

# HENRY GEORGE NEWS

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## Wanted: Another Richard Cobden

By LANCASTER M. GREENE

**T**HE REGION north of the human ear is the greatest home for the unemployed that has ever been discovered. There is something there to think with, but we just do hate to do it," said Strickland Gillilan.

"Thinking is something new to man and he does it badly," wrote H. L. Mencken. George Bernard Shaw added: "Few people think more than two or three times a year. I have made an international reputation for myself by thinking once or twice a week."

Richard Cobden was a textile salesman capable of thinking, and became such a successful one that he founded a firm of which he became a partner. He was also a keen student of economic principles and an authority on Adam Smith and his *Wealth of Nations*.

Cobden found that the free market, with equal opportunity and no special privilege would give everyone the greatest incentive to cooperate—and the best results for all. As a good place to start toward this goal he considered the repeal of the Corn Laws, or tariffs on the free trade in grain. ("corn" in Europe refers to any small grain, specifically the principle grain of the country, as, in England, wheat).

Great authorities told him the Corn Laws were embedded in English tradition and were not likely to be repealed. Cobden took the challenge however, and in seven years of educational work from 1839 to 1846 he taught enough business men and workmen to perform the impossible. On June 26, 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed through a three-year sliding scale. This year we celebrate the 100th anniversary of his great accomplishment in adult education.

Cobden was the fourth of eleven children brought up on a small farm. His father lacked the ability to hang on to his modest fortune despite the native sense of his mother, and Richard was sent away to one of those wretched schools which Dickens made immortal. He grew to have a deep interest in the causes of poverty, and felt business a release from the misery of his school. He went from clerk to traveling salesman and continued his education with energy, in the coaches and commercial rooms of provincial hotels. Here was fresh and real matter to which he could apply his independent intelligence. The depression of 1825 and 1826 bankrupted his employers and also a man whom he greatly admired, Sir Walter Scott. One of his employers started a new partnership and sought out this able young man, who went on the road with samples of muslin and calico for two years before starting his own firm with two friends. Trade was hampered by a heavy duty on calicoes which he and other calico printers succeeded in taking off in 1831. Trade blossomed and Cobden was inspired to study Adam Smith to find out the natural laws which would make business satisfy human desires more effectively and bring each a greater prosperity.

The Corn Laws came forcibly to Cobden's



Richard Cobden

attention in 1835 when tariff-raised high prices for grain had brought a big planting of acreage and the weather had blessed Britain with a bumper wheat crop. Prices came tumbling down. The workman could buy his food for half his previous expense since he lived largely on cereals. Labor was able to buy manufactured goods it had only longed for previously.

Cobden saw that these laws and high prices for grain had offered inducement to many to bid for the right to use more land to grow grain. Landholders were happy to dangle higher rents before each new bidder and garnered almost all of the benefits of higher prices. The working farmer who was supposed to be helped, saw no increase in his net profits or wages from the Corn Laws. Richard Cobden concluded that Adam Smith was right when he said that the collection of ground dues instead of other taxes, such as tariffs or excises or income taxes, was the only way to benefit everyone according to his energy and ability. He saw this as the longer objective toward an incentive management of society but he took free trade as his short term goal.

In 1835 Cobden went to see for himself the America he already admired. He had written a pamphlet, "England, Ireland and America," and had become known as an acute and original thinker—a liberal who wrote clearly and interestingly. After his return he was asked to speak at a public meeting. He consented but appeared tongue-tied and confused. This failure was a challenge to the concise writer who set out to master the art of telling his views as interestingly as he wrote them. Gradually he came to be much in demand as a speaker.

The fall of 1838 brought excited torchlight meetings, destruction of property and great alarms under the lead of the Chartists. Cobden was not disturbed, feeling that the political knavery of those in power required an anti-

dote, even though this rash group was misled. He said, "I think the scattered elements may yet be rallied around the question of the Corn Laws. It appears to me that a moral and even a religious spirit may be infused into that topic, and if agitated in the same manner that the question of slavery has been, it will be irresistible."

Later he wrote—"Let me pray you to strike a blow for us for education. I have unbounded faith in the people, and would risk universal suffrage tomorrow in preference to the present franchise. But we shall never obtain even an approach toward such a change, except by one of two paths—revolution or the schoolhouse. By the latter means we shall make permanent reform; by the former we shall only effect convulsive and transient changes, to fall back again like Italy, or Spain, into despotism or anarchy."

In January 1839 Cobden inspired the Anti-Corn Law Association to raise money for action. Within one month £6,000 had been raised—equal to about \$30,000 at the time, when such a sum had much higher buying power than today, in man hours of labor. This was to be a "Smithian society" to disseminate through the world the ideas of the great luminary, Adam Smith, for a just knowledge of the principles of trade. It was to concentrate on a partial application of these ideas toward the early abolition of the Corn Laws. In 1839, three members of the executive committee were visited by a nobleman who had taken an active part toward modification, but not repeal, of the Corn Laws. He asked what brought them to London. When they said the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws he answered, "You will overturn the monarchy as soon as you will accomplish that." Such was the gloomy outlook at the start.

Cobden was indefatigable in corresponding with writers from all parts of England, and in culling the important points from each. His league published an able paper, poured out pamphlets and sent speakers everywhere. He was convinced that this "schoolhouse" was the best way. His associates came to feel that his talents would educate faster if he spoke from a seat in Parliament. Stockport people and Bolton people both got assurance to Cobden that he would be elected from either if he would but stand. He declined. The pressure continued more strongly until he consented and was elected, or "returned" from Stockport, with triumphant éclat over a military major, in 1841. The Tories, with help from the Whigs, organized a great administration which Cobden and the league slowly broke to pieces in five years of debate, argument and persuasion. The bitter condition of the working classes in 1841 was brought forcibly to the attention of the M. P.'s in his maiden speech and definitely related to the Corn Laws. He pointed out that the bread tax paid by the family of a noble landholder amounted to only 1/24th of 1 per cent of their

(Continued on Page Eight)

## A Word With You

By ROBERT CLANCY

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Amid this general accord, the only disagreement is, "Who's going to pay for the pensions?" And, my goodness, what a furore can be kicked up over this detail!

So, the big three are left to battle it out—big labor, big business, big government. Labor goes on strike for pensions. Management discusses pension schemes for those fortunate enough to be chained to one job all their lives. And for those outside the pale, Father Townsend raises his voice once more, and there are public prayers—for more taxes, more spending more government.

Truly, that imaginary denouncer of pensions would be a monster indeed if he postulated this world in all its current cruelty. Even hardened criminals don't want to see grandma perish in a snow bank. But—is this the best of all possible worlds?

