

# HENRY GEORGE NEWS

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## Henry George and the Forgotten Man

By RAYMOND MOLEY

I WAS a youngster in Ohio (Cleveland is "my native land") in 1901-2. In a vain hope that I might improve my rhetorical capacity, I recited some of the passages from *Progress and Poverty*. My political ideal was Tom Johnson, and his ideal was Henry George. You can't take from me any of my respect for George.

There *must* be something in the name and philosophy of Henry George greater than the immediate objective, to have kept it warm and vital all these years.

I went through the campaign of 1932 when Roosevelt made the speech about the forgotten man. He got that phrase from an essay by William Graham Sumner, but what Roosevelt later meant by the forgotten man was not what Sumner meant when he wrote this:

"The Forgotten Man is delving away in patient industry, supporting his family, paying his taxes, casting his vote, supporting the church and the school, reading his newspaper, and cheering for the politician of his admiration, but he is the only one for whom there is no provision in the great scramble and the big divide . . . He works, he votes, generally he prays—but he always pays—yes, above all he pays . . . He keeps production going on . . . He is strongly patriotic . . . He gives no trouble . . . He excites no admiration . . . He is not in any way a hero . . . or a problem . . . nor notorious . . . nor an object of sentiment . . . nor a burden . . . nor the object of a job . . . nor one over whom sentimental economists and statesmen can parade their fine sentiments . . . Therefore he is forgotten."<sup>1</sup>

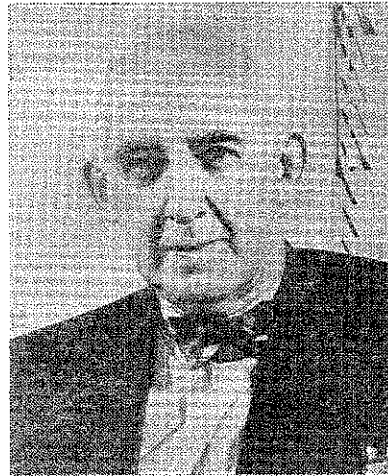
He didn't belong to a class; he might have been a farmer, a school teacher, or a shopkeeper. He was the average American, and that is the man who must be awakened in 1952.

I stayed around as long as I could, but in 1936 I decided that the administration was not the friend of this average American. The chasm had been widening and I was scared, because something was happening that was inimical to that forgotten man.

So I went down at Mr. Roosevelt's request and wrote an acceptance speech of what I thought he ought to say in 1936. Why not heal this widening breach by a unifying factor, I suggested. And he said, "fine, fine, fine."

But after the second day of the convention at Philadelphia some other fellows decided to make a fighting speech of it, with at least twenty references to class—like "economic royalist," etc. The framework of my speech was left in, but there was class against class, and not unity—not the forgotten man. That was when I walked out and never went back. Henry George rises above all of this recent disunity.

We don't need to worry in this country about tyranny in its *more repellent* forms. What we do need to worry about is tyranny in its *most seductive* forms. Alexis de Tocqueville expressed this very well when he made the following comments on the condition of American institutions in the 1830's:



"I think, then, that the species of oppression by which democratic nations are menaced is unlike anything that ever before existed in the world; our contemporaries will find no prototype of it in their memories. I seek in vain for an expression that will accurately convey the whole of the idea I have formed of it; the old words *despotism* and *tyranny* are inappropriate: the thing itself is new, and since I cannot name, I must attempt to define it.

"I seek to trace the novel features under which despotism may appear in the world. The first thing that strikes the observation is an innumerable multitude of men, all equal and alike, incessantly endeavoring to procure the petty and paltry pleasures with which they glut their lives.

"Above this race of men stands an immense and tutelary power, which takes upon itself alone to secure their gratifications and to watch over their fate. That power is absolute, minute, regular, provident, and mild . . . For their happiness such a government willingly labors, but it chooses to be the sole agent and the only arbiter of that happiness; it provides for their security, forseees and supplies their necessities, facilitates their pleasures, manages their principal concerns, directs their industry, regulates the descent of property, and subdivides their inheritances . . .

" . . . Such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd."<sup>2</sup>

Like it or not! He was describing the welfare state!

The reason I like Henry George is that he saw that coming. He was against socialism, and you can't have any compromise with socialism—because socialism is the antithesis of freedom.

I would mention four aspects of present poli-

cies that open the way to socialism in this country.

The first is the destruction of the states through the expansion of Federal power. Fifty years ago grants to the states were three million dollars. Today they are close to three billion dollars. Together with this increase has gone a steady stealing by the Federal government of the tax resources of the state and local governments. Socialism, in order to prevail, must become national and the elimination of the authority of the states is an essential part of its invasion.

The second means by which socialism attains its hold is through the destruction of the savings of the people. In seven years, the real savings of the American people have gone down 23 per cent. Thus in something like another twenty-five years at that rate, the savings of the people will be gone and Government will be the sole means of security.

The third method is through the expropriation of income. I hardly need to tell you how devastating the march of the income tax has been. The Sixteenth Amendment is one of the greatest enemies of private property ever devised.

Finally there is the danger of the tyranny of the executive. The President has given us an example of that in his seizure of the steel mills.

Thus the "four horsemen of socialism" are riding in our Federal Administration. An especially important aspect of present conditions is the emphasis placed by political parties upon materialism and material gains. This means that our politicians and many of our leaders are eliminating ethics as a basis of economic life. Here again Henry George raised a warning hand long ago.

But you can't have Karl Marx and Henry George, too. You can't have a little bit of Marx and a little bit of George—because they don't mix. We're fighting for traditional values in this country. Some people ask where we want to be a hundred years from now. I think what matters is the direction in which we're going. If we know we're not selling our birthright we don't have to worry about where we're going to be.

That direction would be away from the tyranny of the state. Give men freedom and they'll find their way. Remember *there is a God!* One of the greatest exponents of the philosophy of Henry George is John C. Lincoln. He has written a book about Christ<sup>3</sup>, showing how we must get back to the fundamentally ethical basis of economics.

Unless economics has an ethical basis, then economics is a false guide, and ultimately a tyrannous master.

1. William Graham Sumner: *The Forgotten Man and Other Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press; 1918).

2. Alexis de Tocqueville: *Democracy in America* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf; 1945).

3. *Christ's Object in Life* by John C. Lincoln (Henry George School, New York, 1948).

## A Word With You

By ROBERT CLANCOY

### Is Anybody Listening?

This is the title of a challenging volume by William H. Whyte, Jr., and the editors of *Fortune* magazine. It is subtitled *How and Why U. S. Business Fumbles When it Talks With Human Beings*, and contains some pretty sharp observations on that fumbling.

As the title suggests, American business (primarily the big corporations) is failing in its extensive campaign to "put over" the message of "free enterprise" to the American public.

In brief, the authors' diagnosis is that business in its heavy reliance on mass technique, expertism and "social engineering," has lost contact with the human being.

