

## EDITORIAL

## THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Free Traders who would like to advance our cause by the way they vote in November may be helped by a consideration of the records of the three candidates.

It should be said to begin with that not one of the presidential nominees has declared for Free Trade. And President Coolidge, of course, has not only declared himself frankly for his party's policy of trade interference euphemistically called "protection," but has availed himself of the authority given him by the Fordney-McCumber Law to raise by proclamation the rates on several classes of imports, on which there were already high duties.

Mr. Davis, the Democratic nominee, advocates "competitive" tariffs—rates designed to compensate American producers for the advantage of the lower cost of living enjoyed by their foreign competitors. This phrase may be used to describe almost any kind of tariff, even lower ones than those now in force; but it certainly does not look to the abolition of tariffs sought by Free Traders.

Senator La Follette has fought privilege uncompromisingly in every form he has seen during his whole, long public life. And, while still a member of the Republican Party, he voted against the Payne-Aldrich and Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bills, and for the Underwood Bill. The last named established the lowest average of rates of any bill of the present generation. Senator La Follette's platform demands "drastic reduction of the exorbitant duties on manufactures provided in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff legislation." If Mr. La Follette went so far in the direction of Free Trade while still a Republican, have we not the right to assume he would go much further if elected as an independent?

## BOOKS

*The Defeat in the Victory.* By George D. Herron. 202 pp. Cloth: \$2.00 net. The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Mass.

*Duty to Civilization.* By Francis Neilson. 136 pp. Cloth: \$1.00, paper: .50. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York.

The fact that a book has been twice "accepted for American publication and twice suppressed suddenly and without explanation—once while the book was on the press," would seem to indicate that it contained something dangerous to vested interests or to widely believed lies. Both of these books belong in the latter class, but the quotation is from the preface of the former, and applies to it.

Herron's book contains ten chapters, nine of which were written in Italy and Switzerland while Woodrow Wilson was still President, and these show the writer's implicit faith in the good intentions of all that Wilson did as well as his own complete subjection to the Allies' war propaganda and the resultant hysteria. The other chapter, "The Treason of France," shows that he has at least partially recovered, and controverts nearly all that he has said elsewhere about militarism and imperialism being "the

German Idea" and about *schrecklichkeit* being peculiarly German. He shows in this chapter how much more militaristic France has been, both for the centuries preceding the last war and since; how much more atrocious in peace than Germany has been in war; and how the French Government is responsible for the Peace that has been worse than the War and for the bamboozling of American public opinion both during and since the war.

He thinks that by intervening in the European conflict America assumed a responsibility which can be discharged only by her joining the League of Nations and restoring peace to Europe. He thinks Wilson's Fourteen Points, on which the Armistice was based, and which were repudiated in the Treaty of Versailles, should be pressed upon Europe as the remedy for its present prostration. In this connection it is interesting to find in the Appendix a letter from Mr. Herron to President Wilson (Geneva, July 5, 1918), urging him to "destroy the chief cause of modern war" by including free trade in his proposed Society of Nations. Had Wilson done this, he would have immortalized himself and brought about a permanent peace.

The title, "The Defeat in the Victory," is fulfilled in the contents, which show clearly that the so-called victory was really a defeat—through the repudiation by the Allies of the terms on which they persuaded the Central Powers to sign the Armistice. But well-informed pacifists knew there could be no other outcome. Good cannot come out of evil, and we did not need a war to prove it.

Herron's book is an impassioned plea, evidently largely based upon a feeling of repentance for having supported a war which he sees now he did not understand. What he does not yet see, or if he does, he fails to state it, is the real origin of the war in the secret diplomacy of Tsarist Russia, France, and England.

On the other hand, Mr. Neilson's book is a calm statement of the facts of the origin of the war; facts of the actual number of men, and ships, and the comparative expenses, of the preparations made by both sides. Still more important, he gives the diplomatic correspondence and secret treaties which made the war inevitable. The Austrian and German military parties must undoubtedly bear a large share of the blame for the actual outbreak of the war; but its real causes—as Mr. Neilson shows—lie far more in the diplomacy, and what was behind the diplomacy, of the Russian, French and British Governments.

