

## Separation of Trade and State

THE following paraphrases of the United States and State of Pennsylvania constitutional provisions for guaranty of religious Freedom suggest a similar guaranty for economic freedom:

### CONSTITUTION OF UNITED STATES ARTICLE I OF AMENDMENTS

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;"

### CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA ARTICLE I, DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

"Sec. 3. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to *worship Almighty God* according to the dictates of their own consciences; no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of *worship* or to maintain any *ministry* against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of *conscience*, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any *religious* establishments or modes of *worship*."

Refusing to entrust our archbishops with the powers of government, why do we have such childlike faith in our multi-millionaires or practical politicians as to turn over to them the whole establishment?

The separation of church and state has amounted to an elbowing out of the churchmen, and a crowding into their places by the money-changers, privilegees, and spoilsmen. When the churchmen relinquished the armament of state to enforce contribution to their causes, they should have seen to it that no others seized the guns. Arms, which constitute command and government, should be relegated to the most limited and narrow sphere, to defense, and merely to defense, from trespass, a relatively clear and simple function to perform.

To levy upon the earnings of helpless people for other than strict government necessities, i.e., protection against wrongs, has always been a predatory game. Enforced collection of tolls, tariffs, and tribute for the industrial dreams of politician and profiteer, and their upkeep, has no more real justice than enforced collection of tithes for the religious interests of priest and preacher and their maintenance. Guns are precisely the equipment he has when the tax collector, commissioned by officials and backed by the police and militia, seizes and sells a delinquent's goods and possessions, throws him into jail, for any purpose, necessary or visionary. Taxation is the subsistence of the state, and force is its essential.

It is the hold up, the pointing of the gun, even behind

### PARALLEL TEXTS AS TO INDUSTRY

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of *business*, or prohibiting the free operation thereof;"

"Sec. 3. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to *earn their livings* according to the necessities of their own *bodies*; no man can of right be compelled to *patronize*, erect or support any place of *business* or to maintain any *management* against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of *industry*, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any *business* establishments or modes of *occupation*."

a veil, that is the inexcusable outrage, the destruction of liberty, and the affront to manhood. If a man has a natural and indefeasible right to his earnings, to live an unmolested and inviolate life, secure in his freedom and personality, a gun should only be pointed at him to resist attack or trespass by him; and this bar against the use of force applies with equal justice whether the armed force is threatened by churchman, spoilsman, emperor, king, dictator,—legislature, majority, mob, or racketeer. The Bill of Rights is no respecter of persons or powers. It is the speech of a higher voice, and should be heard more widely.

The purpose of the paraphrases is to call attention to the usurpation of power by the "masters, lords and rulers in all lands;" and to suggest a formula for escape from them, and to suggest another approach toward limitation of the use of force by the state to minimum police powers. Possibly the paraphrases would reveal what is pillage disguised as law under any coat of paint in any color, and make useless varnishing it over by professions of benevolence. Religious freedom, and separation of church and state, are rather vague rhetorical phrases. When they are discussed no two persons are thinking of the same thing. For a precise legal definition we read the constitutional provisos. We need the same exact understanding of what we mean by economic freedom and separation of trade and state.

After closing out the Doctors of Divinity, the Doctors of Finance and the Doctors of Politics have been frying the fat most diligently, especially since high powered and high speed machinery has been supplanted by high powered corporate franchises, which are agencies of the state that have no souls but have recently acquired rights to unlimited profits, and accumulations in perpetuity, without owners' liability for the obligations of the concerns. Is it not soon time to see that they have not too many compulsory powers to confiscate other people's earnings in prosecution of their enterprises? American democracy is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, under parliamentary forms. To establish and maintain equal justice, democratic procedure is entirely practicable. To overload democracy with an infinity of business details, risks, and cares, requiring constant attention, action, experimentation and adjustment, is sooner or later to abandon or destroy it. What politicians, here and abroad, need above all things is the pruning hook, not more seizures of powers and glories, payrolls and appropriations, spiraling always upward.

