WayJune 1989

UK 80p; USA \$1.50

ITAIL ISTOOS TOIM

## and LIBERTY

Established June 1894

Editor: Fred Harrison
Editorial Consultant: V. H. Blundell
Picture Editor: Keith Hammett
Editorial Offices

177 Vauxhall Bridge Road London SW1V 1EU Tel: 01 834 4266 121 East 30th Street New York, N.Y. 10016 Tel: 212 697 9880 ISS No. 0023 7574 Vol. 96

Annual Subscription: U.K. & Sterling area: £5 USA \$10, Canada \$11

No. 1,139



Aldous Huxley and the Georgist Philosophy FRED HARRISON ............ 35

Henry George's
Unique Progress
GEORGE COLLINS ....... 36

Sunny Season in the Seychelles INSITE ...... 38

Democratic Vote for Land Value Tax PADDY ASHDOWN ..... 40

What's So Special
About Land?
MASON GAFFNEY ....... 42

Wise Chaps
Those Greeks!
DAVID REDFEARN ...... 44



# Beware crackpots

LIFE IS about choices. We make them every day when we enter a supermarket or choose which button to press on the TV set.

Occasionally, we enter into a collective decision-making process, as when voting for a government. Even less frequently, people are obliged to make choices that have epochal consequences, which shape the nature of the society in which they live.

Not everyone would agree with that. Karl Marx believed that, when it came to the large questions affecting political power and property rights, the average citizen had NO choice.

The dominant class, according to this thesis, controlled the very way people thought thereby regulating their decisions in a way compatible with the interests of the rulers

Marx believed he saw through that destardly plot. And he concluded that the rulers could not override the march of history

For Mary, it was only a matter of time before the excesses of 19th century capitalism were eclipsed by an enlightened socialism.

SOCIALISM has now been put

the masses of Eastern Europe and China fown to Juba and Angole and much choice about participating in the Mawist affectable, but that would for have disturbed Marx affectall, the peasants and prois could not buck history either!

Socialism is no longer a practical choice for those who feel that there is something fundamentally defective about so-called capitalism.

Millions of people died at the hands of the murderous Stalin and the misguided Mao, but perhaps notion nothing, we can argue that the socialist superi-

The leaders of Russia and China now confess that the market mechanism is the superior way to regulate the sconomic process the planned approach has failed dismally.

approach has failed dismally.

This lesson has now been taken to heart by the "social democrats" of the West, who in the past have experimented with a watered-down version of socialism. They are now searching for a new model, one which can somenow correct the excesses of 20th century capitalism.

Which is why, for the first time since the and of the last world war, people nowhave the chance to choose a new kind of society. There is no way to opt out of this process

CRACKPOTS will undoubtedly emerge, in the next few years to proclaim the new future.

Addif Hitler was one such visionary, and it was the poverty of philosophy of the 1930s which allowed the manisc to be received as a saviour. There is no reason why it should not happen again, unless people enter into an open debate about practical alternatives.

We are optimistic about the course mankind will take into the 21st century. We believe that the time has come to the childsophy articulated by an American social reformer. Henry George, whose social stood the test of time.

We do not ask anyone to take the words of Henry George on faith, they have to be subjected to continuous scrutiny, as with any other system of ideas. Einstein could not expose any turdanemal flaws in the essentials of the Georgist chique, but others may be able to do so

But been this in mind white we are railing the crackpus are plotting.



TWENTIETH century writers who have sought to predict the future have generally been pessimistic. As social critics, they believed we were destined for a dehumanised existence.

Some of them suggested we were collectively heading for the funny farm: George Orwell exploited this notion in a masterly way in *Animal Farm*, his savage satire of the dictatorial aspects of Soviet socialism.

But in alerting us to the dangers of regimentation, the subordination of individual freedom to the orderly process of central planning, and the amoral efficiency of scientific solutions, they made the fatal mistake of narrowing their readers' visions of what was possible.

By Fre

Aldous Huxley's Brave New World is a classic example. Fortunately, the author was big enough to recant and tell another tale.

HUXLEY (1894-1956), after taking a first in English at Oxford, earned a living by writing verse. He was living in France when he wrote *Brave New World* in the early 1930s, before settling in California in 1937.

Brave New World offered readers the vision of two models. One was of a primitive existence on a reservation in New Mexico; here, the "savages" would be free to live their lives based on the nuclear family system, free to drown their pain and sorrows with alcohol.

In the other society, humans were bred in test tubes. They lived trouble-free lives of controlled bliss and sexual promiscuity. The price they paid: the abolition of all sense of individuality.

Scary, yes, but real? In the foreword to the 1946 edition, Huxley pinpointed the central flaw in this work. He acknowledged that he was wrong to offer "only two alternatives, an insane life in Utopia, or the life of a primitive in an Indian village, a life more human in some respects, but in others hardly less queer and abnormal. At the time the book was written

#### Georgist World of Huxley

sent form it evidently lacks. New completeness, which in its preartistic suit of sanity. Thus altered, Brave individuals devoted to the purcomposed of freely co-operating about the nature of a society learning something at first hand had had an opportunity Indian tribe to Utopia "until he World would possess an and...a Savage philosophical of

THE tendency towards statism was one of Huxley's fears. This, he argued, was the result of rapid technological change, the adoption of mass production techniques, and the fact that the population was largely propertyless. This combination produced "economic and social confusion," the solution to which was centralised governmental control of a totalitarian kind.

"Only a large-scale popular movement towards decentralization and self-help can arrest the present tendency towards statism," he warned. "At present there is no sign that such a movement will take place."

On the latter point, Huxley has been proved to be wrong. There is now a growing demand for the decentralisation of power, both in economics and politics.

That demand is not, as yet, coherently articulated by either the libertarians or the "greens", the most vociferous opponents of statism.<sup>2</sup> In the main these two

By Fred Harrison

this idea, that human beings are given free will in order to choose between insanity on the one hand and lunacy on the other, was one that I found amusing and regarded as quite possibly true."

Generations of students of literature and political philosophy have pored over Brave New World, the better to understand the future. And they came away blinkered!

Huxley redeems himself when he concedes that, if he were to rewrite the book, he would offer a third option, one which he characterised as "the possibility of sanity." In a few bold strokes he outlines the elements of this model:

be adapted and enslaved World) as though man were to man, not (as at present and still bath, they had been made for be used as though, like the Sab-Science and technology would otkinesque Henry Georgian, politics Kropwould "In this community economics SO be in the and co-operative decentralist Brave New

Huxley, now, did not want to

REFERENCES \_\_\_

2 A start has been made. See-Paul Ekins, Editor, *The Living Economy*, London: RKP, 1986.

Continued on Page 36 🗫

<sup>1</sup> The first edition was published in London by Chatto & Windus in 1932. The 1946 foreword appears in the 1977 Granada paperback edition.

