

The International Free Trader

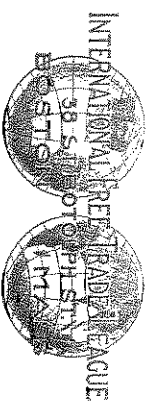
"MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD"

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The object of the League shall be to abolish all economic barriers between nations.

—Constitution, Article II.

Membership: One Dollar a Year.

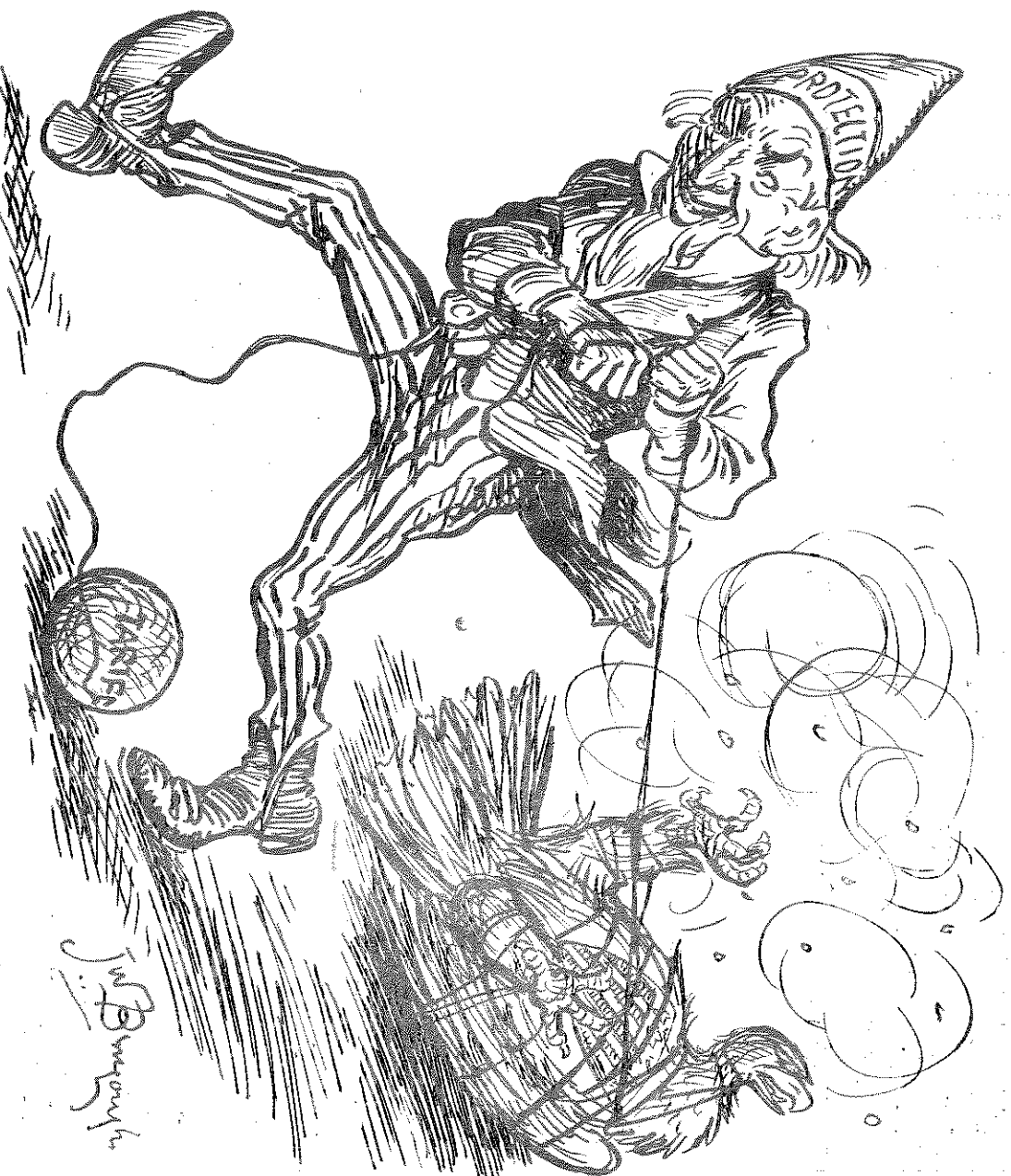
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FIVE CENTS A COPY