Is the demand for pensions—part of humanity's heartfelt cry for security—leading to the right solution? If the regulated welfare state is the only answer to security, should not the demand be for something greater—for equality of opportunity, in short? And would not this goal carry with it, as a matter of course, all the security that humans reasonably crave? What a pitiful thing is the wail for a puddle of pensions, when all might have enough in an ocean of opportunity!

Just visualize the state of things where natural opportunities were released from monopoly control. Would it then seem desirable to freeze oneself in an industry for life just for a paltry pension? Would not the greater freedom of movement, the ability to work where opportunity beckons, where there are higher rewards in the here and now, be ever so much more attractive? And finally, would there not be more demand for the work of older people, still fit and willing to work, but now cast aside in a struggle where only the strongest survive?

The clamor for pensions is taken as a sign of progress—as a development of our social sense. If the "old folks," who in former times spent their declining days in peace,

(Continued in Column Three)

## "IT'S THE TRUTH"

By GEORGE LEE

WHEN MY wife handed me a postcard with the query, "What is the most hopeful thing about Georgism," I read it and then asked her—"Well, what is it?"

She answered, "That it is the truth."

I am reminded that several years ago I stopped in Carmel, California to see Lincoln Steffens. The door was opened by the strikingly handsome, dark-haired, Ella Winters. I introduced myself as being, like Mr. Steffens, a single taxer.

"Tell me something," Miss Winters replied, "Why are you single taxers so much alike, whether in Moscow, Berlin, Paris, New York or Carmel?"

At that moment Mr. Steffens entered, saying, "Let me answer that question. It is because the single tax is right as right can be, and nothing can be more right than that."

The Georgist realizes however that "correct action must be preceded by correct thinking," and the liberating philosophy of Henry George, to really exist, must exist first in the hearts and minds of human beings. So the call is for students, and more students, and yet more students to attend the classes conducted by the Henry George School of Social Science, where the fundamental laws of political economy and social justice are taught. Some day, some place, this host of Georgists will hear the call to combine for action.

This necessary action is completely simple, just and free from revolutionary violence. It involves no seizure for modification by the state or the industrial organizations. All that is necessary is a true knowledge of the real source of public revenue, and the enactment of legislation to conform therewith. Also the repeal of all laws which create and promote special privilege.

Today special privilege is deeply entrenched. Our vaunted free enterprise system is pure fabrication. Every major industrial organization in the country is founded, buttressed and tied together by privileged legislation. The "tag-along industries" are clamoring in the halls of Congress, and at the doors of every lesser law making body—state, county and city—for more and more "protective legislation." Labor has organized and joined the parade to the legislative halls. The farmer has secured legislation which guarantees him a profit, if not from the market then from the tax funds, regardless of what price he paid for his land or what rent he has to pay.

The indigents are forming pressure groups to force representatives of the people to set them apart as a class, or group, to be supported from the public treasury. The "senior citizen" is suggested as an object for class distinction with a monthly check from Uncle Sam, and the veteran? Where is the limit (or is there a limit?) to his demands upon state and nation? Now the gambling fraternity has succeeded in several states in getting their betting business legalized and protected, with the stipulation that a percentage of the "take" be turned over to the public treasury. Then along comes the investor with the suggestion that a Federal bureau be created to protect his "venture money" in foreign markets against loss through seizure or other acts by revolutionary governments.

The evils revealed in our social maladjustments seem unsurmountable. However, in 1856, if someone had asked Abraham Lincoln, how much longer he thought the institution of slavery would endure, he might have answered, "a long time—maybe a hundred years." The South's political power in Washington was then formidable—yet within seven years slavery was legally abolished.

Listen to Henry George—"Today a wiser, deeper, more beneficent revolution is brooding, not over one country, but over the whole world. God's truth impels it, and forces mightier than He has ever before given to man, urge it on. It is no more in the power of vested wrongs to stay it than it is in man's power to stay the sun."

Elsewhere he writes, "We have a long and a hard fight before us. Possibly, probably, for many of us, we may never see it come to success. But what of that? It is a privilege to be engaged in such a struggle . . . the ground is ploughed; the seed is set; the good tree will grow . . . So little now, only the eye of faith can see it. So little now; so tender and weak. But sometime, the birds of heaven shall sing in its branches; sometime, the weary shall find rest beneath its branches."



## Econo-quiz

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**Question.** (1) Theoretically, our rate of the taxation of the land will be fixed by its value; and (2) as soon as this principle is applied, the selling value declines. (3) It obviously cannot be used as a gauge to fix the land's value and so the land's value will be assessed. (4) What I want to get clear is how will the land's value be determined, independently of sales prices, and separate from any return due to the work of the user of the land?

**Answer.** (1) Correct. We now fix the rate of local taxation by assessing the amount needed against the real estate value as recorded by an assessor. Except to abolish the taxation of improvements and other things, and to assess the needed revenue upon land's value, no other change is advocated.

(2) Of course the selling value of land will decline. But that will mean that when the next assessor's valuation will have been completed, a still higher "rate" will be necessary, and the rate should be kept high enough to bring in the specified revenue.

(3) Why not? Land is daily bought, sold and leased in every community, and all recorded as a guide for the assessing officials. After the abolition of other taxation than on land values, land will still be bought, sold and leased; though generally at much lower prices. Not having to assess buildings and personal property, the work of the local assessors will be simplified.

(4) Even in a community where land sales and leases are quite infrequent, there is no trouble in determining what prices should be had for lands. If the tax took as much as 90 per cent of the land rent (and it cannot take much more than that), land would still have a determinable selling price for the assessing officials to appraise.

Finally, the practical result of such perfection as might follow the abolition of taxation, excepting only land values, would be to limit the revenue of government to its real need.

## A Word with You

(Continued from Column One)

must now beg for pensions, where is our progress?

A more convincing development of our social sense would be a vigorous demand for opening the floodgates of opportunity—an event that would effectively wash away the cry for the insecure "security" of pensions.

# Two Don Quixotes, No Sancho Panza

## Research Reports

### COMING EFFECTS OF COMING EVENTS

THE CAREER of Cervantes' Don Quixote was troubled, to say the least, but the errant knight was fortunate in two important respects: he never met a second Don Quixote, and Sancho Panza usually was at hand prepared to bind up wounds and provide a grain of common sense. Now we see what can happen when two Don Quixotes meet and no Sancho Panza is at hand.

Battling for labor is the white (black) knight, Don Quixote Murray, and battling for the steel companies is the black (white) knight, Don Quixote Fairless. (The colors, it will be noted, are interchangeable, depending on one's point of view.)

