The Freeman

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"DANGEROUS THOUGHTS" - WITHOUT DYNAMITE

By Francis Neilson

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WHY RICH ALASKA IS POOR

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LEBENSRAUM: HOLLAND'S WAY AND HITLER'S

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EDITORIALS

Trace to their root all forms of tyranny and enslavement, all the widespread curses that the world over have degraded and embruted men and made the masses but hewers of wood and drawers of water; ask how slavery, serfdom, cannibalism, private property in land and national debts came to be; how savage superstitions were engendered and how the slavish reverence for ruling families and classes has been developed and perpetuated—it will be found to be war and preparations for war. — Henry George.

Realpolitik

THE Germans always have a prefix for it. In terms of experience, **Realpolitik** is merely an etymological dress suit for the gangsterism: "Get while the getting is good."

Grab-politics, a more descriptive term, is political action based upon immediacy rather than on principle. Present advantage is its own justification and moral standard. To gain such advantage, it is right to lie, to steal, to kill. Any ethical inhibition is indicative of decadence.

This rationalization of unprincipled social action is not indigenous to the Nazis. It is necessary to the doctrine of Statism, even in the embryonic form characteristic of "democracies." Moral standards are applicable to individuals only. A community cannot be good or bad.

The State is an impersonal idea, and as such it is as devoid of scruples as a robot. When the reality of this impersonal thing is accepted, all standards which are associated with persons must be dropped. A robot cannot be brought to trial; it has neither free will nor responsibility.

The State, then, being a product of power and having for its purpose the extension of its power, establishes the only guide by which this purpose can be achieved. And that must be to take advantage of any opportunity which the exigency of the day presents. If in the exercise of that purpose it tramples upon the liberties which men have wrested from it, there is no recourse to such assumed absolutes as human rights because that would be endowing an impersonal thing with personal attributes.

When people create the State-idea in their minds they do so because it seems to them to be an instrument for their personal betterment. They wish into it a moral purpose. In the internal affairs of the nation, therefore, the villainies of the State are clothed with a compounded ethical standard: the ultimate good of the whole community.

In international affairs even that semblance of morality disappears, and **Realpolitik** comes into its own. For here is the field in which State meets State and no holds are barred. The standard of action is expediency, to which even the restrictions of signed contractual obligations must give way. Diplomacy is the art of duplicity.

Realpolitik is as old as gangsterism, from which the world has never been free. But this term has been embroidered in recent years with a rationalization which has its roots in the cynicism of prevalent social and economic thinking. In this view there are no absolutes, no basic principles, no natural laws, no guide posts to direct thought or action. History is construed as a sequence of accidents which are the weather vanes that reveal the direction of the winds of our desire, not the test tubes from which eternal verities may be learned. Indeed, it is asserted that there are no such verities.

This off-hand denial of the possibility of principle, in spite of the air of pontifical wisdom with which it is pronounced, is merely an evidence of defeatism. Its logic is this: since in the past so many guide posts of social thinking have led us up blind alleys none can be dependable.

How far would we have come in the physical sciences if investigators had been as cowardly and had sought refuge in a similar vacuum? Indeed, their progress has been the result of seeking principle in accident, of seeking new principle when accident proved the former one undependable. Explaining accident by accident never occurred to them.

The dictum of no absolutes has wrought particular havoc with the science of political economy, reducing it, in the way it is taught, to a mere hodge-podge of words. And yet, because this science deals with the very human problem of getting a living, the motivation accounting for this confused state should be apparent.

It should be obvious that the getting of a living by the political means must be distinguished from the getting of a living by the economic means. Also, that the one is at the expense of the other, and persistence in it must result in social maladjustment.

But that reasoning brings us to principles which are obnoxious to those who, through the mechanism of the State, get their living vicariously. It is to their interest that honest investigation be discouraged.

As a result of such suasion the science of political economy has become a conglomerate mass of nothingness, from which it cannot emerge because its oracles brazenly declare it must be so.

Therefore, everything and anything goes, and the only measure of the desirability of any course of social action is attainment of an immediate objective. Immediacy is the order of the day in our internal economy, and **Realpolitik** is its expression in international affairs.

On Flanders Field Again

ALL SOLDIERS killed in battle must have a Valhalla; that is their compensation for having died in vain.

In the haunts of the ghosts of Attila's hordes loud must be the guffaws and cynical their sneers these days. As their modern imitators swarm over the lowlands, paying with their lives for a bit of evanescent glory for themselves and some real estate for their masters, the butchering heroes of the past must indeed wonder whether man is capable of learning anything.

Caesar's legions and the Grande Armee of Napoleon, Philip of Spain and Wilhelm of Hohenzollern—to mention but a few of the bloody predecessors of the mad Adolf—sought on Flanders Field that which none of them ever achieved. They only fertilized with their bones, and the bones of their victims, the countryside which peaceful, industrious peasants have intermittently enjoyed. It is only in peace and prosperity that man gains glory.

Holland particularly has learned this lesson. The Dutch, it is true, have to some extent followed the pattern of conquest; the vast rents obtained from their colonial possessions are the source of many of their fortunes. But even here their avarice has been constrained by a sense of human values, and their colonial administration is noted for kindliness and justice. In contrast with the experience of England in India, France in Northern Africa, Holland has had practically no trouble with the natives of her colonies in recent years.

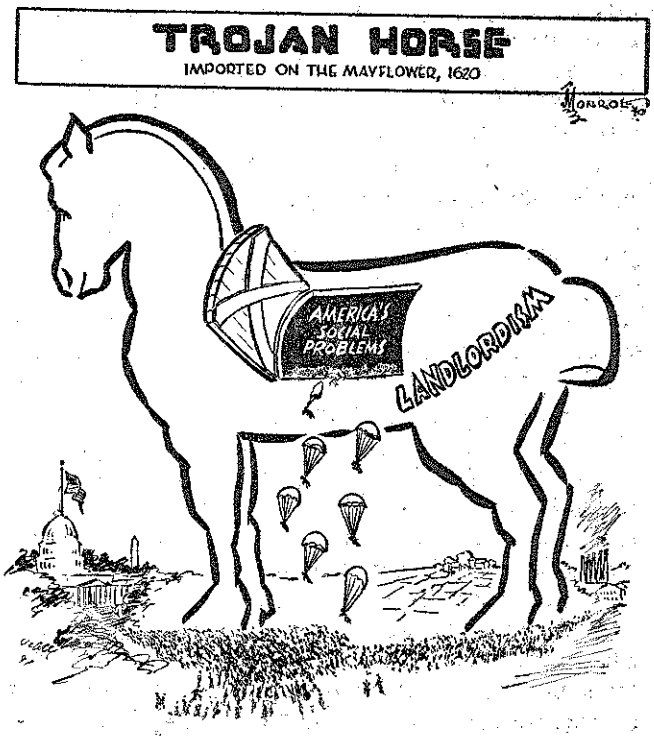
At home, perhaps the greatest economic achievement of Holland, besides the reclamation of large tracts of land to afford her crowded population a new source of wealth, is the institution of a rental system which in this area is an important step toward precluding exploitation of the workers on the land.

Holland has also followed a free-trade policy which has added much to her prosperity. Her revenue tariffs are insignificant. Unemployment is a very minor problem, and alongside her record of strikes our own industrial struggle seems like a major war. In culture, in the development of the arts and sciences, the Dutch have achieved a place far out of proportion to their population of eight millions. Seventeen Nobel prizes have been awarded to her scientists.

Save for the very brief and almost bloodless 1830 Belgian revolution which ended in the separation of the two countries, Holland has enjoyed peace for over a century and a quarter, that is, since Napoleon. (Compare the records of Germany, France, England, the United States.)

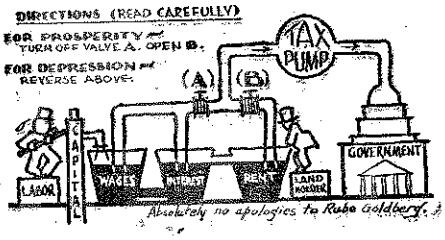
The Dutch people's struggles with its kings, which were traceable to the governmental policy of forced labor in the colonies, through the royally owned Netherlands Trading Company, resulted in a complete liberalization of the constitution. Since 1848 Holland has enjoyed full ministerial responsibility, complete control by the States-General of public finance and of colonial administration, direct elections, freedom of assemblage, and many other features characteristic of the liberal parliamentary system.

This is the country which the apostle of totalitarianism is ravishing. He will fail, as Philip failed and as Napoleon failed. The nightmares of world conquest have proved only one thing: that war as a means to social betterment is a failure. Ghengis Khan, Alexander and Caesar were followed by a complete collapse of their respective regimes. War is the end, not the beginning.



Two Shillings and Keep

THE ULTIMATE of Statism is War. The individual may fight or even kill as a result of an emotional explosion, caused by personal affront, or in defense of life, or to acquire or retain property. Leaving aside the pathological sadist, it is personal gain or satisfaction that always motivates physical violence between individuals. One fights for an ideology only when, through conditioning, the mind has acquired a sense of personal possessiveness in that set of ideas; the function of a State bent on war is thus to condition the minds of its subjects, and to prevent free thought, "fraternizing," or counter-propaganda from permitting the natural impulse for peaceful living to express itself.



Only the State desires war. It needs war. Through its two tentacles of taxation and monopoly-privileges it sucks the life-blood of production to the point where vast numbers of its subjects are unable to secure bare sustenance. A hungry man is an incipient revolutionist—a danger to the permanence of the State. Alms are resorted to as a palliative. But taxation and the private appropriation of rent continue to siphon the wealth produced by labor. The more alms the more poverty. The innately peaceful man is maddened by the hopelessness of his existence. The feeling of being unwanted by the social order is an affront to his sense of personal dignity. He is a perfect tinder-box for inflammatory propaganda.

War comes. The individual has disappeared. He has been merged into the mass concept—the State. His desires, his hopes, his aspirations are as unimportant and as non-existent as those of a cockroach. Only the plan has any being or purpose.

But here, however, is a break in the logical process. All individuals within the confines of the State do not merge into its mass purpose. For some the prerogatives of individual existence do not disappear. And in the process of war one ascertains that the State-idea is merely a refinement of the slave-idea.

In England there is a growing popular demand that conscientious objectors be forced to work on farms at soldiers' wages—keep and two shillings a day. The higher wages in munitions factories have depleted the ranks of agricultural workers, and the resulting food shortage prompts impounding as agricultural slaves those men who refuse to kill.

There is sense in this proposal. But it is not carried to its logical conclusion. Since war is a collective enterprise for the preservation of the State, every individual within its scope should cease to exist as an individual. The levelling process should be applied to all—for it is an anomaly to recognize differences between individuals when the individual has disappeared. If "two shillings and keep" is the established conscript wage, it is the wage that should in honesty be paid to every Englishman—from king to commoner, from private to field marshal.

The English news item before us, however, reveals innocently enough why such a levelling process is not applied and also what the State-idea really is. It says that unless workers are provided for the farms, the farmers will be unable to pay rents to the land owners. Land values must be maintained. Production must go on, not only to provide food for soldiers, but also to provide rent for landowners.

The State, then, is not an all-for-all idea. It is, rather, a concept that involves a class that collects and rules, and a class that works and obeys. Omitting the political abracadabra, in what way is this different from the slave-idea?

Editorial note: The references to the English news item are merely incidental. The State-idea is not confined to one geographical entity. Its identification with the slave-idea is even more clearly seen in those countries where the fiction of political democracy as an economic instrument has been ruthlessly wiped out.

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The Inevitable Third Term

WILL HE RUN for a third term? If he does, can he win? How about the American tradition?

Speculation along these lines will be furious until Mr. Roosevelt chooses to settle the argument of his succession by his own dictum or the Democratic convention in July renders its verdict. Most important, from a social point of view, will be the reaction of the American people to his bid, should he make it, for a third term.

In the fifth century B. C., Athens was in the doldrums. It had a depression. Its people were divided economically between the wealthy landowners and the landless artisans. Its unemployment problem was aggravated by an influx of migrant job seekers from other city-states and from Asia Minor through the port of Piraeus.

Along came a spell-binder from the upper class, who was duly elected to a magistracy by the people. He became general-in-chief and remained so almost without interruption for thirty years. His name was Pericles.

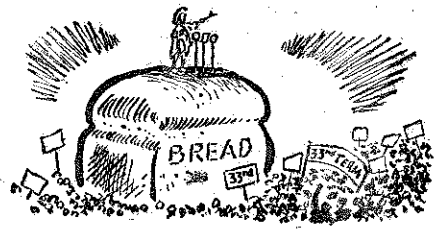
The political set-up of that day in some respects was more democratic than our present arrangement, for every citizen of the city-state theoretically had a hand in the running of it. The franchise was denied to slaves and women, but citizenship carried with it the right to vote directly on all public affairs and on all officials. Ultimately Pericles did restrict the suffrage to those whose parents on both sides were Athenian-born, because of the growing population of foreigners, but this limitation was not imposed until he had been kept in office for most of his time. He was indeed the people's choice, year after year.

