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A Thought for Christmas

Christ brought to a world of misery the doctrine of the dignity of man.

In a social milieu which rejected the weak and the unfortunate, individuality lost all grandeur; only the wealth and the power and the position attaching to the individual gained recognition in the established order, and vouchsafed identity in the inevitable future.

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The predatory State was all-powerful. Its ally, the ecclesiastical officialdom, had fortified its position or influence—and, therefore affluence—by giving the sanction of religion to the status quo. The world was full of Samaritans and pagans and plebeians to whom not only the things of this life but even the solace of salvation was denied.

To the poor, then, to the downtrodden, even to the Magdalene, Christ brought a message of individual dignity and worth, "For the very hairs of your head are all numbered," He told His followers. And He preached to them the immediacy of the Kingdom of God—on Earth as it is in Heaven. "It is your Father's pleasure to give you the kingdom."

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What kind of kingdom? What are the ingredients of the social order envisioned in His promise? Primarily, the reign of justice shall have its turn. The first shall be last. In the new order the lowly and the disinherited will be men among men. The world is to be turned upside down; the present state being bad, to understand the future it is sufficient to conceive as near as may be the contrary of that which exists.

"On Earth as it is in Heaven." Heaven can mean only the realization of the highest aspiration of the human spirit. And what does the heart of man yearn for more than Freedom? Can a concept of Heaven that involves slavery, economic or spiritual, have any validity? It is fantastic, blasphemous, if you will, to speak of Heaven-on-Earth as a place where one man must pay another for the privilege of living and earning his daily bread. Or where life is subject to the whim of predatory interests, or where such interests even exist. Such a Heaven was not in the Christ-promise.

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Over nineteen centuries ago this promise of Justice and Freedom came to a world from which Justice and Freedom had been banished by Avarice and Privilege, a world which crucified the One who brought the message. And in the light of the history of these centuries, with their multitude of wars and their harrowing poverty, one must conclude that the message itself has been crucified. For the world in which we live is as devoid of Justice and Freedom as was the world to which He brought His promise, and the dignity of the individual, long submerged by the economic struggle, is being further depressed by the subtle soporific of collectivist doctrine.

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And yet, though Privilege is powerful enough to emasculate the most beautiful thought, to twist elemental truth into apparent falsehood, to obscure light with planned ignorance, there dwells in every heart a yearning for Justice and Freedom—so loud and so constant that it cannot be stilled nor forever denied. To those to whom the ways of Justice and the means of Freedom are known the meaning of Christ's promise is clear. And each Christmas they rededicate themselves to the struggle for the attainable ideal—The Kingdom of God on Earth.

Freeman Views the News

What After Communism?

Earl Browder will probably pay organized society for a technical violation of its law. Many others who helped shape that squirming thing called "the party line" will be scorched by our modern witch-hunters, but many more who naively believed the communistic promise that through political slavery escape from economic slavery is possible are being left disillusioned and bewildered by the Russo-German rapprochement. For these simple emotionalists—who comprise the bulk of the socialist movement—one cannot avoid a feeling of pity. The unmasking of their ideal has left them without faith. He who is without faith is lost indeeed.

Some of these will cling to the myth of socialism, on the preposterous assumption that its apparent failure is due to its betrayal, not to its inherent fallacies. It is easier to blame individuals than to seek causes. Others who have clung to the periphery of socialism for years and who have been flung off into nothingness by the centrifugal force of its recent gyrations, may take counsel with themselves. Perhaps this political scheme, with its shibboleths that are economic in sound only, is basically wrong. Perhaps the hope of the world is in an understanding of economic principle. That's it: perhaps in understanding, rather than in hate, lies the way out of social maladjustment.

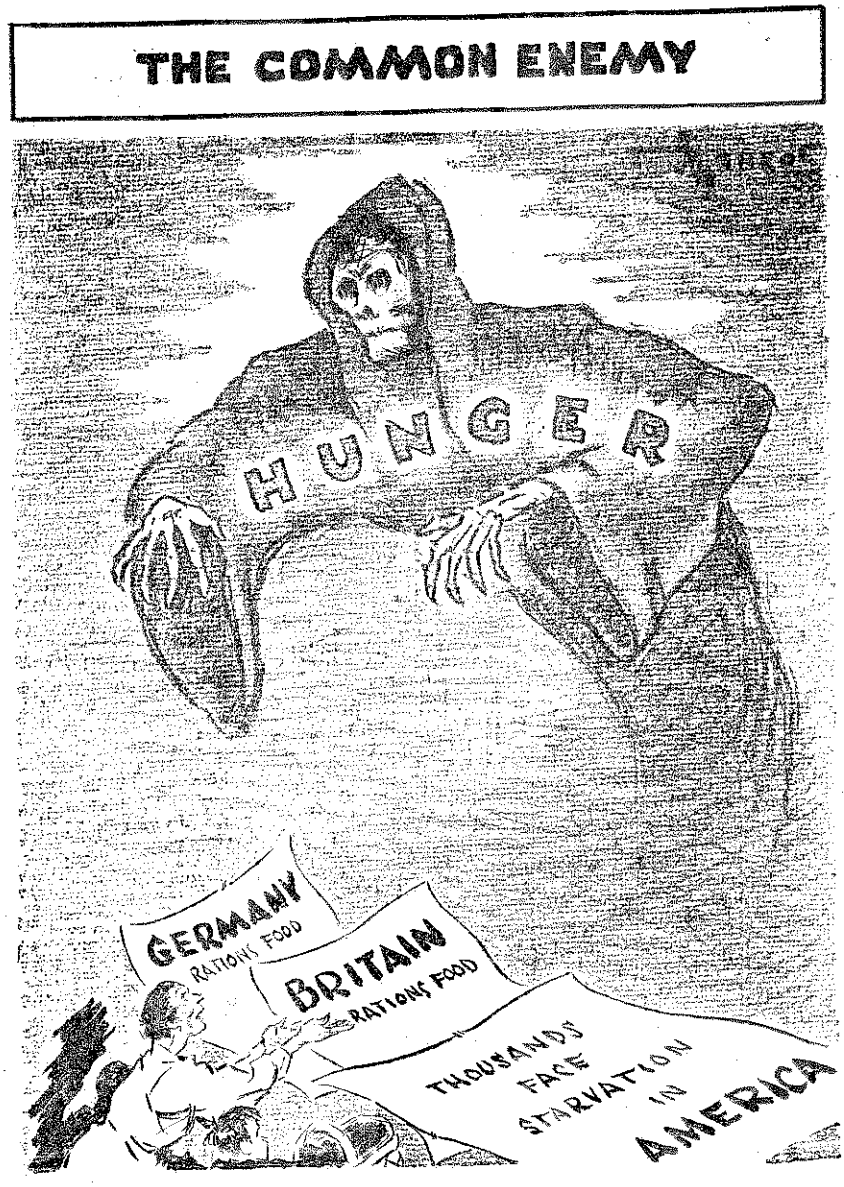
But, will they be allowed to seek understanding? What of the witch hunters? Will the reactionaries, the privilege seekers, the hundred-percent supporters of the status quo, taking advantage of the revulsion of feeling toward the hypocrisy and chicanery of the Browder-Molotov-Stalin gang, permit honest inquiry into the causes of our unsocial living? Will they not, rather, seek to root out all questioning of things as are, in order that their picayune pecuniary advantages may be continued and extended? Can any "Dies Committee" be anything but unfair?

Therein lies the danger. The cult of communism is fast disintegrating. In the bright sunshine of reason it will evaporate. But, it can be revived by being driven into underground haunts where the vermin of hate flourish to portentous proportions.

Labor Stranded

The effect of the "cash and carry" clause of the so-called neutrality bill passed at the special session of Congress was to put out of employment the capital invested in certain ships under American registry, for the bill practically prohibited the use of these ships.

Unemployed capital yields no return. Furthermore, the cost of the



maintenance of capital during a period of idleness is prohibitive. Depreciation of value, particularly in ships, is greater when capital is idle than when used.

The owners of the ships, therefore, seek to transfer registry from the United States to a country which has not put the same limitation on the use of capital in this form. Capital must go to work. If there is any work for ships, and if American ships are not available, ships of other countries, that is, other capital, will quickly come into existence. Capital always appears where there is the promise of a return.

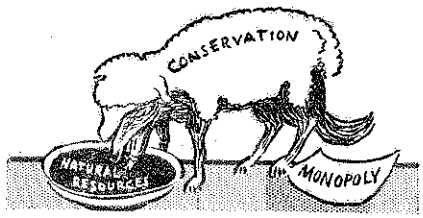
The rush of capital to the place of greatest opportunity of employment is as natural as the rush of labor in the same direction. Note, it is natural. It is neither moral nor immoral. To decry this movement of capital is as stupid as to scold a river for flowing down hill. And, by the way, if the transfer of capital in the form of ships from one country to another is reprehensible (as our emotionalists claim), how about the flight abroad of other capital because of our tariff walls? To wit: clothing factories in Canada, automobile plants in Europe.

The ethical effects of this new restrictive law are felt, rather, in the field of labor, simply because it is not as easy for the "beached" labor to transfer its field of operations. To change a ship's registry is merely an act of bookkeeping. To change one's citizenship is to break human ties, to uproot loyalties, to transfer life from one environment to another. Ships are ships—but men are human. Besides, it costs money to move from country to country.

But, then, labor has been roving for centuries all over the globe in its search of opportunity to work. Restrictive laws are not new; labor has always been forced to flee from them. In the past, however, freedom of movement was not curtailed by immigration laws, and somewhere in the world there was free land to work. According to our present day isolationism labor is a pest. Where can it find welcome to-day?

Problem for Conservationists

Last month, after a quarter century of politico-financial jobbery, an investment of $40,000,000 and the loss of a number of lives, rich oil oozed from the end of a 263-mile



pipe line at the Colombian port of Covenas. Next year it is expected that the present daily 25,000-barrel output will be stepped up to 50,000; and more later. The owners are The Texas Corporation, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc., and the Colombian government. It is reported that at least one Colombian concessionaire receives royalties on this oil. The usual land-grab.

None of this oil will reach American motorists, for there is a 21c tariff on oil imports to the U. S. Besides, the large oil companies have successfully propagandized the idea of conserving our oil resources, and have encouraged the enactment of laws limiting the use of American wells. Having thus raised the domestic price it would be foolish of them to bring Colombian oil into the country. In a warring world these companies will doubtless find customers for their new supply.

But the whole thing seems fanciful. American monopolists succeed in limiting, by law, our American production of oil. This in the name of conservation. They also "protect" their industry (and their prices) by securing a high tariff on oil. Then they invest $40,000,000 in a foreign country to develop a new supply of oil, which cannot be sold in their own country.

One wonders whether protection and monopoly prices are first cousins to conservation. Whether one wonders or not, one pays.

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The Army Belongs

Some raucous comment greeted the appointment of army officers to administer the Wage-Hour Act and the WPA. It seemed that this comment, emotional in content, came from people who believe that both of these economic measures can succeed in achieving the promises and hopes in which they were conceived, but who are afraid that in the hands of strict disciplinarians they may fail. Putting it bluntly, humanitarian laws should be entrusted to administrators more humanitarian in their impulses than are army men.

And yet, the WPA and the Wage-

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Hour idea have in the hands of disciplinarians the only chance—if any—of even a semblance of achievement. Both measures assume that economic laws are politically determined. In the case of the WPA it was assumed by the legislators that the wheels of industry can be turned by government fiat, and that the number of R. P. M.'s is in direct proportion to the amount of tax money with which the wheels are greased. The Wage-Hour law likewise is based on the idea that wages are not the natural return to labor for its contribution to production, but that the strong arm of the government may determine at least a minimum rate.

