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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

	PAGE
MR. CHURCHILL AND TRADE UNIONS	122
THIRTY YEARS OF VERSE MAKING	124
HARRY LLEWELYN DAVIES MEMORIAL	125
LEADING ARTICLE—THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR AND INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION ..	126
TWO PRESS INTERVIEWS	128
THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE—SYNOPSIS OF THE DISCUSSION	130
THE EXAMPLE OF AUSTRALIA	137
CHINA AND THE CHINESE PEASANT—SUN YAT SEN'S POLICY ..	139

Geneva and the International Union.—As reported in our last month's issue, the Memorandum on the Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression issued by the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade was submitted to the members and experts in attendance at the League of Nations Economic Conference in Geneva. Messrs A. W. Madsen and F. C. R. Douglas, acting for the Union, spent eight days on the spot and were kept busy with interviews and related Press work, securing for the Memorandum the personal interest of numerous members and making certain that every person concerned received a copy. The message sent by the Union was brought again to the notice of all the 470 delegates and the 226 representatives of the Press by the calling of a special meeting to discuss the principle and policy recommended to the Conference. In these ways acquaintance was made with friends and sympathizers from many nationalities, including Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Germany, Holland, Poland and Finland. A gratifying feature of the interviews and conversations was the tribute paid to the name and influence of Henry George and the acceptance of his philosophy.

A Voice for the Single Tax Doctrine.—The attention thus given to our statement was the more noteworthy as the delegates had been inundated with a mass of official papers, the "documentation" of the Conference, comprising at the start more than sixty bulky publications, estimated to extend to 12,000 printed pages and added to enormously every day with fresh issues. On the other hand, owing to the very size of the Conference and its concentration upon the work in hand, which made members unapproachable for the bulk of the time and their views unknown until they had a chance to speak, it was only by declarations made at the end of the proceedings that two other friends of our ideas revealed themselves—Dr A. T. Restrepo, permanent delegate for Colombia at the League of Nations and Mr M. Weber, Secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions. Dr Restrepo's appeal in favour of the Single Tax

principle "especially in the case of landlords who receive rent for their land without contributing to its productivity," and Mr Weber's point that every benefit and advantage ultimately increases the rent of land were glimpses of light in an otherwise dull, sterile and dreary debate.

Breaking Ground.—In the circumstances it was not possible to have the Memorandum presented for discussion as an official paper and included in the official documentation. That action could only have been taken by a member of the Conference and none of those consulted was in the position to face the responsibility although themselves heartily supporting the views set forth. The difficulty was stated to be that the consent of colleagues and associates would first be required and the delegation to which they belonged had all their anxieties in front of them to get a hearing for the views they had come to Geneva to submit. Nevertheless they welcomed the propaganda the Union had undertaken, bringing to many the realization that the land question was of paramount importance and that this underlying aspect of the business the Conference had been called to discuss must sooner or later come uppermost.

The Wider Appeal.—Apart from its use at Geneva the Memorandum has been welcomed as a most valuable campaign document for general distribution. Besides the action taken by headquarters in posting it to thousands of addresses in Great Britain and abroad, active members and branches in the United States, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and Spain have co-operated to the best of their ability in circulating it to the Press, to members of Parliament and of Governments, to social and political organizations, and to numerous agencies. The French and German translations have been succeeded by translations into Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Hungarian and Spanish, voluntarily undertaken so that the most effective use could be made of the message wherever these languages are spoken. The work of distribution and circulation goes on and it will be some time before it is fully completed. It has brought us much correspondence with many gratifying expressions of approval and goodwill—and congratulations to the draftsman, which we are happy to convey to our colleague, Alderman F. C. R. Douglas.

The Findings of the Conference.—We give some space in this issue to a synopsis of the three weeks' discussion in Geneva. The abstract provides its own running commentary on the clash of ideas. It will be easily seen that the case for Free Trade, even in the most limited sense, was always in jeopardy, and it is not surprising that the resolutions adopted had nothing more definite to say than that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the

opposite direction." Even to get so much established a long and hard fight had to be fought against the prejudices of the protectionists. For the rest, the tariff policy was ingeniously countenanced under the cover of administrative proposals all belonging to the "tariff technique" so well named by Mr Robinson of the United States—tariffs to be simplified and unified, to be given a common nomenclature by the different nations, to be made more stable, to be applied with less difficulty and fewer formalities, to be noted and recorded by an international comparative statistical bureau. What is all this but to take protection for granted, as something the Governments ought to improve and perfect? There were pleas in behalf of preferential duties established under "most-favoured-nation" agreements, and Free Traders were given to understand that the repeal of tariffs in one country was something for Governments to consider on condition that other countries were prepared to take similar action. The rustiest surely of all the weapons in the protectionist armoury.

The Cost of it All.—With never a glance at the land question in relation to taxation or a thought expressed that the monopoly of natural resources had anything to do with the production and distribution of wealth, the Conference tried to separate the problems of "commerce" and "industry" and "agriculture." The withholding of land from use, the speculative advance in the value of land, had apparently nothing to do with the case. Industry and agriculture were put in the dock, to be told that they were inefficient and badly organized. The troubles of Europe would cease to perplex if industry would but "rationalize" production and if agriculture would find a way out of the disequilibrium through credits and co-operation. It took a year and three weeks of concentrated effort to put these futilities on record, and it is estimated that the assembled nations have spent quite £100,000 on the job.

The Margin of Advantage.—In a pamphlet named "A Prosperous Countryside," which explains the Labour Party's land policy, Mr Ramsay MacDonald has this to say:—

"If I had to pay too much by way of compensation, then I would not do it . . . but if—as in the present case—the compensation to be paid still leaves a clear margin of advantage to the community, then I would have no hesitation in paying the compensation and pocketing the margin of advantage for the community."

Of course not. The point is there would be no margin for the community. If and when the deal is made it will not fall to Mr MacDonald to say how much compensation is to be paid. Meanwhile the countryside could be improved not a little if the monopoly in land was broken up by a flat tax on the value of all land. This is a policy that will raise the margin of production, provide new openings for labour and advantage the community as a whole. It will raise wages and lower rent; land purchase will have the opposite effect. God help the farm worker if he is to wait for relief until public opinion ripens for any scheme of land nationalization.

What Preference Means.—The *Times*, 16th May, reports from its own correspondent in Sydney:—

The Tariff Commission is being almost overwhelmed with applications for higher duties from old-established industries and from industries under imposts suggested by the Commission. Requests for duties of 60 per cent are becoming common, and the manufacturers concerned urge that, with 60 per

cent against foreigners, 45 per cent would be ample preference on British goods.

Our subsidized Empire Marketing Board should explain in some of its advertisements how Australia hampers British imports at this end. We suggest the terms of a Poster by the E.M.B.: "Buy British goods but don't forget that the Australians are dead set against any such reciprocity." Manifestly we are some distance from "Free Trade within the Empire." The *Times* correspondent further reports "that American companies will probably build factories in Australia to get inside the tariff walls and that Great Britain, therefore, has to meet ever-increasing competition for her goods." Evidently, the cure is for Great Britain to proceed with her factories "down under." But in that case what would become of the E.M.B. and its agencies?

The Real Lock-out.—A subscriber writes: "Has anyone made the point, over the Trades Unions Bill, that the only 'Lock-out' that has any real meaning or importance is the speculative increase in Land Values, which really amounts to a lock-out of Labour and Capital by landowners? See *Progress and Poverty*, Book V, Chap. I."

We gladly reproduce the passage referred to by our friend, and suggest a thoughtful digest of the chapter as a whole; it is devoted to the primary cause of industrial depression:—

"The primary and fundamental occupations, which create a demand for all others, are evidently those which extract wealth from nature, and, hence, if we trace from one exchange point to another, and from one occupation to another, this check to production, which shows itself in decreased purchasing power, we must ultimately find it in some obstacle which checks labour in expending itself on land. And that obstacle, it is clear, is the speculative advance in rent, or the value of land, which produces the same effects as (in fact, it is) a lock-out of labour and capital by landowners. This check to production, beginning at the basis of interlaced industry, propagates itself from exchange point to exchange point, cessation of supply becoming failure of demand, until, so to speak, the whole machine is thrown out of gear, and the spectacle is everywhere presented of labour going to waste while labourers suffer from want."

Minding One's Own Business.—In a letter addressed to the Conservative candidate at the Bosworth by-election last month the Chancellor of the Exchequer observes:—

"Minding one's own business is an extremely useful rule. The business of trade unions is to look after the interests of their members irrespective of Party. A Parliament freely chosen on a democratic franchise is the only authority under the British Constitution for settling political issues. To bring ordinary party politics into the factories is to do great injury to our industries already hard pressed in the competition of the modern world."

The Parliament may have been freely chosen, but it was unfairly chosen. Our voting system loads the dice against an impartial representation. It is a Parliament with a Government that represents a minority of the electors and is therefore not entitled to the respect Mr Churchill claims for it, both by inference and assertion. We would have the same observation to make of a Labour or a Liberal parliamentary majority holding office in similar circumstances. At the general election the combined vote of the Labour and Liberal Parties

was ahead of the vote cast for the Conservative Party, and no one can be impressed with the statement that a Government measure was carried by an "overwhelming vote in the House of Commons."

Industry and Politics.—Mr Churchill holds the view that trade unionists should confine themselves to trade union affairs and not mix them up with political ideals. Speaking at London, 6th May, he said: "The remedy is extremely simple. Keep the trade unions out of party politics, and keep party politics out of the trade unions." It is not just so simple, for it cuts both ways. If the trade unions should ban party politics it is only fair that the political parties should keep their politics out of industry; or is it Mr Churchill's opinion that he and his political associates are to have the first and last word on the question? In that case what becomes of our free democratic institutions? What is "safeguarding" but a political interference with industry? If the trade unions may not dabble in party politics what about the business men's organizations, and the farmers' unions, out openly for tariff plunder and subsidies? Mr Churchill will have to try again. He can no more keep party politics out of trade unions than the Tories of a former time could keep the question of the franchise from being discussed in working-class circles.

The Right to Work.—Speaking at a Primrose League meeting, London, 6th May, Mr Churchill benevolently ceded the right to strike as a melancholy feature of a free community, and added: "If the right to strike is inherent in British freedom the right to work is equally inviolable." There seems to be a principle at stake here. If the right to work is so sacred, what about the economic tyranny that permits some people to deny to others the right to earn a living on the land? It is not party politics in factories, trade unions or churches that stands in the way of employment and prosperity; it is land monopoly and nothing else. Tariffs, credits, loans and such like remedies, cannot put industry on its feet, so long as speculation in land values continues to narrow the field of industrial development.

A Road Widening Illustration.—The *Newcastle Journal*, 6th May, reports the following action following the decision of the Middlesbrough Rural Council to compulsorily acquire widths of frontage for the purpose of widening the highway:—

Evidence and cross-examination made it clear that in 1922 each man had purchased an acre plot of land fronting Acklam Lane at the rate of 2s. per square yard. The road widening scheme necessitated the acquisition of 463 square yards of Mr Foxter's plot and 103 square yards of Mr Atkinson's. Each valued the desired strip at 20s. per square yard, or ten times more than he had paid for it five years ago.

Both owners maintained that the land was worth every penny they asked, even though advantages might accrue from the improved highway. They admitted, in cross-examination, that they had been warned at the time of purchase that the frontage sections would subsequently be acquired for the road making. Since the arbitration proceedings were decided upon, Mr Atkinson had reduced his price to 8s. per square yard, and Mr Foxter to 7s. 6d. The district valuer had offered 3s.

As Lord Strathelyde has put it: These owners may be quite right in their estimate, but while they wait on their price let them pay rates and taxes on the value of their land. If this principle were observed acres and square miles of land everywhere held out of use would come into the market at their true value,

housing would be relieved, and the "dole" would disappear like a bad dream. But of course it is understood that such ideas are fanatical, and as a rule held by people who believe that the taxation of land values would bring a new heaven on earth and that is against nature and religion!

"An Increment of Value."—London Land Values, as described in the Press, always stand for so much educational influence. As the items appear they are duly noted by an ever-growing public who readily admit the scandal of the appropriation of public values for private pockets. The ground rents and rack rents of London, as the sales and transfers are recorded, make a steady and certain support for the taxation of Land Values. The *Times*, 30th May, has an illuminating statement on the Adelphi estate (under two acres), to be sold by auction 21st June, from which we quote:—

"The improvements foreshadowed in the recent Report of the Royal Commission on Cross-River Traffic in London open up 'a wide vista of additional and hardly calculable factors making for the increment of value of the Adelphi.' The bearing of the vastly increased ground rents and rack rents yielded as a result of recent changes in the Kingsway area, and in Regent Street, Piccadilly, and elsewhere, is pointed out, as well as the fact that 'little of the best land in Central London is left for development, and that little includes, first and foremost, in present value and future possibilities, the Adelphi site'."

