

# *The International Free Trader*

"MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD"

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Edited by KENNETH B. ELLIMAN,  
FRANK W. GARRISON, Contributing Editor

*"Come with me," said Richard Cobden, as John Bright turned heart-stricken from a new-made grave. "There are in England women and children dying with hunger—with hunger made by the laws. Come with me, and we will not rest until we repeal those laws."*

## A Letter from Germany

The need of the hour is for reconciliation between the peoples of the world, and the renewing of peaceful relations which are a prerequisite for the realisation of the brotherhood of man. In this work of re-establishing international fellowship the International Free Trade League has taken an important step by obtaining as a representative in Germany, Dr. Georg Friedrich Nicolai. Dr. Nicolai was Professor of Physiology at the University of Berlin and Doctor to the Imperial Family before the war; but on account of his refusal to serve in the army he was im-

prisoned in a fortress. During his imprisonment he wrote that masterpiece, "The Biology of War," the aim of which, he says in the introduction, is "to prove that there has never been a single man of real eminence who has seen anything great or beautiful in war." Before the war was over he escaped in an aeroplane to Denmark.

Believing as we do with Richard Cobden, that "Free Trade is the best peacemaker," we count it a great privilege and honor to be able to present to our readers this month a translation of Dr. Nicolai's letter of acceptance:

Prof. G. F. Nicolai,

Berlin, W. 15, Uhlandstr. 115  
den. 6. Dezember 1919

It is a pleasure and honor alike to be able to represent your League here in Germany.

As a matter of fact, I am of the opinion that Free Trade is a prerequisite for world peace and mutual understanding among nations, and that real Free Trade would be identical with such understanding.

I do not believe, however, that real Free Trade can be established as long as the nations regard each other with envy and jealousy. We are all aware of the fact that tariff policies, taxes and bonus systems can limit Free Trade even where there are no customs. And at the present time it is the exchange question, for instance, which determines more than anything else Germany's commercial relations with the world.

I also believe, though this is not the place for a further elucidation of the subject—that a universal currency would give strength to a Free Trade policy, and that this requirement is all the more essential when recommending Free Trade, as you are doing, as a basis for international co-operation.

I would also appreciate your telling me in what way you think I might assist you here in Germany in furthering your activities.

NICOLAI.

## A Radical Platform

Committee of 48 in Conference at St. Louis Demands Land Reform.

The Conference of the Committee of Forty-Eight was held in St. Louis on Dec. 9, 10, 11, and 12, in spite of opposition from dark political forces, which would have been more successful against an organization less representative of wealth and respectability. Although the 300 delegates represented a wide divergence of views, and came prepared to press many different remedies for social and political ills, an admirably brief platform was adopted. From the many suggestions favorably considered by the drafting committee, Mr. Frank Stephens made this masterly abridgement:

"The people of the United States, without distinction as to class, condition or race, have in this time of stress, two needs in common, CIVIL LIBERTY and ECONOMIC LIBERTY.

"To secure CIVIL LIBERTY we demand restoration of our constitutional rights of free speech, free press and public assembly, the recognition of the equal economic, political and legal rights of all, including women, enforcement of the right to organize in unions and bargain collectively, abolition of government by injunction, freedom from militarism, especially universal military training, and the release of political prisoners.

"To secure ECONOMIC LIBERTY we demand public ownership of public utilities, such as railroads, waterways and pipe-lines, abolition of law-made monopolies such as patents, exemption from taxation of processes and products of labor and business, the taxation of land values, and freedom of commerce at home and abroad."

The platform unanimously adopted reads:

1. Public ownership of transportation, including stock yards, large abattoirs, grain elevators, terminal warehouses, pipe-lines and tanks. Public ownership of other public utilities and of the principal natural resources, such as coal, oil, natural gas, mineral deposits,

large water powers and large commercial lumber tracts.

2. No land (including natural resources) and no patents to be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly. We favor taxes to force idle land into use.

3. Equal economic, political and legal rights for all, irrespective of sex or color. The immediate and absolute restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and all civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution. We demand the abolition of injunctions in labor cases. We endorse the effort of labor to share in the management of industry and labor's right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing."