For he fostered public works projects that provided employment for both artisans and artists. He gave encouragement to the professional class of his day; that is, the philosophers. He provided free seats for the "underprivileged" at the popular form of entertainment, the Dionysia. When things got very bad he led his people into war, but, until circumstances and ill-advised collaborators forced him into the disastrous Peloponnesian War, he made certain that his martial excursions were short and profitable.

In one respect he had an advantage over modern rulers in that he did not have to tax his people too heavily; for his make-work and relief program he found funds in the treasury of the Delian League, a confederation of island city-states dependent upon the protection of the Athenian navy.

For about three decades Pericles ruled the roost in Athens. His was the original fireside chat. The best swinger of rhetoric of his era, he was a great promiser, a great reliever.

The story of Pericles suggests that the economic condition of a country may have a bearing upon the



continuity of a political party or an official in power. Maybe that explains, also, President Roosevelt's plea to Congress last month to let him spend next fiscal year's relief fund (estimated at $975,000,000) in eight months, four of which precede the election.

But regardless of the present third term tempest-in-the-teapot, history tells us that the form of government we may expect to enjoy in the future will depend on the ease or difficulty with which we can make a living. No political structure, no constitutional restrictions, no system of checks and balances, no traditional fetishes can withstand the pressure of economic forces. A pauperized people have no patience with forms. They want bread. And he who gives a hungry man a meal is his sanctified hero.

Therefore, whether Mr. Roosevelt runs for the third term, whether he is elected, is important only as a tendential indication. Are eleven years of depression enough? Have we been conditioned sufficiently to accept paternalism as a fixed political arrangement? If not, we will be.

For there is no indication that our economy will change for the better in the near future. Rather, there are indices that point to further decline. With every decline comes a break-down of moral stamina, and slave resignation will express itself in the Pericles plan. The third term is inevitable.

Meaning of the Margin

A YEAR OR SO AGO a friend of mine bought an abandoned gold mine. It had been abandoned because its ore did not yield a sufficient amount of gold to makes operation profitable at the governmentally fixed price of twenty dollars an ounce. When Mr. Roosevelt arbitrarily raised the price to thirty-five dollars this marginal mine acquired

a value. In extricating gold from this hole in the ground the owner had the privilege, under our land tenure system, of collecting from the prospective miner a share of his diggings.

Uncertainty as to the amount the mine would yield, or perhaps the need for cash, prompted the owner to accept an immediate quit claim for this privilege; that is, he sold the mine for its capitalized rental value. My friend tells me that the price paid was "low," because the mine yields a much larger profit than a similar investment in any free market business could produce.

The price paid for the mine, it seems, did not include all the rent the mine could yield. Thanks to the government, my friend is collecting in the gratuitous price of gold, additional rent on this hole. This rent is being paid out of the taxes collected from all the workers of the country.

The fixed price on silver is likewise a gratuity in rent paid out of our tax money to owners of marginal silver mines. The government collects from workers and hands the proceeds over to these non-workers. But this is no more reprehensible than is the tribute collected by owners of other marginal mineral lands because of the restriction of competitive imports through tariffs and quotas. It all means higher rents and lower purchasing power; that is, lower real wages.

Increased demand, as well as inflated prices, forces into use mines of marginal productivity.

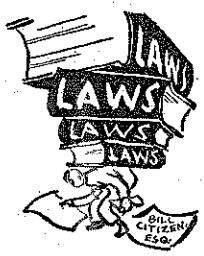
Recently the newspapers told of the re-opening of the New Almaden quicksilver mine in California, which was closed in 1926. Italy and Spain produce about 85% of the world's supply of this metal. (The Spanish mine of Almaden was a prime pawn in the late war.)

Quicksilver is essential to the production of explosives. When the European war broke out its price was under a hundred dollars a flask; it is twice that now. The new price made profitable the working of the almost exhausted New Almaden mine. Two Philadelphians who own the mine agreed to permit its operation for a rental of $20,241 cash and at least $10,000 a year plus 10% of the gross. This is a charge on production—legal tribute.

Thus, every increase in production, every restriction placed on production, every governmental or monopolistic advance in the price of commodities, tends to force marginal land into use, increasing rent and reducing wages.

Don't Hamstring Bureaucracy; Kill It

IT WAS CALLED, by many a Congressman who helped to put it through the House last month, "the most important bill to come before Congress in a hundred years." There is reason for this estimate of the Walter-Logan Bill, which may be passed by the Senate in spite of President Roosevelt's indi-



cated dislike of it. The importance of this proposed law is that it is designed to extricate our democracy from the extralegal position into which it was forced by a reform program. It is an attempt to unscramble the omelet of bureaucracy.

The purpose of this law is to establish tribunals to which decisions of almost all Federal agencies could be brought for hearing. Thus, the extra-legal and quasi-judicial character of these agencies would be subjected to legal procedure; the force of their dicta being delayed or rescinded by law-suits of citizens or corporations.

The reason for the law, and this was acknowledged in the debate and in the 282-to-97 vote for it, is the growing tendency in this country of government by bureaucracy instead of by elected representatives.

The proponents of the act fail to recognize, however, that courts of law existed when these agencies were created, and that the power of the courts to restrict them was deliberately avoided in the enabling legislation. When government decides upon a paternalistic course, the usual constitutional limits placed upon it must be waived. Democracy must rest on the ability and willingness of people to take care of themselves and the government; when the process is reversed the government must have the power to carry out its program without legalistic hampering. Of course, it then ceases to be a democratic government—but that is another thing.

Bureaucracies are an effect, not a cause. Forcing them to submit to legal procedure will be ineffective while the cause for their existence remains. Indeed, it is well-known, and the record of our Supreme Court is offered in evidence, that legal

thought itself is subject to the socio-political tenor of the times. There are no absolutes in the law.

Therefore, if the Walter-Logan Bill becomes law, and the conditions which brought the restricted agencies into existence still continue, it is quite conceivable that the new courts established by this act will become in time rubber stamps for these agencies. All we will have left for our trouble will be the expense of maintaining the additional tribunals.

The immediate cause for the growth of bureaucracies is the tendency toward centralization. As more and more power is vested in government the very size and scope of its activities require that duties constitutionally delegated to the legislative branch be transferred to administrative bodies.

But, centralization is itself an effect of other conditions which call for an orientation of governmental activities. Consider the function of almost every American bureaucracy that has been established since the beginning of the century and you will find that it deals either with (*a*) the regulation of some monopoly based on a privilege granted by the government, or (*b*) unsocial conditions, such as poverty, which are directly traceable to the government-fostered monopoly of rent.

Bureaucracy, then, is a method devised to treat the symptoms of a sick body politic. The cause of the malady is monopoly. Unless this cause is removed there is no hope for a cure. Rather, the indications are that more and more symptoms will appear, and that more and more regulatory agencies will be called upon to treat them; also that these agencies will demand, and receive, the unrestricted power which they believe will help them to effect a cure. No legalistic inhibitions will stop the process.

Philosophy Under Fire

THE TEST of one's faith in a philosophic conviction is the ability to retain it as a plumb-line for thought and behavior in the face of emotional stress.

Now is the time for every advocate of a free economy to examine his knowledge of the philosophy, and to sound the stamina of his intellectual courage. To accept the basic principle of freedom in times of tranquillity requires only knowledge and reason. To retain faith in that principle, to think and act in the light of it in the storm of passion unloosed by war demands stuff of a sterner nature.

The time has come to assay the metal we are made of. The dilettante whose philosophy consists of dawdling in speculative phrases will not stand the test. He will find reason enough to betray his lack of intellectual probity; he will justify in nice-sounding sentences his kowtowing to false gods made of the clay of popular prejudice.

To measure our understanding of this philosophy and our confidence in it, let us recount the few simple tenets upon which it rests.

First, the individual is the keystone of our social structure.

Second, his life, his happiness and his liberty are the only standards by which the validity of that social structure must be gauged.

Third, he has a contract with society whereby he agrees to respect the right of others to the same pursuit of happiness which he cherishes.

And finally, any political or economic scheme that impinges on the terms of this contract is a denial of his freedom, and must result in a social structure in which a few are masters and the many are slaves.

That is all quite simple and readily acceptable. But the difficulty arises in analyzing cleverly compounded political and economic schemes and in detecting the slave mechanism they conceal. Indeed, so universal is the desire for freedom that these schemes are always wrapped in its phrases and sold to us on its promise. To penetrate the disguises is the problem. Then to denounce what is revealed, in spite of the pressure of popular opinion, is the test of one's faith in freedom.

Public opinion, for instance, has been whipped into the acceptance of certain political forms as synonymous with freedom, whereas they are at best merely attributes of it. History tells us over and over again that despotism can be co-existent with these forms. Simulations of democracy have been used by despots to entrench themselves in power.

Popular suffrage has been and can be an instrument for the enslavement of the masses. Sometimes enacted in a bath of blood, laws for safeguarding liberty have been used to circumvent it. Thus, while democratic government and civil liberties are essential to any concept of freedom, these attributes are no guarantee of it.

Every student of the philosophy of freedom knows this. All too obvious is the fact that the character of our political structure does not determine our economy but rather is determined by it. Here in America we have enjoyed a great degree of

political freedom merely because we have had the abundance of a vast and relatively free earth for nearly two centuries.

Keeping pace with our declining economy in the past ten years our government has increased the very functions and powers against which the framers of our Constitution with deliberate forethought sought to establish barriers. Unless there is a miraculous improvement of our economy, democratic forms cannot safeguard our crumbling political freedom. Many there are who, ignorant of the cause of poverty, are indeed ascribing it to our democratic structure, and are advocating political enslavement as a means to economic security.

These are patent facts. But along comes a war, which in itself is a denial of freedom, in which both sides claim they are striving for freedom. The historic truth that wars are economic in origin and in purpose is completely and ingeniously hidden in a welter of words. Passions are aroused in favor of this or that "ideology." The organs of propaganda toiling for the interests which alone gain by war inflame the popular mind to the point where the fake is accepted for reality.

And the pity of it is that even the devotees of the philosophy of freedom are too often deceived by the propaganda. It cannot be due to weakness of intellect or even to lack of understanding; for in normal times what we have pointed out will be accepted as axiomatic. Only egregious pusillanimity will prompt a philosopher of freedom to bray "save the world for democracy" when he knows that there can be no democracy in a slave world.

Those who are so deluded might well be reminded that there is no guarantee that a war to save democracy will be successful; but it is a certainty that democracy is lost to the people when a nation goes to war. And it is never returned intact.

Ganging up on the Machine

A MONSTROUS TRACTOR (capitalism) starts the saga of the Joad family, and a government camp (socialism) ends it. In between, apparently unheard by the author of the "Grapes of Wrath," is the continuous hissing echo of landlordism. It is the power behind the tractor that destroys the shack of the share-croppers, deprives them of their crying want for a little "growing land," scatters the family and transforms dignified human beings into Okies. We used to call them tramps.

But John Steinbeck is not alone in this precocious ability to ignore the obvious. A professor of economics (why single him out by name?) last month told the Temporary National Economic Committee that the farm tractor had sent a "stream of distressed humanity" hopefully trekking to the west. The astute chairman of the committee suggested legislation to discourage the use of machinery by tax levies. The vice chairman of the committee is cogitating the idea of "government bidding for all those labor-saving devices with patents."

And so, we have the author, the educator and the politician denouncing the machine as the cause of human degradation. That each of them would starve to death if deprived for twenty-four hours of the labor-saving devices upon which civilization rests is too obvious to warrant discussion. Imagine the professor grinding flour between two stones or the politician frying fish on a boulder by the heat of the sun. As for the author, what would happen to his royalties (wages) if the printing press were abolished?

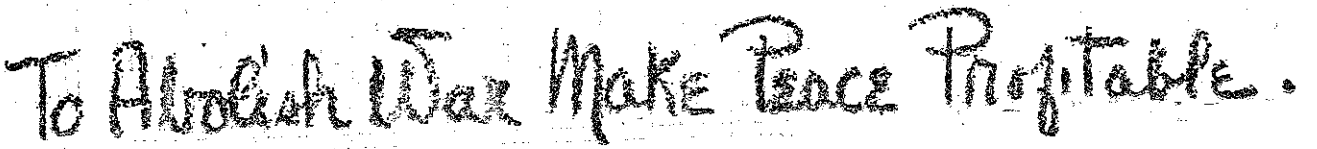
Why do they overlook the manifest cause? Perhaps because it is too obvious. To the erudite only the obscure is worthy of attention. But perhaps the memory of what happened to the Gracchi brothers, over two thousand years ago, when they tried to solve the problem of the Roman Okies by opening up the earth—they had no machine to blame then—is a deterrent to clear thinking.

Landlordism has a persuasive way about it.

