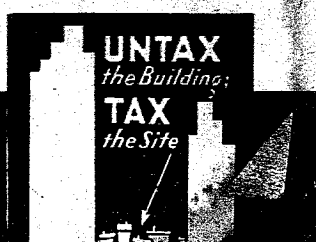
THE FARMER IN WAR AND POST-WAR



LAND and FREEDOM

P. O. BOX 877, CHURCH STREET ANNEX
NEW YORK 8, N. Y.

EDITORS
CHARLES JOS. SMITH
JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN
ROBERT CLANCY

September 30th, 1943

Dear Friend:

The sustention appeal sent out on June 15th did not receive the hoped for response. It is therefore with keen regret that LAND AND FREEDOM must announce a suspension of publication. We trust that this will be only for the duration of the war, or even a shorter interval, if an adequate and guaranteed sustention fund can be obtained.

All contributions received since June 15th aforesaid, as well as all remittances for renewals and new subscriptions commencing from the last issue, are being returned to the senders. Checks in such cases will be found enclosed with this notice.

Those who owe money to LAND AND FREEDOM, as evidenced by bills sent them from time to time, are urgently requested to remit at once, as this money is needed to liquidate our present obligations.

Our records, of course, will be kept intact in the meanwhile. Should the occasion warrant it, we shall send you a "newsletter" now and then.

If you possess a business reply envelope or Victory envelope label, please do not use same in writing or remitting to us. The Post Office has certain regulations with respect thereto with which we are no longer able to comply.

In bidding you au revoir, we would like to express our most sincere appreciation for the help that you have given us in the past. Trusting in what the future may bring, we remain,

Faithfully yours,

LAND AND FREEDOM

Author, Author . .

Jonathan Stout, former Scripps-Howard reporter and now astute Washington columnist for *The New Leader,* enters our pages for the first time.

Mildred Jensen Loomis is a 20th Century Homesteader in Ohio, where she and her husband hold Open House for non-collectivist students. She is also a prolific writer.

Morgan Harris is a former advertising man. His experience as an employe of county, state, and federal governments cured him of the omniscience usually attributed to public office. Formerly Educational Director of Cooperative Distributors, New York, he has more recently been teaching economics at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Ralph Borsodi, founder and former director of the School of Living, Suffern, New York, author and lecturer on decentralism and land value taxation, is engaged on a huge book in the field of education.

Douglas J. J. Owen, an astute student of British affairs, knew nothing of our plan to offer an entire issue of LAND AND FREEDOM on rural matters—yet sent an article on Britain's rural land troubles without any counsel from us!

The Rt. Rev. Monsignor Luigi Ligutti besides being editor of *Land and Home,* is Executive Secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. His work with the Iowa coal miner-homesteaders has received national commendation.

George H. Comings, farmer, has famous quotes from famous men on land value taxation printed on both the front and back of his attractive letterheads. His communicants can't miss Mr. Comings' attitude on economics.

Howard Y. Williams is a field director of the Union for Democratic Action. Graduate of the University of Minnesota, he has taken post-graduate work at Iowa State, Union Seminary and Columbia. Identified with the Farmer Labor Party of Minnesota, he has held several public offices.

Colston Warne, professor of economics at Amherst, president of Consumers' Union, and vice-president of People's Lobby, has given many years of his life to sociological activities. Formerly a member of the Board of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., he spent a half dozen years in the 20s and 30s covering European cooperative projects.

LAND AND FREEDOM

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Freedom is the foundation of a peaceful and prosperous world.

The right of every man to live in freedom from want and oppression must be implemented by economic as well as by political means.

The access of all men to the natural resources of the earth on equal terms is indispensable to economic freedom. The earth is the birthright of all mankind, and all have an equal and inalienable right to its use.

To secure this equality, land (including all natural resources) must be administered by a democratic government in the interests of all, and be harmfully monopolized by none.

Man's need for land is expressed by the rent of land. As competition for land increases, rental values increase. Where population is densest, or social activities, governmental services, or natural value of sites are at their highest level, there rent tends to be greater. Rent is thus a social value and a proper source of public revenue.

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes, if combined with rational planning and zoning regulations, would encourage the best use of all land in the public interest. A greater and more steady peacetime demand for labor would thus be created, with progressive elimination of the necessity of governmental subsidies to capital, labor, or consumers. Construction and home ownership would be encouraged, the slums and blighted areas of our cities would increasingly disappear, and well-planned community redevelopment would become a major post-war activity.

Legislation should provide that municipalities and counties be given local option in taxation, whereby the full rent of land could ultimately be collected as the main source of revenue for local governments; and that, simultaneously, buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land be exempted from taxation.

In addition to the public collection of rent, however, there must be freedom of trade among states and nations, freer movement of peoples, abolition of barriers to useful production and exchange and the maintenance of democratic principles of a free market. Cartels, laws and practices that restrict the normal processes of the market must not stand in the way of society's exchanges. Patent laws must be modified in order to widen our access to invention.

Free land, free trade and free men constitute the foundation of a prosperous, peaceful world.

Land and Freedom

Comment and Reflection

THE news of the recent coal mine strike prompts us to touch upon a delicate subject. In passing, however, we would earnestly call the attention of the people and their government to the immunity always enjoyed by the mine *owners* from the abuse customarily heaped upon the operators and miners alike. Also, it is suggested that the additional compensation desired by the workers might easily be granted if paid out of the handsome rents, or *unearned increment,* received by those who are privileged to hold titles to the mines, as distinguished from the working lessees or operators.

IT has been said that the interests of the individual conflict with those of society, even in a democratic state. There is some merit to the viewpoint, but this is not to say that the interests of individuals and society are *opposed* to each other. "Conflict," as referred to, probably means no more than the difficulty which all of us have experienced in reconciling personal desires with responsibilities. Some rather distressing examples, other than coal strikes, are to be noted in such occurrences as black markets, and profiteering and, sadder yet, the abuses attending the so-called honor system as applied to pleasure driving. A great many people have admittedly participated in these and many other anti-social practices. Why should this be?

SO strong is the instinct that men will seek to gratify their desires with a minimum of effort, that even in times of national emergency, if not peril, they are more or less reluctant to combat it. Of course, the complexities of modern civilization tend to obscure for the individual what are really his own best interests. The long-range view of enlightened selfishness is the exception, not the rule, and the sin of sloth besets us on all sides. Our habits of thought are even such that when occasionally we do make a sacrifice, it is expected that a startled world will bestow a ready approbation. How different, though, can things be in the proximity of fundamentals! In Russia, or China, who now could be so naïve as to seek recognition for having deprived himself of this or that? Would he not be ridiculed for wanting to eat his cake and have it, too?

IN nations like America, however, we have not yet begun to think much in terms of "saving our skins." Almost symbolic of this is the complacent manner, as though a concession for the sake of appearance, in which we allow that one bombing might wake us up to the good sense of air raid drills. And this state of mind carries through to the enjoyment of all peace-time pleasures. No doubt, the average citizen does at times take stock of his own brand of selfishness, and reflects on what this can mean when multiplied by the actions of others like himself. But suspicion ever lurks nearby, and whispers, plausibly enough, "Why should you do without? The gas and rubber you are thinking of saving would only be wasted by someone else." (Incidentally, if everyone, including so-called war-workers, were compelled to use public transportation, the facilities of the latter, especially buses, could be correspondingly improved. This would result in more democratic service to all.)

HOWEVER, a beneficent Wisdom has provided an adequate balance, if we would but use it, against such individual shortcomings to society. More and more have we come to see our salvation in a government of laws, as distinguished from men. For even the lowliest citizen has reason enough to suspect that his "betters" have the same individual weaknesses as himself. Actuated by self preservation, we are willing, and anxious to become subordinated to a set of *rules* that will apply to all alike. So far as we know, the culmination of this principle of union and justice is to be found in our American democracy.

SO, without belittling the good intentions which may underlie departures from *the rules of total war,* we prefer to base our calculations in times of crisis on a system sternly administered by law and equity. Consider how difficult, if not impossible, would be the task of our modern state in recruiting a fighting force of *volunteers.* On the other hand, the principle of conscription is now generally accepted, and very little fault can be found with its administration. Rationing is also in complete accord with democratic ideas. And since profiteering must be combated, ceilings on prices are quite necessary for our individual welfare. Even at the risk of dislocating what is left of our normal ways of living, we have a paramount right to collectively curb personal greed.

IN this, the greatest trial of human liberty yet known, we simply cannot afford to take chances. If we are committed to total war, it is idle to complain of regimentation, a necessary incident thereof. To insist that business be allowed to go on as usual is a contradiction in terms. Whether we like it or not, this war is inexorable in its demand that the ploughshares be beaten into guns.

Who Is the Farm Bloc?

By Jonathan Stout

THE history books say ours is a two-party system of government. The Washington clique ignores the history books in describing ours as a government by lobby.

Between these two definitions lies the realistic explanation of what so frequently puzzles many who come to Washington for a first-hand look at the governmental three-ring circus. For instance, it explains how come Democrats on Capitol Hill try to knife Democrats in the White House. It explains why southern Democrats are more reactionary, by and large, than most Republicans. It explains how Hoover, Willkie, McNary and Fish can all call themselves Republicans. How Wagner, O'Daniel, Glass and Roosevelt can all call themselves Democrats. It explains the anti-Roosevelt alliance between members of his own party and reactionary Republicans.

Foreigners get wise to the answer more quickly, sometimes, than Americans who are not familiar with European political patterns.

In Europe—on the continent particularly—most countries have a multitude of political parties. In many of these countries every group with a special interest and distinctive viewpoint generally channels its expression through a separate political party. As a result, Europeans are accustomed to a diversity of political groupings. And it seems natural to them that a diversity of economic interests, religious allegiances, and cultural ties should give rise to a complex of political parties for their precise expression.

According to the history books, we don't do that here. But according to the more realistic, albeit cynical, Washington clique, we do.

For that is the political meaning of government-by-lobby. Political potency in Washington does not reside in the Democratic and Republican parties. It actually resides in the Farm Lobby, the Tariff Lobby, the Silver Lobby, the Big Business Lobby, the Veterans Lobby, the Labor Lobby, the Power Lobby, the Liquor Lobby, the Dry Lobby, the Methodist Lobby, the Catholic Lobby, and so on almost endlessly.

These lobbies are comparable to the political parties in most European countries, for that, by any realistic definition, is exactly what they are. And regarded in that light, the homogeneity of the lobby makes a lot more sense than the heterogeneity of the Republican and Democratic parties, which in the final analysis actually represent a coalition of lobbies, and therefore coalition governments in the European sense of that term.

The Democratic Party which came to power in 1933 was a coalition government in which the Farm and Labor Lobbies were the dominant collaborators. This was important, because in the early '30s these two lobbies were mass organizations and were the only ones who really represented large numbers of voters. The Farm Lobby had a membership of about 1,500,000, the Labor Lobby represented some 7,000,000 organized workers; but the Farm Lobby spoke in the name of 10,000,000 farmers, and the Labor Lobby represented the aspirations of some 40,000,000 workers. No other lobby even claims to represent such numbers.

The New Deal was confident of its political power until 1940. In that year its perch became precarious due to the defection of the Farm Lobby. Why the Farm Lobby went into open opposition to the New Deal provides an interesting study in American politics.

The first interesting fact is the nature of the change the Farm Lobby underwent between the late '20s and the late '30s: it lost its mass following. For instance, the largest member of the Farm Lobby group is the Farm Bureau Federation. As late as 1929 it had a membership of 1,000,000. By 1934 that membership dropped to 146,000. The depression had squeezed the farmers out of the Farm Bureau!

INSURANCE COMPANY FARMERS

The depression accomplished one thing more. The life insurance companies became the biggest farmers in the United States.

At the end of last year the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company still held farm acreage worth $71,711,000. The Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark, N. J., held farm acreage worth $41,022,000. The Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company of Milwaukee held farms valued at $18,504,000. The Kansas City Life Insurance Company owned farms worth $5,000,000, the New York Life Insurance Company held farms worth $1,625,000.

The total value of farm land owned by all life insurance companies at the end of 1941 was $597,796,000. On top of that the insurance companies held mortgages on additional farm acreage worth $900,000,000.

The banks, too, became farmers. The Federal Land Banks last year owned farms worth $92,000,000. The insured commercial banks at the end of 1941 still held farms valued at $22,800,000.

The key to the role played in the Farm Lobby by the insurance companies and banks lies in what happened to the value of farm land between 1933 and 1943.

In 1933 when the insurance companies and banks got into the farm picture at the bottom of the market, the total farm valuation of the United States was 30 billion dollars.

Today that same land is worth 40 billion dollars!

By doing nothing more than simply sitting tight, and holding on to the farms they acquired, the insurance companies and banks saw their value go up 33 per cent without even planting a radish.

From that end of the picture, calling it the Farm Lobby is something of a misnomer. It would seem more accurate to call it the Landlord Lobby.

But that isn't all. In the Tipsy Twenties under the impetus of Coolidge and Hoover prosperity, the Farm Bureau Federation operated under the leadership of Earl Smith, a wealthy business man who owned a farm supply company, and of the utterly reactionary Illinois Agricultural Association which chiefly represented the Mid-West's big corn planters.

When the Farm Bureau Federation failed to help the farmers in the depression that hit the country in 1929 and its membership fell from 1,000,000 to 146,000, the astute Smith installed a Southern Democrat, Ed O'Neal, as president of the Federation in an effort to ingratiate the organization with the incoming New Deal.

Last month Ed O'Neal was chiefly responsible for engineering the Agricultural Appropriation Bill before the House of Representatives. Of that bill James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, had this to say:

"The bill would deliver working farmers bound hand and foot into the power of the banks and insurance companies. It would cut off farmers from any and all government credit until banks and insurance companies had had exclusive opportunity to profit by their need. Only when private lending agencies had certified them to the government as bad financial risks, could their government come to their aid."

FARMER OR LANDLORD LOBBY

It would seem a fair question to ask whether Ed O'Neal is working for the farmers or the Landlords Lobby.

And the Farm Bureau Federation represents the largest mass group in the Farm Lobby. Summing up the whole of the lobby, it might well be described as a combination of bankers, absentee landlords and big planters. And the sole agricultural activity of the bankers and absentee landlords to alibi their presence in the Farm Lobby seems to be that of "farming" the farmers.

Another prominent member of the Farm Lobby is the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation, which serves as a front for the Milk Trust, of which Bordens and National Dairies are the dominant figures. They have about as much identity with the real interests of the farmers as two crossed eyes. But they maintain one of the most powerful lobbies on Capitol Hill and they speak in the name of the farmers.

Another potent member of the Farm Lobby is the Associated Farmers of California, whose makeup represents a merger of California's giant packing, processing and industrialized farming interests. Behind this group looms the Bank of America, whose influence also plays a leading role in the National Association of Manufacturers. Which may be more fitting than it sounds when it is recalled that California's industrialized farms are sometimes described only too accurately as sweatshop factories-in-the-fields.

The Power Trust too maintains its liaison in the Farm Lobby. The chief job of its representatives is to fight the Rural Electrification Administration which supplies cheap power to farmers, to fight government electrification projects like TVA, Norris Dam, Grand Coulee, etc.

The Oil Trust is in it too. For the Oil Trust is very much interested in the new synthetic rubber processes and wants to keep the cheaper grain process out of the picture. It was this interest that led the multimillionaire oil man, J. Howard Pew, to buy the *Farm Journal*, which has the third largest magazine circulation in the United States. When the *Farm Journal* speaks it is the voice of Sun Oil.