Both laws seek by administrative methods to solve economic problems. Both laws, indeed, are predicated on the idea that economic problems can be solved only by the regulatory power of the State. In order to enforce such regulatory laws, in order to determine whether they are enforceable, it would seem wise to entrust them to men whose training inclines to resoluteness, impartiality and blind obedience. With that kind of administration any failure must be blamed on the law itself.

Yes, it would indeed be wise to test the efficacy of all "planned economy" laws—that is, enactments which assume that there are no natural laws in the field of economics, and that only by parliamentary wisdom and executive order can economic maladjustments be corrected—by placing the administration of such laws in the hands of the army. For an army is built on the principle that wisdom resides only in a general staff, whose orders must be enforced without question. Only at the point of death has a soldier the right to express discretion or judgment. If a battle fails the fault must be in the staff plan.

So strongly is this principle ingrained in army personnel that obedience to law becomes automatic. To entrust the administration of experimental laws to men so trained is to assure to these laws a fair chance of demonstrating their efficacy—or their ineptness. To entrust them to politicians, or humanitarians, is to subject them to human frailties; the politician is more anxious for his job than for the law, the humanitarian colors the workability of the law with a purpose which he reads into it. An army officer is not afraid of losing his job, and tends, by training, to follow an order to its logical end.

But, then, maybe planners fear the logical end of their plans.

Tammany Wins Again

What's wrong with "good" government?

Tammany Hall, which Mayor LaGuardia's reform movement and District Attorney Dewey's scandal-revealing investigations were supposed to have permanently buried, bounded back from its grave last month. Not one anti-Tammany candidate was elected, not even to a minor office.

Why do people cast their votes for a political party whose record for corruption in office is proverbial? Maybe there is something not so good in "good" government. Or is the answer to be found in the perversity of human nature?

The inescapable fact is that reform movements do not improve economic conditions—and the ballot box is the place where this fact is recorded. If a reform movement succeeds in cleaning out a festering political condition in the community, that community becomes a more desirable place to live in. Therefore, land values go up, and only the rent collectors profit by the change.

Tammany's political successes are due to the cunning realization that economic pressure determines the direction of votes. A ton of coal in an empty bin, an unemployed son aided in getting a job, some indigent citizen slipped into the relief rolls, shoes given for the baby, or a wayward daughter kept out of jail—and the family's vote is "in the bag." Does the reform government offer them half as much? It shows them figures on how much it has reduced the city budget, or describes the rascals who have been thrown out of office. The answer is: Keep the rascals in, they help us.

Tammany, at least, gives immediate relief. If attitudes could speak: "Who cares about the ultimate payoff? What's this bunk about the decline of civilization? Never found much civilization in my little world! And the intellectual stuffed shirts who seek in political changes some economic improvement? They seem to be getting theirs out of this civilization."

No Ham, No Eggs

The rejection at the polls of the Ohio-California plans to subsidize people over fifty merely means that the pressure groups which fostered these uneconomic schemes were not strong enough to impose their will on the public. The schemes in themselves were no more fallacious, no more disastrous to our economy than the WPA, the soldiers' bonus bills, the tariff, the public housing experiments or any of the manifold devices to secure, at the expense of the producers, economic advantages for special groups.

They all come under the head of political means as opposed to economic means. They all owe their origin to the growing problem of poverty. They are all ineffective and harmful in that they tend to retard production by reducing, through taxation, the purchasing power of producers. Thus, they all intensify the problem of poverty.

There is no need for charity. In a well-ordered society, where taxes are abolished and access to the soil is freed through the socialization of rent, even those who are over seventy, if they are not ill, crippled or feeble-minded, will be able to earn their keep. If they are incapacitated their offspring will be able, and willing, to support them. They will not have to be paupers.

Are You, Mr. Planner?

When I am asked if such or such a nation is fit to be free, I ask in return, is any man fit to be a despot?—Sir John Russell.

The Terms of Peace

Germany is fighting to retain her exploitative position in seized territories—and hopes, by victory or acquiescence, to prepare for an extension of this power.

Russian aims are similarly imperialistic. Stalin is as much in the war as if his armies were marching. He is in the position of a gangster collecting the loot from a victim shot down by his strong-arm man; i. e., Hitler. The gang leader shoots only when necessary, and his victim is usually his own bodyguard.

But what are England and France fighting for? In the absence of any statement of definite aims it must be concluded that these governments are fighting to retain their exploitative position in parts of the world under their control, a position which would be threatened by the success of the Russo-German venture. It's the old story of the conflict of the "haves" and the "have nots," of the south side mob trying to "muscle in" on the more lucrative north side.

The seductive suggestion of King George VI that England would consider any terms proposed by Germany is half of the diplomatic game of putting Hitler "on the spot"—the other half being M. Lebrun's demand that Germany get out of Poland, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia as a prerequisite for any discussion of peace. Both suggestions involve the unprecedented resignation of an undefeated dictator, and were thrown out merely for the historical purpose of placing the war blame on Germany. It seems also that the French president's drastic proposal and the gentle suggestion of the King were intended to demonstrate to Germans that France is more inclined to war than England, and that the German claims to the contrary are mere propaganda. Anyhow, both statements definitely preclude any possibility of peace without victory.

There is, however, a statement of purpose by England's Chamberlain which because of its vagueness permits of many conjectures. "We are not aiming only at victory," he said in the House of Commons, "but rather looking beyond it to the laying of a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not the inevitable lot of every succeeding generation."

Boiled down, this means a condition of permanent peace. In view of the fact that "every succeeding generation" has seen war for hundreds of years we can exclude the elimination of Hitlerism, another

condition of peace laid down by Chamberlain, as an absolutely necessary factor. Hitler did not cause the World War, nor the Boer War, nor the Spanish-American War, nor the wars against the Riffs, nor the Napoleonic wars, nor Caesar's wars. So that, if we seek the "foundation of a better international system" which will rid "every succeeding generation" of war, we must seek it outside the peculiar political make-up of any given government. War is indigenous to all political ideologies—from the most democratic to the most totalitarian.

The cause of war is not in the politics of any nation, but in its economy. If people are poor, or are threatened with poverty, they will fight. If they are prosperous, and if their prosperity is based on freedom of production, rather than on exploitation of other peoples, the condition of peace prevails. So, let us take Chamberlain at his word and detail the terms of peace which will fit his broad purpose. We believe that these terms, and none other, will lay the "foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not the inevitable lot of each succeeding generation":

1. Complete free trade between all the nations, including all their territories, mandated or seized. Thus the natural resources of each will be open to the other on the basis of exchange, and there would be no need of fighting for colonies. The peoples of all the nations would be "haves" in accordance with their production, and the only "have nots" would be those who refused to produce.

2. Taxes of all kinds must be abolished. One cannot imagine Germans being so stupid as to fight Frenchmen and Englishmen who want to abolish their taxes. Hitlerism would crash to the ground—for the Germans would do it themselves.

3. The only source of revenue for any country would be the rent of its land. With a promise of this kind, meaning that their own expropriated lands at home would be given back to them, the armies of France and England would be invincible—if there were any army to oppose them.

These are the only terms of permanent peace.

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Taxes? Tush!

It is said that the Boston Tea Party was a revolt against taxation. We doubt it. Our doubts arise from the fact that we have seen no revolutionary tendency by present day Americans to resist excessive taxation.

Nor can it be said that Americans do not know they are being taxed. Gasoline stations and amusement places, among others, have for years told their patrons the amount they pay in taxes; protests are rare. Cigar stores in New York recently hung up large signs over valuable window space to proclaim that cigarettes cost 6½ cents; the federal tax is 6 cents, the state gets two cents, the city one cent. "You pay" (in red letters) 15½ cents. Nobody has dumped cigarettes into the East River in protest.

We venture the opinion that the reason for this apathy of Americans toward taxation—or rather the alacrity with which they impose more taxes on themselves——is the unexpressed feeling that any reduction in taxes would not, in the long run, affect their purchasing power. They may not know that lower taxes would increase rent; but they do know that they would not be any better off.

Speed Up—Slow Down

"The men are lying down. If they don't speed up production to standard, the cost of production will be so high we won't be able to sell the cars and come out in the black." That, substantially, was the reason advanced by the Chrysler Corporation for shutting down its plant last month.

"It's impossible for the men to keep up with the pace set by the company's production standards," said the union; "It will kill them."

Both happen to be right. And they happen to be wrong, too, in that neither seeks a cause outside the avarice or short-sightedness of the other. To their common economic ignorance must be ascribed the wastefulness of the struggle between these groups.

The company's study of market conditions discloses that the public can absorb so many cars of its kind at a given price. The reports of its sales experts cannot be controverted—that an additional five percent in price would result in a disastrous reduction of sales. Ways must be found to reduce costs five percent. This is a problem for the production department. Its engineers devise shortcuts, elimination of waste motion, which will permit faster production.

But, the waste motion eliminated may have been in its nature restful to the worker, and the short cuts may have the tendency of hastening movement on the part of the workers, or of requiring more concentrated attention. All of which adds to fatigue.

To that extent both sides are right—assuming, of course, that they are honest in their arguments, that neither side has some undisclosed motive. We are interested in economics—not motives.

The union's position must be, then, that the company need not decrease its cost of production in order to sell the number of cars necessary to secure a return that will assure its solvency. To take that position it must assume that the speeding up is done only to increase the company's profits at the expense of the workers' health—the old socialistic surplus value theory. If the company is in a monopolistic position there is some plausibility in this argument; it gets all it can from the buyers of its product, and for more returns must look to its workers. In that case the only way to protect the workers from gouging is by destroying the monopoly. A strike won't do this because a monopoly can outwait the workers. No strike ever destroyed a monopoly. Every monopoly is based on a privilege granted by government; therefore political pressure on the government to withdraw the privilege is the only way.

But, if the company has no monopoly, any successful attempt on its part to increase profits must attract competition from other capital; in fact, capital, particularly in the present glutted market, flows where there is even a rumor of possible returns. More capital needs more labor, for capital without labor is as useless as a ship without motive power. Thus, increased profits in any non-monopolistic industry merely increase competition for laborers, which means increased wages; temporarily, at any rate.

Another point. Suppose the company, by some strange freak, did increase its profits at the expense of its workers. Or by any other method. How long before the monopolists from whom it buys its raw materials would grab this profit? In other words, how long does it take for rent to absorb every increase in productive enterprise?

The problem of decreasing the cost of the car without destroying the health of the worker is still the issue. Its solution lies in increasing the wage level of all workers—within and without the Chrysler plant—so that they can pay for cars made by men working at a decent speed. This wage level cannot be determined by the Chrysler Corporation or the union, though they could both help by intelligent application to the study of political economy.

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Insuring the Landlords

An ingenious scheme for protecting farm mortgage holders has been given impetus by the support of Senator Capper of Kansas. Here's how he tells it: "The plan is to buy an amount of life insurance (by the farmer-debtor) to the amount of the indebtedness on the farm. Then when the policy matures at the death of the owner the debt is wiped out."

If the farmer cannot meet payments on his mortgages how can he pay his insurance premiums? Or, is the Senator gambling on the early demise from starvation of the farmers burdened with mortgages?

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In One World

Tommy Manville, the asbestos heir who pays alimony to four ex-wives, spent $3,000 to charter a plane to bring unto him in New York a Hollywood brunette bubble dancer. A newspaper gave the story of the latest extravagance of this notorious child of monopoly a double column spread.

Tucked away on another page of this newspaper was the story of a mother of five children who had offered to sell the cornea of one of her eyes for $5,000—so that the family could get off relief. She wants a farm. "My husband is a good farmer and we would be happy together. This is a great sacrifice but I would gladly make it for my children who have not had a chance."

To Abolish War Make Peace Profitable.

