

THE PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE

An Organ of Fundamental Democracy

Policy: FREE LAND, FREE TRADE, and PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

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An Interesting Object Lesson

Coal Miners Demand the Right to Employment.

There is a very interesting article in "The Nation," January 9, 1935, on "The Great 'Bootleg' Coal Industry," written by Louis Adamic. According to the writer, "ever since anyone in the Pennsylvania anthracite field can remember, it has been customary for miners and their families to go with sacks and pails to the culm dumps surrounding their bleak towns and pick coal from among the rock and slate thrown out in the breaking and cleaning processes at the big collieries. The pickers were usually the poorer families." It is stated that most of the companies permitted this. "Occasionally some miner paid his Church dues or a small grocery bill with a few bags of coal he had picked up on the dumps. No one ever sold it for cash. During the great 1902 strike many families experienced great hardships, and so many pickers invaded the culm heaps that after a time hardly a lump of coal was to be found, so several people went in the woods where they knew coal was near the surface and dug what coal they needed for their own use. They worked at night as they thought the taking of the coal was "not unrelated to thievery."

"Early in the 1920's equipment in the collieries became so efficient that not only were thousands thrown out of work, but practically no coal was thrown upon the culm dumps." Free pickings therefore became scarcer and scarcer, with the result that miners resorted to illegal mining in increasing numbers, but still only for their own use and mostly at night. It is stated that during the winter months of the 1925 strike several hundred holes were opened throughout the anthracite region. After the strike had ended conditions went from bad to worse, by reason of the fact that the companies found labor more difficult to deal with, so they installed still more efficient machinery, which had the effect of displacing thousands of laborers and placing many thousands on part time. "Under the pressure of economic necessity, illegal miners began to dig coal for their neighbours for cash, and in 1928 and 1929 there probably were from seven to nine hundred men in the six anthracite counties whose income came solely or mainly from 'bootleg' coal—as they and their customers commenced jokingly to call it, because it was, in most cases, mined mostly at night."

During 1930, when the present depression engulfed the country, coal bootlegging doubled. In the town of Centrahia, where nearly all legitimate coal production has ceased, the number of illegal miners at least trebled. In the winter of 1930-31, a big number of people went before the town and country poor boards with requests for fuel, and were told by the board to "get their own fuel," suggesting in some cases that the nearby hills were full of coal. "That winter coal bootlegging again doubled or trebled in most towns." In Centrahia it became the main industry, and it kept the stores open, the people from moving out. The bootleggers became more daring and worked their holes and hauled down their coal in daylight. When the companies had some of the men arrested the poor boards effected their release. The local courts were sympathetic with the coal miners, did not like to sentence them, and it is said that when the miners went to jail the wardens soon turned them loose. The companies took other action to prevent this illegal traffic in coal by blowing up the bootleggers' holes, but for every hole they blew up the bootleggers opened three or four new ones. "Also, town and country officials cautioned the representatives of the various companies that unless they allowed the jobless to operate their holes, taxes would have to be increased for more relief, and some of these higher taxes would be levied on the coal mines." The companies were thus forced to tolerate the bootleggers, with the result that digging and selling of bootleg coal came into the light of day in about 40 towns in the southern section of the coal region. During 1931 most of the coal distributed by bootleggers was sold within 25 miles of where they dug it, and it is estimated that the illegal out-

put did not amount to more than half a million tons. With the increased unemployment in 1932 it is claimed that the output trebled. "In the same year, it is estimated, around a thousand men, mostly young men and boys just out of high school, sons of bootleg miners, acquired second-hand or new trucks on the instalment plan by paying one, two, three hundred dollars down, and bootleg coal began to be sold as far as fifty, seventy, ninety miles from the holes."

As bootleg coal was sold at from one to three dollars per ton cheaper than regularly mined coal, naturally there was a great demand for it. It is estimated that today there are in the anthracite region some 5,000 holes or tiny coal mines in places where coal is near the surface, operated six days a week, "each from two to five men who, in most instances, have no other equipment than picks, shovels, dynamite, a lamp, a nail, and a hoisting rope; while 10,000 or more such holes already have been "robbed out." In a region of about 500 square miles there are from 15,000 to 20,000 men and boys thus occupied, and it is estimated that from 2,500 to 5,000 trucks are used for hauling this bootleg coal to customers. "Most of the miners and truckers are heads of families; so it is safe to estimate that 100,000 men, women and children are directly dependent for their livelihood, solely or mainly, on bootleg coal." The amount involved in the bootleg coal business in 1933 is estimated at more than 30,000,000 dollars, whilst during 1934 it is computed that "illegal miners and truckers have 'stolen' from the anthracite companies' lands from four and a half to five and half million tons of coal, involving between 40,000,000 dollars and 45,000,000 dollars; and most of the money stayed right in the community where the miners and truckers reside, and was spent and respent there."