These two modern Don Quixotes have emulated their illustrious predecessor in every important respect but one. Neither has had the good judgment to employ a loyal serving man who would somehow contrive to make the best of a bad matter and to point out the difference between the stuff that dreams are made of and reality.

Each of the two combatants is fighting for a chimera of his imagination, for a principle that can be formulated in words but that doesn't refer to reality. Like the original Don Quixote, each is firmly convinced that his cause is just and is worthy of the greatest sacrifices. Thus far, the sacrifices have been made by stockholders and employees, but in the end the two modern Don Quixotes may suffer personal sacrifices as did their predecessor.

Don Quixote Fairless is fighting for the principle that labor should contribute to any pensions it expects to receive, or, stated differently, he is fighting to prevent the steel companies from being forced to contribute unearned pensions to labor. On the other hand, Don Quixote Murray is fighting for the principle that labor should not contribute to its pensions, or, stated differently, that corporations should pay labor's pensions from some other funds than labor's wages. A brief analysis of fundamental economic relationships will reveal the extent to which each Don Quixote has drawn upon his imagination.

The three factors of production are land, labor, and capital. The distributive shares of the product are, respectively, rent, wages, and interest. (Accounting profits almost always include the last and sometimes include rent and proprietors' wages as well as compensation for risk.)<sup>1</sup>

Some steel companies are not in a position to divert any portion of rent to wages. Only companies enjoying important monopoly privileges would ordinarily be in a position to do so.

Therefore, the primary sources of funds for labor's pensions are either wages or interest. In this sense, "interest" includes all return for

the use of capital, both ordinary interest on bonds and dividends paid to stockholders. Capital, however, is, in effect, stored-up labor: it is a means by which present labor is diverted through indirect processes to a further end. Capital is created by labor, and the return to capital cannot be decreased without decreasing the compensation to the labor that is producing capital.

Can labor in the steel industry increase its rewards permanently at the expense of labor that provides the capital equipment the steel industry uses? If Sancho Panza were here, he might well point out that manipulating rewards in that fashion would have one of two effects: either labor that now produces capital would seek to join the ranks of steel workers, or, if that change were prevented, the steel industry would soon find that capital was not available at the price the industry was able to pay. An industry that cannot replace its worn-out capital cannot provide security for anyone.<sup>2</sup>

In short, pensions payable by the steel industry, regardless of whether they appear to be contributory or noncontributory, will be paid from funds otherwise distributable as wages, or they will not be paid for long. Therefore, Don Quixote Fairless is fighting for something that can exist only in his imagination, a pension plan paid for partly from labor's share and partly by the companies. He apparently does not realize that, if even a part of the pension costs were taken from the share distributable to capital, the result would be disastrous for many steel companies. Don Quixote Murray is similarly in error in that he has, in effect, taken up arms against the elementary laws of economics and arithmetic.

#### "What's All the Shootin' For?"

Readers may well doubt that the two modern Don Quixotes are as blind to the realities of life as they appear to be. If they are, to some extent at least, using their battlecries to distract attention from their true aims, what can the real objectives be?

We do not pretend to know why Mr. Fairless has taken such a determined stand. However, he may believe that labor might fail to understand the real source of funds for a non-contributory pension plan. If laborers thought that they were getting something for nothing,

<sup>1</sup>The elementary economic relationships discussed in this section are largely concealed by present accounting practices. For example, rent, as the economists use the term, is rarely identifiable in corporate financial statements. The actual payments to bondholders and stockholders may include any one or any combination of the distributive parts of the product, namely, rent, wages, and interest. However, the result mentioned, that is, the inability of an industry to replace its worn-out capital, presumably would be reflected in the markets for corporate securities. There, all corporations must compete for the funds that investors have saved. An industry that cannot offer the hope of a return as great as that offered by other industries, after allowing for differences in risks, etc., cannot hope to obtain the capital funds needed for future expansion. Such an industry would become artificially impoverished and stunted even in a growing industrial civilization.

The accompanying article, reprinted with permission, from the Weekly Bulletin (October 10, 1949, of the American Institute for Economic Research, Great Barrington, Massachusetts), shows how graphically economic terms and principles can be used in examining a current situation, as, in this case, the steel strike. References in this article to the basic factors of production and the distributive shares as well as the treatment of profits, are in accordance with fundamental teachings in the Henry George School of Social Science.

they might be encouraged to demand more of the same. In that event, steel-industry wages including pensions might become more than the industry could continue to pay. On the other hand, laborers might be less eager to demand more pensions if each increase meant even a small reduction in take-home pay.

Mr. Murray may be concerned about his job. Forced to abandon hope for any industry-wide wage increase, as such, by the report of the President's "fact" finders, he may feel that the union must pull some kind of rabbit out of the hat in order to justify its dues. He presumably is well aware of the fact that in 1947 Ford's employees voted overwhelmingly to accept a 15-cents-an-hour pay increase in preference to 14½ cents per hour for pensions plus a pay increase of 7 cents per hour. We suspect that he doubts whether a pension scheme involving reductions in present take-home pay would be ratified by his followers.

#### An Overlooked Factor

Although Mr. Murray may be aware of the fact that many steel workers consider themselves competent to manage their own financial affairs, this aspect of the subject seems to have been generally overlooked by the President's Fact Finding Board and by many who have commented on its findings. What right has anyone to decide for free men in the United States of America how much, if any, of their current wages they will save for their old age? Why shouldn't a steel worker, or anyone else, invest his savings in college educations for his children (or for that matter, glasses of beer now) if he prefers that to a retirement pension?

Men develop the capacity to carry the burdens of life by carrying them. A society consisting of free men has greater survival value than one consisting largely of slaves primarily because free men develop greater mental and moral stature. They are less like sheep and more nearly as the best of men can be.

#### Conclusion

However, this is a long-run problem. Of more immediate concern is the answer to the question, What will be the results of the present impasse in the steel industry?

*Predicting the actions of one Don Quixote would be hazardous enough; outguessing two of them must be almost impossible. We are sure only of so much of the outcome as invariably followed each of the original Don Quixote's adventures. Many innocent bystanders will get hurt and neither Don Quixote will win a victory that will be worth the sacrifices involved.*

<sup>2</sup>Obviously, the portion of profits that consists of compensation for accidental losses (including the losses of depression years) cannot be given to any of the three factors of production. No business can long survive if it dissipates the funds needed to compensate or balance the risks inherent in the business.



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## Montreal

Ashley Mitchell of Yorkshire, England, honorary treasurer of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, was the speaker at a dinner meeting held early in October. In his address he gave an interesting report on the Seventh International Conference held at Swanwick, Derbyshire, England in August.

