

## THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



In the grounds of the School, the flags of all the represented nations were flying from specially erected masts. At the opening meeting there took place a ceremony that lent distinction to the occasion. It was the fanfare from a pair of Lur trumpets, like those historically famous instruments, descendants from the Bronze Age and remarkable for the fact that they went in pairs, so tuned as to produce harmony when they were blown together. But few of these remarkable trumpets have been discovered. They are preserved in museums and permission to remove them is granted only for very special public events. The heralds were two young girls clothed in appropriate costume. They gave forth the notes such as must have stirred the Vikings of long ago and by that token the responsible Danish authorities allowed a signal salutation to be accorded to the assembled followers of Henry George from many lands.

A feature of the Conference was the singing of song at the commencement of each session, thereby following a custom characteristic of popular meetings in Denmark. For the use of this Conference a booklet, "Let's All Sing," had been published containing a large selection of songs, which were given in English as well as Danish verse so that all could join in unison. Appropriately at this opening meeting the choice was *Der er et yndigt land*—There is a pleasant land. After it had been sung addresses of welcome were given (from the Chair) by Mr. Scheibel, Vice-Burgomaster of Odense, on behalf of his Council and City, and by Mr. Arnold Poulsen on behalf of the Danish Henry George Union. Both remarked on the happy choice of *Fyns Husmandsskole* (Folk High School of Funen's Small Holders) as the seat of the Conference. It was an eminently right choice, because at and from that School Henry George's ideas had so long and so faithfully emanated. It was the late principal, Jakob E. Lange, who first brought them to Denmark and his memory was held in special veneration for the great work he did. Mr. Poulsen, after reference to some notable incidents in Danish history and the optimism which they as Georgeists could entertain for the future, mentioned as a notable fact that the printed programme of the Conference contained a special "roll of honour" which, with various other pioneers of the cause, named the representatives of four Danish political parties. That list was headed by J. L. Björner, the grand old man of the Danish movement, placed as Honorary President, and included Baldomero Argente, of Spain, A. Daudé-Bancel, of France, Johan Hansson, of Sweden, Andrew D. Haxton, of Great Britain, Rolland O'Regan, of New Zealand, and Agnes George de Mille, grand-daughter of Henry George.

### Human Rights and State Duties

Mr. Poulsen's welcome was greeted with acclamation, and a rousing reception was given to MR. J. RUPERT MASON as he took the Chair to deliver his

Presidential Address. His subject was "Human Rights and State Duties." He drew a vivid picture of conditions in the world to-day and sketched the consequences that would inevitably follow the pursuance of present policies. He outlined in particular the financial and economic trends in his own country. There had been a steady move in the direction of relieving the value of land from taxation. The vested interests had worked to shift the cost of Federal, State and local governments to the producers and distributors of wealth. This financial and economic trend accounted for the frequent strikes to get more wages, futile statutes to try to put a lid on prices while the cost of living kept rising and they seemed willing to try anything except the sound and rational way of raising public revenues from the value of land apart from buildings and improvements, so as to allow the producers to enjoy the fruit of their work free from taxation. That some leaders had realised that the tax pendulum had swung too far was shown by the passage of the law in Pennsylvania last year, by a vote of 50 to 0 in the Senate and 184 to 11 in the Assembly, enabling most cities in that State to put taxation upon land values and free machinery and buildings from the burden. That victory had given much heart to the friends and protagonists of the movement wherever they might be. Turning to the problems caused by tariffs, quotas and other obstructions to commerce, Mr. Mason said that the "world wide federation" visualised by Henry George in his Fourth of July Oration, 1877, did not involve the *surrender* of sovereignty by any nation, but the *exercise* of *sovereign powers* by each nation to abrogate its own laws or statutes which establish and maintain tariffs on imports, quotas, subsidies on exports or other expedients the cumulative effect of which is always to push down real wages. The freedom to produce and exchange goods with others, the free play and interplay of human activities was necessary for the vitality and strength of all peoples. In a world profoundly upset by deep economic, social and political conflicts, the opportunity and the duty of the International Union of Land Value Taxation and Free Trade had never been so clear as it was to-day.

### The Danish Henry George Union

The work and achievements of the Danish Henry George Union which celebrated its jubilee earlier this year, was reviewed by its Secretary, Mr. Dan Björner, who prefaced his account by giving a broad picture of Danish social and economic evolution since the liberation of the peasants in 1788. A precursor of the present Union had been founded in Odense, in 1889, following the interest created by Jakob E. Lange's exposition of Henry George's principles in the journal of the Folk High School (Mr. Lange was subsequently



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principal of the School in which the Conference was held), but it had been short-lived. The present Union was formed in Copenhagen, March 2, 1902, by a group of about 20 men who had met in response to an invitation inserted as a newspaper advertisement. The objects of the Union had remained unchanged, namely, to work for the solution of the social problem through the economic emancipation of the people in the way Henry George had shown; that is: the carrying into effect of *fuld grundskyld* (land value taxation in its fulness) and free trade, and the abolition of taxes on all labour-created values and incomes. Its activities included publishing Henry George's works, circulating the journal *Grundskyld* and pamphlets, holding public meetings and supporting the study classes organised by the Ecotechnical High School. Its achievements, for it had taken an influential part in the parliamentary field, were on record in the land value legislation inscribed particularly in the Acts of 1922 and 1926 and at the moment they were awaiting the report of the all-party Parliamentary Commission engaged in studying the possibility of putting land value taxation into full operation. He emphasised that the Henry George Union was a strictly non-party educational organisation with adherents within most of the political parties.