These miners and truckers average more than \$2.50 a day throughout the year. The writer states that this money "benefits enormously, not privileged individuals, as does the so-called legitimately mined coal, but the communities and the region as a whole. It keeps stores, banks, movies, restaurants, drinking places, gas stations open. It enables business men to employ help and buy advertising space in local newspapers, and so on." Bootlegging is regarded as a very dangerous operation, and the miners require a considerable amount of nerve to work the small holes from which the coal is obtained. People who know the hazardous nature of the occupation regard these miners as heroes.

Naturally the companies are concerned about this development and have taken steps to check it. "Early in December, the Stevens Coal Company tried to start stripping operations on the so-called Edgewood Bootleggers' Tract, where 1,700 illegal miners eke out a living, but the men promptly dynamited the steam shovel and told the company employees who brought it up to beat it. No one has been arrested for that deed. At Tremont, two months ago, more than a thousand bootleggers faced about fifty company police, and a battle was averted only by the withdrawal of the police. At Gilberton not long ago the automobile of a coal and iron cop was dynamited after it had blown up several holes. The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company's private police blew up, between the first of January and the last of November of this year, 1,196 holes, but in that time at least 4,000 new ones were started on their properties. During the same period the same company caused the arrest of 77 bootleggers, but in vain. No jury in any anthracite country is ready to convict anyone for 'stealing' or trucking coal."

The writer of this striking article states that "most of the bootleggers are anti-Communist," and that the bootlegging "is nothing more nor less than a depression industry."

The Lesson to be Learned.

The lesson to be learned from the above facts is that where natural opportunities are open to labor there is no need to place people on the dole. If these coal miners had not been able

to get access to the coal-bearing land they would have been out of employment; and they and their families would have been compelled to accept the unemployment dole. The same applies to those engaged in trucking the coal. These men were not prepared to sit down and see natural opportunities remain unworked, but were prepared to fight for the right to employ their labor in producing wealth so that they and their families might obtain sustenance.

Socialists can also learn something from this bootlegging industry. They are constantly saying that access to natural opportunities is not sufficient because the workers have "NO CAPITAL," therefore, could not employ themselves. The coal bootleggers have shown the fallacy of that contention. They have been able to secure all the capital they needed to secure a livelihood, and were able to defeat the privileged class that desired to enslave them. If these coal miners, and all other workers, gave some attention to economic questions they would find that the taking of the rental value of land, coal lands included, would make it impossible for any individual or company to close natural resources to those who wished to labor. When those in possession of land are asked to pay the annual rental value into the public treasury it will no longer be profitable to hold land out of use. This land rent being a sufficient fund to defray the cost of government, all taxes which now press upon industry could be abolished, and all wealth producers would then enjoy the full earnings of their labor and unemployment would be a thing of the past. We ask those Ministers of the Gospel and Labor leaders who have recently been giving their views on the problem of unemployment to give this phase of the question the serious consideration it deserves.

Visit to the River District

At the request of our co-workers at Berri, Mr. E. J. Craigie, M.P., paid a visit to Berri and Barmera. On Wednesday, March 13, he spoke at Berri, and the following night at Barmera, the subject being: "The Best Way out of the Depression." The numerous proposals before the public as a means of securing prosperity were examined and shown to be merely palliatives which did not touch the cause of the trouble. At the request of co-workers the fallacies underlying the Douglas system were shown. At the conclusion of each address, questions were answered, and discussion invited. Some supporters of the Douglas system at Barmera, who did not like to hear their doctrine criticised, made the meeting very interesting. Free literature was distributed, and other literature sold. Mr. F. H. Sharley presided over both gatherings. Our thanks are due to Berri friends for arranging these meetings, and to Mr. and Mrs. Sharley for hospitality. On Friday night Mr. Craigie met the executive of the Berri Henry George League and discussed with them matters relating to the welfare of the movement, and the best means of propagating the doctrine of Henry George. The wish was expressed that another visit be made at an early date.

MR. CRAIGIE VISITS PASTORAL AREAS

On Friday, March 22, Mr. E. J. Craigie, M.P., will leave with the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the representatives of other pastoral areas, on a tour of inspection of pastoral leases. The Minister of Education also wished him to accompany him to the West Coast in connection with his inspection of the schools. The party will return to Adelaide on April 6. This will be the first opportunity Mr. Craigie has had of getting into personal contact with the pastoralists in the Flinders District, and with the opal miners at Coober Pedy. Tarcoola may also be visited.

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THE SUGAR AGREEMENT Palliatives versus Principles

On February 20 the Prime Minister (Mr. J. Lyons) announced that the Federal Government had extended the sugar agreement for a further period of five years from September 1, 1935. The conditions under which the extension was granted were that the Government would insist on the continuance of the restriction on any extension of sugar production, and that the annual contribution of the sugar industry for special rebates to the fruit industry will be £216,000 in lieu of £200,000 under the existing agreement. The retail price of sugar is to remain at 4d. per lb. at all capital cities in the Commonwealth.

