

Georgist disputes

**FOUND
AS
SCANNED**

George School Probe Begins

Teacher Files Charges Based On Publication's Statements

By LUTHER CONANT, JR.

The Henry George School of Social Science, 30 E. 29th St., was removed yesterday from the tax-exempt list and placed on the tax rolls.

Behind that action, an automatic procedure when a complaint is made against a tax-exempt property, is a bitter controversy involving charges by former teachers and students that the school has been disseminating antidemocratic and pro-appeasement propaganda.

Formal complaint to the Tax Commission and the University of the State of New York was made by Michael J. Bernstein, a former volunteer teacher at the school. It is his contention that the school has forfeited its charter rights.

The school is now under investigation by the University, which issues the charters for educational institutions. Final action by the Tax Commission depends on the University's findings and appeal by the school.

As part of the movement by Bernstein and a group of his associates, leaflets embodying the propaganda charges were distributed to students entering the school last night.

Meanwhile, Frank Chodorov, the director of the school and editor of the Georgist *The Freeman*, has been removed from both offices by the trustees. Officials of the school deny, however, that the change represents a repudiation of Chodorov's basic policies. Here is the background of the charges.

¶ *The Freeman*, according to one of its publicity circulars, is the "official organ" of the Henry George School.

¶ The directors of the magazine are all trustees of the school.

¶ The magazine receives grants from the school.

Officials of the school now claim, however, that *The Freeman* is not the official organ.

This was the pre-war line of *The Freeman*:

On Democracy—

"Democracy is done. . . . Our 150 years under the democratic formula has been attended with constant internal strife, recurring periods of industrial depression, increasing unemployment and misery, and a spasmodically interrupted succession of those complete breakdowns of civilized existence—wars."

On Relations With the Nazis—

"We must buy from all the world, including Germany and her slave states, all the things which they make better or cheaper than we can make them. If we permit emotionalism to shape our trade policy and proceed sanctimoniously to whip Germany into line . . . by refusing to do business with them, we shall drive them into the chaos of Communism."

In other words, you can and should do business with Hitler.

On Relations With Japan—

"Now we are told that we cannot do business with Japan. . . . But of one thing we can be certain: that this political interference with trade will cause American unemployment, raise American prices, increase American taxes, make for less American satisfactions. . . . The Japanese may be forced

into this undertaking (invasion of the Dutch East Indies) by their inability to do business with moralistic Uncle Sam."

It is significant to point out that while free trade was thus upheld with reference to the Axis countries, *The Freeman* did not call for revision of the Neutrality Act, a legal restriction on free trade.

The Freeman argued violently against the draft. Equally violently it attacked the New Deal as composed of "economic illiterates."

On an Axis Victory—

"But the point I am especially emphasizing here is that, in the particular matter of free trade, there is at least a possibility that totalitarian policy will operate to extend it, and even to force it upon foolishly reluctant democracies to the very considerable benefit of their people." (Henry Gunnison Brown, associate editor).

During the period from which these typical excerpts were selected, Chodorov was both editor of the paper and director of the school. During the two pre-war years, he contributed to *Scribner's Commentator*.

Douglas M. Stewart, co-publisher of the *Commentator*, is a graduate of the Henry George School and a friend of Lancaster M. Greene, a trustee of the school and a director of *The Freeman*.

Thursday, Greene had this to say regarding the change of administration:

He denied that the charge was a repudiation of Chodorov's policies.

"We do not read into them the narrow inferences made by others," he said.

He added that Chodorov would continue to receive grants to allow him to continue writing and that he had been invited to contribute to *The Freeman* in the status of an independent columnist.

A somewhat different complexion was put in the change by Paul Peach, formerly assistant editor and now editor of *The Freeman*.

He said Chodorov had a "penchant for unfortunate statements" and that the new policy of the paper would represent a "radical break from Chodorov's use of injudicious phrases."

Peach argued that the school and paper had never been pro-Axis, that it opposed any trend toward collectivism as incompatible with the philosophy of Henry George, and that misunderstanding arose over different connotations of words.

Miss Margaret Bateman, the new director who was assistant director the past year, said she did not wish to criticize Chodorov and that she had never known him to deviate from the principles of Henry George in his conduct of the school.