Edited by KENNETH B. ELLMAN

FRANK W. GARRISON, Contributing Editor

Why profess to believe in the unity of the human race, the necessary consequence of the unity of God, if you do not labor to realize it by combating the arbitrary divisions and the enmities which still divide the various tribes composing humanity? Why believe in human liberty, the basis of human responsibility, if we do not strive to destroy all the obstacles which impede the first and vitiate the second? Why speak of brotherhood and yet allow our brothers every day to be trampled, degraded, despised? The earth is our field of labor; we may not curse it, we must sanctify it. The material forces which surround us are our instruments of labor; we may not reject them, we must use them for good.—Mazzini.



TEACHING A BIRD TO FLY

A Summary of the folly and absurdity of the Protectionist Philosophy.— By J. W. Bengough.

1918--1923

January, 1918 found the world in the middle of a war that had already lasted for nearly three years and a half, and that for size of territory covered and weapons used had never been equalled. Yet, in spite of these facts, none of the governments of the belligerent nations had clearly stated its objects (beyond the usual declarations of self-defence), and the peoples of the nations had no idea why they were fighting or on what terms peace could be made. These circumstances seemed to offer to Free Traders an unequalled opportunity to propose universal Free Trade as the best possible basis for a just and lasting peace. People in general were obviously tired of war, the military forces of both sides had long been deadlocked, and the general belief among thinkers was that the real incentive of each side was wider markets for the sale of their products. A peace that opened the markets of the whole world to all on equal terms was therefore an ideal solution, and must prove a more permanent settlement than any rearrangement of political boundaries. The German Reichstag had already recognized the truth of this theory by adopting a resolution on July 9, 1917, to the effect that:

"Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples."

President Wilson had also stated as the third of his Fourteen Points:

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

This declaration of President Wilson confirmed his earlier statement in his reply to the Pope's letter about peace:

"Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others."

This statement seemed so true that we used it for several months on all our letterheads. Nothing that has happened since it was made has cast any doubt upon it, and many events have confirmed it in a most striking degree.

With such an unprecedented opportunity and need for active work, not a single one of the old Free Trade organizations was active, and the American Free Trade League had practically ceased to exist. Therefore the need was obvious for a new and active organization of all in favor of Cobden's ideal: "Free Trade, peace, good will among nations."

The organizers of the International Free Trade League believed that previous efforts to bring about Free Trade had failed because (1) only a reduction of tariffs to a revenue basis had been advocated, instead of a complete removal of them. This left room for endless argument

and delay over the exact degree of tax which made it "protective." (2) Tariffs had been attacked only in one country at a time, leaving privileged interests the defence that they could not compete with those who enjoyed "protection" in other countries. The International Free Trade League formed at Antwerp in 1912 was hamstrung by aiming only at a reduction of tariffs to a "revenue" basis, and soon died of inanition. (3) Organization in the United States had hitherto been in such a form that it gradually degenerated into a sort of local social club. To avoid these three mistakes the International Free Trade League had incorporated in its Constitution (1) the radical aim, "to abolish all economic barriers between nations;" (2) a truly international name and membership, now including 29 different nations; and (3) a democratic form of government, including mail ballot, initiative, referendum and recall.

Our aim—a peace of justice based upon international economic freedom—accorded with the professed aim of Free Traders, Single Taxers, pacifists and Socialists; and we felt therefore, that we had a right to expect the support of these four classes in presenting our proposal. Our first appeal was made to these; and beginning January 18, 1918, we have been canvassing the lists of all of these we could find. At first great difficulty was encountered, because of the limitations on the transmission of mail and the prevalence of national animosities. Our letters were opened, some were stopped, government spies visited our office, and people were warned against us by overzealous opponents. Nevertheless, we continued our work in Allied Countries, and took it up in the others as soon as communications were restored. One of the thrilling events connected with this work of canvassing was when we received a letter of sympathy from Professor G. F. Nicolai, of Berlin, who had been imprisoned for opposing the war and had escaped into Denmark in a shipplane. If the quantity of favorable replies had equalled the quality of those who joined us, our program might well have been incorporated in the Treaty of Peace. But there was so much work to be done that expenses constantly ran ahead of receipts, and occasional halts have had to be made for funds to come in.