This extension constitutes a grave scandal in the political life of Australia. The present agreement does not expire until September, 1936, therefore, there was no need for the indecent haste manifested in finalising the extension. The sugar industry appears to have a very strong pull on the political parties in the Commonwealth Parliament. There is a big disparity in the price of sugar overseas and the price ruling in Australia. The latest issue of the sugar journal indicates that the price of 96 degree raw sugar, which has fluctuated during the year between 3.9 per cwt.—the lowest point the article has reached—and 5.9 per cwt., was at the time of writing 4/3 per cwt. c.i.f. United Kingdom. Compare this price with that ruling in Australia. The 1934 returns are not yet complete, but for the year 1933 the average price of raw sugar was 11/3 6 per ton. It will thus be seen that the sugar grower in Queensland is able to secure approximately four times the ruling world price for raw sugar.

Latest quotations in overseas countries for sugar vary from 4.84 per cwt. for Cuban 96% polarization, to 7/6 for Dutch and Continental sugar. Java white sugar is offering at 6/3 per cwt. These quotations are for March-April delivery. Yet the unfortunate Australian consumer is exploited to four times these prices. It is pleasing to note that some members of the Federal Parliament have asked questions in regard to the monopoly, and that the matter will be debated at a later stage by Parliament. **Cable news in all parts of the State should enter an emphatic protest against sugar monopoly.** For too long a period the people in the other five States of the Commonwealth have been held for ransom by the Queensland sugar interests. The Labor Party claims in a special degree to conserve the interest of the working class, and it could prove that claim by strenuously resisting the ratification of this iniquitous agreement.

We have already directed the attention of our readers to the watering of stock quite recently by the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. Reserves to the extent of £7,000,000 were capitalised, and one £20 free share was issued for each share then held by the fortunate shareholders. It is interesting to note that these shares now stand on the Stock Exchange list at £42. That should be sufficient evidence to prove the huge monopoly power possessed by the sugar interests. We strongly advise our readers in all parts of the State to organise protest meetings and send resolutions of protest to their Federal representatives, and also to the Federal Government. Action along this line may have the effect of preventing the agreement being passed in its present form, and may even secure a reduction in the present high price of sugar. If the people remain silent whilst this agreement is being considered, it will be thought they have no complaint, and members may accord it support. Therefore, register your protest at the earliest possible opportunity.

CURRENCY DEPRECIATION AND THE WORKER

"At times like the present, when the evils of unsound finance threaten us, the speculator may anticipate a harvest gathered from the misfortune of others, the capitalist may protect himself by hoarding, or may even find profit in the fluctuations of values; but the wage earner—the first to be injured by a depreciated currency, and the last to receive the benefit of its correction—is practically defenceless. He relies for work upon the ventures of confident and contented capital. This failing him, his condition is without alleviation, for he can neither prey on the misfortunes of others nor hoard his labor."—President Cleveland's Message to U.S.A. Congress Aug. 8, 1893.

In the March 10th issue of "THE MAIL" there appears an article which indicates that Ministers of the Gospel are concerned with the present state of the unemployed. The Rev. C. L. Sanders, of the Glanville Methodist Mission, and the Rev. H. A. Gunter, of Norwood, voiced their convictions that it was "essential to arouse the public and Parliament to their obligations to the workless." Mr. Gunter is reported as saying that the ration system was "a damnable state of affairs," and he "thought Parliament would do a great deal more for the workless if public opinion was brought to bear on it." The reverend gentleman went on to assert that he was "convinced that the Governments of the nations must be prepared to alter some of the fundamentals of the present economic system. He thought 'the Government had made a splendid attempt to meet a difficult situation, BUT PALLIATIVES WILL NO LONGER SERVE.'"

It is pleasing to see Ministers of the Gospel manifesting such an interest in the well-being of the workers. There has been for too long a period a tendency to regard such questions as outside the scope of the Church. It has been considered quite the right thing to dispense charity, but with a few notable exceptions, very little has been said about the establishment of justice. We agree with Mr. Gunter that "palliatives will no longer serve." They have been tried over a long period of years, and conditions have become worse instead of better.

There may be some difference of opinion as to whether the Church as an institution should deal with economic questions. We are very definitely of the opinion that it should. We do not expect it to deal with such questions from the PARTY standpoint, but it should in the name of morality direct public attention to any measure placed upon the Statute Book which conflicts with the moral law, and it should likewise protest against unethical practices in administration.