All this comes under the frowning scrutiny of the *Fortune* editors and is aiding, they say, the trend toward "groupthink." This 1984-type coinage, as it suggests, means emphasizing system, participation, adjustment, group harmony, as an end-all, at the expense of individual values.

But there they leave us, hanging over the cliff. They do at the very end rather lamely propose that "a new respect for the individual must be kindled"—and warn us that it "cannot easily be worked out."

There seemed to me to be a between-the-lines message in the clever probing of *Is Anybody Listening?* Do American businessmen themselves believe the message of free enterprise that they are so earnestly endeavoring to impart? Or has it merely become the right, the official, the institutional thing to put forward? And is there behind-the-scenes skepticism even on very high levels?

If this is so—and there is plenty of evidence to support it—then a new *how* and *why* is in order.

Our economy based on a grab for monopoly and privilege, institutionalized by big labor, big business and big government, is tough on everybody, those at the top, the middle and the bottom. Problems become more than individuals should have to face, so it's no wonder they look for a "system" to do the solving.

Somehow the situation reminds me of the latter days of the Roman Empire when the old sources of prosperity were drying up and people were trying to make the old ways continue working.

There's a better way. It's contained in the pages of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. Is anybody listening?

## Gems for Georgeists

By NOAH D. ALPER

### At Last: The Single Tax

Many people think the "single tax" is a tax on those who are single. This news may interest them. According to Roessner of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, "When the bridegroom is well along in years, the girls cluck and say, 'Isn't it wonderful to have love bloom in the winter of life!' And says he, 'It sure is! . . . And it beats the bachelors' tax.'"

The bachelors' tax, no partiality to sex, is accomplished by an act of Congress which ended a great inequality between couples in some states but "set up the same inequality between married men and single men . . . and bachelor girls."

"Thousands of men," says Roessner, "are engaged in the business of advising people how to minimize their taxes . . . Perhaps they should put more stress on the very simple point: 'Get married!'"

How much can tax laws do to us anyway? Why fear the sting of death?

### How Much Do We Pay?

"This continual passing on of taxes makes it extremely difficult to determine just what share of any person's income eventually goes for taxes. Two noted economists, Rufus S. Tucker of General Motors, and R. A. Musgrave of the University of Michigan tried, some time ago, to find out. Their findings for incomes under \$7,500 were closely parallel.

"Those with incomes under \$1000 pay slightly less than 18 per cent; those with incomes from \$1000 to \$2000 pay over 20 per cent, and those with incomes from \$2000 to \$7500, in the vicinity of 24 per cent. For those making more than \$7500, the Musgrave study indicated that 36.4 per cent went to taxes and the Tucker study, 44.7 per cent."

—From *Today's Business*: *St. Louis Globe Democrat*

### Whiskey Tax, Law of Diminishing Returns and "Whiskey Rebellion" for Profit.

The Federal Government, the Uncle Sam who really "came to dinner" in taxation since the income tax was legalized, boosted the excise tax on whiskey from \$9 to \$10.50—and things began to happen. Somewhere in the tax universes beyond tax universes, this whiskey tax collided with the one thing most college students of economics remember—the Law of Diminishing Returns.

Not so bootlegging, however. It seems far from the point where the risk of getting caught goes up and chances of profits go down. "Industry claims that only one moonshiner in six gets caught." . . . "It is expected," "that federal-state-local figure (of seizures) for the fiscal year ending June 30 will reach a 10-year high of more than 20,000 stills with a combined daily capacity of more than 800,000 gallons."

"Coupled with the state taxes averaging \$1.66 a gallon the federal tariff gives the outlaw booze peddler a margin of \$2.43 a fifth (of a gallon) on his wares."

"Federal authorities contend they could bring bootleg traffic under control in short order with more agents and the full cooperation of the states," and so bureaucracy grows.

State authorities report that the federal tax hike not only cut down their own revenue but was an open invitation to the sale and consumption of bootleg liquor.

### The Great American Tax Shift

Since 1946, state governments have about doubled tax collections from five principle sources, Commerce Clearing House reports. These, and their increases are: Gasoline, up 87 per cent; income, up 80 per cent; motor vehicles, up 98 per cent; sales and use, up 115 per cent, and tobacco up 110 per cent.

### To Study Graded Tax Plan

The Town Meeting of Arlington, Massachusetts, on March 31 voted to appoint a committee of five "to investigate and consider the Pennsylvania Real Estate Tax Plan known as the Pittsburgh Plan, and its recent extension to 47 third class cities) as it may apply to Arlington, and to report not later than the Annual Town Meeting of 1952.

As reported in *The American City Magazine*, May 1952, the leader in this movement is Robert Zwicker, a well-known Arlington business man.

### Federal Sales Tax Grease Job

The boys are at it again; they never give up. Fronting for the federal sales tax is the Committee for Economic Development. C. E. D.'s report says, "It is possible that a combination of good luck, vigorous monetary policy and direct controls would enable the nation to squeak through the next two years without further inflation . . ." But, as they build the case, the sales tax is really all that can do it. To grease the way for easy acceptance it is suggested that it be "temporary"; that "avoid undue burdens on persons with very low incomes . . . exempting food and housing from the sales tax."

## John C. Lincoln Says

The writings of few, if any, American philosophers and economists have been more widely discussed, more critically analyzed, more enthusiastically acclaimed or more bitterly opposed than have those of Henry George. Since the publication of *Progress and Poverty* in 1879, books and articles on the George philosophy have been coming forth in an almost unbroken stream. And the end is not in sight.

George opposed the nationalization of land. He said that under the appropriation of ground rent for public purposes land titles would continue in private names, and owners would remain in exclusive possession of their land. He always insisted that only with the assurance of continued and exclusive possession of the soil and with the unqualified right of the producer to the fruits of his toil would land be put to its best use. Only for non-payment of ground rent would land be subject to forfeiture.

There has recently come to my attention a two-page mimeographed circular bearing the notation, "NAM Government Finance Department H. L. Lutz—8/7/51," and captioned "The Single Tax." Perhaps the most astounding statement to be found in the circular is this: "George assumed that landowners fixed their rents."

Any literate and conscientious truth seeker could have ascertained in five minutes that George assumed nothing of the kind. On the contrary, George held that ground rent was a socially created value resulting from the presence and activity of people, and that the individual landowner had no more to do with giving value to his land than had any other member of the community.

The author of the circular gets on the right road again when he says, "Rent is a social product, it is true. It is the differential return that can be gotten from one piece of land over some other piece . . . But it is not the landlord who determines the differential."

The circular tells us that "the proper way to cover the cost (of government) is by spreading the burden across the board." If ground rent is a social product, as the writer of the pamphlet concedes, then it must, in simple logic, belong to society as a whole. Such being the case, the use of ground rent for the public expense would be the widest possible "spreading of the burden."

—From the *June Lincoln Letter*

## The End of the Trail

By SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

**P**RESIDENT TRUMAN and Governor Dewey have demanded that rent controls be continued. When will these controls end? Will political pressures continue them from now on?