"The freehold rental is £28,000 a year, from short tenancies which in hardly any instance represent the actual current value of the property."

One of London's "golden miles" stretches from Charing Cross to the Bank of England; the Adelphi estate is but a small section of it.

The Root Cause of Poverty.—In a well-expressed letter appearing in the *Yorkshire Post*, 12th May, A. W. Dakers has this to say:—

"Gibbon, and all who have described the last days of the Mistress of the World, are unanimous in ascribing the downfall of Rome, not to her superabundant, but to her dwindling population. Our great centres of population are congested, not because there is not sufficient room for our people, but because our laws give to a section of the community the power to forbid access to the land which should be available for human settlement and use. It is not the niggardliness of Nature and Nature's God which is at fault but man's mismanagement of the earth whose government was entrusted to his charge. Henry George discovered the secret which our politicians so far confess their inability to penetrate. . . . Sydney, a city which bids fair to be the future Metropolis of the New World, levies her rates on the value of her sites, and exempts buildings and all other improvements from taxation. The result is seen in her rapid expansion from the second to the premier place among Australasian towns, an expansion which has not, as in this country, been accompanied by the growth, but on the contrary, by the disappearance of slums."

Mr Dakers is to be congratulated on this piece of writing.

We were pleased to have a visit last month from Mr Jakob E. Lange of Denmark just before his departure home after a three weeks' tour of England. He has been investigating agricultural conditions, and as a Danish authority will report his impressions to the Land and Nation League.

VERSE MAKING

By Joseph Dana Miller

We give a cordial welcome to this well-chosen collection of verses* from the industrious and stimulating pen of our co-worker, the Editor of *Land and Freedom*. In his interesting preface the Author reminds us that many of the verses are the echoes of past decades and that we speak to-day in a different language. In a sense that is true, but the sentiments finely expressed in some of the poems are tuned to the age of an audience that is ever the same. We venture to name the first set of verses as among the best.

DAWNING

You who have walked in the wilderness, you who have slept in the shade,
Seeing no sun in the shadow, learning the gods to upbraid ;
You who have marvelled and murmured, seeing no star
in the skies—
Lift up your heads from your bosoms ! here is a light for
your eyes.

Man is a man, not a creature armed with claw and tooth,
Loving the right as he sees it, hating the wrong and untruth ;
Full of a worship for freedom—be it not said to his shame,
Fighting the fight of the tyrant always in liberty's name !

Come with us now, for not Moses, blinded by all that he saw,
Read in the thunders of Sinai purer or perfecter law.
Truth, for a thousand Pilates sneering in vain despite,
Still may be won to the striver, light to the searcher of light.

Thought is a breaker of idols, idols of iron wrought ;
He who would win for freedom, first must be free in thought.
Prejudice holds us in prison—thus do the barriers bind
Out from the vista of vision all of the children of mind.

Come with us, friend, there is breaking over the hills that
were grey.
With the mists of the old world's twilight the dawn of a
brighter day.
Whether we who have hoped shall see it, God knows, and
His will be done—
Enough that the standard's lifted and the onward march
begun !

Enough that those who have struggled shall lie on the
couch of death,
And hear the tramp of the legions and bless them with
latest breath !
Enough to hope that the infant that smiles at its mother's
knee
Is heir to the grander future and the earth that is to be !

Here is a verse that makes us feel young again, taken
from a selection that sings of fields, woods and sea.

A SONG OF THE WEST

Sing us a song of the West, where the hearts of men are free,
Where the birds of freedom nest close to the western sea ;
Where the winds are loosed on the hill, and the mountain
air is dry,
And the calm, round moon is still in an endless prairie sky.
Where in beauty of light and gold, in their everlasting march,
The legion of stars are rolled through the seas of the azure
arch—
A spangle of flame and light, a cluster of yellow and gold
Set deep in the western night, and high where the hills are
cold.
It is here that the soul has birth, and rises to newer power.
For here is the sap of earth, saved from the primal hour !

* Thirty years of verse making : A selection from the verses of Joseph Dana Miller, contributed during the past thirty and more years to various periodicals. Publisher, 150, Nassau Street, New York City. Price 2 dollars.

The Author's graceful lines on the passing of Henry George awaken past memories, and will bring to many who have since taken to the teaching of *Progress and Poverty* a desire to add to their library a copy of Dana Miller's song book.

HENRY GEORGE—DIED 1897

Prophet, farewell ! thy coming and thy going,
From birth to death, now that life's course hath run,
Leaves us with nothing worth our poor bestowing
For such high service done.

Lo ! on the bier thou liest, but thy spirit
Is one with us—though still'd the mortal breath ;
Who seize the people's crown of love and wear it,
Know no such thing as death.

Pass with thy banners through these open portals ;
Thy bones and body mingle with the sod,
But thy white soul is of the great immortals,
Soldier and saint of God !

Soldier and saint ! mankind grown weary waiting
Their champion grovelled like the brutish swine,
And filled with dread revilings and with hating,
Cursed God and His design.

But now faith wakes in hearts where faith has slumbered ;
We know the warring of the lands shall cease ;
We know at last these dreadful nights are numbered,
And earth shall win its peace.

Let monuments of crumbling granite tower,
But till time fade and stellar light grow dim,
The whole round earth from this most tragic hour
Is sepulchre for him.

OUR ANNIVERSARY

Land & Liberty was founded in June, 1894, and therefore enters its thirty-fourth year with this issue. The Journal continues to make new friends, but there is always a welcome for the newcomer. We are frequently asked for advice as to how best to promote the movement in this, that and the other district. One good way is to enrol new subscribers to *Land & Liberty*. It should have a more extensive circulation, we are often told. The question is, how can this be attained ? Only by those readers concerned bringing the Journal and its claims before their friends and associates, by sale at meetings, having it placed regularly in public libraries and reading rooms and by naming it in press correspondence.

We are ever encouraged by the untiring zeal of subscribers who adopt these and similar methods of gaining new strength and influence for the Journal that "speaks fearlessly and with marked ability on the need for a sound economic policy." This service is appreciated and if its efficiency could only be increased by 10 per cent there would be a lively move out to some inviting propaganda loudly calling for attention.

The Sustention Fund is open to all subscribers. It has still to qualify for that special favour mentioned in the April issue. As we there remarked : the final word is with those who can and will resolve to better the condition of our financial resources at this time.

Readers will be cheered to know that the Memorial edition of *The Labour Question* is already exhausted, and to fulfil a large order from Australia a second impression of 5,000 had to be placed with the printer. The pamphlet, as with all our literature, carries an advertisement of *Land & Liberty*.

HARRY LLEWELYN DAVIES MEMORIAL

On 7th May, at Newbie Annan, Scotland, a freestone bridge over Milnfield Burn in memory of our late colleague Harry Llewelyn Davies was formally opened by Mrs Davies. The *Annandale Observer* gave a three-column report of the proceedings. On behalf of the Memorial Committee Mr G. Brock asked Mr Charles E. Crompton to take charge of what was to follow.

In the course of his address Mr Crompton said: Mr Davies was a man of great principles and great ideals. He would go so far as to say he was almost visionary. As many of them knew he spent much of his time endeavouring to improve the social conditions wherever he went. He was a visionary but he had also his practical side. When he found he could not reform the world according to his ideas, he wanted in his own particular corner of it to make the world a little better than perhaps it otherwise would have been. His ideal was for freedom for everybody and good fellowship and straight dealing with his neighbours.

Mr William Renton said he was very glad indeed to be able to pay his tribute to the memory of their late friend and leader, Harry Llewelyn Davies. It was now approaching some thirty-eight years since he first met Mr Davies. He was then a young enthusiast striking out into the world to gain experience in his profession. He was a disciple of Henry George, preaching with his persuasive eloquence the doctrines of the Single Tax. The outstanding feature of the man was his courtesy. He was one of Nature's gentlemen on all occasions.

Mr W. W. Platt, auditor of the firm, said to him the name of Mr Davies was synonymous with commercial integrity, uprightness and fair dealing.

Mr Crompton, on behalf of the Committee, handed to Mrs Davies an album with photographs of the bridge. A bronze tablet with the following inscription was fixed to the stone prepared for its reception:—

"To the Memory of Harry Llewelyn Davies by his fellow-workers and friends. May, MCMXXVII."

When the tablet had been safely fixed, Mrs Davies briefly addressed the gathering. Speaking under the influence of deep emotion, she said she had often longed for an opportunity of saying how deeply she appreciated that beautiful expression of their regard for Mr Davies. She knew that that little bridge was an outward sign of the monument in their hearts, a monument of love and admiration, and the remembrance of that would always be a help and a strength to her. She really could not find words to convey her feelings at the present moment, but she just wished to say that it gave her deep pleasure to be with them that afternoon.

The idea of erecting this bridge to the memory of Harry Llewelyn Davies at Newbie, where he was well beloved for his own sake no less than for his good works, was a happy inspiration. It is an improvement that stands for character, understanding and good fellowship. The bridge will advantage the community, and that was his aim in life. In his philosophy we rise and fall together, and he was strong in the conviction that the individual would best find himself in looking to the welfare of others. As Mrs Davies truly said, in her winning foreword to the Memorial edition of *The Labour Question*:—

"He truly loved his fellow men and his deep

human sympathy and love of liberty and truth inspired him with the belief that these could be reached if only people would faithfully follow the light of reason. He believed that a better understanding among men was possible, and longed for it passionately, and strove for it in all his activities."

Newbie was a grief-stricken community when he suddenly passed out of its life and movement, four years ago. In hushed accents the lament was heard: "Mr Davies has gone, and the place will never be the same again." The Memorial can speak for the spirit that still prevails.

In his address Mr Crompton said: "the bridge connected Newbie with the rest of the world"; and the thought comes that in many directions far beyond the purview of this useful landmark the influence of Harry Llewelyn Davies, as a disciple of Henry George, is still at work. *The Labour Question* is an intellectual memorial to his memory, a bridge over which tens of thousands will pass to that better understanding, and so to the road that leads to the City of Justice.

NOTES AND NEWS

The site and buildings of the Birmingham Blue Coat School, fronting Colmore Row, which is in the centre of the City, have been sold to the Birmingham Corporation for £120,000 (*Birmingham Post*, 28th April). The site covers an area of 2,370 square yards. The School buildings are antiquated and the price really reflects the value of the site, which works out at the rate of a little over £50 per square yard or £245,000 per acre. A new school will be built in the suburbs.

* * *

Hugh Jones, of Anglesey, left his father's farm at Ysgellog, Anglesey, and became the tenant of Creigiau Farm, of twenty-nine acres, at an annual rent of £59. He worked so well that nine years later he owned the farm, possessing stock to the value of £500. He then took up the tenancy of his father's old farm, at Ysgellog, a farm of 147 acres, at an annual rent of £150, and paid £1,000 for stock. The following year, which was after the war, Hugh Jones purchased Ysgellog for £4,500 raised on mortgages and overdrafts. He was, he said, practically compelled to purchase or give up the tenancy. As a result, instead of paying £150 in rent the mortgage and interest involved him in an annual payment of £250. Losses on cattle and crops also forced sales.

This was the story as related yesterday at the Bangor Bankruptcy Court, where he appeared, at the age of 52, with a deficiency of £1,350 on gross liabilities of £5,070. Tears streamed down his face as he listened to the Registrar's and the Official Receiver's sympathetic comments.—*Manchester Guardian*, 28th May.

* * *

In a review of Joseph Dana Miller's *Thirty Years of Verse Making* (Publisher, 150, Nassau Street, New York City, price 2 dollars) the *Christian Science Monitor* says: "Frequently there is a marked grace and even nobility of tone—a quiet æsthetic value less vivid, original, daring, also less merely decorative, than that typical of the poetry of the hour."

The Boston Globe: "The contents of the volume reflect the spirit of a past generation and will give pleasure to a wide field of readers."

A. C. Campbell (Canada): "I am truly glad and thankful for this work. Your tribute to Henry George stands out for me as supreme. Your 'Two Gentlemen' ought to be printed everywhere."

Anna George de Mille: "I am keen about your book."



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The Interdependence of the Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression

(Memorandum Addressed to the International Economic Conference of the League of Nations, held at Geneva—May, 1927—by the International Union for Land-Value Taxation and Free Trade)

The essential objects of the International Economic Conference convened by the League of Nations are to consider means of (A) removing the economic causes which lead to war, and (B) promoting the improvement of the economic position of the peoples of all nations. These objects are closely related, and cannot be attained independently of each other. The means which will promote the economic prosperity of the people of any country will also help to promote the prosperity of other countries and secure the peace of the world.