Two basic courses and one in trade are in progress at the Montreal extension's new quarters at 236A Wood Avenue, Strehel Walton, the Montreal director, was forced to vacate earlier quarters in April due to a 160 per cent increase in rent. With the help of donations which have been coming in since that time, and which are still needed, Miss Walton was able to negotiate the present location.

The new school (and be sure to write this address in your address book) is pleasantly situated directly across the street from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Friends and "critics" were invited to drop in for a house warming late in September, and the invitation read, "from 3 p. m. to that time in the evening when Georgists stop arguing."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233)

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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

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2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

Henry George School of Social Science, 50 E. 69th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

John C. Lincoln, President, 50 E. 69th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Otto K. Dorn, Vice-President and Secretary, 50 E. 69th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Leonard T. Recker, Treasurer, 50 E. 69th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

ALICE ELIZABETH DAVIS,  
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1949.

CLIFFORD D. LEMMONS,  
Notary Public, State of New York.  
New York County Clerk's No. 444

(My commission expires March 30, 1956.)

## Chicago

Ashley Mitchell, celebrated Liberal candidate and worsted cloth manufacturer, will address the second 16th-year Commerce and Industry luncheon on Wednesday, November 9.

The first luncheon's guest register was made up of leaders in industry who came to hear Samuel B. Pettengill, former Congressman, outline "The Grand Strategy of Freedom," and included Dr. Melchior Palyi, eminent economist; Austin Kiplinger, writer of the column, "The Round Table," in The Chicago Journal of Commerce, and son of Washington's Kiplinger; Jack Cornelius, president of the Junior Association of Commerce and Industry; Miss Leah L. Anderson, educational director of Dootie, Cone and Belding, advertising; Henry K. Holzman, dean of Chicago architects; W. Joseph Arnold, vice president, The Pure Oil Co.; and Charles W. Nicol, past president of the Chicago Building Congress. Harry T. Everingham, president of The Everingham Co., publishers of The Fact Finder, was chairman.

Copies of Mr. Pettengill's address have been in great demand and are still available from the school at 236 N. Clark Street, Chicago.

The 16th-year monthly lecture series held at the La Salle Hotel on the last Tuesday evening of every month, October through May, will feature the following speakers: November 29—Dr. Ernest B. Zeisler, "Democracy versus Hypocrisy"; December 27—W. W. Kester, consulting economist, La Salle Extension University; January 31—Frank Chodorov, New York, editor, analysis; February 28—Craig Ralston, Madison, Wis., political writer and author; March 28—Willis E. Shipley, engineer, research student in the history of property; April 25—J. Rupert Mason, San Francisco, president of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade; and John C. Weaver, Pittsburgh, secretary of the Hungry Club, Pittsburgh's pioneer open forum and downtown meeting for civic and business leaders.

Thomas G. Deering, a lawyer, opened the series on October 25 with an address on "Skepticism: A Discipline of the Mind." Admission for single lectures is fifty cents. A ticket for the entire series is \$3 for one, \$5 for a couple.

Enrollments reported in the 61 basic classes at the close of the first week were 207, with many classes reporting marked increases in the second week. The varied sources of the students reflected the heterogeneous efforts of the class promotion campaign under the leadership of Rex Cleveland, chairman.

George F. Carbine, formerly associate director of the Henry George School in Chicago, who recently moved to Battle Creek, Mich., could not stay out of harness long. He has started a class which will meet every other week.

Robert Tideman, education director, is spending a month in San Francisco to counsel with leaders on the establishing of a full-time extension in the city that gave birth to *Progress and Poverty*.

John J. Carter, senior economics research assistant of the American Institute for Economic Research in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, met with school friends in Chicago on September 14. He told of the American Institute's success in reaching 250,000 customers of its publications. The fellowship program aimed at training 2,000 economic scientists within 25 years, selects university graduates for an intensive two-year study of mathematics, semantics and logic, with *Progress and Poverty* as the basic textbook, Mr. Carter said.

New Zealand Be  
Of Leadership T

"NEW ZEALAND was talking about the ground debt even before Henry George wrote *Progress and Poverty*," said Dr. Rolland O'Regan when interviewed recently in Denmark for the Georgist paper, *Vejen Frem*. Today the ground debt is popular there because it is practical. But we must go back a generation to find the reason.

New Zealand is only 100 years old, said Dr. O'Regan, and in size about equal to England, Scotland, Wales and a part of Ireland—but in that territory live only 1,700,000 people. It is thus a thinly populated land and there are great uncleared wooded areas and uncultivated parts. In agricultural products, butter, bacon, etc., New Zealand competes with Denmark in the English market, and it has in addition a large production of wool.

In New Zealand the ground debt discussion started with the Liberal statesman, Sir George Grey, who became the country's first Minister of State, and who had a sharp eye for the unfortunate effects of land speculation. He therefore favored ground debt; and as early as 1896 a land-valuing department was established which valued improvements and buildings separately. That department is still functioning, Dr. O'Regan said, but the manner of valuing is somewhat different from that in Denmark. It is not done simultaneously in the whole country, but valuations are re-determined every fifth year in the individual districts.

Sir George Grey and Henry George began correspondence in 1890; and Henry George sent him a copy of *Progress and Poverty* which was generously reviewed in New Zealand. They met in 1890 when Mr. and Mrs. George went to New Zealand and Australia. Sir George Grey was working steadily in the Parliament for repeal of the property tax, and was disappointed when Henry George decided against a return to New Zealand for a longer visit. George too,

## Camera-Shy Trustees



Back row - left to right: Dr. Geoffrey W. Estey, Leonard T. Recker, treasurer of the New York Board of the News staff and author of "Wanted: Another Front row: William S. O'Connor, faculty member who threw up the job giving as his categorical to read; Ezra Cohen, one of those teachers that even dent of the board. John C. Lincoln, the school's president will be waiting for him with his trusty Leica on the

## tows the Mantle day on Demark

regretted this but wrote, "Your faith is mine. We are really 'living in eternity.' It may be that we shall meet again in this world but if not, there must be somewhere place and time where good men shall know each other."

Sir George had written to Mr. George earlier that month saying, "You have expanded a spark into a blaze of thought and of unselfish conceptions which is spreading to every part, and ennobling countless minds."

Dr. O'Regan's father, Judge P. J. O'Regan, was another luminary in the Georgist movement a generation ago. He sat for several years in the New Zealand Parliament, and his sartorial splendor and engaging manner were enthusiastically described by Msgr. L. G. Ligutti who met him on his visit to Australia a few years ago.

With this preparation, it is not surprising that when Dr. O'Regan was asked what the common man in New Zealand thought about ground debt, he replied, "a great many people do not regard it as something which justice demands; they view it only practically. They see that for the great majority ground debt means an economic advantage, that it promotes building and that it strikes only the persons who own land and hold it idle. He added that there is practically no dissatisfaction with the land value assessments; but that this is partly due to the assessors who make it a point to reach sober and just assessments."

