means of moderate income families, as so well spelled out in the blue pamphlet. This inflation is now providing the principal reason and justification for the enormous subsidy program in which the Federal Housing Department is now involved, and I hope you will be as shocked as I was to learn from Secretary Romney's own lips last week — that under the Section 235 below-market-interest-subsidy program it can cost the Federal government over the years as much as \$108,000 in subsidy payments to enable a low-income family to buy an \$18,000 house!

And this at long last brings me back to where I started my Talk to you in 1967.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR THE LANDOWNER IS BAD FOR EVERYBODY ELSE

As one or two of you may recall I started off with a text taken from the writings of the great classical Economist, David Ricardo. Said he, 160 years ago: "the interests of the landowner are directly opposed to the interests of every other element in the economy." Or, to put it more simply, with today's foolish undertaxation of land

values, what's good for the landowner is bad for everybody else, including specifically, what's good for the landowner is:

- 1) bad for the land developer
- 2) bad for the home builder
- 3) bad for the sub-contractor
- 4) bad for the building material dealer
- 5) bad for the building material manufacturer
- 6) bad for the architect
- 7) bad for the mortgage lender
- 8) bad for the realtor
- 9) bad for the home buyer

I could go on to add that what's good for the landowner is bad for the community, but first let's stick to the obvious fact that what's good for landowners is bad for everybody else in this room.

In all history landowners have never had it so good as they have had it in this country since World War II, and in all history I doubt if landowners have ever done less to deserve having it so good. And they have been having it so good first at your expense, second at the expense of your customers.

What's good for the landowners is bad for you land developers because the more you have to pay for raw acreage and the further out into the boondocks you have to go to find acreage you can afford to buy, the less margin you have to cover your land development costs and the less profit you can hope to make on the development dollars you risk.

BUILDERS DRIVEN OUT OF BUSINESS

What was good for the landowner is bad for the homebuilder because the more the homebuilder has to pay for his lots the less money he has left to build more sales appeal into his houses, the greater his risk of having to price his product out of the market, and the less his chance of selling his houses at a good profit. This price squeeze between what the builder has to pay for his land and what homebuyers are willing to pay for a house has busted hundreds of builders and driven thousands of

builders out of business.

What's good for the landowner is equally bad for the subcontractor, the building material dealer, and most of all for the building product manufacturer. When a builder has to pay \$3000 too much for his land he has to take that \$3000 out of his house somewhere or go broke, so he passes the squeeze on to his subs, he passes the squeeze on to his dealer (or tries to eliminate the dealer and the dealer's mark-up entirely), and he passes the squeeze on to the building product manufacturer.

The high price of land that is so good for the landowner is bad for the architect because it gives the builder one more bad reason for trying to get his design and his site planning cheap.

The high price of land that is so good for the landowner is bad for the mortgage lender because the more water there is in the land price the less real value the mortgage will represent and the less his security.

The high price of land that is so good for the landowner is bad for the realtor because realtors live by making sales and today's crazy land prices are pricing millions of sales clear out of the market.

As for home buyers, the reasons why what's good for the landowner is bad for the home buyer who ends up having to put up the extra money to let the landowner get rich in his sleep are so obvious that I won't waste your time rehearsing them here.

LEAPFROGGING

The crazy land prices that are so good for landowners and so bad for everybody else are not due to any land shortage here or anywhere else. They do not reflect the law of supply and demand. On the contrary, says Fortune, today's crazy land prices are "the result of preferential tax treatment that sets land speculation apart from the market action of supply and demand." The result is that our cities instead of expanding in an orderly and economical way are just plain

disintegrating in sprawl as you builders and developers leapfrog far out in the countryside to find land whose owners are willing to sell at prices you can afford to pay.

What moral justification can there be for giving land speculation more favorable tax treatment than any other income source? How can anyone argue that deflating the price of land by making landowners pay more of the community costs needed to make their land saleable is an attack on our whole system of private property? Do landowners have some special right to "get rich in their sleep?" What is so sacred about land speculation profits whose magnitude (in Winston Churchill's words) is "apt to vary in direct proportion to the disservice the speculator has done to the community" by holding his

land off the market until other people's investment has maximized its price? Is it more important to keep America safe for land speculation than to make America a better place to live in? Is heavy taxation of the community-created location value of land morally wrong?

In an economy where almost everything else is taxed almost to the point of diminishing returns what earthly sense does it make to tax so lightly the location value of land which is 99-14/100ths per cent unearned increment on other people's investment. Conversely, what earthly sense does it make to tax the improvements on which the owner has invested his own time and money more heavily than any other product of American industry except hard liquor, cigarettes and perhaps gasoline.

Why do you developers, builders, architects, subcontractors, building material dealers, mortgage lenders, and realtors just sit back and take it? You are the men who are being hurt first and worst by the land price inflation made possible by the way land is undertaxed. You are the men who are being hurt — first and worst by the senseless overtaxation of improvements.

So why aren't you up in arms leading the fight for the simple tax reforms needed to turn the tables on the landowners who have been getting rich at your expense?END

The American Psychological Association has awarded a

'NATIONAL MEDIA AWARD'

to the

THOMAS JEFFERSON RESEARCH CENTER

for Frank Goble's book

THE THIRD FORCE

Copies of THE THIRD FORCE can be ordered from the
Thomas Jefferson Research Center, 1143 Lake Ave.,
Pasadena, California 91104, Price is \$7.95 plus tax.

BOOK REVIEW by Lloyd Maxwell

THE THIRD FORCE

By Frank Goble

The Psychology of Abraham Maslow

Psychologists have been with us for a long time. Sigmund Freud, one of the earliest leaders and writers in this field, advanced his theory of human behavior mainly through research and exposition of the habits of men who were mentally ill. "His interest was the mentally disturbed and his laboratory, his mental patients." Man was an animal. Never were Freud's interests elevated to a level required for seeing man at his best and researching his potentialities.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

"Freud held that the basic direction of man's life was generally determined at an early age (about five years), although it did

occasionally change and could be altered by psychoanalysis, the Freudian method of therapy. Moral behavior, good behavior, unselfish behavior was unnatural, but could occur when the individual learned to repress or redirect" the energies of an impulse from its primitive aim to one that is ethically or culturally higher.