HENRY GEORGE emerged on the American scene with the publication of his first book, *Progress & Poverty* in 1879. His stirring call for liberty through economic equity quickly captured worldwide attention and placed him among the front rank of economic and social philosophers.

His central idea was that poverty grew with advancing wealth because land monopoly and speculation absorbed all the increase brought on by progress. The thesis first appeared in a series of editorials, then as a pamphlet, in 1871. George had been a journalist. Still in his teens and trained as a printer, he had left his native Philadelphia in the 1850s for San Francisco. There, after failed adventures in search of gold, he practised his trade, working for several newspapers, rising from printer to reporter to editor. He became publisher of his own newspaper and a leading citizen of San Francisco by the time *Progress & Poverty* was published.

In his youth, he was exposed to the anti-slavery sentiment alive at home in abolitionist Philadelphia. During periods of hard times and depressions in California, he personally suffered the pang of hunger, unemployment and uncertainty. This background helped to make him an ardent student of the science, which in his estimation,

## Call that stirred the world

should explain the cause and supply the cure for the problem of the persistence of poverty with the increase of wealth.

Reading the economic writers of his time - Prof Henry Carey, Henry Fawcett, James Rogers, etc. - he found a jumble of confusion and contradiction in their definitions, analyses and conclusions. Even masters of classical economics such as John Stuart Mill and David Ricardo, who, like himself, took their lead from the great Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, fell into errors of thought that to George's mind befogged the subject.

Progress & Poverty was not an attempt to redesign

# GRANDFATHER CONNECTIONS

 Aldous Huxley was the grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-95), the British biologist who is generally agreed to have been one of the 19th century's top scientists.
 One encyclopaedia

One encyclopaedia describes him thus: "His remarkable powers

of research, his clear exposition of scientific facts, and his accuracy of deduction have rarely been equalled."

It was probably through his grandfather that Aldous Huxley became familiar with the works of George.

According to Agnes de Mille, Henry George's granddaughter: "Thomas Huxley had been historically the first of what Mother always referred to as 'disciples'" (Speak To Me. Dance With Me. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973, p.71).

#### From Page 35

schools of thought fail cal philosophies. If they were to Henry George into their politiıntegrate do so, they would realise that the political power that stems from concentration of corporate and natural resources would automatically dissolve. monopoly the economics control over of. ರ

This is what Huxley came to appreciate. He saw that the socialisation of the rental value of land (using the tax system and

people, shifting the balance of people, shifting the balance of power in favour of the individual. People would acquire the freedom to choose whether to work for themselves or others; be free to agree on the terms of employment without resort to the countervailing power of trades unions; and enjoy decent living standards based on the retention of the full value of the product which they produced by their labour.

In sharing the value of the resources of nature among all

members of a community, by new social spirit would emerge gaisn operation, rather than selfishsocially-necessary mind when he incorporated the evidently what Huxley had in based on alternative society. Peter Kropanarchist, into his model of an name of Kropotkin, the Russian otkin (1842-1921) developed a social stability and individual theory of mutual aid in which communal side of life. welfare were promoted by the and conflict. This the generosity and comoney projects, ō tund

The Georgist model is now receiving increasing attention (though not always with due acknowledgement to Henry George himself). It synthesises the best of the two major streams of thought of the past 100 years; the freedom of the individual associated with the rights and obligations which stem from the social and spiritual side of life.

economics. It was a search for answers to the problems of poverty, unemployment and depressions. But to find those answers, George discovered that he had to bring precision to the terms, consistency to their use and observation to the estimates, which his forerunners had not done.

In 565 pages George's eloquence, logic, passion and optimism was said to have fired the imagination of princes and paupers. Men of letters and the unschooled found his call a clarion, sounding the start of a better day.

Count Leo Tolstoy sang his praise. "People do not argue with the teaching of George," he wrote, "they simply do not know it. He who becomes acquainted with it cannot but agree." George Bernard Shaw credited *Progress & Poverty* and George's eloquence for his involvement with political economy and social problems.

REDUCING the effort required to transform natural materials into desirable objects has been the persistent aim of mankind since the dawn of civilization. We not only yearn to breathe free but strive to extend our lives, increase our comfort, gain more leisure and expand our scope while expending the least possible effort. This precept, posited as the motive force of economic behaviour, underlies Henry George's economic analysis.

The social analogue of the physical law that motion seeks the line of least resistance is, he explained, "that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion." The never ending desire of human beings for material goods propels the march of industry. Its stride, lengthened by invention after invention, reduces the toil required to produce each item and to satisfy every want. The resulting abundance fosters trade with ever more distant peoples, bringing with the exchange of goods different fashions, customs methods and ideas.

Perhaps being conscious of his physical frailty, of how quickly his energy gives way to fatigue, and driven by an unquenchable desire for more and better things, mankind stumbled on to the idea of using the results of his own actions upon nature not only for consumption but as instruments to lighten his toil and increase his rewards. Seeds are planted and through natural germination yield new crops. Iron ore is smelted, milled, fabricated and fitted together in machines that are used to make other desirable things. Labour stored up in all the ways that multiply productive efficiency and output, is a third factor of production. Capital, "wealth used to produce more wealth;" tools in the hands of labor, acting upon natural resources, had

## GEORGE COLLINS recalls the life of HENRY GEORGE

made production a thing of almost magical ease.

In his introduction to *Progress & Poverty* George wrote: "Could a man of the last century – a [Benjamin] Franklin or a [Joseph] Priestley – have seen, in a vision of the future, the steamship taking the place of the sailing vessel, the railroad train of the wagon, the reaping machine of the scythe, the threshing machine of the flail; could he have heard the throb of the engines that in obedience to human will, and for the satisfaction of human desire, exert a power greater than that of all the men and all the beasts of burden of the earth combined.

"Could he have seen the forest tree transformed into finished lumber - into doors, sashes, blinds, boxes or barrels, with hardly the touch of a human hand; the great workshops where boots and shoes are turned out by the case with less labor than the old-fashioned cobbler could have put on a sole; the factories where, under the eye of a girl, cotton becomes cloth faster than hundreds of stalwart weavers could have turned it out with their hand looms; could he have seen steam hammers shaping mammoth shafts and mighty anchors, and delicate machinery making tiny watches; the diamond drill cutting through the heart of the rocks, and coal oil sparing the whale.

