

## DEMOCRACY FOR THE 21st CENTURY

By Will and Dorothy Burnham Lissner

As the 20th century draws to a close, Marxism, the predominant social philosophy in half the world, is suddenly not only being questioned but roundly and spectacularly rejected.

For most of our lives it had seemed firmly entrenched for all time. But millions of people, bitterly disillusioned at finding themselves in a state of poverty, oppression and exploitation -- similar to that their grandparents had endured -- are rebelling. Marxism has failed. Because Marxism's promise had been that it would eradicate such conditions.

Now these millions in Eastern Europe and large sections of Asia and Africa are desperately reaching out for something to fill the void left by the old philosophy.

And what they seem to be reaching out for is what they call "freedom" and "democracy," as dramatically evidenced in

the uprising of the Chinese students, in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, many of whom fought and died in the revolt that saw the raising of the papier mache symbol, "Miss Democracy," their version of the Statue of Liberty.

Numbers of us watched the carnage that resulted with horror. And some of us watched not just with horror. Our horror was mixed with sadness because we believe that the democracy and freedom they are seeking is the American ideal of our founding fathers, of men like Paine, Jefferson, Madison and Mason. The ideal of ethical economic, social, political and cultural democracy. A democracy founded on competitive capitalism, controlled through free competition within free and open markets, achieved through justice and liberty for all. And we are convinced that, sadly, America itself is losing that ideal to monopolistic capitalism with its greed, immorality, corruption, payoffs, shakedowns, and government, corporate and financial scandals.

But to put the situation into historical perspective. Today is not the first time that America's founding fathers' ideal of liberty and justice for all has been threatened. In the middle of the 19th century, Pioneer America's early altruism became obscured by the materialism and

self-interest of the Industrial Revolution. At that time it was largely revived and restored by a San Francisco journalist -- Henry George. (1)

So let us take a fresh look at this man Henry George.

George, along with his older contemporary Marx, were the only world-class social philosophers of the last one-hundred-fifty years (2) and it has now become clear how regrettable it is that until recently Marx has overshadowed George.

Both achieved their place in history as authors of a utopian panacea, Marx for "the dictatorship of the proletariat." George for a tax reform, "the single tax." Marx was strikingly successful, except that his dictatorship proved to be over the proletariat and everyone else. Yet he eclipsed George because George was characterized as a mere "tax reformer." Proponents (3) and critics were not the only ones guilty of burdening George with that image. George himself shares responsibility for that misconception. In his world-famous and timeless classic Progress and Poverty, he presented the chief of his basic proposals as a "simple, yet sovereign remedy." (4) That is,

as a panacea. But a panacea is hardly appropriate in a work intended to be a contribution to economic science.

When George corrected this in later books and articles, his revision was ignored. (5) He had led with his chin and his opponents walloped it. As a result his rational economics, his perennial social philosophy and his egalitarian cultural philosophy were all but forgotten. Or, as Professor Stuart Bruchey of Columbia University, has so aptly observed, "twice forgotten." (6)

In the light of what is transpiring in the world today, it appears an opportune time, aided by the scientific and philosophical research of hundreds of scholars, to reexamine the life and work of the complex man who was Henry George.

In his teens and after his marriage in his twenties, he experienced dire poverty, saw his beloved family go hungry. Later, he was to see in the slums of New York even worse privation and utterly degrading misery. At that point, he resolved to do what he could about these conditions, embarking on a new career as a social reformer.

It was in carrying out that resolve that he became the author of the all-time, economic best-seller, Progress and

Poverty. Author, too, of a series of books that established him as an ethical thinker, an original economist, and an outstanding social critic and theorist.

He mastered the economics of his time and became well-taught, though self-taught. (7) He proposed revolutionary changes in the structure of economy and society and even culture, winning universal recognition (8) of the idea that the living generation has equal, common rights to the earth and its other resources.

He devised sophisticated economic techniques (9) so that the exercise of an individual's right to use a specific share of the resources should not deny other peoples' common right to those same resources. For example, George proposed that the most efficient way of taxing urban land value was the professional assessment of market value and the taxation of that value as it is now partially reached through the familiar property tax.