Reading through the report of the interview with the reverend gentlemen mentioned, one is forced to the conclusion that if the Government would extend the amount of work given to the unemployed conditions would be better. The fact overlooked is that it is not the function of government to find work for the unemployed. The true function of government is to open natural opportunities for all on equal terms, and see that no obstacle is placed in the way of an individual using his energies in the production of those commodities necessary for the satisfaction of human desires.

All present methods adopted by the Government to deal with the unemployed question have been along palliative lines. They have not made any effort to touch the cause of the trouble. For the benefit of these reverend gentlemen who are anxious to help their fellow men in this time of stress we desire to direct their attention to certain fundamental economic truths. First, a man is born with a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This right carries with it the right of access to land, for without land, life is impossible. If Messrs. Gunter and Sanders will give a little attention to the question they will find that everything needed for the satisfaction of human desires—food, clothing, shelter and tools of production—all come by labor applied to land.

They will also note that Nature has not been niggardly in regard to the land. There is an abundance for all. A little effort expended upon its surface will yield abundant foodstuffs, whilst underneath the surface there is an ample supply of minerals which can be used in the service of man. How comes it then, that with the generosity of Nature we have want, suffering and unemployment in the midst of plenty? A little investigation will reveal the fact that it is because we have permitted that which was intended for the equal use of the children of all men to be monopolised by a privileged few. This gives the few the right to dictate the terms on which those dispossessed shall sell their services, and, in fact, may refuse to permit them to labor at any price. This condition of affairs has been brought about by reason of the fact that Parliament has always made it easy and profitable to hold land out of use, and has consistently taxed those who used it for productive purposes. Is it any wonder we have so many unemployed while such an unsound policy is allowed to operate?

If Messrs. Sanders and Gunter desire to get

to the fundamentals of the unemployed question they must give attention to the land question. Until that is settled on right lines there can be no permanent benefit to the masses who are now disinherited. There is only one practical way of dealing with the problem, and that is by restoring to all the birthright that has been taken from them. To do this will not mean the adoption of some complicated measure. The solution is extremely simple. All that is needed is to change the method of collecting revenue. Instead of taxing industry to defray the cost of government, we must in future take the rental value of land for public purposes. Land will then be available to users merely by paying the annual rent into the public treasury—not as at present by giving to some person tribute for the right to use the earth. As the earth is the **SOLE SOURCE OF ALL JOBS**, with the land made free to all, there will be **MORE JOBS THAN MEN**. The result will be that those who desire to produce on their own account may do so, and those who wish to sell their services to another man will do so under free conditions. Wages will then rise to the full earnings of labor.

The question may be asked: "Is it just to take the rental value of land into the public treasury?" Undoubtedly! Rent arises because one piece of land has an advantage over some other piece, either by way of productivity or by reason of the special site. The people by competition decide the value of all land. The value arises because of their presence and activities, and it cannot be left to ONE individual without the robbery of all other individuals. Justice decrees that it must flow into the public treasury and be returned to the people in public services. With the rent of land going into the public treasury, and being a sufficient sum to meet the cost of all **NECESSARY** government, the existing taxes on the necessities of life and upon industry generally could be abolished. This would reserve for the wealth producers the full results of their labor, and justice will then have been established. We commend this aspect of the unemployed problem to the consideration of the gentlemen who have interested themselves in the question, and invite their assistance and co-operation in our effort to settle the problem on the only sound lines possible.

Free Trade Statements

(From the "Free Trader," February, 1935)

"Can it not be contrived so that in the world scheme each nation to a reasonable and mutually profitable extent will perform the task for which it is best fitted, produce the things it can furnish better than any other, that all may be benefited and the savings of international hostility dried up? Admittedly the task is stupendous and the way to fulfillment is long and strewn with weary length with stupendous obstacles. But because of its difficulty are we not even going to try to bring about the necessary co-operation? Are we to be frightened by cries that it is quixotic and visionary? Is it in truth a goal which is unattainable?"—Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, U.S.A.

"It still remains to be seen whether a good creditor nation can live on a high tariff basis. The putting on of tariffs has crippled some of our best customers, notably Belgium. The hope which was expressed by everybody when this country went on to tariffs that breaking into the vicious circle of tariffs would eventually lead to a reduction of them has not so far been fulfilled; and until it is further restrictions and strangulation of trade must result. It is true that we have gone in for some system of making bilateral trade agreements, with the result that some trades have been benefited and others have been sacrificed; and in this respect Sheffield has come out very badly. It is already certain that the attempt by trade treaties to balance the trade of one country with the trade of another is doomed to failure. International trade is not bilateral; it is entirely multi-lateral."—Sir Arthur Balfour.

"It follows that no tinkering with our internal trade can make any difference in the fundamental situation. You sometimes hear politicians and others talking as if all that was wanted to make our national position comfortably secure was to increase our purchases from each other at home, and then we could 'let the rest of the world go hang.' It is clear it, if we were to rely upon any such notion we should very soon find at least half our people not merely on short rations but on no rations at all."—Sir Charles Close, Director of Ordnance Survey.