Let us look down the road we are travelling. France, with its people living in hovels, is nearing the end of the trail. France, in 1914, was one of the most prosperous countries in the world. Among other things, she had accumulated the second largest gold hoard of any nation, next only to America. Came two wars, and rents—determined by politics instead of by supply and demand—and, finally, socialism.

France began rent controls in 1914 as a war emergency measure. They have been continued to the present time—33 years. With what result?

In Paris, over half the buildings are over 60 years old. Throughout France 20 per cent of the buildings are over 100 years old. Last year, in Paris, 60,000 people were turned out of 2,000 buildings about to fall down.

Tenants earning \$1,500 a year are paying as little as \$10 a year in rent! Few rents now are over 5 per cent of tenant's income, many as low as 1 per cent. The owner cannot afford to make repairs. The tenant will not. Therefore, millions are living in hovels.

Rent controls and repeated devaluations of the franc, due to unbalanced budgets and cowardly politicians, have produced this result. But, as long as the tenant pays, he can't be put out. Contracts and property rights mean nothing. Politics has given him the privilege of occupying other person's property without paying anything but a token compensation. The tenant, in effect, has stolen the landlord's building. When the building finally falls down, the owner will have received nothing with which to rebuild.

For a while, after World War I, rent controls on new buildings were removed. This made the rentals on new buildings five to ten times the legal rents on old housing. So, few tenants moved, and not many new buildings were built. During World War II, rent controls were also imposed on the new buildings which had been erected. So owners found they could not depend upon the law anymore than they could depend upon written contracts.

Meantime, the building industry has itself collapsed. The old craftsmen have died, and contractors have gone out of business. Assuming that men and materials can be assembled, the index of the cost of building (in devalued francs) is now 6,500 as against 100 in 1914. Rents have increased 5 times; costs have increased 65 times!

Fortunately, we are, as yet, a long way from the conditions that prevails in France. But for years, rackets in the building trades and obsolete building codes have been drying up private construction here in the U.S.A. So we turn to "public housing," an arrangement under which the tenants are subsidized by the taxpayer.

France, too, tried public housing, but has come to the end of that rail. France is broke, and can build no more. Socialism killed free enterprise, and now socialism is committing suicide!

"Control of government must be redeemed from the special interests which have usurped it and restored to the people."—JOHN DEWEY

## PLAIN TALK by Jerome Joachim



The concept nurtured by most traffic enforcement personnel, including police, judges, etc., as to the reason for traffic regulation is so far from the original intent of these laws that the public often looks upon many regulations as mere annoyances rather than as a real aid to motorists.

To me a stop sign, signal light or other traffic regulation device is merely a reminder that we motorists have made certain agreements with reference to our conduct at these dangerous points.

Since an accident would occur if both hit the intersection at the same time the sign is merely a method of communication which enables the drivers to decide who shall go first.

Obviously a motorist who approaches one of these signals, at a time when he can plainly see that there isn't a car within a block or two, knows there can be no "implied" agreement with someone who doesn't exist. He knows that he has an obligation not to do anything contrary to his implied agreement which might cause an accident, but when he is certain that no accident can occur, he can only be irked by the fact that the "law" expects him to observe a senseless regulation.

But to many traffic enforcement officers, the fact that a driver did everything necessary to make certain that no accident would occur is beside the point. He has been told that he must make more "pinches." Failure to do this brings censure to him. Pressure is constantly being

brought to force him to get more revenue "from motorists."

Conversely, when an accident occurs, he and his superiors have little interest in aiding the driver who suffered from the failure of someone to observe the implied agreements. Complainants who attempt to use traffic courts to establish a case against those who have caused

them damage or injury usually hear the judge say:

"What does he think this court is? A collection agency?"

The principal function of government and the police force of a nation should be to prevent people from injuring each other physically or financially either by force, deceit or carelessness. Anyone who attends sessions of the average traffic court will soon realize that this basic purpose has become secondary and that the real purpose of these courts is to provide additional revenue for the community needs.

An ideal traffic enforcement plan would be one in which traffic officials would have but two duties. The first would be to prevent accidents, the second would be to help those injured and damaged by the carelessness of others to collect for such losses as they sustain.

Until such a concept is fostered by the community it seems likely that men will continue to "fear" or "hate" the traffic regulations which they should and would respect and obey if our thinking were more rational.

## "The Land Is Mine"

**M**ATTHEW RAMAGE in Washington, D. C., who is alert to Georgist happenings, calls attention to remarks made by Walter Locke in The Atlanta Journal, which, at the request of Hon. Henderson L. Lapham, Representative of Georgia, were read into the Congressional Record Appendix in March, 1952. A portion of the article follows:

"We have had as yet no great land problem in America. Till lately there was land for anyone who would settle on it and make use of it. Our social pressures were eased by the plenty of land . . .

"The free land gone, we set up unemployment insurance for the jobless. As a substitute for free land, Government provided credit for the purchase of homes.

"No serious land problem in America as yet. A big country, a small population has seen to that.

"With no land problem at home, we have not understood the plight of peoples in the older, crowded lands. But for this we might have been able to save China . . .

"From the landlords of Korea the Communists took without compensation all their land save what they could till themselves. The confiscated land was then distributed among the tenants. But the tenant did not find himself an owner . . .

"India has half the land of the United States and more than twice as many people . . . End the land problem, you end the Communists . . ."

## "Long May She Wave"

By ETHEL LYMAN STANNARD

**W**HEN Manchester (Connecticut) observed Freedom Day it was taken for granted that everybody knew what freedom was. However there seemed to be much vagueness about it. I became interested and reviewed the ideas gleaned from the dictionary, the Golden Rule, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights.

John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty" also came under review, as well as a study by John Herman Randall, Henry George's "Ode to Liberty," and a recent book by David Lilienthal entitled *This I Do Believe*.

I might have quoted other sources like Jefferson, Lincoln or Emerson, but I tried to make a summary of all the essentials in these terms:

Freedom is the natural right to choose and pursue our own good in our own way. It is founded upon justice and the dignity and integrity of the individual—his God-given right to himself and the full fruit of his labor. It includes equality of access to the natural bounty; unobstructed trade; equality of suffrage and the right to think, say, and do as we will without let or hindrance, so long as we do not infringe the same equal rights of others.

In human society freedom is safeguarded by the right of the minority to effect change, by reasoning persuasion, in the decisions of the majority; and by eternal vigilance in the delegating of power to governments.

## Activity in Pennsylvania

PROFESSOR HARRY GUNNISON BROWN, of Columbia, Missouri, enlisted as an active speaker in the Pennsylvania campaign during the month of June, and under the direction of Secretary Percy R. Williams has been addressing civic and commercial organizations and colleges in various cities and towns.

Speaking on the subject of "Incentive Taxation for Private Enterprise," he has been citing very impressive facts and figures from Australia which go far to prove the success of land value taxation by contract with those communities which are still pursuing the old method of a flat tax rate on all real estate, including improvements. He relates the Australian experience to what has been achieved in Pittsburgh and Scranton and to the opportunity now open to all cities of the third class in Pennsylvania through new state legislation.