Without accepting the policy of public ownership of industry, we congratulate the Conference on having raised the standard of economic freedom as a rallying point for all the individuals, groups and parties who are sick of shams and pretence and political dishonesty. While Free Trade is implicit in the 3rd plank, the platform would have been greatly strengthened by an uncompromising demand for the abolition of monopoly in the field of exchange as well as in that of production. Removal of the strangling restrictions on trade is absolutely necessary to reduce the high cost of living, to rescue the starving, to supply the destitute, to disarm the insolent power of industrial combination, and to lay the basis for peace and disarmament. The dodging of this vital issue (whether from self-interest, blindness or supposed political expediency) was a serious blunder, but fortunately, owing to the wording of the platform, it is not irremediable. Economic equality is unthinkable until every vestige of the tariff system has been swept away. G.

As the delegate of the International Free Trade League, Mr. Stephens distributed copies of THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADER and the following brief to the delegates:

## The Only Way to Beat Reaction

The ballots returned to the Committee of Forty-eight showed that a majority of the men and women who took part in the voting were conscious of the urgent need of restoring economic freedom. To destroy land monopoly, 88 per cent of the voters favored the shifting of taxation from improvements to land values, while 67 per cent voted for absolute Free Trade.

The question of economic freedom is by far the most vital question before society to-day, because the whole fabric of civilization must rest on the economic base. A faulty foundation foredooms the superstructure to collapse.

Laws denying the common right of equal freedom in the use of the earth, and in the exchange of wealth, are responsible for the present ruin of civilization. You are not here to build it anew on the same rotten foundation.

Economic freedom is not only the logical first plank in any serious political platform—the first essential of any program of reconstruction—it is the simplest and most expedient move to make. It is practical politics of the most pressing sort—the natural gesture of self-preservation.

Let the landlords and the tradelords, who do not scruple to conscript the bodies of young men, demonstrate their patriotism by removing their toll-gates from the common earth. While they remain, permanent reform is impossible. When they go, the chief obstacle to reform will have disappeared.

The declaration of principles of the Labor Party deals largely with the machinery of political democracy—abolition of the Senate, election of Federal judges, initiative, referendum and recall, home rule, etc., but no elaboration of machinery will suffice while the basis of society is economic slavery instead of equal freedom in the struggle for daily bread. Cancel the spurious title of the slaveholder!

Another group of the Labor Party proposals comprises laws designed to help the victims of Privilege—maximum hours of work, minimum wages, old age, unemployment and sick pensions, etc., but all such laws presuppose a continuance of the present unjust system of economic exploitation. Let us free the slave instead of trying to ease his bondage.

In order to compensate for the loss of rights sustained by the disinherited, it is proposed to restrict the rights of the possessing class by limiting income, prosecuting profiteers, etc. Economic freedom would prevent incomes from representing more or less than the just earning of the recipient, and would make profiteering impossible.

If free speech, free press and free assemblage have been suppressed in the interest of war and imperialism, it is because an enslaved people are not tenacious of their rights. Economic freedom is the only remedy. **Free land means free men, and Free Trade offers the only hope of disarmament and International amity.**

Economic freedom is the only issue that will rouse the public from its apathy.

Economic freedom is the only issue that offers ideal justice to the conflicting interests, justice to capitalist and worker, justice to bourgeoisie and proletariat, justice to rich and poor. It is the only hope of a world facing bankruptcy, starvation and civil war.

Economic freedom is the only radical issue—anything less means compromise with the forces of plunder, surrender of basic rights.

To overcome the entrenched power of Privilege it is necessary for the Liberal, Labor and Socialist forces to agree on a common issue, and **economic freedom is the only dynamic issue on which they can unite.** They have long given it lip service—now is the time to act.

### LORD FISHER SURPRISED

Lord Fisher, whose "red blooded" patriotism puts him in a class with the Roosevelts and the Bernhardis, said after a talk with Mr. Asquith in 1910, "How funny it is that I did infinitely more for the Conservatives than for the Radicals and yet the Radicals have given me all I have got and the Conservatives have only given me abuse and calumny! The Radicals gave me my pension and a peerage, and yet I increased the Radical estimates nearly ten millions!"

The old sea dog is at a loss to explain it, but we suggest that it is the natural working out of the philosophy of compromise which rules in politics. If it tempts Conservative governments to make unexpected concessions to popular demands, it accounts as well for the moral collapse of leaders like Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson and followers like Louis F. Post and Newton D. Baker.

G.

### VISUALIZING THE BRITISH DEBT

In the *Philadelphia News Bureau* Herbert N. Casson expresses surprise at the calmness with which the British pace the deck, seemingly oblivious of the roar of breakers. Lloyd George light-heartedly referred to the stupendous national debt as "every penny of it well spent," as though the problems of interest and sinking fund were merely matters of Treasury routine.