"Could he have realized the enormous saving of labor resulting from improved facilities of exchange and communication - sheep killed in Australia eaten fresh in England, and the order given by the London banker in the afternoon executed in San Francisco in the morning of the same day; could he have conceived of the hundred thousand improvements which these only suggest, what would he have inferred as to the social condition of mankind? ..... Plainly in the sight of the imagination, he would have beheld these forces elevating society from its very foundations, lifting the very poorest above the possibility of want, exempting the very lowest from anxiety for the material needs of life."

ALAS such was not the case. Poverty and want and all the social and political evils that grow

Continued on Page 46 >

people's incomes, or on the necessaries of life: who paid when a government imposed a tax on THE classical economists had no doubt about the landowner.

as a cost and passed down the economic chain in the "surplus" income, or rent, to be appropriated by form of higher prices. Ultimately, this left a smaller The tax was not absorbed by the payer, but treated

the landowner.

That simple fact is ignored, today, with the result expended in a

that a great deal of emotion is meaningless way when some policy. For changes are made to plains loudly: he forgets - or is sumption, the tax payer comcrease in taxes that fall on congovernment announces an inunaware - that gross wages will in real disposable incomes. inevitably rise to offset the loss example, when a public

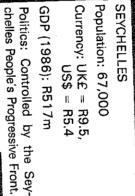
reduces taxes, it claims credit for provides incentives to people to Thatcher supply-side thesis, this According wages are reduced to their forone way or another, after-tax a neat exercise in deception: for work harder. In fact, the claim is of land rises to "mop-up" mer net levels, as the rental value taxpayers' fiscal windfall! Likewise, when a government people ਠ the better Reagan/ off.

bare last year, when the socialist abolished income tax. It did so government of the Seychelles The process at work was laid

### TROPERTY TAX

PROPERTY in paradise is exempt buildings in the Seychelles. taxes on the value of their land or from taxation: owners do not pay

ment did so far 10,000 parcels have been instituted a cadastral survey, and record of property ownership. It close the identities of owners and registered. The files, which dis-Until five years ago, the governnot have a working



without attempting to there is no premium on dupconstituents, perhaps fear the consequences of the the politicians do not have to licity in a one-party state where ballot box. because con its

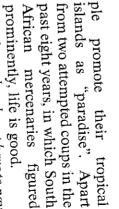
SEYCHELLES is 130-odd islands in the Indian on the culture of the people. master had a greater influence Ocean. It is a former British but the French slavea chain of

but not for nothing do the peofish. Living standards are low, tourism and the export of tuna Today, the country lives off

open to the public. mortgage encumbrances,

islands of Praslin, La Digue and northern part of Mahe, and on the The survey still has to complete work in Victoria and the

perty tax could be instituted, but missioner of Taxes, says that a proalready doing, instead of putting in a new tax." from them in the way we are "you might as well take the money Jack Moroney,



income tax! Paradise? And now they do not have to pay

the 18,000 people who lodge time and effort trying to delude dent Albert René did not waste returns under the Pay-As-Youthe Rupees 83m from income tax from January 1, 1988, iduals and R54m from comit had no intention of forgoing panies received in 1987. The government under Presisystem. In abolishing

simplified the sliding scale of over R110,000. Now, firms pay 20% on the first R36,000 of net upper limit of 50% on income rates, ranging from 10% to an income, and 35% on all profits above that figure. • The Business Tax Act (1987)

pay social security contributions just happened on behalf of employees which were formerly paying as income tax. The rate of contributions enough the sum which workers ing on the level of wages. varies from 10% to 80%, depend-Employers were ordered to ರ be

was not altered, because employers or take-home, levels! reduced gross wages to the old net The cost of employing labour



Albert René, President of the Seychelles

WHAT would have happened, if employees had managed to hang on to a significant slice of the wages they were formerly handing over to the government?

The single most significant effect - and the one which is singularly ignored by Western governments - is that land prices would have risen markedly.

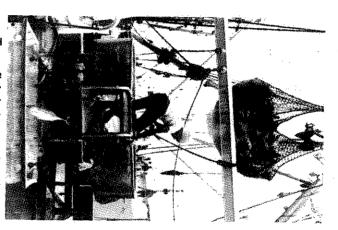
emigrated ment happy with the socialist "revolu-Seychellois mained stable Ministry of because According to an official of the which the René This, he believed, vigorously land many to Australia National Developprices presumably unfor nearly enterprising defends have regovernwas and 10

Today, agricultural land prices range from R5-10,000 per ha, for poor quality land to between R40-100,000 for land suitable for coconut and cash-crop cultivation in areas like Grand Anse on Mahé. In Victoria, the tiny capital city situated on Mahe, residential land costs between R30-50,000 per plot.

SO LIFE goes on as usual. There were no street parties to celebrate the abolition of income tax, because the only advantage to the workers is that they are now relieved of having to fill in the tiresome tax form every year.

Mr. Jack Moroney, the Commissioner of Taxes, in an interview in his office in Liberty House, told us that the new approach was more efficient from the revenue-raising viewpoint, and it had not damaged commerce or industry.

"The government effectively decides the private sector wage structure, Companies have not been affected adversely, as far as the cost factor is concerned, because the cost of wages and social security contributions



 Tuna fish being landed in the harbour in Victoria, Mahé; the major export from the Seychelles

today is no greater than the cost of wages before income tax was abolished.

"The employer pays the same net wages as before, and the difference - the tax equivalent - now goes to the social security department. People are happy

enough about it. The complaints were minimal."

Mr. Moroney, an Australian who was brought out of retirement from his farm near Brisbane to administer the new tax system, does regret that the money is now collected by the social security department rather than the Tax Division.

But if the aboliton of income tax is no more than a paper transaction, for workers, there are two groups - fishermen and farmers - who are better off. For if they are registered with the marketing boards, they are exempt from taxation.

"We say, 'We will leave you alone because we are not going to get much tax out of you, anyway'", explained Mr Moroney. "Farming is not a lucrative activity in the Seychelles. We don't have big farms; most of the big ones are government owned or they are cooperatives. Smaller ones make a reasonable living, but a lot of them are subsistence."

## OAPITAL TROUBLE

alities. New been outvoted. collected; vincial how local revenue is to be referenda possible by the use of result has been made by 90% of all rating has been adopted mented one, site value placed by a more SINCE the system of Pro-Zealand was Such a fortunate interests Government and for deciding municipselfish have fragą.

