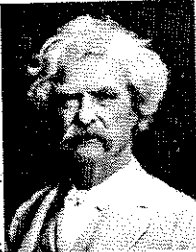


Patriotic Protest

America's first anti-imperialists were profoundly patriotic, opposing the Spanish-American War and the occupation of the Philippines as a violation of sacred American principles.

Mark Twain

We, free citizens of the Great Republic, feel an honest pride in her greatness, her strength, her just and gentle government, her wide liberties, her unsmirched flag, her hands



clean from oppression of the weak and of malicious conquest, her hospitable door that stands open to the hunted and the persecuted of all nations; we are proud of the judicious respect in which she is held by monarchies... and proudest of all of that lofty patriotism which we inherited from our fathers, which we have kept pure, and which won our liberties in the beginning and has preserved them unto this day. While that patriotism endures the Republic is safe, her greatness is secure, and against them the powers of the earth cannot prevail.

I pray you pause and consider. Against our traditions we are now entering upon an unjust and trivial war, a war against a helpless people, and for a base object — robbery. At first our citizens spoke out against this thing, by an impulse natural to their training. Today they have turned, and their voice is the other way. What caused the change? Merely a politician's trick — a high-sounding phrase, a blood-stirring phrase which turned their uncritical heads: *Our Country, right or wrong!* An empty phrase, a silly phrase. It was shouted by every newspaper, it was thundered from the pulpit... And every man who failed to shout it or who was silent, was proclaimed a traitor. To be a patriot, one had to say, and keep on saying, "Our Country, right or wrong," and urge on the little war. Have you not perceived that this phrase is an insult to the nation?

For, in a republic, [the country] is the common voice of the people. Each of you, for himself, by himself and on his own responsibility, must speak. And it is a weighty responsibility, not

to be flung aside at the bullying of pulpit, press, government, or the empty catch-phrases of politicians. Each must, for himself alone, decide what is right and what is wrong, and which course is patriotic and which isn't. You cannot shirk this and be a man. To decide it against your convictions is to be an unqualified and inexcusable traitor, both to yourself and to your country, let men label you as they may....

Only when a republic's *life* is in danger should a man uphold his government when it is in the wrong. There is no other time.

This Republic's life is not in peril. The nation has sold its honor for a phrase. It has swung itself loose from its safe anchorage and is drifting, its helm in pirate hands. The stupid phrase needed help, and it got another one: "Even if the war be wrong, we are in it and must fight it out; *we cannot retire from it without dishonor.*" Why, not even a burglar could have said it better. We cannot withdraw from this sordid raid because to grant peace to those little people upon their terms — independence — would dishonor us.

You have planted a seed, and it will grow.

[Twain then predicted] But it was too late to save the Great Republic.... She was rotten to the heart. Lust of conquest had long ago done its work; trampling upon the helpless abroad had taught her, by a natural process, to endure with apathy the like at home; multitudes who had applauded the crushing of other people's liberties, lived to suffer for their mistake in their own persons.

— "Glances at history," *Letters From the Earth*, pp 97-98. Twain did not release this scathing indictment of America's fall from grace during his lifetime, but he was active in the Anti-Imperialist League, and pointedly critical of the imperialist policies of powerful nations, including the United States. (See *back and inside*)

Trampling Upon Patriotic Ideals

By Louis F. Post
from the Georgist weekly,
The Public, Jan. 28, 1899



There come times in the history of nations when events compel them to bring their actions to the test of first principles. At such times the truly patriotic citizen is forced into a searching and momentous comparison of national ideals with immediate national purposes and policies. Upon the decisions at these crises measurably depends the fate of the nation — whether it shall rise farther toward its ideals, or sink away from them....

When events bring its purposes into open collision with its moral ideals, and the necessity is admitted of altering the one or modifying the other, the decision of that nation determines the direction in which it is going. If it decides for its ideals, it is advancing; if it decides against them, it is receding.

Whether the nation has always been true to its moral ideals, is at such a time of minor importance.... The vital question that confronts it is, whether the new policy it is urged to adopt, the new customs it is asked to establish, the new national habits it is advised to form, are in harmony with its ideals. If they are not, then their adoption would be not merely inconsistent; it would be equivalent to a deliberate repudiation....

