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NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

THE MEETING of the San Francisco Conference makes opportune a discussion of the fundamentals of international relations. An interesting and in many ways suggestive contribution to the discussion is a small book by Professor E. H. Carr recently published. One of the difficulties in this as in most political and economic discussions is the vagueness and lack of precision of meaning in the terms used. "The 19th century," says Professor Carr, "was passionately devoted to individualism and democracy as it was then understood; and nationalism seemed a natural corollary to both. . . . A generation reared in the doctrine of a natural harmony of interest between individuals was readily persuaded of a harmony of interests between personified nations." Here is the first source of error. The interests of a nation are nothing but the interests of the individuals who compose it. The personification of the nation leads to a subconscious assumption that it is something apart from its citizens. If it is under the control of a small privileged class, they identify their interests with those of the nation. In this way policies detrimental to the interest of the majority are advocated with plausible and passionate appeals to patriotism and the general welfare.

Up till the end of the last war and the peace treaties which completed the process of giving most of the substantial racial groups in Europe nationhood and self-government, nationalism appeared as the means of liberation of minorities which had been oppressed within larger States. It was accompanied generally by enfranchisement and the growth of democratic institutions. It was also accompanied by "a phenomenal increase of production and population" and "the opportunity to expand and spread their material civilization all over the world."

Although universal free trade did not exist, there were important areas such as the United Kingdom without protective tariffs, and on the whole the obstacles to trade were small in comparison with those prevailing in recent times. Professor Carr is substantially right in saying that "goods could pass freely from place to place—and not only goods, but men. Freedom of migration was an even more vital factor in the 19th century economic and political system, and more necessary to its survival than freedom of trade

unlimited opportunity for all who were willing to work was an accepted item of the 19th century creed."

But Professor Carr omits to mention that the unlimited opportunity arose from the existence of free land in the United States, Canada and elsewhere which could be taken up at will. As the land became reduced to absolute private ownership—a process which was accelerated by the reckless and profligate grants of vast areas to railway companies and others—and as speculation made land more difficult to acquire, the whole scene changed. The movement towards freedom of trade was arrested and ultimately reversed. Freedom of migration was more and more restricted. It became easy to persuade men to accept the false doctrine that foreigners and foreign goods were a menace to their own prosperity.

Thus nationalism which at first seemed the expression of individual freedom and of the right of men to govern themselves as they pleased became transformed into isolation, antagonism and conflict. With this came a growing interference by the State in all kinds of affairs for the purpose of strengthening the offensive power of the nation. Thus, as Professor Carr indicates and has been more clearly sketched by Professor Hayek, nationalism was the originator of that planning which has in its turn captured the socialists who used to deem themselves internationalists. It was Bismarck rather than Karl Marx who set the world moving on these lines and persuaded the German workers that they had much to gain from nationalism. "No sickness insurance without Sedan," as P. Borkenau acutely puts it in his *Socialism, National or International*.

The results are now apparent. "Workers became interested equally with employers in measures of protection and subsidies for industry. Advocacy of such measures proved a fruitful meeting-ground for the hitherto conflicting forces of labour and capital; and national and social policies were welded more firmly than ever together. The same instruments serve both. The monopoly of foreign trade and similar organisations elsewhere conform to irreproachably socialist principles; yet they have proved most efficient instruments of economic nationalism. 'Planned economy' is a Janus with a nationalist as well as a socialist face; if its doctrine seems

socialist, its pedigree is indisputably nationalist.

Now that *laissez-faire* has succumbed to the joint onslaught of nationalism and socialism, its two assailants have become in a strange way almost indistinguishable in their aims; and both have become immensely more powerful through the alliance."

One of the purposes of the San Francisco Conference is to settle the form of a World Security Organisation, the basis of the discussion being the recommendations of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Some such organisation seems in the present state of world opinion to be necessary. Many people look to the formation of other international organisations which will be concerned with questions of trade, production, commerce and transport. Some see the prototype of such organisations in bodies like UNRRA which have been brought into existence during the war. Others look to a development of bodies similar to the international rubber or tin controls which functioned before the war.

The fundamental error and danger in all such proposals is that they continue to personify the nation, or certain sections and privileged groups within it. They assume that such organisations will serve the interests of the citizens generally and that they can be made amenable to administration which puts the interests of the generality of individuals first. These assumptions are untrue. Such organisations of their very nature are beyond any effective control. Their operations are so vast that few can understand or follow them. The persons placed in charge of them are necessarily specialists who have gained their experience in, and who look for their existence to the branches of economic life which the organisation is chosen to administer. Their bias is inevitably in favour of "producers," in which phrase is often included landlords as well. The interests of the consumers—who are so much more numerous—are neglected. A few high-sounding phrases such as "fair prices," "orderly marketing," "preventing dangerous fluctuations," suffice to appease the consciences or anesthetize the intellect of those in power, and at the same time bamboozle such consumers as give thought to such matters.

It is true, as Professor Carr says, that "it is a fundamental tenet of nationalism that any international order must take

the form of an association of nations." "Yet freedom is a prerogative of the individual man and woman: it is only by a conventional metaphor, which easily becomes a *cliché* and is sometimes barely distinguishable from the Hitlerian exaltation of the nation as an object of worship and an end in itself, that freedom is attributed to nations." Moreover, "like the right of freedom, the right of equality, however interpreted and conditioned, is one that can be attributed only to individuals, not to nations. What we are concerned about is not the putting of Albania on an equal footing with China and Brazil, but the putting of the individual Albanian on an equal footing with the individual Chinese or the individual Brazilian. . . . The freedom and equality which the makers of the coming peace must seek to establish is not a freedom and equality of nations, but a freedom and equality which will express themselves in the daily lives of men and women."

This is well and wisely said. Yet Professor Cafr. fails to draw the true inference

from his own argument. He says that "the just criticism of the economic nationalism of the period between the two wars should be directed not so much against the methods it has used . . . as against the narrowness and inappropriateness of the geographical limits within which these methods are employed." In other words he wishes to see "a reinforcement of national by multi-national and international planning." He desires the establishment of many "functional" authorities charged with such matters as aviation, shipping, and so on. The inevitable result will be the disappearance of all effective popular control. The forms of democracy may remain but dictatorship will reign supreme, because such organisations are in their nature incapable of effective popular control; and their managers will therefore escape public responsibility.