Grand Jury Hunts Griffin

No Trace of N. Y. 'Enquirer' Editor Wanted in Nazi Probe

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—William Griffin, editor of the weekly New York *Enquirer*, has not appeared.

Agents of the Grand Jury investigating propaganda have been trying to serve subpoenas, but have been unable to find a trace of him. William Power Maury, Assistant Attorney General, expressed concern last night about the safety of the editor, who, he said, is "badly treated."

In two previous sessions men have appeared while under investigation by the same Grand Jury. A volunteer witness was assassinated in Columbia last July as he was about to leave Washington to testify against German agents who ran the Transocean, a Nazi press office.

Alfred Townsend, a writer for *Scribner's* *Commentator*, also disappeared before he was indicted along with four others for disseminating Japanese propaganda without registering as a Japanese agent. Townsend was picked up yesterday in Milwaukee and released \$5000 bond.

During the 1940 Republican Convention the *Enquirer* printed a special edition supporting Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York President. Prescott Dennett, secretary of Islands for War Debts Committee, who was figured in the Grand Jury investigation as an associate of George Sylvester Viereck, a German propagandist, signed the *Enquirer's* article on Fish.

A district court yesterday Viereck's trial on charges of concealing his activities on behalf of the Nazis was set for Feb. 16, in Washington.

Margaret Ingalls, the American flier, who is under indictment for failing to register as a German agent, will go on trial here next Monday. At the time Miss Ingalls was supposedly collecting a salary as a propaganda agent for the German Embassy, she was a featured speaker for the America First Committee.



Wm. Griffin

U. S. War Communique

The War Department's Communique No. 89, as of 4 p.m. Monday, said:

American bombers of the Flying Fortress type raided Japanese airfields at Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan in Malaya. Poor visibility made it impossible to estimate the damage. We lost no planes. Jap fighter planes intercepted four of our bombers on the way to attack Japanese shipping at Balikpapan, Borneo. Nine Japanese planes were shot down, one of ours lost.

Complete war news, Pages 14-18; war maps, Pages 15-17.

Avoid Farm Price Conflict

Secretary of Agriculture Wickard and Price Administrator Henderson have issued a joint statement saying they are in "complete agreement" as to the objectives of the new Price Control Law.

Wickard, who has veto power over Henderson's farm price ceilings, had been criticized by the Congressional farm bloc for testifying last week that the Government did not intend to let farm prices go much higher.

The Wickard-Henderson statement said they were determined to keep farm prices fair to the consumer by taking "every possible step to insure abundant supplies for all," including the release of Government-owned stocks of grains and cotton.

WLB May Mediate Sunday Pay Dispute

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—The War Labor Board is expected to mediate the dispute over double-time for Sunday work in Detroit plants.

R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Auto Workers union, probably will raise the point when the full WLB meets today.

Reports from Detroit indicated that both union and General Motors officials will welcome WLB intervention; in fact, the UAW proposed this step several weeks ago. A UAW spokesman said today:

"The issue is being inflated anyway. Right now the problem is providing jobs for men any day in the week. We're ready to work now, mediate Sunday pay later."

Navy Training at Stanford and ND

Stanford and Notre Dame are two of the universities selected by the Navy as centers for its new aviation training program, United Press reports. College facilities will be leased in New York and Georgia, but the colleges have not been announced.

War Time

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—FDR suggested yesterday that the term War Time be used when the Nation's clocks are advanced one hour on Feb. 9 instead of the usual Daylight Saving Time.

Loan to China

FDR yesterday asked Congress to lend China \$500,000,000 in addition to the lend-lease aid that country is getting from the U. S. A.

June 6, 1942

Edited by Daniel Goodman
324 Elmwood Ave.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

AOTTA

FROM "PROGRESS & POVERTY"

number 4
"I propose to beg no question, to shrink from no conclusion, but to follow truth wherever it may lead. Upon us is the responsibility of seeking the law, for in the very heart of our civilization today women faint and little children moan. But what that law may prove to be is not our affair. If the conclusions that we reach run counter to our prejudices, let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural, let us not turn back."

HENRY GEORGE VS. TRUSTEES
OF THE HGSSS

A recent appeal for contributions from the Henry George School of Social Science reads as follows:

"Dear Friend:

This is a request that you donate one or two - ten or a hundred Defense Stamps to the School's sustaining fund.