"No single economic move on the part of the United States would do so much for the restoration of the entire world as for us to take the lead in the direction of free and unhampered trade. THE NATION has been urging this policy for half a century and there never has been a period during all this time when the need for it was as pressing and its power for good so indescribably great."—From THE NATION for January 17, 1923.

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## 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.

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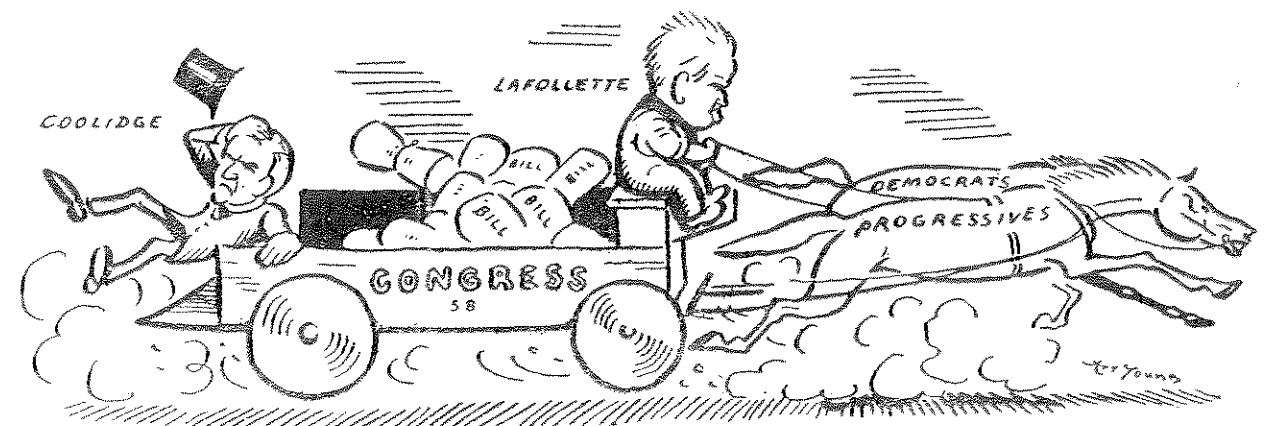
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Edited by KENNETH B. ELLIMAN  
FRANK W. GARRISON, Contributing Editor

Free Trade! What is it? Why, breaking down the barriers that separate nations; those barriers, behind which nestle the feelings of pride, revenge, hatred, and jealousy, which every now and then burst their bounds and deluge whole countries with blood; those feelings which nourish the poison of war and conquest; which assert that without conquest we can have no trade, which foster the lust for conquest and dominion which sends forth your warrior chiefs to scatter devastation through other lands, and then calls them back that they may be enthroned securely in your passions, but only to harass and oppress you at home.—Richard Cobden.

The victory of the people is assured. And it will be retarded less by the exaggerated efforts of our adversaries than by our own dissensions and lack of method. It is assured because the very nature of things and the conditions of life demand it and prepare for it. It will be methodical, reasoned and harmonious. It is already foreshadowed with the inflexible rigor of a geometrical construction.—Anatole France.

Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right. The protective tariff is all wrong. It is wrong in economics, wrong in morals, and a great corrupter in politics. Therefore the protest against it, and resistance to it, never will cease.—Prof. William G. Sumner.



—From THE NATION.

## Smugglers Active in Canada

DISORDER AND VIOLENCE THE PRICE OF UNWISE LAWS

Bad laws are responsible for much of the disorder and conflict that puzzle the lawmakers. Smuggling, for example, is an artificial crime produced by trade restrictions and prohibitions, and the authors of these laws are responsible for the fraud and violence they invite. To bring into a country from abroad things that are in themselves desirable is so clearly a commendable action that the public conscience is not greatly shocked when it is done in spite of legal restraints.