With the frightful instruments of mass murder, torture and destruction now in the hands of the rulers of the nations; and at the service of their fears, delusions and ambitions, the need for restriction of their powers, and for a clearer and closer definition of what are human rights and liberties to be kept inviolate grows constantly more pressing. The problem was worked out in Pennsylvania

in 1682, and the solution adopted in our federal constitution, to protect the citizen against usurpation and abuse of power in matters of religion, and to establish religious freedom. Its terms are available to establish a similar economic freedom. We should again demonstrate what liberty is, this time in the economic field; and show how to limit our own politicians before we undertake to police the balance of the world.

Why should we have financial groups or labor groups and tradesmen constantly lobbying, pressing and pulling our politicians and legislators, to finance their business interests, necessarily at the expense or handicap of conflicting interests, when we scrupulously forbid churchmen such financing in behalf of religious interests? Is the proper purpose of government to promote business, and whose business; or is it to establish and maintain equal justice under law, and to secure equal opportunity to everyone in his employment and prosecution of his business, and to preserve liberty? I cannot see that the profiteering carnivora are a bit less dangerous or avaricious or entitled to more legal privileges than the preaching militants, who are debarred from the halls of congress and legislature in soliciting subsidies, and not allowed to lay their hands on a farthing of the public till. Most leaders of the church, at least the high minded ones, would surely fight harder than anyone else against being put back on the dole, and made Caesar's dependents and servitors. Having withdrawn from the state's subventions, the mystery is that churchmen stand quietly back and allow the spoilsmen to take command, to revel in the loot, and to beat the war drums for its protection. The rulers and leaders of the nations have not simply been getting away with an occasional murder, but they have been getting away with wholesale murder, regularly, everywhere and every so often, from the beginning of history; and they are now spending billions and bankrupting civilization, preparing for bigger and better butcherings. Their limits should be much more plainly set.

True religion must be voluntary. It is not advanced by bayonets, shot nor shell. The same is just as true of fair dealing. Labor, investment, production, trade all should be voluntary; and never coerced. Aside from maintaining equal rights and opportunities for all, government and legislation for business interests employ the gun power of government in unjust and liberty destroying coercion. It has no more real justification, no more actual benefit for deserving business, than the use of force for promoting religion has. It was said of the act for religious freedom, that "it was destructive of all religious and social order." The same would be said of the provisos for industrial freedom, though freedom of industry would mean no more anarchy, than freedom of conscience meant atheism. Correct rules of justice and economics always concur.

Instead of fierce zeal to climb into control, churchmen

of all people should be most anxious to restore to a free people the usurped power of the state. The state is force. It is Caesar's and Mars' machinery. It is not the proper agency of the church. But the church can participate without limit in organizing and conducting a free society assigning to Caesar or Mars the minimum police and protective function: and reserving to voluntary association and cooperation, to labor, to production, and to trade, full liberty and equal justice, which are primary, human and inalienable rights—economic freedom as complete as religious freedom.

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## The Negro Problem A White Problem Also

THERE was a time when the problem of tenancy was regarded and promptly dismissed as a Negro problem. If it had been so discussed at this Conference it would have lost much of its significance for the South. Although most of the Negroes in southern agriculture are tenants and sharecroppers, most of the tenants and sharecroppers in the South are now white. Relief of the Negro situation is involved in relief of the general situation now so disastrously defective. The Conference gave its attention to the renovation of the ancient landlord-tenant statutes, to the extension of credit, to provisions for tenant farm purchase, and to essential rehabilitation. Implicit in all of this was the fact that the rationalization of southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the schemes.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON in the *Crisis*.

It is impossible in the consequences that ensue from social injustice to separate populations according to color. Such injustices as exist must inevitably visit themselves upon Black and White. A system that denies access to natural opportunities must be universal in its application. White and Black tenant farmers and White and Black sharecroppers are in the same position.

The land injustice plays no favorites. As Mr. Charles S. Johnson says, "The rationalization of Southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the scheme." Which is another way of saying that the solution of the question, the establishment of a just system of land distribution, must include both Black and White. We are glad to see that this leading organ of Negro thought recognizes this and when the White farmers recognize it also the solution of the question is near.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

UNTIL there be correct thought, there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action will follow.

"Social Problems," by HENRY GEORGE.