Believing that the best way to get new members interested and spread our ideas was to publish a periodical, *The International Free Trader* was started in June, 1918, and has been published as frequently as funds allowed ever since. 23 numbers have been issued in four years and a half. 65,000 copies have been printed, and besides going to members and prospective members, our periodical has gone regularly to public and university libraries and to editors of influential papers in all parts of the world. This phase of our work offers almost unlimited possibilities, and can be enlarged as fast as funds allow. The effort has been made to make each issue of *The International Free Trader* cover one

or more phases of the subject of Free Trade in such a way that it could be used as a pamphlet. In addition to our periodical many leaflets and small pamphlets have been published and distributed to the number of 70,000 copies. The third edition of Henri Lambert's striking booklet, "Pax Economica," was published and distributed by the League.

Since the war Free Trade organizations in European countries have resumed activity. The Free Trade Union of England has begun to publish regularly again their excellent monthly *Free Trader*, a new Midland Free Trade League has been formed, with headquarters at Birmingham, also a Scottish Free Trade League. The *Ligue du Libre Echange* of Paris has revived, and new Free Trade Leagues have been formed in several other countries. To the credit of the Free Trade and Land Values Leagues of Australia and New Zealand be it said that they continued their activities during the war, and that their publications, *The Standard Progress*, and *The Liberator*, did not miss an issue.

In October, 1920, the Cobden Club held a preliminary International Free Trade Congress in London, and made arrangements for a Third International Free Trade Congress. This was held at Amsterdam September 13-16, 1921, under the joint auspices of the Cobden Club and the Free Trade League of Holland. The First International Free Trade Congress was held in London in 1909, the Second in 1912 at Antwerp. At the latter there was formed the short-lived International Free Trade League which published one number of a periodical. As a result of the Congress at Amsterdam, which was attended by German representatives, a German Free Trade League (Deutsches Freihandelsbund) was organized, with headquarters at Frankfurt on the Main. For a number of months this League had a Free Trade department in the monthly *Auslandspost*, published at Munich, and in October, 1922 another International Free Trade Congress was held in Frankfurt under the joint auspices of the German League and the Cobden Club. A few days earlier a similar Congress had met in Budapest at the invitation of the Free Trade Organization of Hungary, co-operating with the Cobden Club. There are now Free Trade Leagues in Switzerland, Italy and Sweden, also.

Eminent Free Traders from many European countries attended and addressed these Congresses, and the proceedings received good publicity; but invitations to all of them were received too late for this League to send American representatives. We were, however, well represented by our Dutch and German officers. At the Frankfurt Congress Herr Butzke read the following message from the Secretary of the International Free Trade League:

"What distinguishes the International Free Trade League from all other Free Trade Leagues is that it not only has demanded from the beginning the complete abolition of all barriers to international trade—such as tariffs, licenses and embargoes,—but it was also organized and ac-

tive during the Great War (from January, 1918), and it has welcomed into membership Free Traders of all countries, without regard to nationality or sex. We have never recognized anyone as an 'enemy,' but have tried ever since the beginning to enroll Free Traders in Germany, Russia, Austria and Ireland just as cordially as Free Traders in the United States and Entente countries. We stand for universal brotherhood and world peace."

At nearly all the meetings of the Supreme Council of the League of Nations; e. g., at Cannes and Genoa, the premiers have passed resolutions that Free Trade was necessary for the recovery of the world from the war. The meeting of the Interparliamentary Union at Vienna in 1922 passed a similar resolution. Many bankers and banks' monthly letters have also proclaimed this need—and it would be difficult to find a more conservative class than bankers. Thus two classes of leaders recognize the rightness of our aim. It only needs to convince sufficient numbers of people who vote to bring about our program.