This indulgent attitude towards smugglers is a trial to the monopolists in whose behalf tariffs are imposed, and they are ready to go to considerable expense in providing spies and private agents to assist the Revenue officers in detecting concealment. As the Government and the protected manufacturers share the benefits of trade discrimination at the expense of the general run of consumers, there tends to grow up a tacit partnership between the conductors of public and private business, extending the powers of the "invisible government."

A dispatch from Montreal to the *Boston Transcript* depicts the Canadian manufacturers as much concerned over the growth of smuggling. Many of the big textile firms, it is alleged, are being driven to the

verge of bankruptcy, and the Treasury is said to be losing \$10,000,000 a year from unpaid import taxes. The Government is being urged to take strong measures against the smugglers. But heavy penalties have never yet been effective; for, as Dostoiefsky somewhere remarks, smuggling makes a romantic appeal to human nature. "Would it be believed," he says, "that money, the solid profit from the affair, possesses often a secondary importance for the smuggler? It is all the same an authentic fact. He works by vocation. In his style he is a poet. He risks all he possesses, exposes himself to terrible dangers, intrigues, invents, gets out of a scrape, and brings everything to a happy end by a sort of inspiration. The passion is as violent as that for gambling."

Where repressive laws cannot hope to succeed, however, there is an alternative—freedom. The moment that Free Trade is adopted the smuggler is transformed from an outcast to a respectable merchant: the occasion for violence ceases; the cost and shame of soldiers, spies and custom houses is obviated, and if the Treasury loses something in the shape of taxes, the public is more than compensated by the reduction in the cost of living that may be secured at any time by taking advantage of unrestricted competition, in other words, world-wide co-operation. G.

### BENEFITS OF FREE TRADE REALIZED

In a previous issue we referred to the reduction of taxes announced in the Budget of the British Labor Government, and the promise that the "McKenna duties" on motor cars, films, musical instruments and a few other items would be permitted to lapse on August 1. Even before that date motorists were offered cars at a substantial reduction, as may be seen from an advertisement in an English publication that lies before us, dated July 9. The advertisement is headed, "£188 Duty Free," and makes a point of the reduction from the "pre-Budget" price of £220.

The users of motor cars thus profit by the freeing of competition, and the manufacturers are obliged to make their profits from the quality of their goods rather than from legal monopoly. It is too early to say whether the motor trade as a whole will be adversely affected by having to meet world competition; the announcement, however, that the Ford company is to build a huge plant in or near London would lead one to guess that employment in the motor business would not be lessened by Free Trade, foreshadowing as it does jobs for British workmen and demand for many materials made in British factories.

If there are firms that cannot survive open competition, it is proof that their energies have been wrongly directed, and that the capital invested by them ought to be used in some more productive way.

In this connection it is to be noted with regret that Mr. MacDonald's government, which recently reduced import taxes on German goods from 26% to 5%, has decided to restore the higher rate as the Dawes plan goes into effect. Socialist politicians as guardians of Free Trade will bear watching. G.

### CO-OPERATION AND PROFITS

There is much confused thought in regard to the part that benevolence ought to play in the economic relations of mankind. When it is said, for instance, "Private industry is run for profit. Co-operative industry is run for service," is there truly the distinction that is assumed? What the co-operative member saves on his purchases and makes on his sales is profit.

There can be no stigma on profits unless they are acquired at the expense of someone else. The appeal to altruism presupposes a world where the sum of misery is so great that it can only be mitigated by self-sacrifice on the part of sensitive persons. Such, no doubt, is the world today, but economists picture a world where plenty is obtainable by all, not through benevolence, but by mastering the laws of nature and submitting to them. Emerson has said, "Nature is commanded by obeying her;" in other words, by making human laws consistent with natural laws.

It is absurd to suppose a society where everyone is sacrificing himself for the benefit of others. Nature seems rather to have made the satisfaction of personal wants the first concern of all living creatures, and to have so arranged it that the limitless wants of men cannot be satisfied without mutual help. Society is the work of an intricate co-operation, which needs no encouraging statutes. Rather it cannot develop freely and beneficially because the statute book is crowded with hostile enactments. These ill-considered laws grant monopolies in the source of wealth—the land—and immigration and trade, restricting the growth of co-operation. The leaders of the co-operative movement would do well to give their attention to the removal of the obstacles that stand in the way of their goal. G.