Swan Hill District Election

At the request of Mr. Cyril Judd, who was contesting the Swan Hill District election as an independent candidate, Mr. E. J. Craigie, M.P., visited that district to assist him in his campaign. The election was held on March 2, and Mr. Judd just missed election by 163 votes. It was a remarkable vote for the first time of contesting the district. The sitting member was Mr. F. E. Old, who was a member of the United Country Party, and Whip for that party. He has represented the district for 15 years, and stated that he would win this time on the first preference votes. He must have had some anxious moments during the counting of the votes, as it was stated in the three Melbourne papers that it was feared he would lose the seat.

Mr. Judd is a farmer at Nyah West, about 25 miles from Swan Hill. This was the first election he has contested. He rendered valuable assistance during the recent election for Wimmera, and was responsible for getting substantial support for Mr. Gordon Anderson, who contested that Federal seat. Two other Independent candidates were in the field, Messrs. R. Roberts and W. Sullivan, both farmers; the last mentioned being a supporter of the Douglas Social Credit doctrine. He was at the bottom of the poll.

Mr. Craigie broadcasted from 3 SH. Swan Hill, on the Monday night preceding the election, and again on the Friday night, the last night of the campaign. He also visited Woorinen, Sea Lake, Berrillock, Nyah, Nyah West, Lake Boga, as well as addressing a big meeting at Swan Hill. Very great interest was shown in the Henry George principles during the campaign, and Mr. Judd topped the poll at 20 polling places, whilst at many others a few votes only separated him from the sitting member. At the Swan Hill meeting there was an interesting interlude, owing to the fact that Mr. David Robertson, of Melbourne (the well known exponent of the Douglas Credit doctrine), was present. Mr. Robertson had come to the town to broadcast on behalf of Mr. Sullivan, and did not like the criticism of his net theory. He was invited to meet Mr. Craigie in public debate in the Swan Hill Memorial Hall on the question: "Is the Douglas Credit doctrine economically sound?" but he stated that he had to return to Melbourne the next morning at four o'clock, therefore could not accept the challenge.

The splendid vote polled on this occasion indicates that with further working of the district Mr. Judd should win the seat. In strong Country Party centres such as Sea Lake, Berrillock, Nyah West, Lake Boga, Ultima and other places he was placed at the top of the poll. The electors are dissatisfied with the old political parties and are seeking a change. The farmers realise that with the Country Party accepting seats in a composite Government their influence in the House is lost. The following details of the voting will prove of interest to our readers:—

FIRST COUNT.

F. E. Old	3765
C. T. Judd	2631
R. Roberts	1237
W. Sullivan	1195

Sullivan was eliminated and his preferences transferred.

SECOND COUNT

F. E. Old	3915
C. T. Judd	2954
R. Roberts	1960

Roberts was eliminated and his preferences transferred.

FINAL COUNT.

F. E. Old	4496
C. T. Judd	4333

We heartily congratulate Mr. Judd on the splendid fight he made, and feel certain that with a little more educational work the seat can be won.

Gems from Henry George

A new supply of that valuable work, "Gems from Henry George," is to hand from London. The book contains excerpts from the writings of Henry George, arranged under definite headings. This edition is nicely bound in cloth, and sells at the remarkably low price of 1/3, postage 2d. extra. It is an ideal gift book. Copies available from Henry George League, George Parade, Adelaide. Send your order now.

PRESBYTERIANS AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

The Moderator's Complaints.

The new Moderator (Dr. Charles Duguid) dealt with social questions at the meeting of the State Presbyterian Assembly on March 18. He said that "the exploitation of a person's need or circumstances was something that no Christian dare either attempt himself nor tolerate in others." He related the case of a woman who had specialised in hats for 15 years, and after a "plucky fight, had lost her business and retired, broken in body and dejected in mind." The Doctor referred to the pressure applied by business directors upon their subordinates in the desire to get increased profits, and also stated that "the workman who purposely goes slow at his work, or the man who puts inferior material into a contract job, is as guilty of exploitation as a man could be." Reference was also made to gambling, and it was stated that "If you strike Tatt's you may be striking a home." Dr. Duguid also uttered some strong words in regard to war, and declared that no Christian could be associated with or approve of such action. He declared that his "present feeling was that if the Church backed another war he would resign from its membership."

Questions to Be Answered.