**Peace Through Free Trade**

The term "international trade" carries the mistaken notion that trade takes place between countries and not between individual traders and the immense parading of statistics to show the quantity and destination and source of goods not only gives the protectionists their handle but leads the unthinking to believe in the necessity of tariffs, quotas, bi-lateral agreements, import licences, etc. Therefore, said Mr. Ashley Mitchell, he meant to discuss "International Trade *without Statistics*," which was the title of his paper. The series of post-war tariff-bargaining conferences held at Havana, Annecy and Torquay where negotiators said to one another: "unless you reduce your shackles we will not reduce ours" had ended in futility or worse. Tariffs could and should be abolished unilaterally. Customs Unions such as the Benelux Union were no solution. They appeared attractive only to those who forgot that the purpose of a tariff is to raise prices to benefit a few at the expense of their fellow-countrymen. Customs unions merely widened the area in which such unjust privileges were granted, and by reducing the freedom of action of participating countries, made the achievement of free trade more difficult. It was falsely claimed that tariffs protect wages; in fact, by raising prices and making production artificially dear, tariffs reduced the demand for labour causing wages to fall. Exchange control was the very citadel of the planners; it must be removed if trade was to survive and countries should put their currencies on a metallic basis. State trading had exacerbated international relations, friction replacing the harmony which prevailed when private traders met to their own and their countries' mutual advantage. Trade barriers were madness and economic war; free trade was economic wisdom and a Peace Treaty in itself. But Free Trade was even more than that, it was a part of the whole

question of freedom. Unless men had the liberty to exchange their products freely wherever they wished, they could not be said to enjoy liberty. Modern technical developments, especially in transport and communications, threatened with extinction the ancient tyrannies and the petty tyrants who had kept small nations in servitude. If liberty was established in one country after another, with modern inventions, how could it be prevented from spreading everywhere? Yet, during the last thirty years, the exercise of authority over mankind had been greatly extended even in countries which boasted their democratic institutions, while in some countries the planning of other men's lives had brought about conditions amounting almost to slavery. Evil forces, ever vigilant, had preyed on apathy, stupidity, and false patriotism to defeat liberty. Trade barriers were an essential weapon in the tyrant's armoury. There could be no compromise on this great issue. Modern inventions could either destroy or save mankind. The abolition of all trade barriers was part of the emancipation of mankind from slavery and a step towards the establishment of peace, justice and prosperity.

**Mine and Thine and Ours**

Dr. Viggo Starcke's dramatic talk on "Our Daily Bread" made the same profound impression as it did when given at the previous International Conference held at Swanwick, England, in 1949. There is no audience but would be moved by such appeal to the mind and to the heart, that there be love of justice and obedience to its precepts. This talk, having been heard at Swanwick, was put on the Odense programme by special request. As we remarked on that previous occasion, cold type cannot convey the effect of the speaker's eloquence and the manner in which he adorned it by his demonstration, his words accompanied by the handling of the bread rolls which he put on one side or the other, or brought together and then separated, to show the distinction—which must be absolute—between "*Mine*" and "*Thine*," and by further contrast what is "*Ours*," and what happens within the society of mankind when the ethics of property are subverted. Translated into practical affairs, how striking was such a touch as this: "If you are clever and I am not, we naturally resolve to put you in office, so that you can rule and govern, organise and direct, sitting at your desk writing papers, proclamations, schemes and budgets, collecting statistics, conducting enquiries and preparing five-year plans. I have to work, obey and suffer, reading

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the forms you are writing, writing the forms you are reading, seriously hampered by restrictions, rationing allocations and control. The result is less bread, worse bread. This is the Planned Economy, Red Tape, Bureaucracy, State Control, Socialism. The State says: *My Paper is your Bread! Isn't it good?* What shall be done is so clear, so convincing, so simple. Short of being heard, here is a statement that should be widely read, and provision has been made for that by the printing of the paper for extensive circulation.

**Abolish the Exchange Controls**

There is no shortage of dollars. They are available in plentiful supply like everything else, and meeting every demand, provided that the right price is paid for them. But that right price can only be determined in a perfectly free market. The reason why traders in other countries are pinched for dollars and are therefore disabled from importing American goods is that responsible governments have fixed rates of exchange in their own currencies which would pay less for dollars than dollars are actually worth. Inflation depreciates the purchasing power of money in circulation, but governments attempt to disguise that by arbitrary fixation of prices applied to both internal and external trade, and with results that are wholly disastrous. Its effect can be to restrict and stop imports, and on the other hand to boost and subsidise exports. Quite deliberately, it is part and parcel of protectionist policy and of a "planned" economy, if not planned then destined to give special privilege greater sway. These matters are treated in Dr. Sven Rydenfelt's paper, "The Way Out of the Dollar Shortage," a title which does not do full justice to its contents. It is not confined to ridding our minds of the "dollar gap" folly. It is an exposure of the fallacies and of the menace associated with the arbitrary control of rates of exchange. "Abolish the Exchange Control—Establish the Free Market Exchange," for which Dr. Rydenfelt so cogently and conclusively argues, would have been a more fitting title. That particular argument was sufficiently proved, the author accomplishing his purpose without necessarily raising wider monetary and fiscal questions, such as how inflation is to be arrested, sound money established and (where the remedy really lies) governments obliged to raise their revenues and balance their budgets without piling taxation and debt upon the producers of wealth. Short of that exposition, Dr. Rydenfelt's paper supplies a most helpful chapter to the economics of free trade.