## The Tariff Commission Scandal

Senator La Follette has done well to call attention to the scandalous condition of affairs in the Tariff Commission so far as the sugar report is concerned, and we trust that Mr. Davis also will help during the campaign to rouse the public to the way that body has been controlled or blocked by representatives of the interests affected by the tariff graft. The commission has been hamstrung for months; its personnel is evenly divided between those who believe that public office is a public trust and those who think that they are on the commission in order to serve private interests; several of the latter are obviously disqualified to sit in important matters because they or their families have a financial stake in the tariff schedules under study; and although this situation has been known to President Coolidge since he has been in the White House—he has repeatedly been approached about it by party leaders and business men—he has had neither the courage nor the rectitude to deal with the scandal. More than that, every effort is being made to get rid of the excellent chairman of the commission, Mr. W. S. Culbertson, in order that his sense of duty and simple honesty shall not stand in the way of the interests, notably the sugar interests.

We confess to a temptation to say "we told you so"; we pointed out when it was constituted that the Tariff Commission could and would come to nothing, and that the protected interests which have for so long owned the Republican Party and a good part of the Democratic were content with this device only because they felt sure that they could control it. Indeed, while ostensibly agreeing to the proposal that this new body should have the power to reduce as well as to raise tariff rates, their real idea was, we believe, to use it to get more tariff graft for themselves without the bother, difficulty, and danger of going to Congress for it. So far they have been eminently justified in their confidence, for in the two years that have elapsed since the Fordney tariff went into effect the commission has lowered just one rate, which affected the cost of living not of human beings but of certain horned cattle!

Although a program of basic inquiries into some of the important schedules was laid out by the commission virtually nothing has been done to carry it out. Only in the matter of sugar has there been any threat to the tariff privileged, and thus far that industry has succeeded in warding off action. This has been chiefly due to the fact that President Harding appointed to the commission three interested men. One, Mr. Marvin, was secretary to the notorious Home Market Club in Boston and is utterly opposed to reduction of any schedule whatever. Another, Mr. Burgess, was an officer of the United States Pottery Association and had served as the recognized lobbyist for that industry when the tariff bills of 1909, 1913, and 1919 were drawn. The pottery industry enjoys

a 70 per cent duty. Not unnaturally, when the commission voted a year ago for a preliminary inquiry into conditions in the chinaware and pottery trades, Mr. Burgess voted against the proposal. The third member appointed by President Harding, Mr. Glassie, is related by marriage to the great Louisiana sugar family of Caffery. The latter fact moved Congress at its last session to suspend the salary of Mr. Glassie if he sat in connection with sugar. For weeks it has been known that the sugar inquiry ordered by the commission has been completed. One word from Calvin Coolidge would have given it to the public, but that one word has not been spoken. Indeed as the term of one of the unbiased members of the commission has expired there is much eagerness to see whether our Chief Executive will reappoint him or give his job to some other henchman of the protected interests.

Since the passage of the Fordney-McCumber tariff the commission has been asked to act upon the rates on 168 different commodities. Of these applications, twelve have been denied any investigation, sixty-two are "pending," which means that nothing has been done about them although the list includes the most vital commodities. In twenty cases informal inquiries were undertaken and then suspended; fifteen cases were not investigated because, although the article was protected, there was no production of it in this country—a magnificent swindle on the public! William Hard declares that of the remaining commodities fifty-nine are shelved and forty-six are under investigation, only three final reports being ready in addition to that on sugar. Such is the result of the determination to "regulate" the tariff by "scientific inquiry" and scientific adjustment to the country's needs.

All of which is additional proof of the curse the tariff lays upon the whole country; the only way to end the graft and scandal is to break down the whole tariff structure. That will come to pass in due time as it should have years ago; there can be no such freedom for the American citizen as Mr. La Follette calls for until the tariff is rooted out. It remains the greatest source of corruption in our national life and the chief citadel of privilege and of corrupt big business.—*The Nation*.