The call for the International Conference of Women on a New Peace, held at The Hague in December, 1922, included a demand for the re-drafting of the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles:

"As competitive tariffs and protection, and the political corruption connected with them, are an obstacle to peace, and the granting of self-determination to nations may be economically disastrous unless associated with Free Trade, the proposed World-Congress should endeavor to arrive at conventions guaranteeing Free Trade all the world over, so that the needs of all peoples in regard to Raw Materials should at the same time be supplied and international provisions made for rationing in time of shortage.

Further, the vexatious restrictions on law-abiding travellers should be universally withdrawn."

Some of us, when we started five years ago, believed our object would be accomplished within that time and the League could be disbanded. Altho that has not proved to be the case, and a few of our members have become tired and discouraged, we can at least be glad that the number and organizations of our allies have increased, and that increasing numbers of people not professing to be Free Traders have come to see the need for what we propose. We have completed the first stage of organization, have begun a regular campaign of enlightenment, and need only more co-operation in numbers and money to carry out our plan to complete fulfillment. Far from our cause being a forlorn hope, our goal is almost in sight. Politicians and ignorance can delay progress, but events are fast making the adoption of Universal Free Trade inevitable. Probably one of the chief motives for the French occupation of the Ruhr is to obtain German coal for the Lorraine iron without vexatious and expensive border restrictions.

(When an old Republican protectionist newspaper denounces a protective tariff bill it is a sure indication that the supersition of "protection" is losing its hold. The following appeared as an editorial in the *New York Tribune* last August.—Editor.)

SCIENTIFIC TARIFFS

General Hancock was laughed at when he wrote to a Democratic politician in 1880 that the tariff was "a local issue." Yet he merely blurted out a truth with soldierly bluntness. To politicians the tariff is nearly always a "local issue." Louisiana wants high protection on cane sugar under either a Republican-made or a Democratic-made tariff. Utah wants high protection on beet sugar and wool. North Dakota wants high protection on wheat. And the Senators from these states generally pool their wants with the wants of Senators from other states, so that a tariff bill eventually loses all scientific character except in so far as it is a product of scientific log-rolling.

The country has tired of log-rolled tariffs, just as it tired some years ago of log-rolled river and harbor bills. What is needed is a tariff policy looking to national needs, and balancing the effects of duties on foreign trade as well as on domestic production. The first tariff act, passed by the 1st Congress, was broadly national in purpose. It considered solely the good of the nation as a whole. It was not promoted by a group or bloc.

The McCumber bill is a horrible example of what may happen when the rule of the Fathers is recklessly departed from. Politically and economically it is more out of line with the times than the Payne-Aldrich bill was in 1909. Scientific revision would have saved both these measures from opprobrium.

There is one thing that Mr. McCumber and his associates forgot. A tariff-for-revenue-only measure does not need to be scientific. It may be a hodge-podge and yet do its work. But a protective tariff, unintelligently constructed, defeats itself.

The *Nautical Gazette*, reports that the chief result of the provision in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law imposing a 50% ad valorem tax on repairs made to American ships in foreign yards, has been a notable falling off in the repair business in American yards, due to a studious effort on the part of foreign ship owners to have all but absolutely necessary repairs made in foreign ports.

This loss has not been compensated by repairs to American ships. Recently a U. S. Shipping Board vessel suffered such damage that it had to have extensive repairs made in a foreign port. On its return home, the Government department owing it had to pay the Treasury Department a 50% duty on these repairs.

Thus do trade preventers continue to bite off their own noses—at the taxpayers' expense!

THE TARIFF

The term "tariff" may be regarded as a confection of the terms "tear", to rend assunder; and "off"; to loot; to carry away.

In application to bolts of cloth it would involve a great deal of expense, time and trouble to tear off a percentage, say 10, 20 or 30% from each bolt. It would be a severe loss per yard to the amount torn off and also to the remainder of the bolt.