Lawyers: Please Answer

"Every contract, combination . . . or conspiracy, in restraint of trade . . . is . . . illegal." So says the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

Now, a title deed in fee simple is a contract between the State and an individual, or corporate entity, by which the former guarantees the latter exclusive possession of part of the earth's domain over which the State exercises its power. If the "owner" then chooses to prevent workers from occupying themselves productively on this spot is he not restraining trade? Is not the State party to a conspiracy?



More Imports - More Jobs

By C. O. STEELE

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, in the course of his campaign for the Presidential nomination, said recently: "The Republican Party believes in imposing and retaining a tariff equal to the difference in the cost of production abroad and the cost of production at home."

Senator Taft is true to his heritage. His amiable father, the late President William Howard Taft, was a staunch advocate of a high protective tariff, too staunch, perhaps, for his own good. His best remembered speech is one delivered at Winona, Minnesota, during the presidential campaign of 1912, in defense of the Payne Act, a tariff measure enacted by the Republicans in 1909. Unfortunately for the elder Taft, the speech worked in reverse. In the electoral college ballot, the genial president running for reelection received only 38 of the 531 votes cast. It is not surprising that William Howard Taft is remembered more for his kindly disposition than for his political acumen.

The senatorial son might draw a lesson from his father's experience. Perhaps he has; and perhaps he has concluded, as well he might, that there was nothing in his father's unfortunate experience to prove that adherence to a high protective tariff is politically inexpedient. He might point out with truth that the tariff question was but one, and a lesser one at that, of a multitude of causes leading to his father's political downfall. And even if voters in 1912 were antagonistic to high tariffs, their attitude could justly be described as but a passing phase. Had not the Republican party, the traditionally high tariff party, won most of the national elections since the Civil War? It could hardly be claimed that the great mass of voters for any considerable length of time have favored low tariffs, much less free trade.

The evidence is all to the contrary. Senator Taft might claim, too, and with equal validity, that there are more than a few high tariff advocates among the Democrats, though that argument would prove considerably less than nothing. No, there is nothing in the record to prove that whooping it up for the high tariff has lost its efficacy as a device for capturing votes.

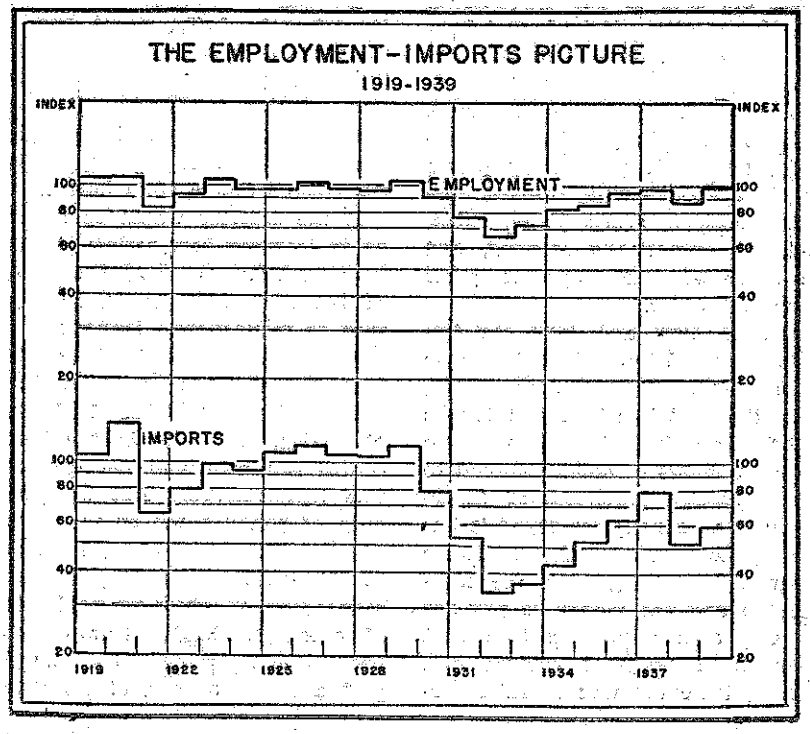
But for those of us who agree with the fellow who defined a Republican as one who thought a Democratic administration was bad for the country, and a Democrat as one who thought a Republican administration bad for the country, and said they were both right, some consideration of the economic consequences of the tariff may be of passing interest.

Of the seven tariff measures enacted by Congress in the past 50 years, five were labeled Republican and two Democratic. The Underwood Act, passed in 1913 following the Democratic landslide which swept the Taft administration out of office in 1912, was an earnest and reasonably successful effort to undo some of the more harmful provisions of the Payne Act. The other piece of Democratic tariff legislation was the Wilson Act of 1894. Whatever its aim, it accomplished no great results, though it was an improvement on the McKinley Act of 1890.

Figures prepared by the Tariff Commission in 1930 show the following estimates of the average ad valorem duties embodied in those seven measures:

Smoot-Hawley Act	(Rep.)	1930	41.64%
Fordney Act	(Rep.)	1922	38.22
Underwood Act	(Dem.)	1913	26.97
Payne Act	(Rep.)	1909	40.73
Dingley Act	(Rep.)	1897	46.49
Wilson Act	(Dem.)	1894	41.29
McKinley Act	(Rep.)	1890	48.39

The above figures suggest that the tariff of 1930, though higher than that of 1922, was lower than the Dingley and McKinley Acts. However, because radical changes have taken place in the character of American imports in recent years, the figures must be read with caution. Actually, the Smoot-Hawley bill of 1930 represented the peak of economic nationalism. That act, passed at the vociferous insistence of industries having a vested interest



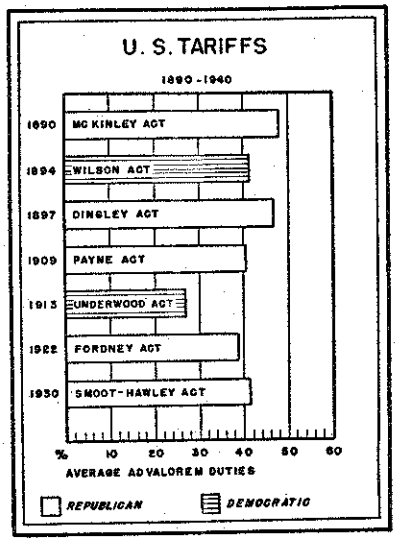
in the maintenance of tariffs, not only increased rates but also authorized the government to impose additional duties to offset any subsidy that might be granted by a foreign nation to stimulate exports to the United States.

During the making of the Smoot-Hawley bill, 26 nations protested officially against the contemplated rates. After its passage, more than a thousand American economists urged President Hoover not to sign the bill. Following its enactment no less than 50 nations took action against the United States by raising their tariffs, or establishing quotas, special import duties or embargoes. World trade fell from $68,000,000,000 to $23,000,000,000 a year, and part and parcel of this drop was the unprecedented unemployment we have had in the past ten years. In 1929, United States exports provided a livelihood for 2,585,000 families; in 1932 the number had dropped to 767,620.

Obviously, the decline in world trade was not the only cause of the current depression, but it is a matter of record that unemployment struck most heavily at those industries largely dependent on world trade. In 1929 we were exporting 36% of our copper, 31% of our lubricating oil, 41% of our typewriters, 49% of our cotton, 41% of our tobacco. Exports in these industries declined sharply after the Smoot-Hawley bill became the law of the land. Workers lost their jobs by the thousands, and their purchasing power for other goods—suits, dresses, furniture, hosiery, shoes, glass, china, food, etc.—practically stopped, and the circle of unemployment grew wider and wider.

Between 1922 and 1929 our imports increased by 34%, and exports gained 51%. During that period, under the mistaken idea that it was undesirable to import goods, we were lending millions of dollars abroad to finance foreign purchases of American goods. Finally we found it impossible to continue the fantastic policy of supplying both the merchandise and the money to pay for it. Our alternative was to accept payment in essential commodities. But what we did was to raise tariffs even higher by the Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930. The result was that American industry, instead of being protected by the tariff, soon found itself being destroyed by it. Workers, instead of receiving higher wages, lost their jobs in steadily increasing numbers.

Senator Taft, yearning to be president, might ponder on these things. Let him delve into the records ever so little and he will see for himself whether high tariffs are the unfailing panacea the grand old Republican Party would have us believe. He



might begin with import data of the Department of Commerce and employment data of the Department of Labor. It won't take him more than five minutes to discover that employment has always been highest when imports were highest, and lowest when imports were lowest.

If the Senator would be interested in learning how tariffs subsidize inefficient industries at the expense of the American people, he might turn to manganese. Manganese ore is essential in the production of steel. Rich deposits are found in India, Russia, Brazil and the Gold Coast of Africa. Deposits in the United States are poor and not extensive. The Smoot-Hawley Act imposed a duty of $22.40 a ton on manganese, which in 1922 was 87% ad valorem. In 1929 we imported 316,000 tons of manganese, on which we paid a duty of over $7,000,000. Our domestic production was only 27,000 tons. We paid a tariff, or tax, of more than $7,000,000 to protect an American industry whose total output was worth only $1,300,000. The American industry was so small that comparatively few workers were employed in it. So few, indeed, that it would have been cheaper for the American people to have closed down the industry and given every manganese worker an annuity equal to his average wage, plus room and board at the Waldorf for the rest of his life rather than burden the nation with the added price we paid for manganese because of the $7,000,000 tariff.

But perhaps candidate Taft is not interested in such things. After all, he doesn't want to be an economist—he wants to be president. Economists don't get to be president; politicians do. Let him eschew economics, outpromise the New Deal, and borrow some of old Doc Townsend's ideas, and he may yet win the object of his heart's desire.

Yet, come what may, this strange fact remains: that in all our recent American experience, employment in this country has closely followed the volume of our imports. One would imagine therefore, that politicians, having in mind a program for solving our most pressing social problem, unemployment, would at least bring this fact to light and make an effort to lift the blockade of trade imposed by tariff barriers. A platform offering lower tariffs would, on the record, be a platform offering wider employment. There's no copyright on such a platform; it may be had for the taking. Who'll take it?

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Tariffs Impede Culture

The widow of a Georgist living in British Columbia has a complete set of the "Memorial Edition" of Henry George's works which she wanted to donate to the HGSSS. However, in spite of the fact that the books were written by an American author and printed and published in the U.S.A., these books were subject to a tariff duty upon reentering the U. S.

This good woman found this tariff policy together with the annoying complications a bit too much for her patience. Consequently the School did not receive the books.

"Dangerous Thoughts" - Without Dynamite

By FRANCIS NEILSON

Professor Lancelot Hogben, whose latest book is analyzed in the accompanying critique, is a distinguished mathematician, perhaps best known to the general public as the author of "Mathematics for the Million." But he has also gained a widespread reputation as a new type of reformer, one who depends on the rationality and efficiency of science for solution of social and economic problems.

Francis Neilson, author of this critique, was a member of the British Parliament during the first World War, and is author of "Man at the Crossroads" and other volumes on social and economic subjects. He will be the principal speaker at the Commencement Exercises of the Henry George School of Social Science to be held in New York on June 3.

On the jacket of **Dangerous Thoughts** the publisher informs us that the author, Lancelot Hogben, possesses "as lucid and powerful an intelligence as exists in Europe." This is not a bad beginning by way of introduction, for I must confess I have not read **Mathematics for the Millions** or any of his other books; indeed, **Dangerous Thoughts** is the first link in my acquaintance with the author.

In the first essay, called "The Creed of a Scientific Humanist," he assures us that it is this creed which he professes, and that this profession is the one he tries to practise.

He tells us that the anticipations of Socialism before and immediately after the Great War did not materialize. "From the moment when all hope of return to pre-War conditions was officially abandoned by conservative politicians the official Socialist parties entered an eclipse which has lasted ever since." Further on he says, "While **laisser-faire** was in the ascendant Socialism meant having some plan in contradistinction to **none.**"

It is curious how this notion persists—that England or any other country ever enjoyed a system of **laisser-faire.** If scientists would only take the trouble, when they wish to indulge in such fancies, to read works published in recent years on the Physiocrats, they would save themselves the humiliation of flagrantly breaking the rules laid down in their own classrooms. For such an error in natural history or mathematics, Hogben would plough or flunk a student.

Let us, however, become acquainted with the creed Hogben practises. He says:

> "The social control of scientific humanism is the recognition that the sufficient basis for rational cooperation between citizens is scientific investigation of the common needs of mankind, a scientific inventory of resources available for satisfying them, and a realistic survey of how modern social institutions contribute to or militate against the use of such resources for the satisfaction of fundamental human needs."

With little alteration this would do for a statement of the first intentions of the New Deal, which we have had for eight years in this country and, up to now, to use the phrase of the man-in-the-street, "nothin' doing." Eleven millions unemployed and the national debt raised from nineteen billions to over forty billions! In this country scientific humanism which in its operations has had the benefit of Brain Trusters, Best Minds and specially drilled, college-reared advocates of change, has proceeded from failure to failure with a regularity that even the yes-men in Congress are beginning to notice. Of course, scientific humanism as it is to be practised by Mr. Hogben is proof against failure. He does not realize that Germany is today suffering from scientific humanism inflicted with an iron hand, forged in the furnace of hate. I hope he will not think I am pro-German when I say that I do not know how the scientific humanists of England could do better than the same cult working in Germany.