One Of God's Orphans

By George B. Bringmann

He was black, a shiny black like patent leather dancing pumps. And he was right, even though there was a hole in his leg large enough for a fist-size wad of gauze that said he was wrong.

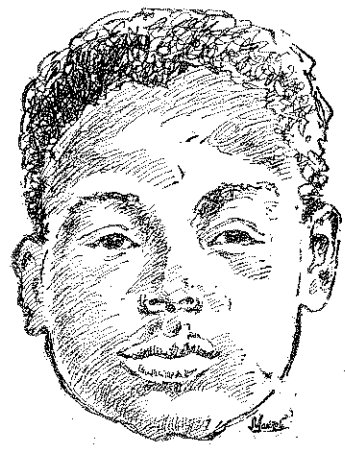
I first saw him on a Sunday morning that was pierced by the shrieks of the women burro drivers with him. But that's getting ahead of the tale.

Haiti is a grand place. Nature is kind. A man can lean out his bedroom window and pluck his breakfast from a tree; if he has a bedroom, a window and a tree. But at fifteen or twenty cents a day for manual labor, those accommodations are forever out of reach of the native who toils nearest the large end of the cornucopia. And so the man who was black like patent leather pumps had a hole in his leg because. . . .

He and his fathers had used the great forest near Hatte Lathan as the source of their charcoal. For generations their kilns had sent thin yellow curls of smoke up into the leafy coolness of the mighty trees. Since early slave days the family had pursued the trade and kept off relief rolls. Not that there were relief rolls in Haiti with nature so bounteous and all that. In the spring of '20 or '21, however, the powers that be, and be all over, decreed that the forest of Hatte Lathan be a national preserve, for reasons of conservation. There were greater and finer forests in the interior but here, less than ten miles from Port-au-Prince, the authority of government was more likely to be recognized. Setting aside this forest in what was perhaps the most thickly populated section of all Haiti had one result: unemployment and hardships for those compelled to give up their livelihoods. The unsettled conditions of the interior with its incipient banditry prevented an exodus of the unemployed to more fertile fields, and so this black man poached.

Haitian gendarmes couldn't catch him, or wouldn't. Pack burros loaded with charcoal kept a sporadic supply of the commodity feeding the cook fires of the lowly. It was a national disgrace.

The great power of the beneficent Colossus of the North was sought to combat the problem. The marines



were called in. Not especially. They occupied the country anyway.

A sergeant and four men were detailed to stop the poaching. For two weeks they patrolled the trails of the new preserve. They hid behind and in trees, near kilns ripe and ready to be opened. Charcoal still came from the forest. Burros loaded with the combustible uncannily appeared on the roads leading to Port-au-Prince. The situation was not well in hand.

Orders now took on the tenor of demands. Poaching must be stopped or else. . . . The detail was split, the quarry not being vicious. At ten one Sunday morning there was a shot followed by the shrieks of women, and the man as black as patent leather pumps had that hole in his leg.

And so the powers that be rested well until the man with the hole in his leg was tried, and the man who had put the hole in his leg was cleared of unnecessary brutality.

It is said (by lawyers) that he who represents himself has a fool for counsel. And that may be, for the man who was black and had that hole in his leg large enough to be fitted by a fist-size pad of gauze asked insistently during the proceedings: "Why cannot I use the forest when no one else uses it? Must I starve?"

They answered him with legal words, and they let him go. Maybe because they thought he couldn't fell a tree and kiln charcoal with that hole in his leg or because Haiti is the sort of a place where a man can lean from his window and pluck his breakfast from the fruitful bosom of nature.

Perhaps it isn't in the province of the sergeant in charge of the detail which saved the Haitian powers that were from losing face and thus put an end to the horrible lawlessness of poaching, but he observes that the man with the hole in his leg never knew the word "free"; he just lived and practiced it.

For the man who was black returned to build his kilns in the forest of Hatte Lathan, though by now he may have another hole in his leg—or skull.

Define, please.

"Property rights are human rights, built out of the sweat and toil of our people."

With this statement of H. D. Campbell, president of the Chase National Bank, in his address to the American Bankers Association, who can cavil?

But—what is property? Does he include a mortgage on the "sweat and toil of our people"?

A Real Mystery

"There is no valid legal title to any of the earth's resources. That is true. But there is a moral title. Possession of them belongs to those who will make the best possible use of them for the good of all mankind. Against that, no other kind of title will long endure."

This quotation is from an editorial in the Saturday Evening Post of November 4. How did it get in?

Let's Deport The "Furriners"

By Virginia M. Lewis

"Send the immigrant back where he came from." "He is the cause of our depression!" "What has he ever done for this country?" Comments such as these are prevalent.

The immigrant is, notwithstanding impressions to the contrary, a human being with human needs. His first thoughts are: Where can I sleep? What shall I eat? How can I provide for my wife and children? So—

The Portuguese on Cape Cod mans the fishing boats, while his wife works the cranberry bogs. True, Pedro doesn't take the extra fish, and Maria doesn't actually take her surplus berries to Boston to be swapped for shoes made in Brockton and dresses made in New York. The results of their labors are canned by the Fishery and by the Cranberry Canning Company, and are shipped all over the world to satisfy the desires of other human beings for fish and cranberries. In the meantime Pedro and Maria use their wages to purchase shoes and dresses, which in no way is detrimental to the desires of cobblers and dressmakers. Were Pedro and Maria the great great grandson of Miles Standish and the great great granddaughter of Governor Winthrop respectively, this process of exchange would be no different. Immigrants are people, and nature in the working of her economic laws recognizes no national boundries or accidents of birth.

"All that is true enough," it is said, "but immigrants menace our American way of life. They bring with them the poverty and low standards of the Old Country."

If these statements are true, then the American standard of living must be lowest in those states with the largest proportion of foreign-born inhabitants, and highest in those states with the smallest proportion of foreign-born. As Al Smith would say, "Let's look at the record!"

The record as to foreign-born population in the 1930 Federal Census, shows that the ten states with the highest percentage of foreign-born were New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, California, New Hampshire, Michigan, Nevada and Illinois. The ten states with the lowest proportion of foreign-born inhabitants were South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia and Oklahoma.

The record as to the standard of living, to the extent that a standard of living can be measured by income, is found in a recent study on immigration and its effects on American life, by Felix Cohen. Significant data are presented in the following tables:

A

States with the highest percentage of foreign-born population.

State	% Foreign Born	Per Capita Income
New York	25.9	$700
Massachusetts	25.1	539
Rhode Island	25.0	561
Connecticut	23.9	607
New Jersey	21.0	517
California	18.9	605
New Hampshire	17.8	438
Michigan	17.6	473
Nevada	16.6	545
Illinois	16.3	500
Average	20.8	549

B

States with the lowest percentage of foreign-born population.

State	% Foreign Born	Per Capita Income
South Carolina	0.3	$224
North Carolina	0.3	252
Mississippi	0.4	170
Georgia	0.5	253
Tennessee	0.5	232
Alabama	0.6	189
Arkansas	0.6	182
Kentucky	0.8	240
Virginia	1.0	305
Oklahoma	1.3	259
Average	0.6	231

It seems that the ten states with the highest proportion of foreign-born population show a per capita income more than twice that of the ten states with the lowest proportion of foreign-born. Let us examine these figures in an endeavor to find an explanation for them.

The first consideration is the relationship of natural resources to this per capita income. There is little doubt that the B group of states, that with the lowest per capita income, has greater natural resources than the A group, with the highest per capita income. Certainly the soil of Massachusetts or Michigan is not four times as rich as that of Virginia or Georgia. The prosperity of Nevada, due to silver, of California due of gold, if Illinois to coal, is offset by Oklahoma with its oil or Kentucky with its minerals. Mr. Cohen found that "Kentucky in 1935 produced $98,486,000 worth of minerals, as compared with $96,484,000 for Illinois, $20,983,000 for Nevada and $360,179,000 for California."

The economic plight of the Negro race does not even partially affect these figures, for less than 10% of the population of Kentucky and of Oklahoma is colored.

Since the Civil War did play a part in holding the South back, let us consider a section of the country which was not involved; the Pacific Coast. California has the highest proportion of foreign-born, 18.9%; Washington is next with 16.3% and then comes Oregon with 11.8%. It is in this order that these three states stand with reference to their per capita incomes: California first, Washington second, and Oregon third.

How about the Middle Atlantic States? New York stands first in the percentage of foreign-born, 25.9%, New Jersey 21.9%, and Pennsylvania 12.9%. They stand in the same order with respect to their per capita income.

The same thing holds true with the South Atlantic States. They

may be listed in both order of per capita income and foreign-born population as follows: Delaware first with a foreign-born population of 7.1%, Maryland second with 5.9% Florida third with 4.8%, West Virginia fourth with 3.0%, Virginia fifth 1%, Georgia sixth with 0.5%; and North and South Carolina, the poorest states by per capita income in this group, have 0.3% foreign-born population.

As far as the West-South Central States are concerned, Texas leads in percentage of foreign-born with 6.2%, Louisiana is second with 1.8%, Oklahoma third with 1.3% and Arkansas fourth with 0.6%. The ranking as to per capita income is the same, Texas first, Louisiana second, Oklahoma third and Arkansas fourth.

Practically the same correlation appears in the New England States, the North Central States and the Mountain States.

Do these states rank in the order shown because of their foreign-born population or in spite of it? We are most familiar with New York State so let us take it for our case history. If New York is among the most prosperous states of the union in spite of its immigrants, then at the time when there was the smallest proportion of immigrants in its population it must have reached its peak of prosperity.

What do we find? There never was a period when New York did not have a large percentage of immigrants, from the time it was settled to the present. History shows that in 1640 there were 18 different nationalities living in the City of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. One of the Governors of this period allowed his dislike for Quakers to be so felt that his Board of Directors in Amsterdam cautioned him that tolerance "has always been the guide of our Magistrates in the City (Amsterdam) and the consequence has been that people have flocked from every land to this Asylum. Tread then, in their steps and we doubt not you will be blest." New York was always one of the most prosperous of the colonies and became one of the most prosperous of the states.

It wasn't that the good Dutch Directors cared very much about the Quakers. It was simply that they knew the coming together of men, with their manifold wants which must be satisfied through their diverse skills and cultures, brings about prosperity.

In the 17th century immigrants flocked to Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware. These colonies were not as rich in resources and climate as some of the others, such as Virginia or the Carolinas, but the immigrants were more welcome there. They were freer to exert their labor. They paid back their welcome, and these colonies prospered, not because of the immigrants, but because, in the very nature of things, humans, whether immigrants or not, in order to exist must produce. The larger number of humans the more the production. The more the production of wealth the richer the community.

The answer to the question "What has the immigrant done for this country?" is this: The Census Bureau on pages 85-89 of "A Century of Population Growth" demonstrates that during the 19th century immigration contributed thirty million souls to the national population and forty billion dollars to the national wealth.

WHAT IS THIS THING CALLED "LAND VALUES"?

The difficulties confronting those who would ascertain the total of land values (i. e., market values) of the United States, or any country, arise from the very practice of treating land as absolute private property. So long as this practice continues the value of any piece of property may be fixed by the owner, just as the value of any merchandise inventory may be determined by the owner. It is only when the public assessor evaluates land for tax purposes—which is in itself a denial of absolute private ownership of land—that the right to determine values is taken from the owner.

But an owner of land, as every accountant knows, may assess his holdings for bookkeeping purposes at some figure far below its value on the market. Sometimes this figure may represent the cost to the owner. Thus, a railroad which acquired plateau land by grant many years ago may now hold a coal mine at a "value" of one dollar. Since the usual taxation base for utility companies is their capital value or their income, the value of their land holdings (including franchises) can be conveniently fixed; in fact, if there is no public assessment there need be no fixing. In this way the value of very important land, including mining and mineral resources and rights of way, is not ascertainable.