For agricultural land, however, he recognized that farmers gave their land intangible value by good farming practices such as contour plowing. (10) He would exempt from taxation such intangible value.

He defended as "perfectly feasible" that exploration and mining rights to oil deposits on public land, as one instance, should be let by periodical public auction to the highest bidder. (11) This method is now in common use for the distribution of these rights on public lands and under the sea. George's aim was to assert the common right without losing the incentive for private development; taxation was only the means for reconciling otherwise conflicting rights.

And as Ernest Teilac, the distinguished French historian of economic thought, says, George went on to make other original contributions to the corpus of economic thought.

Teilac, who adjudged George one of America's three original pioneer theorists in economics, along with Henry C. Carey and Francis A. Walker, argues that George laid the foundation for a rational economics based on scientific method:

"In an epoch of great economic transition, the vicissitudes of his life suggested to Henry George the elements in the solution of the problem of Progress and Poverty. There is a discord, said George, between political

and social progress which is caused by economic progress. Harmony can only be restored by means of social rationalism and a certain return to political rationalism." (12)

Another great historian of economic thought, the German-American economist Joseph Schumpeter, pointed out that George used his technical competence as an economist to fashion a solution to the great paradox of modern times -- the persistence of poverty in the midst of great technological progress -- a solution involving the least social turmoil, the least trouble and loss to all classes, including the most ruthless monopolists. (13)

Schumpeter also noted that while George proposed fundamental changes in the economy (the end of monopoly, the return of fair competition, the introduction of true equality of opportunity, for example), he did so on the basis of established economic science.

But most people have overlooked that George also made great contributions to social theory and to philosophy and theology. His series of books (14) on topics that were of concern to the men and women of his time expounded a social philosophy based on two factors, equal freedom and personal moral responsibility.

In the democratic land George invisioned, everyone would have an equal opportunity to share in the use of the country's resources, including land. By land he meant all land and by resources he meant all the sources of wealth in the land, sea, air and space -- urban residential, commercial and industrial sites, sites reserved for public use, agricultural tracts and all other resources, (15) too, of course, although these would require special methods of taxation.

By this, George did not mean to abolish the right of individuals to possess and exploit particular sites and tracts. He would guarantee the security of private possession by those able to use those sites, tracts and other natural resources to the best social advantage. He would reconcile the common right with the individual right by requiring the users to pay taxes according to the value of the land and resources they are using. These taxes would go into the public treasury to provide public goods and services for everyone, a procedure called land value taxation. (16)

An important and essential element of George's proposal

would exempt from taxation all improvements in or on the land -- buildings, drainage, etc. This would avoid taxing that part of market value produced by the labor and capital of individuals.

In other words, taxes would not fall on values produced by individual efforts but on the value of the earth itself. Value arising from different characteristics of it like natural fertility, location, mineral richness, climate and particularly the activities and amenities of the surrounding community. (17) By this latter George meant that the presence of people and their activities give urban land a specific value, an increase in value over raw land.

To illustrate the latter point, he used the example of one man joining another in the wilderness, and then a third arriving, becoming their neighbor etc. Until eventually the wilderness becomes a settlement, the settlement a village, the village a town, the town a city and the city a metropolis. (18)

George said of such land, "The productive powers that density of population has attached to his (the first man's) land are equivalent to the multiplication of its original

fertility by the hundredfold and the thousandfold." (19)

The logic of this insight can be observed by comparing the value of the land under a farm house and the value of the land under the Stock Exchange at Broad and Wall Streets in New York City, because the site of the Exchange is in the heart of the financial district of one of the largest cities in the world. It is obvious that the land under the Exchange site is of no more intrinsic value than the land under a farm house -- maybe less, actually, for the farmer's land is probably tillable soil.

Taxing nearly all the annual unimproved value of land, George believed, would end the monopoly of land and anti-social speculation in land by a comparative few who hold it out of use by others but who also have not been required to provide adequate revenue to the treasury for funding public goods and services to the 'have nots.'

George believed that land value taxation would end wage slavery, which he equated with slavery that made property of people. (20) When people are forced to compete desperately for jobs, marginal wages tend to fall to a minimum and working conditions become intolerable. By his proposal of

ending land monopoly and other of his proposals, he sought to create a condition where jobs would become abundant and compete for workers.