So recently as 1909 Guglielmo Ferrero, the distinguished historian of the greatness and decline of Rome, could write: "We are returning, in a vaster world, to the condition of the Roman Empire at

its beginning; to an immense economic unity, which, notwithstanding the aberrations of protectionism, is grander and firmer than all its predecessors; to a political unity not so great, yet considerable, because even if peace be not eternal, it is at least the normal condition of the European States. . . . Perhaps he had forgotten that the common citizenship and freedom of trade of the Roman world was not able to survive the growth of land monopoly. "The great estates," said Pliny, "have ruined Rome and the Provinces as well."

There is no need to destroy nationality, nor national self-government. But neither the freedom of nations nor the freedom of men can survive if the world does not restore freedom of trade, freedom of migration, and freedom of access to the land from which all wealth is derived. It is only by the establishment of these three freedoms that a real internationalism can be achieved, because it will rest upon the rights and freedom of the individual who is the essential element in social life and should always be the arbiter of his own destiny.

ENFORCED AND FREE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY

THE DISTRIBUTION of Industry Bill now before Parliament, sets out with the ambitious aim of securing a proper distribution of industry over the country as a whole. This "proper" distribution is to stimulate the use of factories in the "development areas," those in which there is danger of unemployment, and it is to be done by the purchase of land and the erection of factories by the Government in those areas, and in the second place, by controlling the erection of new factories in other areas. The control is to be exercised by requiring notice to be given to the Board of Trade of any new building of more than 3,000 square feet, and the prohibition of such building without permission; heavy penalties being laid down for attempts to break away from this control.

It is evident that the Government fear the after-war effects of an increase of unemployment in the "development" areas of North-Eastern England, Cumberland and South Wales. They intend to apply artificial restoration to these areas, by bringing to bear on new enterprises all the pressure they can to make them go to these areas. They are not yet applying the principle of Mr. Bevin's compulsory powers of direction to work, now exerted upon individual workers. Short of ordering a new industrial concern where it must go, the Board of Trade will be able to prevent the erection of factories where the private management think would be the most economic place, and will practically compel firms to choose between one of these previously distressed areas.

Private business, large or small, has not hitherto been able to seek out and use the most economical sites for their indus-

tries. They have been subject to the control exerted by those who own the land of the country. The price or rent of a site may be fixed at a figure which has the same effect as the prohibition now to be used by the Board of Trade. So that to land monopoly is now to be added State interference. All in the hope of curing unemployment. It is not seen apparently, that it is this control that creates unemployment. It is true that some jobs may be found for some people in the distressed areas, who are only distressed because they are denied access to the resources of these districts. Cumberland, for instance, has an area of a million acres and a population of about a quarter of a million. Why anyone should be unemployed in the midst of the rich resources of this county is a mystery, except to those who do not shut a blind eye to the effects of private land-ownership. If factories are artificially stimulated in this area, which would be more economically run in some other part of the country, this is not curing unemployment, but creating it in one place to try to cure it in another.

This whole type of legislation is based on ignorance of or indifference to the law of economic rent. It is not by accident that certain industries are centred in certain areas. The existing distribution of industry is the result of nature's plan, operating even under the strong handicap of land monopoly. That Redditch, in Worcestershire, for instance, is the world centre for needles and fishhooks, is neither an accident, nor due to the wisdom of a paternal government. The same can be said of Lancashire and its cotton trade; of Burton and its ale, if you like; of Macclesfield and its silk. The

Board of Trade probably knows that the slipper trade for the country is centred in a small area in the Rossendale valley of Lancashire. If a new slipper factory is compelled to go to South Wales, away from all the trading facilities for supply, and for distribution of product that have been concentrated for many years in Rossendale, how is that going to increase employment in the long run and over the whole country? A given value of output of slippers produced in South Wales is going to cost more hours of labour and more expenditure of capital than the same value would have cost in its more economical source of production.

If people wanted work for work's sake, they could get it by what corresponds to digging holes and filling them up again, which is not outside the Beveridge scheme of things. But people want to satisfy their desires with less exertion, not more, and they know that one site of land will give them better results for the same effort than another.

One would have thought that the first essential even for this location of industry plan of the Government's is to find out the true value of the land of the country. The valuation of the land would have facilitated even such a scheme as this Bill. Instead, the Board of Trade is to become a buyer of land, and a builder of empty factories which it will try to fill by the pressure it is allowed to exercise. This means that owners of land in the distressed areas will have a new customer with what seems a bottomless pocket to buy land for sites and for all the materials out of which factories are made. The Board of Trade's pocket, of course, is the taxpaying ability of the people, including the people in the development areas. Cost

of land will be stimulated, whatever else is stimulated, and the curve of taxation on the graph of national expenditure will take a sharp rise. Such is the wizardry of planning, and interference with the distribution of industry.

The consuming public, the customers of the industries to be planted in the special areas, will have to pay more for their commodities on account of increased cost of production, will pay more in taxa-

tion because the Board of Trade is stimulating the speculative price of land and thus the public will, with a given amount of money, be able to buy fewer commodities than under a freer economic system. In the long run, and not so long at that, for every worker found employment in the special areas, others will be put out of work, both there and in the country as a whole.

We have not forgotten that the evils

of this system may lead to the attempt to mitigate them by the device of subsidies, as provided in certain circumstances under this Bill. That, however, is an aggravation of the injustices of this type of legislation. It discriminates in favour of some businesses over others, and makes the taxpayer pay for the mistakes of faulty statesmanship and unenlightened political leadership.

D.J.O.

FAULTY PACIFIST ECONOMICS

"PEACE NEWS," the organ of the Peace Pledge Union, carried an article on March 2 by Mr. E. F. Schumacher, of the Institute of Statistics, Oxford, on Planning plus Freedom. He is described as one of the most brilliant and successful of the younger economists, and a close collaborator of Sir W. Beveridge in his "Full Employment" inquiry. Mr. Schumacher quotes with approval from the book *Diplomacy in Feters*, by Sir Victor Wellesley, the view that "foreign policy depends more on the co-operation and co-ordination of international economic activities than on any other factor," but that such co-operation "implies, if not national ownership, at least centralised control and planning on a scale unknown in Great Britain until it was forced upon us by the war." One might answer that the control and planning forced on us by the war is not an example of world co-operation, but of world war.

Mr. Schumacher would like to have the best of both worlds, and to avoid the inevitable effects of his full employment policy, of which he seems to be unconsciously afraid. Unless we have an internal "expansionist" policy of full employment, he says, we cannot have an expansionist world system. "International planning and internal *laissez-faire* are as incompatible as internal planning and international *laissez-faire*." He sets up his own Aunt Sally and neatly knocks her down. The antitheses are stated wrongly; the opponents of planning oppose it internally and internationally. And *laissez-faire*, rightly understood, is a policy for the nation and the world.