Contributions of this kind will not only assist the School in its Educational Defense Program, but through it you will do your share in our country's struggle for Democracy.

Americans are "all out" to win the war and also the peace. Each has his way of going about the job. Your school believes that Education is America's Solid Line of Defense.

Will you help both your school and your country with a contribution? Fill out the opposite side of this card and return your donation. Any amount will be appreciated...One stamp or a hundred.

"Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now!"

Sincerely,
HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
30 East 29th Street New York, N. Y."

Henry George has something to say on this subject. We quote from Social Problems, page 166:

"Thus the device of public debts enables tyrants to entrench themselves, and adventurers who seize upon government to toady the people. It permits the making of great and

wasteful expenditures, BY SILENCING, AND EVEN CONVERTING INTO SUPPORT, the opposition of those who would otherwise resist these expenditures with most energy and force. But for the ability of rulers to contract public debts, nine-tenths of the wars of Christendom for the past two centuries could never have been waged. The destruction of wealth and the shedding of blood, the agony of wives and mothers and children thus caused, cannot be computed, but to these items must be added the waste and loss and demoralization caused by constant preparation for war."

THE ADJUSTMENT IS ON

The following quotations from Henry George's "Social Problems" (Chap. XVI. - Public Debts and Indirect Taxation), were shown to Ezra Cohen, Trustee of the HGSSS:

"That, in spite of the progress of civilization, Europe is today a vast camp, and the energies of the most advanced portion of mankind are everywhere taxed so heavily to pay for preparations for war or the costs of war, is due to two great inventions, that of indirect taxation and that of public debt."

"Both of these devices by which tyrannies are maintained, governments are corrupted, and the common people plundered, spring historically from the monopolization of land, and both directly ignore the natural rights of man."

"...as for the great national debts of the world, incurred as they have been for purposes of tyranny and war, it is impossible to see in them anything but evil."

After reading this, Trustee Cohen commented:

"It's a matter of interpretation."

REVISION

In the opening letter of this AOTTA series we said, referring to the Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science:

".....we have no confidence in them. We fear what they intend to do with the School, and we have reason to believe they plan a "revision" of Henry George."

The method of revision will be slow. It will be a creeping paralysis, not a sudden death. Its symptoms will be discernible only to those who watch for them.

For instance: In an editorial in the May issue of the Freeman (financed by the HGSSS), signed with the initials of C. O. Steele, the editor (selected by the Trustees of the HGSSS), we have the following opening paragraph to "Georgists in the Fight for Freedom":

"The immediate task before us is to win the war, the war which is to decide whether the world is to be slave or free.

We are just getting started at the task. We came perilously close to being too late in starting. Many of us did not realize the danger."

The editorial ends:

"Georgists will not be found wanting in those qualities (honesty, courage, loyalty, vision, and self-sacrifice) nor in their readiness to fight in defense of freedom. Many are already in the armed forces. Others are joining daily. There is no defeatism in Georgism."

We are to fight in defense of freedom, to avoid a world of slavery. So C. O. Steele tells us. And the assumption is, of course, that C. O. Steele knows what constitutes Freedom as distinguished from slavery.

But we also have read some things written by Henry George. Let him answer Mr. Steele:

"Just as removal to cheaper land becomes difficult or impossible, laborers, no matter what they produce, will be reduced to a bare living, and the free competition among them, where land is monopolized, will force them to a condition which, though they may be mocked with the titles and insignia of freedom, will be virtually that of slavery." (Progress & Poverty, p. 348)

"Personal liberty - that is to say, the liberty to move about - is everywhere conceded, while of political and legal inequality there are in the United States no vestiges, and in the most backward civilized countries but few. But the great cause of inequality remains, and is manifesting itself in the unequal distribution of wealth. The essence of slavery is that it takes from the laborer all he produces save enough to support an animal existence, and to this minimum the wages of free labor, under existing conditions, unmistakably tend.....Thus the condition of the masses in every civilized country is, or is tending to become, that of virtual slavery under the forms of freedom."