The world of to-day constitutes a single economic organization. In the changing conditions of modern times there is no longer any nation which is self-sufficient. Even the United States of America, which constitutes one of the largest and most diverse political States in the world, is vitally dependent upon foreign countries for a great variety of things which are essential to modern industrial processes. Mr Herbert Hoover who is a recognized authority, has stated that the United States is dependent upon other parts of the world for no less than seventy vital articles of commerce.*

The division of labour has long ago transcended national boundaries, and the arguments propounded by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* for the necessity of free intercourse between nations and for freedom of trade have now acquired an overwhelming significance because the interdependence of nations is immensely greater than any person in his day might have foreseen. This international division of labour is the economic basis of civilized life, and the duty of governments now is to reconcile the legitimate claims of nationalism with the economic internationalism which has grown up almost in spite of them.

In order that the organization of production should be

carried on with the maximum of economy and efficiency, it is necessary that the raw materials should be grown or extracted in those places where it is relatively easiest to do so, and that they should be transported with the minimum of expense and interference to those places where it is cheapest to manufacture them and to those places where they are required for consumption. The serious injury caused to the economic structure of the world by tariffs and other restrictions on the freedom of transportation and exchange is obtaining increasing recognition by the most authoritative commercial and financial authorities, as witness the Report of the Trade Barriers Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce and the Manifesto issued last year by bankers and industrialists of many countries.

Even more vital than the obstructions to the transport and exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles are the conditions affecting the production and distribution of wealth. The impoverishment of the peoples of Europe, the growth of unemployment, the reduction of wages and the gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth give rise to problems of more than national importance. They create a state of mind among the masses of every country which on the one hand threatens the stability of governments and on the other hand encourages the idea of economic improvement by means of territorial expansion. The improvement of the material condition of the people is essential not only from a purely national standpoint, but also because it will produce that psychology of belief in the advantages of rewarded toil which will make possible the intellectual and spiritual emancipation of mankind and make the idea of war alien to their thoughts.

(A) ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

Apart from the general influence of the economic condition of the peoples, the specific economic incentives to war may be roughly classified into two groups:

- (1) The antagonism and friction caused by interference with exchange and especially by tariffs; and
- (2) The struggle for new markets and sources of raw materials, especially the demand for colonial expansion, concessions, and protectorates.

THE TARIFF PROBLEM

The present economic difficulties of Europe are in a large measure due to tariff barriers. The new States which have been set up since the war have in many cases had basic industries separated from the source of raw material which remained in the parent State, or *vice versa*. In the absence of a tariff, this might not have had much economic effect. It is the tariff which forms the frontier and makes effective the separation.

The detachment of territory from one State for the benefit of another or to form an independent State will inevitably cause some resentment in that State whose area is reduced. But if the transfer of territory is accompanied by no interference with the economic life of both States the feeling of resentment is less likely to persist and to become a menace to the peace of the world. It was not without reason that President Wilson, in his desire to prevent future wars, included as one of the Fourteen Points:

"The removal so far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

The very existence of a tariff or other artificial obstacles to trade is an implicit betrayal of the spirit of the League of Nations. The use of a tariff for the purpose of boycotting or putting pressure to bear upon some other nation is still more so.

* Statement on Raw Materials, Trade Information Bulletin, No. 385, Department of Commerce, Washington, January, 1926.

From the point of view of war or peace there can only be one conclusion as to the desirability of abolishing all tariffs, and other barriers to international trade. The removal of the tariff is in the best interests of the peace of the world. No argument can be raised against it so far as international peace is concerned, and any objection must be raised on other grounds.

THE COLONIAL QUESTION

It is a truism of historical study that the struggle for raw materials and new markets, expressing itself in colonization, annexation of territories, establishment of treaty ports, and in wars for colonial possessions has been one of the chief sources of international jealousy and discord. The same force is still at work in the world to-day; and as the less civilized or less highly developed parts of the earth's surface have now been largely appropriated, the danger is all the greater though less openly acknowledged.

It is true that the possession of a certain colony by one country rather than by another need not necessarily be to the advantage or disadvantage of either. But at present fiscal and other discriminations are made in favour of the traders, settlers and industrialists of the possessing country. Most important of all, grants of concessions to work raw materials over large areas of the most productive territory are often made to individuals and companies who may be able to establish a virtual monopoly and become enriched, while neither the colony nor the parent country gains any appreciable advantage.

It is, therefore, the duty of those who desire to remove the economic incentives to war to make certain that the citizens of all nations receive equality of treatment in respect of access to raw materials. This can be obtained without detracting from the independence and self-government of any nation, if each government will take steps to secure that the territory under its control may be developed to the fullest extent.

(B) IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC POSITION

The removal of the causes of the present stagnation of trade and the improvement of the economic position of the peoples depends upon three main factors:—

- (1) A sound system of public finance;
- (2) Removal of obstacles to exchange, particularly tariffs; and
- (3) Increasing the opportunities for the production of wealth.

PUBLIC FINANCE

The more violent fluctuations of the foreign exchanges have been mainly due to the inflation of the currency as a substitute for taxation. If means can be found to balance the Budget, the currency can be stabilized and with it the rate of exchange.

The difficulty of balancing the Budget is to find sources of taxation which will be adequate to meet the national expenditure. The repercussion on industry of the main existing sources of taxation is so serious that a further increase in the rate of taxation is dreaded. A new source of revenue must be found. There is one of the greatest importance which is as yet practically unused by every European and most other governments, namely, the value of land apart from improvements. Land-Value Taxation is capable of yielding a great volume of revenue. It has no injurious effect upon production, exchange or international trade because it is not added to the price of commodities. It is a source of revenue which automatically expands as society progresses and the need of revenue becomes greater; and it falls upon a value which is pre-eminently unearned

by any individual, but is created solely by the presence and activities of the Community.

REMOVAL OF TARIFF BARRIERS

The abolition of tolls, octrois, and internal obstacles to trade has never been regretted in any country. The constitutional prohibition of such barriers to free production and exchange over the vast and diversified territory occupied by the 48 States of the American Union is an unquestionable factor in the relatively great prosperity of the United States. If the whole world constituted one State, no intelligent person would advocate tariffs between its administrative units. There is an evident inconsistency in supporting a League of Nations pledged to world peace, while at the same time advocating the maintenance of national tariffs on the theory that the producers in different nations are (in the economic field) enemies. In fact, the whole tenor of protectionist literature is that tariffs are means of making one nation rich at the expense of another. (It might be inquired what nation has made itself rich in this way, and what would happen if all the nations of the world endeavoured simultaneously to make themselves rich at the expense of each other?)

The arguments against removal of the tariff barriers are familiar enough, but there is one that requires special attention; namely, that the tariff supplies an important part of national revenues which cannot be obtained otherwise.

It is true that in practically all countries the tariff supplies a large fraction of the public revenue. But it is not true that the necessary revenue cannot be obtained otherwise. The revenue of any country must be obtained from the annual produce of its land, labour and capital. The system of taxation adopted is merely a means of determining what amount shall come out of the pocket of each individual citizen and the method by which it shall be collected. The tariff is a method which imposes the load in the most burdensome way, interfering with and handicapping the international division of labour. It also has the vicious effect of concealing how much each citizen does in the end pay, and of enabling some citizens to make an actual profit out of it by setting up monopolies. The necessary public revenue can be collected without placing obstacles on trade or production. In fact, public revenue can be raised in a manner that will relieve industry of the burdens of taxation and stimulate national production.

STIMULATING THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Although the removal of tariff barriers will encourage the flow of commodities and facilitate the division of labour, and the stabilization of the exchanges will have a similar effect, these measures are not alone sufficient to ensure prosperity and international peace. They might lead to a position similar to or possibly somewhat better than that existing previous to the European War. But that, although advantageous as compared with the instability of the present time, leaves much to be desired and hoped for. M. Loucheur, in proposing the motion which led to the calling of this Economic Conference, said "Industrial disorganization led us to 1914 and it may lead us there again." The working masses, upon whose assent the present system is based, are becoming increasingly dissatisfied in the knowledge that their condition does not improve in the same ratio as science and technical knowledge progresses. Large bodies of men unemployed and great accumulations of capital lying idle are a menace to the stability of States, and consequently to the peace of the world. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, to discover means of stimulating the production and improving

the distribution of wealth.

Modern civilization contains within itself a canker which destroys or frustrates its own progress. The increase of population, the improvement in the technique of production and the march of invention cause a stronger and stronger demand for land to supply the necessary materials and sites for industry, commerce and agriculture. The more rapid is the growth of population and the development of industry, the more rapid is the increase in the value of land. Speculation and holding of land out of use is, therefore, most acute just where its effects are most injurious. The result of land being held out of use is to diminish the available supply of something already limited in quantity, and, therefore, to increase the price of what is allowed to be used. The production of commodities of all kinds is then restricted, prices rise, and there is in effect an increase in the cost of production. The distribution of wealth is also affected, more going to incomes derived from mere ownership, less to active producers.

The laws of most countries fail to prevent this speculative holding of land out of use. Indeed, this is positively facilitated by the exemption from taxation which valuable unused land generally enjoys. It is not necessary to elaborate here the argument that the value of land is particularly suited to be a source of public revenue. This has been demonstrated by economists of the highest standing. What we are concerned to show is that Land-Value Taxation supplies an essential link in the solution of most economic problems.

It provides an alternative source of public revenue, by which the tariff can be abolished, a measure which is vital to the economic organization of the world to-day and to the cause of peace.

It will enable the Budgets to balance and so obviate the excuse for inflation and violent fluctuation of the exchanges.

It makes for the economic stability of international trade, and for closer co-operation between the nations.

It provides a means of stimulating production by forcing unused land into use, the essence of Land-Value Taxation being that it is levied on the full value of the land even if unused. The result will be increase of trade, more employment, less competition for work, higher purchasing power and higher wages.

Applied in colonies and protectorates this policy means that those who hold the land there will be obliged to work it and to produce the raw materials which other countries require. Monopoly based upon limitation of production will be impossible, because it will not pay to limit production; it will not pay to keep valuable land idle. Thus Land-Value Taxation provides a solution of the colonial question, so far as it is an economic question, by ensuring that the supply of raw materials is maintained at its maximum; and these under a system of free trade will be distributed to those who require them by the ordinary machinery of commerce.

Peace, justice, security and the progress of an ordered civilization all require that the inter-related problems of international commerce and of the economic betterment of the common man in every country should be solved.

To abolish the restrictions that now at every national frontier hinder and burden trade between peoples, is at once to remove a great impediment to the production of wealth while promoting those friendly human contacts that serve so well to dissipate national and racial misunderstandings.

But beneficial as would be the establishment of Free Trade across national frontiers, it would not suffice

to effect any permanent elevation of the economic status of the ordinary citizen in any country so long as the evils of land monopoly and the destructive internal taxation that now restricts the employment both of capital and of labour remain untouched.

Both of these evils would disappear if governments could be led, upon the recommendation of this Economic Conference, to adopt the policy here advocated. The levy of taxes upon the economic value of all land apart from improvements would on the one hand immensely stimulate industry by forcing land into use, and, on the other hand, would provide a constantly growing source of public revenue, leading ultimately to the abrogation of the taxes and imposts of various kinds that in every country so grievously oppress and hamper the free employment of capital and labour.

* * *

The Memorandum was signed on behalf of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade by Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Hon. President; Ashley Mitchell, Hon. Treasurer; F. C. R. Douglas; and by John Paul, A. W. Madsen, F. Folke and Abel Brink, Joint Secretaries.

AMERICAN WAY OF TAXATION English Method Antiquated

(Interview with Mr Ashley Mitchell, "Yorkshire Observer," 26th May)

I had the good fortune on my recent visit to the United States to be taken by a friend into the New York City Hall, a magnificent new building of the semi-skyscraper type in a very attractive style of architecture. We went up to the seventh floor and my friend showed me what they could do, taking me into the assessment department.

We were confronted by a series of counters on which were placed the registers of the assessments of New York City, comprising five large boroughs. Notices hanging from the pillars showed which registers could be found on the various counters and without consulting the officials we were able to turn up the assessment roll for the property in which my friend was interested. This system enables the public to see how one assessment compares with another, and it is undoubtedly the means of securing a clear, equitable, and agreed assessment.