Asked if there was both a national ground debt and a local one, he explained that New Zealand has a small national ground debt which brings in 20 million kroner a year, but which is not very effective, as there are many exemptions. On the whole, no ground debt is paid on holdings having a land value of less than 10,000 kroner, and for holdings with a value up to 100,000 kroner there is a deduction of 10,000 kroner. As there are many small

holdings, the national ground debt is not very significant.

It was pointed out however that it is more significant on the local level, since all taxes in parishes and towns are paid as property taxes, and there are no local income taxes. In some places, Dr. O'Regan said, a percentage tax of the sales value of the land is levied—other places the ground rent is levied directly. There are places where the property taxes rest both on ground value, and improvements and buildings. But more and more they are adopting "clean ground rent," and today 55 to 60 per cent of the local taxes are paid as ground debt.

Fifty years ago it was New Zealand that was the pioneer, said Dr. O'Regan. Today the whole world is waiting for Denmark; and the progress which Denmark's Union of Justice makes in the coming time will not only have significance for Denmark, but may have immeasurable significance for the whole world. Quoting Henry George, he said, "All that is done one place in the world for ground debt has significance wherever anyone is working for it."

## New Swedish Union Forms

SINCE THE northern Government-of-Justice meeting at the close of October last year it has been known that a group of men were working to create a Swedish Union of Justice, and the meeting at Seljan School two months ago was a move forward for these plans. The result, Sveriges Rättsförbund is now an acknowledged fact; the announcement thereof reads:

"On August 18 a group of those interested assembled at the publishing office of Nature and Culture in Stockholm, and after an extended discussion resolved to form a Union of Justice of Sweden upon the same principles in the main which apply in the Union of Justice in Denmark."

Elected as members of management: Headmaster Johannes Hallback of Umea, chairman; Editor R. Hentzell of Stockholm, secretary; and Publisher John Hansson of Stockholm, treasurer; together with Chief Editor Erik Swartling and Director Stig Odman. Two alternates were chosen: Gunner Lundberg of Uppsala and B. Larsson of Lindesberg, both students.

All Danish Government-of-Justice people will receive this announcement with gladness and wish their Swedish friends success in the work. A unified northern effort for freedom and justice will be highly significant of future progress.

—From Vejen Frem

## Los Angeles

The fall term in the Los Angeles area got off to a good start the week of September 19, with a little over 300 advanced-mail enrollees for 14 fundamental classes and 5 advanced classes. One of these advanced classes was not scheduled by the office but was organized entirely through the efforts of Mrs. N. Pearl Osborne, a graduate in the High Park area, in whose home it is being held. It also had no instructor scheduled, the graduates preferring to go ahead with their studies, regardless of whether a teacher were available or not. However, one of the class members, Mrs. Helen O. Perry of Pasadena, is very successfully serving as class leader. The course being studied is Free Enterprise versus Planned Economy using as a text Max Hirsch's book, *Democracy versus Socialism*.

Another encouraging part of the class promotion was the co-operation received from the Los Angeles Central Labor Council (representing all of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.) which mailed the Henry George School term announcements along with its Bulletin of the Council to about 1,000 labor leaders in the Los Angeles area.

## Pittsburgh

"There will be five Henry George School of Social Science classes in the district this month," we read in the Pittsburgh Press of October 7. "Sessions will be tonight at 7 p.m., Swissvale V. P. W. Post; Monday, 8 p.m. Bakewell Bldg.; 7:30 p.m., Turtle Creek Public School; 11:30 a.m., Westinghouse Electric plant; and Tuesday, 8 p.m., St. Michael's Russian Society."

Behind this notice is an interesting success story for those who have watched the recent activity of the Pittsburgh director, Richard Howe. A few Dick Howe maxims are: labor is no different from other folks, except easier to teach with less to unlearn; find the way to shock them the first few lessons to keep them coming back; and, interest the extrovert, not the professional student.

## Hartford

Nathan Hillman, director of the Hartford extension, has been appointed Prosecuting Attorney for a two-year term by the Judges of Hartford. This will come as good news to all those who are eager to see the principles of Georgism carried further into public life.

The Hartford Henry George School now has its headquarters in a two-room suite at 68 Farmington Avenue, Hartford; so that's another item for your address books. This is the realization of a long cherished dream which finally materialized on November first. Two courses have been started in Fundamental Economics with a total enrollment of thirty, and an advanced course in *The Science of Political Economy* is also in progress.

Miss V. G. Peterson, secretary of the Schalkenbach Foundation, New York, addressed the Henry George Fellowship on October 28, at a meeting in the Hotel Garde. She gave a report on the international conference which she attended in August in her native England, and spoke informally on conditions under socialism. Harvey C. Lidstedt, vice-president of the Henry George Fellowship, also discussed briefly "How to Sell Henry George to Strangers and Friends."

## Boston

The fall term opened with 14 fundamental classes, 2 in trade and one in political economy. Enrollments at the end of the third week totaled 180 students. Brockton joined the list of participating communities with a class at the public library under the leadership of John Wentworth. In Worcester, 7 graduates met at the Dunhill Studios for an advanced class, and they plan to follow this with social problems.

On September 26, Miss Lidia Alkalay, a volunteer worker, joined the Boston staff as assistant to the director. She succeeded Archie Matteson who has replaced her in the ranks of the volunteers.

## New York

The fall term is in full swing with approximately 1,000 students enrolled—750 in fundamental classes and 250 in advanced classes.

Three "advanced students"—Noah D. Alper, director of the St. Louis extension, H. Bernard Goldstein, instructor at headquarters in New York, and Arthur Lea, member of the headquarters staff, are studying economics in universities here.

## rapped by Arthur Lea



steer, both of the New Jersey and New York schools; of Trustees; Lancaster M. Greene, instructor, chief hard Cobden" in this issue, and former book editor of The Henry George News in that it kept him from reading the books he wanted other teachers like; and Otto K. Dorn, vice-president, was the only absent member; but Arthur Lea's visit.



# Translation from the Portuguese

**T**HE *TATURAS*, or landowners, attached to their lands like oysters, proclaim that Georgism is communism; and with the resistance they are offering to Georgism they are leading the world by the claw.

Communism is a historical tendency which it is folly to combat with repression. Repression is just the dung which makes the idea grow. Herculano expressed this thought in lapidary style: persecuted idea is victorious idea, eternal historical truth, forgotten by power. . . .

The way to fight against an idea is to hurl against it a better idea. Against the idea of communism, the better idea is precisely Georgism. If not, let us see!