**What's Wrong with Taxation ?**

The economics of taxation have seldom been so succinctly and convincingly stated as in the paper which Mr. Noah D. Alper presented to the Conference. His text and lesson was "The Great American Tax Shift," and in its use the first distribution might well be to every Senator and Assembly man in the United States. He exposed the organised campaign on the part of special interests to shift the burden of taxation for their own relief and place it upon the shoulders of other classes in the community. Every kind of tax had been devised to enforce payment out of the

proceeds of industry, trade and enterprise—on earned incomes, on gross receipts, on sales, on motor fuel, on supply of goods and services, much other indirect taxation including not least the customs tariff. It was a scheme boldly and brazenly engineered to secure relief or exemption for landed property. The trend was factually demonstrated in comparative statistics taken from official sources and the comment on those figures was shattering. After pointing to the inevitable social and economic effects of choosing a wrong source of public revenue, Mr. Alper concluded with an earnest appeal for untaxed production, free trade and a free enterprise economy. In this he spoke to his fellow-countrymen, but his exhortation applies universally. "Whether this policy (of land value taxation and free trade)," he said, "becomes American policy rests with the American businessmen and industrialists, and the workers who with them make the productive team. It depends upon their being made alive to the real economic cause of their fears and of the harassments they suffer at the hands of Government, the cause being essentially wrong taxation. They must be helped to see how the very commercial and industrial organizations they maintain are threatened by commerce-destroying and industry-despoiling methods of securing the public revenue. As long as the productive team allows the land-title-owning fraternity to influence the tax system of our country by, for, and in the interests of the 'vacant lot industry' and the hoarders of natural resources and opportunities, so long must they face the ever-present danger of loss of control of their businesses and their earned incomes."

**Background of the British Situation**

It is often asked by those who see the justice of Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, and especially by those who in their persuasion and zeal have begun to give all their talents to it, why the movement has not made more progress. It is a question most heard with regard to Great Britain where the campaign has been conducted with an intensity, persistence and force surpassing that in any other country. The newcomer naturally realises that, but again the question is, what has happened and why? It is explained in the comprehensive survey of parliamentary history provided in the paper "Land Value Taxation in Great Britain," by Mr. A. W. Madsen, which it may be said has been welcome for the necessary background it gives for the future efforts of even the most impatient protagonists. The paper is one of those from the Conference which is being printed in large numbers and published (by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values) as a contribution to the general literature of the movement. Here, only the briefest indication of the contents can be given—the play of political forces by the changes in government, the Conservatives having ruled the State for the greater part of the period between 1906 and 1951—the swelling demand of the municipalities for the local taxation of land values—the House of Lords obstruction—the Lloyd George budget, with its promise of land valuation and its fate at the hands of the Coalition of which Lloyd George himself was Prime Minister—the calamity when Liberals and Labourites holding power and pledged to both Land Value Taxation and Free Trade fell

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apart and gave place to the Tories—Churchill's most evil gift to the nation by the passing of the Act to exempt all agricultural land from local rates and allowing other relief from burdens that only made land dearer—as to which Mr. Madsen says: "It was lamentable that Winston Churchill could find himself the sponsor of such pernicious legislation, glibly defending it by the use of protectionist arguments he had once so effectively exposed; those who treasure his earlier speeches on Land Value Taxation and Free Trade should now treat the book of them as a sadly tattered museum piece." In 1929 came the return of the Labour Party into power with the great Free Trader, Philip Snowden, as Chancellor and his Land-Value-Tax Finance Act duly passed but rescinded by the Tories who got back again as the result of a "crisis" election—the treachery by which protectionist tariffs were instituted—the municipal agitation for local rating of land values resumed—the second world war which like the first set back all democratic progress, giving the Authoritarian State an enormous lift—the Labour Government of 1945 rushing their own socialist policy of economic planning and restriction, controls and subsidies, and largesse to landlordism though hoping to create a "welfare state," all pledges with regard to Land Value Taxation abandoned; and amongst all its Acts producing the worst in the Town and Country Planning Act, which made development itself the prey and the victim of an overruling and most arbitrary State monopoly. But now had come the revulsion against Socialist policies and there was all occasion for optimism, none for despair. Certainly the Henry George movement had to work for the repeal of all the legislation that had done such great harm. They were rich in determination, if not so adequately in the means to give it effect. The closing note was that in such a survey, confined as it was to the parliamentary scene, it had not been possible to mention deservedly the activities of the propagandist movement and all that an intense educational effort implies—the meetings, conferences, publications, correspondence, etc. In Great Britain, the propagation of the teaching of Henry George was centred at 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, the premises of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values and editorial offices of *LAND & LIBERTY*, the United Committee giving home and also the services of establishment and staff to the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade and to the Henry George School of Great Britain.