What interested me most was the fact that on the record was shown in one column the value of real estate unimproved and in another column the value of real estate with improvements thereon. The record of the particular property in which we were interested gave the value of the real estate unimproved, that is, the land value, as 9,000 dollars and the value of the real estate with improvements at 14,000 dollars. Every piece of real estate in New York is assessed in that way.

Land Value Maps

I was afterwards introduced to the chief and the secretary of the department, with whom I had a most interesting conversation. They gave me a copy of the land value map of New York for 1924. These maps are published annually and they show the land value of every street in New York City. The figures are given for every street, showing the value per unit. The unit in most American cities is one foot frontage of a hundred feet deep, and from these land value maps anyone can work out for himself the unimproved value of land.

The assessment is made every year, and this, in my opinion, is a splendid system, as it secures that values which are rising shall come immediately on the higher

assessment and values which are falling will all the sooner be reduced on the assessment roll.

From the report for the year 1925, which I have in my possession, the assessment of 689,000 parcels of real estate cost on an average per parcel 1.07 dollars. The total summary for that year is very interesting. The total value of real estate was 11,901,348,533 dollars, of which 5,561,718,945 dollars was taxable land and 5,593,580,955 dollars improvements. It will be seen that the taxable land value is practically 50 per cent of the total.

In a conversation I had with the chief of the department, I told him that such a system simply made my mouth water when I realized how antiquated was the British system by comparison. He was amused when I told him that if a piece of land inside a city boundary in this country was used for agricultural purposes, it is only assessed at its annual value of £1 or so, when its real capital value was possibly over four figures. After having used the valuation of real estate on its full capital value, whether used or not, for some twenty or thirty years, the Americans can hardly believe that we still allow valuable land to escape rating if it is being poorly used.

This system has been secured in America largely

through the efforts of such societies as the New York Tax Reform Association, which for many years had agitated for equitable assessment on real estate to secure that real estate should be on the assessment roll on its true value. It is of interest to note that on the bill head of this association, a copy of which I have in my possession, there are the names of large companies which support it.

Among these names are those of J. P. Morgan and Co., R. Fulton Cutting, and Steinway and Sons. It is comical to imagine what would happen in this country if similar concerns were asked to support such organizations here. The principals would say that it was a political matter, and would consider the attitude of the political party to which they are attached toward the proposals.

The looseness of political parties in the United States enables business men to deal with such matters on their merits, and in consequence one sees the result in the system in local rating. The local rate, which is called a tax and is nowhere called a rate in America, is levied at 2½ per cent on the capital levy, is roughly equivalent to a rate of 12s. in the pound on the annual value, and I was told that that is now the average figure for American cities.

LAND VALUE TAXATION

Dominions Give Lead to Britain

(Interview reported in the "Birmingham Gazette" and the "Birmingham Evening Dispatch" of 26th May)

The movement for Land Value Taxation is making headway, not only in the Dominions but in Great Britain.

Glasgow recently called a conference of the local rating authorities in Scotland, and is determined to petition Parliament for powers to rate land values. Cardiff decided the other day to call a conference of the Welsh rating authorities to discuss the matter. Sheffield Town Council has appointed a special committee to inquire and report; and at Newcastle-on-Tyne similar action is being taken.

The enthusiasm for the new rating system in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada is cited by Mr A. W. Madsen, B.Sc., joint secretary of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values and of the International Union for Land Taxation and Free Trade, who was in Geneva during the International Economic Conference of the League of Nations, and spoke in Birmingham on Tuesday night.

Interviewed yesterday, he compared the attitude of the Dominions with that of Great Britain and Europe; and speaking of the results of the Geneva conference, said the problem of how Governments could raise revenues, if tariffs were abolished, was not faced.

The great majority of the speakers failed to look at this side of the problem and seemed to regard tariffs as necessary, in any event, as a source of public revenue.

In the memorandum addressed to every delegate at Geneva the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade expressed its opinion that the salvation of Europe lay in the removal of all Customs barriers and in the adoption of real free trade.

It was urged that the interests and prejudices centred in land monopoly must give place to the urgency of land reform, on the lines advocated by the Union, if civilized society was to continue.

Free exchange of commodities would, for a time, better the condition of industry and commerce, but,

the memorandum contended, there must be freedom from monopoly in natural resources as well.

Land value taxation would ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth and power and so bring contentment and peace to the warring elements in society.

Mr Madsen said the policy advocated in the memorandum was related not only to industrial peace, but to international peace.

The condition of Europe to-day was largely due not only to the obstructions in the way of international trade, but also to the restrictions and penal taxation imposed upon trade and industry within every country.

Employment and business were seriously interfered with by land monopoly. Land value taxation would bring about freedom of production and full freedom of trade, both across national boundaries and within the several countries.

The object of the Union in sending Mr Madsen and Mr F. C. R. Douglas to Geneva, was to get one of the delegates to present the memorandum to the Economic Conference of the League of Nations as an official document.

In this it was unsuccessful, but care was taken to ensure that a copy of the memorandum got into the hands of every member of the conference.

The delegate from Colombia, Dr Restrepo, when taking part in the discussion on agriculture, called upon the conference to consider the economic and fiscal system of a single tax on land values, particularly with reference to those landowners who took rent from land without contributing anything towards its productivity.

Similarly Mr Weber, general secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, told the conference that whatever might be done to help agriculture by way of tariffs, co-operation, credits, and so on, such schemes would inevitably have the effect of increasing rents.

As showing how the system of land value taxation was growing in favour, Mr Madsen said it had been adopted in the capital cities of practically all the Dominions.

The Dominions taught us that it was unjust, wrong and harmful to tax houses, shops and factories.

Land value taxation would bring more land into use, promote building, and improve social conditions all round.

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Held at Geneva under the Auspices of the League of Nations, 4th to 23rd May

Significant Passages from some of the Speeches

The PRESIDENT, Mr G. THEUNIS: The desire among nations to become self-supporting has increased, while, at the same time, they have sought to create fresh trade outlets—two tendencies which are obviously in opposition. The result, however, is that Customs barriers have been raised still higher, thus completing the vicious circle in which the nations turn. We have long been familiar with the singular contradiction between the enormous efforts made by nations, working tenaciously for the improvement of means of communication for passengers and goods by constructing railways, ports and canals, and the fiscal and administrative measures by which they are apparently striving to render their heavy expenditure and their persevering labours nugatory. Nationally and internationally, politically and economically, but perhaps most definitely of all in the economic field, the interdependence of interests is a fact. It is useless to deny that fact, and it is useless to fight against it. It must be recognized, turned to advantage and properly directed.

"OVER-PRODUCTION AND UNDER-CONSUMPTION"

Professor KARL GUSTAV CASSEL (Sweden): Of course, there exists no such thing as a social purchasing power determined on its own grounds. The purchasing power of human society can never be anything else than the total produce of the society. If we believe that the total purchasing power of the present world is too small, there can be no other remedy than an increase in the world's total production. On the other hand, if we should choose deliberately to reduce the world's total production in order to bring it down to a level of an assumed purchasing power the result would only be that the real purchasing power would be reduced in the same proportion and the world would be so much poorer.

A POINT NOT DEVELOPED

The most characteristic feature of the situation is the very incomplete use made of Europe's productive powers and particularly the wide-spread and long-continued unemployment of its labour. In a certain sense we may say that all the deliberations of this Conference are ultimately concerned with the question of how to get rid of European unemployment. Monopolies may take very different forms but in all their forms they are a hindrance to the free application of productive powers. We shall have to deal in the Conference every day, and almost at every step in our deliberations, with forms and effects of monopolization. All Government efforts to prevent productive powers from being used in the most economic way are apt to create monopolistic situations.

BIG BUSINESS AND "STABLE TARIFFS"

MR WALTER RUNCIMAN, M.P. (International Chambers of Commerce): There is no single symptom of modern business which has brought more benefit to everybody concerned than long contracts. If existing tariffs in Europe are to be raised any higher, they will still further impede the system of long contracts. We come to the Conference in the full degree of hope that, if there is at least no other outcome it will check the tendency to raise tariffs. Let us not close our eyes to one clear fact, namely, that both for the financial convenience of many countries and because public opinion is not ripe for a change, the total abolition of Customs tariffs is beyond the immediate hope of mankind—by which I mean, of the hope of mankind in our lifetime. If

should be limitation. There should be an extension of Customs Conventions and it would be wise for us to extend our system of commercial treaties. We also put in a plea for the stabilization of tariffs. A tariff which lasts only twelve months and may then be subject to revision is an obvious obstacle to long contracts.

IN FAVOUR OF PROTECTION

M. GLIWIC (Poland): After the war the whole of Europe was faced with dire poverty, and the peoples of Europe showed an increasing tendency to emigrate. But this very natural tendency was thwarted by an impassable barrier raised by the immigration countries. The vicious circle widened. It became necessary not only to protect old-established long-standing industries but to create new industries with the sole object of absorbing superfluous labour. There is another urgent problem: how to exploit all the available natural sources of raw material. For this purpose, some means must be found of obtaining the necessary capital. The urgent need of emigration countries to dispose of their surplus labour cannot be ignored.

Mme FREUNDLICH (Austria): Barbed wire entanglements have given place to new frontiers in the form of high Customs tariffs, which imprison goods and men as if in a trap and prevent national economic life from developing on normal lines. Austria waited for some time before increasing her Customs tariff but in the end we were obliged to take defensive measures.

VIEWS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

M. VON SIEMENS (Germany): At the present time nearly all the economic units of Europe are faced with a new problem which once was practically non-existent: the problem of unemployment. Before the war, unemployment as a permanent phenomenon was unknown. The dearer labour is, the more will those who count the cost turn to machinery, thereby adding once more to the numbers of unemployed. The State must step in and give these poor people at any rate a bare subsistence; but once again the cost will fall upon production. The main question is whether it is better, from the social point of view, to give work to the greatest possible number but at a lower rate of pay or to give the highest possible wages to those who have work and from their earnings provide a bare subsistence for the remainder.

A LEAD FROM JAPAN AND CHILE

M. SHIDACHI (Japan): We must of necessity make it our national policy to remove Customs barriers and to establish freedom of communication and commerce, as far as possible in co-operation with other nations. . . . As the development of natural resources through the freedom of economic enterprises is extremely important for the promotion of human contentment, it is the duty of every nation to bring about this realization.

M. URZUA (Chile): Political economy holds the magic key to the enigma and has in its hands the vast treasury of the laws which rule the moral world, as physical laws create the wonderful harmony of the universe. . . . Neglect of the principles of justice lies at the root of the social upheavals and fratricidal wars which have marred the course of centuries. The general tendency of this Conference is to seek a solution in liberty in certain forms of economic activity. This ideal has prompted the suggestion to do away with the useless or dangerous Customs barriers, which stand in the way of commercial and industrial progress. I heartily

support this suggestion.

ANOTHER TARIFF EXCUSE

Sir MAX MUSPRATT (Great Britain): The question of trade barriers has been a difficulty—in particular the frequent alterations in and the increased complexity of Customs tariffs. This situation has forced us, to the great regret of many in Great Britain, to modify our policy of complete free trade. As yet, the alterations we have made affect only two to three per cent of our total imports, and, as a convinced Free-Trader, I hope that the world is going to enable us to reduce rather than increase that proportion of imports which has to pay import duties.

AN INTERNATIONAL COUNSEL OF DESPAIR

M. JOUHAUX (France): Isolated action on the part of individual countries will never provide the real solution of our difficulties. This must come from joint concerted effort. . . . Another problem is the disturbance of the equilibrium between agricultural and industrial production, essentially a world-wide problem which can only be solved by concerted international measures. Another problem is that of the rationalization of industrial production, which can only be dealt with as a whole by the organization of industries on international lines. . . . Then there is the serious question of working-class migration—a problem which cannot be satisfactorily solved except by means of international negotiations, international compensation and international conventions.

ADVICE FROM HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

M. COLLIN (Netherlands): I know that in bygone times the walls of Jericho fell down when the trumpets sounded but I do not think any trumpet-blast would break down the wall of Customs barriers immediately. Nevertheless, I feel that it is our duty to express our views as to the harm wrought to world prosperity in general and European prosperity in particular by excessive tariffs. . . . What is expected of this Conference and what it is in a position to furnish is a list of the causes of the present economic situation and an indication of where a solution is to be found for the problems waiting to be settled.

Baron TIBBAUT (Belgium): Countries like Belgium which practise intensive and specialized culture are the quickest to feel the effects of any kind of hindrance. Belgium can never hope to produce, by direct methods, all the cereals required. It follows the law of geographical culture and produces from the soil what that soil is best fitted to yield and what it yields most plentifully. It aims at excellence and high quality in its products the value of which increases the gross yield per hectare and makes it possible to purchase from abroad in exchange, five, ten, fifty times the amount of cereals that could be produced in Belgium by direct cultivation.