To make conquests and establish over the people we conquer a government which they do not voluntarily accept, and in the management of which they are to have no voice, a government that is under no constitutional obligations to protect their lives and liberties, but which according to those who advocate it could dispose of all their rights in its discretion, would be to deny the fundamental right of self-government in a new relationship. Thus we should not merely remain inconsistent with our ideals; we should be turning our backs upon them. This is perfectly well understood by the advocates of imperial colonialism, and they brazenly urge us to turn our backs upon those ideals, arguing that the ideals are illusory.

(Continued on page 3, column 1)

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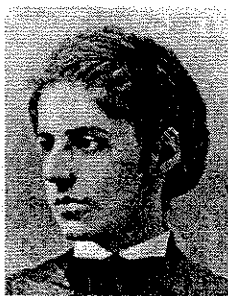
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Remembering Our Greatness

The New Colossus

by Emma Lazarus

Emma Lazarus wrote that "The New Colossus" was inspired by Henry George's tying freedom to access to land. She was also a fervent Zionist, but embraced principles for peaceful relations with the neighbors of Zion. Her poem, emblazoned on the Statue of Liberty, is now a painful reminder of what both America and Zionism have lost:



Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

The Patriot's National Anthem

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Philadelphia director of the Henry George School

Oh, do you recall, when this symbol of might
Was first proudly unfurled by a weak but free nation?
How it guided us all, like a beacon of light
And a symbol of hope against world domination?

Now the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Make patriots ask, "What are we doing there?"
Oh don't let my Star-Spangled Banner yet wave,
Over people we oppress, over lands we enslave.

Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?

by Werner Sombart, 1898 (excerpt)

1. One feels that the American worker... is not on the whole dissatisfied with the present condition of things. On the contrary, he feels that he is well, cheerful and in high spirits, as do all Americans. He has a most rosy and optimistic conception of the world. Live and let live is his basic maxim. As a result, the base of all those feelings and moods upon which a European worker builds his class consciousness is removed: envy, embitterment, and hatred against all those who have more and live more extravagantly.



2. There is expressed in the worker, as in all Americans, a boundless optimism, which comes out as a belief in the mission and greatness of his country.... "nowhere does the individual associate himself more constantly and directly with the greatness of his country".... He stands up for the Star-Spangled Banner. He is "patriotically" inclined.... The disintegrative force that leads to class separation, class opposition, class hatred and class conflict is weaker in America than in Europe, while the integrative force... is stronger. Among American workers one therefore finds none of the opposition to the State that is to be found in continental-European Socialism.

3. The American worker is not opposed to the capitalist economic system as such.... noted workers' leaders positively emphasize the community of interests of capital and labour. One such leader [Henry George] has said that "They are partners and should divide the results of industry in good faith and in good feeling," that if "laborers in their madness destroy capital, such is the work of ignorance and evil passions," and that the future will again produce the full harmony between capital and labour that is now only temporarily disturbed.

Sombart, the leading socialist writer of the 1890s, came to America to study why workers here had rejected socialism. European socialists had been frustrated by competition from America, and the utter rejection of socialism by American workers. Sombart concluded that the closing of the American frontier would bring rising rents and diminish freedom, and that Americans would embrace socialism as a result.

Mark Twain, from A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court

There is a phrase which has grown so common in the world's mouth that it has come to seem to have sense and meaning — the sense and meaning implied when it is used; that is the phrase which refers to this or that or the other nation as possibly being 'capable of self-government'; and the implied sense of it is, that there has been a nation somewhere, sometime or other, which wasn't capable of it — wasn't as able to govern itself as some self-appointed specialists were or would be to govern it. The master-minds of all nations, in all ages, have sprung in affluent multitude from the mass of the nation, and from the mass of the nation only — not from its privileged classes; and so, no matter what the nation's intellectual grade was, whether high or low, the bulk of its ability was in the long ranks of its nameless and its poor, and so it never saw the day that it had not the material in abundance whereby to govern itself. Which is to assert an always self-proven fact: that even the best governed and most free and most enlightened monarchy is still behind the best condition attainable by its people; and that the same is true of kindred governments of lower grades, all the way down to the lowest."