(Progress & Poverty, pp.352-3)

"Our boasted freedom necessarily involves slavery, so long as we recognize private property in land. Until that is abolished, Declarations of Independence and Acts of Emancipation are in vain. So long as one man can claim the exclusive ownership of the land from which other men must live, slavery will exist, and as material progress goes on, must grow and deepen!"

(Progress & Poverty, p. 357)

"We have not really abolished slavery; we have retained it in its most insidious and wide-spread form - in a form which applies to whites as to blacks. So far from abolishing slavery, it is extending and intensifying, and we make no scruple of selling into it our own children - the citizens of the Republic yet to be. For what else are we doing in selling the land on which future citizens must live, if they are to live at all?" (Social Problems - p. 152)

"Of the two systems of slavery, I think there can be no doubt that upon the same moral level, that which makes property of persons is more humane than that which results from making private property of land."

(Social Problems - p. 159)

"We have not abolished slavery. We never can abolish slavery, until we honestly accept the fundamental truth asserted by the Declaration of Independence and secure to all the equal and unalienable rights with which they are endowed by their Creator."

(Social Problems - p. 160)

"So long as this exists (private ownership of land), our democratic institutions are in vain, our pretense of equality, but cruel irony, our public schools can but sow the seeds of discontent. So long as this exists, material progress can but force the masses of our people into a harder and more hopeless slavery. Until we in some way make the land, what Nature intended it to be, common property, until we in some way secure to every child born among us his natural birthright, we have not established the Republic in any sense worthy of the name, and we cannot establish the Republic. Its foundations are quicksand."

(The Land Question - p. 75)

The evidence mounts and mounts and MOUNTS. C. O. Steele and his employers, the Directors of the Freeman and Trustees of the HGSSS, have surrendered to their fear of the state.

They want to retain tax exemption for their school building - and the price they would have us pay is renunciation of the philosophy that would secure tax exemption to all labor and capital. They have sold themselves for a school charter - and forgot their greater duty: to FIGHT FOR A CHARTER OF LIBERTY FOR ALL MANKIND.

"Revision" is their order of the day. Compromise - pervert - distort!

The Trustees are promoting ideas which are as foreign to Henry George as is holy water in hell!

The very essence of George's philosophy - the distinction between what constitutes Freedom or Slavery - this evil of private land ownership which exists in our society - this distinction is denied by C. O. Steele and his employers, OUR Trustees.

They mock George, and slander him, by blasphemously using his name to cloak their "revisions" - and they mock those who teach the Truth as George wrote it.

We who are dedicated to the Truth enunciated by George - we who are now carrying the torch onward - we brand these "revisions" for what they are - LIES.

"And the gospel of deliverance, let us not forget it; it is the gospel of love, not of hate. He whom it emancipates will know neither Jew nor Gentile, nor Irishman nor Englishman, nor German nor Frenchman, nor European nor American, nor difference of color or of race, nor animosities of class

or condition. Let us set our feet on old prejudices, let us bury the old hates. There have been "Holy Alliances" of kings. Let us strive for the Holy Alliance of the people!

"Liberty, equality, fraternity! Write them on the banners. Let them be for sign and countersign. Without equality, liberty cannot be; without fraternity, neither equality nor liberty can be achieved.

"Liberty - the full freedom of each bounded only by the equal freedom of every other!

"Equality - the equal right of each to the use and enjoyment of all natural opportunities, to all the essentials of happy, healthful, human life!

"Fraternity - that sympathy which links together those who struggle in a noble cause; that would live and let live; that would help as well as be helped; that, in seeking the good of all, finds the highest good of each!

"By this sign shall ye conquer!

"We hold these truths to be self-evident - that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!"

"It is over a century since these words rang out. It is time to give them their full, true meaning. Let the standard be lifted that all may see it; let the advance be sounded that all may hear it. Let those who would fall back, fall back. Let those who would oppose, oppose. Everywhere are those who will rally. The stars in their courses fight against Sisera!"
(The Land Question - pp.108-9)

"The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fulness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal."
(Protection or Free Trade)

GEORGISTS - WATCH YOUR SCHOOL - GUARD YOUR PHILOSOPHY!