So the value of the amount that would have been torn off is added to the price of the entire bolt.

Each dealer through whose hands the bolt passes, adds his profit to the amount of tax he paid. This is as legitimate as any other profit. The "tear off" bears a close relationship to the term "take-off." Speaking in terms of law applicable to larceny, the former is "grand" while the latter is "petty". In terms of the stage, the latter is a "farce".

The "take-off" is the swag that the individual takes from one or a few. All of these have agreed to abide by the rules of the game. No innocent by-stander is reached by the "take-off."

Not so with the "tear-off" swag. The defenceless, and innocent must submit to pillage that fosters fear, suspicion, distrust, greed, and war.

Freedom to exchange is the basis of all property rights. Without it we barter in equities.

Charles E. Lukens, Marion, O.

MORE REAL FREE TRADE

At the recent Central American Conference in Washington, D. C., representatives of the four nations of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua signed a convention reducing their standing armies and National Guards to a total of only 14,400 men for the four countries. This was made practicable by their signing at the same time a convention establishing free trade with each other.

Besides the immense territory owned by the United States, the continent of Australia and the Dominions of Canada and New Zealand also enjoy entire freedom of internal trade. The Free Trade area of the world therefore includes now the following units:

Dominion of Canada	Sq. Miles 3,729,665
United States of America (including Alaska)	3,026,789
Australia	2,974,581
Dutch East Indies	683,000
Central America (4 countries)	150,700
New Zealand	103,581

As all of Continental Europe, exclusive of Russia, contains less than 1,400,000 sq. miles, it is obvious how extensively freedom of trade is already practised. We are not informed as to the present customs regulations of the Federated Socialist Republics of Soviet Russia, including 7,500,000 square miles, nor of the United States of Brazil, covering 3,275,510 square miles.

THE TARIFF DOGMA

A reader asks us to answer the assertion of a Republican friend that the tariff is the basis of his party's policy and all that is required to guarantee us all a jolly good time is to return to the glorious days of Republican tariffs. Will we please give him an answer to this statement? We will.

The first important fact to remember is that Hamilton, the patron saint of the Republican party, when making his famous report on manufactures, outlined the philosophy of the tariff advocates. It would shelter infant industries from foreign competition and above all enable manufacturers to exploit women and children, as they furnished the largest supply of available cheap labor. This became the dogma of the tariff until about the period of Jackson's first administration.

Then a change in the dogma was wrought by its advocates. When Hamilton and his followers stressed the possibilities of exploiting women and children of the workers the latter had no votes. The great mass of the workers were disfranchised by property qualifications. By the time of Jackson's first election in 1828 the suffrage had been considerably extended and the tariff-lies had to abandon the women and child labor argument. It wouldn't do to be so frank with workingmen armed with the ballot.

The tariff dogma originally addressed to manufacturers and prospective manufacturers was then transformed into an appeal to the ballot-armed workers. It was then held to be a protection of the workers against "competition with the pauper labor of Europe." This will be found in all the literature of the Republican party since the civil war.

Now the best example of a tariff-protected industry is that of iron and steel. If so happens that this industry gives the most glaring refutation of the Republican tariff dogma. After the crushing of the Homestead strike by the steel oligarchs in 1892, "protecting American labor" took the form of mass importation of workers from Southern Europe. The "pauper labor," against which the "patriotic" Republican workers were to be protected, was brought in droves to the steel areas. The steel trust even advertised that various Slav nationalities were preferred.

The reason for this was to employ workers of a dozen nationalities who could not understand each other, who would find it difficult to organize, and to skin them to the bone. The result has been a monstrous oligarchy of steel magnates preying upon these unfortunate European workers, working upon the longest hours of any industry, depriving them of all civil rights, spying on them and discharging those who tried to organize, and making of steel towns so many industrial hells.

All this was amply set forth in the Pittsburgh survey made by the Sage Foundation some 12 years ago and recently confirmed by the investigation made by the Interchurch Commission. The steel trust is now getting rid of those Europ-

ean workers who have awakened to class consciousness. It is now trying out the Mexicans in the hope that these workers will serve the corporation as slaves for 10 to 20 years.