A so-called second force in behavioral science was developed by John B. Watson, a professor of psychology at Johns Hopkins University. Many other noted psychologists were followers of Watson, some of whom were Edward Thorndike, Clark Hull, John Dollard, Neal Miller and B.F. Skinner. Isaac Newton and Charles Darwin should be included among the predecessors of this line of reasoning.

The Behaviorists, according to a quote from Watson, emphasized that "Personality is the sum of activities that can be discovered by actual observation of behavior over a long enough time to give reliable information. In other words, personality is but the end product of our habit systems."

NO SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR MORALITY

The author, Frank Goble, contends that the Behaviorists assume "there is no scientific basis for morality. Thus, the position is one of moral and cultural relativism. 'The Behaviorist is not interested in his (man's) morals, except as a scientist; in fact, he doesn't care what kind of man he is.' Man is flexible, malleable, and a passive victim of his environment, which determines his behavior."

EARLY YEARS ARE IMPORTANT

"The early years are the important ones — on this point, virtually all schools of psychology agree. From this came the recommendation that parents should maintain a permissive, gratifying, undemanding attitude toward children in the early years; particularly in regard to feeding, toilet-training, early sex training, and attempts to control anger and aggression. Any frustration at this time was believed to produce a tendency toward adult neurosis"

"Like Freud and like Darwin before him, the Behaviorists saw man as merely another type of animal, with no essential differences from animals and with the same destructive, anti-social tendencies. In his book, *Behaviorism*, Watson stated, 'we believed then (1912) as we do now, that man is an animal, different from other animals only in the types of behavior he displays.' And, 'the extent to which most of us are shot through with a savage background is almost unbelievable.'"

THE THIRD FORCE

The Third Force — a new basis and direction and goal of psychology — was initiated by Abraham Maslow in the early days of World War II, and has been growing

and receiving refinements ever since. Having abandoned most of the restrictions of the behaviorist doctrine and, sparked by a desire to seek a comprehensive theory of human behavior which could be useful in all fields and by and for all people, Maslow says he "wanted to prove that human beings are capable of something grander than war and prejudice and hatred — to make science consider all the problems that non-scientists have been handling: religion, values, philosophy, art."

The job of the Third Force crew, as he saw it, was to integrate the various truths of the Freudians and the Behaviorists into the whole truth. "Existing theories were not solving human problems nor did they seem adequately to explain existing facts."...

"Maslow was highly critical of Freud's concentration on the study of neurotic and psychotic individuals, and of the assumption that all higher forms of behavior were acquired and not natural to the human species." He believed one had to consider and understand mental health before he could have an understanding of mental illness, and that sound conclusions about human nature could not be reached by observing the worst rather than the best in man. He could no longer countenance ignoring "positive aspects of human behavior such as happiness, joy, contentment, peace of mind, satisfaction, fun, play, well-being, elation and ecstasy, along with such positive qualities as kindness, generosity and friendship." This signified a breaking away from the practice of placing scientific emphasis on man's shortcomings, and giving no consideration to his strengths and potentials.

STUDY SELF ACTUALIZING PEOPLE

Maslow said, "If one is preoccupied with the insane, the neurotic, the psychopath, the criminal, the delinquent, the feeble minded, one's hopes become more modest more and more scaled down it becomes more and more clear that the study of the crippled, stunted, immature and unhealthy specimens can yield only a crippled psychology and a cripple philosophy. The study of

self actualizing people must be the basis for a more universal science of psychology."

Goble says, "It is this concept that makes Maslow's theory unique. He has studied the very best human beings he could find," has concluded that a change is occurring in man's image and that psychology heretofore has been selling human nature short. Now a revolution is in progress. Maslow said, "I feel so privileged to be at a turning point in history and to be helping with it and to know the others who make up the Third Force - Rogers, Goldstein, Allport"

WE MUST UNDERSTAND MENTAL HEALTH

The Third Force approach is impressive. It contends that "The study of the mentally ill is valuable, but not enough. The study of animals is valuable, but not enough. The study of average individuals will not, in itself, solve the problem. In order to understand mental illness we need a thorough understanding of mental health. Maslow proposed to introduce this important new area of information into psychology and psychiatry. He had the idea that a great deal could be learned about man and his potential from the study of exceptionally healthy, mature people." The persons subjected to such investigation were referred to as self-actualized people - those having full use of superior talents, capacities and potentialities.

"Without exception, he found self-actualizing people to be dedicated to some work, task, duty or vocation which they considered important. Because they were interested in this work, they worked hard, yet the usual distinction between work and play became blurred. For them work was exciting and pleasurable. It seems that commitment to an important job is a major requirement for growth, self-actualization and happiness. However, it is not enough to have an important job - the self-actualizing person must be doing it well."

WILLINGNESS TO MAKE MISTAKES

Other desirable characteristics found

by Maslow in self-actualizing people are creativity, flexibility, spontaneity, courage, willingness to make mistakes, openness and humility. He finds "that the psychologically healthy person is both selfish and unselfish; in fact, these two attitudes merge into one.

"Related to this selfish-unselfish attitude is the previously mentioned attitude of the healthy individual toward work and play. He enjoys play; he enjoys work; his work becomes play; his vocation and avocation become the same. The research indicates that healthy people are most integrated when facing a great creative challenge, some worthwhile goal, or a serious threat or emergency. The self-actualizing person not only has a more harmonious personality, but he sees the world in a more unified way. As he becomes more unified as an individual he sees more unity, and possibility for unity, in the world."

WE ARE ONLY HALF AWAKE

Regarding human potential, the author states that "Very early in the 20th Century, William James, one of America's most distinguished psychologist-philosophers, concluded that the average individual was using only a small part of his full potential. James considered that one of his most important discoveries. 'Compared to what we ought to be, we are only half awake. Our fires are dampened, our drafts are checked, we are making use of only a small part of our mental and physical resources.' For some reason psychiatrists and behavioral scientists lost sight of this important conclusion - probably because of the orientation of the disciplines toward the study of mental illness, 'the average,' and animals. Whatever the reasons, very little has been done in the last fifty or sixty years to study human potential and how to develop it. As recently as 1967, Dr. Herbert Otto, a social psychologist who has pioneered in this area stated, ".... the topic of human potentialities has, for the last 50 years, been almost totally ignored as a focus of research activity by workers in the social and behavioral sciences.