Mr. Schumacher's reply to this is that "the ideology of *laissez-faire*, which has now only a handful of adherents left in this country, is still dominant in the field of international economics." Whatever people think about *laissez-faire*, at home or abroad, and there are more who understand its meaning than Mr. Schumacher thinks, it is practised neither nationally nor in world affairs. Governmental "lend lease" arrangements, and private business world "cartels" can hardly be cited as instances of "dominant" *laissez-faire* ideas.

Mr. Schumacher's real reason for saying that *laissez-faire* is dominant internationally, is that "the measures relating to foreign trade control which are (for

most countries) an indispensable pre-condition for the successful pursuit of internal full employment are still almost universally denounced as economic nationalism." "A handful of adherents" and "universal denouncers" hardly seem to fit together in the picture. But the phrase which is italicised in Mr. Schumacher's article is in fact "economic nationalism," or to give it the older name, it is sheer Protectionism in new phrases. Those who remember the arguments of the now discredited Chamberlain school will recognise the marks. We are not to allow the free play of world exchange of the goods of the world because it may cause displacement of some trades at home. This argument only had force in circumstances created by land monopoly. If free land had accompanied free trade the Protection-cum-economic-nationalism policy would never have deluded the public.

"Free access to world trade does not mean free trade," says Mr. Schumacher. The fullest exchange of goods, he argues, is ensured by planning and co-ordination, and purposive direction. He means by planning the use of devices such as barter, clearings, bulk purchase and sales agreements, "discriminatory" arrangements of mutual aid, and so forth. The insistence, on the other hand, on "free" convertibility, on the "removal of obstacles," on the abolition of all trade controls, and so on, he regards as the most certain way of forcing the majority of nations into a high degree of national autarchy. As autarchy is still another name for protectionism, for setting up governmental obstacles to trade, it is difficult to see how the insistence on removal of obstacles will force nations to set them up. We are reminded of the Labour candidate we heard of who said he believed neither in Free Trade nor Protection. Mr. Schumacher will have to choose one of these systems, and to learn that they are mutually exclusive.

The article ends with a weak analogy to bolster the faulty argument. Planning by barter, discriminating purchases by Governments, etc., are said to be on the same principle as the rule of the road and the traffic lights system. This is begging the question, which is, whether trade interferences under the name of planning do really facilitate world access to world resources in the same way that traffic rules facilitate road movements.

Experience proves the contrary. The real analogy to the kind of planning Mr. Schumacher stands for is the old toll-bar system, and the introduction of passports and licences on the motor roads of the country. The rule of the road does not include giving priority and privileges to governmental transport vehicles, nor the carriage of government goods for sale in competition with other road users. The traffic lights system is analogous to the true *laissez-faire* system, it prevents the creation of obstacles, and gives a clear road to all legitimate traffic, whether private or public vehicles.

Shaky economics such as in this article of Mr. Schumacher's will not help the constructive peace aims of the Peace Pledge Union which long ago declared against the economic nationalism of which the article is a sample. D.J.O.

TOWN PLANNING EXAMPLE

SOME of the hindrances to town planning are illustrated by an example from Stockport. In 1940, Merseyway, the new road through the centre of the town, made by covering the River Mersey, was completed at a cost of £130,000. This fine instalment of town planning was followed at the last council meeting by the decision to buy land on Merseyway for further improvements.

The site is to cost £18,500, equal to £13,000 per acre. Before the river was covered this was probably back land of no value, and its present high frontage value is the result of the improvement at the ratepayers' expense. If it is vacant land it has been paying nothing towards the rates which have been used to increase its value. Had the rating of land values been in operation and the Stockport rates of about 10s. in the pound been levied on the annual value of this site, the owner would have been paying back annually about £330 of the land value created by public expenditure. Under the pressure of such a rate it is more than likely that the Stockport Corporation would have been able to acquire this site for planning improvements much sooner and at a less exorbitant figure. As it is, every planning scheme makes the next more costly by sending up the cost of land, and every improvement is made under duress of land monopoly.

(Douglas J. J. Owen in the *Manchester Guardian*, March 28.)

BLOEMFONTEIN GOES AHEAD

THE LONDON agents of the Bloemfontein Municipality have sent, along with recognition to the United Committee, official notification that at a Town's Meeting in February last the decision of the Town Council to levy rates on land values as from April 1 this year was emphatically endorsed. The resolution was adopted by 252 votes to five.

This Town's Meeting was reported in the *Friend* of February 7, 1945, for copy of which we are indebted to the Town Clerk. We give the following extract:

Bloemfontein ratepayers decided last night, by 252 votes to five, to accept the Town Council's proposals to change from the present composite system of municipal rating to a system of site rating in six steps over a period of five years.

In his introductory speech the Mayor, Councillor J. Stuart Franklin, referred to the fact that site rating was no new thing in Bloemfontein. In the years from 1925 to 1927 there had been a persistent demand for it, and in 1926 it had been a burning issue at the municipal election.

Reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of a site-rating system the Mayor emphasised that site-rating was

calculated to encourage the establishment of industries in Bloemfontein, as industries were usually established in areas outside the central business area of the town and therefore high rates on sites were avoided.

Details of the proposed change were dealt with by the chairman of the Finance and General Purposes Committee, Colonel L. W. Deane.

After a few questions, in the course of which Dr. M. de Villiers supported the introduction of site rating, Mr. A. R. Dewberry, a candidate for election to the Town Council at the forthcoming elections, moved the adoption of the Town Council's proposals. The proposals were adopted by 252 votes to five.

Our readers will recall that on November 26, 1943, the Bloemfontein Town Council unanimously resolved to adopt in principle the system of site-rating to take effect from April 1, 1945, to make representations for a Local Government Ordinance to enable the adoption of a scheme allowing for the gradual change-over to site-rating spread over three years, and for an amendment permitting local

authorities to apply site-rating either in full or in part to the sanitary rate. This decision was arrived at after considering the recommendation (the debate was fully reported in our issue of August, 1944) of the Finance Committee to adopt site value rating, but to delay the change-over until one year after the cessation of hostilities. Now, however, by the resolution of the Council, since approved by popular vote of the ratepayers, the first step takes effect at once. The system will apply to all rates save the sanitary rate since, apparently, the amendment enabling it to apply to the sanitary rate has not yet been secured. That, it may be hoped, will come later.