All this is now changing, warns Robert Keall, Hon. Secretary of the New Zealand Land Value Rating Association. In accordance with the Rating Powers Bill, which came into effect on April 1, 1988, the traditional

democratic right of ratepayers to demand a referendum has been withdrawn, so that councils alone now have the right to make a change.

no avaii. to this decision, but to and has adopted the capi-tal value system. There was strong local reaction Bill were not subject to it, which even before Rate into Separate Rates, Dunedin by splitting the General evaded the City has Council referendum already the ç

Worse still, the Officials' Co-ordinating Committee on Local Government, in a report published last December, has come out in favour of a

uniform national system of rating, which would remove the power of choice from councils and vest it in the central government. It also seems to be pointing in the direction of a mixture of site value and capital value rating, presumably in the hope of satisfying everybody.

The N.Z.L.V.R.A. is challenging this report, and at the same time urging the government, if it must have a uniform rating system, to opt for Site Value Rating. We await further information from Mr Keall, who is doing his best to increase the Association's membership and financial base.

who warned him that the land market was about who warned him that the land market was about to send his economic experiment through a timewarp, back into the stop-go era of pre-Thatcherite Britain. But it has happened, a timely reminder that land can exercise an extraordinary and largely undetected power over our lives. The Conservatives have vigorously rearranged the labour and capital markets. It is therefore strange that they have ignored the problems of the supply and price of land.

The Chancellor's choice of high interest rates as his sole policy response suggests a continuing failure to analyse the source of his problems. The debt burden has more than tripled since 1980. The principal cause (and also one of the effects) has been the rise in residential land prices has been the rise in residential land prices. Families have to borrow up to the hilt to buy their homes. Existing home-owners, exploiting the wealth effect of rising house prices (it is actually the value of the land under their homes that has risen), borrow heavily using the value of their land as collateral.

aged pushing up inflation, so employees are encourdemand that is generating the critical imbalance pressures is yet higher interest rates. vicious circle, because his only answer to these exports. The Chancellor has trapped himself into a high exchange rate is hitting investment and wages. The higher cost of borrowing money and a in foreign trade. From this has flowed the speculation in the 6 market and the growth in consumer seek compensation Lawson's high interest rates are through ายนมูเก

These immediate issues only touch on the long-term implications of the Government's failure to act, never mind on the exciting possibilities of act, never mind on the exciting possibilities of reform. Consider the consequences of the vast amount of vacant land in our cities – one third of it privately owned – which is displacing people into the countryside. The costs of commuting include a fall in the quality of family and social life. The taxpayer also suffers: the capital costs of infrastructure are driven up as the boundaries of towns are pushed outwards. There is increasing pressure from developers on the green belt, at the same time as urban blight is encouraged by the fact that there is no cost incurred by holding land.

Changes in the Common Agricultural Policy also suggest that reform will be needed. A million or more acres of agricultural land will fall out of use as rising productivity enables farmers to grow our food on less land. This offers a wide range of new possibilities for the conservation of endangered species, recreation and experiments with growing food using methods that are less dependent on chemicals.

The experience of the Enterprise Zones confirms the penalties of not considering land values

### By PADDY ASHDOWN

The author is leader of Britain's Social and Liberal Democratic Party. In a paper presented to a seminar on industrial policy at the London School of Economics on January 19, he advocated the need for land value taxation as part of a 10-point plan for the 1990s. He elaborates on the proposal in this article, which first appeared in The Independent on February 17.

within the designated areas. were supposed to encourage the creation of jobs: in policy decision. Tax breaks offered to investors seen their assets rise in value to astronomical porations, owners of property have in some cases London's Docklands) evels actually enriched those whose land controlled by Urban Development Cor-(from £50,000 to £5m Likewise, within an acre was

What passes for the Government's regional policy may well become another victim. Oxford economists have already established that high residential land prices in south-east England impede mobility in the labour market and force up wages. This year, the rising price of industrial land in the regions may deter firms from relocating in areas of high unemployment.

So how can the price of land be restrained? Mrs. Thatcher's Government has so far resorted only to institutional and bureaucratic mechanisms. Its approach has comprehensively failed to meet the problem. A Civic Trust study has found that more than a quarter of vacant urban land has been idle for more than 20 years. The Government, while unlocking some land in the inner cities, has done so in combination with other policies that have more than outweighed the impact of this increase in supply. We need a policy that sits well with the price mechanism of the market place, and which is powerful enough to compel the constant recycling of land and the renewal of the built environment in response to evolving needs.

The recent report by the Confederation of British Industry on urban regeneration brought to mind one of the traditional Liberal Party policies: an annual tax on the rental value of land. It pointed out that "the prospect of higher land prices, however remote, has attracted speculative investors who can afford to resist purchase offers for years in the hope of reaping very large profits".

A tax on the value of land would represent a cost that would induce people to put their valuable sites to full use, within the constraints of the planning laws. The benefits of this change in the way

that w ecolog fits in . The benefit of owr genera

peneficion room reduct An a the value wheth becau sharea would tax w

Unf Unf going reside abolit high I

drawi

A k of ine tic ra could looke

vide t

in ot

TUC

prise





ddy Ashdown: a plea for reform

se tax revenues are high-lighted by who have adopted the idea as one that their environmental goals.

astion that people should share the they derive from the increased value and is one that is likely to meet with roval. Other taxes which do not have pin-offs could be cut, giving greater ax reform and some balancing tax

inal attraction is that any increase in if land due to community activity, ause of re-zoning for a different use or infrastructure investment, would be in that community. Windfall gains ne more measured. One effect of the e to reduce average land prices, so ple – especially first-time buyers – e housing market.

tely, the Government is currently opposite direction. It is about to raise and prices still further through the rates on property at a time when the I land is by far the most serious pronting builders who are trying to prowhich families can afford. The switch sive poll tax will hit the economy as your.

te tax would be free from the charges ften thrown at local authority domestiegories of land (agricultural, say) mpted if desired. The tax need not be as additional taxation but as a resthe direction of fairness and enterd well facilitate much needed reform s of the tax system.

n economy is facing some difficult A radical government should by now this gap in its thinking.

#### Builders attack Tories' strategy for the economy

BRITAIN'S builders have attacked the Thatcher Administration's economic policies.

The industry's leaders have challenged the government's claim that it has adopted a "hands off" approach to the economy.

Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson says that the government's only legitimate role is the control of inflation. Otherwise, there is no reason to interfere with the markets.

But Brian Hewitt, chairman of Costain Homes and the new President of the House Builders Federation, said in his inaugural speech that the government was manipulating the housing industry in its efforts to correct the balance of payments.