It is a pleasing sign to see the increased interest being manifested by Church organisations in the material things of life. It is to be hoped this interest will be maintained and strengthened by an intense study of the fundamentals of such questions. Whilst we very much appreciate the outspoken utterances of Dr. Duguid, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that he did not in any part of his address show that he knew the cause of the trouble or the remedy for the present unjust state of society. Instead of urging that the question of selling women's hats should be made "a subject for debate at the colleges and at young people's evenings," he would do well to suggest that the question of natural rights should be debated at those places. Why is it that employees in big departmental stores submit to be driven as they are today? Why do people invest in Tatt's and other sweeps? Why is it that people are stirred in their emotions and go forth to kill their fellow men in time of war?

Cause of Present Conditions.

If those employed in departmental stores knew that they were able to secure employment elsewhere they would not for one moment tolerate the treatment they now receive. It is the fact that they are aware that the loss of their present job may mean unemployment and suffering for a long period that causes them to submit to tyranny and oppression. A big number of people send for tickets to sweeps today because there is no outlook for them in the future. They know that under existing conditions they get only a bare living, consequently are unable to place aside a reserve for their old age. They have to pay to another individual a weekly sum to secure shelter from the elements, as they have not sufficient to purchase a home of their own. Is it any wonder they take a chance of getting one of the big prizes offered so that they may be assured of a roof over their heads later in life? Then in regard to war. Many enlist because of economic necessity. They are out of employment, and the regular pay makes an appeal to them. Others enlist because their passions are stirred by reason of the press propaganda which is so much in evidence at war time. No one really enjoys destroying life and property, but are driven to it by reason of our present economic system.

Man's Natural Right.

We would respectfully suggest to Dr. Duguid and his brother Presbyterians that they give attention to the CAUSE of the present trouble. If they do they will see that it is not the natural right of any individual to go to another and ask for a job. His right is to have access to natural opportunities so that he may employ his labor in the production of those things essential to life. Why is it he is unable to do so today? It is due to the fact that the earth is monopolised by a few, and the many are denied the right of access to it, except on the terms dictated by those in possession. If those in possession were asked to pay the rental value into the public treasury each year, such monopoly would be impossible. The land would have to be utilised to its fullest extent

so that the RENT could be produced from it. This would mean that people would hold only the amount of land they could profitably use, and would be forced to release the balance to those who desired it. The effect of such a policy would be to absorb all the unemployed and increase wages to the full earnings. This would be possible because there would be no further need to impose taxation on industry; as the rental value of land would be sufficient to meet the cost of all necessary government.

How to Abolish War.

We ask Dr. Duguid to consider the fundamental causes of war. Wars arise because certain privileged interests in one country desire the monopoly of natural resources in some other country. These resources may be oil, diamond or gold fields, iron or steel, or something of a similar nature. These men are not concerned about human life. They seek dividends and power, and care not who is sacrificed so long as they secure their wish. If the rental value of such natural resources were taken into the public treasury there would not be any monopoly, high dividends and exploitation would be impossible, and one of the causes of war would be removed. Another cause of war is the trade restriction brought about by the imposition of high tariff barriers. These barriers cause strife and discord between the peoples of the world, and lead to war. The removal of the restrictions and the adoption of perfect freedom of trade would permit the nations of the world to engage in producing those commodities which gave the greatest return for a minimum of effort, and to exchange their surpluses one with the other to the advantage of both parties interested in the trade. Where trade is allowed to flow along its natural channels peace and goodwill is developed, and war under such conditions is impossible.

Give Effect to the Divine Will.

Finally we would ask Dr. Duguid to approach this problem from the standpoint of the Christian teaching he believes in. Does he believe that God is the Universal Father? If so, does he think that God intended all His children to have an equal chance of sitting at His table? Seeing that the earth is the source from which all human wants are supplied, does he think that God intended that some should monopolise it and charge their fellow men rent for the right of access to it? If he does not believe this was God's intention, what is the Church as an institution doing to give effect to His will? Has it ever offered one word of protest against the monopoly of natural resources? Has it ever objected to the tariff barriers which prevent people from giving effect to the Golden Rule? There are great moral principles involved in these things, and if it be right for members of the church to concern themselves with the price of women's hats, with the tyranny of the big store director, with those who send for Tatt's tickets, how much more important is it to try and assist in giving effect to the Divine Father's will in regard to the rights of His children? Why concentrate on the evil effects of a bad social system and remain silent as to the cause? The Bible is the text-book from which the churchmen draw their inspiration. Within its covers it will be found that "Ye shall not sell the land for ever, for it is mine, saith the Lord." Also we are told that "the profit of the earth is for all." Is Dr. Duguid and those associated with him prepared to take up their cross and preach the full gospel of human rights and demand for the people the heritage that has been stolen from them? We very much appreciate the doctor's outspoken condemnation of our social system, and feel certain that now the facts are placed before him he will gird on his armour and go forth to wage unceasing war against the powers of special privilege, and that he will not rest from his labors until social justice is established.