And How We Lost It

Post — Trampling Ideals

(Continued from front page, column 3)

...We cannot impose our government upon alien peoples against their will, without lining up our government alongside of the autocratic powers of the earth. It is only by assuming some fanciful divine right in derogation of their obvious natural rights that we can make them our "subjects"....

Nor is it any answer to say that the alien peoples are incapable of self-government. No one is capable of self-government, in the eyes of those who wish to govern him. What is our warrant for declaring a people incapable of self-government? Any people are far better able to govern themselves than are any other people to govern them. Super-imposed government may exterminate a people; it cannot elevate them....

Neither is it an answer to the objection to American imperial colonialism to cite American precedents in its favor. As already suggested, they prove nothing at the worst but that we have been at times indifferent to our ideals. The best use of bad precedents is to show, by those we have set aside, how far we have advanced toward our ideals.... We are proceeding with knowledge, with deliberation, with intention, to set up a new policy which is confessedly hostile; and in doing so we seek justification not in an attempt to elevate the policy to the level of the ideals, but in an attempt to pull down the ideals to the level of the policy....

We cannot make that decision under existing circumstances without trampling upon our national ideals; and with a nation, as with an individual, it were better that it have no ideals than that having them it should deliberately cast them aside. Let us in this crisis but choose to substitute the Russian ideal of government for the American, and we shall not be long in descending to the Russian mode. It is not only the liberties of our "subjects" that are at stake; the liberties of our citizens also hang in the balance.

But if we decide for our ideals instead of against them, if at this long-drawn-out crisis we determine to be true to the principle of self-government, we may then be grateful for the temptation which will have made it possible for us to become stronger in our love of liberty and to draw closer to our national ideals. For we may be sure that just as truly as by disregarding the liberties of others we imperil our own, we shall by recognizing theirs make ours more secure and perfect.

Louis F. Post was a vice president of the Chicago Liberty Meeting (1899) that led to the formation of the Central Anti-Imperialist League and was a vice president of the national Anti-Imperialist League. He edited the Georgist weekly, *The Public*, and was among the most influential leaders of the progressive movement. His reputation for principled protest was so well received that he was made Secretary of Labor under Wilson. In that capacity, he personally overruled more than 1500 INS war-time deportation orders against suspected radicals.

Shall It Never Come Down?

from the Georgist weekly, *The Public*, June 30, 1900, on occupation of Malaysia, Cuba and the Philippines

An answer to President McKinley's question "Who Will Haul It Down?"

Shall it never come down? Shall it never come down
From the heights where we placed it o'er hamlet and town?

Must it float there forever, the sign of our shame;
The flag which we love, whose glory and fame
Have been that it sheltered the wronged and oppressed;
That for Liberty's cause it by all should be blessed?
What matter if Malays or Cubans or others
Are weaker than we? Are they still not our brothers?
Is the birthright of freedom less theirs than 'tis ours?
Because they are weak, shall we crush out the powers
Which God has implanted? Forbid them to rise
To the stature of men 'neath the o'er arching skies?

Shall it never come down? Shall it never come down?
Must our flag, honored more than e'er scepter or crown,
Now float o'er a land which is peopled with slaves;
Or lies desolate, sown but with patriot graves?
Have we wandered so far from our principles, then,
That we're willing to traffic in women and men
In the effort to stand with the mighty of earth?
Can we hope to succeed, if the right of our birth
Is thus trampled upon? Can true freedom be ours
If we seek to oppress those with more feeble powers?
Oh, let it come down! Rather, let it be furled,
Than flaunt its disgrace 'neath the eyes of the world.

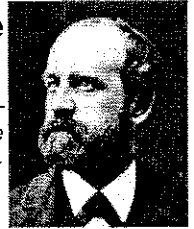
Shall it never come down? Shall it never come down,
No matter what happens to hamlet or town?
Must the red glare of war and the dread din of battle,
The cannon's hoarse roar and the musketry's rattle
Make us false to the cause which for years we have
claimed
Was most dear to our hearts, which we oft have
proclaimed
Was the source of our hopes — was the cause of our
being?