One and a half million of the inhabitants of Belgium are in touch with the soil, the working elements in many cases being also engaged in other occupations. It is easy therefore to realize what social services agriculture, in its democratic form of small holdings, may render.

A PROPHECY AND A WARNING

M. DA CUNHA LEAL (Portugal): It can hardly be called a successful achievement to find economic barriers growing ever higher and more menacing along every frontier, and a policy of splendid isolation being firmly established within the countries themselves. In our search for peace we find that, despite ourselves, we are drifting towards war. Prophets tell us that they discern around us every portent of impending disaster. We

may well ask of Europe and of the world: *Quo vadis?*

. . . It seems unfortunate that international conferences should follow the quite unjustifiable system of separating financial problems from economic ones, as if the two questions were not intimately bound up together. But that is not all. These discussions are bringing to light a whole host of conflicting interests. In order that they may arrive without a hitch at a conclusion of some kind or other, international conferences carefully avoid anything that might prove a bone of contention. As a result, all they succeed in doing is to enunciate certain principles, so general and so vague that the descent from the dreamland of these conferences to the workaday world of a practical agreement is long and strewn with obstacles. . . . Already some nations are experiencing domestic unrest in consequence of the weakening of their economic position, brought about mainly by the war. If we leave them to perish, the more powerful countries will ultimately perish in their turn. And so the former may perhaps justifiably repeat the historic words which Danton spoke on his way to the guillotine when he passed before the house where Robespierre lived: "Robespierre, je t'attends." And, as you know, Robespierre's turn soon came.

WHAT ABOUT ACCESS TO LAND?

M. BRIEBA (Chile): We all know the tragic situation of Europe in a world that has been shattered. The fall of the Roman Empire, terrible though it was, would be as nothing compared with the ruin of our own great civilization. But ruin will certainly come if we fail to find a remedy for the social injustices which are sapping the strength of the nations and leaving them an easy prey to the elements of disorder. Social injustices could, I think, be removed by opening up fresh sources of production and developing those which already exist. . . . We must find a way to make money more readily accessible to the nations which need it for their development. . . . We must establish an international credit organization.

THE U.S.A. STANDS FOR "TARIFF TECHNIQUE"

Mr. H. M. ROBINSON (United States of America): Freedom of trade, in the realm of ideas, consists in *laissez faire* in respect of the applications of capital and labour to natural resources and the subsequent distribution of the goods and services, and implies freedom of movement of services and things. Because of the different economic, social and political conditions in the various countries, it has not been practical nor desirable to give effect to all these abstract principles. . . . We venture the opinion that there are many factors in tariff technique which are susceptible of material improvement thorough simplification of practice and uniformity of procedure, and that these are all worthy of serious consideration by the Conference.

SHIP THE SURPLUS

M. BARBOZA-CARNEIRO (Brazil): Europe is suffering from a surplus of labour. It would therefore seem quite natural that in the case of a vast country like Brazil, where there are undoubtedly tremendous possibilities for productive activity emigration should be of benefit to Brazil and Europe alike.

FISCAL VIEWS AT THE LABOUR OFFICE

M. ARTHUR FONTAINE (Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office): Customs duties are often a very poor palliative. When their object is to support obsolete methods of production, the palliative at once becomes inimical to the general

interests and soon loses its value in competition, though without losing its injurious character. But tariffs, even when moderate and legitimate, may carry with them as many disadvantages as advantages for the labour world. . . . I am not arguing against Customs tariffs—far from it. I know the difficulty and complexity of the whole question of commercial treaties.

President Wilson advocated in the third of his Fourteen Points the removal so far as possible of all economic barriers. This does not mean—I realize and appreciate the importance of the words “so far as possible”; and the words used are “economic barriers” and not “Customs tariffs”—this does not mean the removal of all tariffs. It is only a general direction for our guidance. But it does clearly mean—and this seems to me to be of great importance—the most-favoured-nation clause, loyally conceived and loyally executed.

THE STATISTICS THAT FORGOT THE LAW OF RENT

M. DE MICHELIS (President of the International Institute of Agriculture): In the case of all the countries for which we have particulars (Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Great Britain, Italy, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada and the United States of America), the conclusion is the same: the index number for industrial products is higher than the index number for the prices of agricultural produce. Everywhere the farmer receives less for his produce than before the war, and although this may not apply to certain products, as a general statement it is incontrovertible. It is essential for agriculture that the industrial output should be greater, and consequently cheaper, and that the cost of industrial production should be reduced.

THE FATE OF THE DISPOSSESSED

Mobility of population is absolutely necessary if agricultural production is to keep pace with consumption. There are, on the one hand, some countries in which agricultural unemployment is the only serious form of unemployment, and on the other, countries where labour for the most essential agricultural work is absolutely unobtainable.

TARIFF FRONTIERS AND ARMAMENTS

MR LAYTON (Great Britain): Central Europe has been divided economically as well as politically into a number of small units. The result is that, allowing for the fact that on each side of a land frontier there is a Customs cordon, Europe has to-day 11,000 more kilometres of tariff barriers than before the war. Permanent prosperity will never be achieved either by industries or by communities which pursue the policy of trying to make profits by restricting production.

This result is not to be attained by comparatively minor changes in tariff procedure, but requires such substantial reductions in the level of existing tariffs that the tide of international exchange may flow in greatly increased volume. This cannot be attained in a day; but if my diagnosis is correct we cannot hope to solve the problem of Europe until the nations are prepared to act in this sense. . . . I have mentioned two striking figures. I will add a third: 11,000 kilometres (6,800 miles) of new tariff barriers; a population of at least 10 millions whose wage-earners have no productive work; an annual expenditure of 2½ milliard dollars (£457,000,000) upon armaments. These are the symptoms of a disunited Europe.

DANISH FARMERS FOR FREE TRADE

M. SONNE (Denmark): As a Danish farmer, I cannot

policy to which the programme of the Conference bears witness, for the great majority of Danish farmers has always adhered to a free-trade tariff policy. Let me add that we Danish farmers trust we do not stand alone in this respect but have many partners in other agricultural countries. I was delighted to hear the Belgian member, Baron Tibbaut, express the same opinion in his interesting and weighty speech. . . . Farmers should participate loyally in an active co-operation for the removal of restrictions and tariff barriers, which also, as far as agriculture is concerned, fatally check the keenly wanted freedom in production and exchange of commodities.

INTERNATIONAL CARTELS AND TRUSTS

M. LOUCHEUR (France): Europe could no longer sell either at home or across the seas the totality of the products which her working population could produce. Even in Europe, whereas the power of production had increased, the power of consumption, the buying power, had decreased. This was due principally to the decrease in the buying power of gold. By what remedies were they to correct such a situation? They must reconquer foreign markets, and for that make an effort towards rationalization extending to the whole of Europe. The only means was to organize European industry according to the so-called horizontal method, that is to say, by industries, and thus they found themselves brought back once again to the idea of agreements and cartels.

OVER-POPULATION AGAIN THE TARIFF EXCUSE

M. BELLONI (Italy): It was clear that in countries where the density of the population was high and which had no natural resources, if there was not a free movement of population over the world, the only means at the disposal of Governments to secure for their nationals work and a guarantee of work were Customs barriers and industrial or agricultural protectionisms in all its forms. Comparing the impressive figure of 10,000,000 destitute Europeans with the 800,000 emigrants who had annually left their homes in Europe before the war, he thought that one of the surest ways of attaining a final economic peace would be formed in the solution of the problem of the movement of population.

INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE: CONFUSED OPINIONS AND BARREN PROPOSALS

M. DE VOGÜÉ (President of the International Commission on Agriculture): One of the principal causes of present economic difficulties was that nearly everywhere since the war, industry, which offered to its workers a standard of life superior to that of agriculture, had been developing at the expense of the latter. Agricultural production having lost a large number of its workers had become less abundant and the price of its products had inevitably risen. The far-reaching economic effects of this inferiority in the standard of life of agricultural workers and the drop in their buying power is a constant menace to industrial production.

M. PIRELLI (Italy). “Rapporteur” of the Committee on Industry, thought that, apart from certain general problems common to all three Committees (population, credits, etc.), the Committee would be required to investigate three essential questions: rationalization, in favour of which propaganda might be useful; international industrial *ententes*, the conditions of working and consequences of which must be very closely examined; and, finally, improvement of the world statistics of production.

Dr OTTO FRANCESCH (Jugoslavia), Chairman of the

Committee on Agriculture, expressed the hope that it would be possible to create a real basis for the better organization of agricultural production; for meeting the requirements of agriculture in credit and in other matters; for permitting of the development of co-operative societies of all kinds; for a closer collaboration to secure proper prices and a market for agricultural products; and for an increase of the purchasing power of agriculturists.

Dr L. K. HYDER (India): The documentation of the Conference showed that agricultural production had increased and that the rising prices had been less in the price of agricultural products than in that of industrial products, a fact which he ascribed to the condition of agriculture as subject to international competition while other industries were nationally sheltered.

M. POISSON (International Co-operative Alliance): The first necessity was to increase agricultural production. For this three things were necessary—credits, machinery and labour. In respect of credit, agriculturists should first of all use their own resources through the institution of co-operative credit societies. But in order to create credit they must have the remuneration to which they were entitled.

Professor TASSINARI (Italy): Agricultural credits were needed for the further organization of agriculture by reclamation of land, irrigation and the breaking up of latifundia.

MORE SPOKESMEN FOR PROTECTION

Dr F. PORCHET (Switzerland): It must not be forgotten that the indefinite increase of agricultural production per unit of area was limited by biological laws, whereas the industrial machine might be indefinitely perfected. The peasant class had a right to a certain national protection when their existence was threatened by the competition of products coming from countries where the social position of the peasants had still to be made.

M. GAUTIER (France) read a draft resolution proposing *inter alia* that:

"Customs protection, which should maintain the equilibrium between the normal remuneration of industrial and agricultural labour, should also aim at diminishing the extreme instability of prices which results from the fact that it is impossible for the farmer to determine at will the amount of his harvests."

M. LANDIE (Poland) drew attention to another form of dumping, namely, credit dumping, which consisted of the export of capital from countries where capital was plentiful to countries where it was short. The latter were forced to defend themselves by increasing their tariff rates.

Baron KORNFIELD (Hungary), referring to proposals for lowering the cost of production by centralizing production, said: Did not this policy, however, involve certain dangers in so far as it decreased the number of workers? Customs duties were legitimate, not only when they were purely fiscal but also when they had a compensating character, and in so far as they were necessary to enable national labour to subsist. Why should not a nation like Hungary, with a population which was continually increasing and for the most part engaged in agriculture, not have the right to establish an industry sheltered by Customs barriers? The old method of Customs duties appeared preferable to this centralization of production, for which so curious a sympathy had suddenly been shown.

Sir DAVID GORDON (Australia): The Australian tariff was frankly protective. As a young country, she had to build up her industries and also required revenue.

M. BARBOZA CARNEIRO (Brazil): The export duties levied by the autonomous States of Brazil were not discriminatory, but were an important source of revenue, as, indeed, also were the Customs import duties of Brazil.

BELGIUM AND NORWAY FOR FREE TRADE

M. TIBBAUT (Belgium): Countries of dense population and intense culture, for example, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, produced special products, which they used as an exchange for raw materials and for the cereals necessary to feed their dense population. Small holdings must be encouraged by removing fiscal and legislative obstacles to the acquisition of land. Agriculture must be on its guard against protectionism, for which the demand was greater in industry than in agriculture.

M. HAARON FIVE (Norway): He was one of those who much regretted that they had been unable to agree unanimously to a resolution more clearly stating the advantage to agriculture of a reduction in industrial protection. He wished to emphasize the fact that, as he understood it, all the members of the Committee would have preferred a resolution recognizing this principle and recommending the progressive reduction of industrial protection as an aid to agriculture. As an expression of his desire to meet the wishes of his American colleague, he would vote for the resolutions in its present form.

THE CASE FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION

Professor HIGHT (New Zealand) gave the reasons for the rapid development of agriculture in New Zealand, including an enlightened system of land tenure, the encouragement of land settlement by taxation of large and unused holdings, assistance in the provision of loans, provision for scientific research, the organization of credit, the official grading of produce for export and the thorough co-operative organization of the dairy industry.

Dr RESTREPO (Colombia), Permanent Delegate at the League of Nations: He would have liked to see a reversion to the economic principle of the single tax, especially in the case of landlords who received rent for their land without contributing to its productivity.