Nor does our system of land value assessment in cities give us a true picture of what our land is really worth. Since assessments are made for taxation purposes only, and since taxation is based on budgetary needs, the intent is not to ascertain true values. If the budget is met by the levy on the assessment, the assessment has served its purpose. Why bother about true values? Thus we find in different localities different ratios of assessed values to market values. Some communities value the land high but levy a low rate; others have a high tax and low assessments. Not all the states separate land values from building values; any attempt to value these lands must be largely guesswork. The same applies to agricultural lands even in those states where land is theoretically assessed separately, for no attempt is made to apply the principle to farms.

The reason for this confusion is, as indicated, the practice of treating land as absolute private property. And so long as this practice prevails it will never be possible to ascertain the true value of all the land in any country—nor even the true value of the most easily assessed holdings, in the centers of population. Where the owner may be the valuer, inaccuracy is inevitable.

If land were considered public property for private possession and use, no valuation would be necessary. In fact, there would be no selling values, and the only value we would be interested in would be the rental value determined in the market.

Mr. Nock Points Out the 'Elite'

Liberals have so popularized the notion that the term "élite" is "Paretian"—although they never quote Wilfredo Pareto or otherwise indicate more than a cursory acquaintance, at that second-hand, with the sociologist's writings—that the word has come to be suspect. Those who spread this idea have identified an "élite" in the public mind as a sort of intellectual hierarchy within the ruling classes, as a sort of "brain trust" of the privileged groups in power.

Albert Jay Nock, in his interesting critical essay, "Henry George"—(Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 32 East 29th Street, New York, $1)—refers to his notion of an "educable élite," a notion discussed in several of his writings. Francis Neilson, author of "Man at the Crossroads," and collaborator with Mr. Nock in the editorship of the old Freeman, in discussing Mr. Nock's essay in the September issue of The Freeman, called attention to the term and referred to the misuse of it that has become common in popular speech and writing.

Mr. Neilson, it will be recalled, wrote:

"The meaning is clear to me, although I think the word 'élite' is not well-chosen. I also think it was bound to raise a false notion in the mind of the reader. Surely Mr. Nock means, when he uses the word 'élite,' the few profound thinkers who may come from any class of society. It is not to be confounded with social distinction of any kind, but only in the case of quality of mind."

Mr. Neilson went on to admit that relatively few persons were willing to prepare themselves to influence their times but said that in Georgist ranks we find "most extraordinary examples of poorly-educated men working hard for small pay, making an effort to understand George's philosophy and becoming master-instructors and crusaders." This he explained by the fact that George's gospel "appeals to all that is finest in the nature of man."

In response to this Mr. Nock has sent in the following note.—The Editor.

By Albert Jay Nock

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I am sorry I can see no ground for complaint against my use of the term "educable elite" in my recently-published essay on Henry George. The philology of the term, the Century Dictionary, and the Concise Oxford Dictionary, all agree beyond peradventure that it is extremely good use, apparently the best use one could make. The Century's definition is "a choice or select body," which precisely describes what I had in mind. If Mr. Neilson's "poorly-educated men, working for small pay, etc.," do not on his own showing constitute a choice or select body, if they are not on his own showing members of an educable elite, I am at an utter loss to describe them. Mr. Neilson is a person whom everybody respects, and I am therefore unfeignedly astonished at his saying in this connexion that my term "will not in any way fit in with our ideas." I should say, again on his own showing, that it is the one term which does most exactly fit in with them. If I could be shown that it is not, I should feel the greatest regret at having used it. As the case stands, however, I think that if there be any blame going, it should rest on the philology of the English language, rather than on me.

Protection Plus

Protectionists object to our purchasing from foreign countries, contending that foreign competition lowers prices in this country, with consequent lowering of wages and our "standard of living."

Senator Downey of California goes the old-school protectionists one better by advancing the opinion that we should not encourage outsiders to buy from us. This idea is embodied in his speech against repeal of the arms embargo.

He assumed, he said, that the war would be prolonged if the embargo were lifted, and that the British and French would be willing and able to buy in this country approximately $5,000,000,000 of war supplies, that would boost prices and raise our living costs.

It would seem that we must prevent Americans from buying abroad because such action **lowers** prices and produces consequent suffering. We must also prevent Americans selling abroad because such action **raises** prices and produces consequent suffering.

What a plague trade has turned out to be.

BESSIE BEACH TRUEHART

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One Solution

Crime will solve the unemployment situation. It appears that before long half of America will be under indictment—and the other half on juries at three dollars a day.—From "Liberty."

On False Advertising

By Frank Chodorov

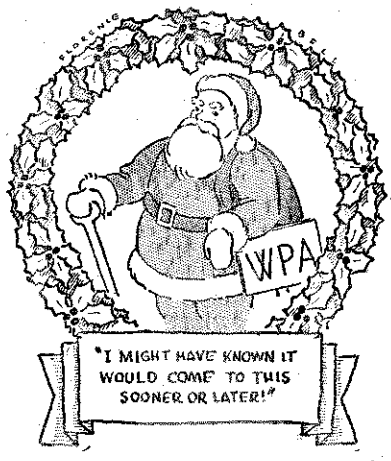
We cannot explain the current scene merely by a study of specific facts. These facts can have meaning to us, can only make sense, if they point to a principle or a law which, because of our experience and observation, seems to hold true at all times, in all places.

There is a growing tendency among modern educators in the field of political economy, and in other social sciences, to summarily reject fundamental principles as applying to these disciplines. It is this refusal to seek absolutes in the field of economics that makes of it the most useless subject in our college curricula, whereas it should be the most useful. Everything is taught as a fact in itself. There are no governing laws. There is no science. All is accident. Out of such a mess of facts, out of such a high-handed rejection of guiding principle, no knowledge that can help us to solve our social problems can possibly come. We are left without any navigating instrument in our travel through life. We are consigned by such teaching to a blundering course, a rule-of-thumb method of dodging and stumbling and bumping our way.

We take the subject of advertising as an example, merely because it has been treated of from this atomic point by a prominent professor of education, whose book, in which advertising is discussed as a problem of American culture, is widely used as a fact. I am informed that some three million boys and girls studying in 4200 high schools are annually exposed to this kind of pontifical pedagogy. I take up just a few statements and inferences in the chapter of this book dealing with advertising merely to illustrate the difference between education based on sporadic experiences and education based on fundamental principles, arrived at by scientific investigation and logical deductions. For, if Henry George teaches us anything of permanent value, it is that all economic trends, all social relations are determined by the operation of basic laws.

Now, what is advertising? It is merely the spreading of information. It is quite true, as our professor says, that this technique of our exchange system is sometimes used to spread misinformation. The same can be said of too many of our college courses, of too many of our professors. It was not so long ago that the theory of evolution was outlawed in our colleges, at the instigation of our professors. Copernicus and Galileo were persecuted by the teachers of their day. When I went to college the professor who preached theories of state control and regulation would not have lasted more than one lecture; it would appear that a like fate would to-day threaten the teacher who dared to proclaim the supremacy of the individual. The history of professional education is the history of error seeking to perpetuate itself by the persecution of truth.

The cure for misrepresentation in advertising is not in regulation and suppression, any more than the cure for wrong education is in burning professors at the stake, much as that method sometimes tempts us. The cure for all error is truth, or, more accurately, the searching for truth, There we have a fundamental principle. We know from the experience of ages that whatever knowledge we have achieved has come by experimentation, by taking thought. And the less restrictions imposed on man in the search for knowledge, the more knowledge has man attained. It is only when predatory institutional education asserts its power that real education suffers.



Assuming that we could, through a system of paternalism, protect the consumer from mischievous advertising, how would we know that this same paternalism might not be used to suppress information of value to the consumer? Regulation and restriction have a way of working for our harm more often than for our good. For regulators and restrictors are not necessarily all-wise and all-good. They are human, and as such are subject to all the frailties of man. They may make mistakes, they may show discriminatory preferences, they may even take bribes.

Let us analyze the advertising process, in order to find a principle. Merchants advertise in order to sell their merchandise. We come to the market place with our wares, seeking satisfactions. The merchants tell us of their wares. One merchant lies about his wares. How long does it take for his lies to be discovered? Only until one prospective buyer tells the other. And, since self-interest prompts us to tell our neighbors how we have been defrauded, the news spreads very quickly. The inevitable result is that the merchant either changes his advertising, that he tells the truth about his wares, or, more likely, he goes out of business. Many more businesses have closed down because of false advertising than have prospered by such methods.

That is the way of a free market. It expels those who do not serve, or who do not serve as well as others. Whether it is in the field of merchandise, ideas or direct services, the verdict of the free market is severely just and ultimately correct. The market place is unjust only when it is not free, when privilege restrains competition, when restriction

limits production. That is a fundamental principle.

But does our professor recognize this principle, based upon centuries of experience and the force of logic? He says: "Partly because of this new competition (he means the competition between industries in the same field rather than between different products) more and more millions are spent for advertising and prices rise higher and higher." How can competition raise prices? The very essence of competition is the desire to give more or better services in order to attract trade. Therefore, the more competition the lower the price—using price as a means of measuring values.

Another fundamental error—one approaching purposeful propaganda—is that price is increased by the cost of advertising. Our professor repeats the statement thus: "The sales grow, even though prices grow higher and higher." Facts absolutely disprove this statement, as I shall show later. For the present, let me point out that in a free market—and we must predicate a free market because in a monopolized or regulated market economic principles are distorted—the price of merchandise is determined merely by the relative supply and the relative demand. The value of a thing is the estimate that people put upon it. That estimate is determined by the amount of toil and trouble we save in acquiring the thing. A thing is worth so much to me because the having of it will give me that degree of satisfaction. I do not care how much it has cost the manufacturer to make it or how much he has spent in advertising it. If his price is greater than I think it is worth to me, I will not buy it. If he wants my trade he must price it within my means, and if his present costs are too high he must, to stay in business, invent methods whereby his costs of manufacturing and merchandising will meet the value I have put on his product. Or, he must go out of business. That is a fundamental principle of value, and of price, which is the market expression of value.

But I have some statistics which help to throw some light on this question. They refer to cigarette advertising, sales and costs. I selected cigarettes because it is a favorite subject of attack from these advertising-regulators.

Out of the 17c which you cigarette smokers pay for a package, the manufactures' gross profits are 5c. Out of this the leaf tobacco growers receive approximately 1½c; the three and a half cents left to the manufacturer pays all expenses. The distributors—the jobbers and retailers—get 3c. Who gets the balance, about 9c per package? The tax-gatherers, city, state and federal.

Now, our anti-advertising professor does not say, in his book, that the bureaucrats who ought to determine what is good and what is bad advertising are creating a monopoly market by these taxes. For, this tremendous outlay for taxes makes it difficult for a man of small means to enter the cigarette making business. You who buy cigarettes not only pay all these taxes, but also the profits which are necessarily pyramided on the taxes by each handler in the process.

Included in the gross 3½c which the manufacturer receives for his package of cigarettes is the cost of distribution, the cost of the cigarette paper, the wrapping, shipping, **and** the cost of advertising. Oh yes, there are taxes on the cigarette paper, there are income taxes, transportation taxes, excess profits taxes, social security taxes, ad infinitum.

All this out of 3½c per package. I have the statement of one of the largest tobacco concerns showing that out of a total business of over a quarter of a billion dollars in 1938,

about ten million dollars were spent on advertising. That is about 4%. Now, take 4% off 3½c, and how much less would the package of cigarettes then cost?