The overpowering burden that is settling down on the shoulders of the British public can only be grasped by comparisons which stimulate the imagination. The £8,000,000,000 (forty billion dollars) represents two-fifths of the natural wealth of Britain. It is very nearly the total savings of 100 years, and equals the British exports for thirteen years. It is three times the value of Italy, or the cost of 315 Panama canals, or of 900 steel works as big as Krupps, or \$10,000 for every letter in the Bible, or nine times all the gold in the world, or \$500 for every acre in Great Britain. If the amount in gold, eighty thousand tons, were beaten out it would cover 14,000 square miles.

G.

## The Bewildered Protectionist

By C. F. Shandrew

Taken seriously, Dr. Johnson's remark that much may be done with a Scotchman if caught young, applies with equal force to an American. For many years our countrymen have been taught that the tariff wall built around the United States protected them from a flood of foreign goods; that but for the tariff wall these goods (good things) would overwhelm us, close the American factory, make desolate the American home, banish prosperity and reduce the American workman to the level of the pauper-paid labor of Europe and Asia.

"Is it possible the American people were so credulous?" the future historian will ask, and in his perplexity perhaps he will trace the imposition and maintenance of tariffs to the false teachings of wizards, fakery, big business, republicans, home-marketers, professors, politicians, chauntians and editors who, he will remind us, were known to exist in the America of the nineteenth century, though all knowledge of the exact nature of their occupations perished in the Dark Ages that followed the McKinley tariff.

How utterly absurd the stock arguments of the Protectionists sound now, after the comparative cessation of them the past three years! No wonder Mr. Alba Johnson and Senator Penrose deride the idol before which they formerly "leveled their shins." Indeed, so great an affront to intelligence are the protectionist arguments that some of us always doubted the honesty of those who made them and attributed the reign of the tariff, not to the claims of its advocates, but to the support given it in "the haunts of legislation." Where money is needed to provide for government expenses the average legislator can always be depended upon to pluck the goose that will yield the most feathers with the least squawking. Tariff taxes being in their nature indirect or crooked, easily shifted or passed along and added to the price of commodities—where they are finally paid by the purchaser in pitiful ignorance that he has done so—have thus found favor with tax-levying bodies when direct taxes, even if lighter, aroused criticism and opposition. Confronted with this condition and face to face with a demand for more money to meet government deficits caused by wastefulness and the assumption of activities which properly belonged to private enterprise, what more natural than that revenues should be sought in a way that taxpayers had been taught to believe was most beneficial to them—in a way, so they were solemnly told, that made the foreigner pay the tax and brought back "to the people of this country pure gold" in exchange for the products they sent abroad?

But times have changed and left the protectionist wondering where he is at. Some few of them have begun to see that goods are paid for with goods, that all trade is an exchange of

goods for goods, of services for services, and where other countries, impoverished by war, have no goods with which to pay us for ours, a tariff becomes as useless to our manufacturers as it is to provide a revenue for the government. The erstwhile high priests of protection are therefore demanding a modification of the tariff. They want open breaches in the tariff wall. Not free trade—oh no, not that—just freer conditions of trade, you know. But this demand, timid as it is, has left their credulous and unthinking supporters shocked at the blasphemy of the high priests, bereft of words and whistling to cover their confusion.

It is unlikely that the crumbling of the tariff wall, the desertion of its guardians, and the consequent free trade will awaken the world to the truth and benefits of real free trade. Deceived as the people have been for many years, untrained as they are in tracing cause and effect, reluctant to let go of the opinions they have so long held, there will still remain much educational work to be done by the apostles of Free Trade. It is not to be expected that the peace, prosperity and good-will that would flow from an immediate abolition of all tariffs would, in minds still poisoned by tariff beliefs, be attributed to free trade, so that earnest efforts and widespread propaganda will still have to be made by Free Traders and its great and manifold blessings be continually shown lest tariff idolatry again break out. In brief, the Free Trader's work will not be finished with the overthrow of tariff. The adoption of Free Trade would be but a step towards freedom and even when attained can only be maintained by the same eternal vigilance that is ever the price of all freedom.

The international aspect of Free Trade is encouraging. The interest is world-wide and cannot be localized, and it is fitting that the best sentiment of all nations should be united in the good cause. The movement is taking form in several countries and will speed the day when a parliament of the world will supersede the warring legislatures whose view is confined to geographical limits. The sooner we subordinate patriotism to the universal spirit of brotherhood, the sooner we shall arrive at the desired goal where our country is the world and our countrymen are all mankind. William Lloyd Garrison, 2nd, in *Free Trade Broadside*.