We have received from the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 11 Totbill St., London, a copy of the bound Report of the 1923 International Conference on the Taxation of Land Values at Oxford. At the low price of two shillings, for which it is sold, it offers big value for the money, as it contains many valuable papers and reports by Free Traders and Single Taxers in all parts of the world, as well as a photograph of the delegates. Several of the officers and members of this League attended and spoke.

## Japan

[Editor's Note: Mr. Danziger's article in our last issue, called "Militarism Alias Patriotism," brought forth such an interesting correspondence from Dr. Jordan, one of our leading authorities on Japan, and the writer of the article, that we thought our readers would enjoy reading it. In this connection we would like to say that the Editor always welcomes letters, and will be glad to print any that will interest readers of *The International Free Trader*.]

Stanford University, Cal.

To the Editor *The International Free Trader*:—In your excellent journal I am forced to disagree from Mr. Danziger's statements in regard to Japan. I question whether, with free trade and free land "we should have room for everyone" and would "find the coming of immigrants a help rather than a hindrance." The hindrance is not economic, but lies in the fact that ignorant citizenship is bad, and much of our troubles come from the appeal to foreign voters careless of our institutions.

The purpose of the discriminatory land laws, in my mind, is simply to keep an open sore with Japan. It has very little economic basis. I did not know that "the Japanese government claimed that production in that country had reached its final limit," and that "it is unavoidable that the Japanese must have room to emigrate." The future of Japan for a while lies in the development of its enormous water power, only about one river in a hundred being harnessed yet. It is quite true that only about one acre in seven in Japan is arable. It is also true that great tracts in Japan and in Korea are not fully occupied, not on account of land laws, but because they are fit only for grazing, and Asia has not learned yet to eat butter, milk, cheese, or beef, or to wear leather shoes. A man without capital cannot use any of these waste lands in the north of Japan or in Korea, hence they lie idle. It may be that the single tax would be a benefit to California and Japan, but I see no evidence of that or that it will be seriously considered in either country. Personally I do not think that the great cause of free trade should be mixed up much with the doubtful matter of single tax.

Yours,

July 3, 1924.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Baltimore, Md., July 15, 1924.

To the Editor, *The International Free Trader*: I thank you for letting me see Dr. Jordan's letter, and would be glad to see all criticisms.

Apparently Dr. Jordan does not realize that there must be some reason for the desire to "keep an open sore with Japan," and while a few exceptional ones may have other motives, the great majority who wish such a thing can have been swayed only by expectation of economic gain or fear of economic loss. So long as economic conditions constitute a menace to the economic security of most of us, so long will the great majority be susceptible to appeals that play upon

their stupidity or fear. Those of us who advocate free trade and free land hope through these measures to establish security that will render such appeals unattractive.

Dr. Jordan is right in declaring ignorant citizenship a bad thing, but seems off the track in attributing it all to foreign voters. The most conspicuous bit of economic ignorance in recent times was not displayed by foreign immigrants, but by President Harding when he signed the Fordney-McCumber bill. Many a newcomer at Ellis Island would have done better. None could have acted more ignorantly. As to carelessness of our institutions, no immigrant has yet shown himself as careless of institutions worthy of care as our late Attorney Generals, Daugherty and Palmer, or as the justices of the Supreme Court who upheld these worthies, or as President Wilson, who by signing the conscription act and the espionage act made waste paper of the Bill of Rights. At the presidential election this fall Henry Cabot Lodge, a Mayflower descendant, and a Harvard product, will vote for Coolidge. How much more ignorant or careless vote may be cast by a foreign immigrant?

That the Japanese government feels there is no room for further production, at least in the central island, is implied by its efforts to stimulate emigration to the northern island and the colonies. Reference to this may be found in "Modern Japan" by Amos S. Hershey, Professor of Political Science in Indiana University, and no doubt in other works.