These are the powers-that-be in the Farm Lobby. They're the works. The rest cut little ice. For instance, the National Grange is traditionally the organization of the "master farmers." It is small numerically, and lacking in decisive influence. There is also, the National Farmers Union, made up of America's "little farmers." This, perhaps, is the only genuine farm organization, yet it plays no part in the Farm Lobby.

Of all the lobbies that operate in Washington, the Farm Lobby is the least honest of the lot.

The Big Business Lobby is frankly made up of urban industrialists. The Labor Lobby is made up of labor people. The Dry Lobby is made up of prohibitionists. The Liquor Lobby is made up of distillers.

Only the Farm Lobby seems to be made up of anything but farmers!

WE'RE SORRY

But we did not have the space this issue for

MY ABDUCTION BY THE NEW YORK WORLD

LITTLE TALES OF ROBBERY

CIVIC AND ECONOMIC AGENCIES OF FREEDOM

And many announcements, book reviews and letters received for publication.

Please Note Announcement, Page 19.

Factory Production Is NOT Cheaper

By Mildred Jensen Loomis

IT was the story of the great Savannah which brought me out of the fog left by a college major in economics. Years after that degree, a poster drew me into a class in Fundamental Economics, where the fifth lesson in "Progress and Poverty" was under way. For several meetings the teacher was patient with my confusion, and then suggested that the reading of the story of the first settlers might help. It did. Few people have read those pages more often than I, or thrilled more to their presentation—how productivity in land is raised by the increase in population and the division of labor.

In discovering that the collection of this value by private individuals is the underlying and basic injustice in our society, I feel a great satisfaction. To the elimination of that practice I am unreservedly committed. But the picture with which Henry George concludes this matchless story no longer arouses my enthusiasm. He says:

"Population keeps on increasing. The town has grown into a city, a St. Louis or a Chicago. Production is here carried on upon a great scale, with the best machinery and the most favorable facilities; exchanges are of such volume and rapidity that they are made with the minimum of friction and loss. Here has developed one of the great ganglions of the human world. Hither run all roads. Here is the market—the largest and choicest stock. Here intellectual activity is gathered into a focus. Here are the great libraries, the storehouses and granaries of knowledge; museums, art galleries and all things rare and valuable. Here, in short, is a center of human life in all its varied manifestations."

Most land value taxers contend that such achievements of urban magnificence and highly specialized industry are, if not the chief end of man, the means by which he will attain it. Economists extol the benefits from extreme specialization coupled with more trade and exchange. One prominent land value taxer puts it this way: "From our voluntary relationships of exchange come every material and spiritual value that we possess and enjoy. . . . By no other means than by the extension of its exchange relationships, in its public as well as in its private services, can society maintain its own life and serve its individual lives."

The "glory that is industrialism" stamped my own otherwise rural childhood and adolescence with the urban-specialist pattern. Most of my generation hurried off to the city universities to specialize in law or medicine, or the very popular new fields, advertising and selling. My own acceptance of this direction led me into teaching. In various large cities I exchanged my services as a teacher, through our currency medium, for food, clothing and shelter. My associates did likewise; some in offices and others—more adventurous—in that profession created out of the disintegration of society, social work. On Saturdays we regaled ourselves at the opera or the museum and "with all things rare and valuable." Occasionally we would make a fleeting visit back home to pretend that the farm and family were still important to us.

That went on for years and then it lost its savor. I was aware of energies and potentialities unused. The schoolroom meant a repetition and a limitation, that, after fifteen years, stifled me.

As "Progress and Poverty" was to bring me an earlier awakening, I now came upon another book fully as arresting, "Flight from the City." This advanced a philosophy that *all* human capacities should be developed within the individual. It was, of course, critical of modern industrial urban life. It showed a new kind of country living, not our old drudging farm. Its author, Ralph Borsodi, had founded a School of Living. I made it a point to spend a summer there—and stayed on to work in it.

DEMONSTRATION: INTEGRAL LIVING

I found there a demonstration of integral living—the kind which is possible on a small homestead. Here the belief was held that human happiness and the good life grow out of the full use of all human energies—physical, biological, mental, emotional, artistic, social and spiritual. The School of Living, a model productive living plant in its natural community, has turned away from the accepted urban-industrial-specialist pattern, and teaches the members of a family group (preferably three generations) the skills necessary to produce directly from the land their own food, clothing and shelter; and the meaning of the mental, emotional, artistic and spiritual experiences which accompany such living. I joined in the gardening, dairying, weaving. New zest grew steadily in response to demands on my hitherto dormant, manual and social skills.

I observed the busy resourceful families at work on their homesteads around the School, and did not need seminars and statistics to prove that the "family" is the chief victim of modern industrialism.

For the first time in my specialized career I came face to face with the fundamental challenge resting in the

family and a home. Fortunately there came the chance to shape the rest of my life in this pattern. Now I am finishing the third year of sharing and helping develop our thirty Ohio acres, which we call Lane's End Homestead. Here my husband and I care for a large garden, the orchard, a dozen sheep, two cows and two pigs with their young, one horse, a small flock of chickens and turkeys. This blessed base, with a moderate amount of healthy exercise, brings us shelves and bins full of vegetables, a steady supply of milk, cheese, meat, butter and eggs and the appearance of the family's meals without the daily trek to the grocery. We actually sing, along with an unknown minstrel, "We eat our own lamb, our own chickens and ham. We shear our own fleece and we wear it." Our "exchange" is at a minimum. If this seems crude and unmodern to the Georgeist enamoured of specialization, trade and exchange, please give a closer look to the economics of this kind of living, as well as the more subtle satisfactions to be enjoyed.

Mrs. Loomis in her productive kitchen

First, the economics. To produce at home is usually cheaper than buying. We grow wheat on our land and grind it in our electric kitchen mill at a cost of 2c a lb., figuring in all land and equipment costs, taxes, interest, and depreciation. A similar nourishing flour in small packages at the grocery costs 7c to 9c a lb. White flour, devoid of the nutritious germ, because it spoils readily in storage, may be had for 4c or 5c. From the whole grain we make both cooked and dry cereals, which are superior in flavor and food value to purchased kinds. Their cost is from 2c to 3c a pound, whereas packaged cereals range from 25c to 50c a lb. Home baked bread at 4c a loaf compares favorably with the 10c and 12c loaves at the store. We produce lard, meat, cheese, eggs, vegetables, fruit and honey ever so much cheaper than we can buy them. *To purchase for our table a supply equal to what we produce would require an additional $55 a month in cash.* This saving I apply to the payment of the mill, the heavy-duty kitchen mixer (which churns, kneads bread and processes food), the washer, loom and other equipment which makes possible this production without drudgery. Our own wool is spun at a small mill at a cost of 85c a lb. (including the 50c we would have had if we had sold it), and gives us a yarn that could not be purchased for $1.65. The garment or house furnishing into which we weave and sew it, represents infinitely less in cash as compared with purchased articles.

My husband works in a nearby city, and but for our conviction as to the superior economic and intangible benefits of living in the country, we would reside there. Our savings on rent (partially affected by increased transportation costs) and on decreased doctor bills because of better health, add to the income of country living. These we apply to the land and other capital investments. As soon as they are totally paid, John will give up his city job, and we will be able to live in comfortable circumstances on 30 acres. We recognize that in this day of monopolization a family cannot produce via sale of crops from 30 acres sufficient to easily pay the costs of land equipment necessary for farming it.

The total savings from direct production against securing all our income through specialization and exchange is sufficient to substantiate our motto:

> "Produce all that you can for yourself. Buy only that which you cannot produce."

We would remind others that just because it may be efficient to produce automobiles, refrigerators and typewriters in mass production, it does not follow that bread, milk or pork should be produced that way. (More money is invested in the milk than in the automobile industry.) We see little need for seven- or nine-story flour mills if people in great masses were only persuaded that it is cheaper and better to bake, than to buy bread. Hauling wheat from Kansas to Minneapolis and shipping the flour to Brookville, Ohio, is eventually more expensive than growing our own wheat and grinding it in a $15 mill in our kitchen. Even though the mass production of the flour may reduce the unit *production*-cost, this large-scale system entails an inversely high *distribution* cost, which makes the product in the consumers' kitchens higher than when produced locally, where distribution is nil. We need to evaluate again the economic ad-

vantages of specialization in industries such as these. I doubt if the staunchest Georgeist, after a week in my homestead kitchen, could successfully defend the thesis that the specialized production of flour, cereal and pork was the way to do it as Henry George said, "at a minimum of friction and loss."

When we compare the quality of living made possible by a modern productive home on the land with that of any highly revered specialty like teaching, there is no balancing specialization with a diversified pattern. One's improved health is no minor factor. Processed and packaged food is devitalized, and much of the notorious poor health of industrialized people can be traced to it. Growing and processing food at home means food with protective vitamins and minerals, the value of which we have seen in our own experience.

How stupid to rate any "job" superior because it is devoid of manual labor! Here the *work* itself is enjoyable; in most industrial employment only the end-product, the paycheck, provides a means for satisfaction. An agrarian society offers a more fundamental approach to the arts. Art should not be confined to the museums. Art should be integral, and constitute a sense of *doing*. Weaving of textiles, designing of garments, decorating, planting, serving meals—all become functional ways of living artistically. Working with growing things—plants and animals as well as humans, and being a part of the birth and death cycle of pets and garden, gives life a depth and an insight that impersonal urban life renders impossible. Responsibility and integrity develop when one gives care to one's own property and animals. A new wholeness of living heightens our religious sensitivity, with a new appreciation for the inscrutable forces in the universe.

FRANZ OPPENHEIMER'S VIEWS

The contribution of a revered Georgeist, Franz Oppenheimer, toward an agrarian society should be noted. He says in *Free America*,* "Urbanism and finance-capitalism—to a large extent the product of a foolish system of land distribution—is rapidly destroying the very backbone of the country—the independent farmer. . . . The inability of immigrants to get land compelled most of them to stay in the big industrial cities, to crowd the labor market and pull wages down, to develop urban capitalism which promotes its own interests without regard to the interests of agriculture. . . . But between 1920 and 1930 the American rural farm population furnished no less than 5.8 millions of 'emigrants' to the cities, which helped pull down wages and salaries in every field of employment."

He gives our total farm acreage as 987 millions, of which 522 millions are improved and 465 millions are pasture, woods, lakes, etc. He deplores the present distribution of our 6.3 millions of farms as follows:

Size of Farm	*% of Total Farms*	*% of Total Area*
Up to 40 acres	37.5	5.7
Up to 99 acres	59.4	15.7
More than 500 acres	3.7	38.9
10,000 and more	.05	11.3

Which shows that 97% of our farms constitute but 21% of our area. He says that students of the question in both Europe and America maintain that 12 or 13 acres of improved land are, on the average, sufficient to sustain a farm family in ample middle class existence; that our present rural population of 6 million families (25 million people) could easily be increased to 42 million families (175 million people), and that "It is not an exaggeration to say that the problem of unemployment after the war can be solved only by an intelligent plan of land resettlement. It is possible and practical to relocate on the land all those who are now dependent upon war industries, and who will be demobilized from the armed forces of the nation."

It is such a future that all agrarian Georgeists hope for, rather than one of new industrial outlets now ballyhooed for the soldiers and war workers when the war is ended. It is to a human, organic way of life we hope we can re-educate them, rather than to develop more of the disintegrated, belt-line, de-humanizing mass production in big factories and offices. The "specialist's" insistence that all the food which our nation needs could be produced by but 6% of our people living on the land *may* be a possibility. But people concerned with a *good* society will join ranks with Oppenheimer and Borsodi, for drawing people to, instead of away, from the country.

It is that more agrarian or decentralized society which I recently discovered Henry George himself envisioned in a not-often-quoted chapter on "City and Country" in his *Social Problems:* "Nothing more clearly shows the unhealthiness of present social tendencies than the steadily increasing concentration of population in great cities. . . . The vast populations of these great cities are utterly divorced from all the genial influences of nature. . . . Life in these cities is not the natural life of man. He must, under such conditions, deteriorate physically, mentally and morally. Yet the evil does not end here. This unnatural life of the great cities means an equally unnatural life in the country. As the great cities grow, unwholesomely crowding people together till they are packed in tiers, family above family, so they are unwholesomely separated in the country. . . . The old healthy social life of village and townland is everywhere disappearing.

"All this springs primarily from our treatment of land as private property. When no individual could profit by the advance in the value of land . . . when monopolies are broken up, industry will assume the cooperative form. Agriculture will cease to be destruc-

(*Continued on page 29*)

* July, 1941.

MORGAN HARRIS

Co-operators and Land-Value Taxers—United!

By Morgan Harris

The co-operator speaks of socialized rent in a different sense than the land-value taxer, as will be apparent in the quoted sentences starting with the second column of this article.

Both land-value taxers and co-operators are invited to make replies to Mr. Harris. Please keep your Mss under 600 words.—Ed.

PERHAPS you've never heard of Phillipsburg, but for hundreds of thousands of people it represents "Mecca," the central shrine of industry and sacrifice.

Located almost in the exact geographical center of the United States, this sun-baked little town contains an oil refinery owned by 125,000 people *who are the users of its products.*

In hundreds of small towns throughout the corn and wheat belt of this nation, there had been developing for ten years or more, businesses owned by the people they served—consumer cooperatives. These people established their own wholesale in 1929 (with the modest capital of $3,000), and ten years later they built this now-famous refinery which, together with the 7 oil wells that these cooperators own, and the 70-mile pipe line that carries the oil from their wells to their refinery, cost well over a million dollars. It's a success story—a story which shows that democracy can function in the economic realm; that the people, the common people, can become masters of their own destiny.

It is worth while going below the surface of this triumph of the people's business, however, to examine the economic implications and effects of this great achievement. Such an examination throws light on the strength and weakness of both the consumer cooperative and Georgeist movements.

These oil wells, this pipe line, the refinery, and the land which is a part of each, are owned outright by the people who use their products. Some of these people have invested in extra shares of stock in this enterprise, on which they receive limited interest. The employees who work to produce and distribute the oil, gasoline, lubricants, paint, and other products of the business receive good wages. The balance of the income of the enterprise, including rent and any monopoly profits that may be in the picture, are owned by the people—the members of these consumer cooperative associations. Part of the net income of this undertaking is plowed back into the business for expansion purposes; and part of it is returned to the customer-owners in proportion to their patronage.

These patronage dividends can be understood if they are thought of as an overcharge. Consumer cooperation says, in effect, that every individual has a right to use as much of the products of the natural resources of the earth as he needs. (This is what the Georgeist says, too.) The cooperatives we are now discussing—the Consumers Cooperative Association—does not own all the natural resources of the earth, but of those it does own it may be said: Every owner of this business is entitled to use as much of the products of the land (owned by this business) as he needs, paying for them at their cost of extraction and processing. If he pays more than cost, the excess is returned to him.

"Oh," someone may say, "That is fine for the owners of the business, but what about the rest of us? Is this just another monopoly?" It is not. Any one of us can have access to all of the products of those natural resources on a basis of absolute equality with those who are now using them. We, too, can become owners by purchasing, for five or ten dollars, a share of stock in one of the cooperative associations which own this refinery and oil wells.

