

and its outgrowth, chattel slavery, have more than their direct evil results to answer for.

HERE is a syllogism which we commend to professors of political economy and statesmen of all nations: The first law of civilization is cooperation. Ergo, anything that interferes with cooperation is an obstacle to the advancement of civilization. Among the things that interfere with cooperation, make it difficult or prevent it altogether, are (1) the private appropriation of the rent of land and private control of natural resources; (2), tariffs, whether for protection or merely for revenue, and (3), wars, which are wholly destructive of all cooperation.

THIS is all any statesman needs to know, but it is just what all statesmen do not know. It will probably surprise most of the heads of government to learn how brief a programme founded on this syllogism will do for their purpose. It would also surprise them to learn how brief a programme would send their names thundering down to posterity as first among the world's emancipators!

IF cooperation is the law of civilization, how utterly futile are the machinations of cunning statesmen looking to national advantage or pre-eminence in power. Every such attempt must defeat itself, for it looks not to cooperation but to selfish rivalry. There is "a place in the sun" for every nation, and no nation can shut out the sunlight from another, or monopolize a greater amount of "sunlight" for itself, without injury to its own interests. But that is chiefly what the statesmen of various countries have been trying to do. All the arts of diplomacy have been bent in this direction; all the various devices to enrich themselves have seen nations impoverished by the very methods by which they sought to impoverish others.

IT follows that if cooperation is the law of civilization, its real field is the society of nations economically bound together, organized for mutual help and reciprocal exchange. Its field is as wide as the world. This does not mean any artificial union of states. Nations are bound together by economic alliance that natural law has declared from the beginning—an alliance that is not the creation of governments, and not even needing their sanction, but inherent in the nature of things and depending upon individual buyer and seller.

THIS cooperation of society, of man as a trading animal looking for some one who may do the things needing to be done, or qualified to provide what he needs, lends enormous strength to the theory of human brotherhood. There is no room for enmity when it is realized that men of all nations are bound together in an economic alliance, one with another. It is only when governments seek to

ignore this natural alliance that they face disaster or come to grief.

FREE traders have written well and earnestly, but this larger aspect of the question has seldom been sufficiently emphasized. Indeed, to most people the vision has been denied. But it means more than the destruction of tariff barriers—it means living in accordance with the laws upon which the perpetuation of civilization depends. And indissolubly associated with it must go the common participation in that social fund which arises from the growth of civilization which economists call rent, and which is more popularly called land value. For the cooperation called civilization breaks down or is destroyed when the social fund is monopolized by the few, or is unequally distributed.

MUCH of this vision is clouded by the more obvious aspects of industrial life, which seem to distort the picture and dim the perspective. Chief of these is the apparent helplessness of the man who works for wage. Yet this is only one of the results of the failure of society to grant the right of access to natural opportunities. Mines, forests, building lots, agricultural areas, have been withdrawn from use save at prices that labor cannot afford to pay. For the wage worker the world has been made that much smaller. The field of cooperation has been circumscribed. The laborer finds fewer bidders for what he has to sell—his labor. The remedy is to throw the opportunities open to use and to increase the area over which cooperation resulting from the union of labor and land may start afresh. Think what the effect would be were it to be announced tomorrow that a new continent had been discovered! But here at home is news that should be even more welcome. For here lies a continent ready to our hands, a continent that needs not to be subdued or wrested from a state of nature, but beckons to us right at our doors with all its infinite riches. And all that is needed is the exercise of the power of taxation to sum up into use the vast unused portions of this outspread continent!

THOSE who think they are thinking are prone to remind us nowadays that this is the machine age, and that this fact offers an explanation of the hard times and unemployment. It does not occur to them that during the prosperous times of two or three years ago—we were as prosperous as these same men understand prosperity—we had nearly as many machines—we have not added much to the number. Wherefore this sudden dislocation between producer and consumer where machines lie idle and men beg for the privilege of working them? It is not the machines but the plight of the consumer—who, were his demand effective, that is if he were able to buy goods that were produced in response to a demand that would set the machine at work—that evidences a break in the economic