If Mr. Hogben really believes that the exercise of scientific humanism is all that is necessary for bringing peace and plenty to the people, I feel sure that the rest of his life will be charged with humiliation and disappointment. Something more is required, and how any scientist living in England can fail to see that it is the lack of **laisser-faire** which is the cause of present conditions, is something which I cannot understand.

He asks for a fairer distribution of the produce. Does he know what occasions the unequal distribution of wealth? I doubt it, for he gives one the impression that the study of economics is quite unnecessary for the scientific humanist. Science alone if practised according to Hogben, would be quite sufficient to solve the inequalities which exist. A knowledge of fundamental economics—say, for instance, the three primary factors in production—belongs to the "dismal" science. He fails to see that no matter what changes are made by Science and its gadgets, the old factors are still present and govern in the production of wealth and its distribution.

Scientific humanists should know they cannot by Science increase the girth of the earth, the place on which men seek a living. The earth is large enough and there are men enough to exploit its resources, but millions go hungry. Why? Two of many reasons may be given: (1) most men cannot use it freely because it is owned by private individuals: (2) State aid, private philanthropy and sentimental politicians have destroyed initiative in men and the desire to fend for themselves. The conspiracy against the poor goes on steadily, notwithstanding the advance of Science and no matter whether the Tories, the Liberals or the Laborites sit on the front bench, and no matter how many scientists are humanized nor how many schemes of "amelioration" are launched to keep the impoverished quiet. It is now bread and circus for the needy and the loafers, rent and leisure for the land monopolists.

When he turns to the difficulties of scientific progress after the Reformation, Hogben reveals a loose-

ness of statement that would not be tolerated in his students. "It is obvious that organized Christianity was an impediment to scientific inquiry in the Italy of Galileo, in the France of Descartes, in the Germany of Haeckel, and in the England of Darwin." Such a statement requires not only modification but expiation. The Galileo myth was dealt with long ago, even by Huxley, and there is no excuse for a "lucid and powerful intelligence" overlooking the fact. Moreover, organized science was not a bad second in thwarting scientific inquiry. Take the case of Darwin and Samuel Butler after **Life and Habit** was published. A long list of great scientists who suffered at the hands of organized science could easily be drawn up, but such an exercise has not powerfully attracted such men as Mr. Hogben and Lord Russell. At any rate, before the Reformation, whatever science we had sprang from the Church, and today the Jesuits themselves have proved that Science does not conflict with religion.

Nowhere in the work does our professor think it worth while to define the word wealth. Therefore, it is impossible for the reader to know what he is driving at. As this word has so much to do with the Age of Plenty he seeks, it seems absolutely necessary that a scientific humanist, before he launches his scheme, should know the substances with which he is dealing. In the laboratories at Aberdeen, presumably the students are clearly informed by the chemists of the nature of the elements used in experiments. A bio-chemist would be shocked to find a student proceeding with an experiment if he did not know what sodium was or what might happen when it came in contact with water. Can there be any excuse for a scientific humanist despising economics and neglecting to know the precise meaning of the term wealth?

Again, we receive a setback when we are told "the necessary desideratum is to define human needs consistently with the Darwinian doctrine." Which doctrine of Darwin's does Professor Hogben refer to? A course in Samuel Butler is surely necessary for the scientist who is under the impression that there is only one Darwinian doctrine. As we proceed through this highly entertaining series of essays, the fog becomes thicker and thicker. It is amusing to see it gather around the scientific humanist as he flounders about in (for him) uncharted domains. He tells us:

"The word plenty defined with reference to man's species needs has therefore a perfectly clear social meaning which remains in spite of the continued existence of Austrian economists. **Plenty is the excess of free energy over the collective calorie debt of human effort applied to securing the needs which all human beings share.**"

It never occurred to me that the plenty which I enjoy could be defined in this manner. It reminds me of the calorie rage at the depth of the depression, when a nurse in a hospital said to a wife visiting a sick man: "Have you had your calories today?" Her reply was, "No, I hate the things. I had a good square meal instead."

One of the essays starts with a question:

"People have stopped asking, Can capitalism survive? No intelligent individual under forty-five years of age imagines that it can. What is less certain is an answer to the question, Can the human race survive?"

"Can capitalism survive?" In some strange way it has survived since Marx and Engels began their work, and no matter what those under forty-five have to say about its future length of tenure, I do not mind prophesying that there will be scientific humanists a hundred years from now who will be asking the same stupid question. The reason these questions are asked is that the curious have never taken the trouble to inform themselves as to what capitalism is. Capitalism began, I presume, with the first tool that was made, being that part of wealth that aids in the production of more wealth. Recently in Anatolia, Professor Garstang and Dr. Burkitt uncovered tools of the sixth millenium B. C., and men have been lending tools to other men on the payment of interest for use and wear and tear ever since that time. And so long as tools can lighten labor, men will continue to carry on the system. Lenin learned a lot when he had to put into practice what had been tabulated on a blueprint. And so will Professor Hogben, when he begins. As for the human race, it will get over its present setback. It wriggled through the Black Death and the Great War; it witnessed the exploits of Caesar ("dead and turned to clay"); it survived the Reformation and the Thirty Years War; it saw the rise of Bonaparte, endured the butchery which took place from Moscow to Corunna, and it is now, with fortitude and unseemly tolerance, enduring the inflictions of the New Deal. And what is more, the human race, in spite of contraceptives, will rear children, send them to the wars and bury them in foreign lands. It will go on because this business is conducted by men whom scientific humanists have never taken the trouble to study. Anthropology is a science; medicine is a science; chemistry is a science; but the man dealt with by these branches of learning is not the man the politicians use. The man who carries on from age to age is the world enigma, the container of all the good and all the evil; the gentleman who confounds the philosopher is no specimen for an experiment in a laboratory conducted by scientists.

There is so much in these essays that might have been written by members of the Brain Trust that I sometimes think that Professor Hogben has taken an overdose of Tugwell, Soule and Chase. He makes the same glaring errors. Here is a sentence that might have been written by any one of these men:

"In view of the rising popularity of Fascist doctrines, it is important to emphasize that the distribution of purchasing power to increase the volume of effective demand is essentially different from the view held by the pioneers of Socialism fifty or a hundred years ago, and it would have been regarded by them as a capitulation to the prevailing doctrine of **laisser-faire**, against which they revolted."

Does Professor Hogben wish to convey the idea that Socialists at any time revolted against a system which did not exist?

Then he goes on to say:

"If Socialism accepts the distribution of purchasing power as its primary and sole concern, its success will merely aggravate the tendencies which have made capitalism a biological failure."

I commend this extraordinary sentence to the Privy Council of the White House. Corcoran and Cohen, might take to heart this extraordinary prophecy, for they are at present considering a larger distribution, according to some, as a means of consolidating the vote next November.

What on earth has capitalism to do with biological success or failure? Perhaps we may uncover the mystery in the following sentence: "The Marxist case against capitalism is that capitalism makes for increasing poverty." Now we know where to place the blame for biological failure. According to Hogben we must infer that poverty and its attendant ills are inflicted by the system which Socialists call capitalism. Surely this means that capitalism, desiring the production of more wealth so that more capital may be used, of set purpose determines that the people shall be impoverished and defeat the end for which capitalism is organized. It really means that capitalism is a system devised by men who persist in cutting off their noses to spite their faces. I venture to state that there never was a capitalist who did not desire whole-heartedly customers with plenty of money to spend. Our professor will have to look further and much deeper if he really wants to know why poverty keeps march with progress.

Nor could superficial rhetoric go further than this: "As I see it, capitalism is no longer a creative force." I defy any reasonable creature to say in precise terms what this sentence means. Why creative? Does Professor Hogben mean a productive force? What could capitalism create? It does not create land; it does not paint pictures, chisel statues, compose symphonies or write poems. These are not the jobs capitalists undertake. Moreover, capitalism is not an organization, no matter what may be said of combines and cartels. The comprehensive term is supposed to cover the activities of all capitalists no matter where they are. Sometimes he refers to capitalism as if it were an eleemosynary institution; again, as an educational establishment, or a Toynbee Hall or Cooper Institute. Very often in spite of his objection to organized Christianity before or after the Reformation, he gives one the impression that capitalism ought to be a Christian Endeavor association. But he seldom stops to explain; off he goes at a tangent, carried away by his exhilarating verbosity, and the result is that we get nothing but outright assertion—sheer statement—and, when all is said and done, there is scarcely anything touching economic, industrial and social conditions that hasn't been said over and over again since the Communist Manifesto was published. However, Professor Hogben says it all with an exuberance that is highly entertaining, for he is a great mathematician and Regius Professor of Natural History at the University of Aberdeen! Still, it is as true of Hogben as it is of ninety-five percent of our professors in schools of economics in our universities, that they should, when the weary day is over and the teaching task is done, repair to a night school where they may learn how to define simple economic terms and learn something of the fundamentals of production.

Professor Hogben is passing through the phase all Socialists must suffer at some time. We have seen in Lenin and Trotsky, in Kautsky and numbers of others since the World War a desire to re-fashion the worn-out props they have used. It amounts to this: if we must abandon the old shibboleth, let us find a new name for it and retain all its unquestionable features dressed in the height of fashion. No one will recognize the old strumpet in a new garb!

"Lebensraum" - Holland's Way and Hitler's

By SIDNEY J. ABELSON

There is an especially ironic note in the Nazi invasion of Holland. The Hitler sweep into the Netherlands serves to bring out in sharp relief a contrast between two antipodal methods of social conquest: one, the struggle of man against man; the other, the struggle of man against natural obstacles. The Nazis are seeking to enlarge their "Lebensraum" by wresting land from other peoples; the Dutch enlarged their "Lebensraum" by reclaiming land from the floor of the sea. The Zuider Zee project, on the way to completion when the military hordes swooped in from the East, is an epic feat of engineering and an eloquent testimonial to the civilized instincts of man.

It is perhaps worth while at this stage of history, when men through ignorance of the true laws of progress are striking out blindly and brutally in an effort to solve the problem of poverty, to picture this contrast and explain its significance. The Dutch example is a precept as well, though it is not likely that the example will be copied or the precept heeded by other nations until the energies of brute force have been fully spent and doctrines of enlightenment have taken their place as arbiters of social action.

As this is being written the fate of Holland remains unknown. But whichever way the tides of battle flow the fact will remain that when the Hollanders needed more living space they sought it in the undeveloped bounties of nature and not in plunder from fellow men. This is an old Dutch custom, for the Netherlanders have been expert in the reclamation of land for a thousand years. As a matter of fact almost half of this little country, which has a density of population that is exceeded by only one other nation (Belgium) lies below the level of

high tide water, while approximately one-fourth of her territory is underneath the line of mean sea level; hence the famous system of dikes.

No less than 550,000 acres of fertile land would have been added to the "Lebensraum" of Holland by completion of the Zuider Zee project. The Zuider Zee was a large gulf of the North Sea flanked on three sides by lowlands. Much of it is now fertile farmland cultivated like any other agricultural area and settled with farmsteads that to all appearances might just as well be a thousand miles inland instead of, as they are, on the floor of the sea, from 13 to 16 feet below mean water level.

The problem of converting the floor of a salt water sea into an agricultural settlement was an engineering one, noteworthy in itself; but more important is the social point of view which motivated it under such circumstances. Population pressure was a real problem in Holland. With an area of only 12,692 square miles her inhabitants number more than 8,500,000. The State of Maryland, having an area of 12,300 square miles, is nearly as large as the Netherlands, but it has less than one-fifth the population (1,631,500). The Dutch had the choice of reducing their standard of living, forcing their people to overseas colonies, begging the rest of the world for help—or reclaiming land from the angry North Sea. They chose the last policy. Whether the virtue of it will serve to bring its own reward is now a matter of conjecture, for the good work of the Hollanders will be so much more booty for Hitler if his Nazi machine is victorious.

Three hundred thousand people will be settled on the one-time floor of the Zuider Zee when all the reclamation work is completed. These will not all be farmers or members of farm families, for the settlement program calls for the normal development of villages and town activities which complement agriculture. Nor will the settlement of the land be in the nature of a hit-or-miss proposition: sampling of the ocean floor before the project was undertaken showed which sections are suitable for wheat growing, which for truck crops, or for pasture or for timberland. Thirty-four thousand such samples established scientifically the maximum usefulness of each portion of the reclaimed area.