Bloemfontein has given a new lead to the reform of local taxation in South Africa which will surely have an influence throughout the Dominion. Transvaal has already made much progress in that direction, with land value rating in operation in Johannesburg, Pretoria and many towns. In the Orange Free State, of which Bloemfontein is the capital, six other towns rate land values. The Cape Province and Natal lag behind, with only East London and Durban to set the example there.

INDIAN POTENTATES AND THE HOME SCENE

THE FOLLOWING paragraphs from the London *Star*, of April 5, throw a fierce light on the poverty of workers and peasants in India, the famines that afflict the country and the blind allegations of over-population as the cause. Why these frightful contrasts and who dare say that Providence is responsible?

"Sixteen Indian princes, who include some of the richest men in the world, have, I hear, booked sea passages to Britain. They want to be here for the peace celebrations.

"Some have not been here for ten years or more. In previous visits they brought large retinages with them, but this time, I am told, they will travel in small parties, as there will not be sufficient shipping space.

"Among the two richest are the Maharajah of Jaipur, who is said to be worth £100,000,000, and the Maharajah of Mysore, who at home has 65 motor-cars, but often travels on his own elephant with trappings studded with diamonds.

"Another impending visitor is the Nawab of Rampur, who has one of the world's greatest collections of pearls. He once bought a mansion in Surrey, but sold it at a big loss after he had spent a considerable sum on it. His wife complained after one night there, that it was too cold.

"The Nawab of Bhopal, who has given away thousands of pounds for Spitfires during the war, has also booked a passage. In the past, when coming to Europe he has chartered his own steamers, and brought his private string

of polo ponies with him. He has hundreds of suits of clothes, but this time he will have to bring a modest wardrobe with him.

"When the Nawab of Bahawalpur came to London in 1932 he went round the West End buying grand pianos, gold-plated wireless sets and on one shopping expedition spent £750 on two toys for his children."

To whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him belong the fruits of it. White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the flowers of a grant of land.—Sir William Jones, Translation of an Indian grant of land, found at Tanna.

In a paper read to the East India Association at Caxton Hall, London (reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, April 12), Mr. A. K. Pillai, representative of the Indian Radical Democratic Party, declared that history should not have to record that Britain's long and progressive association with India was deliberately ended in a sordid deal with India's exploiting classes and that the people were betrayed in the bargain. The responsibility of British democracy towards India must be realised and the Cripps' offer reviewed. The Government must resume the initiative and take a big step towards the solution of the Indian problem. To leave it to the Indians to form their future constitution while the bulk of the people will remain disfranchised and at the mercy of the landlords and moneylenders is virtually to hand them over with their fetters intact to the small

privileged class, who will thus have been enabled to assume absolute power over India's destiny. The new India emerging out of the war years would, indeed, prefer to be linked up with the liberating influences of the British Commonwealth and accelerate its further progressive evolution as a free association of free peoples.

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THE COLOUR BAR IN SOUTH AFRICA — By F. A. W. Lucas, K.C.

Few THINGS have created more inter-racial bitterness in South Africa or done more to besmirch its name abroad than the colour bar. Those who hold that it is unjust as well as those who claim that it impoverishes the Union constantly appeal for its removal. Yet it holds its ground with apparently increasing strength. There are no signs that its opponents are making any headway against it.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the effects of the colour bar on the relations between whites and blacks in the Union and we cannot afford to ignore its effects on our prestige abroad or, to come closer home, on the chances of our ever being able to incorporate in the Union, otherwise than by force, the neighbouring native Protectorates of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland.

It seems to me that if we are to improve the present position, we must look more closely than is generally done into the reason for the colour bar. Until we understand that and can meet the difficulty against which the bar is intended to protect the whites, we cannot hope to find an acceptable way by which it can be modified or removed.

TWO ASPECTS

There are two aspects of the colour bar, one social and the other economic. They are quite different in their origin and effects, and I believe that if we are careful to distinguish between them we can hope to remove in the main, if not altogether, that part of the colour bar, the economic, which is to-day so injurious to our welfare and reputation.

It is, I think, quite useless for anyone to expect to remove the social colour bar for generations to come. It is so strongly entrenched in the emotions of the white people of the Union that they would at any cost resist any attempt to end it. It is based on a fear and dislike of miscegenation so strong that no reasoning could prevail against it. We must, therefore, accept it as part of our social organisation.

Fortunately, however, there is no serious moral issue involved in the social colour bar. We are all of us entitled to choose the company we keep and our white people are entitled, if they wish it, to hold aloof from social contact with the coloured races.

THE ECONOMIC BAR

We come then to the economic colour bar. This restricts employment in the highly paid, skilled occupations to the whites and confines the natives, coloureds and Indians, in the main to unskilled jobs paid for at a wage on which a white worker cannot keep up the recognised white standard of living.

Two consequences of this aspect of the colour bar should be noted. It prevents

a coloured person, no matter how great is his innate ability, from being allowed to develop it either for his own benefit or that of the community. He must confine his skill and energy to doing the lowliest of manual jobs. It, therefore, restricts his earnings to the low level which prevails for such jobs. The result is a wide gap between the customary level of wages of a white worker and that of a native, the former being about six to one of the latter.

The first of those consequences is obviously unjust to the coloured races; the second is equally obviously a serious danger to the economic position of the whites.

EFFECT ON THE WHITES

Because the native is prevented from using his intellectual and physical powers to produce goods or render services to the extent of which he is capable, he cannot, as he would like to do, purchase the products or call for the services of the whites for which they want an outlet. This causes unemployment among the whites. But a still greater danger to them lies in the wide gap in the wage levels of the two races. Employers are constantly subject to the keenest competition in their trades and, as a rule, the only factor in their costs which they can cut down is wages. An obvious way in which they can do this is by employing in as many jobs as possible the low-paid native. Any part of a highly-paid operation which can be lopped off from a skilled worker's task and handed over to an unskilled worker will reduce the employer's costs. The incentive to do this is ever present and, consequently, the position of the white worker grows always more precarious and the possibility of a successful development of industry in the Union more remote.

GROUNDING IN FEAR OF WANT

If we are willing to deal with the economic colour bar as separate from the social, we can avoid much of the emotionalism which gives the latter its strength. Then it will be possible to find a way in which the whites and their civilisation can be preserved and at the same time the coloured races can be relieved from the limitations which the colour bar places on their right to develop and use their abilities in any natural and legal way.