**Discussion of the Money Question**

The Conference papers had been printed in both English and Danish and had been distributed in advance so that members would have the opportunity to read them; and the authors, taking them as read, could appropriately confine themselves to a brief summary of the contents. Thus all the more time was released for discussion. Nevertheless there were some papers which lent themselves to much more discussion than the allotted time allowed. There were two in particular, namely, those by Dr. Glenn E. Hoover on "Justice and Monetary Policy," and by Mr. K. J. Kristensen on "Some Problems connected

with the Full Collection of Economic Rent"; the former because it raised unended controversy and the latter because of the wide range of topics it covered. Dr. Hoover argued well that justice demanded a stable monetary system. He exposed the evils of both inflation and deflation and the malpractices of governments in that regard. But when he came to monetary policy, he found himself at variance with most of the speakers that followed. His paper, silent on any suggestion for restoring the gold standard, subsequent discussion showed him to be entirely opposed to that. Instead, he favoured an inconvertible paper money whose value would be regulated and stabilised by reference to established price indexes (the Keynesian managed currency) and he thought that a super-national or international authority might be set up to regulate the volume of purchasing power, as well as perhaps the reserves which deposit banks must hold, in the countries made obedient to the superior wisdom of their over-rulers. These views were sharply contested but lack of time prevented adequate reply and the Conference had to turn quickly from the vexing "money question" to other items on its programme. But in anticipation of such controversy, there had been brought to the Conference for presentation to the members a sufficient answer in the reprint, in both English and Danish, of the article by Dr. J. E. Holloway on "Monetary Reform or Revolution," the text of which taken from the South African journal *Optima* had already appeared in the April, 1952, issue of *LAND & LIBERTY*. Therein is the argument for sound money based upon free convertibility not merely into gold but into gold coin, and it is a statement which can be cordially commended to every student of the question.

**The Land Values Enquiry in Denmark**

Mr. Kristensen in his paper went over much of the ground that is covered in the terms of reference to the Parliamentary Commission, appointed in 1948 by the Danish Government to study in all its aspects what would be involved in carrying into effect the full appropriation of land values as public revenue; that is the adoption of *fuld grundskyld*, the Danish term for the total collection of land rent with, of course, the remission of taxes on wages, buildings, industry and trade. Thus recognising the strength of the demand for that policy and paying respect to the insistence of its most ardent advocates, *Retsforbundet* (the Justice Party), the Government responded with the gesture—let enquiry be made to see what it all amounts to. The Commission has been sitting more than four years and no report has yet been issued.

Mr. Kristensen, himself a member, could not reveal what shape the deliberations were taking, but he discussed some of the questions that obviously arise,

**Monetary Reform or Revolution**

By Dr. J. E. Holloway

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Telephone:  
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such as the problem of land valuation when all land-rent is collected so that land ceases to have any selling value—whether they should stick to capital value for assessment purposes or adopt annual value; what proportions of the revenue should go respectively to the national treasury and to the local authorities; the question of mortgages; the claims made in favour of “compensation” to landowners; what reduction in general taxation could be anticipated and so on. It was a survey related to actual Danish conditions; how, in fact, to go forward to the full appropriation from the point at which the country has now arrived. Briefly the position is that from the existing taxation on land values, national and local, an annual revenue of 270 million crowns is derived. The present total of Danish land valuation is 8,000 million crowns. As the assessment is the *selling* value, the sum can be said to represent a capitalisation of the economic rent that remains in private hands. It means that with 4 per cent as the ruling rate of interest, the economic rent that remains to be collected amounts to 400 million crowns. Even so, that 400 million crowns does not exceed 10 per cent of the total amount of national taxation now levied. Important was the question whether this “full appropriation” of land rent was to be attained all at once or progressively, step by step, Mr. Kristensen favouring the latter procedure for reasons that were well stated.

### A Policy to Renounce

On the “compensation” idea which is bound up with the “all-at-once” programme of the Justice Party, Mr. Kristensen’s observations and the subsequent discussion showed what a travesty that would be of the Henry George policy. It was a revelation to members of the Conference that the Justice Party or its leaders stood for any such scheme, framed as it was in plausible talk that “landowners—rent recipients—should not be required to bear the whole brunt of the change.” The method of this compensation is to impose a capital levy on all property, the yield from which to be used to give landowners the wherewithal to pay a part, if not the whole, of the land rent that will be exacted from them. There could be no thought of any “land rent collection” until after that capital levy had been legislated for, its assessment laid and its revenue yield estimated. Most of it would be impossible of payment except by annualising the charge over a period of years, and its manifest effect would be to impose on industry taxation of the

very worst description. Morally, economically and politically the plan is condemned and it was satisfaction to know that the Danish Henry George Union, on behalf of whom Mr. Dan Björner spoke, flatly repudiated it. Obviously, anyone who commits himself to such a plan in combination with the “all-at-once” or total collection of rent, equally commits himself to compensation for any partial step. It was not without significance that the very point was raised by the Danish Finance Minister in the debate on the Bill for the 1 per cent national land value tax which was before Parliament on May 23 last. A weapon has been placed in the hands of opponents of which they will certainly make the most when any proposal for land value taxation to any degree comes forward. If Mr. Kristensen’s paper has helped to clear away arguments of the kind it will have rendered a considerable service.

### Land Monopoly—Australia’s Experience

A contribution of outstanding importance to the Conference and one which promises to make a valuable addition to the permanent literature of the Movement was the paper “When Australia was Colonised.” Written by Frank Dupuis, Assistant Secretary to the International Union, and incorporating material derived from the researches of Mr. E. J. Craigie, past President of the Union, and former Member of the Legislative Assembly of South Australia, it was presented in their absence to the Conference by Mr. James Sampson, a colleague of Mr. Craigie.

Authentic information is given about the well-known expedition of 1827 to colonise the Swan River where now stands the city of Perth. Finding good land abundantly available at 1s. 6d. an acre the settlers, drawn from the poorest section of English society, promptly abandoned the capitalist, Mr. Peel, leader of the venture, leaving him to fend for himself and his capital to deteriorate for want of attention, while they turned land-owner. Thus is shown clearly that access to land is the pre-requisite of economic freedom, that the possession of capital in itself gives no power to exploit labour, and that those who work create their own wages—wages are not drawn from some pre-existing source.

