

engaged in a political struggle and was actually appealing for votes, though he desired that these votes be based upon right thinking; and certainly right thinking is preparatory to only one thing, right voting. We know the argument from the smallness of our numbers, but this objection will be outgrown in time; we know, too, that reforms come by piecemeal, but the piece will be larger if we ask for the whole, and if the asking is a demand backed by the only argument which politicians understand, namely votes. We know that not many Single Taxers who remain outside the party, and none in it, will get into office, but this consequence does not carry with it a very grievous affliction. We shall alienate men of other political parties, we are told. If they are Single Taxers by conviction and remain outside of the party they will not abandon their convictions; and in the silence of the polling booth they will find it difficult to refuse to give the principle in which they believe, their silent assent.

In conclusion, and because we have not at this time the space to say more, the principle in which we believe is great enough for its followers to greatly dare—and the advantages, educational as well as political, of independent party action, whatever arguments, sound or specious, may be urged in opposition, compared with the methods under which all Single Tax organization has now broken down, are demonstrably overwhelming.

Post-Bellum Economics

AN increasing concern regarding economic conditions after the war is being shown by governments and individual corporations, both at home and abroad.

An instructive instance of this growing apprehension on this side of the water we have in an appeal recently issued by Walter W. Vick, general manager of the Factory Products Export Corporation and Manufacturers' Agents' Company, and former General Receiver of Dominican Customs. After emphasizing the need of a large Commercial Intelligence Department organized by government, he insists that all Americans should keep the following essential points in mind:

1. The present prosperity of the United States is not due to domestic, but foreign consumption. The production is not economic but extravagant. This is possible because sales prices permit it.
2. Production in European countries at war has been forced to the most economic basis obtainable.
3. After the war, extravagant American production must compete with economic European production.
4. The United States is producing, above domestic production, from 35 to 40 per cent. output. That over-production is going abroad. When the war ceases, we will be fortunate if we retain 10 per cent. of it. Thus from 25 to 35 per cent. over-production must cease, with the resultant industrial readjustment.
5. Therefore, if we do not now use every possible foresight and energy to retain and expand foreign trade the United States' economic position must recede.

6. England, Germany, France, Italy and Russia have already established commissions to be in a state of "preparedness" for the commercial competition.

7. We must do likewise and "Do It Now."

Then follows a long list of recommendations regarding the formation of Committees of Trade Commissioners, the mobilization of expert economists, engineers and other technical men, Chambers of Commerce and other local industrial organizations. But nowhere do we find a single word that indicates appreciation of our fundamental fiscal and economic maladjustments.

And yet no fact in our economic structure and equipment is more conspicuous: The whole weight and force of our national taxes and dues is thrown against national production and exchange; our States exercise the same discrimination against economical production and the efficient use of our national resources. The bulk of our municipal taxation operates to deter enterprise and favor inertia.

Until we free American industry and commerce from this grossly unfair handicap, all the devices above recommended, such as Trade Commissions, Councils of Experts, etc., are futile subterfuges, evasions of the main and manifest issue. To pretend to organize and increase our industrial and commercial efficiency, while consenting to our government's fiscal war against it, is a transparently irrational procedure, and foreordained to failure.

Our commercial and industrial organizations can do no better work for the present and the future than apply their trained common sense to an investigation of the fiscal arrangements of the nation. It is the open secret of our notorious inefficiency, in spite of our unrivalled natural resources.

Let our fiscal system cease its discrimination against American enterprise and we shall easily hold our own against the world. Our deadliest trade opponent is at home, not abroad.

Single Tax Pacificists

WE DEEM it a matter of grave injury to the movement that a few Single Taxers—for they are but few, though including some occupying positions of leadership—should be found, from whatever motives or convictions, in opposition to the government in its prosecution of the war for democracy in which the country is engaged. That the misguided activities of these individuals have not brought upon Single Taxers generally the imputation of disloyalty is a tribute to the forbearance of our opponents.

We do not understand these isolated Single Tax anti-war and anti-government propagandists to be non-resistants, and they indignantly resent the charge of pro-Germanism. They do not base their opposition to our co-operation with the nations that are trying to subdue the war-mad rulers of Germany on the contention that all wars are wrong—wars for defence along with wars of offense. This attitude would be, if not philosophically unassailable, at least intelligible. They do not argue that all wars are historically without justification, or that the conqueror may

be overcome by passive resistance and a refusal to defend aggressively the things most precious in civilization that are now threatened by the spirit of Attila born again. We can at least understand the Tolstoyan philosophy, but these Single Taxers who seem to think it their duty to oppose our government's entry into the war, have not, so far as we are aware, cited Tolstoy or the philosophy of non-resistance in their defence. This, let us say in all kindness, leaves their position open to the criticism of those less reluctant than we to impute motives of partiality for the German cause.