Under Georgism all men have equal rights to the use and enjoyment of the air, the water and the land. However, each man has an exclusive right to what he produces with his labor.

Communism adopts the first principle but does not accept the second. It wishes that also the product of individual labor belong in common to all men.

This difference causes Georgism to permit the continuation of the existing social order, which communism condemns. And as the world is going, the only way for the existing social order to escape destruction is to defend itself by adopting Georgism. In a Georgist country communism ceases to advance—the people see no reason for it. Against communism, then, there is only Georgism—which is the better idea. Never violence, for violence is hardly a marvelous fertilizer.

How many billions of dollars have the Americans already spent in order to aid the Chinese nationalists in the repression of communism? These dollars have acted as a fertilizer. The more they are poured into China, the more the communists advance—to catch them!

Why? What is the reason that the best financed of all the repressions of communism is collapsing? Because it is done by means of violence, the only arm that can do nought against ideas. Never in the world has a bullet killed an idea.

Instead of meditating on this, our *taturas*

scratch their legs, and reject the only penicillin which can save them from the gibbet. They say in their clubs, "this Georgism is nonsense, it is nothing more than pure communism." And they wink very cleverly.

The great modern nonsense is the case of Brazil. A nation of 45 million inhabitants with an immense territory, lives in a state of penury worse than that of China, because China produces what it eats, and we even import almost all that we eat—wheat, fruit, milk, potatoes, fish and now even kidney beans. We owe the hair on our heads; and we do not pay interest or amortization; so that the national debts grow constantly without new money coming in. This is a country in which the majority go without shoes, cannot read, live on breezes and sun, and are ever more sick and *abobalhada* (stupefied)—a country, in short, with its entire interior transformed into a painful sick ward of ex-men, ex-women and shades of children. "Brazil is a huge hospital," Miguel Pereira once said. This hospital is located on a continent which has on the north a country of the same age that has already become the first in the world in everything; and on the south a millionaire Argentina. In Europe, during many years, the anomalous situation of the Turkey of Abdul-Hamid caused that country to be designated "*L'homme malade*" (the sick man) of Europe. We shall end up by being *L'homme malade* of the Americas.

Why so?

Many know the apparent causes, but in a confluence of causes there is always a major cause which is at the bottom of the others and reduces them to mere effects. It does not solve the problem, for example, to attribute all our troubles to poverty—because poverty is in its turn the effect of some cause. What cause is that? The fiscal regime!

Rui Barbosa, the greatest cerebration that Brazil has yet produced, pronounced the diagnosis a long time ago. In an article by Rui about our financial stupidity he said these words which ought to be engraved in fire on the tail of all governments:

"Our tax empiricism is a spoliative regime

of bleeding which the most vigorous nation in the world could not resist. Fiscal slavery, developed with a butchery ever more voracious by the union, by the states and by the municipalities, does as much toward the atrophy of our national organism as did Negro slavery, except that it is more obstinate and more stupid. The fury of protectionism; the taxing of exports, and the chronic unconstitutionality of interstate taxes, are three systematized suicides to which Brazil delivers itself impenitently, but consoled, like the maniacs of alcohol, opium or cocaine.

"Good then is the movement that is developing among us for the adoption of the land-value tax. In it will lie salvation. It will be the calmest and most beneficent of all revolutions."

The wonder of genius!

In less than a hundred words, Rui Barbosa says, in perfect synthesis, what prior students have tried to say in hundreds of articles.

But what good did it do? What good did it do that already in 1917, thirty years ago, our greatest genius gave to the public his synthesis? In spite of his words, our "tax empiricism" continues. Until today, taxation in Brazil has not been studied in the light of science.

The "spoliative bleeding" continues, because our fiscal regime does not collect the money of the taxpayer only, it collects his blood—the blood indispensable for his life. And from this absurdity comes the anemia of the country.

The "fiscal slavery" continues, "developing with a butchery ever more voracious," and Rui at that time could not foresee that the fiscal slavery, already monstrous, would be multiplied by ten during the *Getulio* 15-year period.\*

The "atrophy of the national organism" continues, ever more furiously, with the pretext of protecting the workingman, when in reality it profits only a handful of sharks.

And Brazil continues to live "impenitently," i.e., without correcting itself, within this suicidal fiscal regime. Impenitent and "consoled," that is, consoling itself with the buffoonery of the hymn which they cram into the poor children, so that they may become as idiotic as their elders. They console themselves with the foolishness that "God is Brazilian," and with the even greater foolishness that "planting gives wealth"—for without killing the ant, the tax that falls upon production, no advantage is gained by planting nor giving. That ant eats everything.

Rui, Rui, how great you were and of how little use! Stultified from colonial days onward by the monstrous exchequer, the country neither read you nor heard you, and if it read and heard you, it was even worse, because it took no account of your words.

And the Great Crisis is arriving . . . and the Great Hunger will create the only line we are lacking—the soup line. Good soup, at least? Nothing doing!

\* The presidency of Getulio Vargas.

The author, Monteiro Lobato, in his booklet "*Georgismo e Comunismo*" proceeds from this modest beginning to set forth Henry George's teachings. We are indebted to C. Matthew Ossias, our cheerful translator, who produced the above in the heat of last summer, "after hours," when his duties as a translator in the Irving Trust Company were finished.

## The Saints, the Soil and the Centuries

By JOHN H. RICHARDSON

**P**PRIVATE ownership of land has been denounced as an evil all down the corridors of time, by all right thinking people. Very noticeably has this been done by some of the early church fathers. In *Leviticus* we read: "And the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying: . . . the land shall not be sold forever."

*Tertullian*, in the second century, said: "All is common with us except women. Jesus was our man, God and brother. He restored unto all men what cruel murderers took from them by the sword. Christians have no master and no Christian shall be bound for bread and raiment. The land is no man's inheritance; none shall possess it as property."

*St. Cyprian* in the third century, said: "How far, O rich, do you extend your senseless avarice? Do you intend to be the sole inhabitant of the earth? Why do you drive out the fellow sharers of nature, and claim it all for yourselves? Nature gave all things in common

for the use of all; usurpation created private rights. Property hath no rights. The earth is the Lord's and we are his offspring."

*St. John Chrysostom*, in the fourth century, said: "Tell me whence you are rich? From whom have you received? From your grandfather, you say; from your father? Are you able to show, ascending in the order of generation, that that possession is just throughout the whole series of preceding generations? Its beginning and root grew necessarily out of injustice, why? Because God did not make this man rich and that man poor from the beginning. Nor, when he created the world did he allot treasure to one man and forbid another to seek any. He gave the same earth to be cultivated by all."