Dr. Brown spoke recently in Butler, Beaver Falls, Monongahela, New Castle, New Kensington, Rochester, Brookline and Pittsburgh. In the latter city he was given a very cordial welcome at the University of Pittsburgh, where he spoke to the combined classes in economics and was presented by Dr. Francis D. Tyson, who has long been an advocate of land value taxation and particularly of the Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan. He also participated in a radio program with Senator Bernard B. McGinnis, sponsor of the new state legislation. Mayor John J. Mullen of Clairton, President of the League of Cities of the Third Class, and Assistant City Solicitor Harry C. Beschel of Pittsburgh, under the direction of Secretary John C. Weaver of the Hungry Club.

On this program Mayor Mullen gave his unqualified public endorsement to the Graded Tax Plan and predicted its adoption by the City of Clairton before the end of the year and effective for next year's tax levy. He announced that in preparation for such action the Clairton City Assessor had just completed the first separate assessment of land and buildings in that city as authorized by Act. No. 299.

Dr. Brown also addressed a luncheon meeting of the Henry George Foundation while in Pittsburgh and took occasion to express his great satisfaction with the progress of the movement in the Keystone State and to offer constructive suggestions as to the best strategy for Georgists to follow to advance the cause.

Early in July Dr. Brown is scheduled to appear in Easton, following a brief visit to New York, and will address a meeting under the direction of George F. Hellick in which city, county and school officials and interested citizens will participate.

### T. E. McMillan

It is with sorrowful regret that we announce the death of T. E. McMillan of Matamoras, New Zealand, active in this movement for 15 years, and known abroad as editor and publisher of the Liberal Leader.

H. T. A. McGahan of Turanga-O-Moana, N. Z., has offered to carry on a small monthly paper in that enchanted city with the "Maori-like" name.

### Arthur Weller

News of the death of Arthur Weller of Manchester, England, publisher of The Porcupine, has also reached us. This is another sad loss to the Georgist movement, and in this case no one has volunteered to take his place.

## Sveriges Rattsforbund

THE SWEDISH MORAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION has released to readers of The Henry George News, the English text of their detailed program outlining a philosophy for an enlightened society. This new popular movement based on a "logical moral principle," is cogently calling the country to task. The liberty and responsibility of the individual is carefully balanced with the object, organization and duties of the state.

In general this program is similar to that of the justice party in Denmark. Although the Swedish proposals are not in complete accord with Henry George's philosophy, we assume that the framers of the document had good reasons for effecting a compromise.

The Justice Association states in its program: "The natural resources and the value of the land arising out of the fact that the community is growing, and not out of individual accomplishment, should be common property and belong to all to the same extent. From this it follows that:

Equal right to the land means that those who make use of it should compensate the other citizens for this special privilege by paying full land rent; in this all citizens have equal part . . .

The rightful income of the national state and the local communities consists of the land rent, the returns of the domains belonging to the state, and the profit which might be made by the central bank. According as taxes are necessary they should be levied proportionally to the individual incomes. Fees collected for special purposes such as automobile taxes, radio licenses, fees of post, telegraph and telephone, etc., should be used only for these special purposes (upkeep of roads, etc.).

Omitting, for the sake of brevity, sections concerning the freedom of the individual, health, public relief, registration, the financial system, the judiciary and public works, we quote in full the "Program for Immediate Measures:"

1) Taxes should be cut and modified immediately. The government's expenses should be reduced and the tax burden likewise.

2) All taxation hampering production should be abolished immediately.

3) The system of taxation should be changed. The value of the land itself should be assessed separately as well as improvements and constructions. One should profit by the experiences made in Denmark.

4) The tax on real estate now levied by the government and local communities should be substituted by land rent.

5) The freedom of industry should be re-introduced. All obstacles to a free exercise of a trade or a profession that are not necessary for reasons of safety and order should be abolished. The commission system and other regulations hampering free industry should be abolished.

6) Complete free trade should be introduced as soon as possible. Government and parliament should appeal to the governments of other countries also to demolish trade barriers.

7) The relief program should be changed to comprise only those who are really needy.

8) The Swedish school is in a stage of reform and it should be made clear that it must be the object of the school to inspire the children and the youth with a feeling of respect for the ethical laws, especially as regards the life, property and good name of their fellow-creatures.



Mrs. John Dewey, Adrienne, John, and month before the philosopher's death.

JOHN DEWEY once encouraged a young man to climb mountains. When asked why, he replied, "to see another mountain to climb." Then in his slow Vermont cadence, he added, "when you get through wanting to climb mountains, life is over."

Dr. Dewey, the beloved honorary president of the Henry George School, died at his home in New York on June 1st, at the age of ninety-two. Many of his friends doubtless believe this means that he has climbed his last mountain, but many others will take a different view.

Donald Harrington, minister of The Community Church, New York, said of Dr. Dewey in a simple but moving tribute, "here was more than a teacher or reformer; here was a true philosopher-saint, whose life shall inspire us so long as we draw breath. And so we give thanks for him. And we know that all that was best in him can never be taken from us. It is ours always."

Mr. Harrington referred to John Dewey as "philosopher, teacher, educational pioneer, and great, good, gentle man, who was wise beyond words, yet very simple; great yet humble, famous and reckoned among the mighty, yet one who was sweet and loving in his ways and who never lost the common touch."

The young minister, successor to John Hayes Holmes who was prevented by illness from being present, spoke of "our need to dedicate ourselves anew to the ends of human striving which he portrayed, namely the enrichment of human life in all its aspects in the achievement of a cooperative and harmonious human community. When the full impact of his revolutionary thought reaches the heart of our society, some generations hence, scarcely a single social institution will remain as it is today," said Mr. Harrington.

Naturally it is significant for us that a man of such undisputed eminence should have paid repeated tributes to Henry George, referring to him as "one of the great names among the world's social philosophers." Many of us are familiar with his comment: "It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with him."

"I do not say these things in order to vaunt Henry George's place as a thinker in contrast with the merits of his proposals for a change in





John Dewey, in a characteristic family mood a

methods of distributing the burdens of taxation," wrote Dr. Dewey. "To my mind the two things go together. His clear intellectual insight into social conditions, his passionate feeling for the remediable ills from which humanity suffers, find their logical conclusion to his plan for liberating labor and capital from the shackles which now bind them. But I am especially concerned to point out the claims which his social theory has upon the attention of students.

"No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker . . .

"It is because the present system not only depresses the material status of the mass of the population, but especially because it renders one-sided and inequitable the people's share in these higher values that we find in *Progress and Poverty* the analysis of the scientist combined with the sympathies and aspirations of a great lover of mankind.

"There have been economists of great repute who in their pretension to be scientific have ignored the most significant elements in human nature. There have been others who were emotionally stirred by social ills and who proposed glowing schemes of betterment, but who passed lightly over facts. It is the thorough fusion of insight into actual facts and forces, with recognition of their bearing upon what makes human life worth living, that constitutes Henry George one of the world's great social philosophers."