"Belief that the human species has a

great deal of unrealized potential is an important aspect of Dr. Maslow's comprehensive theory of human motivation. He believes that all or, at least, nearly all babies are born with the potential and the need to grow psychologically.

PEOPLE ARE BLIND TO THEIR POTENTIAL

"By studying the best of humanity, the less-than-one per cent at the top, we get an idea what man's potential really is. Most, if not all, of the human species, Maslow believes, have a need for a tendency toward self-actualization. In spite of the fact that apparently all have this potential, only a tiny percentage is now achieving it. This is, in part, because people are blind to their potential; they neither know what is possible nor understand the rewards of self-actualization."

A psychological growth concept is closely related to Maslow's ideas on potential. "His research led him to conclude that growth toward self-actualization is both natural and necessary. By growth he means constant development of talents, capacities, creativity, wisdom, and character. Growth is the progressive satisfaction of higher and higher levels of psychological needs."

In the field of child development and education, Maslow agrees that a certain degree of freedom is essential, but this must be balanced by the teaching of discipline and respect for others — a value system. Significantly, he points out a serious mistake in American practice. "In an article published in Harper's Magazine, 1960, Maslow compares child raising and delinquency in the United States and Mexico. He points out that there is less juvenile delinquency, vandalism, and destruction in Mexico, and juvenile-gang attacks upon adults are virtually unknown. The usual explanations of American sociologists (Behaviorists) do not seem to apply, because Mexican children are deprived even to the point of hunger. Maslow believes that in Mexican culture there is more agreement on values, on what is right and wrong; because the adults are less confused, children grow up

less confused. The father is the leader in the home, and he does not hesitate to set rules of deportment, which the wife supports, and the child must follow. 'By comparison, the American parent is confused, uncertain, guilty, and conflicted. His traditions have gone and no new ones are yet available to him.'

BECOME SELF-DISCIPLINED

"In Mexican culture, it is customary for the male adult to provide some definition of right and wrong behavior. In recent years American fathers have tended, in many cases, to abdicate their role of structuring the world for the child. This tends to result in an insecure, anxious, and frequently hostile child. The child develops contempt and resentment against his parents, particularly the father who is frustrating his need for order and values. Under the circumstances children turn to other sources — this may be other children, usually older ones. The child needs freedom to grow, to learn, to discover himself, to develop skills; but he also needs the security of rules and limits, an opportunity to learn, to control, to denounce, to tolerate frustration, and to become self-disciplined...."

"Parents must avoid overprotection and overindulgence to the extent that the child's every need is provided for him without any effort on his part. Such a child is unable to develop strength and self-reliance. It may produce a person who tends to use other people, rather than respect them. Such indulgence shows a lack of respect for the child and his potential to develop. Under these circumstances the child may develop an attitude of worthlessness."

BECOMING FULLY HUMAN

Maslow contends that "The ultimate disease of our times is valuelessness this state is more crucially dangerous than ever before in history; and something can be done about it by man's own effort. He feels that, with a scientific approach to values, the Third Force psychologist can solve human problems that have plagued man for centuries. 'For one thing,' he says,

'it looks as if there were a single ultimate value for mankind, a far goal toward which all men strive. This is called variously by different authors, self-actualization, self-realization, integration, psychological health, individuation, autonomy, creativity, productivity, but they all agree that this amounts to realizing the potentialities of the person, that is to say, becoming fully human, everything that the person can become.'"

All in all, the author makes it clear that Maslow's Third Force represents and advocates a search for human values. If man strives to attain his highest potential, the benefit accrues not only to himself and his family, but to all mankind. His chapter on Values concluded with these important lines: "So, in essence, it can be seen that all human beings must have a value system. And Maslow's work and that of others have demonstrated that such a value system exists. In a recent interview Dr. Maslow spoke of the so-called generation gap, expressing sadness that youngsters, radical youngsters and hippies in particular, are searching so hard for truth, honesty, beauty, and brotherhood. 'And I would say to them, for the love of Pete it is already existing. You are searching for some kind of future and it is here and it is now. All you have to do is turn to it.'"

In his chapter on "The Third Force and Social Reform," the author sums up quite thoroughly the Third Force theory. To begin the chapter he quotes Maslow who in 1962 wrote, in his book entitled 'Toward a Philosophy of Being,' that "When the philosophy of man (his nature, his goals, his potentialities, his fulfillment) changes, then everything changes; not only the philosophy of politics, economics, of ethics, of values, of interpersonal relations, and of history itself, but also the philosophy of education, the theory of how to help men become what they can and deeply need to become.

"We are now in the middle of such a change in the conception of man's capacities, potentialities, and goals. A new vision is emerging of the possibilities of man and its implications are many"

UNCOVERING AND RELEASING MAN'S HIGHER NATURE

"Clearly, the comprehensive theory of behavior and motivation advanced by Dr. Abraham Maslow challenges the whole edifice of western intellectual thought, which, in the last four or five decades, has leaned so heavily on the theories of Sigmund Freud and John B. Watson and other Behaviorists. These deterministic theories have stressed the need for laws, controls, regulations and prohibitions. What Maslow is suggesting is a more positive view of man and his potential and greater emphasis on discovering, developing, uncovering and releasing man's higher nature"

"We should stop looking for one single Utopian answer and concentrate on constant steady improvement, one step at a time. There's no reason we couldn't conduct several experimental approaches simultaneously to find out which is best. The job is too big for any one person. It requires many people working in many different areas. If our society had some common goals, more people could become involved. Enlightened business managers are discovering that their organizations are most effective when there are common goals that everyone knows, understands, and contributes toward. Maslow sees private industry as a powerful and important sector of society. Enlightened managers can help their employees to grow, to become better citizens, and this can contribute significantly to improvement of the entire society."