Of especial interest to those who recognize the fundamental role that land plays in economic and social life is that provision had been made to prevent these advantages from accruing to the benefit of land speculators or monopolists. Though the land was not to be thrown on the open market, which of course would be the only way to determine its true value, the government had provided for the collection of an annual rental which might correspond roughly to the economic rent. Beginning at $12 per acre this rental was to be increased gradually in correspondence with increased productivity of the land until it reached a maximum of about $21 per acre. This procedure was not designed as a permanent policy, but rather as a method for retrieving the cost of the project; data on hand do not indicate whether with that goal achieved the land was or was not intended to become the private property of the farmers who worked it.

It must be observed that this is not strictly a land value taxation procedure, but it should likewise be noted that it recognizes one of the basic principles of land value taxation, that land speculation retards production. At least for some time to come there could have been no outright withholding of land from production, though it is difficult to see how private speculative profits could be avoided when a uniform rental is charged on land which despite its uniformity is bound to differ in productivity, if not for reasons of fertility, certainly for those of site advantage.

Inasmuch as the Nazi invaders, at this writing, have already reached the Zuider Zee, which had no major military protection, all discussion of its social objectives must be tentative or purely theoretical. Hitler is incapable of such a civilized constructive effort as the Zuider Zee project; his leadership, from the very start, has been devoted to destruction or preparation for destruction. One does not have to be a follower of George or a believer in land value taxation to recognize the polarities of human character brought out in this phase of the war, i.e. the invasion of Holland. On the one hand we see thrift and industry, on the other wanton wastefulness and a barbaric spirit of plunder. There it is, a lesson for the whole world to learn: the two ways to gain "Lebensraum"—Holland's and Hitler's.

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Hunger Problem Solved

It has taken a long time for social legislation to get into its stride, but at last we are begining to go places. Every child ought to have plenty of milk, so Pennsylvania's legislature has passed a law under which every family on relief has delivered to its door one pint of milk per day for each child under 16. The milk is paid for at 12c a quart by deducting that amount from the relief check. After the further deduction of rent, practically every family has at least $2.00 or $3.00 a month left for all other expenses.

This is a good beginning, but of course children need solid food too. So we suggest that at its next session the Pennsylvania legislature consider the following bill:

"It shall henceforth be illegal for any family receiving public relief to contain any infant, babe, baby, suckling, papoose, bambino, child, tot, little one, mite, pickaninny, kid, urchin, youth, boy, lad, youngster, girl, lass, wench, miss, maid, or any young person whatsoever which shall be undernourished, underfed, emaciated, stinted, hungry, famished, starved, ravenous, or in any way insufficiently supplied with sustenance.

"Any parent who fails to comply with the provisions of this act shall be incarcerated in the jail, prison, penitentiary, dungeon, coop, house of correction, cooler, clink, can, jug, and any other place of detention until he shall have complied."

If this works, its well-conceived and far-seeing provisions can be extended later so as to take care of adults also. Other states will follow suit, and at last there will be no more malnutrition in the United States. What are we waiting for? for?

—PAUL PEACH

Why Rich Alaska is Poor

By DONALD MacDONALD

The author of this article has spent twenty years in Alaska as a road engineer. And as a student of economics he has had ample opportunity to observe the effects of economic maladjustment in the development of the territory. Another article on Alaska is in preparation.

Alaska's eighty thousand population, half of which is Indian and Esquimo, produces one hundred million dollars in wealth annually. Between seventy and eighty millions of this production is exported. Taking the population as a whole (the natives hardly figure in the industrial picture), these highly efficient producers generate annually $1,250 worth of wealth for every man, woman and child in the Territory. The average in the United States is $540. Assuming a ratio of one person in five "gainfully employed," evidently a very high ratio for Alaska, each producer is putting out $6666 in commodity values annually; of which he sends $5000 worth to the great "Outside."

The figures would indicate that the Alaskans, even after their generosity had relieved them of five-sixths of their production, must be a very prosperous people. They are **not.** The United States Government spends a larger per capita amount for relief in Alaska than in any other part of the nation. Basic wages are at the subsistence level.

Congressmen, bureaucrats, government "economists," journalists and all the motley crew of governmentally-paid world-savers that have visited Alaska recently never mention the anomaly of high per capita production and low wages. Neither local labor unions, nor big hearted local politicians, nor the people themselves have noted this tragic contradiction.

Why is it that the production of Alaska reaches such tremendous figures? Is it because of the efficiency of Alaskan labor? Alaskan labor, the labor of free men working under free access to natural resources was marvellously efficient. The frontiersman has to be. But the condition that caused this efficiency has passed. Its momentum carried through for a while; later these same frontiersmen penned themselves in by a wall of phoney mining claim titles and other legal devices whereby one man can charge another for being on the Earth. But the old frontiersman is either dead or dying.

The labor of Alaska (while still more efficient than "outside" labor because it still has a little freedom left) cannot account for this tremendous production. Is capital the cause of this significant disparity between production in Alaska and production elsewhere throughout the world? The instruments of production cannot, in themselves, produce more in one part of the world than another. What then is the factor that furnishes this tremendous stimulus to production? There is only one left: **the land,** the natural resources of Alaska.

THE LAND-GRAB SYSTEM

Therefore, it is evident that only in its system of land tenure can we hope to understand Alaska's tragic anomaly. The working Alaskans have been robbed by an economic invisible man just as bestial as that creature of the Wellsian imagination; with the exception that the Alaskan Invisible Man is protected in his depredations by the State.

The system of land acquisition and tenure in the Territory is based primarily on the fraud by which Russia obtained title to Alaska in the first place, and passed it on to the United States for seven million two hundred thousand dollars. Title to mining land is supposed to rest on discovery and use. But the Alaskan practice contains only the last vestigial remnant of the old California pioneer requirements—emasculated through the years by designing lawyers, politicians and speculators, who sought to share, without labor, in the hard won gold of discoverers and working miners. Under the old system an actual discovery had to be made. Under the new system only the statement that a discovery has been made is necessary. Under the old system a miner who absented himself from his ground for forty-eight hours (unless he employed some one to represent him and continue mining) lost his title. Under the new system the ground holder is supposed to do $100 worth of developing work every year. Actually this is rarely done. To merely swear that the work has been done is much easier. That is the general practice.

As a matter of fact the writer knows of instances where men have contracted with owners of mining ground to do their work for 25 to 50 dollars a claim. If anyone questions the validity of a holding the burden of proof rests on him, and the decisions show that the court is only too favorable towards the claim holder. I have never heard of any investigation of this system of perjury and fraud by the government. Engineers of the Geological Surveys of the United States Government have condemned the system in their reports. T. A. Rickard, probably the best known mining engineer of his day, after describing it in his History of American Mining, condemned the set-up in these words: "This is a striking example of privilege under a government frequently termed a democracy. Alaska is plastered with claims belonging to men that have done and do nothing while others do the work from which the idle owners gather a rich tribute in gold."

There are no taxes at all on the land of Alaska, outside the cities. It is a speculators' paradise. For survey fees amounting to about $500 mineral lands may be patented, and then even the assessment of $100 worth of labor annually is no longer required. Owners of patented claims have no obligation, pay no tax. Even after they have abandoned the ground, or have died, their titles persist. Frequently these patented

claims lie in the midst of developing areas; but the ground is under a taboo just as absurd as the Mahoni ground of the Indians.

THE MATANUSKA MISTAKE

Agricultural land tenure follows the same general pattern. Of the hundreds of thousands of acres held not ten per cent are in cultivation. Most of the ground was staked purely with the idea of charging someone else for using it. This was particularly true of the land served by the railroad at Matanuska where the famous Colony now is. This whole area had been staked years before the Colony was thought of. At the Colony's inception, of 60,000 acres of the area classified as arable, 43,000 were owned, only sixteen hundred acres were in use. Of the two hundred and twenty owners ninety had left the Territory, "addresses unknown." Many were dead and their heirs were unwitting owners of areas in Matanuska.

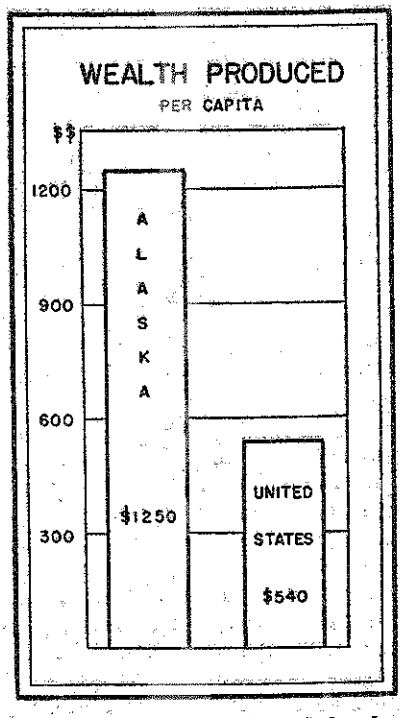
The Matanuska project was superimposed on such a foundation. This despite the fact that I had advised the Territorial authorities, as well as those at Washington, of the existing conditions. All the land necessary for the Colony was sixteen square miles. But because many owners of the land could not be apprehended, and others held out for high prices, the Colony was scattered over one hundred and sixty square miles. This scattering of the Colony involved additional roads, and resulted in perpetual economic distortion. For instance, it costs $20,000 a year to transport the children of one hundred and sixty families to and from school; this is just one easily apprehended economic result, but probably the least important.

Well, there you are—the land tenure system of Alaska—land title without taxes or other obligation. Designed for bears to get all the honey from the bees—and everyone imagines himself, or hopes to be, a bear.

I forgot to mention fish trap sites. These are automatic devices of piling wire and nets, so located in the coastal currents and directly contingent to the land that they catch salmon automatically. They are, of course, worth millions of dollars. I doubt whether the Territory or the Federal Government gets enough out of these sites to pay for keeping track of them.

THE FISCAL SYSTEM

Since land has been so carefully exempted the only other revenue sources are labor products, earned income and per capita taxes. From these the Territory derives annually two million seven hundred thousand dollars. This small amount is hardly adequate for Territorial needs, yet in great part it is robbery from those that have already been pitilessly robbed by the land system.



The great objective is not development, but speculative ownership. So Alaska has been "staked," homesteaded and grabbed, wherever there seems to be a present or future prospect of charging some one for the use of the Earth. A road or an airplane field cannot be built without its adjacent lands being filed upon by people who in nearly all cases have none but speculative purposes in mind. Would-be producers have the alternative of buying land or being forced back beyond thousands of acres of unused land to so-called "free" land. These "free" lands, remote from roads, require just as much in present energy to develop as the money accumulated from past energy is required to purchase the owned lands. Such lands therefore are not "free" at all.

I am speaking now more particularly of agricultural land; but the same holds true or is even more exaggerated with mineral land. The formula for making a fortune in Alaska is to follow a "Swede" about to sink a hole and to set stakes all around him (i. e., file on the ground so that if he makes a discovery you will be in on it). When he comes up out of the hole he may find himself trapped like a ground squirrel. There are fifty thousand unpatented and about six thousand patented claims in the Territory, and these comprise all the known gold deposits.

ALASKA'S INVISIBLE MAN

And so the outlines of the Invisible Man emerge. He works through this private, unqualified, highly questionable ownership of the highly productive sites of Alaska. This gives him the legal right to the private appropriation of economic rent, presumably forever. Through this privilege (which includes the right to hold resources out of use) Alaskans are robbed of their production. Nor is it necessary for the whole of Alaska to be privately owned. All that is necessary is to expropriate all the land upon which man can make a living. Even the old iron law of wages insuring enough for the reproduction of more slaves is often inapplicable, for hundreds come up from the "Outside" imbued with the idea they will find free land again on the Frontier. Trapped, they work for less than subsistence wages.

Alaska should be a Utopia for the working man. It is a Utopia for the parasitical speculator. Never at any time in history has there been such a superficially ideal set-up. Practically all the costs of government are either borne by the people of the United States, or are derived from salmon taxes paid by the "outside" consumer, or from taxes upon gold purchased by the Federal Government. The road system, the airplane fields, the administration of justice, the first cost of the seventy-five million dollar Alaskan R. R., the school system ouside the city limits, are paid for almost altogether by

For Brinking and Hell-Raising

By JANE WEISS

In an article that appeared in the April issue of **The Freeman** entitled "Against Brinking and Hell-Warning," Janet Rankin Aiken decried the desire of some Georgists for action as a "hurry-hurry" attitude that was quite incompatible with the teachings and spirit of Henry George. Dr. Aiken defined as "brinkers and hell-warners" all those who tell us that our civilization is turning backward into barbarism and that we had better do some constructive work promptly if we wish to save it and ourselves. Dr. Aiken says that such an attitude is unwarranted.

Perhaps I am a "brinker" but Dr. Aiken's article neither convinced nor soothed me. Let us examine her arguments—not in order to justify "brinking and hell-warning"—but in order to find truth.

First, she says that the "hell-warning" attitude is incompatible with what has been called "our amateur standing," and that "it is bringing us perceptibly closer to a state of demagoguery."

Now an amateur standing, beyond a certain point, may easily deteriorate into a dilettante standing, a sort of other-worldly academicism that is directly opposed to the philosophy of economic freedom. It is an impossible position for social reformers. It is the position of those who defend the status quo and who cry "Peace, peace" when there is no peace.