John Dewey, addressing a radio audience in 1933, fifty years after the publication of *Social Problems* by Henry George said:

"The contradiction between increasing plenty, increase of potential security,—and actual want and insecurity is stated in the title of his chief work, *Progress and Poverty*. That is what his book is about. It is a record of the fact that as the means and appliances of civilization increase, poverty and insecurity also increase. It is an explanation of why millionaires and tramps multiply together. It is a prediction of why this state of affairs will continue; it is a prediction of the plight in which the nation finds itself today. At the same time it is the explanation of why this condition is artificial, man-made, un-

"The ideal ends to which we attach our faith are not shadowy and wavering. They assume concrete form in our understanding of our relations to one another and the values contained in these relations. We who now live are parts of a humanity that extend into the remote past, a humanity that has interacted with nature. The things in civilization we most prize are not of ourselves. They exist by grace of the doings and sufferings of the continuous human community in which we are a link. Ours is the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, rectifying and expanding the heritage of values we have received that those who come after us may receive it more solid and secure, more widely accessible and more generously shared than we have received it. Here are all the elements for a religious faith that shall not be confined to sect, class, or race. Such a faith has always been implicitly the common faith of mankind. It remains to make it explicit and militant."

—From *A Common Faith* by John Dewey

necessary, and how it can be remedied. So I suggest that as a beginning of the first steps to permanent recovery there be a nation-wide revival of interest in the writings and teachings of Henry George, and that there be such an enlightenment of public opinion that our representatives in legislatures and public places be compelled to adopt the changes he urged.

"Go to the work of Henry George himself," he advised, "and learn how many of the troubles from which society still suffers, and suffers increasingly, are due to the fact that a few have monopolized the land, and that in consequence they have the power to dictate to others access to the land and to its products—which include waterpower, electricity, coal, iron and all minerals, as well as the foods that sustain life—and that they have the power to appropriate to their private use the values that the industry, the civilized order, the very benefactions, of others produce. This wrong is at the very basis of our present social and economic chaos, and until it is righted, all steps toward economic recovery may be temporarily helpful while in the long run useless.

"I do not claim that George's remedy is a panacea that will cure by itself all our ailments," he said in conclusion. "But I do claim that we cannot get rid of our basic troubles without it."

Mrs. John Dewey, who had hoped to be present at the Twentieth Anniversary banquet in New York, sent a message based upon her knowledge of her husband's interest.

She referred to the Henry George School as a pioneer in adult education, not merely in literature and the arts (which had previously composed most of adult education), but in economic thought. John Dewey was deeply interested in this school, she said, not only because of his enthusiasm for Henry George, but also because he thought this education of citizens in economics, which was vitally important, had been neglected.

J. Rupert Mason of San Francisco, president of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, though unable to be present, extended an invitation to all banquet guests to attend the international conference in Denmark July 29 to August 4.

"The Henry George School of Social Science," wrote Mr. Mason, "which was merely an idea twenty short years ago, is living proof today of the truth in a saying attributed to Victor Hugo: 'More powerful than military force is an idea whose time has come.'"

## A Libertarian's Platform

By JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

THE platform of the libertarian candidate is simple. It has only one plank in it: *No special privilege for anyone.*

He concerns himself with only two methods of achieving this worthy objective:

1. The free market.
2. Government limited to the defense of life and property.

There is no way known to man to determine prices of goods or rates of wages or where man should travel or where he should work or how long he should labor or in what manner he should exchange the fruits of his efforts, except in a market free of coercion or by some measure of authoritarianism. There is no possible way of determining value except by what an unfettered people will offer — of their own free will — in exchange for any product or for any service. But governmental authoritarianism can, and does, curtail and destroy this freedom in the market place by granting special privileges to various persons and groups.

Special privilege cannot be granted, however, except by a government that is out-of-bounds. Government, limited to the defense of the life and livelihood of all citizens equally, has no special privilege within its power to grant. A government cannot grant anything to anyone which it does not take from someone else.

The libertarian candidate, regardless of how great his competence may be, reasons thus: "You as a person are better able to control your life than I am. Your life is your personal affair, for better or for worse, except as in the living of your life you may impair or endanger the life and livelihood of others . . ."

No person, without an element of authoritarianism, can argue otherwise. Libertarians — non-authoritarians — recognize that they have no logical rights, with respect to other people, beyond the defense of themselves. Nor do they grant to an agency-government in any of its forms — any rights which they themselves do not possess. A libertarian's government has nothing to dispense except equal protection against, or equal penalizing of fraud, misrepresentation, predatory practices, and violence.

The variations among men—in their intelligence, their talents, their inheritances—are the handiwork of God, and the libertarian accepts this fact. He refuses to play the role of godman and to attempt a coercive readjustment of that which God has provided. He stands on the single platform of no special privilege for anyone, insofar as his dispensing of it is concerned.

The libertarian goes on the political stage more to present his views than to seek office. For special privilege will prevail unless its error is understood at least by those whom others follow. Votes, the concern of those who cast them, are not to be sought at the expense of integrity nor by concessions to authoritarianism.

The libertarian has faith in free men. He is conscious of their natural inclination to co-operate for their own benefit and he knows that only in the release of their energy is good accomplished. He, therefore, does not want power. He wants only freedom from power, the mark of civilization. And he reasons that he cannot correct uncivilized man by becoming uncivilized himself.

—From *The Daily Oklahoman*

Copies available from The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

### Detroit

Twenty graduates and other school friends met at the Central Y.M.C.A. on June 10 for dinner and brief addresses. Five recent graduates, representing various classes throughout Greater Detroit, gave impressions of the course and offered suggestions. They were Carl Shaw, student at Wayne University; Philip Fogarty, student at Highland Park Junior College; Mrs. Edna Root, real estate agent; Raymond Morley, school teacher; and Clayton R. Mishler, veterans' administrative officer.

Warren Blauvelt, an active octogenarian, and Thurlow Coon, head of the Coon-DeVisser Company, also spoke, and a stimulating discussion followed in which everyone present participated. The tentative fall schedule was outlined, with four high schools already requesting classes and two more in the offing.

The campaign for funds this month was described as the basis for increased enrollment. Appeal letters have been distributed to all students and friends in the area, some of whom will visit the annual conference in Montreal in July.

### New Jersey

Faculty members have discussed and approved the initiation of a \$5 registration fee for the fundamental course. For this fee, the student will receive a copy of the textbook *Economics Simplified*, and such other material as may be used during the course. At the conclusion students will receive a year's subscription to The Henry George News and a copy of *Progress and Poverty*. The course remains tuition-free.

It is believed that by applying the registration fee, a familiar objection will be eliminated, and the interest may be more uniformly sustained. The advanced course will be made contingent upon a contribution of \$5 or more to the school.

The informal program for graduates of the winter term was so well liked that it was repeated for the spring term. The graduates and instructors gathered at Newark headquarters for ice cream, punch, the awarding of certificates and a "bull session" to express their thoughts about the course.