The arrangement of bringing large new revenues into the treasury would permit governments to reconstruct their tax systems. This, George held, would permit the elimination of taxes that misallocate resources and influence both producers and consumers to make socially unbeneficial decisions. A change to a new tax structure would, for example, encourage a family to improve its home not only to its benefit but also to that of the community, without incurring additional taxes. Today, that family is penalized by additional taxes.

Where present taxes shift income and wealth from those engaged in productive activities and enterprises to unprincipled speculators whose activities are economically counterproductive, the reformed tax system George had in mind would assure to the producer all that his or her labor has earned.

Also, George's proposed tax system, being based on a surplus to finance needed goods and services would not

affect the incentives that lead people to work and to serve willingly, would replace the old way that discourages labor and enterprise by claiming a substantial share of their reward.

These ideas are the ideas of George, the tax reformer, known erroneously as "the single taxer." But he had made clear even in his first book, Progress and Poverty, that he was not ruling out other taxes. He pointed out that the government could discourage the demand for luxury commodities by taxation, such luxury commodities as divert resources from needed productive activities. Or are merely outlets for the display of wealth. And he noted that the government could levy use taxes for limited, special demand. It could also discourage by taxation the use of alcohol, tobacco and similar products, known to damage the user's health. (21)

But there was another George, the reformer of the structure of capitalistic economy. George recognized that there were natural monopolies -- in his time the railroads and the telegraph, for example, and in ours, the utilities -- that could demand a monopoly price just like land

owners. These, he suggested, should be owned and operated by a government or public agency. (In our day we have learned that whoever operates such a monopoly requires supervision of some sort by an independent authority to keep it honest.) (22)

George, however, was well aware that all monopolies are not based on land ownership, unique natural advantages or tremendous fixed capital investment. Today, seventy-five percent of all transactions are effected by prices administered by what economists now call oligopolies -- monopoly by the few -- industrial monopolies and labor monopolies. These, too, he decried, though he was a strong supporter of free and open trade unions and trade associations. (23)

In the 1880's, large corporations, disposing of huge sums of capital, were able to achieve market power by using these accumulations to finance uneconomic pricing and thus to drive competitors out of business. Even in his first book Progress and Poverty, George had pointed out that there was much else to do, in addition to reforming taxes, although many of his followers ignored that part of his conviction. And it was not until after his death that

devoted followers who truly understood the greater depth and scope of his ideas were among the those who won passage of the anti-trust laws, the Sherman and Clayton Acts and other legislation to end what they called "unfair competition."

For as George had reacted to his own poverty and the pitiful conditions in the slums of New York City, he reacted strongly also and tried to do something about the conspiracies in industry. In speeches and public lectures (he was a renowned orator), he was the first to call attention to the fact that in many instances market power is achieved by individuals and large firms through various means, one of which is control of the raw materials from the earth's resources (iron, coal, oil). He observed Andrew Carnegie, the steel financier, and and later J. Pierpont Morgan, the investment banker, organize steel producers into the steel trust. And John D. Rockefeller, Sr., by ruthless and illegal activity, drive many of his competitors out of the oil business and then organize the remainder into the oil trust.

It is not unreasonable to assume (although unacknowledged as such) that George's earlier, tireless effort to bring attention to the scandal of the Carnegie,

Morgan and Rockefeller monopolies helped create the climate that later caused President Theodore Roosevelt and the congress to set up the Federal Trade Commission and the Anti-Trust Division of the U. S. Attorney General's office, in an effort to restore free and open competition in the private market place.

As George had shown, very often the tax system and government regulation and restriction of foreign trade -- "protection" of "infant" industries -- are used to maintain industrial monopoly.

George also crusaded for free trade because he believed in free and open competition by foreign as well as domestic producers. Tariffs, quotas, all the myriad types of restriction of foreign trade put a floor under domestic prices and in effect provide for a monopoly exaction -- an excessive cost -- to consumers by domestic producers. He took the same approach to international markets as he did to the several segments of the domestic market and would have been appalled at how international markets and the domestic market are subject today to irrational requirements that make a mockery of the ideas of free competition by free

enterprise. (From one state to another business taxes vary, road transportation fees differ, and even professional and occupational license fees differ from one municipality and one county to another. Similarly, government regulation of foreign trade and transportation, as well as fees differ from one country to another. And all without rhyme or reason.)