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Mrs. Anna George de Mille has been notified, in her capacity as President of the Board of Trustees of the HGSSS, that the AOTTA Committee will, on June 10th, request the Board of Regents to furnish the Committee with a copy of the statement of policy submitted by the Trustees to them - unless the Trustees will have, before that date, made public that report.

men at Chicago's Soldier Field, Tenor **Jan Kiepura** spurned Mezzo-Soprano **Gladys Swarthout** so thoroughly that he knocked her cold against the stage floor. Carried off and revived, she finished the show with a banged-up forehead.

Uniformity

Major **Elliott Roosevelt**, hospitalized in Dayton, Ohio, with a knee injury the Army said laconically was "received at another field," was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Army Air Forces.

Sergeant **Hank Greenberg** was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Army Air Forces at Miami Beach.

ful tennis, onetime jail bird (on a morals charge) has returned to Berlin from the eastern front and resumed his tennis.

Deed

Gaunt **Amos Richards Eno Pinchot**, participator with Brother Gifford in founding the Bull Moose party, father of the late Actress Rosamond (once *The Nun* in *The Miracle*), who killed herself in 1938, longtime anti-New Dealer, onetime *America First*, whose 68th birthday fell the day before Pearl Harbor, slashed several veins in one of his arms and was taken to a Westport, Conn. hospital. His condition: critical.

May 30, 1942

(Edited by Daniel Goodman)

AOTTA

LESE MAJESTE

(or - theirs not to question why,
theirs but to do or die.)

The editor of AOTTA was, on May 27th, expelled from the faculty of the HGSSS by the Directress, Margaret Bateman.

BUT, WE FOLLOW HENRY GEORGE

"He who sees the truth, let him proclaim it, without asking who is for it or who is against it." (The Land Question)

ABOUT THE FREEMAN AND THE "N.E.P."

Under date of March 16 the following letter was sent by a member of the committee, mentioned in the letter, to one of the trustees of the HGSSS, who is also a director of the Freeman.

"The Freeman is experiencing difficult times once again and I, together with several other faculty members of the school are endeavoring to effect a permanent solution of the problem - separation of the paper from the school. Perhaps it might be well to recount what has occurred during the past several weeks before stating our reasons for desiring to do what we feel would eliminate this continual trouble.

"Some time ago a meeting was called for February 28th of the faculty and board of trustees, in line with a program to bring about closer cooperation and contact between the two. However, only two or three days before the meeting we found out that Paul Peach, who had been appointed editor when Frank Chodorov was let out, had also been discharged as editor and we all wanted to know the facts. Everyone had hoped that things at the school would quiet down and that we could all go on teaching without any further unpleasantness for after all that is what we are there for.

"Several ugly rumors regarding a 'New Educational Policy' were bruited about, and in order to finally bring everything out into the open, have a complete discussion of the causes of irritants and get back to our jobs, the faculty insisted on a candid expression of what was taking place. It is not possible, we feel, to have a whole hearted and concerted effort toward our goal when there is a lack of confidence in the board of trustees.

"It developed at the meeting that a letter had been sent to the school by Mr. Will Lissner stating that unless Paul Peach adhered to a 'New Educational Policy' (of which no teacher had any knowledge) he, too, would have to be gotten rid of, also that the Freeman itself was to have a new policy and that any teacher who still had the 'Frank Chodorov - Albert Jay Nock line of Georgism' would find himself out of the school. The letter was endorsed by Mr. Greene who stated thereon that he was in agreement with Mr. Lissner.

"Quite naturally, the teachers were highly incensed to learn that someone who was not a trustee, director or even a teacher was now dictating what the Freeman should print and what the school's policy should be. While we all appreciate that letters are sent to the school and the magazine suggesting a change in policy, none of us want to see an individual encouraged in the thought that he is a Dictator of the school.

"Paul Peach refused to be guided by Mr. Lissner's demands, asserting that he and no one else was to be the arbiter as to what should be printed since that was the duty of the editor. Some correspondence was read to the meeting between Mr. Peach and Mr. Greene. Mr. Peach had been sent several letters by Mr. Greene, some of which were signed by Mr. Greene as Chairman of the Freeman Corporation and others signed by him as an individual. It thus became difficult for Paul to determine when such letters were authorized by the board.