All of which is of no import except to show how misleading and fallacious are the statements of those who, under the guise of erudition, propound paternalistic ideas of regulation and restriction. Note, too, that in the book of these benevolent despots there is no emphasis on the cost to the consumer of taxation. Here is another fundamental principle which is quite conveniently overlooked. Every tax on production is paid by the consumer, either in price or in going without. But, the lifeblood of bureaucracy, the sustenance of restriction and regulation, is taxes. Remove taxes, remove the levies on labor and capital, and you remove the soap-box of paternalism.

Returning to false advertising. Our professor treats the misrepresentation in advertising as evidence of the moral turpitude of advertisers. This is a half truth. It must be remembered that advertising to be successful must be believed. And men believe what they want to believe. Now, most of the false advertising our professor indicates is the kind that makes extraordinary claims. The reason we believe these extraordinary claims is that we want the satisfactions which are promised and we induce ourselves to believe these promises. We believe in bargains because we are unable to buy better goods. Our reason and experience tells us that such bargains are impossible. But our skimpy purse dulls our reason and we fall prey to the advertising that flatters our hopes.

It is an axiom that the poor pay more for their goods then do the rich. The poor cannot buy the best; but they, too, want the best, and the promise of it in false advertising is alluring. It is poverty, therefore, as much as the wickedness of merchants, that makes false advertising possible. Abolish poverty and the rottenness that underlies our entire economic system, including false advertising, will disappear.

"Who do you suppose," asks our professor, "really pays for the advertising? It is you and your neigh-

bor and every other consumer. . ." "It cannot be denied," he concludes, "that advertising has increased the cost both of selling and of buying goods." (The emphasis is the professor's, not mine.)

Now, in that statement is implied a fundamental and a wicked falsehood that stems from the French physiocrats of the eighteenth century, refined and glorified by that befuddled preacher of class hatred, Karl Marx. This fundamental falsehood is that all exchange functions are parasitical; that the people who devote their energies to the bringing of goods to the market are non-productive. Now, the fact is that production is consumption. Rubber that is extracted from the trees of Africa is no good to you until you find it in the form of rubber band in the stationery store. Salmon caught in Alaska does not satisfy you; the canners, the shippers, the wholesalers, the retailers all are part of the process of producing salmon for your consumption.

Everybody who aids in the distribution of goods is necessary in our exchange economy. In fact, this economy breaks down only when exchanges are interfered with by restrictors and r e g u l a t o r s—even when their hearts are thrilled with the most benevolent impulses. Our whole civilization is based on the idea of free and unlimited exchanges; for the more we depend on a market the more we can specialize, the greater our skills in those fields, and the more we produce. But this specialization is only possible when exchanges are untrammeled. A free market is absolutely necessary to our intricate system of specializations.

The more we specialize the greater will be our production, individual and aggregate. And the greater the production—barring monopoly privileges—the lower will prices be. Everybody who helps to increase production—including the salesman and the advertiser—helps to lower prices. This is so elemental that one wonders how even a professor could overlook the fact. Yet, the above quotation is taken directly from the book to which our high school children are exposed.

Sometimes exchange functions disappear—as, for instance, the jobber in many lines—when they cease to serve, or when they are superseded by a better service. This is determined in the market place. But, when we try to limit exchanges by force, we are taking a step toward the break-down of our exchange economy, our civilization. When we begin politically to plan the market place, putting in the hands of professorial police the decision as to how we shall make exchanges, by what blue-print we must seek satisfactions, then we are wending our way back to the time when every man sought to satisfy all his desires—that is, to cave-man economy.

The errors of our market place—including the errors of advertising—are as many as the frailties of man. The correction of these errors must be left to the ultimate and exact justice that free exchange brings about. Education, and more education, is the only cure for ignorance. But, the moment the whip of regulation or the lash of monopoly, private or public, are applied to the market place, that moment does our civilization start down hill. That it has already started down hill there is no doubt—and not a little blame can be put upon the pundits who have sought to substitute a blue-print for fundamental principle.

HOW ABOUT THE INDIANS' LAND RIGHTS?

Dear Editor: In the article on "Strange Bedfellows" in the October **Freeman,** the writer refers to our repeated tearing up of treaties with the Indians. There have been repeated crimes among white people toward each other and it would be strange indeed if there were none toward Indians. There are, however, some densely ignorant Indians who are multi-millionaires, notably in the Cherokee oil country. Their ignorance, rather than their being Indians, makes them targets.

Your writer will find in Woodward's "Life of George Washington" the story of treaties with Indians. One group of whites would make a treaty with a local tribe. Another group of settlers three hundred miles away would make a treaty with another tribe. Then the young bucks of Tribe No. 1, prohibited by treaty from scalping their white neighbors, would go on a spree three hundred miles away, where their own treaty was inoperative, and come home decorated with the scalps that made them accepted men among their fellow-men. The White settlers did not know who did the scalping. To them

all Indians became the blackest of traitors; and in their indiscriminate revenging they became doublecrossers to the Indians with whom they had treaties.

The cause of the trouble was the Indians' barbaric practice of wearing human scalps as the only evidence that they were men; and if the net result was extermination of the Indians, it may be favorably compared with wanton scalping and murder.

The less we have to say about America's deficiencies the better. Let's remember the twenty million dollars wasted when we "took" the Philippines to pay for the Friarlands; of twenty million dollars "conscience money" paid to the Government of Colombia; the surplus from the Boxer claims returned to the Chinese Government; Gadsden Purchase; the purchase of Alaska. America's record is unassailable.—Jos. S. Thompson, Calif.

From Poland To Points West

By Harry Gunnison Brown

Germany and Russia have divided between them what was recently Poland. The Germans met bitter—if ineffectual—resistance. The Russians met hardly any resistance at all. They reported, indeed, that their troops were actually welcomed by peasants who will no longer have to pay a landlord artistocracy for permission to live on and work on the land of the country for whose institutions they were expected to fight. If it seemed reasonably possible, the present Tory rulers of Britain would doubtless restore to the Polish landlords the rent collecting privilege which Stalin's government is taking from them. For to the Tory landlords of Britain, landlordism is an institution well worth defending; while communism is altogether anathema. But what if their insistence on and their defense of landlordism should blaze the trail to communism?

What, now, is the significance of the Russo-German pact? Is it likely that Russia will go so far as to give Germany military aid? And if she does not, has Germany any real chance to win?

Even if Russia should show any inclination to give Germany such aid, we may hazard the guess that the dominant economic classes in Germany would not dare invite —or, even, admit—any considerable number of Russian troops into the Siegfried line, or into any part of the Reich where they could fraternize with troops of the Nazi army. For that would be to open the way to communistic propaganda!

The Hitler-Goering regime can and does put German communist agitators into concentration camps, thus silencing their propaganda. But even this regime would obviously never dare put into concentration camps the soldiers of an allied Russia. And so, if and when German and Russian troops fight side by side, the Prussian junkers and the Nazi landowners of Germany may well find themselves "on the spot."

German business, we are told, is regulated and harried at every turn. But Germany has not adopted communism. And the gulf between the possessing classes and the masses is such that—given a long discouraging war and the infiltration of Russian ideology—she may very well adopt it. Indeed, it seems not beyond the bounds of reason that a long and disheartening war **in which there is no victor** may bring communism to all the warring peoples, dictatorships and so-called democracies alike.

A capitalism such as, with a little understanding, we might have, would make life seem so free and so hopeful for the common run of folks, that there would be little danger of its being abandoned through alien propaganda. On the contrary, such a capitalism would probably win large approval among the very persons who were expected to propagandize against it. If, therefore, Germany—along with other countries of Western Europe—is vulnerable to communist propaganda, this is because of an exploitation and an inequality that are not essential elements of capitalism but which the conservative defenders of the capitalistic system seem determined to keep in it.

For the fact that some must pay others for permission to live on and work on the earth, in any locations having any appreciable productivity or living advantages, is utterly inconsistent with the principles on which capitalism is commonly defended. When conservatives defend capitalism against the intellectual artillery of communists, they do so by claiming that capitalism stimulates and rewards efficiency, and that it rewards the thrift that makes capital formation possible, and, in general, rewards men in rough proportion to their economic services. **But no such defense can be made of the private enjoyment of the royalties from natural resources** for the existence of which no one is responsible and which should belong to all, **or of the community-produced location rent of valuable sites.**

Nevertheless, most conservatives will be ready to cling to this utterly indefensible side of the present system even though and until it brings world revolution.

There have been revolutions before in the world's history. There will be revolutions again. The masses of a country may indeed suffer exploitation for generations while their rulers lead them in victorious wars; they may suffer chronically during decades of peace. Or their revolts may be suppressed by an army subservient to aristocratic control. Often, perhaps, only the acute misery of war combined with prestige-destroying military defeat can enable dissenting elements to wage successful revolution. Thus, though exploitation of the masses by a small class of masters does not always and everywhere lead to revolution, it is certain that it will sometimes lead to revolution.

An evolution of our inconsistent and faulty capitalism into a self-consistent capitalism would be far better for common folks than a communist revolution. But our conservative property-owning class will not—in general—take the trouble to explain to dissatisfied elements the difference between land rent and the return on constructed capital; they are not seriously interested in distinguishing between income representing service given and income

received for no service. Indeed, they seem determined to defend and justify both equally. And thereby they contribute to a general intellectual confusion which infects revolutionary groups as well, so that they, also, can see no significant distinction between land and capital but want to abolish all private property. Hence, revolution is likely to lead in other countries as in Soviet Russia, to the complete expropriation of property owners and to the establishment of more or less complete communism.

If and when such a deluge sweeps over Western Europe—and who can say that the United States will forever escape?—surely those property owners, and their apologists among the intelligentsia, whose insistent support of utterly inconsistent elements in capitalism has helped confuse popular thinking on what is desirable and what is not, will be in considerable degree responsible for the debacle they so greatly dread.

How Socialism May Work

By Helen Bernstein

For years Marxists have temporized with the all-important issue of describing a Socialist society in terms of its specific political and economic attributes. But instead of suffering as a result of equivocation they have managed to turn evasion to their advantage. By converting their fatuousness into a stratagem, Socialists have succeeded in perpetuating their myth with hints about a rosy future, generalized vituperation directed against the "capitalist" system and its "bosses," and a host of confusing practices called "immediate action" intended to bespeak the cause of "progressiveness." These efforts have proved seductive enough not only to the chronically uncritical, but as well to many who should have known better.

However, since Stalin's discovery that Socialism, long threatening the Russian masses, had suddenly blossomed in their midst, there has been a clear need for a blueprint to fit the facts. And this is exactly the purpose of John Strachey's "The Theory and Practice of Socialism" of which "How Socialism Works," * is, in part, a modified reprint.

Mr. Strachey's task is not simple. He must devise a self-consistent theory which will simultaneously "justify" Russian Socialism in the light of pure Marxian theory, and modify this pure Marxian theory so as to eliminate the more glaring of the absurdities which have been exposed by the merciless logic of modern non-Marxian economists. The critical reader will not have to search far in Mr. Strachey's elegant prose to see that he has failed.

The validity of Mr. Strachey's facts is not above suspicion. His chief source of information about Russia is "Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?" by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, whose sources in turn are the data issued by the Soviet Government. This fact is perhaps less interesting than the bureaucratic cast of mind which the Webbs reveal in their own writings. (Seee Max Hirsch's "Democracy versus Socialism" for a neat analysis of this point.)

Mr. Strachey's most difficult task consists in the refutation of the arguments of such economists as Ludwig von Mises, whose critique of Socialism emphasizes principally the mathematical impossibility of calculating the indefinitely expanding and varying desires of men by the artificial device of a planning commission. It is interesting to note that Mr. Strachey in his mention of von Mises refers with corrosive irony to the fact that the latter, in his classic criticism of collectivism, "Socialism," ignores the actual existence of a system of planning in one-sixth of the world. Such a rebuke is most extraordinary since this book, published in 1922, developed from an article published in 1920. As this work was in the writing during the years of civil war and War Communism, and as Mr. Strachey himself dates the beginning of planned production in Russia in 1928, the omission was not nearly the wicked, bourgeois trick Mr. Strachey would have us think.