In his posthumous book The Science of Political Economy, George began the exposition of a foreign exchange system and a domestic and international monetary system that would be neutral in its effects on world domestic and international economies. He did not live to complete it but his idea is still pursued by economists (Harry Gunnison Brown, Irving Fisher and Paul H. Douglas among others.) In this area, he and other economists have been least successful: the many inflations and competitive devaluations by nations are proof of this.

George also felt that growth and development of any country was impeded by uneconomic and socially undesirable restrictions on the effort and initiative of its enterprisers and workers (featherbedding rules by railroad

unions, restrictions of entry in the health care industry and the construction industry). But he did not and would not have given support to the monopolists and speculators who seek to eliminate necessary legal restraints by the ruse of attacking regulations that are unprofitable to them and the removal of which might get rid of some of the irrational costs to the advantage of society.

The lack of free, open and fair competition in the market, George believed, was also responsible for the market's failure to make the continuing adjustments that could help to eliminate booms and busts. What George sought in the market was a stable equilibrium that would be able to absorb revolutionary technological changes without reduction in output, employment and sales.

(The single family home, today, as well as the multistory skyscraper are assembled at the site by the construction industry, from factory manufactured parts in modules. But as bank and insurance company lending became unrestricted under political pressure, some home buyers and developers obtained loans far beyond their capacity to service them at a future date. So in city after city the

boom in real estate is collapsing. Many families have lost or are losing their homes through foreclosure. Developers have had to go into bankruptcy. Savings and commercial banks have been forced to close. All of these factors, along with others, are helping to produce severe contraction in business activity. Therefore the economy has gone into a cyclical recession.)

This is similar to the combination of events that George was talking about when he wrote as his subtitle to Progress and Poverty: "An inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth...The remedy."

But George was not only an advocate for economic changes, economic reforms, he was also a moral theorist, an ethical theorist, because, as an economist, he was aware of the intimate relationship between economics and ethics. His series of books expound a perennial social philosophy based on two factors, equal freedom and personal moral responsibility. "A society that is not founded on justice cannot endure," he wrote.

As we have seen, in his economic analysis, George

stressed that freedom was an absolute necessity for achieving individual wellbeing and self-fulfillment. But he regarded justice as an indispensable prerequisite to the establishment of that freedom.

George was one of the great champions of human rights. The first of these rights, he believed, with Jefferson, to be the right to one's self -- the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The basis of George's social philosophy is that the conscience of mankind recognizes that liberty, within the constraints in a democracy of equal liberty for everyone else, must involve the fullest development of the human personality.

Among the needs for such personal development are the right to work at the occupation one chooses and trains for and the concomittent right to the full reward for one's efforts. And it was the opportunity to achieve these rights for each individual that George sought through his basic economic reforms.

George was not a believer in the 19th century myth of constant, inevitable progress in the affairs of mankind; he

saw the paradox of the persistence of poverty with progress. He also did not hold with the ancient dogmas of religion which blamed the victim for such anomalies as destitution, disability, disease and hunger or dismissed such misfortunes as mysterious "acts of God".

George came to the conclusion that poverty and its attendant evils largely arose from the decisions of individuals and could be dealt with by humanity's rational intelligence.

For him, progress came from the cooperation of individuals with their creator. It was his view that by such cooperation they would become the instrument of peace, harmony and beneficence by building a more moral world.

In his social philosophy he recognized the enormous benefits from cooperation between two individuals, as well as that between individuals en masse (groups), as opposed to the work of the single individual. One commentator said that all he was saying was that two minds were better than one, (24) which totally missed his point. His point was that two minds are better than three, if the two are cooperating and the three are not.

But he emphasized the value of voluntary cooperation wherever this was suitable -- of partners, of producers, of consumers, of neighbors, of citizens and of governments. He also argued strongly for the enforced cooperation required under other circumstances, as in the management of an army, the maintenance of public health standards and in the strict enforcement of regulation of markets in the economy.