At the annual meeting of the board of trustees all officers were re-elected for the succeeding year. The faculty seminar and workshop held its June 20th session in the open at the home of Howard Thomson, a trustee who lives near Plainfield. The school office will be in charge of Assistant Director Hayward during July.

### St. Louis

On June 28 the St. Louis Georgists held their annual picnic, sponsored by the Henry George Woman's Club. The picnic was a huge success. It afforded, in addition to good food and entertainment, a wide departure in the way of graduations. The spring term commencement exercises were held at five o'clock in the afternoon in a beautiful setting, with an unusual crowd to witness them. As an example of the professional variety represented, the graduates included the dean of the St. Louis University Law School, and a number of McDonnell Aircraft employees.

C. C. Case, a member of the Advisory Board and faculty member, recently addressed Spectators Anonymous, at the Second Presbyterian Church, on "The Golden Rule in Economic Science." "Taxes—Our Enemy" was the subject of an address before the Rotary Club of Farmington, Missouri, by Noah D. Alper, the school's director.

### Chicago

"What the Planners Should Know About the Elements of Economic Freedom" was the subject of a recent symposium sponsored by the Freedom Club of Downtown Chicago. Participating in the panel were Jerome Joachim, editor and publisher of The Berwyn Beacon and a regular contributor to The Henry George News; Clayton E. Probst, machinist, American Can Company, and member of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO; and George J. Rogers, director, Middle West Division, American Economic Foundation. Mr. Joachim and Mr. Probst are conference leaders of the school.

Speaking on "The Profit Motive," Mr. Probst emphasized that, "When economic planning, enforced with police power, is the order of the day, a small amount of cooperation will take place as long as the policeman is present. When the policeman's back is turned, men will revert to the natural act of obeying the motivation for individual profit as best they can."

Mr. Joachim spoke from the point of view of property rights, pointing out that only products of labor must be treated as private property if society and the individual are to benefit from the natural incentives to production.

Capron R. Gulbransen, president of Graphic Calculator Company and also a conference leader, spoke on: "Tariffs, Taxes, and World Peace," before the Third Annual Retreat of the Greater Chicago Churchmen at Lake Forest Academy on June 20. "Securing for everyone that which he produces, as an incentive to produce," concluded Mr. Gulbransen, "is the problem of the Christian and of the economist."

At a special dinner meeting on June 17, certificates were awarded to members of two study groups which met this past quarter at the Clearing Industrial Club. Ten companies were represented in the groups, led by Benjamin J. Russell, foreman, and Henry F. Lewis, inspector, at Delco Radio; David D. Wallace, assistant treasurer of Clearing Machine Corporation, and John Monroe, school director. An advanced study group in "The Principles of International Trade" also was led by Mr. Russell during the spring quarter.

Mrs. Marie M. George, widow of the late Henry George, Jr., was one of the enthusiastic graduates of a spring class in Milwaukee led by Sidney S. Neu. The sessions were held in the Milwaukee School of Engineering.

At its 13th Anniversary Birthday Dinner, the Henry George Woman's Club presented the school with a check for \$300 toward the purchase of a conference table and chairs for the headquarters at 236 North Clark Street, which now occupy the entire sixth floor of the building. The principal speaker at the dinner was Willis E. Shipley. Eileen Campbell is the newly elected president.

Hiram B. Loomis, Attilio Forte, Marilyn Pieper, Leta Gale, Jessie Matteson and John Monroe are among Chicagoans who will attend the Eighth Annual Conference in Montreal, Mrs. Matteson, program director of the Commerce and Industry Division, is going on to the International Conference at Odense, Denmark.

Friends of the school were deeply shocked by the death of Melvin E. Haase, 45, who, as president of Bussey Products Company in the Clearing Industrial District, had been one of the staunch friends of the Commerce and Industry Division. Mr. Haas served as chairman of the committee on recommendations early this year, which laid the groundwork for much of the progress made in the past few months.

### Montreal

The director, Strehel Walton, has planned two bus tours of this historic city, as well as a tea and picnic, to balance more than twenty speeches in four days, at the July conference.

The chairmen will be Canadians, many of whom we have read about in Montreal school reports: Herbert G. Barber, P. J. Blackwell, Louis Crepeau, Stuart Goodrick, Violet Grier, Patrick Hadden, Leonard C. Huckabone, Herbert T. Owens, Alec Mathieson, David Seymour, James T. Turner, and Strehel Walton.

### Ohio

Certificates were awarded to the graduates of the basic spring course at Springfield on June 4. Guests from Dayton, Delaware, Columbus, Lima and Piqua were present to hear Walter Rybeck, Columbus Citizen reporter, lecture on the land problem and free trade issue in Colombia and Ecuador. Mr. Rybeck, a 1951 graduate of the Henry George School, traveled extensively in these countries while engaged in free-lance writing, and thrilled the audience with colorful films made on the journey.

Kathy Shoaf of Columbus writes that Georgists everywhere are invited to Ohio's second annual conference August 22-24 at which time J. Rupert Mason of San Francisco, president of the International Union, will speak. Write for full particulars regarding the location, reservations, etc., to Ohio headquarters, Box 1004, Lima, Ohio.

### New York

The Twentieth Anniversary banquet drew 250 visitors to the Town Hall Club to hear Raymond Moley, author of *How to Keep Our Liberty* (see page one); Lawson Purdy, president of the Schalkenbach Foundation; and Agnes George de Mille, noted dancer, choreographer and author, whose recent book *Dance to the Piper* has gone into four printings.

Miss de Mille introduced herself as a pre-natal Georgist and spoke as a "big sister," calling on students not to use repetitious cant but to rephrase without in any sense confusing terms. And "don't be smug," she counselled, "you've seen the light, but the whole world needs to see it."

Pointing out that many artists and writers turned toward socialism with great sincerity in the 30's, Miss de Mille said these and others might listen to an explanation of the middle course. She believes men in the unions could now be reached, and at long last, the soldiers. But "hurry, hurry," she pleaded, "time is running out."

In closing, this brilliant grand daughter of Henry George, read a paragraph from the chapter *How Modern Civilization May Decline from Progress and Poverty*.

The influence of Cleveland and Tom Johnson on the Georgist movement was indicated by the fact that Raymond Moley grew out of that tradition, also the school's president, John C. Lincoln, and the vice president Otto K. Dorn, who was present at the banquet and spoke briefly of the leadership of Louis Post in that pre-school era of Georgism.

Lawson Purdy, former president of the Department of Taxation in New York, and one-time friend of Henry George, spoke on the advantages of an organized school where people could go and study in a disciplined way. "There is no royal road to learning," he said, but he did not consider this a disadvantage. "Royal roads," he contended, "are ways of idleness."