The economic colour bar is insisted on by the whites because of a fear that there are not enough jobs to go round. *Die Transvaler* put the case in this way: In order to compete with the non-European, the European worker will be obliged to sink to the standard of living of the former; if he did so, white civilisation would be doomed.

When the white worker looks at the matter in that light, it is natural that he feels he must resist at all costs any attempt to destroy the protection which

he believes the colour bar gives him. As he has the political power he will use it to maintain that protection and unless he can get a satisfactory form of protection in some other way the colour bar will have to remain.

If, however, we can remove the cause of that fear, there is reasonable ground to hope that the economic colour bar will fall away with it.

MORE JOBS THAN WORKERS

That can be done, but only by our destroying land monopoly and the power to hold land out of use. All jobs depend upon access to the natural resources of the earth. We must make them accessible to all our people. We all live out of farming, fishing, mining or building, OR out of processing, handling or distributing their products, OR out of catering for the needs of the workers in those industries.

When we remove the obstacles which land monopoly places by high prices for land in the way of industry, urban, mining or rural, the only limit to our production will be the richness of our natural resources and our natural and developed ability and skill. As we have rich natural resources, our interest will lie in the training, to the best of which they are capable, of all our workers, white and black. There will be an unlimited number of jobs, that is, more jobs than workers. Then not only will the whites be able, without any economic colour bar, to maintain their standard of living and even improve it, but our coloured peoples also will be enabled to raise their standard to the limit of which they may be capable. The whites will gain financially and, at the same time, cleanse themselves from the stigma which the injustice of the present economic colour bar places on their reputation. Our country could then be really free and we, its inhabitants, a Free People.

(Reprinted from *The Free People*, Johannesburg.)

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NEW ZEALAND — PROMPT ACTION BY THE LEAGUE

The Parliamentary Select Committee on Local Government began its sittings in Wellington on February 20, and will hear evidence till March 1. Its Order of Reference includes constitutional matters, functions of local bodies, areas and boundaries, finance, rating valuations, local body loans, hospital control, etc. On the first day the New Zealand League for the Taxation of Land Values Inc. submitted evidence in a long and most comprehensive statement, prepared by Dr. R. O'Regan, the president of the League. The document received wide notice in the Press, the *Wellington Evening Post* of February 21 reprinting numerous extracts spread over its columns in various pages and with suitable headlines. Dr. O'Regan's evidence was well summarised in the national daily *The Dominion* of February 21 and we give that summary in full, with our own sub-heads inserted:

The New Zealand League for the Taxation of Land Values yesterday submitted the following propositions to the Parliamentary Committee on Local Government:—

- (1) That rating on the unimproved value should be made mandatory.
- (2) That valuations should be made at regular statutory intervals.
- (3) That the hospital rate as at present operating should be maintained.
- (4) That water rates should be struck on a uniform basis on the unimproved value.
- (5) That it should be made illegal to transfer profits of municipal trading departments to the general account.

Evidence in support of the propositions was presented by the president of the league, Mr. R. O'Regan, F.R.C.S.

Reasons for advocating a single uniform system of local taxation, he said, were: Present rating methods were chaotic and confusing and in practice resulted in many anomalies. A single system of rating operated in favour of local body amalgamations. It was claimed that the single system operating should be rating on the unimproved value because of the intrinsic merits of that system; because rating on the unimproved value had spread constantly over the past 46 years and was now the dominant system of local taxation in the country; and because capital value and annual value rating was a severe check on housing and other construction.

HOUSEHOLDERS BENEFITED

Discussing the effect of unimproved value rating on the home-builder, Mr. O'Regan said that, taking 120 average Wellington houses, the rates under the present system were £10 10s. each, and under the capital value rating they would be £17 18s. 6d. each, an increase in the rates of £7 9s. 6d. a year, or 2s. 10d. a week. In the case of 72 State houses in Wellington, the difference in rates under the two systems averaged £11 3s. 2d. a year, or 4s. 3d. a week. It was clear that houses in an unimproved value rating area paid much lighter rates than where capital or annual value rating prevailed.

MAKE LAND VALUE RATING UNIVERSAL

Summarising submissions on the first proposition, Mr. O'Regan said: "Making the unimproved value rating mandatory will simplify local taxation, valuation and administration. It will make local body amalgamations easier. It will make universal the advantages inherent in the system. It will mean a reduction in rates to the majority of ratepayers at the expense of those who hold land for various reasons do not use it or use it far below its economic possibilities. It will act as a stimulus to house-building

and all development work. It will stimulate employment in the building and ancillary trades. It will thus play at this time a useful part in the rehabilitation of our men returning from overseas, who will be looking for jobs."

PERIODIC VALUATION

On the second proposition, Mr. O'Regan said that in practice at present the intervals between valuations were a great deal longer than they ought to be. Wellington city had not been valued for 10 years. He was sure a great deal of the discontent of local body officers with rating on the unimproved value arose from the fact that the valuations were made irregularly and at such uncertain intervals, and that rates had to be struck on valuations which were out of date. "It is our view," he said, "that valuations should be at least quinquennial; triennial valuations would be better, but at the present juncture may not be practicable. We regard a five-years interval as the greatest possible and it should not be exceeded."

HOSPITAL FINANCE

In support of the third proposition, that the hospital rate be maintained, Mr. O'Regan said that the general effect of abolishing the levy, whether it were replaced by increased wages tax or further payments from the Consolidated Fund, would be to shift the taxation from the richer to the poorer section of the community. The vast majority of ratepayers would actually pay more toward hospital costs as wage-tax payers than they now paid in rates.

If the rate were abolished land values would immediately advance. The seller of property would get a higher price, which the buyer would pay. The new ratepayer (the buyer) would pay the hospital rate capitalised in the price of his purchase and would not be one whit better off for the abolition of the rate. As a wage-tax payer and consumer, however, he would continue to be taxed ad infinitum to provide the £1,250,000 which used to be paid out of the rates. The seller of the property alone will get an advantage from the transaction and the "investor" and speculator above all.

Another objection to the abolition of the hospital rate was that it logically implied the abolition of hospital boards and the loss of local control in the management of hospitals.

WATER RATES AND MUNICIPAL PROFITS

In regard to the fourth proposition, Mr. O'Regan said that the law stipulated that a half rate should be charged on properties to which water "can be but is not supplied," and on properties used for purposes other than dwelling-houses.