"In view of their inability to see eye to eye upon many matters, Paul wrote to Mr. Greene suggesting that another member of the board be appointed to discuss such subjects with him, for in doing this Paul felt that they could make greater progress. The upshot of all this correspondence was that Mr. Greene wrote Paul that his resignation was accepted even though Paul did not tender it. It was quite evident to the meeting that Paul was fired because he would not take instructions from Mr. Greene and Mr. Lissner as to how he should be editor. He was fired because he was upright enough to be a real editor and determine for himself just what should and should not be printed in the Freeman. * * * * *

"The 'New Educational Policy' mentioned in Mr. Lissner's letter which Mr. Greene endorsed is a deep mystery. Not even Mr. Greene would, or could, tell the meeting what it meant. Mr. Ezra Cohen, the only other trustee present, stated bewilderingly that he had not even seen the letter until it was read to the meeting. Miss Bateman could not tell us what this new policy was to be. Nor do any of us know by what right Mr. Lissner arrogates the privilege of telling the teachers we have a new educational policy. Our confidence in the governing body of the school is hardly enhanced when one of the trustees endorses Mr. Lissner's "N. E. P." and then can't tell us what it was that he approved of. Is he awaiting a propitious moment to spring something new?

"I and most of the other faculty members studied under Mr. Chodorov and feel that the knowledge and understanding of Henry George which he has was so beautifully taught us that we nearly all feel his equal in presenting the philosophy of freedom to our classes. And we'll be darned if we will let anyone tell us that because we teach as Mr. Chodorov did we would be fired. So long as the Henry George School stands we will teach Henry George as we have been taught to teach it because we know that is the way it should be taught, New Educational Policy or no New Educational Policy.

"Although only two of the trustees were present at the meeting, Mr. Greene and Mr. Cohen, neither one offered any suggestions to eliminate the source of the trouble. Consequently a resolution was voted upon by the teachers appointing a committee consisting of John Fasano, Dan Goodman, Burt Levey and myself to effectuate a change. Our primary concern is to safeguard the Henry George School against any further vicious attacks such as the recent Bernstein affair. Since the Freeman has been the focal point of almost all of the past difficulties we feel that it would do the school and the magazine a world of good to really be two separate entities.

"Our first reason for desiring a severance is that the school has no function, according to its charter, other than to teach the philosophy of Henry George. Therefore, to have the same directors of the Freeman as the school is obviously impolitic. Our school's trustees have stated several times that the paper is a separate entity and that it does not necessarily voice the opinion of the school. To look at the list of the board of directors of the Freeman one could hardly come to a conclusion other than that the Freeman were the school's private property and organ.

"By having a different board of directors for the Freeman they will be no threat to the school in the form of having its charter revoked by the Board of Regents because of political pressure.

"Furthermore, under the present set-up the directors of the school may feel impelled to bring pressure on the editor to print an article written by a particular individual although that article may have very little merit. If we are to have a magazine, let us have writers of merit and not writers who have influence. A rejection of an article by a school paper may hurt the school but a rejection by an independent paper could not possibly have such an effect.

"Finally, an attack on the Freeman could not be construed as an attack on the school." * * * * *

(The asterisks in the above letter indicate sections that were omitted because they are not pertinent to the subject of this AOTTA)

A short while later the writer of this letter received a reply to the effect that the director had sent his resignation as director to Mr. Greene, Chairman of the Freeman Board. One week thereafter a teacher spoke to another director about the resignation, and this director said he knew nothing about it; Mr. Greene had not told him. They're even hush-hushing one another.

After many delays the Freeman committee met with three trustees to take up this matter of separation of the paper from the school. These trustees refused to give up the Freeman, until after Albany had made up its mind on the Charter. If there is any relevancy in this excuse the trustees failed to disclose it.

It now appears that the Freeman is being used for indoctrination, not for teaching. Copies are being mailed to prospective students. Thus, when they come to class they know in advance what the school stands for - Henry George notwithstanding.

The Aotta Committee is ready to take over the Freeman, lock, stock and barrel, and relieve the school of any further loss on the publication.

THE PRICE ON GEORGE

A member of the Aotta Committee received a call from Mr. Greene the day after the first Aotta was mailed. In the course of an hour's conversation Mr. Greene said: "If you keep on with this we shall have to be more jingoistic than ever."