We announce with pleasure that Mr. Hakon Loken, Governor of Christiania, has accepted his election by the Executive Committee to represent Norway on our Advisory Committee.

## PROTECTIONISTS ALARMED

Defection in the Ranks Brings Protest from Mr. Dingley—The Awful Threat of Laissez Faire

There is alarm in the Protectionist camp over the defection in high quarters. The Home Market Club is deeply pained. It sadly admits that the words of Alba B. Johnson will be read by a large number of persons. Worse still, "periodically similar interviews must be expected," and they will delight Free Traders who maintain "that a country cannot have a large foreign market and a protective tariff at the same time." Is it not still true, in spite of the unguarded words of the McKinleys, Penroses and Johnsons, that all the panics of the past were caused by low tariffs, while our export trade has flourished under "Protection"?

If the American consumers, out of whose pockets have come the indirect subsidies by which the industrial oligarchy has been developed, are no longer satisfied that trade is encouraged by protection, the outlook is indeed dark.

The situation is anxiously canvassed by Edward N. Dingley in the *Protectionist*, in a review of the recent International Trade Conference at Atlantic City. The resolutions adopted favored "the freest and fullest distribution of commodities and raw materials according to the national demand," a policy foreshadowing "a revolutionary change in the policies and doctrines of the Republican party" and likely to result in the ultimate overthrow of the protective tariff.

### Industrial Leaders Divided

Mr. Dingley's article throws considerable light on the rift in the "capitalist" ranks, with the home market manufacturers on one side and the bankers and exporters on the other. He calls attention to the fact that the twenty members of the executive committee of the International Trade Conference were "bankers, shipowners, experts and representatives of four large commercial concerns doing business all over the world," and that "not one of the thousands of manufacturing concerns doing a domestic business and coming into competition with foreign producers, was represented."

With the watch dogs of the home market admitted to the Conference only on leash, is it any wonder that the dangerous principle of *laissez faire* should be revived, and that the Conference should go on record "in favor of the freest possible exchange of commodities between the new world and the old?"

The trouble began with the demand for "the removal so far as possible of economic barriers." That was "the first assault on the citadel of national protection. The International Labor Conference was the second. The International Trade Conference was the third." People begin to talk as though the war "has dissolved nationalism, altered the traditions of America," and ushered in a new era of common brotherhood. How is a

good Protectionist to combat this "mischievous influence?"

Mr. Dingley is alarmed at the probable result of foreign loans. Already Europe's debt to the United States exceeds ten billion dollars, and since his article was written it has been found necessary to forego the interest payment for a period of three years. If the public is induced to invest heavily in foreign offerings there will arise a popular outcry for the removal of economic barriers and "Protection" will be doomed.

We would not deny the seriousness of the problem created by the insane debts that have been piled up by profligate governments at war. But the responsibility for them is shared by the Protectionists, who now shrink from the condition that faces them. The despised theory that exports must be paid for by imports, that trade is barter, that the interests of mankind are one and are served by freedom, has been demonstrated anew and stands out as the greatest lesson of the war.

G.

## ALL NATIONS BOUND TOGETHER

Starvation and Bankruptcy Contagious—Universal Free Trade the Only Remedy

The world is learning in the hard school of experience that the needs of mankind are so interwoven that suffering in one nation means suffering in others. As *Common Sense* points out, the problem of economic reconstruction cannot be divided and dealt with on nationalist lines. "Starvation in Vienna, the collapse of the Austrian exchange, the depreciation of its currency, spread like a contagion." In the last analysis it will be found that enlightened self-interest and altruism are synonymous, our own welfare depending on the general welfare.

Julius Meink, one of the leading merchants in Vienna, shows that Austria is prevented from recuperating by the restrictions and embargoes which have given the *coup de grace* to the exchange value of the kroner. "This system of control, at home, on the one hand, and on the other in relation to foreign trade, hampers every economic activity, prevents the exchange of goods through the medium of currency, and progressively depresses the value of the latter since its utility is constantly further restricted. . . . The only remedy is the complete removal of control at home, an opening of the frontiers, complete freedom of export, import and re-export trade.

"If the other nationalities do not at once follow suit, the free market in Austria will exercise an attraction so powerful that the other States will be compelled to do likewise, whether their governments and various monopoly corporations will or no. . . . There is no Government office in the world competent to decide whether a given parcel of goods to be exported or imported is or is not useful; that can only be settled by individuals, weighing profit against loss." G.