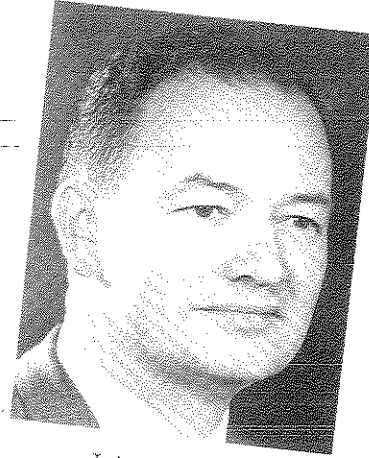
RESPONSIBILITY IS HEALTHY

In conclusion, the author stresses Maslow's contention that responsibility is healthy and irresponsibility costly. "What seems to be happening all across the United States is that men are discovering that regardless of what the behavior problem is - crime, delinquency, mental illness, alcoholism, drug addiction, or failure (individual or organizational) - the problem is basically ignorance, irresponsibility, a faulty perception of reality. The solution lies in a better understanding of self, others, and sound human relations."

END

Property Tax Limitation

What does 'Property Tax Limitation' mean?
Who will pay more, who will pay less?



John Nagy

by John Nagy

A very serious threat to the economy of California is about to be foisted upon the people of this state under the guise of Property Tax Limitation.

Two such proposals are being made. One is an initiative by Los Angeles County Assessor Philip Watson, and the other by Howard Jarvis, a perennial candidate for office.

WATSON INITIATIVE

The Watson Initiative would limit property taxes to 1-3/4% of the market value. He previously had a measure appear on the ballot in 1968; which went down in defeat. This would have limited property taxes to 1% of market value. In the 1968 measure the bill did not specify where the additional revenue would come from if property taxes were limited. Critics of the bill charged that a vote for the bill was voting for some unknown tax which may be worse than the property tax.

For example, many apartment owners, who pay high property taxes, were originally for the measure. Yet, when it was pointed out that one source of additional revenue being considered to offset the loss in prop-

erty taxes was the elimination of depreciation allowances for income property, they quickly turned against the measure.

TAX SHELTERS

Generally speaking, investors in income property, because of depreciation allowances and other tax sheltering advantages, do not pay income taxes on their investments. It has been a successful way to encourage investment in such properties, just as insurance companies were encouraged to invest in "home offices" in California by allowing them credit on their state insurance taxes equivalent to property tax payments on "home office" buildings. While such encouragements are good, it is doubtful if the Legislature will allow income property owners relief from income taxes if property tax limitation measures such as Watson's and Jarvis' will give them property tax relief too. At the present time, income property investors do pay their fair share of the property tax, even if they do not pay any income taxes at all. It would be asking too much to be given property tax breaks along with income tax breaks.

HOMEOWNER PAYS BOTH

On the other hand, the average home-

owner pays property taxes and income taxes, as well as sales taxes, gasoline taxes and all other taxes. A shift from property taxes (in the form of a property tax limitation or any other property tax relief) to state taxes would be no relief at all to the average homeowner. The net effect would be a tax increase.

THE PROPERTY TAX IS A GOOD TAX

Everybody pays property taxes directly or indirectly. It is the only tax which local officials hesitate to increase. It is plain to see why the San Diego County Board of Supervisors endorsed the Watson Initiative. Their last budget session was eight weeks of hard work in trying to cut the budget from a proposed 69 cent increase in the rate to a 19 cent increase. The bulk of that time was concerned with that portion of the budget which dealt with property taxes. The portion of the budget which was funded by the state or federal governments received very little attention. The general attitude for those items is, "GET ALL WE CAN". There is no skimping, trimming or cutting on budget items funded by sources other than property taxes.

MOST PUBLIC OFFICIALS HAVE SAME ATTITUDE

This writer feels perfectly safe in saying that most public officials like to spend money they don't have to collect. Therefore, any proposal to shift the source of revenue from property taxes, which they must levy, to the state or federal government, which they do not levy, will win favor with them.

Recently San Diego County, being a high unemployment area, received \$14 million plus from the Federal (PEP) Public Employment Program. Not one city or school district turned any funds down, even though they had to agree they would retain 50% of the new employees hired for the program, after the federal funds were exhausted.

HOMEOWNER'S TAXES ARE TOO HIGH

The way to reduce taxes is to reduce

spending. It is a cruel hoax to put forth a limit on property taxes as a benevolent gesture, only to increase other taxes more than the reduction in property taxes.

It is true, however, that homeowner's taxes are too high. There are several reasons for this:

1. Speculative land holdings are not assessed as high as homeowners.
2. Slums on valuable land are not assessed as high as homeowners.
3. There are too many "exemptions" allowed, which should be eliminated.
4. Local taxing bodies are using too much property taxes as "matching funds" for state and federal programs calling for matching funds.
5. Local taxing bodies pay far more for properties purchased than the values on which the taxes for those properties are based.

'IF WE DON'T SPEND IT SOMEONE ELSE WILL' ATTITUDE

The general attitude by local officials is that, "If we don't spend it someone else will."

When the federal or state governments appropriate funds for certain projects, it is true that the money will be spent; in only rare cases is it not spent. It is very difficult to turn down a million dollar sewer project for the community if it will only cost the community a half million dollars in property taxes. This kind of bait is very tempting, especially if the community is in dire need of a million dollar sewer system.

To suggest that a city, county or school district refuse funds for such projects is nonsense. After all, all of the communities of the state contribute to state funds, and all of the communities in the country contribute to the federal funds. What then is the logical solution? How can one be sure that

the state or federal funds will be properly distributed?

HOW ABOUT LEAVING THE TAXES IN THE COMMUNITY?

One way would be for the state and federal governments to drastically reduce the taxes they now take from the communities.

What do you think would happen, for example, if California did away with the sales tax?

The first response would be that the sales tax now is the base for school tax support, which relieves property taxes. That's true, so, what if we also said that in order to solve that problem we will eliminate the school tax rate limitations on property taxes so that schools can get all the money they need to operate their schools from property taxes?

State sales tax collections are now very near two billion dollars annually. This means that two billion dollars would now be left in the communities of California for schools to collect through local property taxes. Would anyone venture to guess if school costs would go up, or would school costs go down? Without a doubt, school costs would go down.

Even if costs remained the same, the average homeowner and renter would pay less towards the two billion dollars than they now pay in sales taxes.

Then who would pay more? Large and valuable property owners, slumowners, land speculators, tax shelter syndications and the many other classes of property owners who own huge amounts of property would pay more.

COSTS WOULD GO DOWN

One effect of such a shift would be that many school programs would be trimmed from school budgets. School officials would pay more attention to costs, since all costs would be derived from property taxes (the only tax which is protested as being too

high). Many staff people on school district payrolls are merely there to correlate district programs with programs funded by the state. Those people could be and should be paid less and used for more productive work in educating our children.