Nor is there danger of demagoguery in facing facts. It may take a civilization longer than a man to die, but that civilizations have withered and died in the past is a sad but familiar truth, and that our own civilization is slowing down and in some respects reverting to barbarism is an alarming truth that confronts us today wherever we turn. Constructive tendencies have diminished if not ceased. Private enterprise is dwindling; business is marking time, capital is hiding; labor is begging or is turning highwayman; standards of living have ceased to rise; with mounting poverty, disease, crime, and desperation, fear is mounting, and with it intolerance and a reactionary desire for security above all else. Destructive tendencies are increasing. Bureaucracies are growing; economic wars with their weapons of tariffs and the exploitation of weaker peoples have blazed into total wars with their myriad weapons of physical and moral destruction. Men and nations are seeking refuge in a self-sufficiency that is opposed to the exchange economy of civilization, a self-sufficiency that is in spirit and must eventually be in fact, barbarism.

Can we ignore these signs? And are they demagogues who remind us of them? No one in our movement is asking us to trust him blindly. Our philosophy of freedom excludes "fuehrers." We know what we want, and how we propose to get it. We write our own tickets, figuratively and literally.

Dr. Aiken says the "Georgist principles have plenty of time to grow and spread just because they are true, and the truth is the only thing that can afford to wait . . . the Georgist is occupied in the leisurely task of puncturing illusions."

Perhaps truth can afford to wait, but can we? Can we afford to hold truth back? Are we so satisfied with ourselves and our world that we want nothing more than "peace in our time"? Can we even be sure of that? The destructive forces of monopoly, special privilege, entrenched conservatism, and ruthless power-seeking are working unceasingly, with every weapon at their command, and with the weight of accumulated error on their side.

Every act of our lives, from what we deem the greatest to what we think the least significant, has an effect on ourselves and on the world, an effect for progress or against it. We must be sure we are not holding ourselves back; we must be sure we are not neglecting weapons and opportunities to use them that will genuinely advance the cause of freedom. We must so improve our technique that every action counts for what we want it to. We cannot afford to be fumblers.

This does not mean that we have to hurry, fear, resent, or worry. On the contrary, such feelings are the result of loose thinking, lack of constuctive ideas,—in short, bad tech-

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the United States Treasury. (50% of the costs of education inside the cities are borne by taxes on "outside" consumers through the canned salmon taxes).

In addition to all these levies on Americans living in the States, the value of gold has been increased 69%. That's what "devaluation" has meant to Alaska. The government arbitrarily increased the price of gold from twenty dollars to about thirty-four dollars an ounce. To get this gift from dear old Santa Claus one must be an owner of gold mining ground. And it is not necessary to live in Alaska to get it.

Most of the placer ground of the Fairbanks District, which is the largest area being mined, has been owned for many years. The boost in gold prices enabled owners to charge miners a higher rent for the privilege to work. Wages remained practically stationary. Money wages per hour in other districts actually diminished. This gift of sixty-nine percent in the arbitrary price of gold has amounted to many millions, and it will amount to many millions more, but only the gold ground owner will get it. **The invisible man is becoming visible.**

THE POOR VICTORS

It can be seen that if in the United States we could have our roads built and maintained by a conquered nation, if we could shift to that nation also the cost of maintaining justice and education, if we could have the value of our principal commodities increased 69% in an unlimited market, wages would remain the same. All the working man and the developing capitalist would get out of it would be exercise. The entire benefit would be completely absorbed by the landowners.

nique. But we should not overlook any legitimate means at our command to accomplish our purpose, the removal of all restrictions on production and the collection of community-produced values for community revenues.

Our task is to teach, to show others the way to freedom, to justice, to civilization. The most effective way of teaching is the two-edged method of preaching and example. The best way to puncture illusions is to **demonstrate** the truth. We may preach the desired end clearly and persuasively, but if, when asked, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" we evade the question or belittle it as a detail to be worked out later, we immediately forfeit all the interest and enthusiasm we have labored to arouse. People feel disappointed and melt away murmuring something about "Utopian schemes." Certainly this is not striking while the iron is hot. Indeed, it leaves the impression that we have no tools with which to strike.

This technique of preaching and practice was the method of Henry George himself. We honor him not only because of what he said, but also because of what he did to back up his words. The French Physiocrats of the eighteenth century in many respects preached the same doctrine that George did. So, in part, did Adam Smith. So, also, did Herbert Spencer. They preceded Henry George. Yet today, it is the name of George, the man of letters and action, that is the standard and symbol of the philosophy of freedom. The tremendous following he gained when he went into action, the carry-over of which is the existence of the Henry George schools throughout the world today, is proof of his own words, ". . . to secure the most general and most effective discussion of a principle it must be embodied in concrete form and presented in practical politics so that men being called to vote on it shall be forced to think and talk about it." *

*Protection or Free Trade p. 319

The Book Trail

SIDNEY J. ABELSON

Quite properly, as I see it, the publishers these days are issuing a steady stream of books designed to provide the general reader with at least a bird's eye view of economics —that mysterious compendium of facts, figures and fancies which seems to have such a profound influence on his life. What good will come of this generous outpouring remains to be seen.

Last month I had the duty, an unpleasant one, of speaking out plainly about Professor Fairchild's distinctly minor opus "Economics For The Millions," a volume which the New York Times reviewer, Hazlitt, referred to as offering "socialism for the credulous," and which another contemporary, The New Masses, damned with faint praise, the praise being for Fairchild's belief in socialism as a goal and the damnation a consequence of his trapezing off the Party line.

And now I have up for consideration another volume on elementary economics, Mildred Adams' "Getting and Spending" (The Macmillian Co. $.60). Subtitled "The ABC of Economics" this work employs a style and a technique with which one cannot find fault, given the purpose of simplifying economic science for the layman.

However, the author who makes no effort to be original, but sticks pretty closely to explanation and exposition, suffers the tragic fate of a student who at an examination copies the wrong answers from over the shoulder of his classmate. The men who control capital, says Mildred Adams, control the other factors in production, namely land and labor. Also in tune with the reigning doctrine, she puts forth the "enterpriser" as a separate factor concerned with handling "all the other three factors in combination," and rewarded for this service with "profits."

I have to ask again this perennial question which Georgists should not hesitate to repeat at every turn, "Where does production begin?" The auother of "Getting and Spending" provides a sound answer: she says, "Land supplies the materials for production. Labor goes to work on them, reforms them, recombines them . . . Without labor, land has no economic existence. Without land, labor has no economic existence. Without land, labor has nothing to work on." And then in the next paragraph, "Capital is, from a physical point of view, dependent on the other two (factors). Without land and labor it would have no existence."

We see then, that control over capital is merely control over land and labor once removed—that is the only conclusion to be drawn from an admission that "without land and labor 'capital' would have no existence." When this logic is followed a step further, it becomes plain that since the natural workshop of labor is land, it is necessary to control only land to control labor as well. The conclusion, therefore, is inescapable, that the crux of this whole question of economic control is the system of land ownership. Further, to say that the "enterpriser" performs a qualititively different type of labor and therefore is a separate factor in production is like insisting that you see with eyeglasses—it is to impute a basic function to an auxiliary accessory—it is not the "enterpriser" or the "capitalist" who starts the economic process—not any more than eyeglasses start the seeing process.

Trite perhaps, but tried and true is the statement that production begins on the land—and that that is where prosperity begins as well. Thus, however adroitly the "ABC of Economics" is presented, if that "ABC" does not represent realistic fundamentals, the effort is so much talent wasted—or worse.

Workers on Relief—By Grace Adams. Yale University Press. $3.00.

Here is a case-history diagnosis of the W. P. A.—an exposition of people in distress, desperately seeking refuge in government guardianship. Unfortunately, security of this nature, that is, security based upon the paternalism of the State.

leaves its beneficiaries increasingly dependent upon government, and by no means solves the original problem of insecurity. One can not be said to be secure, in any civilized sense, in a shelter from which there is no prospect of escape.

Why do not advocates of State-controlled enterprises ask themselves. "What will induce these W. P. A. workers to leave the 'Security' of their government jobs voluntarily?" The obvious answer is, better pay and at least equal security. Such being the case, practical common sense should induce students of economic problems to seek a source of higher wages and greater security, instead of trusting in the acknowledged inefficiency and wastefulness of the W. P. A., if they really intend that government interference should be temporary.

The author does not probe this broader aspect of the economic question, but she does present a workmanlike picture of the W. P. A. from one important viewpoint, and thereby provides valuable material for the social philosopher.

V. STRACH

Books in Brief

The New Deal In Action 1933-1939. By Arthur Meier Schlesinger. The Macmillan Co. 60 cents.

A brief survey of the New Deal as it has expressed itself in concrete action rather than theoretical discussion. With a select bibliography of books treating of The Great Depression in its various phases.

* * *

Lest Freedom Fail. By Nathan Ayer Smyth. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.75.

An analysis of the present-day drift toward totalitarianism and of the problems which follow as a consequence and endanger or menace freedom of the individual.

* * *

The Organic State. By Ross J. S. Hoffman. Sheed & Ward. $1.50. "An historical view of contemporary politics" with emphasis on the questions raised by new types of statecraft and democracy's struggle for survival.

* * *

War Without Violence. By Krishnalal Shridharani. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $2.50.

A timely study of the Gandhi method of non-violent direct action (satyagraha), what it is, what it has done and how it might be applied to problems in the Western democracies.

* * *

Food and Life. Published by The United States Department of Agriculture. $1.50.

The Yearbook of Agriculture, in which Secretary Wallace asserts that "fifty per cent of the people of the United States do not get enough of dairy products, fruits and vegetables to enable them to enjoy full vigor and health, and a large number do not get enough because they cannot afford it." Excluding the Secretary's Introduction, "Food and Life" contains more than 1100 pages of fascinating information on the problems of human and animal nutrition.

* * *

Democracy and World Dominion. By Edwin D. Schoonmaker. Richard S. Smith. $3.00.

An analysis of foreign policy as a factor in causing war, covering the imperial development of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Italy, and suggesting an attitude for the United States to keep out of war.

* * *

Prologue to Politics. By Charles E. Merriam. The University of Chicago Press. $1.50.

A search for "the truth that lies somewhere between the doctrine that force has no place in human association, and the doctrine that might makes right."

* * *

European Jungle. By F. Yates-Brown. Macrae Smith Company. $3.00.

An analysis of the events leading up to the present European conflict.

* * *

An American Exodus. By Dorothea Lange and Paul S. Taylor. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.50.

A pictorial "record of human erosion" calling attention to a national problem treated in John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath."

* * *

The Danger of Being a Gentleman—and Other Essays. By Harold J. Laski. The Viking Press. $2.75.

A collection of articles on world political and social questions, including a sympathetic piece on "Law and Justice in Soviet Russia" (written in 1935, before the famous trials).

* * *

The Way Out of War. By César Saerchinger. The Macmillan Co. 60 cents.

The causes of war in general and of the present war in particular analyzed by the former European director of The Columbia Broadcasting System, with concrete suggestions on how the United States can remain neutral. Maps by Emil Herlin.

* * *

An American Looks at Karl Marx. By William J. Blake. The Cordon Company, Inc.

A lengthy, sympathetic study of Marxian economics. Discusses in detail Marx's doctrine and the various criticisms of it, including those of Max Hirsch and Henry George.

* * *

Turning Points in Business Cycles. By Leonard P. Ayres. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

A "combination of historical and statistical analyses with economic reasoning" designed to explain the cause of depressions.

John Kieran Rings the Bell

NEW YORK—Just to please John Kieran, sports columnist for The New York Times, mainstay of the board of experts of radio's "Information Please" program and authority on the classics of English literature, Mortimer J. Adler, author of the best-seller, "How to Read a Book," is going to work Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" back into his list of the hundred classics of human thought.

Mr. Adler, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago and a leader of the neo-Thomist school of philosophy in America, apologized to the convention of the American Booksellers Association here on May 13 for leaving out George's masterpiece from his selected list. He explained that the pressure of other masterpices of human thought, in the humanities and the physical and biological as well as the social sciences, made it necessary to keep the list in a workable range.

Mr. Kieran, who followed Mr. Adler as a speaker, remonstrated with him for the omission. He had not read "Progress and Poverty" in college, he said, and although he always wanted to get around to it, he never did until recently and had to work out his own idea of what a single tax system ought to be like. But not so long ago he got around to reading George's classic and not only found that George's single tax system was far superior to the Kieran anticipation of it but that George had written a book that, aside from its system, was a great piece of English literature that could not be ignored, he said.

"I don't follow everything George says but I do think he says a lot of things we in our day ought to ponder," Mr. Kieran said.

When Mr. Kieran finished speaking, Mrs. Irita Van Doren, editor of Books, book section of The New York Herald Tribune, who was presiding, announced that in a whispered conversation at the speakers' table Mr. Adler had promised to restore "Progress and Poverty" to his list on the next revision of his book, out of deference to Mr. Kieran.