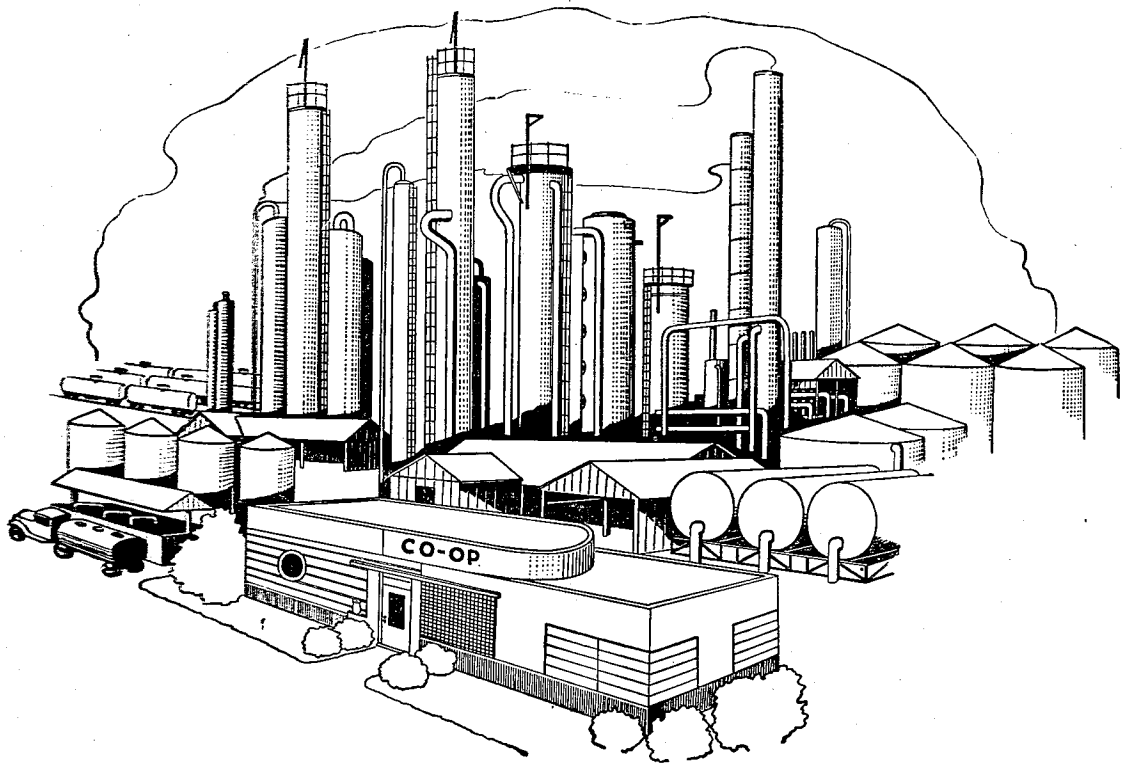
THE COOPERATOR SAYS:

"While Georgeists are *talking about* socializing the rental value of land, we are actually going ahead and *doing it.* By this method, we socialize the rent of some land, and plow back into our business part of the rent,

using it to purchase more land, the rent of which is socialized, in turn. Gradually, steadily, inexorably, we will socialize the rent of all the natural resources of this country—while Georgeists are still trying to get a majority of people to vote for a single tax on land. We don't have to wait for a majority in any town, city, or state. When we get a hundred people we organize a cooperative association. When we get a hundred cooperatives, we organize a wholesale. When we get a few large wholesales, we move back into production and

established, not to do for us those things that we can better do for ourselves, but to do that one thing for which government is peculiarly suited, i.e., to protect our rights.

"Both Georgeists and Cooperators are opposed to the steady encroachment of the state, but cooperators are doing the things that lead to a reduction in the size and activities of the state, by training people to do things for themselves, and thus eliminating the need for many governmental activities."



we become owners of the land which is the source of the wealth we are producing and consuming.

"Second, this method develops men of character and responsibility. These people receive the rent of this land (in their patronage dividends) as a result of their own initiative and enterprise in building up and operating successful, democratic, cooperative associations. On the other hand, if the rent of this same land were being collected by government, and distributed through some bureaucratic agency, the people who benefited by it would have no responsibility for it. They would to this extent be irresponsible wards of the benevolent and paternalistic state.

"Henry George and his followers have demonstrated conclusively that rent increases inexorably as we make technological progress, and as population grows. Then they advocate turning this ever-increasing rent over to government.

"The state has a job to do in the world—although most people have forgotten what it is. Our federal government, and our other governments in this country were

Let us see what points the intelligent Georgeist might make in analyzing Phillipsburg.

"Phillipsburg," says Joshua K. Bolles, in *The People's Business,* "a town of 2,000 population, owing to the terrific drought, had been getting worn at the heels. The refinery would boost the town's payroll $20,000 a month."

This $20,000 comes out of the pockets of cooperators, many of whom have worked and sacrificed and scrimped and saved to build up this great cooperative enterprise. It comes from the consumers of the products of these oil wells. Now, where does it go to?

The employees who came to work in this new refinery had to have places to live. Rooming house keepers got a larger income. The employees had to buy food, so storekeepers got a larger income. But not for long. As soon as the landlords found out about it, and as soon as leases ran out, rents went up. If a builder set out to build some homes for the employees of the new refinery to live in, he found he had to pay more for the land on which they were built. The owner of that land—who

has opposed and fought consumer cooperatives all his life, perhaps—made a nice profit as a result of the hard work and sacrifices of cooperators who developed this enterprise and brought their refinery to Phillipsburg.

This $20,000 payroll may have increased the income of proprietors of rooming houses, and retail stores, and builders, and other businessmen for a little while. But it was not long until the owners of the land had raised rents and selling prices of land sufficiently to divert to their own pockets all of the increased income that the refinery brought to Phillipsburg.

Let us look at the case of Joe X. Joe is a good co-operator. For years he has given a great deal of time to building up the cooperative association in Phillipsburg. It was a good little association; its members had purchased more than their quota of the stock necessary to finance the refinery. Joe had sacrificed a great deal in order to buy thirty shares himself. When the refinery came to Phillipsburg, and Neil Beaton, President of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale, came over and spoke at the dedication, Joe was as happy a man as you could have found in the United States.

But Joe was a tenant; he rented his home from a man who lived in the next town, a few miles away. When the refinery came to Phillipsburg, bringing new employees, there was an increased demand for housing. So the owner of Joe's house raised the rent $5 a month. Joe protested, but what could he do? Nothing. Rents of other houses were being raised, too, and so Joe had to pay. This, then, is the result of Joe's sacrifice and efforts. His patronage dividends from the co-op that he helped build amount to about $32.00 a year; the increased rent that he has to pay for his home amounts to $60.00 a year; his net loss is $28.00 a year. But there is another result of Joe's sacrifice and efforts in building the co-op, an important result that should not be overlooked by cooperators. It is this: The income of Joe's landlord has been increased by $60.00 a year, although the landlord has never spent a penny with a co-op!

Joe may conclude that he must work harder to build co-ops faster; that the only answer is for the cooperative to buy up more of the business and industry in the town until the whole town is cooperatively owned. Then he could rent his house from his own cooperative, just as today he buys his gasoline and food from his own cooperative.

The obstacles to the success of this program we have already seen: Every time the co-op makes a substantial advance, and buys up more of the land and industry, it will result in an increase in the rental and sales price of the adjacent land. The more cooperators make for themselves, by their own initiative and hard work, the more they make for landlords who do nothing for the cooperative—who may even oppose the cooperative.

WORKING TOGETHER

If the cooperators had understood the elementary principles of economics, and the place that natural resources play in an economy, they might have avoided this situation. It would have been possible to realize *all* the gains made by building the refinery at Phillipsburg—without letting the lion's share go to landowners.

The population of Phillipsburg was only 2,000. Bolles tells us that the town was run down, so that any vested interests there were both small and poor. It would not have been too difficult for the Consumers Cooperative Association to have carried on an educational campaign there, in cooperation with the Henry George School and the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, to bring to the residents of the town an understanding of the economic principles involved. *A measure might have been proposed whereby the city would cancel all taxes on improvements and collect only the rental value of the land within the city limits; distributing through the municipality the school, water works, streets and other public services needed by the town.* The location of the refinery there could have been made dependent on the passage of the measure.

Joe's rent would have gone up just the same, since the coming of the refinery increased the value of the land in Phillipsburg. But the $60, instead of going to enrich a landlord, who did nothing to earn it, would have come back to Joe and his family by way of the city treasury of Phillipsburg, and relieved Joe of that much tax burden.

What is the lesson to be drawn by cooperatives from the analysis of Phillipsburg? First: The private appropriation of economic rent is the greatest obstacle to the complete success of any cooperative. For not only has Joe had his house rent increased by the building landlord, but the cooperative itself must pay to the municipal government an increased tax for its improved equipment.

Second, purchasing land from the private landowner does not relieve the cooperative enterprise from the economic burden of "rent," since it must pay as purchase price its full capital value, thereby saving nothing, except, of course, the subsequent increase which might accrue to the land thus purchased.

Third, only by the government collection of ground rent can the selling price of the land and land speculation be abolished.

Let us say in conclusion, that while it is unfortunate that cooperators do not attach enough importance to the economic effects of land value taxation, it is equally unfortunate that Georgeists do not join the study clubs offered by the cooperative movement, and become members of such, so as to provide a gradually widening wedge against all forms of monopolistic practices. For consumer cooperation does tend to divert the profits of land monopoly from a class that does nothing to earn them to the class, which by its industries, made the value of the land.

The Time Has Come

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE TEACHERS OF MANKIND

By Ralph Borsodi

(*Concluded from the April-May issue*)

THE TIME has come, as I said in the last issue in this article, when the leadership which the warrior lost to the priest, the priest to the merchant, the merchant to the banker, and which the banker is now losing to the public official, must be taken over by the teacher. A new world must be built. And the castle-centered, church-centered, bank-centered, government-centered community must be replaced by a school-centered and university-centered society. We teachers are false to the responsibilities of our difficult profession if we trust the leaders of the United Nations—*after the war is won*—to write a peace treaty for the world.

It is necessary not only to make it clear that there are sound reasons for taking each of the three steps proposed immediately upon the ending of the war, but that each step is interdependent and that all must be taken in order to achieve the high objective toward which they are directed. Without going into details, it becomes self-evident that nothing much less complete and radical will actually resolve the following world problems:

The problem of peace and security. Since no nation and no party, other than the World Military Police, will be permitted by the police to acquire the armaments necessary to war or violent revolution, wars will be virtually impossible.

The problem of tyranny and liberty. Without requiring any nation to abandon its present form of government or preventing it from establishing even a monarchical or theocratic form of government, and without compelling all nations to adopt a form of government vaguely referred to as "democratic" in order to insure freedom from tyranny, the combination of military disarmament with universal free trade, free travel and free communication will render the destruction of liberty and the maintenance of tyranny impossible.

The problem of imperialism. Since colonial governments will be prevented from using imperial armies for the purpose of maintaining their rule, no governments which do not rule with the consent of the governed can survive.

The problem of immigration. Since each nation will remain free to determine for itself permanent membership and residence of aliens, mass-immigration which might threaten the native culture or standards of living, can be prevented.

The problem of progress. Since the World Police will only be concerned with the maintenance of peace, the existing social, economic, political and religious institutions of the various nations of the world will not be "frozen" in their present forms; and may be changed by the people of any nation by any means other than the use of force.

The problem of winning this war and making it possible to establish such a peace. An immediate declaration of such war aims would dampen the ardor of the peoples of the Axis nations; it would enlist the sympathy and even co-operation of some part of their populations in the war effort of the United Nations; it would enormously improve the morale of the United Nations; it would constitute a political offensive of incalculable value against the Hitlerized nations of the world.

These minima will, of course, be decried as impractical and inexpedient by those who pride themselves on being politic and practical. But they are nonetheless useful. For if nothing less can insure permanent peace, they become touchstones by which to judge how long the truce our political peace-makers are planning, will last.

Can the United Nations be compelled to declare their war aims now? My answer is, yes, they can be compelled to do so by the simple process of having teachers call all men and women whose profession is concerned with influencing their fellow men to meet in Schools, Colleges, Universities and other Institutions of Learning; there and then to formulate the essentials of such a declaration of war aims. It is the literal truth that at this time the people of the United Nations are without adequate leadership on these fundamental matters. They long ago lost their faith in leadership by great captains of industry. They are fast losing their faith in political leadership. The time is ripe for the teachers of mankind to furnish such leadership. If in addition to formulating the essentials of peace, our teachers were to organize themselves into regional, national and international councils for the purpose of formulating a new world order, they could take over the leadership of mankind, and take the place in society which is rightly theirs.

TOWARD A REALLY NEW ORDER

The truth and validity of every plan for a new order must be tested by the manner in which it deals with the problems of peace, prosperity, politics and progress. I have already referred to what I think are the immediate essentials of a permanent peace. But it should be recognized that these essentials listed deal only with an outer peace —the control of *mass-violence*. They do not deal

with domestic political problems, nor with the problems involved in the achievement of that inner peace, individual by individual and family by family. Nor do these proposals deal directly with the problems of prosperity and progress: they deal with them only indirectly by creating conditions in which progress and prosperity become possible. In such a letter as this, it is obviously impossible to discuss such problems in detail. But it is necessary to discuss the relative merits of the only two basic alternative principles between which we must choose.

All the activities and institutions of mankind—social, economic, political and religious—may be pursued and organized upon either of two principles: the principle of centralizing power in the hands of one man or a small number of persons; or the principle of decentralizing, diffusing or distributing power among the people generally.

I recognize that cogent reasons can be adduced for centralization, particularly for the purpose of dealing with great emergencies and catastrophes such as war. But undeniable is the lesson of history: centralization should never be resorted to by mankind if any alternative method can be developed for attaining the purpose in view. "All power corrupts," said Lord Acton after a lifetime devoted to the study of history, "and absolute power corrupts absolutely." In spite of the fact that centralization appeals on practical grounds to financiers, industrial engineers, and trade unionists—and on idealistic grounds to other men—Communists, for instance—I believe we should reject centralization, except for the very limited number of large-scale activities in which decentralization is manifestly impossible.

The real problem of the social order then becomes one of restricting centralization to those activities and those institutions where it properly belongs, and of decentralizing every activity and every institution which would promote the welfare of individual human beings. The earth is a heritage, entrusted to this generation, to be conserved for our children and our children's children. It is ours to enrich and enjoy. It is not ours to ravish and destroy.

In a world that seems to me over-centralized, the principle to apply to the problems of inner peace, progress, prosperity and politics, is decentralization. Unless we begin our program with a solution of the problem of living for the individual, the family, and the local community, it is ridiculous to assume that we shall be able to solve those of not only a whole nation but of the whole world.

DOES NOT DEPEND UPON THE STATE

One of the great advantages of decentralization is that it need not wait upon national legislation. Even here in America in spite of the war effort, it is possible to move toward a world order which decentralizes itself family by family, community by community, and even industry by industry. For decentralization is essentially an educational movement. At heart, it is a new approach to the problem of how modern man should live. In essence, it is an attitude, not a formula. Its practical expression can begin with a return to the land—with a movement of people, even family by family, from urban centers to homesteads out in the country. Stated in this way it seems simple, but analysis of its implications makes it the greatest challenge to education in all history.

For over a century, the people of all the industrial nations of the world have been taught that the only things necessary to a high standard of living—which we have assumed to be synonymous with a good way of life—is urban employment, life in an urban apartment, money with which to shop in urban stores, and plenty of leisure time to spend in pursuit of urban amusements. Even the children who have come to us in our schools and colleges and universities from country homes have been infected with the shoddy, materialistic, sensory values which dominate the modern world. To obtain these things, we train them for vocations which aim at making money rather than enriching life. The native values of rural life, of which the wisest men and the greatest prophets have spoken, is something which modern urbanites have forgotten. Yet meditation upon the proper relationship of man to the earth inevitably leads to the conclusion that the great teachers of all time were right, and that the problems with which modern man is confronted are the natural consequences of his mistaken approach to the problem of how to live.