Strachey proposes to master the problem raised by the Austrian economist by gauging the approximate desires of the population with the aid of two devices: first, estimating what people have consumed up till now; second, estimating the consumption of that section of the population which is "comfortably off," that is to say, neither the degenerate rich nor the undernourished poor. Once having ascertained what people consumed and in addition what they would have liked to consume, the planners would allocate the factors of production toward the production of the required amount of food, shelter, clothing, education, medical attention, etc.

The argument seems reasonable enough until we begin to analyze such terms as "food," and "shelter," and find them meaningless in the light of even the present level of consumption. There is no such thing as "food." There are only the almost innumerable varieties of meats, vegetables, breads, fats, etc. Even the term "bread" is meaningless when we think of the many varieties of white bread alone. The planning commission would consequently be charged with the unenviable duty of calculating the quantity of land, labor, and capital to be devoted to the production of each commodity, as well as the incomes to be granted to each member of society. In addition, given even the best productive technique imaginable, the planning commission would have to decide what would be the most **economic** use of each factor of production. For example, assuming the need for wheat and for a distributing agency, for what purpose shall the corner of 42nd Street and

Times Square (supposing that this area were good wheat land) be used? In a free economy, the market mechanism would soon demonstrate that growing wheat on Times Square would be uneconomic, despite the fact that wheat could be produced there. Under Socialism, due to the elimination of the market, it would be impossible to answer this question. Even if we endow the planning officials with the highest social motivations, we cannot intelligently suppose that they will have mathematical insight on the superhuman scale which such calculations would require. Rather it would be less unreasonable to expect that, overcome by despair and confusion, they would resort to the peculiar asceticism which Socialists unhesitatingly impose on others when confronted even theoretically with problems of this nature.

Given the authority of bayonets it becomes far easier to compel reconciliation of men's desires with an authoritarian plan than to devise a project which would reflect these desires. It is for this reason that every collectivist scheme must degenerate swiftly into a dictatorship; and however the reigning tyrants may gloss their actions with "idealistic" phrases, however noble the experiment may be made to sound by appeals to Stoic sacrifices in the name of a "brave new world," however prominently may be displayed the utopian end-goals which rouse the sympathies of all of us, there are only vestiges of man's pattern of hope for mankind on the one hand, and on the other, the tricks and technique of holding political power. In any case, the basic fact remains the same: men's desires are forced into a mold in conformity with the will of "planners"; less euphemistically, men become slaves.

This little book is undisguisedly addressed to Strachey's social equals in America and Great Britain. It is extremely doubtful whether the newly literate Russian peasants have acquainted themselves with this author's entertaining description of their land pictured as flowing with milk and honey. Bookworms in the Soviet Union are given harrowing accounts of starving Americans and English workers with which to solace themselves. One imagines with amusement the surprise which these two groups of readers would betray if they were permitted to look over one another's shoulders.

* How Socialism Works, by John Strachey. Modern Age Books, N. Y., 212 pp. Price 50 cents.

THE BOOK TRAIL

SIDNEY J. ABELSON

I must take sharp issue with Waldemar Kaempffert, science editor of the New York Times, on his unqualified statement that "The social, political and economic problems of our critical period cannot be understood or solved unless we understand social, political and economic trends." Modern social thinking has been bedeviled by the trendists, the statistically minded economists who, baffled on the field of concept, lean too heavily on the over-simplifications of graphs or charts.

The occasion of Dr. Kaempffert's statement is publication of "Modern Man in the Making" by Otto Neurath (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., $2.95). In a sense the Kaempffert comment is a summary of Dr. Neurath's book; and for this reason, it is not inappropriate to single it out, instead of the volume itself, for criticism. If trends, such as those the author adduces in an unusually graphic presentation, really are basic in the analysis of economic or social laws, then truly Neurath has given us "a remarkable, a unique book"; if they are not so, "Man in the Making" is merely an artistic excercise in draftsmanship.

"Trends," continues Kaempffert, "suggest change, evolution both in man's way of thinking and in man's environment. Upon the natural environment man has imposed an artificial one of his own. That artificial environment has had profound effects upon him—changed his community life, given him powers beyond those with which he is naturally endowed."

How in the name of reason man, being a creature of nature, can give himself powers beyond those naturally a part of him, is something for which Dr. Kaempffert will have to account. Nature is not merely "the birds, the bees and the flowers"; it is the sum and substance of those eternal and universal laws which govern the universe in all its multitudinous facets of both organic and and inorganic life. A city of skyscrapers inhabited by "civilized" beings or a village of reed huts inhabited by "savage" aboriginals is no more artificial than are bee hives or ant hills. Man simply is possessed, through the grace of nature, of more intricate means of subsistence than the so-called lower animals; and within or among the race of man there exist innumerable degrees to which he exercises these means. Everything that man does, however complicated it may be, or however far removed from the nature we refer to in the colloquial sense, is natural.

This, I submit, is a central point in the approach to social problems. The "make-it-up-as-you-go-along" economists, who imagine that laws of society can be tailor-made to fit "changing" conditions or a "newly developed artificial situation," are doomed to failure. Society is a natural organism, ruled by laws as eternal as the laws of chemistry or biology, and society's fate depends upon the proper observance of those laws, to the same extent that an individual's fate depends so much upon his observance of the laws of hygiene and physiology.

Kaempffert would try to assure us that "the trend of society reveals a process of social adaption to the artificial environment." I should be very much interested to learn precisely what he means by this. As far as I can see, "social adaption" is pretty much the same today as it was in the "dear, dead days beyond recall." Modern society has wars, tyranny, brutality, profound aspirations, great and good philosophers, examples of unselfish sacrifice, dictatorships and would-be democracies, to name just a few of the broadest characteristics. But all these char-

acteristics describe equally as well any number of old societies. The difference between today and yesterday is a difference of degree, not of kind.

What then is the point of "Modern Man in the Making"? Dr. Neurath says it is "to trace the origin of 'modern men' and depict their behavior and achievements, without presenting any social or economic theory." "But," he continues, "no attempt has been made to define the term 'modern.'" In other words the purpose of the book is to portray inductively something which has no definite deductive concept. It is this indefiniteness which gives the volume its disjointed character. Graphic "isotypes" on "Automobiles per 200 Population," "Horse Power Used in Manufacturing Industries," "Horse Power Used in Agriculture," "Home and Factory Weaving in England," "Working Hours in Manufacturing Trades," "Suicides," "Birth Rates," etc. follow each other page after page. To what do they all add up? Dr. Neurath says that "men capable of judging themselves and their institutions scientifically should also be capable of widening the sphere of peaceful cooperation; for the historical record shows clearly enough that the trend has been in that direction . . ."

To my mind the record, written contemporaneously in a way that even illiterate persons can see, shows clearly enough that the trend is toward vicious and uncompromising non-cooperation; that is, if wars and revolutions mean anything.

There is one trend the author overlooked—the trend to the land. The higher man builds the farther and deeper he must dig for his materials; the more man concentrates in cities, the wider afield he must go for his subsistence, his pleasures, and the exercising of his need for ever increasing exchanges. In war or peace, in cooperation or in antagonism, man trends inevitably toward the land. There is no place else for him to trend.

* * *

Every once in a while, but only once in a while, a work burdened with academic learning, is presented in an highly engrossing form. Such a work is **Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism** by Charles Woolsey Cole, Professor of Economics Amherst College. (Columbia University Press, 2 volumes, $10.) Surprisingly enough the author's condition is here utilized not as deadening weight but as an instrument for enlivening his theme.

It is truly unfortunate that the term "mercantilism" seems so forbidding; that for the most part only professional economists and degree-pursuing students give the subject much attention. The mercantilist policies of the 17th and 18th centuries were the forerunners of many of our contemporaneous theories; and in a forthcoming issue of **The Freeman**, I intend to present a very striking example of this fact; namely, that the so-called New Deal embraces the rejected and disproved doctrines of the past, renamed and refurbished to give them the semblance of modernity.

In the meantime, I must pay tribute to Professor Cole's work. In "Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism," he has assembled a monumental array of facts in a most palatable form. His style is facile. His sense of values is balanced. Avoiding outright expression of opinion he yet makes telling comments in a slyly humorous way.

The importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated. To my knowledge no more thoroughgoing dissection has ever been made of mercantilist or statist policies. This is a veritable encyclopedia of national economic planning schemes, a treasure-house of facts securely established in history, facts, indeed which speak for themselves and which, thanks to the author's graceful presentation, are especially eloquent.

* * *

The Pressure Boys by Kenneth G. Crawford (Julian Messner, Inc., $3.00).

The oft-told tale of legislative lobbying and its attendant evils is here retold in painful and convincing details. There seems to be nothing especially new or startling in these exposures, a fact which proves how calloused society has become to political venality. Unfortunately, this one-man literary crusade against the trading in privileges will frighten no one—the "boys" do not scare easily; but nevertheless, it adds welcome testimony in the struggle for good government and adds a potent argument for divorcing political bodies from the power to grant favors.

A. H. BROWN

Books Received

The Evolution of the Classical Wage Theory. By Michael T. Werner. Columbia University Press. $2.25. A brief, critical study of the "cruel and iron law of wages" treated in its development since the days of Smith, Ricardo and Malthus.

The Impasse of Democracy: A Study of The Modern Government In Action. By Ernest S. Griffith. Harrison-Hilton Books. $3.00. An analysis of the underlying changes taking place in all industrial states, fascist and communist as well as democratic, and suggestions for preserving the essential features of the American system.

The Revolution of Nihilism. By Hermann Rauschning. Alliance Book Corp. $3.00. The inside story of the Nazi movement told by a former leader of The National Socialist Party. Subtitled: "Warning to the West."

Revolution in Land. By Charles Abrams. Harper and Bros. $3.00. The story of the transformation in the position of American land from the founding days to the present time.

People: The Quantity and Quality of Population. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. Henry Holt and Co. $3.00. A popular study of the population question.

Lester F. Ward: The American Aristotle. By Samuel Chugerman. Duke University Press. $5.00. This is number one in the Duke University Press Sociological Series. A study, in popular language, of the fundamental principles of social science as presented in Ward's famous works.

World Economic Survey. By The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations. Columbia University Press, authorized agent. $1.50. A survey of the more important economic developments throughout the world during the past year. With numerous statistical data.

Business Cycles in the United States of America 1919-1932. By J. Tinberger, Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations. Columbia University Press, Authorized Agent. $1.25. The second volume of a series on "Statistical Testing of Business-cycle Theories." Applies a system of mathematical analysis to the post-war trade data of the United States.

The Individual and His Society. By Abram Kardiner. Columbia University Press. $3.50. The psychodynamics of primitive social organization. A study of the individual in his social role based on coordinated sociological and psychological data.

Technology and Labor. By Elliott Dunlap Smith. Published for the Institute of Human Relations by the Yale University Press. $2.50. A study of the human problems involved in the "stretch-out" system in the cotton-weaving industry.

William Penn as Social Philosopher. By Edward C. O. Beatty. Columbia University Press. $3.50. An exposition of the political, economic and social theories and ideas of William Penn, Quaker founder of Pennsylvania.

Financial Questions in United States Foreign Policy. By James W. Ganterbein. Columbia University Press. $3.25. A summary and analysis of important financal matters of an international character with which the United States must deal at present.