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# Letters

To the Editor:

John Dewey and Henry George had much in common, though their thought had been nourished by different cultures. Dewey knew that George's vision transcended the fortuitous language of its statement, and he could translate the Georgian essence into a newer idiom. On the night before the last meeting of a group studying the philosophy of John Dewey at the Henry George School, that great man died. But in the animation that arose in the last discussion there was dramatized for us on a small scale, the greatness of a man which survives the limitations of the body.

George and Dewey, who toiled to chart a course toward a more and more abundant life, lived on into that life; just as they now live on in that immortal and mysterious network of interpersonal relations in which we have our continuous being—the human mind.

—CYRUS WOOD  
New York

To the Editor:

I have recently finished the Fundamental Economics course, and have been very much impressed with Henry George's single tax theory. But I have some serious reservations—not as to its justice or as to the ease which it can be put into effect, but as to the extent of the benefits which will result from the introduction of the single tax.

For instance, one such reservation is this:

Ground rent seems by far to be the smallest of the three factors of production. These factors reveal their relative importance by their proportion to the average prices of representative articles. Judging from my own necessarily limited research, from popular conception (or of course quite possibly misconception), and from the figures of the National Bureau of Economic Research, ground rent consists of only 15-20 per cent of the total price of an average article, at the most.

The figures of the National Bureau of Economic Research (compiled by Raymond Goldsmith) indicate that in 1948 that land value constituted only 17 per cent of the total value of wealth and land here in the United States.

If ground rent is therefore such a small factor of production, the single tax will perhaps not yield such tremendous benefits as to counterbalance the tremendous upheaval (principally loss of land value to landowners without corresponding benefits to society) that will result from its introduction.

And even if the exactitude of the above figures be disputed, certainly rent does not so completely overshadow (by proportion) the other factors of interest and wages as the 4-3-2-1 diagram and theory would leave us to believe. For surely 1,000,000-500,000-10,000-20 (expressed most probably in terms of dollars) would more nearly represent our modern industrial and urban society, as had been pointed out in class, which would make wages and interest about .000006 as important as rent, which is of course not so.

I would very much appreciate any opinions or comments as to the above.

—STEVEN CORD  
New York

To the Editor:

How did Raymond Goldsmith arrive at his estimate of land values as 17 per cent of total national assets, or about \$157 billions in 1952 dollars? In the volume, "Studies in Income and Wealth" published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, he explains that "the separate estimation of the value of land as a part of national wealth has always presented a difficult statistical problem . . . Since data on assessed valuation that systematically segregate land from structures are rare and generally of small geographic coverage, most estimates of national wealth, particularly those of the Bureau of the Census, do not separate land from structures."

So we're not off to a very good start. Mr. Goldsmith relies largely on estimates of land values by *lending institutions*. Are such agencies likely to generously assess the holdings of their clients?

He continues that land values for residential areas are fairly well known. "The margin of error in estimated land values is widest for commercial properties such as stores, office buildings, hotels, theatres, warehouses and garages." The margin of error is widest where land values are greatest!

Mr. Goldsmith informs us that there is no systematic way to estimate the value of *vacant lots* "which, unless used for parking, are generally left to weeds and rubbish." Hence the figures for vacant land represent "not much more than guesses." But "not more than about a quarter (sic!) of total urban land is in this category" and we may assume their value to be "probably somewhat lower" than improved land, says Mr. Goldsmith. But aren't vacant lots usually held for higher prices than (or at least as high as) surrounding built-on lots?

We are further told that there are practically no statistics on the value of public lands; including land under roads and streets and in national forests and ranges. Figures are based on earlier reports and "rough estimates."

Finally, *all subsoil assets are omitted* altogether from the inventory—oil, natural gas, coal, iron, gold, etc., etc.

As for the trend of land values, Mr. Goldsmith says: "This constant decline in the proportion of land in national wealth is only a continuation of a trend that can be observed since the middle of the 19th century, and probably goes further back. In 1870, for instance, the share of land seems to have been as high as a half." Shades of Book IV of *Progress and Poverty*! One wonders what is meant by the "share of land."

Explains Mr. Goldsmith: "The chief reason for the decline of land as a proportion of national wealth is, of course, the decline of the share of agriculture in tangible national wealth." Of course! And yet, one reflects, where are the highest land values concentrated? Mr. Goldsmith's "reason" is meaningless.

A report from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (quoted in the New York Herald Tribune, April 13, 1952) states that as of March of this year, farm real estate totalled \$95 billions. Of this, about 28 per cent was in improvements; hence farm land values would be about \$70 billions. Assuming this figure to be correct (and evidently farm real estate is not as difficult to assess as other properties), are we to conclude that farm land values alone are nearly one-half total land values? The very suggestion is unreasonable. Farm values can only be a small proportion of total land values.

What then can we conclude about the estimate of \$157 billions given us?

As indicated in the N.B.E.R. report, current assessment methods for non-farm property are not very reliable. This is not because assessing is difficult; it is because the proper interest and effort do not exist in enough places.

In his excellent booklet, *A Study of the Concept of National Income*, Roy A. Foulke (Dun & Bradstreet) pointed out difficulties in the way of arriving at reliable figures for national wealth and national income. There are duplications, omissions, gaps, overlappings, etc. The difficulties come basically from fuzzy definitions. The three basic economic returns—rent, wages and interest—are not defined or recognized or treated as such in any of the current estimates. Until researchers work with this basic division, the picture will be confused.

In view of all the uncertainties involved, it is pertinent to ask whether we may rely on the estimates of national land values that have been given us. The figures quoted have a very inadequate factual basis. They do not coincide with the conclusions we arrive at through soundly reasoned out principles, nor with the "familiar facts of intelligent observation." Under such conditions, we are justified in doubting the statistics.

Certain considerations will, I think, indicate that the land values of the nation are very likely much greater than the quoted estimates:

1) First, let us take the economic definition of land: "The whole material universe outside of man and his products." Mr. Goldsmith did not consider the vast natural resources of this country he limited himself to conventional "site value." The offshore oil deposits alone are fabulously valuable. The royalties from oil in Canada are yielding rich public revenues, making possible public services never before dreamed of and aiding substantially in lifting governmental budgets out of the red. Water-power, timber, coal and minerals, natural sources of atomic energy, waterways, quarries and clay-pits, fishing and hunting preserves, as well as agricultural land and industrial, commercial and urban sites—all are land.

2) Mr. Goldsmith's estimate was for 1948. In the last four years, phenomenal increases have occurred. Airports have opened up in or near numerous cities; agricultural lands have become industrial sites; farm land itself has gone up in value; suburbs of cities have mushroomed; huge projects have been undertaken (e.g., the U. N. headquarters, dams, bridges, roads)—all with astronomical effects on land values. Assessment practices as they are in most of the country don't give us half the picture.

3) Land values—and ground rents—are disguised in numerous ways. Corporations owning their own sites and natural resources frequently list such lands as assets at a fraction of their real value. Stock dividends represent land rent to a great extent, though not appearing as such. Many listings of land values ignore today's inflationary prices.