The task of teaching people how to use modern technology properly, and organizing society not around industry, but around the hearth, the home and the homestead is no simple task. It requires us to re-educate ourselves, and then to teach men how they should use power and machinery and modern science in the home, on the farm, in community shops and factories, and in the limited number of big industrial centers needed to produce the goods which cannot be manufactured economically by the people for themselves. This is a task in which we, who have devoted ourselves to education, should lead. This is a task for Universities, Colleges, Schools.

The first aim of the teacher should, no doubt, be to educate men in those liberal arts which discipline the mind and thus free the spirit, but it is even difficult to do this first thing without at the same time teaching men how they can live so that their families can produce a decent living for

themselves. The last thing which we need to teach them is what unfortunately we have come to teach them first—how to make money. If we are to avoid peopling the world with robots, who have no personal control over their lives and their communities, and who are entirely dependent upon distant, absentee management, then we must teach them how they can be economically independent (at least for the necessities of life). The free man is not merely the man who has that infinitesimal fraction of the political power represented by a vote. It is the man who is so independent that he can deal with all men and all institutions, even the State, on terms of equality.

It is an abdication of the responsibility which we assumed when we joined the ranks of teachers, to leave this question to the public officials of the nation, or to business men concerned with creating wants for the goods and services they wish to manufacture and sell. It is treason at this critical time to leave to others the question that millions of demobilized and jobless soldiers and post war-workers will ask as soon as the violence ends. The men who are making the sacrifices now in order to free this green earth from a new kind of slavery, are entitled not to jobs, not to pensions, not to bonuses, not to relief, but to a share of that fair green earth. The returning American soldier can ask for nothing more truly American than the opportunity to produce a living for a family on land to which he holds title himself. Let us teach them how to acquire land, how to build homes, how to cultivate the earth, and how to make in their own kitchens and shops with modern tools and methods the essentials of a good way of life. How to earn the money with which to buy the luxuries and amusements of urban life, will not be rendered impossible by such an education, though it will be less important. For the rank and file of men, life on such a new American homestead—where they work first to produce their own needs—will solve not only the problem of security, but will also increase the wherewithal for the luxuries of modern life.

The political and institutional changes needed to implement such a new order will follow and accompany such a movement of education. Man becomes what he has been taught, and not only he himself, but the institutions amidst which he lives, ultimately reflect what he has come to believe. The time has come for us to cease training men to fit into a scheme of things designed by politicians, by advertising men, or even by industrial engineers. The time has come to teach them how to live a normal life out of the texts entrusted to us, containing as they do the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of the great men of all time.

WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Slowly, through the sacrifice of countless lives and immeasurable suffering; slowly, from the destruction of millions in ships, munitions and other materials of war, we are learning from ruthless enemies how to win this war. In spite of our unpreparedness, we are accumulating the knowledge and the means for offensive action. It may be soon, and it may be years from now, but eventually we must win. We cannot live in the sort of world which would be imposed upon us if the gangsterism of the Axis nations should triumph.

It is late, very late, as mankind slips back from one barbarity to another. But no matter how late, nor how difficult it may be for truth and wisdom to make itself heard amid the floods of propaganda, there is no reason for shrinking from the effort. It has been well said that this is the time for greatness. I cannot believe that the teachers entrusted with the great heritage of mankind's learning, have nothing fundamental to contribute to guide mankind in this period of travail. This faith, and no self-assured certainty that what I have here suggested is the final truth, has led me to write this letter.

Why should not all of us whose work is that of influencing our fellow men, meet in the Halls of Learning and, guided by the greatest men of all time, take counsel together; and so take a first step toward making the University, the College and School the center of that more perfect world toward which everyone who considers himself a teacher is fated to struggle?

A perfect world we cannot make, but surely we can design a better one than the one in which we now find ourselves, and surely we can devise a more perfect plan than the one which politicians will want to make for us.

[Reprints of this article are being made available by Mr. Borsodi. See advertisement on inside back cover.—ED.]

Lafayette College Winners

SIX students of Lafayette College shared in the prizes offered by the John and Emma Allen Foundation for essays based on the subject "Economic Rent." Professor Frank R. Hunt, of the Department of Economics, has made the winning essay available to the editors of LAND AND FREEDOM for comment.

Certain interesting conclusions can be drawn from our observations of the students' work.

1. Not one of the contestants accepted land value taxation as a complete answer, fiscally or morally, to our economic situation.

2. Only the two young men who shared the first prize seemed to have convictions of their own. The other contestants tended to fall back upon the authors of their texts for the pros and cons of their arguments.

3. One student said, "The present excess profits tax on corporations does take economic rent more so than any other one" and . . . "the graduated income tax probably appropriates economic rent better than any other tax on individuals can do." Another student said, "Do away with economic rent, and peace will be more enduring." (!) A third student would take no stand on the issue.

4. Only three students listed George's "Progress and Poverty" in their bibliography, although it is apparent that all of them read some land value tax literature. It is apparent that Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown's works are used extensively at Lafayette College.

5. None of the students recognized the factor of rising wages and interest in an economy where the annual value of land redounds to Society in the utilization of social rent for government services.

6. The most exhaustive preparation was submitted by Robert Henry Yahraes, who prefaced his analysis of the assigned subject with a clear-cut condensation of economic viewpoint prior to George. We append below some concluding remarks by this writer:

MR. YAHRAES' CONCLUSIONS

The very arguments which Seligman and others have used against the single tax of Henry George pave the way for a revised evaluation, and raise the curtain upon a new concept of taxation which answers all objections, and yet bears the brand of George and every other single tax advocate. And this revised theory of single taxation is moreover, the keystone, the thesis, of our discussion in this paper.

Harold S. Buttenheim sums up the facts admirably in his article, "If Henry George Were Writing Today," which appears in the February, 1935, issue of *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*. Buttenheim points out that George's era was one of rapid expansion in the use of land, and that therefore much of the economic evil of the day lay in the increasing economic rent of land. . . . The population curve is flattening out. Buttenheim insists that if George were writing on the economic situation of today, he would modify and change some of his premises.

Henry George wanted a tax on unearned increment, one which was socially just, one which could not be shifted, one which would not hinder progress or restrict production. Seligman argued for a tax with an adequate base and sufficient flexibility. We can combine and satisfy all these demands by modifying our single tax to include economic rent, excessive income, and inheritance. Seligman might immediately object that this would not be a single tax, but we answer that it is still essentially the single tax of Henry George; there has been no change in kind, only in degree.

A PLEA FOR THREE BASES

In other words, every argument which George used in favor of a tax on economic rent can be applied to our two additional bases. Therefore, we have not changed the views of the single taxers in the slightest; we have merely looked around and discovered two additional bases which are entirely similar to economic rent. Let us look at them more closely in order to make our contention perfectly clear.

Our income tax would start at a fairly high level and be steeply graduated. It would fix a maximum of say fifty or a hundred thousand dollars annual income. We agree with Buttenheim that such a system would not discourage initiative appreciably. As he says, "Suppose that the normal minimum wages of able-bodied or able-brained American adults were to range from three thousand to five thousand dollars a year—and even assume, if you will, that this would involve the inability of other American adults, whether working or loafing, to collect and retain more than thirty thousand to fifty thousand dollars a year. Would not this income spread be sufficient incentive for all the initiative and enterprise which our twentieth century civilization requires?"

Even a maximum of fifty thousand dollars a year would be more than fifteen times the salary of the average worker. Remember, too, that there would be no other taxes to cut down spending power. Likewise, a substantial tax on inheritance would not dim initiative, and would tend to eliminate the huge handicaps that exist in our economic set-up today.

We contend that it would. Inheritance is certainly enough unearned wealth. What about high incomes? If we take the view that any income over a certain high amount depends for the most part upon society, which in most cases it does, it is socially justifiable to tax away unearned surpluses. One would be hard put to find the man who is worth a hundred thousand dollars annually without the presence of society.

Nor can either of these bases be shifted appreciably. An inheritance tax certainly cannot, and the man who trys to shift his income tax onto the price of the product he sells will find that his sales are declining, or that his income is increasing, which means an even larger tax.

Seligman can find little to object to, because we now have a sufficient tax base, taxes do not rest entirely on the land-owner, and our system, with its inclusion of a graduated income tax, is highly flexible. Single taxers cannot object, because the tax on economic rent is an integral part of the plan, and the other two taxes are based upon the qualifications of Henry George and every other single tax advocate.

The fundamental point is that under our revised single tax plan, the basic doctrine of Henry George holds true, and more and more are economists coming to agree with him. For example, Robert Pettengill, reviewing the California tax plan of 1938, says, "The probable gains from more extensive land-value taxation make it desirable. . . ." He points out, however, that careful legislation is a prerequisite, and intelligent governmental control essential.

(*Continued on page 33*)

Britain's Insecure Truce

By Douglas J. J. Owen

TWO important divisions on internal questions have taken place in the British House of Commons. Against the Catering Bill, 116 members opposed the Government; another 119 voted against the Government because of its attitude towards the Beveridge scheme. These two figures, however, represent two entirely different groups within Parliament, and they illustrate the fragile nature of the Political Truce. The 116 were Conservatives, and the 119 were mostly Labor members.

The Catering Bill proposes to bring the catering trade workers, including waiters, into line with trade union legislation for negotiating wage rates. To understand its real importance we must see this Bill in its perspective. Informative comment was made by the *Manchester Guardian* on February 11. It said: "Tuesday night's division in the House of Commons on the Catering Bill was the most significant vote we have had since the war began. It marks the first serious rift in the Parliamentary unity, not on the war, but on the conception of the social and economic order that is to follow the war. The Government from now on cannot escape doing things that will reveal more and more its intentions about post-war society, and if a modest advance like the Catering Wages Bill is resisted by the Tories with Tuesday's warmth, what will happen if and when, say, the Government carries out the Uthwatt proposals on land development rights or the Beveridge Plan itself? The possibilities of still wider rifts are obviously present; the point at which they come, if they do come, may be of great consequence to the shape of post-war politics."

Land Value Taxers do not consider the Uthwatt* proposals very revolutionary, but it is interesting to find the *Manchester Guardian* relating these votes to possible land legislation of any kind. When Tories vote against a war Government on a matter like this, we have a slight foretaste of what may be expected if a Cabinet really stands up to the land monopolists.

The debate on the Beveridge Plan revealed a deep cleavage in another direction. Apart from the merits of the Plan, it is regarded on all hands as a symbol, and the Government's evident lukewarmness has given a shock to the legitimate hopes of vast numbers that some good might come out of the agony of the war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who takes credit for finding astronomical sums for war—yet without taxing the rapidly increasing values of land, a source of revenue estimated at £500,000,000 a year—talks in a cheeseparing way about the cost of social reforms, and of benefits to unemployed and sick workers. If this excuse sprang from a correct view of a Chancellor's duty, in the spirit of a Gladstone or a Snowden, not to mention Henry George, it would be understandable. The Government expects the Beveridge reform to take its place in order of priority. But it was not stated what the order of post-war social reform would be; whether housing, education reform, civil aviation, or insurance is to take first place. And no mention is made of the urgent need for reforming our local taxation laws, as demanded by increasing numbers of local authorities. While all wait their turn in the "queue," the legislative bus passes by "full up." The Government knows that it should put ABC before XYZ, but it ignores the fact that in the matter of priorities the collection of land-rent for revenue is the beginning of the alphabet.

Those who know their "Progress and Poverty" will see no progress in Beveridge, and no cure for poverty. We can neither praise the Government, nor praise the Plan. A truer estimate is that of the *Scots Independent:* "To praise this [Beveridge] Report is just to give fulsome thanks for those few wretched crumbs that fall from the Big Business Man's table for the workers of this country to scramble for. The truth is that the table and all that is on it are the right and property of all who work to keep it spread. In truth, the Beveridge Report is an impudent document, a niggling echo of Lloyd George's petty reformism. It merely ties together all the tag ends of 'Social Services' which have accumulated these thirty years as patch-up remedies for poverty and want, to provide an everlasting cushy job for a huge centralized bureaucracy, as the earlier reports do."

POSTWAR QUOTAS REPLACE TARIFF!

While these discussions are going on, some attention was given in the House of Lords on Agriculture. Pious aspirations were ventilated. For instance, eleven Lords from various parties have united to put forth certain principles for post-war agriculture. Tariffs are agreed by the eleven as no solution to the price problem. They recommend, however, a system of import quotas for certain foodstuffs! This is a denial of the Free Trade expressions within the Atlantic Charter not to mention hard economics. They want a continuance of private ownership, which shall be subject to "management" control. No reference is made to the question of land values.

The Farmers' Union have also met on the subject of post-war legislation, and their findings are awaited.

* See "Planning by Guesswork," November-December, 1942.

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DESPITE CEILINGS—LAND SPECULATION AS USUAL

Meanwhile the business of buying and selling land, and the rents attached to land, goes on apace, unimpeded but stimulated by war activities. At Southampton 1,210 acres, situated at the mouth of the Hamble river, realized a total of £42,300 for 36 lots. Up in the North, the Duke of Sutherland offers for sale the estate of Tressady, about 21,950 acres in Sutherland, on the L. M. S. main railway line from Inverness to Wick and Thurso. It includes perpetual rents, leasehold ground rents, grouse moor with good shooting, and fishing rights. The rent roll amounts to over £1,800 a year. It is this kind of farming, the farming of farm rents, that is in question when agriculture comes up for discussion. The continuation of this robbery business will be fought for by such groups as the 116 who are prepared to risk the stability of the Government in wartime, rather than see their vested interests jeopardized. An internal conflict is threatened that promises to be as exciting as the international one.

On March 3, the *Daily Telegraph* said: "The phenomenal price of £1,700, about £283 an acre, was paid at an auction sale at Boston, Lincolnshire, yesterday for just under six acres of land at Freeston, a neighboring village. This exceeds the exceptional price an acre recorded in the same part of Lincolnshire, a highly fertile area, in December, when a three-acre field made £770 and a five-acre field £1,050. The former owner of the land sold yesterday bought it before the last war for £440."

Well may the *Daily Telegraph* give this paragraph the heading "£283 An Acre For Farmland," this being about seven times the average value of land in country districts. It illustrates the enormous increases in land values fanned by the war. The possibility of "boom" conditions after the war is anticipated and forestalled. Meanwhile, the Minister of Health advises our municipalities to prepare for Housing development by purchasing city sites now, and promises to use his compulsory purchase powers where needed in their behalf. This land ramp goes on, prices and rents are soaring, and the conditions are eventuating which will make it difficult for demobilized forces to find an outlet for their labor. We shall have, no doubt, more than the minimum of 1,500,000 unemployed foreshadowed by the Beveridge Report. Exactly such a process was foreseen and foretold by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

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By Pvt. Robert Clancy

THE Pacific Northwest is booming. The Northwestern area of the United States—taking in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana, and focussing in Seattle, Washington—is experiencing what has been called a new industrial revolution. Population and industry are expanding rapidly. The Northwest is in ferment.

Of course, the boom has been brought on mainly by the war. The intense activities in the Boeing plant in Seattle, where Flying Fortresses are turned out, and in Henry J. Kaiser's shipyard in Portland, are due to war requirements. These and the many other war industries here have attracted hundreds of thousands of workers from all over the country, and still the Northwest is clamoring for more labor. The region is officially recognized as a critical labor shortage area.