IT'S FUNNY—IF YOU FORGET THE COST

It all began when the landlords took the rent and the statesmen took the taxes. The employers missed part of their profit and the employees missed part of their wages, and they accused each other of cheating.

To "protect" themselves the employers formed an Association and the employees formed a Union and both took their troubles to Washington.

The statesmen set up a Department of Commerce to help the employers and a Department of Labor to help the employees; also they increased the taxes to cover the cost of both Departments. This made profits and wages still less and intensified the struggle between the two.

The statesmen then enacted a set of fair labor laws and levied additional taxes on profits and wages to pay for enforcing the laws. These laws enlarged the area as well as the number of people engaged in so-called labor trouble.

The statesmen instituted The National Labor Relations Board to settle the differences between employers and employees and added taxes on both parties to pay the cost of the Board.

Before the last session of Congress adjourned Speaker Bankhead was instructed to appoint a Committee of five members to investigate The National Labor Relations Board and to recommend changes necessary to make the Board function. After the Board functions properly it will know what changes are necessary in the fair labor laws and will so advise the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor, and these Departments will in turn confer with the employers' Association and the employees' Unions, to advise congressmen on more stringent enforcement laws. Additional taxes will also be necessary.

The employers' Association and the employees' Unions have appointed committees to see what can be done to collect back dues from their respective members.

H. W. NOREN

THIS WOULD BE TRUE CAPITALISM

Several thousand years ago an intelligent member of a primitive tribe invented a bow and arrow with which he was able to supply himself and family with more and better food and clothing. Was he obligated to provide for his neighbors? As a philanthropist he might do so but not by compulsion; for what he produced was his own to use or exchange for other commodities. To deny this would be to deny him a fundamental human right.

Now suppose, because of his special skill, he devotes all his time to making bows and arrows and exchanges them for what he needs. Does he not have an indisputable right to all he acquires? If he asks too much for his bows others will begin their manufacture. This is true capitalism. The law of wages will operate freely for the employer must pay as good, or better, wages than his laborers could earn at hunting; otherwise they would return to that occupation.

But suppose some manufacturer of bows and arrows claims exclusive right to all the available hickory and ash trees and the chief of the tribe (the government) defends his claim. Competition becomes impossible, enabling him to ask for his product all the traffic will bear. That is, he has a monopoly and is able to appropriate wealth for which he gives nothing in return. All production is discouraged, for who will labor if he is deprived of his wages, or of even a portion of them? Such is not a capitalistic, but a monopolistic system. This is largely the nature of the present system of wealth production and distribution.

Eliminate monopoly and legalized privileges, and the present system will greatly increase in efficiency and every worker will receive the full value of his product in wages just as did our ancestors before the trees to make bows were monopolized. This would be true capitalism.— Oscar O. Whitenack Denver "Post."

Why Build?

The great City of New York needs sorely new buildings, sewage disposal plants, roads fitted to our automobile age. Why do not idle bank deposits and jobless men get busy? The answer is that building is an unprofitable venture. But, why should building be unprofitable when there are customers for building?

The reason is suggested in a case recently given much publicity in the press. The Hotel Pierre was erected in 1929 at a cost of $6,500,000, on 5th Avenue at 61st Street. The site was leased for $100,000 a year, the builders to pay all taxes. This is known as "net rent." What has happened in ten years to this "durable goods" undertaking? The builders have gone bankrupt and the building has reverted to the site owner. The enterprise could not live after payment of $100,000 land rent, $50,000 land tax, and $150,000 building tax; a total of $300,000 each year.

What happened to them happens to almost everybody putting up a new structure. In 1928 this plot at 5th Avenue and 61st Street was probably vacant or encumbered with an outmoded house. It paid around $50,000 taxes a year. In 1929, however, the builders of a monumental 41-story hotel paid $200,000 tax to the city, and $100,000 land rent; a total of $300,000. Compare the record: $50,000 in 1928 for doing nothing and $300,000 in 1929 for investing $6,500,000 in durable goods, capital industry.

Builders are neither crazy nor fools. So long as our tax system makes the building of needed structures unprofitable they will not be built.

HARRY C. MAGUIRE.

A Moscovite Prayer

A Soviet teacher said to a pupil, "When you look at your breakfast, say aloud, 'Thank God and Stalin.' At your lunch, say, 'Thank God and Stalin,' and the same at your supper, 'Thank God and Stalin.'"

"But, teacher," asked the youth, "Suppose Stalin dies?" "In that case, simply say, 'Thank God.'" From "Liberty."

Tithing: A Sermon

Reading the latest pamphlet* issued by the Henry George School of Social Science puts me in mind of a secret I have kept for about three years and decides me to tell all, for the first time in print, for your benefit, and the School's. Here are the confidential facts.

On Thanksgiving Day of 1936, at 11:30 in the morning to be exact, I determined upon a New Economic Policy. From that moment, I decided, I would devote ten per cent of all my takings to what professional social workers call "some deserving individual," or "some worthy cause." Although my children should lack bread or tuition and my home had to be located four flights up, I would insist on doing what every free man or woman ought to be able to do—make a positive financial gesture to prove my goodwill toward humanity.

At first the going for me was far from easy. In fact, about nine months after the initial resolution there was a complete moral breakdown, and for three months I didn't give away a cent. I thought I didn't have it to give. But although my finances did not improve, I got to feeling reckless, and in the fall I began tithing again and have kept it up ever since.

Though self-discipline was not my motive, still the tithing plan has been very good for me, as well as (presumably) for the individuals and institutions which have caught the crumbs. In the first place, I am overcoming an exaggerated sense of money, legitimately bequeathed me by a Scottish ancestry. In the second place, I get much satisfaction out of the idea of helping, even in a very modest way. And in the third place, oddly enough, it has not cost me anything; for after the first year, which was admittedly difficult, my income happily adjusted itself and even increased, until first I was able to take an apartment only three flights up instead of four.

Every human being ought to be able to show his friendly feelings toward humanity in hard cash as well as soft theorizing. If an idea is worth believing in, it is worth supporting. Giving money to advance ideas brings immense pleasure and satisfaction to the giver, and it tends to enhance the value of the idea in his own and everybody else's mind.

I believe that there are a great many Georgists who could profit as I have by some form of tithing. To begin with, it would give them a glorious opportunity to do a little sacrificing for their convictions, and it just might be with them as with me, that it would turn out to be no sacrifice in the end. I believe that every Georgist should be permitted and even encouraged to help the School in maintaining and extending its activities, through the regular contribution of tithes. And so I am glad that the School is opening to its students this opportunity to "acquire merit" through generosity.

It seems plain that there is dubious wisdom in a financing plan by which a school or any other institution gives all and gets nothing, even if it is able to survive on those terms. A lack of financing seems to me imprudent, and not much more to be recommended is the financing through indirect and hidden methods—bazaars, socials, raffles, contests, and their numerous variants. Such expedients indicate a lack of confidence in the adherents by the management, or else they show a lack of solidarity and conviction on the part of the institution's friends.

The very prosperity of the School, its increasing numbers and influence, mean that it will be increasingly able to use bigger budgets. Its finances should be made sound now while its problems are comparatively small. Remember what John D. Rockefeller said in answer to a clergyman's pious, "The Lord will provide"? "Yes," agreed Mr. Rockefeller, "but I think we had better establish a fund."

Now I know that sentiment at the HGSSS is cold to organization of a political or other "pressure" sort, and still I would like to get to know other tithers and swap tithing experiences with them—learn who caught their crusts and what good they have done. Most givers have very little originality; they can see little but churches and hospitals, both certainly worthy causes, but not the only adventures in giving. I can even conceive of a "School of Giving," complete with classes, lectures, and testimony meetings. But in default of such a school I should like to join a Ten Per Cent Club whose members have decided to give regularly, not necessarily all to one object, but to purposes removed from duty and selfishness.

What do you think?

* Director's Report to the Board of Trustees.

NEWS OF THE CRUSADE FOR ECONOMIC ENLIGHTENMENT

Edited by Sandy Wise

Factual Story of the School Now Ready Its Progress, Plans, Policies, Finances

NEW YORK—The "Report of the Director to the Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science" is off the press and copies are being distributed. To everyone who has ever been even slightly associated with the School or its work, this booklet will synthesize in a revealing fashion the many fields of endeavor which constitute the work of the School.

For some time it has been apparent that, with the exception of a few intimates or officers of the School, hardly anyone had a complete picture of the work and progress of the organization. The financial aspect was an enigma; the actual physical organization was vague; its methods of operation seemed disparate parts of a puzzle and, most important, a consecutive account of the progress of its work was unobtainable.

Observing this condition, and realizing that to justify the loyalty of its students and graduates, the School's work should be presented as a concrete whole, Frank Chodorov produced this book. In it, the history of the School is presented with an account of its progress since 1937. The story of **The Freeman** is told and an outline of the School curriculum is given. A section is devoted to the faculty. There are accounts of the correspondence courses, extension classes, the high school senior classes of last summer. Plans and hopes for the future, as well as its apparent needs, are divulged and a complete set of financial statements indicate the type of management under which the School has progressed.

Not only will the text be intensely interesting to those who have constantly wondered just what the School is really doing or to those who have found themselves unable to answer explicit questions concerning the school, but illustrated charts throughout are used to illuminate the statistics.

Space limits this to the merest sketch of the booklet. Suffice it to say that between its covers is printed the most interesting material yet to issue from the School and here, too, are the answers to all your curiosities concerning the School, its work and its personnel. A thrilling account of the progress of the Henry George School of Social Science.

Forming Farmers' Forum

LATHROP, Mo.—A new extension course, taught by a farmer to farmers in the heart of the farm country, is being organized by Mr. Eugene Shepherd, a former student of Mr. Edward White of Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Shepherd, who recently acquired a farm of his own at Lathrop, has lost no time in interesting other farmers of his community in the philosophy that will return them to the soil which they love so dearly.

A school house, not far from the Shepherd farm, has been promised as a place in which to conduct classes and Mr. Shepherd writes, "I have wanted to teach some farmers as they have been hard to talk to about the Single Tax. They think we want a tax on land area."

Mr. Shepherd graduated from Mr. White's Kansas City class in 1937 and has been teaching ever since.

12 Week Course Opens

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.—A 12 week course in fundamental economics was started September 11 by the Middletown Extension of the HGSSS. The text book will be covered in ten lessons and the last two will be devoted to questions and answers designed to illustrate the practicability of the economics of freedom.

Mr. J. H. Cloonan is teaching the course and Mr. Z. K. Graene is acting as dean of the school. Since the extension was first opened in 1935, eight courses in Fundamental Economics have been conducted here.

Sold for Good

SIOUX FALLS, South Dakota—The fifth class in fundamental economics and social philosophy conducted in this city was started on October 26 at 122½ N. Phillips Ave., Suite 10, 8 o'clock. When the director of the Henry George School of Social Science was a traveling salesman he sold Henry George as well as merchandise. Among his customers was Rabe Brothers of this city. Whether he sold merchandise or not, he at least sold Herman Rabe on the idea that Henry George had a solution for our social and economic problems, and as a result Mr. Rabe has conducted classes in this city for over two years.

In addition to conluctng classes, Mr. Rabe has addressed a number of gatherings in this city, the latest one being a talk before the "Statesmans' Club" last month. He has also developed a new teacher, Mr. Arthur Linahan, and the prospects are that there will be another class organized soon.

New Brown Pamphlet

NEW YORK—Under the title "The Void in College Curricula," the three articles which appeared in the September, October and November issues of **The Freeman** have been reprinted in pamphlet form. Copies are available on request. A number of pamphlets are being mailed to teachers of economics.

Chicago Advanced Course

CHICAGO, Ill.—A new class in "The Philosophy of Henry George," has been started in Chicago at 30 N. La Salle St., and is being taught by Gustave Carus on Wednesday evenings.