NOT ONLY SCHOOLS

The same attitudes toward state and federal funding apply to all levels of government locally as well as at the state level. It is not uncommon for the state to expend huge sums because of the bait offered at the federal level. There are many instances where freeways are opposed bitterly by whole communities only to have the freeways rammed down their valley or neighborhood because the federal funds are paying for 92% or some other portion of the costs.

At this very moment city officials are screaming for "Revenue sharing" by the federal government. The only reason for such a source of revenue is that they want to spend money for which they do not have the fortitude to levy against property.

PROPERTY TAX LIMIT SOUNDS GOOD

The term "limit property taxes" sounds good, but it does not help the purse of taxpayers if there is no lid on "other" taxes. If Mr. Watson and others want to give taxpayers a break, they should call for a limit on sales taxes, income taxes, excise taxes, gasoline taxes, use taxes, utility taxes, taxes on services and all other taxes. If Mr. Watson would limit ALL taxes, he might have something.

THE CURE IS WORSE THAN THE DISEASE

In its present form, it appears that the so called cures, as proposed by the property tax limitations, would kill the patient, whereas he would have lived for years with the disease.

There is no doubt that reforms in the property tax are needed, but those reforms do not include doing away with the only tax upon which taxing officials traditionally show restraint.

END

This historical article may be an eye opener for you.

Do you know that as early as the 1860s the students in Russia were attempting to reorganize society? Men let their hair grow long, were indifferent to appearance or manners and held marriage in contempt. These attitudes expanded into revolutionary tactics to overthrow the government. Terrorists and mobs led numerous riots, and soldiers fired on them. By 1905 the revolutionary leaders were advising use of bombs, firearms, oil soaked rags (so-called Molotov cocktails today) and dynamite.

Thus in 1917 the government was overthrown, and communism gained control. Then the labor unions were abolished, prosperous farmers were executed, capitalism was destroyed, millions of persons were exiled to Siberian labor camps and social and political progress were delayed for some 50 years.

Nihilism -- preliminary movements in Europe for carrying out social change ...

A LECTURE.....by Ann Watson

Nihilism is a term coined by the famous Russian novelist Ivan Turgueniev, in "Fathers and Sons," published in 1862. This is what Turgueniev wrote at that time:

".....Among the students of the universities and the higher technical schools I noticed a new and strikingly original type -- young men and women in slovenly attire, who called in question and ridiculed the generally received convictions and respectable conventionalities of social life, and who talked of reorganizing society on strictly scientific principles. They reversed the traditional order of things even in trivial matters of external appearance, the males allowing the hair to grow long and adding sometimes the additional badge of blue spectacles Their appearance, manners and conversations were apt to shock ordinary people, but to this they were profoundly indifferent, for they had raised themselves above the level of

so-called public opinion, despised Philistine respectability, and rather liked to scandalize people still under the influence of what they considered antiquated prejudices. For aesthetic culture, sentimentalism, marriage, religion and love of country they had a profound and undisguised contempt..."

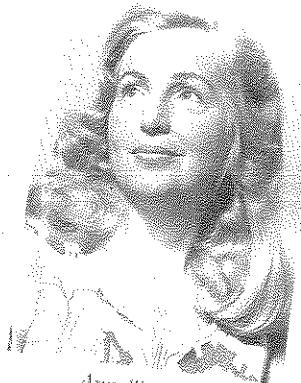
The following was written in 1911 !!!

"Among the antiquated institutions which had to be abolished as obstructions to real progress, were religion, family life, private property and centralized administration. Religion was to be replaced by the exact sciences, family life by free love, private property by collectivism, and centralized administration by a federation of independent communes"

Here is a report from a young Russian student who joined the revolutionaries in 1904. Sergei Kuskov writes:

Ann Watson is a native of Vienna, Austria and is now an American Citizen. She graduated from the University of Vienna and the International School for Interpreters.

At the present time she is a language instructor for the San Diego Community Colleges, (Department of Adult education).



Ann Watson

See back cover for information about her new book,
"They came in peace."

"...The first to come towards me and to offer his hand at Vera's apartment was the student Andrei, then Khotin and a stream of others....The atmosphere was electric with loud conversation, laughter, and good-humoured argument. I could guess that several tables piled high with a variety of food and half-emptied bottles of liquor were responsible for the heightened spirits. Across the room I saw Tatarow, the famous leader of the group. I counted more than thirty persons in the room: suave young city intellectuals, several distinguished-looking grey-heads, only two grave workingmen, but the majority were young people of both sexes as green in appearance as myself. By straining my ears, I could follow here and there through the clamour the course of a political or social debate and distinguish the names of internationally known scientists, professors from the university, economists, authors, philosophers, social workers. They were names I was destined to hear many times in the future: Karl Marx, above all, Engels, Jaures, Mikhailovsky, Bakounin, Lavrov, Lenin, Trotsky, Prince Kropotkin, Count Lev Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chernov, Czar Nikolai II....What the debaters hoped to prove by their fierce discussion I had difficulty determining - but one thing was clear: They all wanted 'change.'

"I consider myself a Socialist Revolutionary but it seemed to me that the

people present at this secret party were far more than that. They called themselves Nihilists. Aron Berg told me that though he's a member of the Socialist Revolutionists, he regards this association only temporary. In principle he considers himself an anarchist. First, he would destroy the Czar and everybody around him, then the police, the soldiers, the bourgeoisie, members of the priesthood and any of the intelligentsia who resist. He would throw bombs into the palaces of the mighty and into all government buildings. There are many like him in Russia today. But God forbid that such as Aron and his associates should come to power! He is poisoned with hatred.