All this was understood by the Board of Commissioners charged with the administration of the subsequent settlement at St. Vincent Gulf, the forerunner of Adelaide. Their first Report to the Colonial Secretary, dated 1836, bears remarkable testimony to the relation between land tenure and wages. Pointing out that men who were neither slaves nor convicts would work for wages only until they were able to acquire land and work on their own account, the Commissioners declared the principle that the price of public lands should be fixed at a level high enough to prevent labourers from acquiring property in land until they had worked for wages for a sufficient time. At that particular time and place it was stated that to achieve this result it would be necessary to raise the price of land from 12s. to more than £1 an acre. Thus the deliberate aim of colonial economic policy is seen to have been the control of the citizens of an apparently free colony by the exercise of land monopoly.

Significant examples are given of how “the landlord sleeps but thrives” as the colony developed, and how

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growth of population increased the land value of Adelaide from £3,856 to more than £19,000,000. The paper concludes with a tribute to that enlightened land reformer and greatest of British Colonial administrators, Sir George Grey.

**There are not too many People**

The cause of *apparent* over-population to be found in some countries and the consequent renaissance of Malthusianism was in every case directly attributable to mis-government. Such was the theme of the paper entitled "The Dispossessed are Over-Populated" presented by W. A. Dowe. Specifically this lay in permitting land monopoly and in fostering protectionism. Governmental direction and control bred scarcity whereas individual freedom and unprivileged private enterprise made for plenty. But when people demanded freedom and equality of opportunity they were given a *plan*, involving large expenditure, the outcome of which was that while temporary relief was given to the sufferers, the rent of land was raised, thus benefiting those who could pocket that. These plans—the Colombo and Marshall Plans and Point Four Programme, for instance—appeared with monotonous regularity. They were but sketchily explained to a credulous world, acclaimed as intelligent statesmanship, and then always revealed by circumstances to be so inadequate that fresh plans had to be devised. The greatest evil of our time was landlordism. It flouted the moral law, standing athwart all economic well-being. Nothing short of its abolition and the restoration to the dispossessed masses of their heritage in the earth could establish peace and prosperity. Only when men were free, under just and equal laws, to produce, exchange, transport and transact any kind of business they desired, unhampered by taxes, fines and restrictions, would there be a full supply of every kind of subsistence. Only then would there be no dispossessed and no over-population.

**What is this Welfare State?**

A searching analysis and wide survey of the purpose, structure and operation of the Welfare State was presented by Mr. Stephen Martin. Supposed to solve the age-old problem of poverty, the Welfare State failed to explain why a large section of the community could not afford to pay for medical attention and education and was unable to make provision for old age. It ignored the fundamental question of why the return to man's labour is not commensurate with his effort. Mr. Martin gave a detailed list to show the extent of State welfare schemes commenting that "from the cradle to the grave, at work and at play, in sickness and in health, the desires and ambitions of mankind are made so much the concern and responsibility of the State that no one needs to worry." These multifarious schemes had resulted in the destruction of initiative and independence. Competition, the natural incentive to greater human effort, and the spirit of voluntary service had almost disappeared giving way to indifference and indolence. Men looked to the State to shoulder their burdens and to solve problems of their own creation, the solution of which

lay in their own power. Since the State possessed nothing save that which it had appropriated from its citizens, every welfare scheme necessarily involved confiscatory taxation. Producers were impoverished so that sectional interests might be benefited. The dispensation of public monies endowed government with coercive powers to regulate labour, direct industry, prohibit the building of houses by private enterprise, impose arbitrary penalties, and exercise economic pressure. All these were the political machinery of the Slave-State.

The Welfare State was a complete misnomer. What they must have was the *Just State* and this could be accomplished only by securing the abolition of all taxation on labour and industry, the repeal of legislation which denied the individual the right to dispose freely of his property and which deprived him of responsibility for his own welfare, and the collection of the ever fructifying communal wealth, the rent of land.

**Outlook in France**

M. Max Toubeau with his son and daughter-in-law (who herself is of Danish parentage) and M. Pavlos Gianellias made up the small but select delegation from the movement in France. The company of two of their eminent colleagues—M. Daudé-Bancel and M. J. A. Simonet—had been expected but circumstances prevented them from travelling and their presence was much missed. In his paper, "France Faced with the Need for radical Fiscal Reform," M. Toubeau outlined the developments in the French tax structure from the days when the Physiocrats led by Quesnay, Turgot, Dupont de Nemours and others had influenced the revolutionary Constituent Assembly to move for the abolition of indirect taxes and of the *octrois* and the substitution of a tax on ground alone. There came the counter-revolution and the Napoleonic regime, and down through the years indirect taxation was extended more and more, while the land-value tax which the men of the Revolution had wanted shrank, to the great profit of the powerful land monopolists. Of course leaders of thought arose from time to time to urge reforms and among them M. Toubeau rightly names his own father, Albert Maximilien Toubeau, who in 1880 published his work on *Metric Assessment of Taxation* written before acquaintance with Henry George's ideas, but very closely in line with them. In 1889 Albert Maximilien Toubeau and his friends organised, in Paris, an "International Congress for Agrarian and Social Reform" over which Henry George presided. The year after, there was the poignant loss to the promising movement, in the premature death of Max Toubeau's father. In 1912, the French Single Taxers rallied under Georges Darien as long as he continued in life, but it was only in 1924 that the "Ligue pour la Réforme Foncière et le Libre Echange" was formed, its work ably conducted by Sam Meyer and Daudé-Bancel, but the second world war played havoc with it and Sam Meyer was murdered by the Nazis. In 1945 the journal *Terre et Liberté*, under its sturdy editor Daudé-Bancel, was revived as a regularly printed periodical, M. Toubeau acclaiming the help the International Union had given. Among some of the signs that the leaven was beginning to work, there was the decree of April 17, 1951, fixing January 1,

