

movement will not, on their side, lose another opportunity, viz., that of associating in their struggle the productive forces just mentioned, which unfortunately are seldom classed with labor in its organized expression and which yet suffer from the same economic and fiscal disabilities. Has organized Labor no clear conception of what these fundamental disabilities are? To go into the final struggle for economic justice with such paltry devices as the eight-hour day and the standard wage is to handicap the movement unfairly. A larger, more comprehensive strategy is necessary, embracing the fundamental economic forces, to which such items as hours of labor and rates of wages are irrevocably subject. May we not expect that, in this great crisis and opportunity of service to humanity, the responsible leaders of labor will consider well the task they have undertaken? History has so often written in colossal disaster the final judgment, "*Weighed in the balance and found wanting*," upon the leaders of great popular uprisings.

Let us put the matter plainer: Will Mr. Gompers allow a controversy over superficial, fictitious and unstable economic effects, such as nominal wages and hours of labor, to camouflage and prejudice the real issue, that of fundamental causal forces, such as the fiscal and other relations of labor in all its forms to its final and only essential opportunity—the land? Only with a right adjustment of these relations, can labor attain to its right and only equitable wage, viz., the full product of its free, unhampered effort.

The Fiscal Basis for Germany's War Indemnity

WE commend for consideration by the American representatives in the approaching Peace negotiations a suggestion advanced by Mr. Leonard Tuttle, in a letter appearing in the New York press of the 15th of Nov. Dealing with Germany's liabilities to the countries which have suffered from her intolerable assault, Mr. Tuttle makes the following suggestion:

"All real estate in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey should be seized and the rents collected by the Allied governments until the full war costs are paid. The landlord junker class in those countries were the real war makers, who hoped to enrich themselves still further by the plunder of a conquered world. It is only fair and just that they should be compelled to pay fully for all the damage done, both financial and physical, to people and governments of the nations allied against them.

"It would make no difference to the German workman or farmer whether he paid his rent to a German landlord or to the Allied governments. If an indemnity of a hundred billions were collected in that way, it would fall largely on the junker property-owning classes who caused the war and, therefore, ought to pay for it."

The suggestion of Mr. Tuttle is quite in line with fiscal opinions already advanced by responsible German authorities, when considering the case of the recently conquered Russian provinces. Take, for instance, the proposals of

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Imperial German Secretary of State for Colonies, published in the *New York Times* so recently as June 2 of this year, when the German dream of world conquest seemed, to the German mind, assured.

After referring to the German project of settling in the ex-Russian province of Courland some million and a half German farmers who had previously been scattered over Russia, and to the offer of the Courland nobility to cede one-third of their possessions at pre-war prices, in anticipation of the advantages certain to accrue to them from the opening of the German market and the construction of roads, railroads, etc., Dr. Dernburg continues:

"These considerations show the enormous increase in value which the Courland possessions will experience as a result of the new order of affairs, connection with an export territory for agricultural products, such as the German Empire; safety in the country, the disappearance of chicanery, well-ordered administration, higher prices for products of the field, forest and fisheries, represent manifold increase in Courland land values. If, then, a third of the large private land holdings is ceded at pre-war prices, this not only does not represent a sacrifice, but there even falls into the lap of the landed nobility a tremendous 'unearned' increment. . . .

"The unearned increment in value has, under German law, frequently in the past been counterbalanced by cession of land in favor of the State. The colonial law—and here similar conditions obtain—declares that the individual owners must cede as much of their land holdings as is represented by the increased value due to the establishment of public institutions, railroads, etc. This healthy principle should be accepted by the law-making corporations of Courland also. . . . From all this it follows that, before cession of land in return for unearned increment, there must first of all be established from land a fund for cultural purposes, the returns of which are to be available for the exploitation of the land through railroads, roads and public institutions. Upon the strength of such a land fund, it would be easier, too, to bring about the necessary furnishing of moneys, inasmuch as then it would require a shorter exchange credit."

It needs very little modification of this German plan of Dernburg for the development of the new German-Russian colony, in order to insure the settlement of liabilities of another and more pressing order which must have a prior claim on the economic resources of the German Empire. Just as the land of Courland was to bear the burden of the development of the new State, so now the same "healthy principle," as Dernburg terms it, should be the basis of the plan for assuring the liquidation of the just bill of damages soon to be presented by the Allied powers. The proposal to make a first lien on what Dernburg calls alternately unearned increment and land values has the great advantage, from the creditor nations' point of view, that it does not lessen, but rather stimulates the productive capacity of the debtor nations. Any other derivation of the huge payments to be made by Germany can only weaken her and imperil her solvency.