Indeed, George was a tax reformer and a reformer of the economy, the society and the polity (government). But he was also a reformer of the culture, pointing out that the justice, goodness and wisdom that people ascribed to the creator but that appeared to be belied by economic poverty, social discrimination and political oppression, actually resulted from the decisions and actions of the human race. Hence, these evils could be changed by people in a democratic society. Human wellbeing could be achieved by human rational decisions and ethical actions.

This investigation into the theodicy of basic economic, social and political problems, bringing out personal responsibility in the building of the moral order,

established George as a cultural reformer and therefore as theologian as well as philosopher.

Ours, even more than George's, is a complex world with complex domestic and world economies, with rapidly changing societies and governments, with cultures confused and disintegrating under the impact of scientific advances and fundamental technological revolutions. George did not attempt to solve all the problems of his time and the future. His concern was to identify an approach through rational and ethical economics, sociology, political science and philosophy -- an approach which if applied would be just as valuable today as in his day.

In measuring policies for change by the yardstick of liberty for the individual as well as for collectives of individuals, George showed that justice cannot exist without liberty, nor liberty without justice. Nor "capitalism" under the guise of a variant of market socialism that keeps the old exploiters and monopolists in power.

In a truly free and ethical democratic society, he believed, thinking and moral people can make changes achieving an economy of stable growth and development,

providing full employment for all, even marginal workers, at satisfactory levels, limited only by the physical resources that exist or can be made available. They can achieve a society in which technological advance, instead of being part of a paradox, assures abundant life for all because it assures everyone the full reward for his or her efforts.

For the millions of people clamoring for freedom and democracy -- the millions for whom Marxism has failed -- is not Henry George's economic, social, political and cultural ideal of democracy, the ideal of America's founding fathers, based on liberty and justice for all, the answer they are seeking?

Notes

1. George's place in American political thought can be traced best by following the suggestions of the intellectual historian, Charles Albro Barker. He cites, besides Charles and Mary Beard, Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale, "The Course of American Democratic Thought," and Merle Curti, "The Growth of American Thought." C. A. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of 'Progress and Poverty,'" California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1945), p. 97.

2. John Dewey, foreword to George R. Geiger, "The Philosophy of Henry George," (New York: Macmillan, 1933), p.x: "Henry George is one of a small number of distinctly original social philosophers that the world has known." And he also said: Henry George was "one of the world's great social philosophers, certainly the greatest which this country has produced." (p. xiii).

3. Among the proponents was Thomas G. Shearman, New York lawyer and noted advocate of property tax reform. Author of "the single tax limited," he wrote the biographical sketch of George that the Encyclopedia Britannica continued to publish in its famous edition of 1910. It presented George solely as a property tax reformer.

4. He repeated this at least twice in 'Progress and Poverty.' He also wrote: "This, then, is the remedy for the unjust and unequal division of wealth apparent in modern civilization and for all the evils which flow from it: We must make land common property" (*ibid.*, p. 328.) By this he means, he explains elsewhere, we must establish the common right to land along with the individual right to possess and use land.

5. "The same great agencies (new sources of energy and technology) "that are thus massing populations in cities are operating even more profoundly to concentrate industry and trade", Henry George, Social Problems (New York: Schalkenbach, 1987), p. 40. "...(S)mall capitals find it more and more difficult to compete with large capitals." Ibid., p. 47.

6. S. Bruchey, "The Twice 'Forgotten' Man: Henry George," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol. 31, No. 2 (April, 1972), p. 126.

7. We borrow this apt phrase from Professor C. Lowell Harriss.

8. The United Nations General Assembly stated this in a resolution connected with preparation by the nations of a 'Law of the Sea' Treaty. The treaty is still being negotiated.

9. He discussed the socialization of unimproved land

values in terms of urban land, agricultural land, and of land in other uses, in terms of a revised property tax and of public auctions of leaseholds. The latter was promoted by an earlier land reformer, the inventor Peter Cooper, and adopted by the New York State Legislature to finance Cooper Union, a totally subsidized engineering and art college in New York City. This college, for nearly 150 years, has been the owner of the site of the Chrysler Building. One of the city's largest skyscrapers, it annually pays rent to the college. Columbia University owns the site of Rockefeller Center in New York City. Contrary to media reports, Japanese investors did not acquire the site; what they bought from Rockefeller Center, Inc., was the leasehold, originally good for 99 years. Then the lease expires and the buildings return to the landowner, the university.