Whether "free trade should be mixed up much with the doubtful matter of single tax" depends largely on the answer that can be satisfactorily given to many questions sure to arise as we approach abolition of customs duties. These questions cannot be evaded without danger of discrediting free trade. Because every government in Great Britain since Cobden's time has shied from following free trade to its logical conclusion, freeing the earth, economic conditions there have given American protectionists aid in putting an appearance of verisimilitude on their deliberate falsifications. One way to meet the bogey stories about "free trade" England is the single tax method which shows that England has erred in failing to extend free trade by abolishing custom houses entirely and all other taxes on trade and industry. No protectionist has yet been able to meet this squarely, and few care to try. It is possible there may be some other and better way to meet the issue. If so, let free trade by all means be mixed with it. It will be helped, not hurt. Unfortunately, however, if anyone does know such a way he has kept the knowledge to himself. Until he lets it be known, why object to urging of a way we know?

Yours,

SAMUEL DANZIGER.

Stanford University, July 22, 1924.

In response to your kind critic, let me say that those who wish to keep an open sore with Japan, and

are actively engaged in that, have in view chiefly their own political advancement; for all matters of competition between Japanese and Americans belong to ancient history. I think that your correspondent does not note the difference between sheer ignorance, which is of course, a bad thing, and political perversity, which is also bad.

Production in the central island of Japan is very far from its limit, as only two or three, at the most, of its mountain streams have yet been harnessed for electric power. The northern island, as well as the unoccupied parts of Korea, represent agricultural possibilities, but mainly in the direction of grazing, and the Japanese thus far make little use of cattle or sheep. When a large part of Hokkaido was given to immigrants from the South, these people attempted to raise rice, the only kind of agriculture they knew, and naturally the crops failed, and in 1910 there was great suffering.

I think that the question of free trade should not be mixed up with the matter of taxation. These may be associated, but the business now is to get rid of the forms of privilege involved in protection.

Yours,

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Southwest Harbor, Me., Aug. 26, 1924.

If the foreign voter is ignorant and easily fooled by the politicians, is it not largely because of the economic exclusion that operates against the newcomers who succeed in getting through the ugly barriers at Ellis Island? Both natives and foreigners are as careless of "our institutions" as they are careful of their own personal interests. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and if our institutions are so ignorantly drawn as to set up a conflict on personal interests where there might be harmony, we can hardly blame the victims.

Are we not Free Traders because we believe that the unequal laws that give a monopoly in trade to favored groups of business men ought to be repealed, and the whole extent of exchange of goods and services thrown open to unrestricted competition? But if we believe in equality of opportunity among men and women engaged in exchanging goods and services with others in all parts of the world, how can we consistently oppose equality among those engaged in producing the things that are exchanged as wealth?

It is apparent that conditions are unequal as regards the production of coal and oil, timber, and water-power, where individuals assert ownership over strikingly important natural resources; but if this contention is admitted, it will be found upon examination that railway rights of way, docks and terminals, farm lands and city lots fall within the same category.

Free Trade and Single Tax are misleading expressions unless they stand in our minds for the condition of equal freedom that is the ideal of human association. To ignore the bearing of the land question on this problem is the surest way to postpone the desired end. If not Henry George's method, some other way must be found to guarantee equality of opportunity.

F. W. GARRISON.

## CONFUSED ECONOMICS

To anyone whose memory embraces a few decades the excitement aroused by party platforms in a presidential election must seem as childish as the conventions that grind them out. They all appeal to the principles of justice which most of their proposals flout. Even the La Follette platform, which declares the chief issue to be between the forces demanding freedom and those endeavoring to enslave mankind for the benefit of the few, is markedly inconsistent. It is one thing to desire freedom, but it is quite as important to know in what freedom consists. Nothing, for example, could be more confused than the condemnation of "the principle of ruthless individualism and competition," and the praise of the principle of co-operation, as though an antithesis were being stated.

The legal monopolies that enslave the masses cannot properly be regarded as an expression of individualism. Rather are they the greatest obstacle in the way of equal rights, as they are in the way of free competition. And is it not plain that the same privileges that invade individual rights and distort competition act in restraint of co-operation? When men are prevented from exchanging goods and services freely competition becomes ruthless and unnatural.