Must we fail of our aims when we thought we were seeing
The dawn of a day of peace on the earth;
When the progress of man at last should give birth
To freedom for all; which bursting all bands,
Should leave none oppressed throughout the known
lands?

Shall it never come down? Shall it never come down?
O God, hide Thy face! Lest Thy terrible frown
Shall strike us with death! Give us time to repent,
Ere, in Thy just wrath is the thunderbolt sent!
Oh, give us to see that our own cause is falling;
That unto the gods of the heathen we're calling,
When we say, in our pride, "We are better than they!
We've the right to command. They the right to obey."
Oh, bid us awake from our arrogant pride!
Make us strive once again on fair Liberty's side!
Make our flag stand for Freedom o'er hamlet and town,
Lest in shame and disgrace it forever come down.

— W.A. Hawley, Bellevue, PA

Henry George



Historians cite Henry George as the leading philosopher of America's early labor and progressive movements. He was heartily endorsed by such notable leaders as Terence Powderly, Upton Sinclair, Gompers, Twain, Post and Darrow. He died the year before the Spanish-American War began, but his successors upheld American ideals while taking up the anti-imperialist cause.

We are too strong for any foreign power wantonly to attack, we ought to be too great wantonly to attack others.... Standing navies and standing armies are inimical to the genius of democracy, and it ought to be our pride, as it is our duty, to show the world that a great republic can dispense with both.... The whole system is an insult to democracy, and ought to be swept away.

— From *Social Problems*, ch. 17, "The Functions of Government"

The doctrine that the Federal power should be slow to interfere in that in which it is not directly concerned is a foundation stone of our Republic.... If the Federal Executive of its own motion is to undertake to keep the peace between citizens throughout the land, what shall the end be? We shall need a standing army of hundreds of thousands of men. The moment this principle is acknowledged, there is an end to local self-government, the Republic dies, and in all but name and hereditary succession the Empire has come. It is the lesson of the history of the world — peace kept by a standing army is incompatible with a true republic.

— from "Peace by Standing Army" Speech at a protest against sending federal troops to break the Pullman strike

The Flag Is Not Polluted

Mark Twain's "apology"

I am not finding fault with this use of our flag; for in order not to seem eccentric I have swung around, now, and joined the nation in the conviction that nothing can sully a flag. I was not properly reared, and had the illusion that a flag was a thing which must be sacredly guarded against shameful uses and unclean contacts, lest it suffer pollution; and so when it was sent out to the Philippines to float over a wanton war and a robbing expedition I supposed it was polluted, and in an ignorant moment I said so. But I stand corrected. I concede and acknowledge that it was only the government that sent it on such an errand that was polluted. Let us compromise on that. I am glad to have it that way. For our flag could not well stand pollution, never having been used to it, but it is different with the administration.

Twain on Cheap Patriotism

Patriotism — oh Laura! that sham, that perversion, that silver-gilt nursery-bauble wherewith this combination of Land-grabbers, Constitution-linkers, imbeciles and hypocrites beguiles and captures those confiding children the People.

— *Letters from the Earth*, p. 97

Land tenure is the key problem

Land and the American Character

This public domain — the vast extent of land yet to be reduced to private possession, the enormous common to which the faces of the energetic were always turned, has been the great fact that, since the days when the first settlements began to fringe the Atlantic Coast, has formed our national character and colored our national thought. It is not that we have eschewed a titled aristocracy and abolished primogeniture; that we elect all our officers from school director up to president; that our laws run in the name of the people, instead of in the name of a prince; that the State knows no religion, and our judges wear no wigs — that we have been exempted from the ills that Fourth of July orators used to point to as characteristic of the effete despotisms of the Old World. The general intelligence, the general comfort, the active invention, the power of adaptation and assimilation, the free, independent spirit, the energy and hopefulness that have marked our people, are not causes, but results — they have sprung from unfenced land. This public domain has been the transmuting force which has turned the thriftless, unambitious European peasant into the self-reliant Western farmer; it has given a consciousness of freedom even to the dweller in crowded cities, and has been a wellspring of hope even to those who have never thought of taking refuge upon it. The child of the people, as he grows to manhood in Europe, finds all the best seats at the banquet of life marked "taken," and must struggle with his fellows for the crumbs that fall, without one chance in a thousand of forcing or sneaking his way to a seat. In America, whatever his condition, there has always been the consciousness that the public domain lay behind him; and the knowledge of this fact, acting and reacting, has penetrated our whole national life, giving to it generosity and independence, elasticity and ambition. All that we are proud of in the American character; all that makes our conditions and institutions better than those of older countries, we may trace to the fact that land has been cheap in the United States, because new soil has been open to the emigrant.