Mr Lawson has forced up interest rates in what is turning out to be a successful effort to cut back the affordability of mortgages.

Mr Hewitt said: "The housing market has been targeted, via higher mortgage rates, as a means of reducing consumer demand, reducing the balance of payments deficit and the inflation that follows from higher demand for domestic consumer goods."

The planning system, he claimed, was planning an under-supply of housing of between 10-15%, which will guarantee the boom-bust cycles in economic activity.

By IAN BARRON

Responsibility lay with the government, "because it will not grasp the nettle of the release of an adequate supply of housing land."

The supply of land was the "root cause" of rising house prices, he said, a view echoed by Sir Lawrie Barratt, head of one of Britain's largest volume builders.

Sir Lawrie, who is retiring as chairman of Barratt Developments Plc, also claimed that it was the planning system that was creating the bottleneck in the supply of land:

account for up to 50% of a new and the fact that land can now by the land price explosion an appalling shortage of land for housing. This is evidenced material. It should be clearly local government that there is apparent to both central and erately denied our basic raw industry we. must be 'n Britain the delibonly

Sir Lawrie warned that the first-time buyer underpinned the housing market, many of whom had now been priced out. Builders had to find ways to help them, "notwithstanding the fact that it has become increasingly difficult and, indeed, impossible on many sites due to the high cost of land."

# AND: the unique factor

THE WORD land in economics refers to all natural resources and their locations and extension in space. It includes many things not colloquially called land.

Any franchise, licence or privilege giving territorial rights is a right to land, at least in part. Red lights remind us of the critical value of space at central locations, since two objects cannot occupy the same space at the same time. It is worth a lot to have priority at intersections, as railroads do.

Land is not produced, it was created. It is the world, the planet on and from which man evolved, with the sun that warms it and the forces that hold it at an optimal distance. Capital has to be formed by human saving, investment and production.

Land is a free gift, variously expressed in different philosophies as spaceship Earth, the big blue marble, God's gift, Creation, The Promised Land, or Nature. Man did not create the Earth with its resources, but rather fights over it, Man at best improves and develops capacities inherent in the free gift. It is

Classical economists treated land as distinct from capital. Neo-classical economists denied the distinction, partly to refute popular proposals to tax or nationalize land. Some still deny that differences exist. Others blur the issue by writing "land" in quotes, or understating its value relative to other inputs, or referring vaguely to "quasincomes both from land and other factors of production. MASON GAFFNEY, professor of economics at the University of California (Riverside), describes some of the unique qualities of land as a factor of production.



Mason Gaffney

surprising that economic analysis could ever lose sight of this overwhelming truth. Several points follow immediately.

- Cost of production places no limits on land rents and prices, neither a lower nor an upper limit. Rents may start at zero and rise without limit over time as demand rises. Land values are derived from rents.
- There is always a free marginal supply, the "extensive margin".
- Access to land is open by nature until and unless land is appropriated, defended, bounded and policed. No one claims land by right of production; no producer must be rewarded to evoke and maintain the supply;

and submarginal land is not worth policing, unless to preempt it for its possible future values, or to preclude anticipated competition.

Tenure control of some land tends to drive the excluded population to untenured land (the "commons"), creating an allocational bias unless all land is either tenured or common. Thomas N. Carver styled this the phenomenon of "The Congested Frontier," and he might have added backwoods.

Land which is partly common today includes parks and public beaches, streets and highways, water surfaces, wild fish and game, and some at least of the "wide open spaces" in less hospitable regions.

Some land of high value is untenured or underpriced because consumers resist paying for what they think of as "free" because it has no cost of production, and which nature continues to supply even though the price is too low to ration the land economically.

Examples: water whose natural source is in southern California (it is tenured, but underpriced); city streets for movement and parking space, even in New York; air and water used for waste disposal in populated areas; housing subject to rent

## EXPOSED: The 'too simple' seductive theory

ECONOMISTS teach that all economic values are either funds or flows. It is a seductive division, and often useful, but too simple by far. Land value is neither, but a third kind of value, sui generis.

Mankind cannot add to it, or draw from it as from a true fund. Individuals can and do, by exchange. Even nations can, by selling to aliens.

Thanks to the fallacy of composition that lets us forget that these are merely intermediate transactions which collectively accomplish nothing.

In famine, or war, or capital shortage, society cannot live on land values. These are not accumulations of stores, but merely the present value of anticipated future service flows

which cannot be hastened.

Further divisions are distinctive too, in other contexts. Exhaustible resources could be called "natural funds".

Fixed capital, slowly depreciating with time, is a "flowing fund". Soils have additional components. But basic permanent location value, is in no way an economic "fund".

price controls, and so on. trails; oil and gas subject to field controls; popular beaches

and pave public rights-of-way is Public capital used to grade

free access to rights of way. social impossibility of denying positive public choice, and one the commons" of excessive conclosely gestion. But this is a deliberate may also suffer the "tragedy of also open to general access, and associated with the

relations of sequence. capital, formation and destruction of mainly with relations of coexisdifferences micro-economics obscures the duction. Capital, by contrast, is owned by those who formed it. much resemblance to land in Only after that does capital bear not saving, investment or proderive only from appropriation, Ownership and tenure rights they gunoning ignoring because it deals coexist. the continual time Standard

produce, age, senesce and die. originate, moment in time, not how they sources mainly with how existing review land and capital. Micro deals Thus it excludes from its purthe are grow, differences between allocated flourish, at

Canada and Argentina. Fourteen Families); or between vador with its Las Catorce (The (equal partition) and El ferences betwen tion, exemplified by the molded by that initial distribusocieties, cultures and economies a nation the original distribu-tion is political. The nature of After land is appropriated by centuries afterwards Costa Rica Saldif-

of tenures is not just an ancient nation and new appropriation source of livelihood. Reappropand took over their land, their quered the rest by political guile of the population in effect contish "clearances" when one part the English enclosures and Scotoccurs within nations, as with Political redistribution also

water wasting through a desert.
Lost water may sometimes be
useful downstream; lost time
never returns. To keep others
from using a time-slot is to con-Sumo it. and out the gates of time like of idle land flow down the river with it. The unreaped harvests secp euc leum jo sselpieda: Steel the store store of the st tand economically is marely to birried resources. To consume to the joint product of LAND INCOME is a prior claim

might have been made of the land preempted. That is the economic cost. The land is not responsible if the manager fails to realize its value at optimal capacity. Neither are the perand blame for falling below. credit for performing above par seviesely only earnduit lennise. as a manager. This person is the sons who are excluded, Only The value of preemption is the highest and best use that preemptor is responsible

best use. The shortfall of realized ground rent below potential ground rent is proporty a debit to the manager's and bue is pirel out tou quincian not allocated to its highest and A great deal of land in fact is below