These statements make it plain that some of the church fathers had a very clear idea about the iniquity of the practice of allowing private property in land.

## James F. Lincoln Predicted Tough Rivalry in Industry, After Recent European Tour



to an attack on our industries which will be just as effective in wiping them out as would be an atomic bomb."

This opinion was voiced by James F. Lincoln, nationally known industrialist and president of the Lincoln Electric Company in an interview published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 7, 1949.

Mr. Lincoln, who was in England at the time the British announced their decision to devalue the pound sterling by 30½ per cent, said that European industry is now almost completely absorbed with its task of supplying the seller's market which still exists in those countries. That Europe will aggressively be seeking other markets some day can hardly be questioned. When that happens he says we will be in for some tough competition.

Foreshadowing this possibility is an event which recently occurred in Cleveland. The city wished to purchase a new turbo generator for the municipal power and light plant. The lowest bid received was from a Swiss concern and was approximately \$1,000,000. The nearest bid from a United States concern was \$1,500,000. The contract went to Switzerland, a country which has practically no natural resources and has to import the material.

Mr. Lincoln said a United States oil concern had recently purchased five tankers built in Holland shipyards at a price quoted as approximately half of what was asked in this country. Three separate shipyards in Holland, Belgium and England are busy filling marine orders for Argentina, he added.

His figures on factory wage levels in these foreign countries were acquired first hand from executives of industries he visited on his tour. The general answer to his question on average wages in Holland was "a guilder an hour." A guilder is worth approximately 25 cents in American money under the devalued currency exchange rate. In France the average hourly wage is 125 francs, or about 28 cents.

Whether these wage scales will result in a flood of low-priced foreign goods into this country depends on the attitude of manufacturers abroad, Mr. Lincoln said. Although they have not yet taken aggressive steps in this direction there are indications that they are becoming increasingly export-minded.

He said that in meeting this competition we have three alternatives. We must raise tariff barriers, reduce wage levels until the differential largely disappears, or maintain present wage levels and increase the productivity per man hour in our industries.

The last of these three is of course the most logical and will result in maximum happiness for all concerned. It is also the answer which is the soundest economically.

The most important thing in determining prices which the ultimate consumer must pay is

# PLAIN TALK by Jerome Joachim

THE 30 PER CENT devaluation in the dollar exchange value of the pound sterling is another example of the measures which unscrupulous officials use to keep themselves in power. Devaluation is a desperate expedient used to cheat creditors, delude labor and give windfall profits to debtors. To creditors, devaluation is like a settle-

ment in bankruptcy. The real reason for British devaluation was to enable the socialistic government to dishonor the nation's promises to millions of life insurance owners and others who had sacrificed their right to consume in the past in exchange for promises of payment later.

Devaluation is also a temporary means of reducing real wages without incurring the opposition which would result if wages were cut by edict. Britain's economy, under socialism, cannot compete with nations operating under a freer economy. By thus forcing greater austerity upon her citizens, she will temporarily be able to compete a little better. Since devaluation does not create a greater incentive for workmen to increase their production, its effect can only be very temporary and merely postpone the day when Britain will demonstrate, effectively we hope, that socialism in anything but a totalitarian state, cannot begin to produce enough to keep the people alive.

Meanwhile we can hope that the U. S. will profit by England's experience. Despite Secretary of the Treasury Snyder's statement that "there is not going to be any change in the dollar value of gold" in the U. S. there is plenty of reason to believe that our government, guilty of many of the practices that are rapidly ruining England, will eventually use the same method to escape the necessity of mak-

not the wage rate per hour, said the incentive author. The most important thing is the number of pieces produced in an hour for which wages are paid. The more that is produced the lower is the cost per piece. Lower costs mean lower prices.

That the wage rate per hour is not important in determining price is well illustrated by the Lincoln Company's experience with foreign markets. European welding industries, despite an advantage of a wage differential of 7 to 1, at present cannot compete in this country because of low productivity. On the other hand The Lincoln Electric Company which pays one of the highest wage rates in the world can go into those foreign countries and in the face of a 100 per cent duty still undersell the welding equipment manufactured in those countries. The only reason the Cleveland company can do this is because of its high rate of productivity which, measured in terms of dollar sales, is approximately \$30,000 per man per year. This rate of production is roughly four times greater than that of other electrical manufacturers in this country.

The system of incentive management which creates a healthy, free enterprise, democratic working condition in industry is America's answer [and Lincoln Electric's answer] to Europe. It is the answer of how to pay high wages and maintain low prices.



ing good on its impossible to fulfill commitments.

Devaluation, which is merely an attempt to steal from the more provident citizens of a nation, is not as politically dangerous as it seems. Most of these citizens are older people. Because they have been prudent, they are often envied by those less provident. Many of them are

not in good health and often do not vote. Most of them will soon die anyway. To injure them does not bring the repercussions that politicians fear. Other principal beneficiaries of life insurance policies, trust funds, pensions, etc. are women and children. Unorganized and many of them too young to vote, they do not constitute a pressure group that can compete with the labor or farm bloc.

Since devaluation gives a temporary windfall profit to those who owe money and since the bulk of active voters in any nation have made financial commitments, politicians find it relatively easy to procure their assent to a scheme which temporarily lessens their problems. By such schemes politicians, who have committed their government to programs which cannot be made to work, give themselves a temporary reprieve against that fatal day when "the piper must be paid." In Britain devaluation will prolong the socialistic government by the simple expedient of stealing billions of pounds worth of purchasing power from that minority which has been sufficiently provident not to spend everything as it was earned.

Because the effect of this type of theft is not felt as quickly as one of similar magnitude by a gang of thugs in a daylight robbery, the "super-thieves" will probably get away with it. But the act is no less immoral than one Al Capone might have perpetrated had he been permitted to organize his gang in every city in the United States.

Devaluation and similar "super-robberies" by public officials will continue as long as so many people expect government to help them steal from those whose frugality makes progress possible. Attitudes recently publicized by the leaders of organized labor in our steel industry are typical. These leaders contend that the citizens who have saved and thus provided the tools and factories needed to aid labor earn bigger wages must also assume other responsibilities with respect to these laborers which need not be assumed by those who have been neither provident nor helpful to labor. Only by realizing the futility of trying to gain wealth by force, rather than production, can we hope to escape the fate of Britain.

Jerome Joachim studied the incentive plan at Lincoln Electric Company three years ago and in 1947 announced to the men in his publishing plant at Berwyn, Illinois that 55 per cent of the value of the work had gone in direct wages. Overhead charges had also amounted to 55 per cent, resulting in a 10 per cent loss. The incentive system which was decided upon and installed by mutual agreement, increased the production so greatly that by the end of the year each man's wages increased 40 per cent. By the end of 1948 they had doubled.