Thanks to the war, too, attention is being focussed on the Pacific Northwest as a strategic area, due to its geographic position. It is a vulnerable target for enemy bombing, and it is a jumping-off place to the Orient.

But while the boom may have been war-produced, this very war activity has made the Northwest conscious of its potentialities. The inhabitants are not willing to allow these newly discovered capacities to atrophy after the war. Hitherto chiefly a source of natural products—lumber, fish, light minerals—the Northwest is anxious to establish itself as a new and important industrial center, and to convert into products the natural materials it extracts.

Indeed, many signs portend a great future for the Northwest. Conditions and projects are moving toward industrial progress. The great water-power developments—Grand Coulee, Bonneville, Skagit—will irrigate millions of acres of land and also provide a tremendous source of hydroelectric power. The Alaska-Canadian highway (which that far-sighted single taxer, Donald MacDonald, has been so influential in promoting) will increase commerce and communication with Western Canada and Alaska, also lands of the future. The growing importance of the Orient will lead to increased trade and establish our Pacific Northwest as an important trade center. Air transit, which will unquestionably play a major role after the war as it is during the war, secures for Seattle an enviable position as an air terminal on the Pacific great circle route and the new Arctic Circle route.

Enthusiasm and optimism characterize the outlook of industrial and political leaders here. Naturally, the winning of the war is uppermost in people's minds, but concern for the postwar period is great. There is general agreement with Utah's Congressman Robinson that unfinished projects in the West, which can only be utilized after the war, be permitted to be completed uninterruptedly now.

A survey of the opinions of business and civil leaders on the future of the Northwest was undertaken by Seattle's leading newspapers, the *Times* and the *Post-Intelligencer,* in a series of articles in each paper during March and April. Most of the personages interviewed were unreservedly optimistic. W. Walter Williams, chairman of the Washington State Defense Council said *(Times):* "Seattle, the state, and the Pacific Northwest are headed for a steady upward curve; nothing in the world can stop it." There is, he said, "a pent-up demand accumulating now which will burst like a dynamited dam when the war is over." George Gunn, Jr., president of the Webster-Brinkley Co., said *(Post-Intelligencer):* "The Pacific Northwest will have to need many demands on its industries in the Pacific Rim, which not only is its natural market, but which, due to the destructive effect of the war, and the rehabilitation needs, will prove a bigger market than ever before." Dave Beck, international vice-president of the Teamsters' Union, foresees a "splendid future" for the Northwest and believes its newly increased population will stay. Philip G. Johnson, president of the Boeing Aircraft Company, promises many wonderful peace-time products, in addition to airplanes, after the war. John B. Fitzgerald, secretary-manager of the Lumbermen's Industrial Relations Committee, foresees a great demand for the products of the Northwest in rebuilding devastated China and Europe.

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While looking forward eagerly to industrial and commercial progress, the Northwest is also mindful of its wealth of natural resources. A boom in the lumber and mining industries is anticipated. Research is being conducted in the mining of important light metals—aluminum and magnesium—in which the Northwest has been found to be rich.

Sensing its foreshadowed greatness, the Northwest

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While looking forward eagerly to industrial and commercial progress, the Northwest is also mindful of its wealth of natural resources. A boom in the lumber and mining industries is anticipated. Research is being conducted in the mining of important light metals—aluminum and magnesium—in which the Northwest has been found to be rich.

Sensing its foreshadowed greatness, the Northwest

wants to be recognized as an entity within the nation, and be liberated from its dependence—financial, industrial, political and cultural—upon the East and upon its great Southern neighbor, California. Northwestern regional offices of the War Labor Board and the National Resources Planning Board have already been established, but recognition is not coming fast enough for Northwesterners. Typical is the view of a Seattle resident, Austin E. Griffiths, in a letter to the *Post-Intelligencer:*

"When I came West fifty-odd years ago, California was world famous. Our Northern region was little known. Gold mining, Oriental shipping had focussed attention upon San Francisco. Travelers, writers, artists acclaimed the Golden State. Political prestige, commercial domination followed. San Francisco salesmen swarmed; Eastern and international concerns centered there. We were poor cousins, business serfs of that gay, ambitious city. Our shackles are still worn. . . .

"The Northwest area and population make a vast political and business unit within the republic. They are entitled to direct contact with Washington and straight cooperation with Eastern interests. No California siphon is longer useful. . . .

"The war stamps the Northwest on the national mind as our Achilles' heel. . . . Hence federal policy must pivot upon Northwest growth, strength, safety. Then the rich Northwest will shape its own fortune in politics, commerce and court matters."

EMPIRE DREAMS

For many years the Pacific Northwest has had dreams of empire. What is now Seattle was almost named New York by the first settlers nearly a century ago, because it was expected to soon rival the Eastern metropolis. Throughout the years the Northwest has worked and waited for its day.

Has the day come at last? Will the Northwest, born humbly, be great?

With the hopes have come fears. With the burgeoning progress have come difficult problems. The Northwest remembers former booms—and crashes. As political and industrial leaders wax optimistic over the future, there is still a note of apprehension. Will the industries stimulated by the war collapse after the war? Will there be widespread unemployment? Will there be wholesale emigration from the Northwest as there is now wholesale immigration into it?

The Northwest is still young. It contains vast areas that have not yet been thoroughly explored. Not long ago an airplane crashed in Idaho and the surviving crew was lost for several days. There is still something of the frontier about this region. In the cities one can see horny-handed lumberjacks and weather-beaten fishermen pacing streets lined with ultra-modern emporiums. The history of the nation is being enacted within a lesser time and space.

Because of the peculiar combination of circumstances, the Northwest regards itself as holding a unique position. It is felt that this will be the most important center for testing the nation's ability to cope with the dislocations and shocks bound to come when the war ends.

But leaders are vague about what is to be done to cushion the postwar shock. There is a feeling that "some clear program" is needed, but optimism over current prosperity is overshadowing apprehension over the future. Industrial leaders are trusting in the newly-discovered productive powers to take care of the economic problems that are anticipated, unheedful of repeated associations of increased productive power with economic collapse in the past.

The National Resources Planning Board has struck a warning note in a report on the Northwest from its field office in Portland, Oregon. The Board recognizes the danger of a collapse of the industrial revolution in the four Pacific Northwest states and urges planning now to avert such a collapse. The plan advocated by the NRPB is as follows: 1. Formulate multiple-purpose power projects; develop energy markets for the power supply. 2. Maintain forest reserves; improve land management and encourage soil conservation. 3. Investigate use of forest, agricultural and mineral products. 4. Study conversion of war industries and markets. 5. Investigate resumption of trade with the Orient and expansion of trade with Alaska and Canada.

There can be no objection to studying and investigating the problems; the real contribution will come when these problems are studied more carefully. The only new note in the NRPB plan—if indeed it can be called new—is the advocacy of a planned economy. While the old school would rely on productive power to solve the problem, the only alternative presented by the new school is planning. The NRPB does recognize the problem of markets and consumer demand, and so touches the crucial point in the question—that of purchasing power, hence of the general level of wages. When more heed is paid to this matter, the problem will have been more closely cornered.

As can be supposed, the problems of the Pacific Northwest are not all of the future. The war boom itself has brought knotty problems. While concerned with the postwar period, the Northwest has more immediate difficulties to unravel.

War workers, while patriotically doing their share, are restless over wages and conditions. One day in February, the Boeing workers walked out: it was not a strike, but a protest against the tardiness of the War Labor Board in deciding their case. When the WLB finally granted a pay raise of 4½c per hour, the workers were bitter. There is still an undercurrent of strong feeling.

There is labor unrest in the Kaiser shipyards. The complicated tangle between the AF of L, the CIO and the NLRB is distressing those who want to see our much-needed ship production proceed unhampered. But

we cannot reckon without those who do the producing, and the union disputes and wage deadlocks are far from being settled.

The housing situation in war centers of the Northwest is also critical. The influx of war workers has created a tremendous demand for shelter, and rents for the most humble quarters are shooting sky-high. To cope with the situation, housing projects are under way. In the mushrooming navy yard city of Bremerton, complete prefabricated houses are built within 5½ hours! These are rented by the government for $40 a month. But subsidized housing is taking care of only a small portion of the hundreds of thousands of war workers who have flocked here.

The Northwest boom has had its inevitable effects upon land values. Workers are crowding into the cities, and the price for a little space goes higher each day. All along the Puget Sound area one can see tract after tract of vacant land for sale—at the "right" price. With the industrial boom has come a land boom.

Far from realizing the dire economic consequences of such a land boom, business leaders are regarding this trend as an encouraging sign—part of the boom—and land is offered as a solid investment. D. K. MacDonald, president of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, rhapsodizes thusly: "The State of Washington, because of its 40 mill tax limit law, is the most favored in the nation. Land is a favorite investment and we have it." Henry Broderick, leading Seattle realtor, promises a real estate boom due to Seattle's vital location. Broderick is the coiner of the slogan, "When Seattle has a million, what will YOU have?"—a terse way of expressing the relation between population and land value.

In Portland, too, there is a mounting real estate boom. Fred Sexton, Portland realtor, reports *(Oregon Journal)*: "The situation today in Portland is unique. It almost approximates the settling of Oklahoma, in that there is a rush of new people looking for real property. In that instance, however, the land was free. Here it has a price, and the price is going higher all the time [*sic!*]. . . . In my opinion the real boom in Portland real estate has barely started." Another somewhat ironic expression of the relation between population and land value is offered by Frank L. McGuire, another Portland realtor. McGuire declares that in gaining 125,000 new residents due to war industries, Portland has gained 125,000 new unpaid publicity agents. Far from being paid for their service, the new residents are *paying* for the increased rent they themselves have brought about!

But while the effect of increasing population and industry upon land values is thus recognized, there is no thought of doing anything about it outside of offering land as a sound investment. The only official action has been the inadequate OPA rent control legislation, which cannot cope with economic law. For while more and more people flock to this area looking for a place to live, rents are bound to go up.

Seattle has the problem of expanding its strained public services for the newly increased population. The city is now operating on a deficit of $2½ millions, and the City Council is casting about for new sources of revenue. A garbage tax has been proposed; also a city sales tax, in addition to the one imposed by the State of Washington. There has been no entertainment of the proposal to defray the city's increasing expenses from the increasing rent—which is due to the growing population requiring these additional expenses!

In the discussions on the war and postwar problems of the Pacific Northwest, the importance of land and land value has not been given due attention. This is unfortunate, for upon the general recognition of and adherence to correct economic relations will depend the outcome of the Northwest boom—whether it will mount only to crash, like former booms; or whether it will really develop into the new era dreamed of by the Northwest.

[The economic situation in the Pacific Northwest presents many interesting aspects worthy of attention. Of particular interest is the electric power industry here, on which I hope to report in a subsequent article.—R. C.]

Dr. Henry George III

Before we come off the press it will be known whether Henry George III has been elected mayor of Wilmington, Delaware, on the Democratic ticket. Dr. George did not seek the nomination, and gave the party leaders to understand that his campaign would be conducted on a platform of fundamental principles. Wilmington, citadel of the duPonts, is normally Republican.

A Friendly Counsel

One after another, proposals are brought forward for winning the peace. Not one has gone beyond dealing in generalities, not one has been based in the absolutely necessary fundamentals, and these alone offer a concrete plan. These fundamentals are free land, free trade, free men. Without these, peace cannot be preserved.

But the proposals brought forward deal only with the circumference of the situation. They ignore the hard facts, the seed, of the situation. It is to ignore Nature, God's nature, wherein His law works. Without seed what stability is there, what growth can there be?

Lincoln met the need of his day. It is for Roosevelt to give himself to that of this day. He has been so great thus far, but has had to fall back on palliatives, in his eager desire to serve. When will he and Wallace turn to those absolutely necessary fundamentals? So that instead of thinking of vague security we shall be dwelling on opportunity.

—Mary Fels.

Farmer-Labor Unity

By Howard Y. Williams

WORKERS on farms and in the city tend to work together, and it is only when they are deceived that they are driven apart.

There are many instances in which they have co-operated splendidly together. In the experience of the Non-Partisan League which won control of the government of North Dakota following World War I, farmers and workers united in the legislature to pass the most fundamental legislation ever enacted by any state. Huge vested interests were checked in their excesses through the state's public insurance, its mill and elevator, state bank, and a state housing program.

In Minnesota, the Farmer Labor Party was in control from 1930-1938. The legislature enacted royalty and tonnage taxes on iron ore that brought millions of dollars into the coffers of the state, and made possible the reduction of taxes on homesteads. Enlarged services to cooperatives, better labor legislation, increased activities by state institutions, and the banning of foreclosures on farms and homes during the depression resulted.

In Wisconsin, farmers and workers united in the Farmer Labor Progressive Federation, and formed a rank and file movement to influence the Progressive Party of that state. There is no question but that over the years in Wisconsin, in the Socialist Party under Victor Berger, and in the progressive movement under old "Bob" LaFollette, the workers and farmers made possible one of the best governed states in the nation.

In Oregon and Washington, the Commonwealth Federations of those states worked out a similar program of cooperation. In Canada today the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is welding workers of city and farm into a vigorous political movement that bids fair to exert great influence in the Dominion.

Entrenched wealth fears such cooperation, and has used large sums of money and all the avenues of information through newspapers and radio to defeat such combinations. During these past months controlled newspapers, radio commentators and advertising have been used to unjustly paint labor as obstructing the war effort. Many farmers have been deceived by this propaganda, and alienated from labor. In the 1942 election, farmers and workers tended largely to vote on the opposite side of the fence. If this trend continues, it means that democracy will be greatly weakened, that the war effort will not be as effective, and that the peace is likely to be sold down the river by the reactionaries, as it was following the last war.

Rural and city workers will pay dearly if inflation comes. European experience with inflation was devastating to the common people and finally landed them in the lap of fascism. It was the inflation of land prices here in the last war that made tenants out of thousands of farm owners—mostly to insurance companies. They lost all their equity, were slaves to the land as they tried for years to carry the interest load, and then they lost everything.

RESOURCES MONOPOLY

In any realistic political program, workers and farmers should emphasize that government revenue should come from a tax on land values. The monopoly control of many of our natural resources is more and more evident as the war progresses. The American Aluminum Company has almost complete control of bauxite, basic for the production of aluminum. The United States Steel controls a large share of the iron mines of the Nation. Anaconda Copper has a similar control of copper. So it is with oil, tin, coal, lumber, etc. These resources constitute a wealth provided for all mankind. They belong to all the people, and not to the person or corporation that happens to have title to the top-soil.

America's record of rampant waste of lumber, oil, gas and soil is one of the shocking stories of history. Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other states are miles of cut-over land laid bare by the lumber barons in their ruthless exploitation. It will take generations to replace this waste by a careful program of reforestation. Planned cutting of the timber would have preserved the land and the forests and been a continuous source of wealth for the state.

The Progressives of Minnesota early saw this problem and finally forced through the legislature royalty and tonnage taxes on iron ore which have brought several million dollars each year into the treasury of the state. Under the administration of Governor Elmer A. Benson, a Farmer Laborite, the taxes were increased to 10½ percent. Governor Harold A. Stassen, a stooge of the U. S. Steel Corporation, permitted the Lake Erie price for iron ore, which is the basis for taxation, to be reduced, for the purpose of decreasing the tax upon that corporation. So in spite of the fact that more iron ore is being shipped from Minnesota than ever in its history, the amount received by the state is less. But even under a conservative governor, the people of Minnesota are receiving huge sums of money through this tax, which means a decrease of other taxation. In the *Saturday*

Evening Post for May 15, Governor Stassen deplores the capital gains tax, much of which absorbs economic rent, and pleads for an overall consumer tax to finance postwar public works.