> funity cost of land too, often obscure the uppur Institutional and social factors other factors of production the value of land relative to economic actors. This has re-sulted in greatly understating and deraliction of responsible waste basket for all the errors ground tent as a residual, o point. The tendency is to tree! Most aconomic theorizing manager is the holder of title responsible for

remaining value, if any. vacant; the building gats the and speculative buyers too, is the "building-residual mathod". This is a case where theorizstandard practice of appraisars. and a building affixed to it the dividing value between land The land is appraised as though

elways lacking mobility of place retains mobility of re-use because of its versatility, per-manence, and irreproduceable fluid capital possesses and has no opportunity cost but scrap value, often negative Land, to a specific site, loses the mobility of place and form that The building, once attached

tinuing, ongoing process. or a sometime thing but a con-

man, . perhaps government the current strong noses. In LDCs of unstable etc. are being created under our for cable TV), taxi medallions, telephone and power poles (e.g. access, oil and gas, relay sites, landing rights, beach tion rights, access to rights of claims to water sources, pollu-This radio very spectrum, day hanging proprietary space on signal

> and help from various U.S. and supplying both cash up front, can bolster his hold on power by the USMC. to American adventurers who thread, often grants concessions U.N. agencies from the IMF to

prize some capital on land. Premature ted under customs that make it a • Private tenure is often granfor occupying or fixing

Continued Page 44 🐟

# Athenian dreams

have shown results of the kind that he predicted. fully tested, though trials in part for the gathering of local revenue HENRY GEORGE'S theory of the Single Tax has so far not been

world that he tentatively proposed for our consideration, and to see revenue has ever been achieved in some measure, in another place and whether the freedom that he said would follow from taking rent for It might be useful, however, to remind ourselves of the improved

at another time.

the judicial system, with all its array of judges, lawyers, police and and, with the coming of higher moral standards, a lessening of strain on Improvements in government, particularly in the collection of taxes, What was it he thought would happen? To begin with, he foresaw

prison wardens. Then, as public expenditure on such functions be the administrative advantages become past history. These would reased, national and on standing debts armies would dec-

and repressive power, and more of a means for managing public would become less of a directive business and providing amenities occurred to him were theatres. As time went on, government Among the ones that

would become more united and domination of selfishness as a by the acquisition and display of their fellows in other modes than the respect and approbation of poverty, and people "would seek motive is the result of poverty and wealth"; and public affairs, as a But, above all, the community fear creative. <u>©</u> poverty. The Remove present

#### By DAVID REDFEARN

with the fidelity and integrity that consequence, would be managed no₩ reserved ó private

and ennobled. "We are made" like feet, like hands, like eyelids, wrote George, "for co-operation like the rows of the upper and lower teeth." Society would be strengthened

operation, he foretold: "Talents life richer, fuller, happier, nobler." Does any of this have a famillar ring? Well yes, it does: it would come forth to make human now hidden, virtues unsuspected have been used to hearing about reminds us of the kind of thing we Released by this exercise of co-

#### GREEKS

how far it will go. us pursue the analogy, and see Athens of the classical period. Let

their rents, they became subject reckon it, "the whole land lie. of the 7th century B.C., as we now WE KNOW from Aristotle<sup>2</sup> that, in to bondage.... and if the cultivators did not pay Attica] was in the hands of a few,

cipitated by the recent introduc-tion of money, which made it easier for people to get into debt land? Perhaps it worked in an natural, in a bad year, than to and what sion of them, it was disastrous. isolated bad year; but, in a succesborrow on the security of one's This situation had been prewould seem TION OF THE

In the end, lively resentment

#### From Page 43

seriously distorting the allocation of labor and capital and elopment are frequent results, investment, settlement and devcontributing to the "Congested Frontier" problem.

related to its cost of production. not derived from or caused by or an incentive for creating land. rents, which are not a reward or by discounting future ground Present value is derived solely The present value of land is

that man saves to form capital, a With capital the sequence is

> service flow. Capital formation lump sum, which then yields a reversed. The service flow is a flow. With land the sequence is precedes and causes the service converted by economic man The expected service flow is then whether one pays for it or not making it superficially resemble process called "capitalizing", i.e. into a lump sum present value, a capital for purposes of exchange gift which simply exists,

rent, rather than an equilibrium Thus land value adjusts being determined

> level sufficient to reward producing the asset.

capital can do. Land rent may be taxed land creation, which no man mote capital formation but not tal formation to lower the level would certainly encourage capiof land prices, because there is a heavily late new saving by individuals to assets to private holders, and the diminishing marginal utility of make up the loss. loss of land values would stimu- Public policy needs to proformation. Indeed without discouraging

Gloucestershire. modern nation was intolerable in a that seems to pass unnoticed in a was aroused; for a state of affairs about the Size <u>\_</u>

slavery were ransomed. The pracland to its original owners. tical result was a redistribution of citizens who had been sold into foreclosures tion of debts and the reversal of 594 B.C. He decreed the cancellawas found by the "tyrant" Solon in A solution, as Plutarch<sup>3</sup> tells us, of mortgages; and

fig trees reached maturity. until their newly-planted olive and tided them over the lean years them from his own capital, and stratus,4 who made advances to by a succeeding "tyrant", Pisificulties of farmers were relieved Subsequent economic di.

modes." the expenditure of power in all of life actually produced, but by to be measured by the necessaries his refutation of Malthus, that "the duce the necessaries of life is not power of any population to expounded by Henry George<sup>5</sup> in understood the principle, foreign craftsmen. He must have another of Solon's, which was to encourage This policy the immigration of linked up aler pro-₩ith

the olive, the fig and the vine. grow sufficient corn to feed its Attica was not fertile enough to own people, though well suited to Unlike that of Sparta, the soil of

made from their home-produced with metalwork, especially that other forms of pottery, together olive oil, figs, and paying for it by exports of for their own use, but for sale", where the inhabitants grewit, "not bulk of their corn from the Crimea, Athenians So, by the 5th century B.C., were wine, vases importing the and ≓e

parts of Europe. products of these kinds, bearing covered both artistic and homely Athenian makers' marks, in many Archaeologists have dis-

on the occasion of a proposal to tury B.C., when it was discovered, until the beginning of the 4th cen-Solon remained effective at least land reform instituted by political franchise