He who stresses the tariff dogma today flies in the face of history. Like many other "issues" in capitalist politics this one has no more substance than a bag emptied of wind.

—*New York Call.*

THE FARMER, AND WOOLEN DIVIDENDS

It was announced yesterday that the Davis & Brown Woollen Company, of Uxbridge, Mass., had declared a stock dividend of 3,233 per cent, the effect of which action is to increase the capital stock from \$15,000 to \$500,000, all of which is built up out of surplus earnings. The latter amounted to \$740,000. This firm is representative of an industry that our lawmakers found it necessary to protect by extraordinary duties, the assumption being that the industry was either an infant one so feeble, even though of long life, that it could not stand against the competition of pauper Europe, and Europe is indeed a pauper.

So all the people of the country were, and now are, heavily taxed to give this protection to an industry in which 3,233 per cent stock dividends and common stock, without the advance of a single dollar from stockholders, can be, and is, increased from \$15,000 to \$150,000. It only remains for the company to figure in "structural overhead" and all will be well. We think that this case—and it is by no means an isolated one—ought to be of great interest to the people who are being compelled by the pressure of the new and exorbitant tariff rates to pay much higher prices for their clothing in order to "maintain the American standard of living." Certainly the standard of living of those who pay these taxes and prices is not raised—not even maintained at the old level.

The men who asked for these woollen duties must, it might be thought, have done so with their tongue in their cheek. The American people ought to be angered and outraged at such an abuse of power. Whenever they buy woollen products they ought to think of such surpluses and dividends as these. After imposing such burdens upon the farmer it is in no way surprising that it should be thought necessary to do something for him. How would it do to leave his own money in his own pocket? That is a simple remedy, but it is believed that it would be effective. Actually we find ourselves compelled—or so we think—to "finance" the American farmer who ought to be, and would be but for the policy of taxing him heavily on practically everything he buys, the most independent man on earth.—*Indianapolis News.*

I hold that truth cannot grow among men who do not learn how to unlearn, and honestly put opinion beneath them.—Isaac Newton Vail.

Criminals do not die by the hands of the law. They die by the hands of other men.—G. B. Shaw.

SCIENTIFIC TARIFFS IMPOSSIBLE

According to a Washington dispatch President Harding has instructed the Tariff Commission to proceed with an investigation of complaints against certain prevailing import taxes, thus overcoming a difference of opinion among the commissioners regarding the intent of the law.

The President had been asked whether the Commission should enter into a general inquiry with a view to working out a scientific revision of rates, or whether it should only consider items on which applications for revision had been filed. If the Commission confines itself to reviewing complaints, it will add a new chapter to the evidence already accumulated proving the absurdity and the injustice of tariff laws; but if it attempts a "scientific revision" it will face a *reductio ad absurdum*.

No sensible man would care to justify such a contradiction in terms as a scientific tariff. Science aims at the discovery and vindication of natural laws, while tariff taxes are devised for the express purpose of circumventing nature in the realm of trade. It is evidently possible to put obstacles in the way so that a natural law cannot work smoothly. The law of supply and demand can be interfered with by prohibiting trade, by fining a man for attempting to buy in the cheapest market or to sell in the dearest. But such an interference is not scientific, and the penalties for opposing human laws to natural laws are costly.

G.

Liberty implies that every citizen should have the privilege of asserting his individuality, for his own or his fellows' welfare, in any way which is not prejudicial to the rights of others. Yet the Tariff Act, with the amendment before mentioned, actually deprives one class of its right as citizens, and gives another class the right by law to exploit them. . . . Today there is actually no relation between the price of raw material and that of the finished article in the case of anything produced in Canada. Take for instance hides with harness, wool with clothing and blankets, wheat with flour and bread. They have actually no relation in price one to the other. I was in England last summer and stayed a few days at Ealing, one of the suburbs of London. I saw there a four pound loaf actually distributed at the homes of the people for eight pence half penny. That is sixty-four ounces of bread for seventeen cents. Today in cities in western Canada we are paying seventeen cents for forty ounces of bread, or twenty-four ounces less for the same price.—John Evans, M. P., Canada.