But our advance has reached the Pacific.... The republic has entered upon a new era, an era in which the monopoly of the land will tell with accelerating effect. The great fact which has been so potent is ceasing to be.

— Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*,
"Property in land in the United States"

Mark Twain on Land and Warfare

Man is the only animal that robs his helpless fellow of his country — takes possession of it and drives him out of it or destroys him. Man has done this in all the ages. There is not an acre of ground on the globe that is in possession of its rightful owner, or that has not been taken away from owner after owner, cycle after cycle, by force and bloodshed....

Man is the only Patriot. He sets himself apart in his own country, under his own flag, and sneers at the other nations, and keeps multitudinous uniformed assassins on hand at heavy expense to grab slices of other people's countries, and to keep them from grabbing slices of his. And in the intervals between campaigns he washes the blood off his hands and works for "the universal brotherhood of man" — with his mouth.

— from "The Lowest Animal"

The Person Sitting in Darkness is almost sure to say: "There is something curious about this — curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's freedom away from him and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land.

— from "To the Person Sitting in Darkness"

The great bulk of the savages must go. The white man wants their lands, and all must go excepting such percentage of them as he will need to do his work for him upon terms to be determined by himself.

— from *Following the Equator*, "Cecil Rhodes"

Give me the private ownership of all the land, and... I will undertake to make slaves of all the human beings on the face of it. Not chattel slaves exactly, but slaves nevertheless. What an idiot I would be to make chattel slaves of them. I would have to find them salts and senna when they were sick, and whip them to work when they were lazy.

— from "Archimedes"

from "Land, Liberty and Justice"

By Louis F. Post

No nation or class has ever forced its dominion upon another for the good of the latter, and none ever will. The desire for mastership is the most evil of all passions; and however it may mask its designs in philanthropic pretensions, the nation or class that seeks to govern others does so for its own aggrandizement. "It is not for my breakfast that you invite me down, said the goat... to the wolf, but for your own."

Land Titles Derive from Conquest

By Herbert Spencer,
Social Statics (1850)



It can never be pretended that the existing titles to [land] are legitimate.... Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning — these are the sources to which those titles may be traced.

"But Time," say some, "is a great legalizer. Immemorial possession must be taken to constitute a legitimate claim. That which has been held from age to age as private property, and has been bought and sold as such, must now be considered as irrevocably belonging to individuals." To which proposition a willing assent shall be given when its propounders can assign it a definite meaning. To do this, however, they must find satisfactory answers to such questions as, How long does it take for what was originally a *wrong* to grow into a *right*? At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? If a title gets perfect in a thousand years, how much more than perfect will it be in two thousand years? And so forth. For the solution of which they will require a new calculus.

Free seminar

Land Tenure and Warfare

How our European-based land tenure system fosters conflict
Saturday, May 24, 10 a.m.
at the Henry George School
413 S. 10th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19147
To RSVP, call 215-922-4278

Other Saturday Seminars in 2003

April 26 at	Intentional communities — blueprints for Arden, DE the future. \$15 for meals.
May 10	The myth of corporate efficiency
June 14	Tom Paine: ahead of <i>our</i> time
June 28	Land and the American legacy
July 12	Growth without corporate welfare
July 16-20,	"Affordable Cities," N. American Georgist Bridgeport Conference, w panel on anti-imperialism: CN see: http://progress.org/cgo/conf03.html
July 26	Orwellian economics: how a science has been undermined by euphemisms
Aug 9	Raising wages: beyond minimum wage
Aug 23	The birth of the American labor movement
Sept. 13	The free-trade fraud
Sept. 27	The lost science of money
Oct. 11	American Indian land tenure