"On the 28th of June I read in the newspapers that revolutionists had carried out the death sentence against Admiral Chukhnin of the Black Sea Fleet. My decision was taking form. Then came the dismissal of the State Duma by the government on the night of July 9th and 10th, and put an end to my vacillations. Surely it must now be clear to the whole country that the system - the established order could be broken down only by revolution! I was going to join the ranks of revolutionary terrorists

"During the Paris Communes of 1871 the Comrades found a new salute - 'The Clenched Fist.' The raised, clenched fist has now become our salute....We made the transition from

peaceful living to a state of war-preparedness with very little fuss. Our group was organized for fighting. Then one day, Yan and Karl informed me secretly that arrangements were being made for the assassination of General Min, commander of the Imperial Guard. He had put down the last Moscow uprising. I was chosen to carry out the sentence....That same evening Yan brought me a bomb and a revolver, a nickel-plated Browning. He was accompanied by a thin student in uniform whom he introduced as 'our comrade technician.' It was his task to instruct me how to charge and discharge the bomb. The bomb, of white tin filled with dynamite, bore an outward appearance quite harmless - resemblance to a box of chocolates. To explode it, a glass tube with sulphuric acid was inserted. Over the tube was slipped a leaden ring which at a shock would break the glass and free the sulphuric acid, so igniting the powder. The bomb, the technician explained, was primitive and very dangerous. The slightest jar - a stumble or a shove in a crowd - was sufficient to set it off. Before leaving, Yan embraced me and said,

'Upon this act, Sergei, depends our recognition by the Central Committee. If successful, it will create panic in the government's ranks....'

The fragment of time in Russia's history between the dispersal of the first State Duma on July 9, 1906, and the assembling of the second on February 20, 1907, was a period marked by cruel strife between revolutionists and the government. Every newspaper was certain to report so many representatives of the government murdered, so many revolutionists put in prison and transported into exile in Siberia...People became hardened to horror. Killings, the burning of homes and estates, punitive expeditions, pogroms, the beating of innocent people - they all became a natural phenomena in the country's life. Indeed, the reactionary press carried articles by celebrated journalists proving that in the present crisis the guilty were the Jews whose money

supported the revolutionary movement; furthermore, that in terroristic methods were manifested original peculiarities of the national character. The Jews, afraid and subject to pressures from all sides, joined and supported the revolutionary movement because they hoped to find protection there. The press was responsible for increasing racial strife and fear

"Then came the plan to kill Rennen-kampl. There were three of us - Iz-mailov, Dimitri, and myself. According to the plan, we would go separately to the Nikolaievsky railroad station in time to meet the general's special train. By approaching from three sides we would make escape impossible. We had decided to include in the ring of death his officers and everybody else who was near. We wore belts filled with enough powder to wreck everything within a square of fifteen steps. The explosion, which must surely kill us, would acquaint the world with our victory. When the general's train did not arrive as scheduled the attack was called off - until a better opportunity presented itself. We were given a little more time to go on living"

THE RISING OF 1905

Both the police and the more solid section of the community saw the trouble coming, and each in its own way tried to head it off. Through the closing months of 1904 many of the leading businessmen in Moscow joined forces with the liberal politicians - the intellectuals in the universities, the officials, and the professional classes - and they held meeting after meeting to urge reforms on the government. And reforms were made - slowly - but they were made. Yet, the revolutionaries kept bringing up more and more demandsThe Ministry of the Interior was trying to meet the situation by other methods. As far back as 1901, S. V. Zubatov, a chief of the Moscow Okhrana, the secret police, had hit on the idea of the principle of the safety valve as a means of preventing unrest. He formed a government-sponsored union, the Society for Mutual Aid for Working Men. It encouraged the workers to air their grievances, to set

forth their demands for higher pay and a shorter working day, but at the same time the government took good care to ensure that the meetings were conducted in an atmosphere of loyalty toward the government. General D. F. Trepec, chief of the Moscow police, said:

"In order to disarm the agitators it is necessary to open and point out to the worker a legal solution of his difficulty, for we must bear in mind the agitator will be followed by the youngest and boldest of the crowd — especially students who do not work for a living — while the average worker will prefer the quiet legal way to keep his job."

And it had almost — worked! Police socialism was tried in a number of different areas, and soon there were official unions in all the main industries. But now at the end of 1904, under the pressure of unrest, the system was breaking down. And then came an Orthodox priest, named Father Georgi Gapon, who joined the revolutionaries.

He was one of those dedicated minor characters with a zeal for remaking the world who would have done very well had he been allowed to continue in a small way. The revolutionaries knew that the workers in Russia were deeply attached to the church and they needed the religious element and the support of the church to break down all opposition. It was Gapon's fate to be catapulted into the center of national affairs which were quite beyond his range; he flew too high, and because his motives were good in the beginning his subsequent disillusionment was devastating. Gapon came from a peasant family in the Ukraine, and as a young man he had been much moved by Tolstoy's conception of non-violence for the problems of the world. He had entered the Orthodox Church, but he was really more of a social reformer than a priest. He abhorred drinking, gambling and violence, and lectured the workers strongly about vice — he was an effective orator — and while he agitated for better conditions in the factories he also reminded his followers of their religion and their duty to the government. The police were not at all opposed to Father Gapon: with his nonviolent notions he was just the man they wanted.

Early in January the Petrograd metal workers came out on a four-day strike, and when this had no effect Gapon decided to adopt more forceful tactics:

On January 21 he wrote to the Czar:

"Sire! Do not believe your Ministers. They are cheating. The people believe in Thee. They have made up their minds to gather at the Winter Palace tomorrow at 2 p.m. to lay their needs before Thee....Stand tomorrow before the people and accept their petition. I, the representative of the workingmen, and my comrades, guarantee the inviolability of Thy person."

Gapon had a tremendous following in the huge Putilov workshops in Petrograd, and he really did have the power to lead a mass demonstration into the streets. Whether or not he could control it was another matter, and the Ministry of the Interior was in a difficult position. The man they had promoted had got altogether too big for them, too far to the left, and on the night of January 21 it began to look as though there might be serious rioting in the city. Two days previously a sinister incident had occurred during the Epiphany ceremony; the customary salute of guns had been fired from the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, but at least one of the shells was live and it landed near the Winter Palace and several people were killed. Now it was decided to head off the demonstrations by putting Gapon under arrest. Gapon, however, could not be found and nothing then remained to be done but to bring as many police and soldiers as possible into the city, and wait and see what the next day would bring. Meanwhile, Nicholas had left Petrograd. He did not answer Gapon's letter, if he got it....and never had the slightest intention of receiving a mob of demonstrators at the palace. He moved to Tsarskoe Selo, fifteen minutes outside of the city. And — he never again returned to live in Petrograd.