10. Donald B. Ibach, an agricultural statistician in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, showed how this could be done under land value taxation, by calculating a 'productivity allowance' in making the assessment. See his "Tax Leverage for Efficient Land Exploitation: A Differential Levy on Site Values as an Aid to Land Use Adjustments," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October, 1941), pp. 13-36.

11. Herbert Spencer advocated this approach earlier.

12. Ernest Teilac, "Pioneers of American Economic Thought in the 19th Century," trans. by E. A. J. Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1936), p. 174.

13. Schumpeter's remarks, from his "History of Economic Analysis," edited by Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter (New York: Oxford, 1954), p. 865, are quoted in full in Robert V. Andelson, ed., "Critics of Henry George," (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1979), p. 16. Professor Schumpeter pointed out that George had mastered the economics of his time.

14. For present purposes these are the important books: "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," "Protection or Free Trade," "The Land Question" (this included "Property in Land" and "The Condition of Labor"). "A Perplexed Philosopher" and "The Science of Political Economy." (To this may be added "The Menace of Monopoly" by Henry George, Jr.) Among George's articles and addresses the most important for present purposes is "Causes of Business Depression." All are now published by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, New York.

15. Some resources are a bit exotic. They include the electromagnetic spectrum (the wave lengths used by TV and radio broadcasting stations, by businesses like trucking and

taxicabs, etc.), airport landing slots, the geocentric arc (the area in space in which satellites can be put in orbit for communications and other uses; rivers and other waterways; laboratories maintained by the federal government to aid in disease control, the National Weather Service which provides basic data for the \$2 billion private meteorological industry; the Census Bureau, which provides basic data for the advertising, marketing and other segments of industry; the various fisheries; the air in the lower atmosphere; the potable water in underground aquifers, rivers, lakes, creeks and streams -- the list is even longer.

16. Mineral taxes, timberland severance taxes, irrigation water charges, waste and hazardous waste removal charges all qualify as land value taxes. The method as applied to urban land can be adjusted to suit the circumstances of each of the other resources.

17. Market value is the basis for valuation by tax assessors; economists of the classical school distinguish in that value two elements. Since the practice arose from valuation of agricultural land, its economic rent arose from the difference in the productiveness of one piece of land over the product of the least productive piece of land in use. The economic rent reflected also the existence and the activities of the surrounding community. The monopoly rent arose from the scarcity of the resource, and because it is relatively or absolutely fixed in supply. The value of a government privilege is also a monopoly rent. For George's position, see "Progress and Poverty," pp. 403-407. But see also George R. Geiger's "The Theory of the Land Question," (New York: Macmillan, 1936.) One of Henry George's insights is that "Increased population increases rent (land value) without reference to the natural qualities of land, from the increased powers of cooperation and exchange which come from increased population" ibid., p. 234.

18. George's story of settlement on an "unbounded savannah" is a literary classic often reprinted. "Progress and Poverty," pp. 235-242.

19. Ibid., p. 241.

20. Ibid., pp. 347-348 and 356-357.

21. One of George's significant contributions to economic thought was the perception that most taxes burden production in different ways and in different degrees. Most fiscal economists in his day believed with E. R. A. Seligman that "the best tax is an old tax -- everyone is adjusted to it." George showed that the effects of taxes could be differentiated. Of course it is true that the subject of

the shifting and incidence of taxes is still a controversial one. The established wisdom in his day was like a biologist, discussing evolution, saying that the ox's back is bent to fit the yoke.

22. George's view: "The line at which the State should come in is that when free competition becomes impossible.

23. His last speech, a campaign speech, extolled open trade unions as an aid needed even in a free society to assure that workers received the reward for their efforts earned by their contribution to the product.

24. George, using cooperation in his own broad sense, not the limited one of the Rochdale pioneers, saw the free society as a cooperative commonwealth. His theory of cooperation is one of the pillars of his reconstructed social structure. See "Progress and Poverty," pp. 462-472m especially p. 468.

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This essay was written as the introductory essay to "George and the Scholars," a book reprinting some of the papers of 20th century scholars analyzing the economics, and the social and political theory of Henry George.