M. WEBER (Switzerland), Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions: Customs tariffs could not be an advantage for agriculture, because Customs duties which protected the agriculture of one country were harmful to that of another country, and, moreover, they sent up the cost of living, thereby diminishing the purchasing power of other classes and making the situation of industry more difficult still. The resolution made no mention whatever of the problem of the rent paid for agricultural land, which was the most important question before the Committee. Almost every advantage obtained for agriculture by Customs tariffs, subsidies and other measures were reflected in an increase in agricultural rents. Even an improvement in credits and the work of co-operative associations had the same consequence over a period of years.

* * *

The abstract of speeches as given above is taken from the *Verbatim Record of the Plenary Meetings* and from the daily *Journal* of the Conference.

WHAT THE BRITISH LEAGUES ARE DOING

ENGLISH LEAGUE : Frederick Verinder, General Secretary, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.C.2.

JUNE MEETINGS

Fri. 23rd.—Wembley Women's Co-operative Guild : Fredk. Verinder. 3 p.m.

Sat. 25th.—Birmingham Borough Labour Party : Col. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P. Meetings at Glascote, Wilnecote and Kingsbury.

The sympathy of all who know his great services to our movement will go out to Sir Edgar Harper on the great bereavement which has befallen him. Lady Harper passed away on 21st May, after five months of very painful illness. Sir Edgar, to his deep regret, has been unable to take his usual active part in the work of our Executive, during this long period of anxiety, as he was unable to leave his house ; but, so far as circumstances permitted he has continued to serve the cause with his pen. The General Secretary represented the Executive at Lady Harper's funeral on 26th May.

It was announced at the Annual Meeting that the collection of £48 in special donations would enable the Hon. Treasurer to claim three donations of £5 each, conditionally promised by three members. The sum of £48 6s. 2d. was promptly forthcoming (including £9 11s. 2d., collected at the door). Two other donations, amounting to £12 2s., were sent after the meeting.

This generous response inspires the hope that other members and friends, who were not able to be present at the meeting, will join in this effort to clear the League of debt, and to enable the newly-elected Executive to carry on its work without the anxieties that have weighed so heavily during the past year.

Preparations are already being made for the London County Council Election, March, 1928. The General Secretary will be grateful if London members will send him a prompt notification of the selection of local candidates. Any members who have a voice in the selection of candidates should closely question the men or women who come before them as to their attitude towards the rating of Land Values.

The President had a two-column article on "Why we want to tax Land Values" in the *Stoke Newington Times* (organ of the Local Labour Party) on 20th May.

Sir Edgar Harper's article in the *May Contemporary Review* is being reprinted by the League under the title of "The Speculative Element in the Value of Land." (One penny.)

ANNUAL MEETING

The forty-fourth annual general meeting of the League was held in the Caxton Hall on Wednesday, 11th May. The President, the Right Hon Josiah C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P., occupied the Chair, and was glad to welcome among the many members and friends in attendance Dr and Mrs Paul Dane and Mr A. Valentine from Australia. Letters regretting inability to be present were received from Sir Edgar Harper, F.S.I., Andrew MacLaren, M.P., Robert Smillie, M.P., P. Wilson Raffan, J.P., T. Atholl Robertson, F.R.G.S., Major C. J. Vasey, Baron Baudran (Berlin) and a number of others.

The meeting adopted unanimously the following resolutions :—

(A) That the burden of the present rates upon industry and housing has become unbearable ; that Local Authorities should have power to exempt improvements from rates and levy rates instead upon

Land Values ; and that all members of Local Authorities should take steps at their Councils to pass Resolutions petitioning Parliament to give them powers accordingly.

(B) Whereas all productive work consists in the extraction of food and raw materials from land, and in the conversion of the raw materials into finished goods ; and whereas such work must depend in the first place upon the application of labour to land ; production and useful work can be increased by making all land cheaper and some land free, so that those who wish to work can start production ; and this purpose can best be achieved not by reactionary schemes of land purchase but by the levy of a national tax on the value of all land irrespective of improvements.

Proceedings began with the address of the President, who reviewed the work of the League for the past year and took as his text the Annual Report, printed copies of which had been circulated by post to all members and an extract of which was published in last month's *Land & Liberty*. Col. Wedgwood emphasized at the same time the great encouragement all in the Movement derived from the steady progress they were able to record in legislative achievement in many parts of the world, notably in New Zealand, South Africa, Denmark, Australia, Brazil and Argentine. He spoke also of the land question in Palestine, Kenya and Mauritius. He concluded by moving the adoption of the Report, which was unanimously agreed.

The financial statement for the year ended 31st March, 1927, was adopted on the motion of the Hon. Treasurer, Mr HERBERT A. BERENS, seconded by Mr E. BELFOUR. The statement showed total revenue £699 1s. 1d., and total expenditure £790 6s. 11d.; making the excess expenditure £91 5s. 10d., and the net debt of the League stood at £372 0s. 11d. Mr Berens made an urgent appeal for increased financial support, and called on the meeting to make a special effort to reduce the outstanding financial liability.

The election of office-bearers for the ensuing year followed, the list being headed by the Right Hon. Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, whose re-election as President was enthusiastically acclaimed.

Executive business being completed, the meeting listened with much appreciation to the speeches in support of the resolutions (A) and (B), the text of which is given above. The first resolution was moved by Mr PERCY HARRIS, D.L., L.C.C., M.P., and seconded by Dr PAUL DANE (Melbourne). The second resolution was moved and seconded respectively by Mr A. VALENTINE (Melbourne) and Mr LOUIS P. JACOBS.

The speeches in support of the resolutions are reported in another column.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE : Wm. Reid, Secretary, 67, West Nile Street, Glasgow.

The indoor meetings held in the Rooms, 67, West Nile Street, are now abandoned till the close of the summer months. By request the Rooms will be kept open for callers on Friday evenings.

We have had a lot of inquiries for literature as a result of the Glasgow Corporation resolution coming before the various local government bodies in Scotland. The Secretary debated the question before the Town Council of Coatbridge on Friday, 6th May. There was a speaker present to defend the present Rating system. His objections were mutually destructive. In one argument the landowners were to be specially penalized,

perhaps ruined, in another they were to recover their losses by shifting the tax on to the tenant.

Among a big lot of letters to the editor, Mr A. S. Munsie and Mr A. J. Mace have had a big quantity this month. The former in the *North British Agriculturist*, *Scottish Farmer*, *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, etc. Mr Mace has kept going as usual in the *Clydebank Press* and has had letters in the *Glasgow Citizen* and *Lennox Herald* as well. In the *Edinburgh Evening News* there have been letters from Mr John Peter.

Among the Land Values notes in the *Irish Weekly* there has appeared a review of "The Life of Joseph Fels," by Mr J. O'D. Derrick. We note that Mr Caldwell of West Kilbride and Mrs McGrouther, Troon keep going with letters to the Editor and queries at political gatherings.

We are now being approached for speakers for outdoor and indoor meetings, and the Secretary has been already booked for a Co-operative Guild meeting during the coming winter.

Some inquiries have come to hand about a letter in the *Glasgow Evening News*, accusing the advocates of the policy of Taxation of Land Values of identifying it with Socialism. Henry George is thereafter referred to as an Anti-Socialist. The advocates of Land Value Taxation are exhorted to give a clearer exposition of their policy in order to win the support of business men, who—we are told—are opposed to our policy because of their ignorance of the subject. Perhaps our writers to the Editors will consider these hints. It remains to point out that the Scottish League makes no pronouncement for or against Socialism. Business men, Workmen, Socialists, Anti-Socialists, Christians, Non-Christians, Anti-Christians are asked no questions on joining the League. Each one is left to reconcile his belief in our policy with any other belief he happens to hold. We not only preach toleration—we practise it.

MANCHESTER LEAGUE: Arthur H. Weller, J.P.,
Secretary, 5, Cross Street, Manchester.

A number of letters on the taxation of land values were printed in the *Manchester Evening News* at the end of April. Amongst those who wrote supporting the League's policy were Messrs E. Bates, E. M. Ginders, J. Garner, I. Williams, J. W. Collins, E. MacClafferty and the Secretary.

In the *Bolton Journal & Guardian* of 22nd April appeared an article from the pen of Councillor Herbert Eastwood, entitled "Easter Greetings," in the course of which our colleague stressed the importance of clear and precise definition of terms. "All wealth is produced by labour," it concludes. "Land is the storehouse of all wealth. . . . It belongs to the people, and 'the land for the people' is the one call that will rally the people to the people's party. . . ."

Manchester rates for 1927-28 will be 13s. 6d. in the £ and are intended to provide a revenue of £4,320,400. Compared with the previous year, this shows a reduction of 6d., but 4d. of that is due to the fact that only eleven months' requirements have been budgeted for. This is in order to make the financial years of the City Council and the Poor Law Guardians coincide in the future, as prescribed by the Rating and Valuation Act, and the process will be repeated in the next two budgets.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee told the City Council on 18th May that existing services were extending and standards of equipment and maintenance were rising more rapidly than the community's ability to pay, as measured by rateable value. Further steps in housing would also be a greater charge on the rates than in the past, as government grants were to be

reduced by stages in the future, and there was evidence of reduced contributions from the government in other directions. If these tendencies persisted, it would result in permanently higher rates.

Councillor W. Johnston raised the question of the taxation of land values. He said the Council must look for fresh sources of revenue; there was a very strong public opinion in favour of taxing land for local purposes. He was supported by Councillor Binns, who declared that some people were being made wealthy by the activities of the Corporation, and it was high time the Council adopted Councillor Johnston's suggestion.

An address on the Copec housing scheme was given by Mr P. M. Oliver at the Cross Street Chapel on 1st May. Speaking in the discussion which followed, Mr E. F. MacClafferty said the churches seemed, in this scheme, to be trying to substitute charity for justice. He condemned the taxing of houses, giving instances of high land values in Manchester which ought to be used for public revenue, and suggested that the Corporation should move with Glasgow in seeking powers to rate land values. In his reply to the discussion, Mr Oliver said these were political issues. In some church circles charity is evidently regarded as religious and justice as political.

YORKSHIRE AND NORTHERN LEAGUE: F. Skirrow,
Secretary, Compton Buildings, Bow Street, Keighley.

Meetings addressed by our Chairman (Mr Ashley Mitchell) not previously reported are as follows: Greenside, 13th April; Kirkburton Liberal Club, 27th April; Barnsley Liberal Club, 28th April; Golcar, 7th May; Leeds Liberal Luncheon Club, 10th May.

Mr William Thomson, and the Secretary addressed a meeting in Town Hall Square, Keighley, on 7th May; on 14th and 21st inst. meetings arranged for the same place had to be abandoned owing to inclement weather.

Mr Bert Brook (Huddersfield) and the Secretary paid a visit to Halifax on 19th May where a few friends of the Toc H. movement had been got together to learn our views on the Land Question. Mr Harry Whitham helped to arrange the Meeting and it is hoped that a study circle may be the outcome.

Mr J. K. Musgrave had a letter in the *Yorkshire Observer* on 9th May, and on 18th Mr A. W. Dakers had a long letter in the *Yorkshire Post*.

WELSH LEAGUE: Eustace A. Davies, Hon. Secretary,
14, Pembroke Terrace, Cardiff.

The Study Circle led by Professor W. J. Roberts, met on each successive Thursday until the beginning of May, since then it was decided to meet occasionally during the summer months, and to resume the weekly meetings in the Autumn.

Recent meetings have included the following:—Canton, Cardiff, Women's Co-op. Guild, Capt. Saw; Barry Women's Co-op. Guild, Capt. Saw; Giffach Goch Women's Co-op. Guild, Capt. Saw; Ystrad Mynach Women's Co-op. Guild, Hon. Secretary.

The Canton meeting was most successful, there being present a large audience of about 300.

Mr John Wheatley, M.P., recently addressed an Aberdare audience, and replying to a question directed by Mr T. E. Davies, said in effect:—"I have been in favour of the taxation of land values but it is too slow for me, and my electors sent me to Parliament in favour of Land Confiscation."

Donations have been received from The Canton, Cardiff, Women's Co-op. Guild and the Rogerstone Trades and Labour Council.

Mr Evan Thomas, Assistant Secretary of the South

ales Miners' Federation, has accepted from us 40 copies of Sir Edgar Harper's pamphlet, "The Root Cause of the Coal Trouble," for distribution amongst the members of his Council. Professor Roberts at one of the Study Circle meetings spoke highly of this pamphlet, saying he considered it a very excellent piece of work indeed.

The April issue of *Land & Liberty* contained an article entitled, "Sir Herbert Samuel on the Land Question," and we forwarded the paper to Sir Herbert Samuel. His secretary has since written us stating: "Sir Herbert Samuel has read the article on page 82 with much interest."