A greater respect for the constitutional right of free speech is the chief blessing to be hoped for from a successful campaign by La Follette, and what is most to be feared is a continuance of unenlightened taxation and further encroachments by government in enterprises that ought to be left to private initiative.

There is little hope for Free Traders in the promise to repeal excessive tariff duties. An exposure of the whole rotten system of Protection would infuse some life into the campaign and clear the way for ending the boycott on foreign goods and correcting "the mercenary system of foreign policy" built upon the exploitation of weaker nations for the benefit of bankers and concession-hunters. The removal of trade barriers, including the ban against immigrants, is the first step needed to be taken to bring about "the economic recovery of the world" and a revision of the infamous Versailles Treaty on lines of international justice. To make diplomacy safe and remove the menace of war and the need of armaments a direct and vigorous attack must be made on the great mass of restrictive laws that clog the channels of trade and prevent the use of the earth by its natural heirs.

Experience teaches that little is to be expected from attempting to control the machinery of the State in the interest of even-handed justice. Can a Ramsay MacDonald and a Robert La Follette be expected to succeed where a Grover Cleveland and a Woodrow Wilson failed? Whatever the outcome of elections may be, the task of the reformer remains the same—to go on demonstrating the truth in the hope of awakening an overwhelming popular demand for it to which the politicians of all shades must bend. G.

When Charles Lamb was advised by his physician to "take a walk every morning on an empty stomach," he blandly asked, "Whose?"



**"THE REAL TROUBLE WITH THE FARMERS"***The Tariff Swindle*

The sugar tariff "costs the American people \$216,519,626 a year. Of this tremendous sum the United States Government collects \$124,481,848 at the customhouses. It is all added to the cost of living. Over \$92,000,000 goes to the sugar manufacturers and producers. The beet-sugar factories in the West need no tariff, for they are 'protected' by freight rates from the ports. The only American farmers who get any good out of it, broadly speaking, are those of Louisiana. Their output gets about \$2,500,000 a year by it. In other words, we tax ourselves \$92,037,778 to give the Louisiana people \$2,500,000. It would be better to pay them for letting their lands lie fallow if we could get cheaper sugar thereby. The farmers of the whole country need cheap sugar more than anyone else. The tariff is not laid for the benefit of the cane-growers, or the beet-growers, but for the great interests engaged in the manufacture and refining of sugar. The farmers, even in sugar-producing regions, would be quite as well off if not a pound of sugar were produced.

Taking his own State of Texas, the author shows conclusively how complete is the swindle of the tariff. With regard to tobacco, the American Farm Bureau Federation states that "there is very little of our tobacco which is benefited in price by the tariff, but that the Connecticut growers, by reason of the fact that the Sumatra leaf tobacco competes with their product, get a boost in price through the \$2.10 a pound duty." Anyhow, says Mr. Quick, "Connecticut tobacco land since the tariff has been enacted has boomed, it is stated, to from \$5000 to \$10,000 an acre."

*The "Steal" Tariff*

The figures given as to certain items of "light" and "heavy" steel products are illuminating. To yield a revenue to the Government of \$6,890,950 no less a sum was taken in extra prices from the American public than \$2,282,000,000! The author tells of a representative of the "File Trust, quoted in a publication of the Fair Tariff League," who was taking an order for files sold in Spain. "How can you sell abroad?" he was asked. "We can undersell the world," was his reply. "Then why do you want protection?" "To maintain prices in America!"—Quoted from book with above title, by Herbert Quick. Published by Bobbs Merrill Co.