There is the experience of a neighboring state, South Dakota. In the Black Hills, are the richest gold mines in the world. William Randolph Hearst, the main stockholder, has worked through his political stooges a technique preventing any tax on land values in that state. These politicians concentrated on the Senate, holding control over a majority of its members, so that no such legislation could get through. Not a state in the whole area was so hard hit during the depression. Here was a natural resource being removed from the state, and making millions of dollars for Hearst and his associates, yet yielding practically nothing for the social needs of that state. The situation became so flagrant that finally the Hearst wire-pullers permitted a small severance tax to go through to quiet the protests.

Farmers and workers must cooperate to see that land values are assessed to drain off excess profits of the monopoly corporations capitalizing on the war. Farmers have no reason to fear such a land tax, for it is based not on area, but on intrinsic worth. Farm improvements are generally worth more than their land, and like urban labor, farmers would be relieved of taxes on production, which now take such a toll on their skill and labor.

We are going to win the war, but as things are going today we may very likely lose the peace. The policy of our State Department in North Africa in setting up men like Peyrouton and Nogues in places of power, the building up of Franco of Spain, Otto of Austria, the House of Savoy in Italy, Bruening of Germany, all as a clerico-fascist *cordon sanitaire* to hem in Russia, and the unwillingness to be courageous in meeting the refugee problem, all means that we can win the war and yet lose all that we are fighting for.

The 1944 election is going to tell the story as to whether the victory in war will mean a victory in peace. If the obstructionists and isolationist-imperialists win that election, we shall have a repetition of 1920.

Whenever and wherever farmers and workers cooperate they build progress. This has been true in the influence they have exerted in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and in the part that they have played in the United Nations. The future for a progressive, democratic America depends on their working together here.

The People's Lobby

By Colston Warne

IT may come as a surprise to many Americans to learn that there is a People's Lobby in Washington operated on a modest budget, but possessed of a vigor which resulted from the effective work of its founder and Executive Secretary, Benjamin C. Marsh. For more than twenty years Congressional hearings have witnessed a tall, lank, vigorous figure stepping to the fore to present the case of the people. Congressmen early recognized Ben Marsh as a master in the give and take of debate. They have learned to respect his integrity and judgment.

The People's Lobby has never been a mass organization. It has been supported on about $8,000 a year, a sum which has sufficed to publish a monthly bulletin, at least one sizable pamphlet every year, and to pour forth a stream of nearly 200,000 circulars a year. In its headquarters at 1410 H Street, N.W., are memoranda on finance, clippings from papers, summaries of releases, piled high along the walls, but its most valuable asset is the knowledge by its Executive Secretary of all of the scamps and all the angels in Washington, and his capacity to make life increasingly unpleasant for the scamps.

The organization was founded in 1920 as "The People's Reconstruction League." Its birth was the outgrowth of alarm on the part of farmer and labor groups over the election of President Warren G. Harding of "normalcy" fame. Its chief supporters were then the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, the International Association of Machinists, the International Electrical Workers, and the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors. A Republican State Senator from Michigan headed the League, whose program centered on progressive taxation and food control.

In the early twenties the People's Reconstruction League led the campaign which resulted in the Packer and Stockyards Act of 1920, an act which sought to correct the abuses made public by the Federal Trade Commission. Opposition was also voiced to the imperialist designs of the United States in Latin America.

During the middle twenties the organization's name was changed to "The People's Lobby," and in 1928, John Dewey, Columbia educator and philosopher, was elected its President, a position which he retained until 1936. When Mr. Dewey took over the Presidency, some of the more conservative members objected to the new name. Labor had in this period become highly conservative. A number of unions had entered banking, and a spirit of labor capitalism dwarfed the demand for reform. By 1929, the major labor organizations had deserted the Lobby.

The conservative trend in labor did not, however, alter the Lobby's program, and individual support was

secured from a widely scattered group of key people in communities scattered across the nation, including many labor leaders. Through the frequent trips of its Executive Secretary, the Lobby continued to have the confidence of farm and labor groups, which could see beyond the "new era" politics of the twenties. This support was even more pronounced during the long depression of the thirties.

The strength of the Lobby as an organization has been due in substantial measure to its method of its operation. The members are informally polled to determine the issues which should be stressed during the ensuing year. Its annual meeting is a democratic forum of opinion. As an organization, it has consistently sought to secure the acceptance of its ideas by other groups, and it has frequently worked in close cooperation with such groups on particular measures. It has featured luncheons and radio broadcasts to stress its ideas. In newspaper publicity it has not been a modest violet. Membership in the Lobby ranges from a minimum cost of $1 a year to a maximum set by one's pocketbook (and by the tax structure).

In 1942, the Lobby had 2,200 members scattered over 34 states, besides several hundred subscribers to its *Monthly Bulletin*. About one-fourth of the members are from Pacific Coast states. Each member, irrespective of his dues, receives the eight-page factual *Monthly Bulletin* of the Lobby, together with such pamphlets as may be published during the year, and such *Congressional Record* reprints as may be sent out.

WASHINGTON-PROFITEERS OF WAR

Following is part of a release sent out confirming People's Lobby verdict on war-time Washington:

William Allen White, publisher of the Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette,* after his visit to Washington in February, wrote about what he learned here:

"It is silly to say New Dealers run this war show, it's run largely by absentee owners of amalgamated industrial wealth, men who either directly or through their employers control small minority blocks, closely organized, that manipulate the physical plants of these trusts. Also, for the most part, these managerial magnates whom one meets in Washington are decent Americans. For the most part they are giving to the American people superb service. They have great talents. If you touch them in nine relations of life out of ten, they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen.

"But in the tenth relation, where it touches their own organization, they are stark mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man, paranoiacs, in fact, as evil in their designs as Hitler.

"THEY ARE DETERMINED TO COME OUT OF THIS WAR VICTORS FOR THEIR OWN STOCKHOLDERS. . . . This attitude of the men who control the great commodity industries and who propose to run them according to their own judgment and their own morals, does not make a pretty picture for the welfare of the common man."

Membership in the Lobby has come to mean that a person secures a first-hand knowledge of the crucial issues that are in the forefront at Washington. As the Lobby now nears the end of its first quarter century, its membership is sharply advancing; it increased 40% during the past year. Those who join the Lobby must expect no blind allegiance to any political group or ideology. The Lobby has, of course, not considered all New Deal measures to be worthwhile. Its approach has been that of stressing particular legislative issues, and of seeking to have a firm factual basis for its stand. "We get the facts and give them" is its slogan.

ADVOCATES TAXES ON LAND VALUE

The People's Lobby has consistently advocated taxation of land values as part of a well rounded and fair system of taxation. The Lobby has also consistently opposed consumption taxes, such as sales taxes, and similar methods of taxing in proportion to inability to resist, instead of ability to pay and benefit conferred by Government.

The Lobby has urged a Federal excise tax on the privilege of holding land, but believes that little city and farm home owners should have an exemption. This is the principle of the measure devised by Judge Jackson H. Ralston, which unfortunately has not had either fair hearing or consideration by Congress.

The Lobby has secured considerable support from major farm, labor, church, civic, peace and women's organizations on particular issues. Unfortunately, to date, not one of these organizations has backed the full program.

In an effort to popularize the issues backed by the Lobby, a series of five or six luncheons are held annually in Washington, dealing with various phases of its program, and talks are frequently broadcast nationally. News letters are also sent out to several hundred farm, labor, church, and socio-economic publications. Twice within the past few months the Lobby has participated in the debates organized by the American Economic Foundation, which are sent in mat form to papers with over seven million circulation.

Looking ahead, it appears that the job which will confront the Lobby will greatly increase with the years. The financial instability, which appears inevitable as the result of the unsound tax measures adopted by Congress, will aggravate the inequalities in wealth and income distribution. The problem of having the control of America split between huge business combines and Washington, is not on the way to a solution. Moreover, only a utopian would believe that the tariff proponents and the colonial imperialists have been silenced.

There is a job ahead in education and in persuasion. With Washington abounding in lobbies dedicated to the interest of selfish and predatory groups, there should be an increasingly vigorous *People's* Lobby to fight for a better world.

MSGR. LUIGI G. LIGUTTI

Henry George — Liberator

By Rt. Rev. Msgr. Luigi G. Ligutti

IN our Catholic schools when I was a student, the authors of our textbooks labeled George's works "agrarian socialism." These authors would offer stock objections to agrarian socialism, and then passed onto the next paragraph. This wasn't satisfactory to my way of thinking. These textbooks were too secure in their position; they made me doubt the validity of their arguments, so I looked into George's thesis myself.

Henry George and the schools founded in his name have contributed much to fundamental thinking. Just a few weeks ago, I had the misfortune of having to review a book on economics. Of all the jargon, of all the nonsense that I have ever read! I couldn't understand what the author meant; I don't think he knew himself what he meant.

I got my introduction to George from a teacher considered by those around him as a crackpot. In our course in Moral Theology was a section on Justice and Rights—and there is where I was introduced by this "crackpot" to the justice of Henry George's proposal.

George presents fundamental principles, and insists on our building an economy in the nation and in the world, which is the logical and the ethical descendant of those fundamental principles. Principles established in the infinite wisdom of God must be put into practice. There must not be any compromise or half measures. There must not be any "buts," any "ifs" or any "ands." If you begin to compromise, if you begin to say: "Well, we will just give this special piece of land to the Church, and this tariff to the beet growers, and this patent right to Bell Telephone, we have obliterated the foundation of these fundamental principles.

KEEP MEN RICH TO SUPPORT CHURCH

I heard an interesting statement at the Inter-American Seminar, held in the Drake Hotel. A number of very prominent South Americans were present. The question of what had happened to the Church's status in Mexico was raised. Some in that group, hailing from South America, believed the Church could not possibly exist without the generosity of rich landowners. In other words, we must keep certain men rich, so they can support the Church! But there arose Dr. Brambila, a brilliant young priest, ordained in a basement of a house because the Mexican authorities were not permitting ordinations. He said: "The Church is better off in Mexico today, when the many have the land."

On fundamental principles I have a quotation from St. Basil, which I like: "God is the absolute proprietor. What you call your own is not yours in the way you suppose. You did not bring it into the world. You rich are like a man that would keep all others out of a theatre, using what was intended for all as his exclusively, simply because he was first to arrive."

I should also like to direct you to a Penquin book entitled, "Christianity and the Social Order," written by my good friend, William Temple, the Archibishop of Canterbury. There is some good Georgeism in that little book. Read it.

You might reflect also on what Pope Pius said in 1941, on Pentecost Sunday:

"The goods which were created by God for all men should flow equally to all, according to the principles of justice and charity. Every man, as a living being gifted with reason, has in fact from nature the fundamental right to make use of the material goods of the earth, while it is left to the will of man and to the juridical statutes of nations to regulate in greater detail the actuation of this right."

In other words, if land value taxation is the way to achieve equality of opportunity, it is the duty of the State to put that principle into effect so as to carry out man's fundamental rights.

There are certain tests which can be applied to discover whether the system under which we live is truly the logical and the ethical descendant of fundamental human rights. Does the system tend to the development of the human personality, not of a few, but of every human personality? Is the system for the good of the human family? Is it good for society?

What is the definition of property? The pagan concept—absolute dominion, with man as the supreme master, to do or to undo with the gifts of God as he sees fit, without social responsibility of any kind? Or is there

a Christian aspect, a stewardship, which calls for a social responsibility in the use of the land.

Every man should have access to the natural resources; a security of tenure in connection with these resources for the development of his personality, and the fulfillment of his social obligation to his fellow human beings.

We are all engaged in a struggle for the exercise of human rights. We must be missionaries so that other people will understand what those rights are, and how such rights may be secured for man. It is for all of us to use all possible means in achieving a just social order. Can it be accomplished? Yes, because the truth will always prevail. Can you change the world all at once? There is a very good expression used in Nova Scotia, where they are successfully developing the cooperatives. This is what they say: "To save democracy, we must have a lot of little people in a lot of little places, doing a lot of little things."

I believe that more families should be living on the land, deriving their living directly from the good earth. The present landholding system and tradition make difficult such an ideal. The Granger Homesteads, to which I have given much of my attention, are a case in point. The coal miners of Iowa have always been faced with a very short year. It was my belief that these men should give their empty days to the culture of the soil. Slowly, but emphatically these men have raised themselves from despair. As Executive Secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference I hope to see such a program developed on a wider scale throughout our nation. I want the land freed for not only the men working in the shops of New York, Detroit and Des Moines. I want to see homesteaders have an opportunity to be close to the soil in the country. If a Marxian says this is agrarian socialism, like my seminary textbooks maintained, I'll not quarrel with the misnomer. But let us free the land for productive use—for national happiness.

Please TAX My Land!

By George H. Comings

I AM a New York farmer specializing in Holstein-Friesian cattle. I speak, not as a member of the Farm Bloc, as a Special Government officer, or as a reformer trying to prove something. I have tried to give a thought to my place as the father of several grown children, some of them off to war; also as a member of that vast body of food producers, I have thought much about my place in a world that is now, and going to be, very, very hungry.

Like the machinations of vested interests in urban centers, farmers have been hoodwinked by the same gang. For more than two decades there has been a concerted effort to reduce the taxes on real estate, and place the burden of taxation on the consumer in hidden taxes. This effort has not been headlined by either the urban or farm press for what it is—an attempt to place heavier taxes upon the farm people.

Such is not the way in which revenue laws are passed. Instead, a great clamor arises about the farm people being ruined by heavy taxes on real estate, and laws are passed reducing this tax in favor of indirect taxes that place a greater burden upon the farm people than they had previously borne.

If we investigate the ownership of our State's land values, we find at once that our farm people are not large owners of land values.

According to a survey, "The Land Use Problem," prepared by Dr. V. B. Hart of Cornell University, New York State has 18.7 million of acres of farm land, also about 1.3 million of acres of land at one time farmed, but now abandoned, or reforested. This gives a total of 20 million acres of agricultural land out of a total area for the State of 30.5 million of acres. The farmers are the owners of nearly two-thirds of the land in the State. But this agricultural land has relatively little value.

FARMLAND IS 3.5% OF NEW YORK REAL ESTATE VALUES

According to recent census figures, the farms of New York State make up only 3.5% of our total real estate values. The sales of farm real estate in different parts of the United States indicated that very little agricultural land has much real cash value. From the sales of farm property, little is realized above the value of the buildings and improvements, and in many sections a fair return can not be secured even for them.

A brief survey of the earning power of our farm people will disclose why so many farms have been abandoned; also that farm people are the lowest paid skilled labor group in our nation.

One who has had any experience with farming must realize that it is exacting work, requiring labor of great skill. The State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, in its studies of labor income earned by farm operators, reveals that the farmer's labor is pretty cheap.

To determine it, we see what is left when annual expenses and 5% return on gross cash income have been allocated:

Quality of Land	*Annual Labor Income*	*Per Cent of Total Farm Land (New York)*
I—Very poor	$ 112.00	17
II—Poor	155.00	12
III—Fair	204.00	38
IV—Good	356.00	21
V—Better	592.00	8
VI—Best (muck)	1,285.00	1
VII—Residential	—	3

This table shows that 88% of our farm operators on the first four land classifications receive an average labor income of $215.80. Is it surprising, considering such facts, that only one farm family in seven has a bathtub or running water in the home, or that the health of many of our farm children is below par?