Boston Enrollment Up Fifty Percent

BOSTON, Mass.—Two hundred twenty-six students enrolled for the October classes in "Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy." This is an increase of 50% over a year ago. Classes are in session in Boston and nine neighboring cities: Arlington, Brookline, Cambridge, Dorchester, Malden, Medford, Newton, Somerville and Winchester. Analysis of how the students were attracted shows the following interesting results: 35% enrolled as a result of 6,500 postal cards mailed a week before the opening dates; 33% came from personal recommendations of former students. Newspaper stories in Boston and local papers brought in 27% of the registration, which reflects to the credit of the Boston extension's new chairman of the Publicity Committee, Harold J. Power.

One advanced class, conducted by John S. Codman, dean of the Boston faculty, opened Friday evening, November 3, at Doll & Richards Gallery 138 Newbury Street, Boston. It will be recalled that Mr. Codman was a co-founder with Francis G. Goodale of the Boston extension. The advanced class has 17 students; it is open to graduates of the "Progress and Poverty" classes and designed primarily for those who desire to take an active part in the education of the public in the principles of Henry George.

Much of the success of the Boston extension is due to the efficiency and devotion of its secretary, Mrs. Francis G. Goodale.

Write Letters to the Editors—And Sandy Wise Will Send You a Book

In an effort to stimulate students and graduates to write letters to the editors of their local papers, a letter writing course has been inaugurated at the HGSSS. But this valuable type of publicity work must be extended throughout the nation. It is highly effective in bringing to the attention of people the fact that classes are available and it also impresses those who control and manage our sources of public information that public opinion is steadily swinging to the side of freedom.

To this end—promoting an increase of letter writing by extension students and graduates—the Henry George School of Social Science offers the following prizes for the best letters written and published: For the best first letter published (a clipping of it to be sent to Sandy Wise) a copy of Louis Wallis' "By the Waters of Babylon" will be given free. This novel is written by a prominent Georgist author who has kindly cooperated by allowing us copies of this, his latest novel, for this purpose.

If a second letter by the same author is judged to be the best, the writer will receive free a copy of "Democracy Versus Socialism," that absorbing analysis of Socialism by Max Hirsch.

All clippings will be judged each week beginning with those received on Monday, December 4.

This is a vital phase of promoting the philosophy of Henry George and should be urged upon every student. Even letters which never find their way into print are important because editors learn that there is Georgist sentiment by the volume of the mail received from Georgists.

Activities Across the Border

ST. CATHERINES, Ont.—A new class in "Progress and Poverty" was started November 1 by Herbert T. Owens, secretary of the HGSSS of Toronto. Two Georgists from Hamilton will conduct the class, Herbert Brownlee and Frank Greensides.

TORONTO, Ont.—Herbert Owens spoke to a group on October 29 on "Karl Marx and Henry George" and on November 1st addressed the Mimico-New Toronto Rotary Club on the topic "Can Taxation Stimulate Business?" On November 15 he was enthusiastically received by the Beaches Businessmen's Association at a luncheon at which he spoke, and another speech is scheduled for December 7 at the Rotary Club at Port Hope, Ont.

HAMILTON, Ont.—A class in "Progress and Poverty" has been started in Hamilton. It is a study group, and was opened with the assistance of Ernest J. Farmer, president of the newly chartered Canadian School of Economic Science. Under the secretaryship of Robert Wynne, the group has rented space at the I. O. O. F. Hall on Main Street. The class is conducted by John Wilson.

YARMOUTH, N. S.—More fertile ground has been captured by Georgists as the first study group in Nova Scotia was opened by Ashley Crowell on November 7. The course in "Progress and Poverty" is to be introduced into the curriculum of the Milton Social Study Club. This information was printed recently in the Yarmouth Herald which published a long article on Henry George by Joel Disher. This splendid article was first printed in the Christian Science Monitor and has also appeared in the Hamilton Review.

Australian Centenary

SYDNEY, Australia—The Australian National Conference to celebrate the Henry George Centenary, to be held in January 1940, will be held at the Workers' Educational Association Conference Grounds at Newport New Sydney, N. S. W., from January 19 to 22. A representative from this country is earnestly desired.

Lecture Work Spreads

BERKELEY, Calif.—Information from Miss Grace Johnston flatters the productive work done in the lecture field by Miss Dorothy Sara who has placed students and graduates all over Greater New York for lectures to groups. Miss Johnston states that the Berkeley Extension will continue in the lines of the New York lecture bureau by placing speakers before groups on the West Coast.

Georgist Family Pffts!

WILMETTE, Ill.—Because there are no classes within the town of Wilmette this year, Mr. and Mrs. J. Benton Schaub have parted. But we are happy to report that after Mrs. Schaub finishes teaching at the Community House of Winnetka and Mr. Schaub closes his class at the Public Library of Evanston, they both return home to Wilmette and are reunited. Nothing serious, students, merely that they each teach classes in different sections of the country around their home towns.

Mr. and Mrs. Schaub are planning a class in Wilmette soon, as they each have Wilmette students in their respective classes.

Georgist Mayor

GREENHILLS, Cincinnati, O.—Albert S. Colby, who has conducted several extension classes, has been elected first "mayor" of this community, a federal housing project.

Twenty-One Talks

NEW YORK—Miss Dorothy Sara, Secretary of Speakers Bureau, reports following engagements.

Oct. 19—Lancaster M. Greene at Rotary Club of Hackensack, N. J. on "Economic Causes of anti-semitism."

Oct. 22—David Hyder at Wyoming Presbyterian Church, Milburn, N. J. on "Do Immigrants help or hinder American Democracy?"

Oct. 25—Grace Isabel Colbron at Boro Park Junior Hadassah, Brooklyn, N. Y. on "Economic causes of anti-semitism."

Oct. 25—Jules A. Guedalia at Kiwanis Club of Bush Terminal, Brooklyn, N. Y. on "Preserving our Democracy."

Oct. 31—Mrs. Erna L. Nash at Women's Club, Queens Village Jewish Center, Long Island, on "Economic causes of anti-semitism."

Nov. 5—William Newcomb at Union Congregational Church, Richmond Hill, L. I., on "Censorship—is it Democratic?"

Nov. 14—Sanford J. Wise, Jr. at Hamilton Community Council, Hamilton Grange Library, New York, on "Preserving our Democracy."

Nov. 14—Archibald C. Matteson, Jr. at Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, on "Youth's Hope in Democracy."

Nov. 14—William H. Quasha at The Men's Association of Wells Memorial, Brooklyn, N. Y., on "Housing Problems."

Nov. 19—M. B. Thomson at The School of Living, Suffern, N. Y., on "Economic Causes of anti-semitism."

Nov. 19—Robert Clancy and William Newcomb, at Union Congregational Church, Richmond Hill, L. I., on "You and America's Future."

Nov. 26—Henry A. Lowenberg at Tremont Temple, Bronx, N. Y., on "Economics and the present European War."

Nov. 28—Louis Wallis at Kiwanis Club of Astoria, L. I., on "Lopsided Taxation."

Dec. 3—David Hyder at Y. M. & Y. W. H. A., Paterson, N. J., on "Depression—Its Cause and Cure."

Dec. 3—John E. Fasano at The Good Templars, Y. M. C. A., Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y., on "Trade Wars."

Dec. 7—Harry Haase at Men's Club, Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, on "Depression—Its Cause and Cure."

Dec. 7—Jules A. Guedalia at Kiwanis Club, Hackensack, N. J., on "Preserving our Democracy."

Dec. 12—Louis Wallis at Rotary Club of Queens Boro, Long Island City, on "Lopsided Taxation."

Dec. 15—Emanuel Choper at Young Israel Synagogue of Tremont, Bronx, N. Y., on "Preserving our Democracy."

Dec. 19—Reginald Zalles at Rotary Club of Camden, N. J., on "Government in Business."

Dec. 20—Ami Mali Hicks at Neighborhood House, Brooklyn Philantropic League, Brooklyn, N. Y., on "Housing Problems."

WHO'S WHO IN GEORGISM

H. H. HARDINGE

Henry Hutchins Hardinge was born on a farm near Morganston, Ontario, May 7, 1863, one of 14 children of Frederick and Susan Kingsley Hardinge.

At the age of 17, with only four years of schooling, he went to work in a machinery factory at Woodbridge, Ontario. But his propensity for reading soon brought him an appointment as local librarian, where his lack of formal education was overcome by the better method of extensive reading.

Mr. Hardinge's interest in the land question was first aroused by a trip to Niagara Falls, where a tall fence and a price of admission (beyond his budget) shut off a view he had come to see. This capitalization of nature's bounty for private gain seemed incongruous and predisposed him to the teachings of Henry George, with whom he became acquainted during the campaign of William Jennings Bryan for president. Mr. George was at that time, in 1895, reporting the Democratic convention.

In 1888 Mr. Hardinge settled in Chicago, and in 1890 he went into business. He married Jane McCormack in 1895. He is the inventor of the first cotton picker, compressed air type-casting machines, an engraving machine for cutting matrices, the Hardinge Oil Burner and the hydraulic automobile jack. Hardinge lathes are used throughout the world.

Henry Hardinge has been an able and devoted advocate of the philosophy of Henry George for many years, as a speaker and writer, and since the advent of the HGSSS has conducted classes under its auspices.

Alaskan Georgist Magazine

INDEPENDENCE, Wasilla, Alaska—Of special interest to those following the spread of Georgist tenets throughout the world will be the announcement that a new publication, dedicated entirely to the philosophy of Henry George, will be published in Alaska in January. The name of the magazine will be "Frontier."

The editor, Mr. Jim Busey, writes: "Send me all the literature, propaganda, and news items you can manage to get together. I want editorial letters by folks who know Alaska's problems in the light of Henry George's philosophy."

San Diego Moves Forward

SAN DIEGO, California—Three classes are being conducted in this city, reports Grant M. Webster, Extension Secretary, one in the Court House and two in private residences.

Beg Pardon, San Diego

"In the November issue of The Freeman, page 23, you quote from a letter I wrote in connection with a subscription made by the San Diego Single Tax Society. I have no objection to the letter being printed but I did not like the Los Angeles date line on it. So to keep the record clear I want the world to know the subscription came from San Diego. We all like Los Angeles as it is one of our rather attractive suburbs and is the home of some devoted Georgists."—TOM G. DAWSON

Hamilton Speaks to Fellowship

CHICAGO, Ill.—Edwin Hamilton, attorney, addressed the Henry George Fellowship at its monthly meeting, Tuesday, November 7, at 139 N. Clark St. The next meeting of the Fellowship will be Tuesday evening, December 5.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933 of THE FREEMAN, published monthly at New York, N. Y. 1st day of October, 1939.

State of New York
County of New York } ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Frank Chororov, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Freeman and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
PUBLISHER, The Freeman Corporation, 30 East 29th St., New York, N. Y.
EDITOR: Frank Chodorov, 30 East 29th St., New York, N. Y.
MANAGING EDITOR: Frank Chodorov, 30 East 29th St., New York, N. Y.
BUSINESS MANAGER: Frank Chodorov, 30 East 29th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: The Freeman Corporation, 30 East 29th St., New York, N. Y. Anna George DeMille President, Otto K. Dorn Secretary-Treasurer. (No stockholders.)

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:
None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Frank Chodorov, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16 day of October, 1939.

Leo Weitzman,
Notary Public,
Bronx County, No. 37
(My commission expires March 30, 1940.)

School of Economic Science

NEW YORK—An attractive and well printed folder advertising the courses given by the newly chartered Canadian Henry George School has been received.

The prospectus lists two courses much the same as those of the New York School except that "The Condition of Labor" is part of the elementary course. Correspondence courses are also advertised.