At the appointed time on January 22, some 200,000 men and women and even children gathered on the snowbound streets, carrying ikons and flags and symbols with Father Gapon at their head and converged at the

Winter Palace, the seat of government. The vast crowd of singing workers must have looked very impressive as it debouched in five separate columns onto the great square before the Winter Palace. It looked very threatening. Something like panic seems to have seized on the military officers who had been left to deal with the situation, and they called on the marchers to stop and disperse. They called several times, each time calling out:

"Don't take another step toward the palace!"

But you could not break up a crowd of this size very easily; the workers were in an exalted state of mind, they had been drinking and they were convinced by Gapon they were doing a great thing. When they came on again the soldiers of the palace guard opened fire — at first not shooting into the crowd but over their heads. But they could not stop the marching people....Then they fired from a distance of only ten or twenty yards straight into the screaming, struggling mass of people, and there was horrible carnage; more than five hundred were killed. Afterward, the thing that the survivors remembered so well was the red blood on the snow. Bloody Sunday in the streets of Petrograd — the revolution had gained a victory and was now well on its course.

Gapon escaped arrest by fleeing across the border to Finland and now turned into an outright terrorist, and his first act on arriving in Switzerland (where he was greeted as a hero) was to call on all the embattled political exiles. He urged them to unite and sink their differences and called for an immediate rebellion in Russia. On February 17, the Grand Duke Serge Alexandrovich, Governor of Moscow, was assassinated outside the Kremlin; and by the end of the year more than fifteen hundred government officials had been killed.

The exiles abroad had by now begun to stir themselves and since they were not killed by the government in Russia but only asked to leave the country, they were able to organize the revolution from other parts of the world. Lenin had been studying textbooks on street fighting in the Geneva libraries, and he sent a stream of instructions to his followers in Russia.

"I see with real horror," he wrote, "that we are talking bombs for more than half a year but not many are being made."

He went on to give some forceful advice on the use of

"rifles, revolvers, bombs, knives, brass knuckles, clubs, rags soaked in oil to start fires with, rope, shovels for building barricades, dynamite, etc."

The exiles needed money to carry on the revolutionary activities. Lenin wrote:

"Funds could be raised by breaking into the banks,"

and he gave details of how old men, women and children could play their part in the struggle.

Meanwhile, the practical business of gun running was taken over by Father Gapon, Litvinov and others who were supplied with money by the Japanese and wealthy sympathizers in the United States and elsewhere. There was a good deal of support for the revolution in America.

"If such a government cannot be overthrown otherwise than by dynamite," Mark Twain wrote, "then thank God for dynamite."

The incident of the John Grafton is an example of the excitement that was taking over. Litvinov managed to buy a considerable quantity of arms in Europe by posing alternatively as a South American officer and as an agent for outlaw bands in Macedonia; according to one account, he secured four thousand bayonets, five thousand pistols, ten thousand rifles and over four million rounds of ammunition. The John Grafton, a British boat of seven hundred tons, was chartered to run the consignment into Russia through the Baltic. She was intercepted by the Czar's agents and the arms were seized, but some devious business with the captain of the Asia (Russian ship) followed, and in return for a heavy bribe he was induced to hand his booty back to the revolutionaries. And — most of it was used in Moscow street fighting before the end of the year.

In the midst of all this, two events of great importance took place in Russia. In Moscow,

Paul Milyukov, a historian, and Dimitri Shipov, chairman of the city zemstvo, succeeded in rallying the more progressive liberals into a coherent political party which emerged finally with the name of the Constitutional Democratic Party — usually shortened to the Cadets. The Cadets were semi-revolutionary and nonsocialist; they wanted a democracy and a parliament along British and American lines, and as a means of forcing the Czar to grant a constitution, they gave their support to the strike. From now on, the Cadets became one of the three main parties dominating the political scene. They stand well to the right of the 'Marxist,' Social Democrats (now divided into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks), and the Social Revolutionary party, the party of the peasants.

As soon as the strike got under way in October, 1905, Trotsky came back secretly to Petrograd and joined in the work of organizing a general strike committee which was to act as a headquarters for the workers. Delegates, each representing five hundred men, were elected in the factories and sent to a central council or Soviet, and this Soviet now controlled the strike. It distributed arms and supplies, took charge of policy, issued orders in the form of printed bulletins, arranged for guards and demonstrations, and acted, in fact, in much the same way as an army headquarters acts in time of war at the front. The idea of a Soviet was not new — Axelrod and others had canvassed it some time before — but this was the first experiment in giving the workers a central direction and it was to set a pattern which was to be followed in 1927. A similar body was set up in Moscow, but the Petrograd Soviet was the important one, and it was largely controlled by the Mensheviks. Its first two presidents, Zubrovsky and Khrustalev-Nosar, followed more or less along the Menshevik line. Trotsky shared the leadership with Parvus.

The Bolsheviks in Petrograd tried at first to boycott the Soviet — Lenin, whether at home or abroad, had no love for any organization which he could not control — but finally they came in when they saw which way the wind was blowing. It was blowing too hard for the Czar and the Russian government. In the summer more concessions were made in an effort to ward off the storm; he had

given the universities, for example, freedom from all state control; but still the opposition mounted, and now all Russia seemed to be divided and in a state of constant turmoil. At the end of October, with the industrial life of the country virtually at a standstill, events had taken a course towards disaster.

Under Witte's guidance the Czar issued a manifesto which granted Russia the first "constitution" in its history. The October Manifesto was a cautious document. It tried to please all the people — tried to give a little to everybody — keep everybody happy and nobody satisfied. It authorized the setting up of an elected parliament, a Duma, but left the Czar the supreme ruler. Legislative power was divided between the Duma and the Imperial Council, half of whose members were appointed by the Czar. This obviously was only a step toward democracy, yet it was a definite break with the principle of autocracy, and it tried to bring about a form of government that would serve the people better — fashioned after the British example. The Cadets were satisfied. They withdrew their support of the Soviets, since they were not interested in the wider aims of the revolutionaries, and the government gradually began to get control of the situation again. It broke the strike. But there were many tense moments.