Most farm enterprises are never cleared of the mortgage on the buildings, stock, tools and the land. Most agricultural land is marginal, producing no return above that requiring an excessive amount of labor. Therefore, all taxes paid by farm people, whether called real estate, consumer, or by any other name, are in effect a tribute from the labor performed by the farmer.

The farmer's investment in buildings, stock, tools and land is lost as soon as it has been paid. He makes his investment, that he may employ himself at labor of his own choosing, somewhat in the same way as the laborer who is compelled to pay a high membership fee to join a labor union—that he may get a job in a certain line of work.

FARMLANDS NOT VALUABLE

Farmers are not land owners, in the sense of owning valuable land, though they hold title (largely mortgaged) to much marginal and sub-marginal land. Farmers are not capitalists in the sense of receiving returns from invested capital. They are large users of capital (mostly borrowed), but much of the interest on this borrowed capital must be charged against the returns from their labor.

The farmers' first need, like that of industrial laborers, is the right to the full product of their labor.

Why do we have such conditions in a basic industry like agriculture?

Because governmental special privilege has made it possible for certain industrial groups to monopolize our natural resources, and rob both rural and urban people by exorbitant monopoly prices.

Our industrial workers through strong labor organizations, have been able to fight these industrial overlords, and through constant warfare, maintain a living standard nearly as good as it was when our country was new and undeveloped, and when land and opportunity were free.

We unorganized farmers have not fared so well. Competing among ourselves for the market, and unable to fight the monopolies built up by special privileges from our Government, the machinery and fertilizer industries, particularly, we have been nearly ruined. We must buy in an artificial market, whose prices are exorbitant, because they are monopoly prices, set by a policy of producing only what the market can dispose of.

What special privileges do these industrial overlords get from the Government, that allow them to rob the farmers so ruthlessly?

The one basic privilege is the private ownership of our natural resource. With the control of iron, oil and other natural raw materials necessary for our modern industrial life, these industrial overlords control the standard of living for all the producers.

FARMERS SHOULD DESIRE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

We farmers must learn that to break monopolies we must have a heavy taxation of land values. We own relatively little land values, so the burden of taxation would fall on the possessors of our real valuable natural resources of oil, minerals, coal, and downtown urban sites.

Farmers and laborers alike should join hands for a program that plans to take the full earning value of all lands for State revenue, and exempt labor and its products from all taxes. This would force our industrial overlords to produce for the market, and compete for our trade the same as farm people have always done, thus producing abundance at a fair price under the law of competition.

I might add, that I work with our County AAA and believe most of these agency men are sincere, just as most labor leaders are sincere in their erroneous belief that high tariffs, immigration restrictions and interstate licensing is practical. Our farm bureau, the Grange, and most farm people in New York State seek trade restrictions and want foreigners excluded from our shores and our markets. Too many New York farmers feel that the New York City market belongs to them, and resent having Wisconsin cream shipped in.

I came here to Bainbridge (N. Y.) twenty-five years ago from Wisconsin. This helps me look at world exchange differently. I have talked in our farmers' meetings of these privileges we have sought through government regulation. I have urged them to bargain for a free market in farm produce so that the free market would be granted us as buyers of factory produced goods.

It is an everlasting job of education—education in "Progress and Poverty." They need to read Henry George again.

Where Jews Prevent Speculation

[Excerpted from an unsigned manuscript]

THE transformation of the predominantly urban Jews of Europe into rooted-in-the-soil farmers of Palestine is a most astonishing feat.

Jews became a predominantly urban people only after their exile from Palestine. They were forced to that because most of the countries where they found refuge would hardly tolerate foreign agriculturists on their soil. The whole structure of feudal agriculture, represented by nobles and serfs, had no place for outsiders.

The general run of the Palestine settlers before 1914 was poorer in industrial qualifications and working experience than the Jewish immigration which went at the same time to the United States. In the townships of Poland they used to say at that time that dreamers are going to Palestine, while practical people prefer the United States. . . .

It is quite natural that the transformation of "dreamers" (who in most cases came from impoverished middle class families and had no working experience in the countries of their birth) into useful pioneers of a new and difficult country was a very difficult task. It required a great amount of practical training.

While the system of preliminary training of prospective pioneers before their arrival in Palestine provided an excellent human material for the upbuilding of the country, it left unsolved the financial problems involved in the establishment of a modern agriculture in a long-neglected land. As a general rule, the young pioneers had no means of their own, and even their passage had in certain instances to be covered by the Zionist Organization. There was, therefore, no chance of establishing them on land unless the costs of that were to be borne by some public fund.

With the continuous development of Jewish colonization the land prices went naturally up, and this created a basis for considerable land speculation. Would the Zionists consent to the land becoming an unlimited property of the farmers settled with their assistance and help, these farmers would be finally, with all their initial good intentions, drawn into the vortex of land speculation. The weaker of them would succumb to the temptation of selling their property for higher prices and establishing with the money received some kind of business in the city; while the stronger and more persistent would increase with time their farm holdings, and cultivate them in the typical colonial manner, by ruthless exploitation of backward "native" labor. Experience showed that in the conditions of Palestine an agricultural community based on farmers working with their own hands, instead of relying on hired labor, could not achieve progress and stability if a certain limitation on land ownership were not adopted.

Thus was established the Jewish National Fund, which buys land with money collected from contributions throughout the world, and makes it a perpetual property of the Jewish people. The farmer gets it on long leases (from 35 to 49 years), with the assurance that at the end of his contract the lease will be automatically renewed for another long period of time, provided he meets certain elementary requirements. These are the payment of a moderate yearly rent (about 2% of the value of the land), and the cultivation of the land with his own efforts without the continuous use of hired labor.

As a rule, the Jewish Agency, which represents the concentrated efforts of the Jewish people on behalf of Palestine, supports only those farmers who established themselves on National Fund land, and are willing to accept the above restrictions which ultimately work for their own benefit. There is a considerable number of communities composed of individual landholders established on the property of the Jewish National Fund. In case a farmer belonging to such a community is forced by weighty circumstances to leave the village and to settle in the neighboring city, he is entitled to a just compensation for the improvements he made on his farm. He may find another man who is acceptable to the community as his successor, and he may make arrangements with him concerning the above compensation. Usually, however, such successor is chosen by the village community, which fixes the amount of compensation by arbitration. In any case, *the settler is given credit for definite improvements made by his own labor or money. He cannot, however, expect to be paid because of the generally increased value of land.*

MILDRED J. LOOMIS *(Continued from page 10)*

tive, but will return to the soil what it borrows. Closer settlement will give rise to economies of all kinds; rural life will partake of the conveniences, recreations and stimulations now to be obtained only by the favored classes in large towns."

To me, there is no discrepancy between the decentralist and Georgeist hopes and goals—a society in which the determining majority of our families live and work on the land. After all these years of explicit and implied emphasis that Georgeism meant increased mass production and urbanism, it is good to note that Henry George so clearly identified the good life with the country. One of my Georgeist friends with whom I often discuss the relative merits of country and city living usually concludes the tilt with, "What does it matter which is better? Just let us have the freedom which social appropriation of land-values will bring, and people can then get whichever is best for them." Which is all right, except that we can become adjusted to anything, and so many people are now so conditioned to urban living that they actually believe it is good.

BOOKS . . . . . Alexander Boardman

LYRICISM GONE MAD

"Peace and War, United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941." Publication 1853, by the Department of State. For sale by Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 25c.

Not all of us have the patience to wait —as our elder statesmen advise us to do— for history to show the genesis of this war, and the wisdom of our leaders' acts. History moves slowly, waiting for deathbed confessions, so to speak, of some of our leaders. And too often, the matter is not even settled then. We still have questions about the last war.

We are the living; we are history. Moreover, we are free men, and have the right to know what our leaders' acts have been—and their motives. We have been shushed too long. Let us be a little less respectful, and speak plainly. We must lay our hands on all the facts we can, and reason from them. Did not Henry George say that any man of ordinary intelligence could grasp the essentials of economics because he is immersed in them? We are immersed in ideas, motives, and war, and since human beings are involved we should be able to understand some elementary things.

One of these elementary things is *words*—when words are valuable, when they are valueless. When they are plain and honest, like "danger," "act"; and when they are only beautiful, like "from the rock-bound coasts of Maine to the sun-kissed shores of California." Meaningless words have done much to lead us into this mess, and they are keeping us there.

I have come to the conclusion that the heads of our State Department are helpless before words. They are fooled by plain words which express plain motives, and they fool themselves with fancy words. The *White Paper* released by the State Department reveals informal talks between our diplomats and foreigners, describes formal meetings, and, of course, gives the previously published declarations and messages.

Our Ambassadors and Attachés had sent to Washington a steady stream of plain messages from the lands of our enemies. They said that the leaders of our enemies are fanatics and dangerous. These leaders extol war and deride democracy, privately as well as publicly. They have the power of the government behind them; more, they have the people behind them. They will not be deterred by anything, they will use every means to gain their ends of brute domination over the world. It is of no use to do anything but prepare for war, enlighten our own people, resist every move. Nothing could be plainer, and it is all written down.

In the face of this, what were our leaders' actions? Ostentatious declarations of our nobility of purpose, continued entreaties for conferences, postponement of reprisals, wordy but unconvincing insistence on our rights and justice. Delays and beautiful words. As if we Americans have to prove that we are decent fundamentally. What shameful, abject crawling and entreating our leaders did!

And, worst of all, neither we nor Congress was adequately informed of our representatives' reports. We had plenty of time to get ready, to show our strength, to intimidate, for a change, the bullies. There is a clear mandate in the Constitution for the Chief Executive to inform Congress from time to time on the state of affairs. The executive branch of our government can exert tremendous powers by mere reiteration, if by no other way, to awaken Congress and the people to the dangers that surround us. No other part of the government has the facilities for accumulating impressions, opinions, and fact as the State Department.

We are the people! We do not want fancy words. Tell us what is being done and planned about freeing people everywhere, how are we determining their lives and livelihood, how are we seeing to it that justice will prevail on this earth?

A. B.

A DENUNCIATION OF DEMOCRACY

"The Menace of the Herd," by Francis Stuart Campbell. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee. 1943. 398 pp., including appendices and index. $4.00.

Mr. Campbell reduces democracy to ochlocracy—mob rule—and doesn't like it. Neither would most people like mob rule, perhaps not even members of the mob, if asked about it.

The author brings a scholarly analysis to bear on past history and governments. From Plato to contemporary philosophers he finds a universal horror of the rule by counting noses. The common people —the herd—he decries as being unfit to make decisions of state — invariably wrong, invariably cruel. The Founding Fathers were careful, Mr. Campbell points out, to omit the word "democracy" and to institute indirect elections, checks and balances, and life-long tenure of the high judicial offices.

It is not the intrinsic goodness of people that is questioned, but their capability of reasoning logically from principles of God and liberty. The trend to complete democracy leads to equality, not equity. This runs directly into a mere majority deciding everything; matters of state, of custom, of taste, of morals, of religion. Minorities lose all rights, all freedom, all hope, even life itself.

Mr. Campbell, as a Catholic, sees his church particularly as a defender of liberty. He pleads for a cohesion of liberty, conservatism, and religion, which he believes go together. Monarchies and oligarchies are acceptable to him. Even a republic is satisfactory, so long as the written constitution is firm enough. Only under such forms of government can the independence of man be secured. For an individual has no right in a democracy against the majority. Lynching is justifiable in a true democracy, because the majority will it. Campbell sees Nazism and Bolshevism as "totalitarian democracies." The evils of modern Europe can be traced to them, and America is treading the same path.

Needless to say, we cannot agree with this special view of democracy. It sounds clerical-fascist. Nearly all of us mean by democracy a republican form of government, with the rights of minorities, personal liberties, and religion secured.

Here is an encyclopedia of history (right or wrong), a compendium of classic and mediaeval quotations. It shows a truly astonishing breadth of reading and cultural background. The book is an expansion of the simple ideas set forth by the Italian historian Guglielmo Ferrero in his "Words to the Deaf." Provoking it will be to many people, but never dull.

A. B.

MR. WILLKIE, GLOBAL TRAVELER

"One World," by Wendell Willkie. Simon and Schuster, Rockefeller Center, New York, 1943. Cloth, 206 pp., $2.00; Paper, 80 pp., $1.00.

When a book sells over a million copies in a month, that is news. Because five million people have probably read "One World," it is important to consider its merits and its shortcomings.

The book is heartwarming; it is eloquent; it is courageous. It is an epitomized history of the world of today and tomorrow—with a glance backward to yesterday. It is geography, people and scenery; it is politics, war and economics. It is hope, and despair, and yet it has faith and vision. It is a plea for democracy and the common man.

Willkie states in his Introduction that ". . . the world has become small and completely interdependent" and that his trip around the world ". . . gave me some new and urgent convictions, and strengthened some of my old ones."

The author has been called a good reporter by the reviewers. No one, however, has said that he seemed to discern any fundamental answer to the unwarrantable conditions of poverty, disease and lack of sanitation he witnessed.

Early in the book (p. 20) he establishes a premise with the following:

"Throughout the Middle East there is a small percentage of wealthy landowners whose property is largely hereditary.... The great mass of the people, outside of roaming tribes, are impoverished, own no property, are hideously ruled by the practices of ancient priestcraft, and are living in conditions of squalor."

Does he offer any hint of a solution! He does not. He touches upon social problems only in generalities, such as politicians do, who would "plan"—then change their plan, and enforce all of their changing plans by the criminal law or the bribe, euphemistically called subsidies.

Nowhere does Willkie discuss the taxing systems of the countries he visited, nor how such forms of taxation can be either a power to destroy or a power to keep alive. He does not know what economic, social and political means are necessary, in concrete terms, to solve the problems of poverty, unemployment, and war, although he uses the phrase "economic, social and political" very often in his book.

Willkie recognizes the despotism in Russia, for he states (p. 24):

"Behind the journalists, I saw the Kremlin, having talked twice at great length with Mr. Stalin, and observed something of how power is really exercised under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

After describing a talk with a superintendent of a factory who admitted his pay was ten times that of other workers, and who said the present conception of Socialism was not equality of reward, but was (p. 65): "Each according to his capacities, to each according to his work," and when the superintendent said, "Someday we'll have political freedom, too," Willkie writes:

"How can you ever have political freedom and economic freedom where the State owns everything? He poured out his theories in a seemingly endless rush. But he had no answers beyond the Marxian ones in which he was so well grounded, and to that basic question Marxianism gives no basic answer."

Admittedly Willkie bravely states what he sees and understands. He writes (p. 154) on China:

"There must be a loosening of the tight controls over Chinese economic life and of hereditary property, and a mobilization of the enormous human resources of the country for the production of goods and services on a far larger scale than at present." Again (p. 156), "It is up to the Chinese people to decide how they want to organize and finance that greater flow and production of goods and services. More widespread ownership of the land than I found anywhere in China would help."

But how implement that?

When in China discussing that country's problems in relation to the world's trade, did Willkie not get a glimmering of the truths from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who certainly must have learned something from the great Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic? Did not any of the Soong sisters, one the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; one the wife of the Generalissimo, and another, the wife of H. H. Kung, China's financial wizard, impart to Willike what had been fully reported in the New York *Times* of September 11, 1927, by Paul Blanshard?

I will tell it to Mr. Willkie. Dr. Sun Yat-sen realized that with national independence, free trade, and the development of China's natural resources and her waterpower, there would come great increased value to certain lands. Here are the Doctor's words:

"Let us take time by the forelock and make sure the unearned increment of land shall belong to the people and not to the private individuals who happen to be the owners of the soil."