We have an encouraging note from our good friend, Mr D. Pugh Jones. He was appointed joint auditor, and in returning the books he states: "I should like to see a balance in hand and will endeavour to collect a pound or so again." How many of our members will kindly volunteer to follow this excellent lead? We could well do with service of this sort.

Press work by Capt Saw, Mr C. A. Gardner and Mr T. E. Davies continues, and their efforts in this direction are much appreciated.

MIDLAND LEAGUE: Chapman Wright, Secretary, 20, Cannon Street, Birmingham.

The Press correspondence is being maintained. These "Letters to the Editor" reach out to a wide audience and stimulate many useful conversations. The Town Crier is always generous-minded to the Secretary. Considerable discussion goes on over the Trades Disputes Bill; it is our chance to show the workers concerned what they can do by means of our reform. Besides Press letters recently published, literature has been distributed at public meetings.

SPARKBROOK RATING REFORM LEAGUE

A well attended meeting under the auspices of the League was held on 24th May, with Mr A. W. Madsen as the principal speaker. Mr Madsen in the course of his address related the present system of raising public revenue to unemployment and evil housing conditions.

Mr A. B. Houghton showed how the desired alteration in our land laws would alone bring peace to industry. The League had prepared petition forms which were being well canvassed from door to door. Already they had received 800 signatures. The petition is in the following terms:—

We, the undersigned citizens of Birmingham, residing, trading, or working in the Sparkbrook and Balsall Heath district, believe that a full measure of renewed prosperity can alone come from untaxing industry and enterprise, house building and improvements. We believe that assessing for rates on buildings that are put up, instead of upon the site value of the land, encourages the holding-up of land, checks enterprise, adds to the cost of living, and causes unemployment. We, therefore, do petition your Council to obtain powers from Parliament to give effect to this.

Members and friends who believe in the policy are urged to help in this undertaking. Call at 20, Cannon Street for a form or two. It is a mission that can incidentally discover new recruits and bring new life into the movement.

LIVERPOOL LEAGUE: F. R. Jones, Hon. Secretary, 42, Stanley Park Avenue North, Queen's Drive.

On 11th May an address was given to our members at the White Café, Cook Street, by Mr George Ball, followed by an interesting discussion. Mr Ball, who has not spoken on our subject for many years, is to be congratulated for his excellent presentation of the case.

Our next monthly meeting will take place on 8th June, and thereafter on the *second* Wednesday in each month until October, when the weekly Wednesday meetings will be resumed.

We would urge upon all supporters the desirability of interesting as many individuals as they can, and inducing them to join our League as members. The *minimum* subscription is 5s. per annum, for which we supply *Land & Liberty* monthly. Every person who is convinced of the vital importance of our propaganda work should consider it a duty to give at least some financial support to the local, national, and international organizations.

PORTSMOUTH LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES: S. R. Cole, Hon. Secretary, 165, Francis Avenue, Southsea.

As announced in our last report and the April number of the Journal, the third meeting of our Study Circle to be held on 2nd May took place at the John Pile's Memorial Rooms, Mr Satterthwaite presiding, with Mr McGuigan as lecturer, the painted charts from *Louis Post Outlines* were displayed and Chapters 1, 2 and 3 were briefly referred to in order that the ground should be clear to carry on with the following chapter. Chapter 4, with plates 10 to 12, dealing with the law of rent, was afterwards explained. Members followed closely and were keenly interested in the growth of rent accounting for low wages in spite of increased production of wealth. Our next meeting will be held on Monday, 13th June.

The Shotts (Lanarkshire) Advertiser, 21st May, carries an article on Single Tax by J. O'Donnell Derrick, and other informing items on the urgency of taxing land values. A two-column article, entitled, "Real Land Reform," already appearing in *Land & Liberty* and issued as a leaflet by the United Committee has also been published.

New and Sixth Edition

THE STORY OF MY DICTATORSHIP

By Lewis H. Berens and Ignatius Singer

The Taxation of Land Values Clearly Explained

Two Notable Commendations

Henry George wrote to L. H. Berens on 20th February, 1894, on receipt of the first edition of *The Story of My Dictatorship*:—

"My warmest congratulations to you and Mr Singer . . . I think it is the best thing of its kind yet, and that it will do much good. Something is needed for those who will only read 'light literature' and I think this will go far to fill the bill. What is needed now is to get it into circulation."

William Lloyd Garrison Jr. wrote in the preface to the first American Edition of this book: "I bespeak for this new messenger in the field of reform the cordial welcome of all lovers of their kind."

These two commendations are printed as a Preface to the new Edition, which is now issued with grateful acknowledgments to Mrs Lewis H. Berens.

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THE EXAMPLE OF AUSTRALIA

(Speeches in support of the Resolutions carried at the Annual Meeting of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, Caxton Hall, London, 11th May)

DR PAUL DANE (Melbourne) said that in Australia some progress had been made toward the economic system demanded by the resolution he was happy to support. Australia had probably gone further than any other country in giving effect to the taxation of Land Values, and that was the case more particularly in the sphere of local taxation. There were now being collected annually by taxation levied on the value of land apart from improvements local revenues to the amount of £7,700,000 while roughly about £4,000,000 was raised by the old and discredited method of assessing land and buildings together. That was the position over the Commonwealth regarded as a whole, and considerably more than half the total area of the continent that was assessed to local rates was enjoying the benefit of land value taxation for local purposes.

Besides these local taxes, there were also the State land taxes in all the States save New South Wales, which handed over its State land tax to the local authorities when local land value taxation was adopted. The State land taxes yielded about £1,000,000 altogether; and since 1910 up till this year the Commonwealth Government had also levied a Federal land tax yielding about £1,000,000. The Federal land tax had been repealed a few months ago on the plea that the field of direct taxation should be left to the States, the Federal Government relying solely on that unfortunate policy known as indirect taxation and expressed in the vicious system of Customs duties.

In Queensland the whole of the rates assessed by urban and country authorities were levied on land value. The local taxation of buildings and improvements had been unknown for the past 30 years. In New South Wales all but an insignificant portion of the municipal and shire tax-revenue came from land values, and the system of taxing improvements was in force only in respect of the rates levied by the separate boards for water and sewerage in the Sydney and Hunter District areas.

In Victoria a beginning had been made with land value rating and the progress there dated from 1920 when the enabling legislation really became operative. They had now six cities, five towns and two shires where the system had been adopted and of the cities and towns six were suburban municipalities on the outskirts of Melbourne. But Melbourne itself still continued on the old system and it was in comparing Melbourne with Sydney, and Victoria generally with New South Wales and Queensland generally, that the most instructive lessons were to be learned. With regard to the other States South Australia and West Australia also had their enabling legislation (which might well be amended to give ratepayers a better chance to express their mind in the matter) and at present South Australia raised about one-fifth and West Australia about two-fifths of local taxation from land values. Tasmania had as yet no legislation empowering a council to rate land values, although the city councils of both Hobart and Launceston had formally resolved that such powers should be conferred on the local authorities.

"I cannot claim," Dr Dane said, "that everything I am going to tell you is the result purely of the rating of land values, but the following facts are very significant. The health of Queensland and of New South Wales is on the whole better than that of Victoria. The infantile death rate is higher in Victoria than in either Queensland

or New South Wales for some years. It might be asserted and it is asserted that this is due to other factors; yet if the figures were the other way round our opponents would eagerly seize upon them to throw them in our teeth. It is plain to an unprejudiced mind that where houses and factories are not taxed and land value is taxed, there will be a tendency for better buildings to be erected, that a natural town planning will take place and that in consequence more healthy conditions will ensue.

"Comparing the housing conditions of New South Wales and Victoria as strictly comparable States, we find that during the 11 years, 1910-1921, New South Wales built more houses absolutely and relatively than Victoria; that one-roomed houses in New South Wales decreased in a much larger proportion than in Victoria; and that four, five and six-roomed houses increased both absolutely and relatively in a larger proportion than in Victoria. We also find that New South Wales built more brick houses than Victoria—the net result being that the houses in New South Wales, where they were not taxed, were on the whole bigger and better than in Victoria.

"Another noticeable circumstance is that along the River Murray which divides New South Wales and Victoria, there are a number of towns and these towns are as it were double towns. One portion is in New South Wales and the other in Victoria. They generally go under different names; but it is to be remarked in nearly every case that the towns on the Victoria side are not by any means so well built or paved or improved as the towns on the New South Wales side.

"In Sydney, New South Wales, a noticeable effect is that since the rating of land values was adopted the city is spreading out more evenly in natural zones and we have it on the authority of the Chief Medical Officer of Sydney that there are now no slums in that city. The same cannot be said of Melbourne where slums still exist.

"Coming down to Victoria, we have around Melbourne the six municipalities I have already mentioned as rating land values. This is a recent development as I have said. Yet already the building statistics for these places over the last, five, four, three and two years show that they are building more houses than the seven largest comparable municipalities that still tax houses; and in some of the years our six land-value-rating cities have built more than the eight leading cities that still maintain the old and penalizing system.

"Where land value rating is adopted and tried, the people never revert to the old system. In South Australia such attempts have been made by appealing to a poll of ratepayers, but they have failed. In Victoria we have had two such attempts. In one case the Council wished to revert and passed a resolution, but within two days the ratepayers had signed the necessary petition and they beat the Council by a large majority. In the Greater Brisbane Council, Queensland, the landed interests agitated to have the rates for sewage levied on land and buildings, in order to reduce the taxes on the land itself. This was defeated largely at the instance of that stalwart, George Hardacre, who worked for many years to uphold the system inaugurated by Sir Samuel Griffiths.

"We see in this agitation for the rating of land values which we are pushing with all our might in Victoria, not merely the immediate results, which can only be limited to the sphere of local taxation. We see in it a great opportunity for teaching the full principle and the ultimate ideal. Every argument for a local land value rate is an argument making clear the fundamental and vital distinction between the value of land and the

value of things produced by labour. We are spreading the realization of what is possible by the abolition of taxes on trade and industry, securing to the community the whole value of land and removing the last impediment to human freedom. You may think we find it an easy thing to carry on this propaganda in Australia. It is on the contrary a very difficult task and although the local rating of land value may not achieve more than a little by itself, the ferocity with which it is fought in and around Melbourne shows that it is the thin end of the wedge; it shows that the land monopolists and land speculators know that if the people get a knowledge of this principle it will gradually advance until the speculator's hold on the land is loosened, and an ever fuller measure of liberty for labour and industry will be attained."

Mr PERCY HARRIS, L.C.C., M.P., said: More and more during the last 25 years local government had been developing, and local expenditure had been increasing. Our present system of rating was breaking down; it was destroying industry. Although most of the expenditure was good and sound, it was totally insufficient. It was a very significant thing the other day that in a discussion at the London County Council one of the leaders of the London Municipal Society and Municipal Reform Party on the L.C.C., Mr. Ray, frankly admitted the urgent need and necessity for a complete change in our rating system. Some of them raised the question of Taxation of Land Values and the relief of improvements from rates, and they had succeeded in having a resolution adopted by the L.C.C. in favour of an inquiry. They had sent an official communication to Sydney asking for a report on the land value rating system in that City.

They all knew Alderman Firth's excellent pamphlet on Sydney. It was sent to every member of the L.C.C. and it had made a deep impression. Concluding, Mr Harris said he was glad the resolution applied to all local rating authorities. Nothing was more fatal than to treat this as a purely urban question. His Liberal friends took the wrong turning in that respect and he wished to see them put straight.

Mr A. VALENTINE (Melbourne) said he spoke as an Australian and declared with every assurance that the taxation of Land Values and the steps taken on that principle in Australia had been a success. In New South Wales they took about 25 per cent of the unimproved land value each year for rating purposes, and the effect has been to promote industry in the country districts as well as in the towns, just as Dr Paul Dane had explained. They did not expect to get 100 per cent results from a 25 per cent operation; but they had got all they expected to get so far. He came from the great city of Melbourne where they still continued to tax under the old system although there were several places near Melbourne, local bodies which are cities, such as Brunswick, Coburg, and Camberwell which had adopted the new system. A few country electorates had tried the same plan and they were so pleased with it that nothing could move them to go back to the old system. A striking example of the growth of public sentiment in favour of the view that land value was a public value and should go to the community was provided by their new Federal capital Canberra. The land was held from the public authority on lease and the rent payable was fixed by periodic revaluations.