"We believe that these two classes of property should pay full rates, and we urge that the law should be amended accordingly," he said. The fact that a water supply was available on demand enhanced the unimproved value of a section and increases its market value, and that increased value should be the measure of the rate.

On the fifth proposition, Mr. O'Regan said it was not easy to see any justification for the profits from municipal trading accounts being applied in relief of rates. There was no justification whatever for ratepayers receiving a rebate which in fairness should go to the municipalities' trading customers. Any surplus should be applied in reducing the cost of lighting, heating, milk, etc. This would be an act of justice not only to the non-rate paying portion of the community, but also to industry, where the

cost of lighting and power was a considerable overhead expense. Such an amendment would benefit all citizens—including rate-payers.

Dr. O'Regan's evidence was accompanied by an informing map of New Zealand marking the counties, cities, boroughs and towns (and road districts) which at present levy rates (a) wholly on land values, under the 1911 Act; (b) partially on land values under the 1896 Act, which by its Section 20 excluded water, gas, electric light, sewage and hospital and charitable aid rates from being levied on the land values basis; (c) on the capital or the annual value of land plus improvements without distinction between them.

The 1911 Act repealed Section 20 of the 1896 Act and since that date, following a successful poll, all rates are assessed on the unimproved value. In those areas where a poll to adopt Land Value Rating had been carried prior to 1911, a further poll was needed to apply the system to the rates mentioned in Section 20 of the 1896 Act.

A tabular statement shows that the Land Value Rating system is now in operation in 89 of the 124 counties; in 83 of the 127 boroughs; and in 16 of the 34 towns—that is in 159 of these 285 local authorities. The system has been carried in addition in 14 boroughs at least, which have lost their identity by amalgamations; of these there are five in Wellington, five in Christchurch, one in Dunedin, two in Auckland and one in Wanganui. It appears from the map that not more than 23 of the 159 areas, operating the system do so under the limitations of the 1896 Act; the rest of the 159 areas levy all rates on the value of land alone.

As Dr. O'Regan says: "Since its introduction in 1896, unimproved value rating has spread steadily in counties, boroughs and towns. Its spread has taken place against the opposition, often bitter of vested interests and against the natural social inertia militating against change. Every poll has demanded time, energy, money, organisation and initiative from ordinary citizens. Capital value and annual value (i.e., the taxation of improvements) have been imposed from above. Unimproved value rating has come at the insistent demand of the democratic electorate and has steadily replaced opposing systems. It has long passed the experimental stage. It has been vindicated by 45 years of constant and repeated endorsement by the ratepayers. It has become on its own merits the dominant rating system of the country. Seldom has any local body discarded it for long. It has proved itself. It should be made universal."

2s. 6d. LAND VALUE RATING. Theory and Practice. A handbook for all interested in municipal finance and the rating question. By F. O. E. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P.

2s. 6d. LAND AND FREEDOM. A new, comprehensive and up-to-date treatise on Land Value Taxation. By Frederick Verinder.

2s. 6d. THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS. By Patrick Edward Dove. Abridgement by Julia N. Kellogg.

2d. THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY. By John B. Sharpe.

6d. THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT: FREDERIDGE FAILS TO SOLVE IT. WHAT WILL? Published by the Staples Press, Ltd.

A CHINESE SAGE

(From *The Book of Mencius*, abridged, translated from the Chinese by Lionel Giles, John Murray, 3s. 6d.)

MENCIOUS SAID: If a prince honours the wise and employs the able, so that men of light and leading are in power, then the scholars of the Empire will be pleased, and anxious to attend his Court. If he levies ground-rent on the stalls in the market place but refrains from taxing goods, or if he contents himself with keeping order and levies no ground-rent, then the traders of the Empire will all be pleased, and anxious to stall their goods in his market-place. If at his frontier stations merchandise is only examined and not burdened with duties, then the bagmen of the Empire will all be pleased, and anxious to frequent his highways. If the ploughmen have to help on the public fields* but are not otherwise taxed, then the farmers of the Empire will all be pleased, and anxious to cultivate his waste lands. If from the tradespeople he does not exact individual or village contributions, then all the inhabitants of the Empire will be pleased, and anxious to become his subjects. If he is truly able to walk in these five ways, the people of neighbouring kingdoms will look up to him as to a father and mother. (Pages 48-9.)

Tai Ying-chih said to Mencius: Just at present I am able to do away with frontier and market dues, and to restrict myself to the levying of a tithe; but I propose to lighten these taxes, and in the coming year I will abolish them altogether. What say you?—Mencius replied: There was once a man who stole one of his neighbour's fowls every day. Some one remonstrated with him, saying, "This conduct does not befit a gentleman." "Very well," said he, "I will reduce the number and take only one fowl a month until next year, when I will put a stop to it." If you know a thing to be wrong, you should stop doing it at once, and not wait till next year. (Pages 66-7.)

*This refers to the nine-square system, which Mencius describes elsewhere: "A square *li* is divided into nine smaller squares, containing nine hundred roods in all. The central square is public land, and is cultivated by eight families, each of which has a hundred roods of its own." Mencius was born in 372 B.C.

SKY-HIGH IN AFRICA

THE CAPE ARGUS, November 16, reported the stiff increase in the price of land in South Africa, which had gone up by 58 per cent. during the last two years; thus in the first six months of 1942, the price of 4,877,000 morgen sold was £11,433,000, whereas in the first six months of 1944 the price of 4,967,000 morgen sold was £18,503,000. A graver problem is that of acquiring building sites in the suburbs and near the city. This is almost impossible. The prices of the few sites available are sky-high. "People who own

land to-day," one property agent commented, "are clinging to it. I suppose they feel that a solid piece of earth is a more substantial nest-egg than a wad of problematical paper pounds." Another authority who agreed that the reluctance of people to part with sites was stifling the expansion of Cape Town residentially, said this raised an ethical question. While some people were crying out for land and houses, was it socially just that others with money should be able to "lock up" sites they did not need for their own use? "I believe," he said, "that there should be some system whereby such unoccupied land could be expropriated and made available to the man who wants to build his own home."

Obviously the ethical question is that the land belongs to the people and the landholders should pay rent for it to the people. It is the value of the land that should be "expropriated" by the levy of rates and taxes upon it, exempting whatever improvement has been placed on the land. South Africa is ripe for that policy, like our own country and elsewhere throughout the world.