## The Wit and Wisdom Of John Dewey

Quotations arranged under major topic headings. Edited by A. H. Johnson. Boston: The Beacon Press. 120 pp. \$2.

John Dewey's 90th birthday on October 20, 1949, was celebrated virtually on an international basis. And while we cannot adequately pay tribute here to the matchless contribution he has made, we remind Henry George News readers that John Dewey is the honorary president of the Henry George School, who has provided some of our choicest quotable judgments about Henry George. "It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with him," is a frequently quoted statement among Georgists.

An excellent sample of the philosopher's views is afforded in *The Wit and Wisdom of John Dewey* where a "striking mixture of brilliant, stimulating insights and penetrating irony" are presented topically.

Brief statements on social philosophy and education, will be especially appealing to Georgists. Under the first of these topics we read: "We have talked a great deal about democracy, and now for the first time we have to make an effort to find out what it is." And again: "The only ones who have the right to criticize 'radicals' . . . are those who put as much effort into reconstruction as the rebels are putting into destruction."

In his field of greatest eminence, education, we find this clear statement from the philosopher who believes in action and integration as well as in thought: "It is as if no one could be educated in the full sense until everyone is developed beyond the reach of prejudice, stupidity, and apathy."

A volume much larger than the present one would be required to represent all facets of this vital American mind. Since Professor Dewey's views on political economy were omitted from this collection of *Wit and Wisdom*, probably in the interest of brevity, we take this opportunity to recall a few of them here.

Some years ago, speaking over a radio station in New York, John Dewey said, "I do not claim that George's remedy is a panacea that will cure by itself all our ailments. But I do

## Wanted: Another Richard Cobden

(Continued from Page One)

income, while the effect of the tax on the family of the laboring man was not less than 20 per cent. A fact of this kind left a sting in the minds of his hearers. Cobden's persuasive appeals to logic continued through the years, but he had an old friend, a weighty Quaker from Rochdale, who had great influence through his ability to sway men with emotions as well as argument. His name was John Bright.

In the fall of 1841 Cobden went to visit John Bright whose young wife lay dead upstairs. Bright later remarked, "Mr. Cobden called upon me as his friend and addressed me as you might suppose with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said, 'There are thousands of houses in England at this moment where wives, mothers and children are dying of hunger. Now, when the first paroxysm of your grief is passed, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest until the Corn Law is repealed.' I accepted his invitation. I felt in my conscience that there was a work which somebody must do . . ."

For the next five years Bright said that they devoted themselves without stint for every working hour to the discussion of this question.

The picture of these two plain business men leaving their homes and businesses, going up and down the country to convert the nation, had about it something of the apostolic. It caught the public imagination. It dramatized economic principles so that everyone discussed the Corn Laws and tariffs. Cobden combined fervor and imagination with logic. He sifted interviews and correspondence all day long, alert for a useful fact, a telling illustration, or a new fallacy to expose.

The secret of Richard Cobden, scores of people agreed, was persuasiveness. He made his way to men's minds and hearts by simplicity, earnestness and conviction, with a facility for apt and homely illustration. He made his arguments easy of admission and undeniable. Men

claim that we cannot get rid of our basic troubles without it.

In "An Appreciation of Henry George" written by John Dewey just 22 years ago, he stated that, "no man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker [Henry George]."

John Dewey believes it is a poor version of George's ideas which insists only upon the material effect of increase of population in producing the material or monetary increment in the value of land. He sees in Henry George a thinker who placed "his emphasis upon ideal factors of life, upon what are sometimes called the imponderables."

In the closing paragraph of the "Appreciation," John Dewey summarized Henry George:

"There have been economists of great repute who in their pretension to be scientific have ignored the most significant elements in human nature. There have been others who were emotionally stirred by social ills and who proposed glowing schemes of betterment, but who passed lightly over facts. It is the thorough fusion of insight into actual facts and forces, with recognition of their bearing upon what makes human life worth living, that constitutes Henry George one of the world's great social philosophers."

were attracted by his mental alacrity, and by the instant readiness with which he turned to grapple with a new objection. He was never at a loss and he never hesitated. Disraeli called this "Cobden's sauciness." It was effective because it sprang not from presumption but from mastery of the subject.

Smart journalists often disparaged Cobden as a common manufacturer without an idea in his head beyond buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. The most refined man of letters in Europe, however, Prosper Merimee, saw a great deal of him at Cannes one winter. "Cobden," he wrote to an intimate, "is a man of extremely interesting mind; quite the opposite of an Englishman, in this respect, that you never hear him talk commonplaces and that he has few prejudices."

Cobden spoke vigorously against what he called the land-tax fraud, or evasions of land value taxes, from time to time; but he believed with Bacon that if you have a handful of truths you should open but one finger at a time. The finger which he kept open was always pointing the possible benefits that would accrue through repeal of the Corn Laws.

He asked all to contribute time and money in order to save the rest from confiscation. "There are not a hundred men in the Commons," he said, "or twenty in the Lords, who at heart are anxious for total repeal [of tariffs]. They are coerced by the out-of-doors opinion. The only way in which the soul of a great nation can be stirred is by appealing to its sympathies with a true principle in its unalloyed simplicity." Such was the faith of this remarkable man, and he continually dramatized it by his utterances.

In 1844 Richard Cobden had reminded the House that Ireland had levied an import duty of 18 shillings on every quarter (8 bushels) of foreign wheat. Would it be believed that a country periodically on the verge of famine had a law virtually prohibiting the importation of bread? In 1845 the potato crop failed in Ireland, the crisis was upon them, and repeal was inevitable. Cobden, called upon that same year to make an important speech before Parliament, felt nervous and uncertain, but a friend assured him that this nervousness would wear off, and it did. He threw himself into the familiar argument and delivered a powerful address. When he sat down, Sir Robert Peel, who, as head of the government, had been taking notes to answer him, crumpled up his papers and said to his assistant, "You may answer him. I cannot."

Probably there never was an economic or political issue on which the average English citizen was so well educated. When finally on June 26, 1846 Peel's delayed repeal was passed, he stated that this repeal of the Corn Laws was a tribute to Richard Cobden's "reason and eloquence."

Cobden did the impossible, and he did it in seven years. Faced with a choice between bankruptcy or the surrender of his cause, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his business. While he did not solve the real problem of the Enclosures (10,000,000 acres grabbed by noblemen and their friends) he did point a method — the widespread education of business men. Now, a hundred year later, we have a permanent program in adult education through the Henry George School of Social Science with branches in 22 American cities. One of these days, perhaps very soon, a successor to Cobden or Bright may step out of our classes.