The Freeman

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FRANK CHODOROV
Editor

SIDNEY J. ABELSON
Associate Editor

Assistant Editors

C. O. Steele John Lawrence Monroe
Harry Gunnison Brown Sandy Wise
Jessie T. Matteson A. C. Matteson, Jr.

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NEWS OF THE CRUSADE FOR ECONOMIC ENLIGHTENMENT

Edited by Sandy Wise

New York Graduates to Hear Francis Neilson; View World Premiere of "No Sunday For Friday"

Veteran Georgist, Former M. P., to Speak

NEW YORK—Hon. Francis Neilson, whose article "Dangerous Thoughts—Without Dynamite" appears in this issue of **The Freeman**, will address the graduates of the HGSSS, New York, at their commencement exercises to be held June 3rd at the Cafe Loyale. Mr. Neilson will speak on "Henry George—the Scholar," the subject being one which this veteran follower of George feels has been neglected. As a member of the British parliament during the last war, as author, scholar, business man, orator, Mr. Neilson has devoted much of his life to furthering the cause of Georgism. He is coming from Chicago especially for this occasion. Georgists who are familiar with Mr. Neilson's oratorical powers are anticipating a real treat.

Snappy Georgist Playlet to Entertain Graduates

Another outstanding feature designed to add a gala flavor to the evening will be the world premiere of "No Sunday for Friday," a Georgist playlet with a "musical comedy touch," fresh from the the pens of Edwin and Laura Ross. Sixteen characters disport in philosophic freedom on a South Sea Isle, playing havoc with conventions in the hope of making this world a really delightful place in which to live. Everything turns out all right in the end, but there's plenty of unusual excitement until the end is reached. There's just "No Sunday for Friday"—unless? Tickets for the Commencement are still available. Just call the School office—Murray Hill 4-6270—and say "2 on the aisle." ($1.50 each, including a first rate dinner.) Time 6:30 P. M., Monday evening, June 3rd.

Problems First; Solutions Follow

BOSTON, Mass.—On May 17 the Boston Extension held a general meeting of all graduates and others interested in the HGSSS to plan and provide for an increase to 25 classes the coming season. There were 10 classes this Spring.

A new method of organizing classes is to be inaugurated. In the past all plans for classes were predicated on the amount of money on hand. This year objectives will be set down first; then the cost will be computed; and finally a drive to raise the required funds will get under way.

Principal speaker at the meeting was Mr. Reginald Zalles of New York. Others who addressed the gathering were Dr. Chas. R. Morgan, E. S. Jeffries and Harold J. Power.

California, Here We Come

LOS ANGELES—It may turn out to be just another scheme for "soaking the rich" in a futile effort to use the swag as "bread and circuses" for the poor; but whatever it is or turns out to be, it sounds mighty likt a George: Gov. Culbert Olson of California, so said the news report, proposed the application of a progressive land tax on idle properties owned by speculating landlords in order to make such areas available for settlement by relief families. The Governor was said to have instructed two official agencies, the State Planning Board and the State Division of Natural Resources to ascertain all acreage being withheld from use.

"Dinner-Talk Fest"

JAMAICA, L. I.—The sixth reunion "Dinner-Talk Fest" was held on May 18, at the Diplomat Restaurant, Jamaica. Master of Ceremonies—C. O. Steele. Speakers: Hon. William N. McNair—"What Price Government?"; Harry Weinberger—"Liberty's Blackout—the Destruction of Civilization"; Spencer Heath—"The Science of Society"; Vincent McLean on "Correct Thought before Right Action." Certificates were distributed to those completing the Fundamental Course in the ten winter classes.

Wins Honors in Essay Contest

CHICAGO—Fred J. Leverenz, an instructor of the HGSSS, won third honors in a nation-wide essay contest sponsored by the Rotary Club of Chicago on the subject, "What Is the Solution to the Problem of the Employee, Employer and the Public?" This subject was discussed in the Town Meeting of the Air on February 22. Mr. Leverenz participated in the contest as a member of the Kiwanis Club.

Berkeley Holds Graduation

BERKELEY, Cal.—Graduation exercises were held on April 29 in the Alden Library for the graduates of the Berkeley Extension of the HGSSS. Announcement has been made of advanced courses to be offered in Berkeley beginning May 8.

Australian Centenary Report

SYDNEY, N.S.W.—Copies of the official report on the Australian Centenary Conference are available to students at 3|6d. each.

The Letter Barrage Continues

Letters continue to arrive from all parts of the country, indicating the nation-wide interest in spreading the philosophy of Henry George . . . from the New York World-Telegram comes a letter by PAUL EUGENE MUELLER, of Brooklyn, in which he propounds the Georgist conception of freedom in contradistinction to the use of the word by Socialists. . . . Again JOHN T. GIDDINGS, of East Providence, offers the solution to one of our many national economic problems—this time the farm problem. In his letter to the Providence Sunday Journal he gives an alternative to the campaign promise of nominee Taft of further governmental control of farm prices. Mr. Giddings suggested letting supply and demand operate in the market and removing the evils which prevent their natural function. . . . NATHAN HILLMAN, Extension Secretary of the HGSSS of Hartford, Conn., had a letter published in the Hartford Newsdaily in which he advocates that the members of the newspaper staff enroll for the course in Fundamental Economics. . . . An excellent letter was published in the Philadelphia Ledger in which its writer, HAROLD SUDELL, points out that the unearned increment in the rise of land values in Manhattan since its inception has been a colossal robbery of both capital and labor amounting to millions. . . . CLAYTON C. BAUER, of Spencerport, N. Y., recently conducted a controversy with the editor of the Rochester Times-Union in which he debated the question of economic evils from the Georgist standpoint. . . . A letter by WALTER A. VERNEY, of Roslindale, in the Boston Traveler, pointed out the false distinction between taxpayers and non-taxpayers, inasmuch as everybody pays taxes. . . . The Hartford Courant publishes a brilliant letter from EDWIN Z. LESH in which Mr. Lesh propounds the fundamental difference between socialism and democracy. . . . A. P. ANDERSON, in a letter to the Chicago Daily News, shows that the foundation for poverty in this country was laid in Colonial times and that Henry George gives the solution to the problem. . . . CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL!

Pulling 'em in

NEW YORK—Monday, May 20, the Leaflet Distribution Committee resumes its activities, in preparation for the summer courses. Fifteen volunteers, working in pairs, will distribute pamphlets and enrollment cards in front of the New York Public Library, in an effort to increase attendance at the School in an inexpensive way. This method brought gratifying results last term when it was tried on a small scale; this time 10,000 cards will be distributed.

Chicago's New Headquarters Revives Stirring Memories; Larger Space Leased at 64 W. Randolph Street

CHICAGO—May 1 was moving day for the Chicago Extension of the HGSSS.

The new headquarters at 64 West Randolph Street comprises a large classroom easily accommodating 40 students, a commodious reception and work room, and an office.

Twice as much space is available as at the old address, 139 N. Clark St., where the headquarters had been located for the past fifteen months. Additional space was vitally needed to serve the growing number of classes in Chicago and suburbs. The headquarters is not only a clearing house for the teaching staff but for the increasing number of volunteer secretaries.

In leasing the new headquarters the Chicago trustees were at first unaware that they were repeating history. For more than twenty years this address was the focal point of Georgist activities in the middle west under the leadership of the old Single Tax Club. Room 508, Schiller Building, was the meeting place for all local and visiting Georgists from the time prior to the death of Henry George until 1917, when World War I stopped progress.

The School headquarters are in Suite 600-601. The building is now known as the Garrick Building.

The weekly meetings of the old Single Tax Club in Schiller Hall oftentimes had an attendance of 500, Melvyn J. Foyer reports. A visit from George C. Madison, once secretary of the old Single Tax Club, stirred his memories of a Georgist dance in 1903 which so packed the hall that plans for a grand march had to be abandoned.

Presidents of the old Single Tax Club included Hiram B. Loomis, now president of the Chicago board of trustees of the HGSSS; Franklin Wentworth, School supporter in Boston; and the late Leon Hornstein, former Corporation Counsel for Chicago.

Classes are held in the new headquarters every evening Monday through Friday, except Tuesday which is reserved for meetings and extra curricular activities of the alumni. The monthly meetings of the Henry George Fellowship are on the first Tuesday of each month. The monthly meetings of the Henry George Woman's Club are on the second Tuesday of each month.

The office is open daily except Sunday from twelve to two p.m.

Philadelphia Secretary Speaks at Swarthmore

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Julian P. Hickok, Secretary of the Philadelphia Extension, spoke at Swarthmore, Pa., on April 28 on the subject "Social Justice and the Land Problem." Mr. Hickok also spoke to the Wednesday Club in Philadelphia on May 8 on "Significance of Declaration of Independence."

Full Page Write-up

NEW YORK: "League News," official publication of The New York League of Girls Clubs, Inc., devoted a full page of its May issue to a write-up of the HGSSS. The author of the article, Miss Sara Wald, civic editor of the publication, will be among the graduates at the New York commencement ceremonies on June 3.

Speakers Bureau Reports

Dorothy Sara, Secretary of the Speakers Bureau, reports the following bookings:

Apr. 26—Grace Isabel Colbron at Forum, Hotel Anderson, N. Y., on "Has Democracy Failed?"

May 3—David Hyder at Marxist Group, Elmhurst, L. I., on "Economics of Henry George."

May 14—Ernest Fein at Sunnyside Jewish Center, Long Island, on "Youth's Hope in Democracy."

June 2—Henry A. Lowenberg at Little Mt. Zion Baptist Church, N. Y. on "Democracy—How to Achieve It."

Chicago Plans Ahead

CHICAGO—The mid-term teachers meeting of the Chicago Extension of the HGSSS will be held at the new headquarters, 64 W. Randolph St., on Saturday, May 25 at 2 P.M.

That evening the alumni dinner and dance of the Henry George Fellowship will be held in the Italian Room of the Allerton Hotel.

Representatives of all current classes will confer on plans for the commencement and for the classes of the next term on the following Saturday, June 1, 2 p.m. at the new headquarters.

The spring term commencement will be held on Thursday evening, June 27 in the Recital Hall of the Auditorium Building, 431 S. Wabash Ave. Frank Chodorov, editor of The Freeman and director of the HGSSS, will be the speaker.

Plans are being made for the starting of summer classes open to current high school graduates and college students.

Summer Term—June 17

NEW YORK—Classes in Fundamental Economics will be conducted during the summer, beginning June 17, at 7:30 P. M., from Monday through Thursday. Some special classes in the "Science of Political Economy," and several Teachers Training classes, will be the only advanced work until the fall term. Classes for high school graduates will be held during the daytime.

Advanced Classes in New Jersey

NEWARK, N. J.—Following the completion of the ten-weeks course in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy recently in N. J. the five-weeks course in Principles of International Trade is now being offered in the following centers: Bloomfield, Elizabeth, Hackensack, Irvington, Kearny, Montclair, North Arlington, Orange, Perth Amboy, Union City and Dover. A course in "The Science of Political Economy" will be conducted during the summer, to be followed by a Teachers Training class for these graduates who wish to join the teaching staff.

New Jersey Graduates 180

NEWARK, N. J.—The New Jersey alumni arranged a dinner to celebrate the graduation of 180 students from the spring term of classes. The dinner was held at the Hamilton Restaurant, Broad Street, Newark on Monday, May 13th.

Mac V. Edds, instructor, was chairman and Mrs. Anna George de Mille, George L. Rusby and Leon Arpin were the guest speakers. Each of the sixteen classes elected a representative who spoke briefly, expressing a variety of opinions about the benefits received from the course and their unanimous desire to assist in advancing the work of the School.

This was the largest graduating class in New Jersey, bringing the total in that State to 650. Plans for 25 classes in the Fall were announced at the dinner.

Hamilton and Tideman Speak

CHICAGO—Edwin Hamilton, instructor of the HGSSS, addressed the American Legion Post in the Sherman House on Monday evening, April 15. His subject was The American Constitution. Mr. Hamilton is a member of the American Legion. Arrangements for the talk were made by William J. Tefo, Commander of the Post. Mr. Tefo is a current student in the Austin Library class.

Henry L. T. Tideman, director of the Chicago extension, spoke before the Young People's Group of the Fourth Presbyterian Church on Sunday evening, April 28. His topic was "An Economist Looks at Christ."

On Tuesday evening, April 23, Mr. Tideman was the guest speaker of the Traffic Men's Association, on the subject "An American Economic Philosophy."

MacDonald Returns to Alaska

NEW YORK—Some fifty students and teachers attended an impromptu farewell on April 27 for Mr. and Mrs. Donald MacDonald of Alaska at the Warriner-Matteson apartments. New Yorkers reluctantly parted from the MacDonalds to the tune of "He's got his pack, Alaska Mac, and he's bound for God's country," written by Lloyd Buchman.