**IMPERIAL PREFERENCE**

When bringing forward the last Canadian Budget the Minister of Finance offered to Australia such a preference for dried fruits as would enable her to supply all Canada's needs; but the offer was made subject to the acceptance of a proposal that Australia in return should give a preference to Canadian timber. In other words, these two commodities should form the basis of a Canada-Australia Reciprocity Agreement. One would have thought that the Australian Government, in their anxiety to benefit the native fruit industry, would have jumped at this proposal. But we learn that it has been rejected. Why? Because the South Australian timber interests object to the pos-

sible competition of Canadian timber! Moreover, it is very interesting to note that recently the Australian Government has (1) placed a high penal tariff on imports of South African maize; (2) placed a similar duty on maize grown in Papua, which, according to the Navigation Act, is a part of Australia; (3) placed an embargo on imports of potatoes from New Zealand; and (4) prohibited for two years imports of sugar produced by black labor, whether within or without the Empire. These acts suggest a certain amount of inconsistency between the lofty declarations of Australian Ministers regarding the necessity for extending the principle of Imperial preference and the actual practice of Australia in matters of inter-Imperial trade.—*The Free Trader*.

**TAXES AS BLESSINGS**

We are always glad to give the arguments of our opponents, and we do not feel that our files would be complete without the President's views on the Tariff, as expressed in his letter accepting the Republican nomination.

"By means of a protective tariff," he said, "we have saved American agriculture, labor and industry from the menace of having their great home market destroyed through the dumping upon it of a flood of foreign products.

"Under this wise policy we saw an economic revival, and our people as a whole, in marked distinction from sufferers from the financial distress and depression of other lands, have come into an era of prosperity and plenty.

"As a source of revenue the tariff surpassed all expectations in producing an annual return of the unprecedented sum of about \$550,000,000. A financial policy which places a large and much-needed revenue in the public treasury, while stimulating business to a condition of abounding prosperity, defends itself against any criticism. Its merits are demonstrated by its results. We have protected our inhabitants from the economic disaster of an invasion of too many foreign people or too much foreign merchandise."

It used to be considered an evidence of uncivilized backwardness in the Chinese that they attempted to shut themselves away from the world by a huge wall, and regarded outsiders as "foreign devils." But time seems to have justified them—at least in the eyes of the President, the Republican Party, and the government of the United States.

Import taxes and exclusion laws depend upon might, and the weakness of the President's position is revealed when he says, "America opposes special privilege and monopoly because they are both unjust and uneconomic. They are not right. They do not work."

Now if words have any meaning, the tariff is a device for creating privileges and making equality of opportunity impossible. It favors the manufacturer at the expense of the consumer, of the importer and of the workers who would be called upon to satisfy the demands of foreign purchasers if trade were free. Such laws are not only unfair as between the indi-

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viduals within a nation, but stand condemned in the higher court of morals where all human beings must stand in final judgment.

**ASK NO FAVORS, BUT—**

*By Samuel Danziger*

"The Platform of American Industry" of 1924, adopted by The National Association of Manufacturers, starts with a bold ringing declaration of the meaning of which the authors must have been totally ignorant. Here it is:

"As industrialists we have neither favors to ask nor give."

Could anything sound better? As industrialists asking no favors a protective tariff must necessarily be anathema to the association. The members want no favors. Furthermore they won't ask it "to protect the laborer not ourselves," for they also say they have none to give. Should we welcome the association into The International Free Trade League?

When we read along a little further, we come to another statement that seems to indicate the framers may have known just what they were saying; for we find this remark: "The function of our government is political—not economic." They must have understood then, it appears, that it is not the proper function of government to levy tariffs for the protection

of industry or some forms of industry against competition. One wonders then why the members delay so long to apply for membership in our league. This wonder however does not last long. As we read further we realize that these high-sounding phrases were put into the platform by persons who had not the slightest idea of their meaning. Like the illiterate preacher who began his sermon with these words: "This morning we will impose the impossible, define the undefinable and unscrew the inscrutable," the platform framers merely inserted these phrases because "They sound nice." We realize this when we come to the tariff section and find a declaration in favor of leaving the Fordney-McCumber law alone—because "The needs of industry . . . will be best served," etc.

The sentiment which dominates the platform can after all be nothing more than the very human one which led the poet to sing

"Against all graft I raise my tone,  
But—darn you—leave MY graft alone."

The Women's Church Committee on International Goodwill, 105 East 22nd St., New York, is planning to send a Ship of Friendship to Germany just before Christmas. Those interested are recommended to write for further information to Miss Carolena M. Wood, Chairman, at the above address.