LIBERAL LIBERTY LEAGUE

A distinguished woman Liberal, who holds an official position in the Party, in a letter to Mr. T. Atholl Robertson, Vice-President of the Liberal Liberty League, writes: "It is of course the Beveridge Full Employment plan that has made the Party wobble in its official resolutions. What even Beveridge does not seem to realise is that there can be no full employment for this country without Free Trade, unless we each fully employ ourselves by digging graves for the others, into which we can all tumble when we die of starvation."

Correspondence accumulates expressing grave concern with the trend of opinion in the councils of the Liberal Party, as one writer says "the political and economic principles of Cobden, Peel, Gladstone, Harcourt, Morley, Campbell Bannerman and Asquith are being jettisoned and the immorality of opportunism is poisoning the body politic of Liberalism." A recent example is contained in a report of the sub-committee of the Party dealing with inland transport which advocates the Nationalisation of Road, Rail and Air Transport, Ports and Canals; the Chairman is Mr. B. Seaborn Rowntree. Support for this has been given in public speeches by Lady Rhys Williams, Lord Samuel, Sir William Beveridge, and Tom Horabin, M.P. who at a recent discussion group meeting in London advocated the national ownership of power, coal, and land, also a "planned economy." It is pertinent to remind these people that in 1937 that the reason given officially why Liberals could not join in the formation of the "Popular Front" with the Labour Party was, "that Liberals stand for the diffusion of private enterprise and ownership which Socialists would abolish and they are passionately opposed to the suppression of liberty which 'the nationalisation of all the means of production distribution and exchange' would involve." What has come over them?

At a recent meeting of the Cobden Club the following resolution was carried unanimously: "The Executive of the Cobden Club impressed by the evil consequences of our Protective Tariff and restrictions on imports together with the suppression of free markets at home and industrial conscription, records its con-

viction that Great Britain after the war should revert to the policy of Free Trade and the Open Door which was the foundation of our prosperity, and is the only means by which it can be restored. Thus we shall consult our own interests, promote peaceful commerce and set an example to other nations. It is equally important that the costly and vexatious controls over home manufacturers, merchants and retailers should be removed with all possible expedition."

This is excellent but I would add that no resolution on Free Trade is complete without it calls for the abolition of land monopoly, the greatest restrictive factor to the functioning of the free market. Opinions and news are invited from members.

S. Martin (L.L.L. Press Secretary).

AT BERWICK-ON-TWEED

Both the *Berwick Journal* and the *Berwick Advertiser*, of March 22, gave extensive reports, in one case a whole column, to the public meeting which the Yorkshire Land Values League held in the Town Hall, Berwick. Capt. A. E. McDougal, Elythe, presided, and the speakers were Messrs. Ashley Mitchell, A. W. Madsen and Wilfrid Harrison. Capt. McDougal cited a number of local illustrations of how the present land tenure and taxation system works. If anyone wanted to build a house he was punished by a heavy fine in the way of rates, which was not much encouragement to build. Instead of land being devalued, houses ought to be devalued. Higher prices for land did not mean prosperity for farmer or farm worker; they meant higher rent. No social problem would be settled until this question of land value taxation was taken into consideration. Mr. Mitchell said that in the Berwick constituency they had a Member of Parliament who had recently published a scheme for dealing with unemployment and in it there was no reference to the importance of the land question. After explaining how land values arose and pointing out that the rent of land was what the community itself created, he said that by our tax system owners were encouraged to withhold land speculatively and yet people wondered why there should be unemployment. They were fighting a war for freedom and he did not think any one wanted "security" at the price of liberty. Mr. Madsen urged Berwick people to tell their M.P., Sir William Beveridge, to take up this land values question and the freedom of trade and drop all the nonsense about the spending of public money in the way he suggested with its imposition of all sorts of restrictions and regimentation, which would eventually take us in the direction of what we were trying to get away from—the totalitarian State. Mr. Harrison said that slogan about "full employment in a free society" should be watched and examined very carefully. He had read the "Mein Kampf" of Sir William Beveridge and he saw nothing which was so comparable to this programme put forward by the Nazis as there was in that book. At the finish one could almost see the Gestapo forcing the controls which were suggested and insisted upon. It might be acceptable if there was some reasonable hope of it solving the unemployment problem; in his opinion it was a false hope.

At last! A Free Church that preaches the application of the Gospel—the truth in Land. Please help us to help the Land Values Movement. Donations gratefully received.

Osley Road Chapel,
165, Osley Road, Bradford

The Land Values Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party has the following Resolution on the House of Commons Order Paper:

"That no final and satisfactory solution of the problem of town and country planning, of the provision of houses at reasonable rents, and of reform of local taxation can be achieved until a general valuation has been made of the value of land apart from the buildings and improvements upon it and such valuation is made the basis for public acquisition and local taxation."

On April 19 this Resolution had the signatures of: Messrs. Stokes, Bowles, Buchanan, Silverman, Douglas, Tinkler, Barr, Bellenger, Tom Brown, Cocks, Colindridge, Cove Rhys Davies, Grenfell, Grevill Hall, Mrs. Hardie, Messrs. Leach, Leonard, Leslie, Logan, McShee, Neil Maclean, Martin, Dr. Morgan, Messrs. Pearson, Quibell, Sexton, Sloan, Sorensen, Viant and Edward Williams.

Capt. A. R. McDougal is to read a paper on "The Real Causes of Bad and Inadequate Houses and Suggested Remedies" at the Scottish National Housing and Town Planning Conference at Aberdeen on June 1 and 2. He will urge the Rating of Land Values and expects to place informing literature in the hands of many interested people. At his suggestion, we are reprinting in leaflet form the article in last month's *Land and Liberty* entitled "Local Taxation in Scotland—Inquiries and Reports." The leaflet is available, price 1d. per copy or 6s. per 100.

The Annual Meeting of the Yorkshire and Northern Land Values League was held in the Church Institute, Albion Place, Leeds, on Saturday, April 28, when reports were received and approved and officers were elected for the ensuing year. The annual accounts, year 1944, showed income £363 2s. 2d. and expenditure £211 8s. 11d., being for the year a surplus of £151 13s. 3d.; as the year began with a debit of £45 10s. 6d. there remained a credit balance of £106 2s. 9d. Business was followed by a Public Meeting at which Mr. Ashley Mitchell presided, and the speakers were Messrs. D. J. J. Owen, Pryce V. Oliver, A. W. Madsen, and Fredk. Bentley. The discussion dealt with the subject: "The burden of rates on owners and occupiers; how to promote the best use of land in town and country alike in the interests of housing, employment, agriculture and municipal development." We hope to give a fuller report next month.