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1952, for the coming into force of the revised valuation of property consisting in bare land. It remained to be seen what would result from the publication of those valuations; they awaited the prospect of a Finance Minister seeing the wisdom and justice of replacing some of the most injurious taxes by a tax on the value of land alone. Meanwhile, they carried on, convinced that under the pressure of events in France, as in other countries, the old way of favouring the selfish and the complacent would inevitably be abandoned.

**Where Smallholdings Excel**

At the evening session following an excursion to the smallholdings colony at Nislev, Mr. Harald Grönborg, principal of the Odense School, spoke to his paper "Smallholdings—Large Farms," in which he contrasted the yields and returns under these types of agriculture. It is a matter on which Mr. Grönborg has made himself an acknowledged authority. The comparison is made between 312 smallholdings of under 10 hectares (24 acres) and 67 large farms of over 100 hectares, based upon the official agricultural survey for the year 1949-50. The economic tests as

**RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE**

WE the members of the Eighth International Conference to promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, assembled at Odense, Denmark, 28 July to 4 August, 1952, declare:

The fear of war is with us but if we can find and remove the causes there will be no war. If we do not destroy the causes of war, war will destroy us. Military preparedness alone will not prevent war.

The causes of war between nations are not difficult to detect. Through centuries of human history they have been written in the terms imposed by the victors on the vanquished which have always involved the transfer of land and the surrender of trading rights.

Popular discontent is founded on oppression and poverty, and leads to civil wars.

Land monopoly creates poverty. Tariff barriers and restrictions create friction, hatred, and war between nations.

Everyone has an equal right to life and it necessarily follows that everyone has an equal right to land on which alone life can be sustained. To restore the equal rights of man to the natural resources of the earth is to restore the basis of prosperity of the people. To remove the dangers between the nations it is necessary to end the injustices within the nations.

In every country the value of land is created by the people and is rightfully theirs. Every man should be the owner of the full product of his labour and have the right to develop and use his ability so long as he does not infringe the equal rights of others.

By abolishing taxes that rob the producer, by collecting the economic rent of land, and by removing the restrictions on the freedom to consume, the freedom to buy and the freedom to sell, we can secure for every man the power to own and to retain what is rightfully his.

Inflation has disastrous effects. For confidence in ownership and enterprise in any country there must be confidence in its money, and therefore each country should maintain a stable monetary system.

The freedom of men is at stake now. Unless justice is established freedom will be lost.

to milk yield per cow, corn and other fodder crops per hectare, number of domestic animals per 100 hectares, etc., are all decidedly in favour of the smallholdings. Another table shows that, with the greater number of cows per unit of area and the greater milk yield per cow, if 100 hectares now belonging to large farms were transferred to smallholding cultivation, the actual increase in milk production would be no less than 197,316 kilos. The general results are the more surprising when it is realised how war-time and post-war restrictions work especially against the smallholders. No one should forget, Mr. Grönborg stated, that smallholding cultivation in Denmark is based on open frontiers with free import of corn and feeding stuffs in plenty, at low prices. But for several years they had neither plentiful imports nor low prices for raw materials, so that the smallholders had not been able to produce at full power. On the other hand the large farmers have had a special advantage because they are corn sellers and corn prices have been high. In spite of these advantages, the results of smallholding cultivation are still much superior to those of large farm cultivation. Moreover, and this was the great point in the argument, they could see the immense possibilities through the full application of land value taxation and free trade as demanded in the famous Køge resolution of 1902, so that, as that resolution said, "small farms and independent husbandry have proved the most advantageous form of agriculture in the interests both of the community and the individual and may therefore be expected to become the most general, and in future possibly the only, system of Danish agriculture."

**Mr. Magne Nöhr**

On Tuesday afternoon, July 29, the International Conference in full session, a tragic event occurred in the sudden death of Mr. Magne Nöhr, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Commission on Land Values, and given distinction on the honorary roll of the Conference. Mr. Nöhr, a prominent member of the Radical Party, and editor of the Radical paper, *Randers County Times*, was seized with a heart attack and collapsed on his way to address the Conference from the rostrum. Members dispersed, returning later to hear a moving tribute to Mr. Nöhr and the outstanding service he had rendered the cause of economic freedom paid by Mr. K. J. Kristensen, his colleague on the Parliamentary Commission.

**Enterprise in Chicago**

The significance and importance of the work being done by the Commerce and Industry Division of the Henry George School in Chicago formed the subject matter of Mrs. Jessie Matteson's paper, "Economics and Business." The Division was formed in 1946 in response to the demand of business men who, having themselves studied the economic and ethical basis of free enterprise at the Chicago School desired that their colleagues and employees might share their knowledge. The first industry class was held at the Benjamin Electric Manufacturing Company where the Executive Vice-President invited ten of his top executives to make the study with him. Other classes followed, some consisting of executives only, some of

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employers and employees sitting round a table together and learning that their interests are in no way hostile. During the "teething period" since the first class was held three years ago, valuable lessons had been learned, good-will had been established (this largely through the monthly business men's luncheons), special new class material had been prepared and tested, and much time and thought had been devoted toward developing training methods, recruiting new class leaders and securing financial support.