Georgian Literature

- The Science of Political Economy, 4/-, postage 4d.
 Progress and Poverty, cloth 1/6, postage 3d.
 Protection or Free Trade, cloth 1/6, postage 3d.
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HENRY GEORGE LEAGUE
 George Parade, 11 Carrington Street, Adelaide

The Government of India Bill

Provisions for the Use of Proportional Representation

In new constitutions initiated within and passed by the British Parliament, such as the Government of Ireland Act, and in proposed constitutional changes such as Bills for reform of the House of Lords, Proportional Representation almost inevitably finds a place. The Government of India Bill is no exception to this rule. It contains several provisions for the use of Proportional Representation with the single transferable vote.

It is proposed that this system shall be used in the election of each of the two Federal Houses of Parliament, both of which are indirectly elected bodies. The Upper House, the Council of State, will be elected by members of the Legislative Council in provinces with two Houses of Parliament, and from specially constituted electoral colleges in provinces with a single Legislative Chamber. In each Provincial constituency the proportional system will be used. The Federal House of Assembly will be elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly of each Province, and again in these elections the proportional system will be used.

Although these elections are of an indirect character, they constitute an important extension of the use of the proportional system, an extension which was recommended by the Joint Select Committee and which will doubtless be sanctioned by both Houses of the British Parliament. In practice it will mean that in all the Provincial Parliaments of British India, covering an area half as large as Europe, the members will be called upon from time to time to use the proportional system, and, as consequence, all interested in the working of the new constitution will become familiar with this method of election and the purposes it is intended to serve.

His Majesty the King, in opening the first Round Table Conference, said: "I have in mind the just claims of majorities and minorities." The new Bill gives effect to these words by assigning to the various communities—Hindu, Mohammedan, Sikh and others—a specified number of seats. This division into communities is adhered to even in the indirect election of the Federal Legislature. It is recognised that the rigid division of the electors into communities has serious drawbacks. It has been adopted because the representatives of some of the communities insisted upon the precise safeguards which this system affords. A beginning could be made, if the Indian communities agreed, in getting away from this rigid division by making a fuller use of the proportional system in the indirect elections.

In any case, the provisions of the Bill assure the representation of every substantial interest. It would be a fitting task for the National Government to take steps to ensure that majorities and minorities in this country also should have their just share of representation in the Parliament of Great Britain.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS.

HENRY GEORGE LEAGUE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The monthly meeting of the Henry George League was held at the League rooms on Tuesday, February 26. The president (Mr. A. Chappel) occupied the chair, and there was a fair attendance. Apologies were received from Mr. J. A. Hodgson and from the secretary, who was assisting Mr. Cyril Judd in the Swan Hill District election campaign. Minutes of previous meeting read and confirmed. An interesting budget of correspondence was read and received on a motion by Mr. G. V. Birks, seconded by Mr. Morgan. Financial statement read and received and printing account passed for payment. The question of re-opening the Study Circle was discussed, and it was resolved in view of unsuitable weather conditions that the matter be deferred until next monthly meeting. Consideration was also given to the question of holding a social evening early in May, and a provisional committee consisting of the president, Mr. A. S. Bayly, and the minute secretary, was appointed to deal with the matter. Mr. D. Hudson reported on the final meeting of the "People's Model Parliament" formed at Unley. He was very disappointed with the way in which it was conducted, and did not think it could continue to exist. Mr. Bayly thought little good would come from the parliament. It was announced that a new supply of "Gems from Henry George" had arrived from London. Matters of general interest were discussed.

Next Meeting, Tuesday, March 26, at 8 p.m.

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Protection and Morality

The effect of a Protectionist policy upon business and general welfare is known and understood by a great number of people. It is also necessary to consider its effect upon men. Human rights are more important than property rights. Men's souls are more important than men's comfort. The most necessary question to consider is balancing up the good and evil of any system is: what are its moral effects; in other words, are men better or worse for it. One of the severest indictments of the tariff is that it encourages the worst human traits.

First, it has a bad moral effect on business men. It destroys the self-respect of those who flock to Canberra to beg Parliament to let them guzzle in the public trough. Men who have spent their lives at home minding their own business and developing themselves into the frank aggressive Australian type, have been forced into the atmosphere which requires them to be sleek, obsequious and tricky. No man can carry on the kind of lobbying done on the tariff without losing the sense of decency. Men leave their business to hang around the legislative corridors. They are forced to employ and associate with the lowest type of political tricksters.

This is the type of business men that the tariff develops; a man unwilling to take his chances in a free world struggle, a man begging for special privilege. This same immoral effect is felt on the politics and government of our nation. The tariff is one of the chief causes of campaign funds, the contributing of which debauches not only the giver, but the receiver, and through him the whole political structure of our Government.