Concerning our nation, he says (p. 183):

"In the United States, we are being asked to give up temporarily our individual freedom and economic liberty in order to crush the Axis. We must recover this freedom and this liberty after the war. The way to make certain we do recover our traditional American way of life with a rising standard of living for all is to create a world in which all men everywhere can be free."

If I may address myself directly to you, Mr. Willkie, how do you propose to do this? Your book does not give any blueprint. Your book reveals, instead, that you, too, are a regimenter, a controller, a planner.

You see the necessity of free trade between nations, for you state (p. 204):

"Economic freedom is as important as political freedom. Not only must people have access to what other people produce, but their own products must in turn have some chance of reaching men all over the world. There will be no peace, there will be no economic stability unless we find the method by which we can begin to break down the unnecessary trade barriers hampering the flow of goods."

You examine the reasons for the amazing economic development of the United States. You recognize the abundance of our natural resources, but you don't seem to realize that the free land of the United States was one of the greatest economic forces that drew millions of Europeans to this country, because it represented economic opportunity.

Unhappily your dream cannot come true so long as Pashas own most of the land of the Middle East; so long as 70% of the People of China are tenant farmers; so long as the Junkers own the large estates in Germany; and to the degree and length of time the Rhinelanders, Astors, Goelets and Vanderbilts in New York; the Potter Palmers and Marshall Fields in Chicago; the Rockefellers in Cleveland, and the Hearsts in New York-South Dakota-California continue to collect the unearned increment of their land in the United States.

I am tempted to offer you, Mr. Willkie, your regular fee as a lawyer for one hour's time, in which to discuss the issues that this book raises in my mind—pointed up by sheafs of marginal notes and underlinings on the pages of my copy. Would you accept?

HARRY WEINBERGER

BOOKS—*Continued*

A BROOKINGS FACT-BOOK

"World Minerals and World Peace," by C. K. Leith, J. W. Furness, and Cleona Lewis. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1943. 253 pp. $2.50.

As the war continues, and more men are drawn into its vortex, the race to supply these men with the tools of destruction becomes grimmer. All of these tools are wrought from the minerals of the world—land, in its economic sense. That a detailed story of world minerals need not be dreary is illustrated by this book.

The Brookings Institute supplies not only the expected charts and data on the distribution of minerals (metallic and non-metallic), but discusses them from different viewpoints. It breaks them down into high-grade and low-grade deposits, their influence on the economy of nations, their domestic and international development, the common trade routes, the end-uses, and the political acts of nations regarding them. A plethora of information is supplied on the basic wealth of the world.

Today the United Nations control roughly 75% of the minerals of the earth. The 25% in the hands of the Axis is even less effective, because of our dominance over sea lanes between the ends of the Axis. Neutral nations like Turkey, Spain, and Portugal control less than 1%. Considering, as well, the fact that our enemies have long ago intensified their production, while ours is still on the upswing, we see that in a merely holding operation we can bring our weight to bear with time. Any recovery of territory makes us so much stronger, and causes our enemies to deplete their stock-piles. The United States alone outstrips the rest of the great producers of mineral wealth, and is four times as large a producer as Russia, the country of second rank. We have the land, we have the labor.

Half of the book is given over to a detailed study of political acts, mining companies, and trade. Every page is a clear lesson that restrictions on free trade have discouraged production, caused distress, and enriched a few at the expense of many. The cartel system is investigated for most of the minerals, and it is shown that there was a temporary price rise in each case that curtailed production. The cartels were usually failures unless the government backed them up, and this could be done only when a near monopoly of ore existed. Germany secured a large stock-pile of minerals by subsidies that depressed the living standards of its own people. The use of force became necessary to obtain minerals when the economy could no longer be lowered without danger.

On tariffs the authors show the great harm done to both the enactor and the exporter alike. Nowhere do the expected benefits ensue, and the cost of commodities becomes higher for the enrichment of a very few favorites. Tariffs assume the status of moral crimes. Henry George made the point succinctly when he termed the Customs House an institution of legalized robbery.

Because nature has distributed minerals about the earth in a seemingly haphazard manner, neither nations nor continents can be independent. Every part of the earth has its natural advantage; and it should be utilized. The interdependence of nations will provide each of them with needed minerals, but international free trade of these minerals must be attained to achieve world peace.

A. B.

* * *

GOALS OR SHOALS

"Goals for America," by Stuart Chase. The Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1942. 134 pp. $1.00. (Delayed.)

This volume is the second published in a projected series of six. The Twentieth Century Fund has sponsored it under the general title, "When the War Ends."

Stuart Chase looks over our national productive capacity and finds it ample to supply us and part of the world with its requirements in food, shelter, clothing, health, and education. His statistical work, based on official reports, shows that in pre-war America we came nearest to having enough clothing, but we were sadly lacking in the other necessities. But most people know that!

Mr. Chase, however, is not impressive as an economist. He sees unemployment as a great evil, but approves the statement of another "economist" that unemployment is not an economics problem, but a social and political one. The market is a strange phenomenon to him. He thinks that while the market was not great enough before to absorb increased production, it is great enough today, and should be kept so by government edict and spending. With a perfectly straight face he says, "Most economists now agree that any depression involving large numbers of unemployed men can be broken, if somebody spends enough to put citizens to work."

Mr. Chase talks about producing in the future for need, not profit. As if producers made articles that were not for sale, and met no need! And if the government can now order produced 125,000 war planes in 1943, it can order produced 1,500,000 houses in 1946. Just like that!

The most dangerous note is a direct plea for government regulation of our individual efforts in peacetime. Chase would have our youth spend a term in a youth corps. He has a sort of Five-Year Plan percolating. He insists on government directives, because "laissez-faire is dead." This prolific American writer would profit greatly by reading George's "Progress and Poverty."

A. B.

* * *

ANOTHER TRUE PROPHET

"Mitchell: Pioneer of Air Power," by Isaac Don Levine. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1943. 420 pp. $3.50.

Billy Mitchell was court-martialed in 1925 for his attempts to make the army and navy aware of the future of air power. This war and most of the victories achieved to date have proven the correctness of Mitchell's theories, including his Pacific and Alaska war plans.

This book tells the story of the development of aviation in World War I, and bridges the gap between the two world wars.

It is interesting and documented with great care, presenting what to me is one of the greatest problems that faces the world, but more particularly the United States—freedom, shall it be lost by too much centralized government?

Isaac Don Levine's book shows how Brass Hats and bureaucracy with its errors—and the hiding of those errors plus regimentation, destroys individuals like Billy Mitchell, who challenged their power. It also shows how that power endangers the safety of the country.

The English people and the American people have reserved to their parliaments control of the army and navy by controlling the purse strings. They should also know all the facts of what the army and navy are doing, and the army and navy never should be treated as "sacred cows."

I propose "Mitchell: Pioneer of Air Power" for the Pulitzer Prize for biographies for the year 1943, and for all other prizes that may be given for this type of book.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

By V. G. PETERSON, *Executive Secretary*

"We ought to do something about the Army and Navy." Our visitor, a gray-haired little lady, was full of gentle reproach at our apparent neglect of the boys in uniform. The fact is, as we explained to our visitor, they are one of our chief concerns.

Early last year we offered books to camp libraries, but were rejected. Later, when the Victory Book Campaign was launched, the ban on serious books relaxed and one hundred copies of "Progress and Poverty" were accepted.

Further 'sleuthing 'has revealed that pamphlets meeting government requirements can be circuated through the USO. One organization has printed two hundred thousand pieces for this purpose. Not to be outdistanced in this race to the soldier's heart, we are preparing a pamphlet which we hope will prove acceptable for similar large-scale distribution.

Uncle Sam has become the nation's largest publisher. Popular books, fiction, non-fiction and some of the classics are being printed by the hundreds of thousands and will be spread through every branch of the service. Will "Progress and Poverty" be included? We have petitioned the Committee on Selection and await their decision as we go to press.

Our shipping clerk says he has lost ten pounds this winter and is casting sly hints about a raise. More than a thousand orders for "Progress and Poverty" alone, have come in as a result of our newspaper advertising. Add two thousand copies of "Economics Simplified," a thousand "More Progress and Less Poverty" and five thousand miscellaneous books, and you will see what has made our clerk grow slimmer.

Welcome visitors this spring were Judge and Mrs. John Fuchs of New Braunfels, Texas. The Judge, a tall, broad-shouldered Texan, has been a Georgeist for twenty years. The journey north was made to give Mrs. Fuchs her first glimpse of New York and to find publishers for two books the Judge has written. A small group, including trustees of the Foundation of the Henry George School and Associate Editor, William Newcomb, of LAND AND FREEDOM, entertained the Judge at luncheon.

Sylvanus A. Stockwell, honored member of the Old Guard, will rise no more to plead for freedom. He died on April 17, at the age of eighty-six. Born of New England pioneers, he devoted his life to supporting Indian relief, the Negro cause, public ownership, various farm and labor movements, Henry George, the initiative and referendum, American Civil Liberties Union, and defense of Political Prisoners. He entered the Minnesota House of Representatives in 1891 and served in both chambers almost continuously until 1939. We mourn the loss of this kindly and distinguished man and extend our sympathies to the bereaved family.

Lafayette College Winners

(*Continued from page* 17)

Our answer to the problem, then, is acceptance of the single tax theory of Henry George with modifications to fit the modern economic scheme and to provide as economically sound a measure as possible.

The college and its president, William Lewis, are to be commended for their support of the contest. Professor Frank R. Hunt, representing the Department of Economics, deserves special mention for his counsel to the students in the face of interruptions occasioned by the war. Four of the prize winners are now in the service.

H. Norman Markland

The Montreal Georgeist movement has sustained a severe loss in the death of Mr. H. Norman Markland, who died on April 16th, at the early age of 45. Mr. Markland was born and educated in England, and had been connected with the firm of J. & P. Coats Co. in England, Switzerland and Belgium. He came to Canada in 1936 as Canadian plant manager of the Canadian Spool Cotton Co. He joined a study group in Montreal, was sold on the Georgeist philosophy, and became a voluntary teacher and led groups from season to season. His groups were popular, his enthusiasm and earnestness contagious. He will be sorely missed.

Correspondence

EDITORS, LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your January-February issue, Benjamin C. Marsh makes a plea for the management of agriculture by government, but to my mind, nothing could be greater folly or more at variance with George's philosophy of freedom. That much of our agriculture is inefficient and wasteful is obvious, but it is far less open to condemnation on that score than the operations of government. Would control by political bureaucracies bring any improvement?

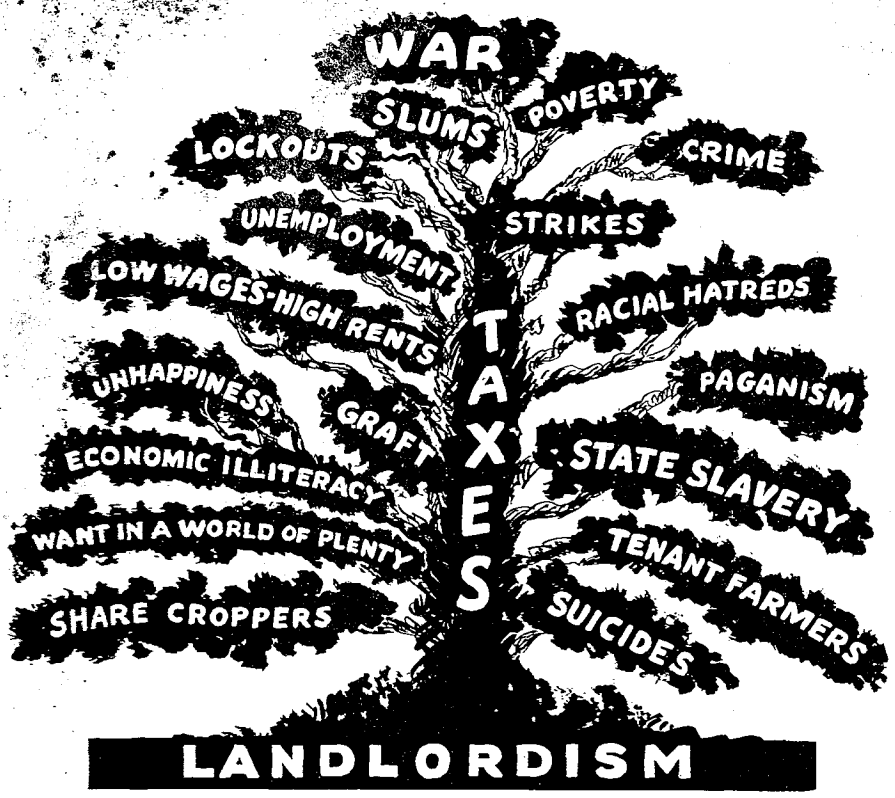
Is there any reason to suppose that officeholders are superior to our farmers in wisdom or judgment? Can they direct farm operations any better than those directly concerned with getting results, and conversant with local conditions and needs? The writer has had long years of contact with agricultural problems and has also been in close touch with political affairs. He has lived all his life in the Capital City of our greatest state, has had the contacts with political administrations which newspaper work brings, and has spent years in the state service. Leave farming to farmers and recall Jefferson's warning: "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

Are we to be blind to the obvious fact that no small part of the food problem of today is the direct result of the disasterous AAA experiment—the "farming for famine," the plowing under of crops, and the slaughtering of young livestock? It is high time to reverse the trend, and to end subsidies and controls which hold back production, and which have already prostituted the farm bureaus to political ends.

With the ever-growing drift to the expansion and centralization of the powers of the state we are fast going the way of the totalitarianism which we profess to fight, and it is high time to call a halt. It must be conceded that in a time like the present crisis we cannot well be over-insistent on every petty right, but this is no reason for sacrificing our liberties in ways which spell disaster to our economic life. A legion of keen thinkers have sounded repeated warnings of the imperative call to control our own governments, which may easily become agencies of oppression rather than of protection. Put your faith in natural law and in liberty, as George taught, "oh ye of little faith."

GILBERT M. TUCKER.

E TREE OF ECONOMIC EVILS



The Land shall not be sold forever, for the Land is Mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

(Leviticus 23:25)

THE CURSE OF HUMANITY

The renting of land (the gift of God) by landlords to the people of the United States for thousands of millions of dollars produces a nation of *masters and slaves,* and leaves the workers (whether entrepreneur or employer, skilled or unskilled, mental or manual) seventeen billion dollars short of their annual purchasing power. Between wars, factories are clogged with goods, businessmen lose their capital, and workers lose their jobs.

WAR

There will always be war for land as long as the people's land rent goes into landlords' pockets. But when this land rent is collected by the government for its public services, war for land will cease, for no one will war for land when no one can pocket the people's land rent.

The Second World War will have been in vain, if the cause of war is not abolished.

The rent of land expresses the greed of man.

MORAL: *Collect all of the land rent for all public needs — then abolish taxation — and the greed of man blesses humanity.*

TAXES

Every tax now levied could be abolished were all the people's land rent collected by their governments.

That would bring economic liberty to all. It would make the people of all nations tax free.

Our troubles are economic — not religious, racial or political. We must choose between the Science of Economics wherein Henry George pointed the way to true Christianity, Democracy, Individual Liberty — or the sword of Karl Marx, whose doctrine of Communism brings class warfare, paganism, and slavery of man to the State.

Write for Free Literature

GEORGE LLOYD - - - - - 1460 Fifty-sixth Street, Brooklyn, New York