Mr LOUIS P. JACOBS said they had had a field night so far as Australia was concerned and as an Australian he rejoiced in all that good progress. He had been in the home country since 1914 and was closely associated with the movement at home, where it was a matter of concern to all present to see practical advance along their lines. They had a clear and unanswerable case;

they had carried on an incessant educational campaign but nothing so far stood on the statute book. No doubt in this country the power of the vested interests to hold back reform was incomparably greater and the conspiracy of silence in the Press was far more complete. He thought that something could be done at this time by inserting paid advertisements in the newspapers inviting people to study the literature of the movement and he put forward the suggestion for consideration. This question of getting new adherents, new supporters who would take an active part in our educational campaign, was important. If a plan could be worked out for challenging the help of others he would do what he could to support the challenge. The League deserved the co-operation of every interested person and to the President he wished to say how grateful they all were to him for the tenacity, for the enthusiasm and the constancy, with which in season and out of season he supported the movement.

Mr JOHN PAUL, speaking to the second resolution, said at the next general election there would be a stand made for land purchase one way and another. They would have to oppose that; they would have to keep in line with the movement at home and abroad. The politicians were anxious to get at the farmer, and alleged the farmer would not have a tax on land values. The politician had the big farmer in mind who was Conservative in the main. But the appeal must be to the farm labourer, to show him how the taxation of land values will break up land monopoly in the rural districts. Some years ago they had Mr Outhwaite in Wiltshire on a rural campaign on which they concentrated for two months. With the help, the enthusiastic help, of local workers they had got a Petition signed by 12,000 electors, requesting Parliament to levy a national tax on land values and to pass an Act for local land value rating. The Petition and the campaign in connection with it had roused an agricultural district to a powerful demand by their principle and policy. That support can be obtained in full measure in the agricultural districts at any time, given the finance that will make such campaigns possible. The sentiment for our ideas is more widespread, more informed and much readier to respond than ever before but it required organizing and directing. The opportunities for propaganda were immense. The national tax on land values was the way to valuation and the direct road to the change in local rating they demanded. So it had proved in Denmark. If the valuation of land apart from improvements had been made available to the local authorities they would be in a very different position. He ventured to think they would quickly emulate and outdistance all other places where the reform had been carried, not only by inspiring propaganda but also by no less inspiring legislative achievement.

BY HENRY GEORGE

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From our Offices.

CHINA Sun Yat Sen's Land Policy

By THE REV IVAN D. ROSS

*From an article appearing in the "Nineteenth Century,"
May, 1927*

"The land question is beginning to appear in China, owing to the enormous increase in land values in the neighbourhood of foreign settlements. For instance, the value of land in the neighbourhood of Shanghai and of Canton has increased ten thousandfold in the past sixty years. Sun tells the story of a Cantonese who, in a fit of drunkenness, entered an auction mart and bought a piece of land for 300 dollars. The next morning he had forgotten the transaction, and when the deed of sale was brought to him, he was forced to ruin himself in order to raise the money. But in ten years' time the value of the property had increased to such an extent that this drunkard found himself a millionaire, the richest man in Kwangtung.

"The value of the land is increased by the fact of other people coming to live and carry on business in the neighbourhood. The increase of wealth is produced by the community, and not by the individual; consequently it ought to belong to the community. In order to remedy this evil Dr Sun proposes a tax of 1 per cent upon all land. The value of the land is to be declared by the owner himself and the State is to have the option of purchase. By this means the landowner will be compelled to quote a fair price for his property; for if he quotes too high he will be taxed proportionately; if he quotes too low the State may demand to purchase his land at his own price. After this Sun would confiscate to the State any subsequent increase in value. Thus the profits derived from social progress and commercial enterprise will be reaped by the community instead of by private individuals. For the revenue thus collected by the State will enable it to dispense with all other forms of taxation. There will be no rates for water and electricity, and no levies to pay for repairing roads and policing. This settlement of the land question will solve one-half of the problem of 'The People's Livelihood.' It should be added, however, that improvements made by the landowner himself will be exempt from taxation. Such improvements may consist in buildings, trees, embankments, drains. . . ."

THE CHINESE PEASANT—HIS PLACE IN THE REVOLUTION

By ARTHUR RANSOME

(Appearing in the Manchester Guardian, 23rd May)

Much is heard about labour unrest in China, because the formation of trade unions and demands for increases in wages affect the foreigner who employs Chinese labour. We hear less about relations between the revolution and the peasants, because the foreigner is not seriously interested in Chinese agriculture and does not invest his money in it. When we do hear anything about the peasants it is usually an inaccurate statement either that Chinese peasants hold their land on a communal system or that they are all smallholders vitally interested in the avoidance of any kind of change.

Actually in China money is not as a rule profitably invested in land. While landowners tend to multiply the size of their holdings tends to grow smaller, largely on account of the law of inheritance, which makes all a man's male relatives his heirs. A holding of eight to eighty acres by a family of five or six persons is

counted wealth. By altering the law of inheritance the Kuomintang show a decidedly non-Communist inclination to arrest the subdivision of holdings and to bring about the growth of a yeoman class. But it appears from investigations by the Peking Ministry of Trade and Agriculture that about half the Chinese peasantry have insufficient land to support life. A great many families have holdings of less than two acres, on which they cannot grow enough to feed themselves. Thus about half the peasantry have to rent the land on which they work. In Kwantung province, according to Kuomintang writers, 80 per cent of the peasants have to rent their land. Rent is paid in money and in kind, and is said to be seldom less than half the crop. There is also in use an extremely bad system whereby a company rents land wholesale and sublets to the small farmer, who has to pay a rent very considerably larger than that received by the actual owner of the land. On the basis of some such summary of the position the Kuomintang developed its agrarian programme, which is a modest affair in comparison with the general expropriation of landlords carried out in other revolutions, but illustrates very well the unwillingness of Chinese revolutionaries to tamper with property rights, no matter how severely they may lay property-owners under contribution when they need money to finance a campaign.

The chief article of that programme is a reduction of rent on agricultural land by 25 per cent. Rent is not to be collected in advance, and is not to be paid in time of famine, the effects of which are to be shared between landowners and farmer instead of being borne exclusively by the latter. There is to be a uniform system of land taxation. Taxes are not to be collected in advance. Provincial public lands shall be made a land fund for farmers' banks which are to be established to lend money to farmers at 5 per cent. The maximum rate of interest shall not exceed 20 per cent (a provision which throws some light on the present relations of peasants and moneylenders). Undeveloped lands belonging to the provincial Governments are to be distributed among the poorer peasants. The tenant contract system referred to above is to be prohibited. These are the main provisions of the Kuomintang agrarian programme. They are enough to arouse the half-incredulous support of the peasants, who are in any case ready enough to follow the suggestions of Clause 84 of the programme, "Peasants shall have the right to form peasant unions," and of Clause 86, "Peasant unions have the right to form volunteer corps for self-defence." By the forming of these unions and these defence corps, the peasants are brought into active support of the Kuomintang and come to be of scarcely less importance than the regular troops in the campaign of the Kuomintang against the relics of the old régime, represented by the Northern militarists.

The first peasant union was organized in Haifong, in the province of Kwangtung, in January, 1923, when Sun Yat-sen had but an uncertain hold on Canton. It could soon count as many as 100,000 members. I was informed at Hankow that there are now in Kwangtung 800,000, in Hunan 2,000,000, and in Hupeh 500,000 organised peasants, these being the provinces in which the rule of the Kuomintang is most assured. My informants considered that as each member of the peasant union probably represented a family of five, they could therefore hold that the peasant unions of these provinces represented seventeen and a half million peasants. This is probably not much more inaccurate than most estimates of the Chinese population, which are obtained in much the same way. There are also

peasant unions in the provinces held by the militarists, which, if the present schism in the Kuomintang does not make it incapable of further advance, will presently be very useful to the Nationalists.

It is extremely difficult to accompany these bare statistics and programmes with any clear picture of what the formation of peasant unions actually means. In the hope of doing this, at least for myself, I have gone carefully through two large volumes of resolutions and reports concerned with the peasant movement during the long struggle of the Kuomintang to make its position secure in Kwangtung. The first impression such a reading produces is of a horrible m \acute{e} l \acute{e} e, so involved that it is almost impossible to distinguish the fighters and to decide who is on either side. The formation, even the suggestion of the formation of peasant unions, stirred to activity everybody who considered that such unions might be a threat to his own interests. Landowners, small though they might be, combined at once in face of the danger of their tenants getting out of hand. Bandits, who foresaw the end of their world if the villages should begin to combine against them, made common cause with the landowners, who in terror of ills they scarcely knew made terms eagerly with those with which they were familiar. Even the militia, a sort of police, conceived quite rightly that development of the peasant unions would make much more difficult those kinds of extortion on which they depended for their luxuries and probably in many cases for the necessities of life. In the course of these reports it frequently appears that the peasant unions were engaged in desperate struggle with bandits, militia, and soldiers, allied together and financed by "landlords and depraved gentry," while the Kuomintang headquarters were being bombarded with applications for assistance against the peasants from the militia and against the militia from the peasants.

Driven by nothing less than desperation, the peasants in many parts of the country had themselves formed bodies of "Red Spears," "Heavenly Doormen," "Stiff Stomachs," etc., with the object of defending the countryside against soldiers and bandits alike. These movements are as spontaneous as those of the Middle Ages.

ARGENTINA

M. J. S. writes :—

Revista del Impuesto Unico (Esmeralda 91 Buenos Aires) is full of good things in March, 1927. The important State of San Juan on the northern Chilean frontier, is revising its Constitution, and Art. 143 of the approved draft says : "The municipalities may set up for themselves taxes upon real estate, excluding improvements. To set up taxes on persons or on moveable property the authority of the Legislature will be needed." This recognition of the justice of the municipal single tax will encourage our hitherto unknown brothers in San Juan to work more freely for justice in State taxation, as our contemporary notes.

The valuations in Buenos Aires and Santa F \acute{e} States are completed. In rural Buenos Aires the assessed site values are £770,000,000 at 2s. to the paper dollar ; in urban Buenos Aires the sites and improvements together are £390,000,000, both at less than sale values. In Santa F \acute{e} the assessed site values at 70 per cent are £242,500,000 and assessed nett improvements are £55,000,000. The actual site value of Santa F \acute{e} is thus

some £350,000,000. There are fully £500,000,000 of site values in addition in the City of Buenos Aires. The *Revista* notes that 6 per cent on these site values in two States only would give a total value far more than that of all the public budgets of the country.

The final article is by Baldomero Argentine, the Spanish statesman-Georgeist, on the Revival of the Mercantile Theory which rules the world to-day in its twin errors : (1) That commerce is exchange of goods for money and money for goods ; (2) that only coined money is wealth, or at a certain value worth more than goods of the same value.

La Nacion (9th April) publishes a letter from Prof. Villalobos Dominguez, in which he quotes from *Land & Liberty* in March on municipalization of the Detroit "Tubes"—now, as he says, a very live question in Argentina. This is most happy progress in the most "sober" paper in the country.

BRAZIL

M. J. S. writes :—

Revista do Imposto Unico (Porto Alegre) for February, 1927, gives the page of honour to Juan B. Bellagamba, the editor of the Argentine *Revista*, who now completes ten years of really front line work for Georgeism. The principal entry of local news is the detailed account of the new money system of Brazil, now stabilized on a lower basis than that desired by our friend ex-President Bernardes. This entails a slight increase of site values and corresponding decrease in value of fixed incomes and savings. The good translation of the "Story of My Dictatorship" goes on, and a full page is given to the *personnel* of the International Union. Two of the striking devotional meditations on creative provision in advance for social needs, by Aulio Celio, are even better than usual, and since Henry George and Tolstoy, a new note. A very careful statement is given as to the exact changes involved in the (apparently impending) change of the basis of general rates—"Imposto Predial"—in the State capital city of Porto Alegre, to fall upon site values, for which a valuation was completed in 1926.

MALTA

The *Malta Times* of 14th May devotes its leading article to our question, and makes a long quotation from Sir Edgar Harper's article in the May number of the *Contemporary Review* on "The Speculative Element in the Value of Land." The Editor writes : "Because all our taxes are placed on labour and the products of labour our industries are crippled and our workmen unemployed ; but matters are made worse when these taxes, screwed out of the people, are expended . . . to pay one set of landlords not to build, in order that another set of landlords may be able to maintain our present inflated rents. Sir Edgar Harper, Sir Gerald Strickland and Mr Geoghegan all agree that the real remedy is to substitute a single ad valorem land tax for our present taxes, but to make the change gradually." We congratulate Mr Geoghegan on this evidence that his persistent advocacy of our cause is reaping its reward in the Maltese press.

The *Malta Times* is also running Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade" as a serial in its columns and has published in full the memorandum addressed by the International Union to the League of Nations Economic Conference.