The Manchester Land Values League held its Annual Business Meeting, followed by a Public Meeting, in the Houldsworth Hall, Manchester, on April 26. Dr. S. Vere Pearson, president of the League, presided, and Messrs. Ashley Mitchell and A. W. Madsen opened discussion on "The Bearing of the Land Question on Housing, Employment, Rent and Rates." Reports were submitted and officers were elected for the ensuing year. The accounts for the year ending February 28, 1945, showed income of £244 15s. 9d.; expenses, £252 0s. 2d.

Meetings addressed in the Manchester area by the League's speakers included the Society of Friends at Blackburn on March 5 by D. J. J. Owen; Clitheroe Women's Co-operative Guild on March 13 by Mrs. Summer; and the Droyladden Discussion Group on April 10 by E. F. MacClafferty. A letter on land values taxation, written by W. Lyon of Preston was printed in the *New Dawn* of March.

"In view of the present house famine," the Clitheroe Women's Co-operative Guild declared by resolution at a recent meeting, "immediate steps ought to be taken to remove the land blockade by taxing the value of all the land, whether used or not. The Guild further declares that this measure and the de-rating of houses and other buildings would make it possible for good, permanent houses to be built at economic rents."

On April 3, Mr. A. W. Madsen addressed a well-attended meeting of the members of the Liverpool Taxation of Land Values League and of the Henry George School of Social Science, Mr. Walter Ridley presiding. The subject was "The Importance of Being Practical," the speaker explaining the legislative steps necessary to give effect to Land Value Taxation; methods and procedure for valuation; lessons learned from the Finance Acts of 1910 and 1931 and the London County Council Bill for Site Value Rating; operation of the policy in other countries. An informing discussion followed in which, among others, Mr. Wilfrid Harrison, London, took part.

Study classes of the Henry George School are now in session at 4, Zig Zag Road, West Derby, and at 56, Lord Street (over Stone's Radio Stores), Liverpool. Former is the West Derby Study Circle, which meets the first Wednesday evening in each month and is conducted by Miss N. McGovern. The latter is a newly started tutorial class, meeting weekly each Tuesday at 7 p.m., and is conducted by Mr. F. R. Jones. On April 24, Mr. H. T. Boothby spoke to the Walton Women's Guild on "Land Value Taxation in Practice." Much interest was shown in his exposition of the land-value policy and it is hoped to form a study group of this Guild. The Henry George School is eager to extend its activities in these ways and readers in Liverpool desirous of assisting are asked to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Miss N. McGovern, 74, Osmaston Road, Prenton, Birkenhead.

At the Crosby Henry George Fellowship on April 15, Mr. Wilkinson opened discussion on "Does the principle of Equal Liberty require some Town Planning?" and he gave the arguments of the experts. At the next meeting Mr. Stephens will open discussion on the negative. It is expected to have a summer class on *Progress and Poverty* at 11, Tudor Street, beginning in the second week of May.

Milk Marketing: An Experiment in Collectivism, by George Winder, is a pamphlet (price 6d.) which we cordially commend. It is an outspoken exposure of the Marketing Boards and the oppressive and price-raising Agricultural Marketing Acts. The Milk Board especially is roundly trounced. Published by the Society of Individualists, 147, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

A Bradford development is announced by advertisement elsewhere in our columns. It is the new service at the Otley Road Chapel and an appeal for its support is made. It is conducted by a member of the Yorkshire League who has long felt the need of a place where God's good providence could be spoken of as a matter of course in his provision of the earth and man's life upon it. The member writes: "Here is one way in which I think I can do a good deal for Freedom."

YOUR SUPPORT

The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values Ltd. (publishers of "Land & Liberty"), the International Union and the Leagues listed below are maintained by the voluntary support of those who believe in and would seek to advance the principle and policy which the Committee, the Union and the Leagues advocate: Land Value Taxation and Free Trade in its fulness, with removal of the tax burdens on industry and abolition of all monopolies and special privileges that interfere with the production of wealth and prevent its just distribution. An earnest appeal is made for your support. Donations supplementary to postal subscription for "Land & Liberty" (4s. yearly, or £1 for U.S.A. and Canada) will be allocated as desired among any of the associations named.

REMITTANCES

Cheques may be made payable to W. R. Lester, 4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1. Friends in the U.S.A. and Canada can avail themselves of the facilities kindly provided by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 43-50 East 69th Street, New York, who will receive and forward subscriptions named for "Land & Liberty." In such case, cheques, etc., should be made payable to the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation.

ADDRESSES

At 4 Great Smith Street, London S.W.1. Telephone, Abbey 6885: United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values Ltd., W. R. Lester (Treasurer), A. W. Madsen (Secretary), F. C. R. Douglas (Assistant Secretary); Henry George Foundation (Publishing Department); International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, Ashley Mitchell (Treasurer); English League, Fredk. Verinder (Secretary); Henry George School of Social Science.

Yorkshire League, C. E. Jones and Percy Roberts (Hon. Secretaries), F. Bentley (Organising Secretary), 129 Skipton Road, Keighley; Manchester League, A. H. Weller (Secretary) The Dingle, Chester Road, Hazel Grove, nr. Manchester; Henry George Freedom League, Wm. Reid (Secretary), 9, Woodside Crescent, Glasgow C.3; Welsh League, E. A. Davies (Hon. Sec.) 27 Park Place, Cardiff (Phone 1563) and I. T. Rees (Hon. Organising Sec.) 2, Southey Street, Cardiff; Midland League, John Bush (Hon. Sec.), 90, Soho Street, Smethwick, Staffs; Liverpool League, Miss N. McGovern (Hon. Correspondence Sec.), 74 Osmaston Road, Prenton, Birkenhead; Crosby Henry George Fellowship, C. C. Paton (Hon. Sec.) 11 Tudor Road, Liverpool, 23; Portsmouth League, H. R. Lee (Hon. Sec.) 13 Lawrence Road, Southsea; Derbyshire League, G. Musson (Hon. Sec.) 29 Denby Lane, Codnor; Edinburgh League, A. Davis (Acting Hon. Sec.), 8, Kirkhill Terrace, Edinburgh 9; Castle Douglas Henry George Fellowship, Mrs. Margaret McCall, 88 King Street, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire; Highland League, I. Mackenzie (Hon. Sec.) Queensgate Arcade, Inverness.