## TRUE FREE TRADE

W. E. Brokaw

The International Free Trade League has circulated a little pamphlet by Henry George, under the above title, in which Mr. George said:

"Where there is tribute, there is neither exchange nor freedom, and therefore there can be no free trade. So long as the tribute of rent exists so long will this pretended free trade be nothing but a sham. To establish free trade it is necessary to begin by destroying tribute at its roots."

In "Progress and Poverty" he said:

"Hence, as nature gives only to labor, the exertion of labor in production is the only title to exclusive possession. This right of ownership that springs from labor excludes the possibility of any other right of ownership."

It is irrefutable that the only thing human beings have the natural power to trade (exchange) is their exertions. Nature furnishes absolutely everything else. Therefore, so long as we use a unit of exchange which represents results—as we do in every country—we are attempting to measure exchange by a unit combined of human work and natural resources. That inevitably puts a price on the resources—makes possible the "tribute of rent." Trade cannot be free so long as we base our exchanges on such a unit, for it compels some to give work to others for the use of what nature furnishes. As George says in another place, such a transaction, though in form exchange, is, in reality, appropriation.

If one piece of land will yield me twice as much to the same effort as another, by selling the result on the present result basis, I get twice as much for my work on the former as for my work on the latter. The ability to do so makes rent inevitable. But, if, on the other hand, I had to sell on the basis of work for work, hour for hour, I would get the same for my work on each location, and the extra yield of the former would pass to the consumer in the form of cheaper product. The consumer would have to pay only for my work, nothing for the fertility of the land—no tribute. This is the abolition of rent—really free land.

Mr. George clearly shows, in his "Protection or Free Trade?" that the abolition of tariffs, in itself, cannot help that class who have no right to the use of natural resources. We must be free to produce and exchange, without tribute, in order to have real free trade. But this is impossible until we have a unit of exchange which will not represent anything other than human work. A dollar that will pay rent represents tribute, not merely human work, and cannot be a medium of real free trade. Trade will be free only when no one has to pay for the use of either land or money. We can then trade without paying tribute—but not till then.

## FRANCE STARVING HERSELF

Trade Restrictions Press Most Heavily on Labor  
says Frederic Mathews

In an article entitled "A Policy of Exchange" Frederic Mathews (Author of *The Taxation and Distribution of Wealth*) offers a way out of the difficulties which beset international re-adjustment owing to the abnormal variations in exchange rates. This paper was first published in the *Journal des Economistes* and treats the subject from the French point of view. His plan is to overcome differences in exchange by setting up an International Federal Reserve Board, but it is his incidental comments on the blind course of governments that we propose to deal with here.

"In order to absorb the unemployed at home they will tax or prohibit the importation of foreign goods.... The measures are always the same, the results never change. The results are that prices will be forced up in proportion to the prohibitive policy. More strikes will occur. Prices will rise still higher. Unemployment will appear in industries affected by the higher level.... Thus, the measures adopted today in order to absorb the unemployed will do just what they did before the war. They can produce no other result. They will absorb the unemployed in one direction, force up prices everywhere and shoot a greater number of unemployed out of the industrial hopper in other directions.

"France needs every assistance, every possible market and financial support. 'Exchange,' however, says that she must be taxed and starved and must shut the door in the face of England and America. The reply is always the same: 'If they will not take our goods, we will not take theirs.' Thus, France is not alone starving herself, but shutting the markets she needs in her own face...."

## Labor Held in a Vise

"The way to stabilize exchange is not to raise barriers everywhere between the people and their needs in hopes that some mysterious 'balance' may have an influence which never appears; but the following: Facilitate all international commercial relations, which would increase the receipts of the Treasury and re-establish the basis for a system of taxation in place of the present system of loans...."

"The reason Labor has never had its normal share in total wealth is largely owing to the restriction of industry through the control of the complicated fiscal system by Capital. Where the control is based on false economic theories, as at present in Europe and America, it is possible to hold Labor in a fiscal vise and force the blood out of it."

Mr. Mathews sees that only through an international wide-open door can new markets be developed and the taxes lightened which now press on the vital necessities of Labor. And when international trade is allowed to follow the natural demand most of the international complications traceable to frontiers will disappear.

G.

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## PROTECTIONISM CAUSED WORLD WAR.

Samuel Danziger

In the Baltimore *Sun* of November 23, we learn from high authority how interference with international trade brought on the world war.