One who tries to make plain a new reform is quickly made to feel the impatience of those who would master in an hour a subject that for years taxed the brains of its advocates.—William Lloyd Garrison, Jr.

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.—G. B. Shaw.

TO MEMBERS

The Constitution of the League (Article VII) provides for the recall of any officer and an election of his successor at any time the members so vote, and an election must be held for this purpose at any time twelve or more members demand it.

As no nominations for office were received by the Secretary before (or since) February 15th (the date named in Article VI of our Constitution) he could not see any object in undergoing the expense and trouble of mailing ballots for a re-election of the present officers of the League. The money which such an election would cost is needed for propaganda.

If any 12 members wish an election and will send in nominations, the Secretary will without delay submit the nominations to all the members for their approval or rejection.

A typographical error in the Secretary's annual report made it say that the first number of *The International Free Trader* was published in 1916. It should, of course, have been June, 1918.

Kenneth B. Elliman, Secretary.

"THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT"

No matter how insistent monopolists may be upon their need for "protection" against "pauper foreign labor," whether the monopolists live in Germany, France, or the United States, they almost invariably favor free trade in this very foreign labor; i. e. unrestricted immigration for laborers from other countries. How this kind of free trade has worked out in the case of immigrants from the largest country of Europe into the United States, is made plain in a new book by Dr. Jerome Davis, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth College.

Dr. Davis has made a first hand investigation of the facts, both in Russia and in the present home of the immigrants, and his book is a study of these facts in relation to the migration, distribution, economic, domestic, religious and educational environment of the 400,000 or more Russians now resident in the United States. The treatment of these immigrants by government agencies and other institutions is not such as to make a native American feel proud. Indeed every self respecting American should feel shame at the unjust treatment of Russians by his Government during and since the war.

The book is interestingly and clearly written, and it is important not only for the concrete, reliable information it furnishes about those who have come from Russia, but for the light it casts on the general problem of immigration and on the treatment of immigrant labor by big corporations and educational agencies.

Published by The Macmillan Co. 219 pages. \$1.50.

It is the deed that teaches, not the name we give it. Murder and capital punishment are not opposites that cancel one another, but similars that breed their kind.—G. B. Shaw.

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"DEMOCRACY'S INTERNATIONAL LAW"*

In our last issue our colleague, M. Henri Lambert, showed how futile it was to establish international courts of justice until nations had agreed with each other what international justice was. This League is fortunate in having on its Advisory Committee with M. Lambert an international lawyer who has recently written a book on this very subject; namely, what constitutes real international law.

First analysing the different kinds of law for individuals, Mr. Raiston shows how analogous are the laws of nations. Laws which are only agreements or rules of procedure are easily enforced, since they are merely conventional. But he shows how laws which attempt to govern war are as absurd and unenforceable as would be legal rules for committing burglary and individual homicide. But natural laws, which make certain kinds of acts as harmful to collections of individuals as to single persons, must be recognized as fundamental; and peace and prosperity between nations depend upon recognition and observance of these laws. Yet most books on international law virtually ignore this subject.

Mr. Raiston unveils the curious superstition that nations can commit acts harmful to other nations with impunity, merely because they are strong enough; and he cites as an illustration the harmful effects on its citizens when a nation indulges in imperialistic acts on its weaker neighbors for the enrichment of a few of its own privileged citizens. The heavy taxation to support

armies, navies and armament proves the existence and automatic execution of natural law for nations.

He also shows how tariff barriers and all discriminations in favor of nationals are forms of war quite as much as the use of armies to which they inevitably lead.

*By Jackson H. Raiston. 165 pp. Published by John Byrne & Co., 715 14th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Price, \$1.50, postpaid.

Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting, by complaints and denunciations, by the formation of parties, or the making of revolutions, but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought right action will follow. Power is in the hands of the masses of men. What oppresses the masses is their ignorance, their shortsighted selfishness. The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in all its fullness, and should point to its complete attainment as their goal.—Henry George.