REFERENCES

- 1 Henry George, Progess and Poverty, bk.IX, ch.IV.
- Aristotle, The Constitution of Athens,
- Plutarch, Solon
- ch.XVI. Aristotle, The Constitution of Athens,
- 6 bk.IV, ch.17. Herodotus, The History of Herodotus, Progress and Poverty, bk.II, ch.IV
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition:
- "100 year-old Lesson "Solon" ä California

Land 1987. Reform", Equal Rights, Fali

- 9 The Constitution of Athens, ch.XX Q the
- Athenians, bk.II, ch.12. 10 Thucydides, The History Peloponnesian war, bk.II, ch.41. 11 'Old Oligarch'. The Polity of the

don Press, 1911. in Fifth-Century Athens, Oxford, Claren-Commonwealth: Politics and Economics Alfred E. Zimmern for his The Greek A general obligation is also owing to



David Redfearn

condition.7 freeholders, that there were only 5,000 citizens out of about 40,000 failed ö satisfy the

proved value of land. measure of a tax on the unimtion Districts<sup>8</sup> which enjoys some dred years in the California Irrigaof course, the kind of result to be experienced over the past hunpredicted, and in fact has This wide distribution of land is, been

Solon's reform, the point of origin pride. which the Athenians took so much Now for the ultimate effects of the freedom (eleutheria)

a combination of religious cerewere no mere entertainments, but der that the drama and poetry tion here, save by way of a reminhanded down from previous ages sculpture, drama, and its are too familiar to require repett-THE SPLENDOURS of 5th cen-Athens recently perfected -Its architecture, epic but

> mony and social encyclopaedia of cultural progress.

tion and display of wealth." other modes than by the acquisiapprobation of their fellows in thereby earned, in the words of Henry George, "the respect and "leitourgiai" (liturgies), members of the community, who voluntary taxation by wealthier services financed as They were also examples Ø or public X C

taxes. and various produce, not unimproved value), 5% on farm land (but based on law-court payments value returned to society), a tax of least of the land had its rental the State lands (so that some at limited. They were: the rents from ces of State income were few and was struck at Laureion, the sour-483 B.C., when a rich vein of silver welcome and necessary; for, until These contributions were both dues and indirect and fines,

payments covered the cost of the from Greece. in the explusion of the Persians Salamis in 480 B.C., the first blow possible the naval victory 200 extra from the fact that the first year's the value of which may be judged from the silver mines, another brought in about 50 talents a year, ever, the collection of royalties recognition of From 483 B.C. onwards, howtriremes that made public rights, a

"tyrant", Cleisthenes, put tax system; but there is no doubt towards a simplification of their or may The Athenians by this time may not have been put into moving mra

Continued on Back Page -

upon it were everywhere increasing. Wages failed to keep pace with the growth of wealth because monopoly and speculation kept land out of the reach of working men, leaving the great majority no alternative but to work at subsistence wages or not at all.

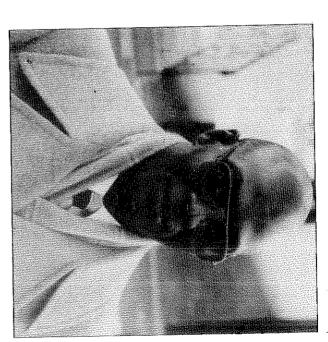
George's remedy, to establish equal rights to land by collecting its annual value in lieu of taxes, was an appeal to justice, for "unless its foundations be laid in justice the social structure cannot stand." Justice dictates what belongs to whom. And the rightful possession of property, the ability to say that something belongs exclusively to someone, without reservation and without injury to any other person due to that possession, is the unalterable standard of justice. George made the case that labor was the sole basis for such claims.

is testified to by the natural facts of individual not this individual right, which springs from and enjoyment of the fruits of his own exertions? Is it to himself, to the use of his own powers, to the all the world? It is not, primarily, the right of a man which acknowledges his exclusive right as against thing, It is mine!From what springs the sentiment What is it that enables a man justly to say of a particular stomach; the fact that each man is a organization - the fact that each particular pair of crete form belongs to him." alone justifies individual ownership? As a man definite, coherent, independent whole belongs to himself, so his labor when put in conhands obey a particular brain and are related to a "What constitutes the rightful basis of property? which

By that standard no one could claim rightful, exclusive ownership of land for no labor produced it. Nor could the rent, or value of land be individually claimed for it is the entire community of people and their actions who make it what it is. The reform was based on sound economic reasoning and ethical principles.

HIS monumental work in the hands of a New York publisher, George moved to that city in 1880. Success for the book was not immediate but by 1881 it had been published in England, was translated into German and French and had begun to attract considerable attention.

George, and the leaders of the Irish Land League, who were battling English landlordism in the struggle for a free Ireland, found common cause. His second work, *The Irish Land Question*, made its appearance in 1881. The same year, he set sail for the British Isles as a correspondent for the New York newspaper, the Irish World. He found



George Collins

great acceptance of his ideas in Britain and his popularity flourished there.

In the ensuing years, his lectures and articles, both at home and abroad, placed him at the center of philosophical debate, social ferment and agitation for economic reform. George was convinced when *Progress & Poverty* was completed, that he had unveiled a timeless truth which, if heeded, would right the basic social wrong and bring abundance to all who labored and would justly reward all who prudently used their capital. And all his enterprises thereafter were undertaken with the aim of promoting the adoption of his land tax reform.

In the concluding chapter of *Progress & Poverty*: he wrote: "The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured. But it will find friends – those who will toil for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of Truth."

In Social Problems (1883) George addressed the critical issues one by one. Arguments from every side of the question – concentration of industry, unemployment, machinery and inventions, public debts, farm problems – were examined with the precision and perceptiveness he had displayed from the beginning of his career. The solution to the problems was everyone's charter: "Let no man imagine he has no influence. Whoever he may be, and wherever he may be placed, the man who thinks becomes a light and a power."

The Scottish philosopher, Duke of Argyll, wrote a stinging denunciation of George's ideas, labeling them communistic. It was issued under the

title, "The Prophet of San Francisco," an obvious attempt at ridicule. George's followers turned the slur into a mantle which George wore with pride. His reply to the duke's attack titled, "The Reduction to Iniquity," was published in 1884, together with "The Prophet of San Francisco," in a book with the title *Property in Land*.

In the spring of 1886 George finally published his brilliant defence of free trade, Protection or Free Trade. He had been working on it off and on for three years, had even lost the first manuscript and had to rewrite it. The book was read into the Congressional Record by his fervent advocate and patron, Tom L. Johnson of Ohio, and five other congressmen.