A big number of our politicians have some protected industries in their districts, some industries which are willing to contribute sums of money for the election of men who will secure for those industries the most of special privilege. The result is that many members go to Parliament with a political debt to pay. Not only do they have this political debt to pay, but they must provide tariff protection for their backers at any cost or a new man will be returned in their place. Each of these men must secure his particular point or points in the tariff revision. And to this end each must secure the vote of a majority of the members of both branches of the National Legislature. Think of the trades that this involves. Think of the number of measures which must be voted on by each of these men, not from the point of view of national expediency, but from the point of view of saving a political hide. Of course there is trading on all political measures, but nothing, not even all the other matters of legislation combined, is so inductive to trading as the protective tariff.

We have previously shown that indirect taxation decreases public responsibility. Without confusing the protective and revenue phases of the tariff, it may be well to consider here how this decrease of responsibility leads to added political corruption. Some of the items of a tariff bill are for protection and some are for revenue. Protectionists in Parliament, by tinkering with the revenue provisions, can raise immense sums of money without their being felt by the people, and can pay off the political debts. And in general, when the members of the community who show the greatest interest in politics are those who are fighting for self-interest, and protection, is it any wonder that their representatives catch the contagion and fight among themselves for political plums? This is the debauching effect of the tariff.

And the tariff has an immoral effect on citizens in general. With business men fighting for tariff plunder, and with politicians representing them and fighting among themselves for political plums, the effect is bound to be felt throughout the whole community. In addition to this, there is more of an incentive to violate the law with relation to the tariff than with relation to any other legislative enactment. Smuggling has come to be regarded as eminently respectable. Now, either smuggling is right and the tariff is wrong, or smuggling is wrong and the tariff is right. If people defy the law because they believe it is not law and because they believe it unjust, and if this defiance becomes nearly universal, this is a pretty sure sign that the people are right in this view; inasmuch as one of the principles of Democracy is that the people are usually right. But if the tariff is justifiable, and the people still universally disregard it, this is a

sign that the tariff is producing a bad moral effect on the community. A good tree does not bear evil fruit. There is no escape from these two alternatives.

TARIFF BARGAINING

The latest issue of "The Free Trader" has an interesting article: "Who was Sir Robert Peel?" It was written because Peel's statue has been moved from its original position on the grounds that it had become an impediment to traffic. Sir Robert Peel will always be revered for his great work for freedom of trade. Many of his speeches could be read with great interest at the present time, when we hear so much about using the tariff as a means of bargaining with other countries. It is claimed by our party leaders, and by men in other parts of the world, that the adoption of a tariff makes it easier to secure a measure of free trade with certain countries. The "Free Trader" gives quotations from Sir Robert Peel's speeches as evidence of the ill-success of such a policy of tariff negotiation. We reproduce them as they will be of interest to our readers.

"I fairly avow to you that in making this great reduction upon the import of articles, the produce and manufacture of foreign countries, I have no guarantee to give you that other countries will immediately follow our example. I give you that advantage in the argument. Wearied with our long and unavailing efforts to enter into satisfactory commercial treaties with other nations, we have resolved at length to consult our own interests, and not to punish those other countries for the wrong they do us in continuing their high duties upon the importation of products and manufactures, by continuing high duties ourselves, encouraging unlawful trade. We have had no communication with any foreign Government upon the subject of these reductions. We cannot promise that France will make a corresponding reduction in her tariff. I cannot promise that Russia will prove her gratitude to us for our reduction on her tallow by any diminution of her duties. You may therefore say, in opposition to the present plan, 'What is this superfluous liberality, that you are going to do away with all these duties, and yet you expect nothing in return?' I may, perhaps, be told that many foreign countries, since the former relaxation of duties on our part—and that would be perfectly consistent with the fact—foreign countries which have benefited by our relaxation have not followed our example, but have actually applied to the importation of British goods higher rates of duties than formerly. I quite admit it. I give you all the benefit of that argument. I rely upon that fact as conclusive proof of the policy of the course we are pursuing. It is a fact that other countries have not followed our example, and have levied higher duties in some cases on our goods. But what has been the result upon the amount of your exports? You have defied the regulations of those countries. Your export trade is greatly increased."

House of Commons, January 27, 1846.

"... I maintain that the best way to compete with hostile tariffs is to encourage free imports. So far from thinking the principle of Protection a salutary principle, I maintain that, the more widely you extend it, the greater the injury you inflict upon the national wealth, and the more you will cripple the national industry."

House of Commons, July 5, 1848.

Sir Robert Peel was reviled by the privileged class of his day, but that did not worry him. He realised he was fighting for economic freedom, and for the benefit of the people. Announcing his resignation on June 26 he said:

"I shall leave a name execrated, I know, by every monopolist who would maintain Protection for his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill—the abuses of those whose lot it is to labor and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice."

The time is ripe for men of Sir Robert Peel's type to take control of the political life of the Commonwealth, so that the evil effects of Protection might be banished from our fair land.

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