One on the Judge

Mr. O'Brien was having heavy going on a slippery pavement in the days before prohibition. He slipped and sat down with force right in front of a judge who happened to know him.

"O'Brien," said the judge, "sinners stand on slippery ground."

"So I see, Judge," answered O'Brien. "But it's more than I can do."

HOW TO FREE RUBBER

The Washington correspondents from time to time report the alarm felt in government circles over the efforts of selfish foreign governments to monopolize commodities upon which the people of this country are more or less dependent. We are told for instance that Secretary Hoover is concerned about British domination over the world's rubber supply. Thanks to British colonial policies the price of raw rubber has more than doubled, and foreigners will pocket the tribute exacted from our twelve million motor car owners. According to the correspondent of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, "an informed element on Capitol Hill is becoming agitated over what it is pleased to term an unconscionable money-grabbing scheme by the British government."

The world's rubber production appears to be 321,000 tons, distributed as follows: Malay Peninsula, 187,500 tons; Ceylon, 29,500 tons; Dutch East Indies, 88,800 tons; India, 6,400 tons; Borneo, 4100 tons; Sarawak, 1600 tons; Indo-China, 3100 tons. Of this total the United States uses 288,000 tons, while by special agreements and export regulations some 277,000 tons fall under the British restriction plan.

In spite of the righteous indignation that is aroused by such a hold-up policy, Mr. Hoover's department does not think of making a plea for fair play, but looks about for tropical lands controlled by American owners in the hope, doubtless, that the American public may have the pleasure of being fleeced by their own countrymen. Neither the Administration nor the legislators seem to see how much might be gained by approaching the overshadowing question of monopolies from the point of view of the needs of the whole world. Unfortunately, the selfish policy adopted by every country, and based on immemorial precedent, makes it impossible to appeal to justice as regards foreign relations.

In his penetrating study of the State* Professor Oppenheimer discloses the steps by which political governments became the bulwarks for monopolies that began as the spoils of violence and were secured to a class by the assistance of religion and law. Modifications in the ancient system have taken place during the long struggle for freedom, but enlightenment makes slow headway.

Land, the source of wealth, is still a private monopoly, and laws and conventions hedge about exclusive property rights. A nation which attempts to monopolize a whole continent by excluding foreigners and erecting a tariff wall to curtail international trade in the interest of favored groups of producers, cannot very well complain if the governments of other countries adopt the same methods. It is debarred from appealing to the sense of justice and fair play which ought to regulate international dealings, and becomes morally paralyzed.

*The State: Its History and Development Viewed Sociologically. Franz Oppenheimer. Revised edition with new introduction. Hubsch. \$2.00

If our laws were fundamentally just, if they recognized the equal rights of all living human beings to make use of the planet and share in exploiting the natural resources, our problems of reconstruction which now seem so complicated would be greatly simplified. The United States could then play its proper part in helping the prostrate people of the world to their feet. If the rules for the use of land were made impartial, immigrants might be welcomed without fear of depressing wages, commodities entering free ports would enrich the importers and reduce the cost of living, while giving the foreign workers the outlet for their wares which is needed to renew their hopes and encourage them to make good the losses from wars and embargoes.

But instead of seeking to remove the laws which protect the monopolists, Secretary Hoover buses himself with a commission, equipped with half a million dollars of the taxpayers' money, to concoct a plan to increase agricultural exports without interfering with vested interests. F. W. Garrison

"THE FOREIGNER PAYS THE TAX"

A propos of the export tax on rubber, referred to above, *The Freeman* playfully calls attention to the curious coincidence between the amount of revenue to the British government from the tax on that proportion of the rubber production going to the United States and the interest that is payable annually on the British debt to the United States Government. The two amounts are so nearly identical as to make the whole affair look like a joke. When McKinley told the American people that "the foreigner pays the tax" imposed by tariff laws, he little dreamed that "the foreigner" in this instance would be the American motor owner.

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