**Robert Schalkenbach Foundation**

Reporting on the work during the last three years of the American Georgeist publishing house, the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, Miss V. G. Petersen said that the basic task of publishing and distributing Henry George's writings in the English language had been well maintained and in September they were producing a new, improved edition of *Progress and Poverty*. The Foundation had recently published that book in the Italian language and expected to print it in German before the year closed. These translations were intended primarily for the use of foreign-born Americans. A world search had procured copies of George's works in other languages. A symposium written by leading Georgeists throughout the world dealing with the history and application of land value taxation would soon be ready. Another book in which the Foundation was interested was a study of land tenure systems in the Middle East and in other countries, showing the connection between these systems and the consequent economic conditions there prevailing. A bold experiment promised to provide further books of outstanding value to Georgeist workers. Grants-in-aid had been awarded to four American university men to undertake original research into: land tenure problems in Arab countries; the passing into private ownership of 175 million acres of land in eight southern and mid-western states of the U.S.A. during the period 1814 to 1854; land speculation in California; and the land tenure systems in the Cotton Belt and the economic conditions of the share-croppers there.

An interesting book to be published this year by a commercial company in co-operation with the Foundation was "The Wonderful Wealth Machine," by Phil Grant. This would give the economic arguments of Henry George in the modern idiom, the text supported lavishly by cartoons and diagrams.

**The Henry George School in U.S.A.**

The second Friday afternoon session considered papers submitted by Robert Clancy, Executive Director of the Henry George School of Social Science, New York, and V. H. Blundell, Director of Studies of the School in Britain. By dint of perseverance and enthusiasm the School movement in the United States had successfully combatted the intellectual inertia induced by the war in Korea, conscription, the false, apparent prosperity created by re-armament and the prevailing fear of Communism which baulks the activities of the radical and unorthodox. New developments undertaken during the past three years included the opening of new extension schools in Albany, Baltimore, Detroit and San Francisco, the

establishment of alumni organisations in various cities, and new courses in the history of economic thought, study of the problems of applying George's remedy, and comparative philosophies. The annual National Conferences of all branches of the School had developed into a valuable forum where mutual problems were discussed and solved, and experiences were exchanged. Assistance had been afforded to pioneers who had recently opened branches of the School in New Zealand, Italy and India. All these various activities had resulted in favourable press and radio notice being taken of the School's work and increasing recognition of the status and importance of the School as an adult education institution being accorded in many cities.

**Meeting Economic Fallacies**

In his talk, "Teaching Economics," Mr. V. H. Blundell, director of studies at the School in Great Britain, said that Henry George had brilliantly demonstrated the fallacies in the economic theories current three-quarters of a century ago. But despite that, tutors of the Henry George School had to show how these fallacies had persisted and had been augmented by a crop of equally dangerous new ones. To illustrate the hopeless confusion which existed among modern economists, Mr. Blundell quoted from *Economics for Everyman*, by Arthur Coe, published 1948, *Everyday Economics*, by R. R. Martin, published 1950, and *Teach Yourself Economics*, by S. E. Thomas, published 1947. Each offered irreconcilable definitions of the factors of production. Quotations were given from *The Approach to Economics*, by Honor Croome, first published in 1932 which has run to seventeen editions. Miss Croome was herself a Liberal Party candidate; she was a product of the London School of Economics which taught socialist economics, and her book was used as a text book by the Conservative Party. That showed how widespread was the confusion that had to be combatted by the Henry George School. To parade the contradictions and confusion of the modern so-called economists had two useful results. It showed that the School was not living in the past, and by destroying a latent and often unconscious respect for those responsible for current economic doctrines, it liberated the mind of the student from the shibboleths of graphs, figures and charts presented by "experts," preparing him for a highly critical consideration of the logic of George's arguments. With tolerance and humour, students were encouraged to argue one with the other and against the tutor. Students were thus compelled to do their own thinking and they were quick to point out the tutor's error! The students received free tuition, studying not a mere fiscal reform but a philosophy of equal liberty with ramifications which affect the whole of social life. In return they were expected to help forward the work of the movement, as tutors, speakers, writers, financially or in whatever other way that best accorded with their talents and opportunities.

**Land Value Taxation in Canada**

A report fully describing recent trends in Canada had been written by Mr. H. T. Owens, of Ontario, but unfortunately too late for inclusion in the programme. It was brought to the Conference by



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Mr. P. Boschi, of Montreal, and the text was circulated to the members. We hope to give the gist of this statement in our next issue.

**End of an Eventful Week**

On the Friday evening, at a specially convened session, the main Conference Resolution was adopted. Into the night there was song, music and dance, and a review well-staged by Conference members caused great amusement. Thus with entertainment and the several excursions that were part of the programme, the Conference showed that it was as able to play and relax as to work. At the final plenary session on the Saturday evening, three additional resolutions were adopted and time was fortunately found to welcome and hear Mr. Paul Gaston who had just arrived from Fairhope, Alabama, so that the Conference had first-hand information on the progress of that "Single Tax Enclave" where the land-rent is collected into a pool and used to discharge the existing property taxes. On Sunday, August 3, the Conference Halls were thrown open to the public and at that large assembly, all set for Radio transmission, addresses were delivered by Mr. J. Rupert Mason, Dr. Viggo Starcke, M.P., and Mr. Aage Fogh, M.P. In the evening came the Festive Dinner of the Conference, with Mr. Leon Caminez as Toast Master. The speakers, and there were many, joined in acclaiming the Conference for its achievement, the new strength and inspiration it had provided for the advancement of the cause, the happiness also of the association of fellow-workers from so many lands. Warm votes of thanks were accorded to the organising committees in Copenhagen and in London—especially naming the joint secretaries Mrs. Caroline Bue Björner and Mr. A. W. Madsen—for the efforts that had been entailed in the preparations.