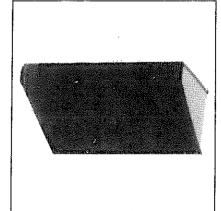
AS 1887 began, George founded The Standard, a weekly newspaper of thought and opinion. The paper waded into the controversy in the Roman Catholic Church which arose out of the political advocacy and active campaign for George's candidacy by a priest, Father Edward McGlynn. George's ideas were ruled contrary to church teaching and McGlynn was ordered to cease and desist. He refused and was excommunicated, but ultimately, reinstated.

The controversy in the church reached the highest level. In 1891 Pope Leo XIII issued an encylical, "Rerum Novarum." It was seen as a repudiation of George's philosophy based on a perception of it as socialistic and anarchistic. George immediately replied with *The Condition of Labor - An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII*. He very carefully and respectfully set out the tenets of his doctrine in five chapters with this succinct summation.

"Here is the answer, the only true answer: If men lack bread it is not that God has not done his part in providing it. If men willing to labor are cursed with poverty, it is not that the storehouse that God owes men has failed; that the daily supply he has promised for the daily wants of his children is not here in abundance.

It is, that impiously violating the benevolent intentions of their Creator, men have made land private property, and thus given into the exclusive ownership of the few the provision that a bountiful Father has made for all. Any other answer than that, no matter how it may be shrouded in the mere forms of religion, is practically an atheistical answer."

In the remaining years of the century respect for George and his reform philosophy grew. All around the world land value taxation was debated and adopted in many places. His thoughts about the money question, a subject he intended to



• The famous tome, "spine" of the Georgist movement

elaborate in the book which was to have been his magnum opus, *The Science of Political Economy*, was beginning to crystalize. His recommendation that a failing Johnstown, Pennsylvania company pay its workers with certificates backed by the bonds of its debtor, saved the company during the financial crisis of 1893.

Henry George had been distracted from his work on *The Science of Political Economy*, begun in 1891, by the many demands for lectures, speeches, travels and other books, over the years. But the final interruption came in October, 1897 when he was once again persuaded to run for Mayor of New York. His public support was thought to be as great as before, if not greater, but he was in failing health and the strenuous effort claimed his life five days before the election. *The Science of Political Economy was left unfinished*.

HENRY GEORGE fills a prominent place in the history of economic thought. He was an active reformer but he developed an economic and social philosophy which in the minds of many noted scholars rank him among the great minds of the ages.

Will Lissner, until recently the editor of *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, wrote in a centennial tribute to *Progress & Poverty*: "It is a work in the utopian tradition of Plato's Republic, one of the works that, like the various sacred scriptures and other timeless creations of the human mind, have spurred the human species on to greater heights of cultural achievement."

In a similar vein Prof. John Dewey has said: "Henry George is one of the great names among the world's social philosophers. It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who, from Plato down, rank with him.... No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

MAY/JUNE

## Street jaundice

QUOTE...by Gordon Gekko, the corporate raider with a cynical view of business ethics and a jaundiced perspective on what he claimed was the capitalist free market at work:

"The richest 1% of this country owns half our country's wealth, five trillion dollars. What I do, stock and real estate speculation. It's bullshit. You got 90% of the American public out there with little or no net worth. I create nothing. I own. We make the rules, pal."

The character was portrayed in the movie *Wall Street* by Michael Douglas.

MAJOR NEEDS ON UK HOMES FRONT

FACTS: Government statistics show that by the year 2,001, Britain's 2m additional households will require homes. In England, 2.5m homes (nearly 13% of the stock) is in poor repair, over 900,000 are statutorily unfit for human habitation.

#### From Page 45

operation in 503 B.C., had set them firmly on the way to Henry George's co-operation, union, and elicitation of "talents now hidden, virtues unsuspected."

The Assembly (ekklesia) of all the adult male citizens (c.40,000) became the supreme authority. This met once a month, and any citizen could propose business to it. To prepare its agenda, however, and to deal with matters of urgancy, there was a Council (boule) of five hundred, elected annually, 50 from each tribe.

There was also, for the conduct of day to day business, an Inner Council (prutaneta) of 50, which was chosen by lot from among all those wishing to stand. It remained in session for one-tenth of the year, and one member of twas chosen by lot each day to be chairman.

The judicial functions were provided for according to similar principles. The chances of any individual cilizen's having an influence on public affairs were thus far higher than they are now.

It is not hard to imagine what would happen if we were to take one of our modern cities of comparable size, and to attempt to let it run itself according to any such system.

Yet, until 431 B.C., the year of the beginning of the disastrous relopouncesian War, the citizens of

Athens managed, without the aid of professional civil or military services, not only its own affairs, but those of an extensive confederacy, in effect an empire, of Greek city-states (polels) in the Aegean, and kept the sea-lanes open for the trade that was essential for their own survival.

On the whole, they managed successfully; and it was only the deterioration of morale resulting from the 27-year war, and a final error of judgment of which any government might have been guilty, that in the end brought about conditions in which genuine democracy became impossible.

Such a record of achievement postulates—average—personal qualities of a high order, such as only freedom can bring out. No wonder that Thucydides, 10 when the glory had departed, attributed these sentiments to Pericles:

"In a word I claim that our city as a whole is an education to Greece, and that her members yield to none, man by man, for independence of spirit, many-sidedness of attainment, and complete self-reliance in limbs and brain".

Athenian economic and social system was dependent for its mere existence on the institution of slavery. The question of Greek slavery requires an essay in itself; but two brief items of evidence will show that such a view must be considered at best as not proven,

and that, if the cilizens of Athers enjoyed ample leisure for the service of their polis, it was because it was fairly shared, and their material needs were few and simple, not because they had slaves.

We have it, for example, from a contemporary author known as the 'Old Oligarch'' that the Athenians "established a democratic equality" between her citizen and "allen populations, and that slaves employed as craftsmen or house servants were included in this dispensation.

The same author fells us that it was impossible in the street to distinguish, by his dress or bearing, the stave from the free man. He was not in the strict sense free; but at least he was well cared for and could look forward in the end to formal freedom without political rights.

The admitted exceptions to this general rule were the slaves in the silver mines, a minority, who were treated abominably, but no worse than many people nowadays, who are described as free but have to compete for Jobs under a system of land monopoly.

The great achievements of the Athenians in the 5th century B.C. were made possible by wise land reforms. We curselves, with more material needs perhaps, but superior means of satisfying them, could still emulate and even outdo the Athenians by adopting the wiser reform of Henry George.