Putting the School First

By LOUIS WALLIS

Any speaker sent out or booked by the School should try to make the audience conscious of the School as clearly and emphatically as possible, with a view to getting the largest number of enrollments. The speaker's primary object, of course, is to make the audience feel and see the problem which Georgism attempts to solve. But there is nothing like establishing a direct connection between the audience and the School. The question is how to do this in the best way.

A highly important psychological fact which must be held in mind is, that any audience has only a limited amount of "effective attention-energy." For instance, let us suppose that the speaker presents the main subject as well as he can. Then, at the end of the talk, he mentions the School and informs the audience that any one who cares to do so may come forward and sign a card which will bring a free course on economics by mail. A few will come forward and do as suggested. But the objections to this procedure are (1) that the effective attention-energy of the audience has now been absorbed into the main subjects, and (2) that a certain amount of inertia has to be overpowered and neutralised in order actually to bring a person to the front. The result is that the School appears to be a mere, casual afterthought which does not link itself up with the main subject of the address.

A second method is to mention the School at what appears to be an appropriate point in the talk, and then start cards into circulation through the audience. This will bring a somewhat larger volume of response. But even so, the reference to the School seems to break up the address and introduce an alien item into the development of the subject; the result being that the effective attenion of the audience is broken up into competing ideas which distract the mind.

A third method follows the logic of the situation and brings the best results. The School is back of the speaker; and the speaker has been sent out by the School. Very well! After he has been introduced, he says, "Before taking up the main subject, I wish to make a brief announcement." (This rather unusual procedure at once rivets the audience; and they speculate upon what is coming. In other words, not only the fresh attention-energy of the audience is enlisted; but their curiosity is aroused.) The speaker then goes on: "The Board of Regents of The University of the State of New York"—(he now notices that the audience attends even more closely, and he goes on without a pause)—"has chartered a School of Social Science which will give anybody in this room a free course on economics, the uppermost problem before the public. You get the mimeographed sheets once a week for ten weeks. It only takes a few minutes to go over each lesson; and the course costs you nothing. All you have to do is to write your name and address clearly on one of the blank cards which will be put in circulation through the audience."

(Parenthetically, it is better to have blank cards, five by three inches, without any special places for this, that and the other item. A card with dotted lines and minute directions where to write is distracting and requires more attention-energy than is available in a meeting).

The advantage of putting the School first in this way is very great. The people composing the audience are already economic-problem-conscious before they assemble; and you connect up with this mental condition at the very start by saying that the School gives a course on economics. The fact that the course is free is also a drawing card, as is the initial mention of the Board of Regents, etc. Moreover, as you proceed with the address, you have already laid the groundwork for natural and logical reference to the School. You can emphasize your points by saying, "In a brief meeting like this, we can only consider the main facts of the economic problem. But by taking the free course, you get the underlying philosophy of the facts."

The latest meeting in which this method was tried was with the Jersey City Rotary Club. About seventy-five upstanding business men were present. Mostly of course from Jersey City; but there were visitors from a dozen other places, the most distant being from Chicago. When the talk was finished, fifty-three of these men had written their names and addresses on the blank cards which had been meanwhile distributed from hand to hand. They are now in regular touch with the HGSSS, getting their lessons every week. Each person in the audience was also handed a piece of free Georgist literature; and the reporter who covered the event for the Jersey Journal put a column write-up in his paper under big headlines, giving the essential facts of Georgism.

Make the New York area talk; and the nation will listen.

Jamaica Forum

JAMAICA, L. I.—Forums on "Current Economic Issues" at 89-25 Parsons Boulevard, Tuesday evenings at 8 P.M.:

April 23—Morris D. Forkosch—"Henry George or Karl Marx—Which Shall Democracy Choose?" April 30—Dr. Elmore Leffingwell—"Who Moulds Public Opinion—and How?" May 7—Frank Chodorov—"The Decline and Fall of Civilization." May 14—Sidney J. Abelson—"The Horse-and-Buggy New Deal." May 21—Reginald Zalles—"Reflections on Walter Lippmann's 'The Good Society.'" May 28—Michael J. Bernstein—"Can Collectivism and Planning Solve Our Social and Economic Problems?" June 4—Paul Peach—"The Money Problem." June 11—John Luxton—"Is Economics a Science?"

On the Margin

It's about time to give a little hand to members of The Freeman Workshop, a band of diligent Georgists at headquarters who do a lot of digging up of facts and more than a little writing for this publication. Not in any particular order they are: **Helen Bernstein, Elbert Josefson, David Targ, Malcolm White, Frieda Wehnes, George Bringmann, Maurice Strum** and **Elizabeth Gerber.**

* * *

In case you see the HGSSS mentioned on page one or points west in newspapers of all sorts and conditions, everywhere, likely as not it'll be because of the energetic activities of **William Kitay,** New York graduate, public relations go-getter who's doing his bit for the cause.

* * *

He can well be proud of his record. **C. K. Sutcliffe** of Berkeley, California, completed his training course under **Noah D. Alper** in the summer of 1937. Since then he has taught eight classes, claims a total of 119 graduates. That's the only way toward Georgism.

* * *

The statistical charts which accompany the articles in this issue by C. O. Steele and Donald MacDonald were drawn especially for The Freeman by **Samuel Auerbach,** who has generously contributed his services.

* * *

Recently to **Dr. and Mrs. Henry George III** of Wilmington, Delaware, was born a son. His name? **Henry George IV!** Carry on!

* * *

The library at HGSSS headquarters is now completely catalogued, thanks to the efforts of **Robert Clancy,** ably assisted by **Martha Zalles.**

* * *

"Fairbanks is infested with old-time Single Taxers who owe their allegiance to **Donald MacDonald,**" writes **Jim Busey,** editor of Frontier, the new Georgist monthly, published at Wasilla, Alaska. "We shall try to get them to start classes there."

* * *

Dorothy Sara, Speakers Bureau Secretary, has returned to her Alma Mater—the HGSSS—after spending a few days at Bryn Mawr and Vassar Colleges, where she analyzed handwritings of the students. When Miss Sara is not busy booking speakers for the HGSSS, she takes time out at her own work of being a graphologist.

Who's Who in Georgism

George Rusby

George L. Rusby, one of the earliest Georgists, was born in what is now Nutley, N. J., on September 2, 1865, exactly 26 years after the birth of Henry George.

As a young man he joined the Methodist church, and became an active worker. After years of this activity he recognized the fact that economic conditions were more effective in dragging people down than the church could be in building them up.

For a time Mr. Rusby espoused Socialism. One day in 1896, Louis Parsons, another early follower of George induced him to read "Progress and Poverty." Confirmed in his Socialistic views Mr. Rusby agreed to investigate the Single Tax idea only to "pulverize that argument," as he put it. From that day to this he has remained an active Georgist.

The day Henry George died, October 27, 1897, George Rusby went to the Union Square Hotel in New York to offer his condolences and help. But the campaign for Mayor was still on, though the standard bearer was gone, and a speaker was needed to address a street corner meeting. Mr. Rusby was impressed into service—and that oration, made from the tail board of a truck, proved the forerunner of hundreds delivered during the following 43 years.

About 1900 Mr. Rusby published his booklet entitled "Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages; The Condition, The Cause, The Cure," of which more than 100,000 copies have been distributed in English. Editions in French, Spanish and Danish swell this total.

George L. Rusby was one of the early members of the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation, a supporter of the National Single Tax League, of the Fels Fund, the Manhattan Single Tax Club, the Henry George Lecture Bureau, the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, and of many other Georgist activities.

He aided in a number of political efforts to establish Georgism but finally realized that such activities were not making Georgists. He therefore welcomed the educational program suggested by Oscar Geiger and is now a staunch supporter of the Henry George School of Social Science.

Letters to The Editor

In Defense of the State

Much as I feel disinclined to criticize **The Freeman**, I protest that your May, 1940, editorial entitled "The Power of the State" is an expression to the degree of great excessiveness of one who can conceive only ideas founded on the eternal necessity of class divisions in society.

I quote from Matthew Arnold's "Culture and Anarchy": "Well, then, what if we tried to rise above the idea of class to the idea of the whole community, the State, and to find our centre of light and authority there? Every one of us has the idea of country, as a sentiment, **hardly any of us has the idea of the State as a working power.** And why? Because we habitually live in our ordinary selves, which do not carry us beyond the ideas and wishes of the class to which we happen to belong. **And we are all afraid** of giving to the State too much power, because we only conceive of the State as something equivalent to the class in occupation of the executive government, and are afraid **of that class abusing power to its own purposes . . . By our everyday selves . . .** we are separate, personal, at war; we are only safe from one another's tyranny, when no one has any power; and this safety, in its turn cannot save us from anarchy . . . **But by our best self** we are united, impersonal, at harmony. We are in no peril from giving authority to this, because it is the truest friend we all of us can have; and when anarchy is a danger to us, to this authority we may turn with sure trust . . . **We want an authority, and we find nothing but jealous classes, checks and a deadlock; culture suggests the idea of the State. We find no basis for a firm state—power in our ordinary selves; culture suggests one to us in our best self!"** (Emphasis mine).

I submit the foregoing, not only as a protest against your editorial attitude, but also as an answer to your question in that editorial. You say: "The State is power. Every attempt to define this political concept in other terms falls flat . . . Its only reality consists in the power—political, military, and, basically, economic power—which it manifests. How else can the idea of State be defined?" . . . M. A. Leister, New York.

* * *

Likes the School's Work

At one time the Goddess of Justice stood blind-folded holding an evenly balanced scale. But now it seems that she is blind-folded only over one eye, while there is a glint of mischief in the other—and the scales are held vertically, overbalanced by the weight of gold, while industrial humanity is being crucified on the cross of greed.

The Henry George School of Social Science is doing a great work trying to enlighten the public in regard to our economic condition which now permits some to appropriate thousands of dollars a day from ground rent for which there is not one iota of equivalent returned, while the industrial masses suffering with anxiety and care find it hard to toil the long day through. And millions more find it harder still to have no work to do.—Walter A. Vernay

* * *

Millions of Speeches Needed

I want to congratulate you on the report of your speech in the May issue of **The Freeman.** We will need a good many millions of speeches of this sort to get this country to be willing to accept the wealth that other countries are willing to furnish us with if we will only let them.—J. C. Lincoln, Arizona.

* * *

Preaches Freedom

Perusal of the pages of **The Freeman** has given me many a changed attitude toward public questions, and furnished me with helpful attitudes or illustrations for my sermons.—Rev. Charles Krauth Fegley, New Jersey.

* * *

Better and Better

Kindly extend my subscription to the "Freeman" for another year. Your brilliant coterie of contributors seem to make each succeeding issue more convincing, more interesting, more worth while.

J. R. Dickson, Ottawa, Canada.

* * *

In Memoriam

My brother, George M. Kauffman, is being buried today. In his memory I enclose herewith . . . and request that his name be recorded as a contributor to the completion of the "Building for a Better Civilization."—J. H. Kauffman, Columbus, Ohio.

"YOU CANNOT STAMP OUT an idea or shoot it out or suffocate it with press-agentry and publicity talk. Ideas must be met with ideas. The only way an unsound philosophy can be dealt with is by meeting it with a sound one."—A. J. Nock.

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30 East 29th Street, New York, N. Y.

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AN APPEAL

To Friends of the Henry George School

CAN you spare ten minutes to help the Henry George School? That is all the time it will take you to write down the names and addresses of ten or fifteen of your friends on the bottom of this form.

By spending ten minutes this way you may save the School many dollars (in reducing the cost of getting new students)—and you may be furthering the cause of Georgism to an immeasurable degree! (Our experience shows that each new student sooner or later brings a few others. The new students who come here directly or indirectly through the names you give may be the source of dozens more—and eventually of hundreds of Georgists!)

Don't you see, therefore, how important it is for you to spend these ten minutes helping the School? They may well prove to be the ten most valuable minutes you ever spent! Yes, of course, we could circularize telephone books, or we could rent expensive lists of names held by book publishers, magazines and other commercial organizations. But do you want to know the "inside" truth? Here it is: no list of names brings nearly so many new enrollments as that supplied by former or present students **—the names of your friends are more valuable to the School than any others we could possibly obtain.**

Please remember that in circularizing the names you recommend, your name will not be used. The School wants these names of men and women for the sole purpose of inviting them to take the Free Course in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy. We want to spread the doctrine of freedom—the science of a society of peace and plenty for all.

Your help is needed. If you believe in a free society, you will help—not just by talking freedom, but by acting in the cause of freedom. Here is one specific thing you can do for the cause now—give us the names of prospective Georgists.

Will you do it **at once**—now, when the names are needed most?

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
30 EAST 29th STREET **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

I believe the following might be interested in considering your free course in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy. It is understood you will not use my name in writing to these prospective students.

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

PLEASE LIST ADDITIONAL NAMES ON SEPARATE SHEET

Your Name _____

Address _____