4) Rents controls have artificially kept rents, hence land values, down. Where controls have been lifted, rents have frequently doubled, and in some cases trebled, overnight. Even with controls in effect, there is the inevitable black market which follows legal controls. "Black market rents" certainly do not show up on the books!

Would land rent as the sole source of public revenue be sufficient for all levels of government? John A. Zangerle and Lawson Purdy,

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# BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS REVIEWED by MARSHALL CRANE

**RISE OF EMPIRE.** By Garret Garrett. *The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho.* 1952. 61 pp. 75c.

This powerful little work is an analysis of the political history of this country during the past three decades. The author clearly defines the essential differences between a republic, in which the people are responsible for their government, and an empire, in which government assumes responsibility for the people. He traces the amazing course of the recent transformation of our more or less balanced, republican institutions into a government in which

(1) The executive principle dominates the legislative and judiciary branches,

(2) Domestic policy is accommodated and subordinated to foreign policy,

(3) There is a definite ascendancy of the military mind,

(4) A system of satellite nations is supported for what is called collective security, and in which there is

(5) A characteristic emotional complex of both vaunting and fear.

The facts quoted are matters of record, and their logical alignment leads to an unescapable conclusion. A "must" for all libertarians.

## Letters

(Continued from Page Seven)

writing in *The American City* (May, 1952) pointed out how far short it (or their estimate of it) falls of the present budgets. They do believe rent should be public revenue—and that it might pay for all local government and some state government, but certainly not (they say) federal government. (I would also like to refer readers to Colonel B. C. Harwood's reply in the June *American City*.)

Here I should like to point to a very sensible method of apportionment proposed by Howard Freeman in the September 1950 issue of *The Henry George News*: Let the federal government collect the full income from royalties or severance taxes on natural resources, such resources being properly the heritage of the whole people. Let the state and local governments collect the full income from land area through a tax on surface land value.

I believe that total rents would yield much more than the \$12.7 billions estimated by Mr. Zangerle. It must also be considered that as land values are taxed and other taxes abolished, production will rise—and with production, rent. Still, with all this, it is no doubt true that the total revenue would fall short of the present soaring budgets of all levels of government.

I ask, in all sincerity, must we take such budgets lying down? Must we think only in terms of raising enough taxes to satisfy increasingly rapacious budgets? Is it not just as reasonable to expect all levels of government to live on the generous income that would be derived from land rents? Such revenue would certainly provide all the public services required in a normal economy, including a *reasonably proportioned defense program*.

"But these are not normal times." Very just. Shall we forget completely that as the Single Tax is adopted immediate benefits to the economy would be gained? And that as conditions improve, much of the swollen government we endure today would be unnecessary?

—ROBERT CLANCY  
New York

**POLITICS IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT.** By Joseph E. McLean. 32 pp. 25c. (*Public Affairs Pamphlets*, 22 East 38th Street, New York City 16.)

One of the American voters' favorite pastimes is talking over the fortunate, or unfortunate, people whom they have elected to public office. Their personal lives and character, their intelligence and ability, their public acts, and the motives for these all get a thorough going over whenever a few of their employers are gathered together to exercise their inalienable right of free speech.

A good deal of this comment is likely to be unfavorable. In fact, a visiting sociologist from Mars would almost certainly get the impression that if you are a "politician" you can't win—except at the polls. And if he were to ask—as he most certainly should—how such scoundrels manage to get in office in a country which boasts of its free, democratic institutions I think he would be rather puzzled by the reasons given, or by the lack of them. For it would be obvious to him, unless he suffered from the same logical blind spots that afflict the sons of Adam, that political rights entail political responsibilities, and that the responsibility for poor government must rest upon none but the governed.

The Public Affairs Pamphlets endeavor to create a really informed electorate, a pressure group to end all pressure groups, composed of citizens who do want a decent government. This readable and remarkably informative little tract by Joseph E. McLean tells how the individual citizen can decide intelligently what his political opinions are, and how he can make them count in an election year.

## New York

(Continued from Page Seven)

Mr. Purdy urged the teachers of the Henry George school not to be discouraged by small classes. "It is not numbers that count," he declared, "it is quality." "Here and there you will get a student who will listen and understand, and who will become a leader."

Mr. Purdy was warmly applauded when he concluded with these words: "Study is the bridge across which people must go to the understanding of 'Progress and Poverty.' Oscar Geiger gave us a school where people can go and study. Our job is to get people to go to school, to the right school, to Oscar Geiger's school."

Robert Clancy, director, acting as banquet chairman, announced that the school was initiating a John Dewey Memorial Fund to help carry on the work started by George Geiger twenty years ago and encouraged by John Dewey who was honorary president during all that time.

Dr. Monroe H. Berg in Far Rockaway has made his office available for the first course in that vicinity in *The Science of Political Economy*. Sonia Swirsky will be the popular teacher continuing with this enthusiastic group. Frederick Specht, a student-teacher of Richard Higgs, led a regional class in Fundamental Economics at the Woodhaven (L. I.) library during the spring.

Dr. Otto Juliusburger of New York, formerly associated with Oppenheimer and the German leader, Damaschke, died recently, after a long life devoted to writing in behalf of land reform.

**THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.** By A. J. Youngson Brown. *Library Publishers, New York*, 1952. 208 pp. \$4.75.

The story of the settlement and population of this country, of the taming of its wilderness and the rise of its farms, factories and cities will always be a fascinating one. It has been told many times, and sometimes well, but often a great deal has been left unexplained because the narrator has neglected to chart the economic winds and currents which are the real forces which speed and direct the political ship of state.

New books of all sorts on the history of America find readers every year. Naturally most of them are by Americans. But occasionally it is interesting, and instructive too, to view the panorama of our past and present as it is seen from across the sea.

An old gentleman once told me, "No one should attempt to write the history of a foreign country until he has learned to speak its language, relish its cooking, play its games, and laugh at its jokes."

No doubt there is a grain of truth in this, as there is in most epigrams. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many of the greatest works in the literature of history have been written by "foreigners." Every schoolboy is familiar with Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and many know his *Modern Democracies* and *Holy Roman Empire* at least as begetters of footnotes. Prescott, surely one of the greatest historians this country has produced, gave his attention almost entirely to the history of Spain and the Spanish-American peoples.

It may be just as difficult to achieve complete objectivity when writing about one's own country as to understand the motives, manners and ideas of strangers. For the "national" characteristics of our neighbors, so often ascribed to race, etc., can almost always be traced to their economic environment and political history, and these, after all, are matters of written or unwritten record.

A. J. Youngson Brown, the author of this little account of the development of the American economy, is an Englishman, and lectures on economic history at Cambridge University. His book is the fruit of one of the Fellowships created by the Commonwealth Fund of New York for post-graduate study in this country.

Though he very obviously enjoys his subject immensely, Mr. Brown has made his work a comparatively short one. It is, however, remarkably complete and comprehensive. And though it is thoroughly scholarly, the documentation has been reduced to a minimum, and does not interfere with the reader's enjoyment of a well planned, well executed and readable narrative.