Let it be said that the great body of Single Taxers believe in this war—they are loyal at once to country and conviction, which in this instance are identical. The movement may be set back many years if it is suspected that in this tremendous crisis in the world's history Single Taxers saw liberty assailed and made no protest. The Democratic party in this country paid the penalty of a generation of exclusion from power and the loss of public confidence because of its sympathy with the slave power of the South. The Single Tax movement would meet a similar fate should its members falter now in a time of more imminent peril to the world's liberties in declaring that they are loyal citizens of the world to whom the cry of Serbia, Belgium and France has not gone up in vain. Our preaching of economic liberty would fall upon deaf ears, or would meet the taunt that when all liberty was in danger we had been false to the message we bring, that our worship of her was not even lip service, that where millions of men gave their lives for liberty, we had not even given our voice.

A Statesman-Like Utterance— Bravo, Governor Whitman

IN AN address delivered before the New York State Agricultural Society at its 86th annual meeting in the Senate chamber of the State capital, on January 15, Governor Whitman said:

"Another very wise policy which they have followed abroad is a plan of exempting such holdings from taxation and this, too, has proved a conspicuous success and perhaps some plan of this character would work well with us. It has been proposed, for instance, to exempt from taxation all the man-made improvements of farm land, the orchards and woodlands, the fences, the buildings, the flocks, herds and machinery, levying our rural taxes only on the bare land values, always provided that the farm is adequately worked. Such a policy would of necessity result in taxes slightly higher on bare and idle land, but, to the enterprising working farmer, it would mean a substantial reduction in his taxes, for any slight increase which he might pay on his land would be more than offset by exempting his buildings and his personal property, and it certainly seems wiser to penalize the agricultural slacker who leaves his land idle and unworked than to discourage the real farmer, the farmer who is rising to his responsibilities and doing his share to feed the nation, by penalizing him through the tax rolls for every improvement which he makes, every sign of prosperity which

he shows, every contribution which he makes to meet the national emergency with which we are now confronted."

And there is much else in the address of Governor Whitman to win our congratulations, but which we have not space to print.

The New National Party

THE new *National Party* is an interesting symptom of the times. It had its origin in a conference held in Chicago. This conference had for its participants Prohibitionists, Progressives, Tax Reformers, Loyal American Socialists and Labor Unionists. It has declared that it will wage a war of extermination on the liquor traffic; on political oligarchy and despotism; on economic privilege and injustice; and on all those evil forces which make for aggression and war.

The platform of the new party is made up of some declarations from which we are compelled to withhold our assent. But we may pass these considerations for the time for matters of greater importance. That many Socialists who formerly acted with the Socialist Party should concur in the following plank is indicative of a growing change in the minds of many who have heretofore subscribed to the programme of "government ownership of land and the means of production."

"Private Industry.—Industrial democracy aims not only to guarantee equality of economic opportunity, but also to encourage the fullest individual liberty and initiative in industrial enterprise. It is desirable that our citizens should be free to venture their earnings in the upbuilding of new forms of industry, and the net incomes which result from such undertakings should not be regarded indiscriminately as unearned increment. Often such net incomes are but fair wages due for the useful experiment performed and the social service rendered. We do not object to the continuance of private enterprise in such fields as long as the gains derived therefrom are earned."

The Single Tax plank of this remarkable and forward looking statement of principle is as follows, and leaves nothing to be desired. It precedes the plank quoted above.

"Extinction of Land Monopoly.—Removal of the fundamental evil of land monopoly by taxation of site rental values, this taxation to be progressively increased and taxation of improvements to be gradually abolished."

The names of the temporary officers of the new party arrest the attention: They are Matthew Hale, of Mass.; Otto Cullman and Louis Wallis, of Chicago; J. G. Phelps Stokes and John Spargo, of New York; Wm. F. Cochran, of Baltimore; Upton Sinclair, of California, and others. What these names disclose is not that Single Taxers, as sometimes asserted, are "going over" to Socialism, but that many Socialists are beginning to look favorably on the Single Tax. With this changed attitude of mind will come a juster appreciation of the line of demarcation between privilege and private industry. That there is a dawning sense of such distinction is revealed in the first of the platform sections quoted here.