No sooner was a mutiny at the Kronstadt naval base suppressed than trouble blew up again in the Black Sea. The hero of this adventure was a Lieutenant Schmidt, and he had a dizzy success for a day or two. Schmidt led a mutiny among the sailors in Sevastopol; he seized the cruiser Ochakov, ran up the red flag and signaled to Nicholas:

*"I assume command of the fleet.
Schmidt."*

The mutiny spread along the docks, and to eleven other vessels as well, and it was not until the mutineers were defeated in a naval engagement (which cost many lives) that they gave in. Schmidt was executed.

Other revolts among the garrisons in Vladivostok, Kiev, Voronezh and Chita were eventually subdued. When on December 9

the president of the Soviets, Khrustalev-Nosar, was arrested, Trotsky took over. He contemplated calling for an armed rising in the city; but in the end settled for a scheme put forward by Parvus; the workers were asked to refuse to pay taxes and to start a run on the banks. They were to withdraw their savings and demand payment in gold. It was an effective stroke; under this pressure the government agreed to more demands and many of the rich (in fear of the troublemakers) made contributions to protect themselves.

Lenin, Krupskaya and Father Gapon and leaders of the Social Democrats now returned to Russia. But they were too late. Petrograd was tired of the never-ending disturbances and the Soviet's second call for a general strike on December 16 came to nothing. By now Trotsky was under arrest. Lenin visited Moscow and hung on for a few months into 1906, but in the end he was forced to leave for Finland and he narrowly escaped arrest. Out of the 300 members of the Petrograd Soviet who were arrested, 284 were eventually released. (A German historian wrote:)

"The release of these troublemakers and the fact that Lenin was permitted to escape to Finland made the revolution possible. Had these troublemakers been executed - as they deserved - Russia would have had a chance to establish a democracy after the British example and World War I may have been prevented."

Soviet propaganda after the revolution made much of the cruel treatment of the revolutionaries....However, the facts were never presented to the world and after all the years of Soviet power the propaganda was accepted as historic fact.

Moscow struggled on for a little longer. Financed by revolutionary funds from abroad and encouraged by Lenin, the workers put up a bitter fight in the icy streets at the end of December, but the army turned its artillery on the strikers and they were driven off their barricades. By the last day of the year the country was subsiding fast into an uneasy and apprehensive peace. Trotsky and

Parvus were finally arrested again and after months in prison were sent into indefinite exile to the remotest corner of Siberia. Father Gapon drifted abroad, only to end his days as a police agent and a sort of lobbyist of the revolution. In 1906 he was murdered in Finland.

The 1905 uprising was a dress rehearsal for 1917; the Soviet had for a short time a strong whiff of power. They needed more trained men before they could launch the "Dark People" into government.

Lenin was waiting for an opportunity to start again....At the international conference at Stuttgart, a majority of the delegates supported a resolution of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, which declared that a European war would bring with it the opportunity to overthrow the capitalist class. Speaking of the coming European war in which

"fifteen or twenty million armed men will slaughter one another,"

Friedrich Engels assured his comrades that this

"War must either bring the immediate victory of socialism, or it must upset the old order of things from head to foot and leave such heaps of ruins behind that the old capitalist society will be more impossible than ever, and the socialist revolution, though put off ten or fifteen years, will surely conquer after that time all the more rapidly and thoroughly."

Many revolutionists agreed with Bebl and Engels and some of them actually hoped that war would break out in Europe. When defeat in war initiates the cycle of revolution we find a nation unable to extricate itself from what Lenin has called "an imminently revolutionary situation." In all times and places the conditions are almost identical. The governments are discredited, terrified and bankrupt; their obligations are in default; their money is becoming worthless; the taxpayers and public officials are rebellious; the demobilized forces are armed and unemployed; the cost of living is rising while industrial operations are decreasing

or stagnant; the economic basis of life is shifting uncertainly because of rapidly changing prices, and inflation and deflation play alternate roles in torturing the people. The living conditions of the entire populace are so confused and chaotic that revolution itself with all its horrors seems to all but a few the sole chance of relief from the agonies of the moment. In all such periods there is plenty of revolutionary dynamite lying about and groups intent upon doing so often find in the general confusion no force able to prevent them from lighting the fuses. Fear, hatred and uncertainty lead to suspicion, intolerance, cruelty, and especially the determination to survive. Out of these come violence, rebellion, and sometimes a terrible revolution (as the one in Russia). And so in 1905! Defeat of Russia by Japan, followed by revolution. The government hated. Budget unbalanced. Army disloyal. The first Duma. Rising prices. The revolutionary terrorists fight with the terrorists of the reaction. Wholesale murder of the Jews in Russia. Race being used to help propaganda, etc.....

In the year 1905, the poet's prophecy was ignored by the people:

*"The year will come, a dark year for Russia,
When the Czar's crown will fall,
The vulgar rabble will forget their former love of him,
And the food of many will be death and blood."*

Sergei Kuskov, the young Russian Nihilist, who later became an officer in Kerensky's army, writes about hearing Lenin speak for the first time:

"From my seat immediately below the platform I had an excellent view of him: a startlingly insignificant man and dressed with seemingly deliberate carelessness - stocky in build, with a protruding stomach, completely bald, square features, narrow Mongolian eyes and a short beard. He spoke slowly, with almost total absence of passion, but one felt that he held every fragment of attention. His

thoughts and words were simple. He did not call on anyone for sacrifice, and his entire long speech could be reduced to these few sentences:

"You want peace, comrade soldiers. Very well, it is within your power to put an end to the war - refuse to fight. The power that calls upon you to perish for imperialistic ends is not your power. You want social justice - don't wait for someone to give it to you. Dethrone the government - the Czar. Then complete the work of revolution: overthrow the rich, the landlords and everything they possess will be yours. You are being called upon to defend liberty. Don't believe anyone except your own class proletarian power. Your slogan must be: All power to the Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies and down with imperialistic war!" "

This speech was made at the front - shortly before the collapse of the Russian army. The soldiers beat their palms furiously and shouted:

"There's a leader! With him everything is as clear as day!"

And Kuskov goes on to say:

"Very clear, not to fight. What does that mean? Open the way into Russia for the troops of Germany. Why, this is either the rankest naivete or treason! His idea of proletarian power is a dictatorship of one class.

"Don't listen to him, Sergei," said Klim. "He is one of those softies who will not understand that a social revolution must be brought about now or never. In order to realize it a dictatorship is necessary, blood and iron. Down with compromise with the bourgeoisie and yellow socialists!" "

END

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