Washington, Nov. 22.—Pigs—just pigs—brought on the war, according to a statement accredited to Count Carl Seilern, formerly confidential adviser to the erstwhile Emperor Charles at Vienna. Frederick H. Mead, of Troy, N. Y., a member of the Red Cross convoy taking food supplies to Budapest, reports the Count as saying:

"Fifteen years before the war, Serbia was shipping great numbers of pigs into Hungary, successfully competing with the Hungarian farmers. The Hungarians protested, but the border was left open. Finally the Austro-Hungarian Government, on the pretext that all Serbian pigs were diseased, placed an embargo on them.

"Up to that time the two Governments had more or less of a friendly understanding. Political leaders in Serbia seized upon the pig incident. Austro-Hungarian diplomats took up the question. Misunderstandings arose over it. When it grew too old for political propaganda, other questions were built out of it, and thus the world war was brought on.

"Yes, there is no doubt, pigs caused the war."

The last sentence is unfair. The pigs are innocent. It was two-legged hogs hungering for protected graft to whom the world is indebted for the recent cataclysm.

## THE POLITICAL ISSUE

The President's words may yet come to the rescue of his deeds. His "third point," which he repudiated at the last election, is now being grasped by the Democratic leaders who assert, according to the New York *Sun*, "that if the United States wishes to maintain its place as a world Power, it must adopt Mr. Wilson's Free Trade policy."

G.

The National Labour Press, of 30, Blackfriars St., Manchester, England, has reprinted in pamphlet form Mr. E. D. More's "Pre-War Diplomacy," originally published as a supplement to *Foreign Affairs*. As noted in our November issue, this pamphlet prints official documents which clearly show the responsibility of the Entente governments for the war to have been as great as that of the Central Powers. The pamphlet sells for 6d.



## Editorial

The article on page 6 by Mr. W. E. Brokaw, is the first of a series we hope to have from his pen on the system of "Equity" he has devised. Altho he sets this forth fully in his weekly magazine, *The Equitist*, we wish to learn the views of our readers on this proposition. Within the space at his disposal (one column at first) Mr. Brokaw will answer questions and objections sent in to this office by our members. Brief and sensible questions will be answered in the order of their importance. This, of course, does not mean that the International Free Trade League adopts the Equitist proposition, but merely that it is to be examined.

Every practice, law, system of government, religion or society must be finally sifted down to this: Are men better or worse for it? Are men, because of it, more eager for freedom of mind and joy of heart, or are they more eager for gain and material comfort?

Reform calls for an intellectual and moral revolt against the entire system of protection as we know it. The wrong done to mind and morals is a far more serious matter than any damming up of trade the policy produces. That, at most, can endure for a time only, as all tampering with liberty and truth comes to naught sooner or later. In the meantime the people bear the burden, and the end of all industrial progress, namely, the fair distribution of a production sufficient to keep in health and happiness the people of all the earth, is put off. But that is less serious than the deterioration of intellectual and moral integrity which has been required to build up our dishonest and inhuman tariff laws.

The happiness and stability of the peoples of this earth have always been in strict accord with their morality—not a morality made up of rules and traditions, but that living force which pervades the world of men like an ether—the only atmosphere in which self respect can flourish and in which the rights and happiness of other men are as sacred as our own. Activities cannot endure when they ask toll of our inner honor, and crowd our fellowmen and do not contribute to the general goodness and soundness of life and things.

The truth is that protection demoralizes and miseducates a people. It deprives them of individual self-reliance and energy and teaches them to seek crafty and unjust advantages. It breaks down the skill of great merchants and captains of industry and develops the skill of lobbyists. It gives countenance to monopoly, combinations, jobbery and restriction, instead of giving faith to energy, free enterprise, public purity and freedom. It corrupts our political institutions by allying itself with every other abuse which comes up. *The Grain Growers Guide*

## IS COMPETITION AN EVIL?

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Mr. Dwyer and his friends are laboring under a delusion that was long since exposed by Bastiat. As Protectionists are not the only ones whose minds are confused on the question of competition, it may be worth while repeating Bastiat's argument:

"Regarded from the producer's point of view, competition no doubt frequently clashes with our immediate and individual interests; but if we change our point of view and extend our regards to industry in general, to universal prosperity—in a word, to consumption—we shall find that competition in the moral world plays the same part which equilibrium does in the material world. It lies at the root of true communism, of true Socialism, of that equality of conditions and happiness so much desired in our day; and if so many sincere publicists, and well-meaning reformers seek after the arbitrary, it is for this reason—that they do not understand liberty." G.

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