**The Conference and the Public**

The Danish people were made well aware of the presence and activities in their midst of the contingent of Georgeists drawn from the four quarters of the globe. First there was the "pre-Conference" interview with three members from the United States, Messrs. Jos. S. Thompson, Noah D. Alper and W. N. Cameron, broadcast from Copenhagen, Sunday, July 27. Day by day the chief metropolitan and provincial newspapers of every shade of political opinion published long, detailed notices and reports, often in considerable detail, of the business transacted and summaries of the speeches delivered, supported by portraits and photographs of groups of leading personalities seated in the Conference Hall, engaged in discussion in the delightful grounds of the School or posed in front of the bust of Henry George. Several papers gave the Conference pride of place as front page news with banner headlines while the influential *Nationaltidende*, in its edition of July 28, published an article by Dr. Viggo Starcke which quoted in full the Declaration of Principle and Policy adopted by the Seventh International Conference at Swanwick in 1949. This immense nation-wide publicity, sufficient to make an album of more than a thousand cuttings, testified to the competence of Mr. Leo Tonti, press agent for the Conference.

Supplementing the written word were the broadcasts by the Danish State Radio—greatly envied by the British members—of the pre-Conference interview, the full text of the resolution adopted (which we give on page 96) and a ninety-minute relay of the great public meeting on Sunday afternoon, August 3, addressed by Mr. J. Rupert Mason, Dr. Viggo Starcke and the Radical Liberal, Aage Fogh, M.P.

**THREE RESOLUTIONS**

At the final session of the Conference, three resolutions on special subjects were carried.

The first was on Free Trade, moved by Mr. Johan Hansson, of Sweden. This recalled the declarations made from time to time by prominent statesmen in favour of a "great crusade" for freedom and sound prosperity and peace; it instanced the manner in which Great Britain had in a hundred years of its history led such a crusade for freedom of trade by abolition of its own protective tariffs, and by its policy of providing a great free clearing house for world commerce over that long period had shown the road to peace; it petitioned political leaders in all countries, great and small, to lead their peoples in a crusade for the freedom of trade by abolition of their own tariffs; and it added this rider, on behalf of "those of us from countries in Europe" that while recognising the assistance provided by the Marshall plan at the cost of American taxpayers, they believed that more lasting results would be secured if America would lead by the abolition of protective tariffs and allow trade to develop freely.

The second, moved by Mr. Noah D. Alper, U.S.A., urged that essentially there were only two sources of public revenue, namely either (1) rent of land, or (2) wages of human effort and that all taxes, by whatever name called, must be taken out of one or other or both of these sources; that taxation or the rent of land and taxation on wages of human effort had directly opposite effects on the welfare of labourers, owners of capital and consumers. Therefore, the study of taxation should be approached from that viewpoint, so that the basic causes of economic ills be exposed and removed.

The third, moved by Mr. S. N. Tideman, U.S.A., drew attention to the state of affairs in the under-developed countries, where the people need, as in every country, access to land on equal terms. It urged that the Governments that were sending aid to the needy countries should watch against that aid simply going to enrich land monopolists. For avoiding such result it was imperative that the cost of public improvements, whether for irrigation, roads or other purposes should be charged against the lands benefited and be collected by way of an annual tax or rate on the land values.

**CONFERENCE MEMBERSHIP**

The following names supplement the list of enrolled Conference Members as published in our July issue:

H. L. Blackwell (*New South Wales*); J. Brennan (*England*); F. L. Brown (*New South Wales*); W. B. Carter (*Victoria*); A. H. Clark (*South Australia*); John L. Devoe (*New Jersey*); Miss Annie Dawson (*England*); Capt. Jesse B. Gay (*California*); Dr. K. N. Grigg, E. F. Halkyard, Mrs. Halkyard, Fred Howden (*Victoria*); H. Inglis (*New South Wales*); Johan Kristensen (*Denmark*); Harry Levett (*Transvaal*); Ian H. Leys (*Victoria*); J. A. Marshall (*England*); T. Perry (*New South Wales*); Santiago Serra (*Spain*); Mrs. W. E. Shafer (*Nebraska*); L. E. Stevens (*Victoria*); Carl Strack (*Cincinnati*); Robert Tideman (*California*); H. G. Firth (*New South Wales*); J. C. Stewart (*Hong Kong*); E. S. Woodward (*British Columbia*). Also the following from *Denmark*: Jørgen Damgaard, Aksel Frænkel, Harry Hansen, Hyllested, Bodil Kirk, Dr. Harald Lassen, Knud Erik Lausen, Mrs. Grete E. Lausen, J. Mortensen, Niels Kr. Nielsen, M.P., Johannes Nybo, J. M. Pedersen, Marcus Pedersen, Oluf Pedersen, M.P., Evald Rostgaard, Marcus Schlamowitz, Ingenior Thurm.

Correcting previous list: G. F. (not J. T.) Hellick (*Pennsylvania*); Olof A. Nilsson (*Sweden*), not Oluf A. Nielsen.