Incidentally, as Mr. Tuttle points out, the junker class in Germany, the main instigators of the war, would be prevented from enriching themselves again at the expense of industrial Germany, upon whose labor the payment of the debt must finally rest. May we expect from the collective wisdom of democracy gathered at the Peace Conference the adoption of this equitable and rational formula? Our confidence might be greater had a single one of the Allied nations adopted in its own fiscal system the "healthy principle" advanced by Germany's ex-Secretary of State for Colonies.

After their great victory, will the Allies fail to see and gather this honey of wisdom in the dead lion?

Untried Methods of Propaganda

MUCH has been tried by Single Taxers in the way of propaganda methods but much also has been omitted. Here are some of the things omitted:

In the first place no serious attempt has been made to line up the great and small industrial, trade and professional Associations in the country. Not a single one of these Associations has yet been identified with Single Tax work.

In the second place no serious attempt has been made to enlist the press of the country in the reform.

In the third place the bookstores have been neglected those great feeding grounds of the intellectuals.

In the fourth place the educational institutions as a whole have been largely neglected, where they have not been antagonized.

In the fifth place no attempt even has been made to have the technical administrative bases of the reform properly worked out with regard to the special constitutional and fiscal conditions prevailing in this country. The same may be said as to the statistical bases of the reform, the incidence of taxation, the economic and other effects to be anticipated from the reform, etc.

In the sixth place, no organization of men of weight in the community has been attempted. The few of this category who have taken an interest in the movement have been content to delegate the direction to paid employees. No great work was ever accomplished under such circumstances.

If the present leaders of the movement cannot place their personal influence, their social, commercial, industrial, political prestige in the scales to create a powerful grouping of organized opinion in favor of this great reform, then an opportunity unique in history will have been frittered away. The reward of the man who buried his one talent will be theirs.

In Stevenage, England, where only one-fourth of area is used, 24 families applied to rent one cottage. Owner decided tenant by having them throw dice.

AMONG incidents of the revolution in Germany is the renunciation by the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar and his family of right of exemption from taxation.

Why Is A Party?

WE think we know what is the matter with our friends of the new National Party. They say: "We are convinced of the necessity of creating an honest political party." Now the Democratic and Republican parties are honest enough, or at all events are as honest as the persons that compose them. And the new National Party would be no more honest than the people who would compose it, and these would be made up of the same people who compose other parties—average American citizens.

Why should we go to all this trouble merely for the sake of having a new party? Such an effort is of a piece with the man who made two holes for his dog kennel, one to let out the big dog, and another small hole for the smaller dogs.

The great crying need of the times is not for a new party merely for the sake of having another one. If a new party is needed at all it is because there is a new and important issue which the old parties will not make their own. But our friends of the National Party lay the chief stress on the need of a new party as if there were some virtue in the word *new*, and as if the new party would not contain within it all the objections that can be urged against the old parties.

And this National Party, gathering together all the issues that it finds lying around loose, seeks to form an impossible coalition. And all to one purpose—a new political party. Is it not all inexpressibly childish? Parties are instruments merely, not something desirable in themselves.

"I AM a Single Taxer, and am firmly of the opinion that any propaganda short of a full preachment of its gospel is futile, leads away from the Single Tax, and makes its final achievement more difficult." The late J. J. PASTORIZA.

THERE is one aspect of the pursuit of money that is almost wholly ignored. Able and energetic men desire to succeed in any state of society. They can best succeed in the state of society that prevails today by the accumulation of riches. Such accumulation marks success, not because men recognize any value in possession, but because society is so constituted that it sees in great riches the qualities that inure to success. It is not so much that men love wealth as that they love success.

It is conceivable that given a different state of society men will grow indifferent to mere accumulation and will value more highly the eminence secured by faculties quite apart from the faculty of money-getting.

VAST quantities of good farming land, near the best markets in the world, are not cultivated. In New England there are 30 million acres of unused land that might be growing crops. There are 35 million acres in the Middle States that might be farmed, but which are lying idle. In the Pacific Coast States there are 180 million acres of unused but usable land. In all, 500 million acres, or thereabouts, are lying idle, to say nothing of that which is inadequately farmed.—WARREN G. HARDING, U. S. Senator from Ohio.