By "we" he meant the board of trustees. What inference can be drawn from this statement? That the board feels impelled to take a political position - not a scholastic one. Why? To please politicians. Why? Because the politicians threaten to deprive the school of a political privilege - tax exemption - unless the school takes a position pleasing to the politicians.

Notice that there was nothing of a political nature in the first Aotta letter, nor in the subsequent ones. We believe with George that the politics of a nation is a reflection of its economy. We have no concern with politics. We teach economics. We are satisfied that a people gets the kind of politics it deserves, and that it will deserve better only when it knows better. If in our teaching of principles we run counter to political expediency we cannot help it. Principles don't change to please politicians. George says so, and we believe him.

But the board - if Mr. Greene reflects their point of view - is all in a dither about what Albany will think, not what George says. Tax exemption is the thing. To hell with Georgism.

Now, let it be clearly understood that the school can exist and can teach straight Georgism, exactly as it is written, whether or not it has a charter. All that the charter means is exemption of the building from local taxation - about \$3,000 a year. Shall we sell George down the river for that pittance? That's the real question before the board.

Yes, for the present we can carry on as a school with or without the charter. And we do not believe the politicians would do George the favor of revoking the charter and thus giving the philosophy some much-needed publicity.

It may come to pass that what George teaches will be put on the political index. His books may be consigned to the bonfire of thought and civilization. When that time comes, if it ever does, true Georgists will continue teaching the philosophy in cellars. Apparently the board - or at least Mr. Greene - has no relish for such sacrifice.

The Aotta Committee is for George - and won't sell him for Three Million Dollars a minute.

(This is the third issue of the AOTTA. We will furnish a copy of the second issue, upon request, to anyone who did not receive it.)

May 23, 1942

AOTTA

(Edited by DANIEL Goodman)

HOW GEORGE FACED THE ISSUE

A stranger to Henry George left him the bulk of an estate appraised at almost \$10,000 - a tidy amount in those days, and George could well have used it. Relatives contested the will on the ground that the books, for the dissemination of which the money was left, were opposed to public policy. They won, and the will was declared void. Did George quit? It wasn't the money he was interested in, for after investigation of the circumstances he was for voiding the will himself and letting the needy widow have it all. But, when the principles he believed in were thus attacked, he knew his duty - FIGHT!

As is always the case when a man stands for principle, there was a deal of calumny heaped on George. One newspaper characteristically announced that the woman whose husband had left George \$30,000 was in the almshouse. He appealed the verdict, only for the purpose of vindicating his principles, and won. He gave the proceeds of the bequest to the widow.

Thus did the man who stood for principle. He did not run away from the notoriety, and least of all did he think of the money involved. Nay, he welcomed the opportunity of vindicating his philosophy in open court. His personal convenience counted not at all.

But when the Trustees of the School which bears Henry George's name were similarly confronted with action by the State, did they grab at the chance of throwing the spotlight on his philosophy? Did they challenge the State? Did they stand up for the principles which it is their prime duty to uphold?

No, they turned tail and ran. They rushed in with a policy "report" that they hope will calm things down, thus helping the monopolists and their satellite professors in the old scheme of killing the philosophy by depriving it of a hearing.

Can you visualize this grand opportunity that was opened to them? If the charter were revoked, mandamus proceedings to show cause would have thrown the matter into court. The opportunity to expound George's theories in open court would have been worth more than a hundred classes; even the newspapers would have to report the case. And although they undoubtedly would have twisted the facts, the advertising would have been worth more than a million circulars soliciting students. Educators would have been drawn into the "academic freedom" fight, and some professors who had never heard of Progress & Poverty might have put it on their list of "must" reading. And even if the case were lost, which is doubtful, what would it mean? A few thousand dollars a year in tax exemptions? the salary of one clerk? Win or lose, Georgism would have gained.

Why did the Trustees pass up this golden opportunity? To maintain "respectability"? The philosophy of Henry George is a philosophy of revolt, and an upsetting of the status quo is never what the "right kind of people" are for. Therefore it would seem to be a fair conclusion that the Trustees were thinking of the effect the notoriety

might have had on their personal affairs and, if so, they were unfaithful to their Trust. Honest and courageous men would have accepted the challenge, or would disqualify themselves as Trustees of the philosophy.

There is no hope for Georgism, or for humanity, so long as the ideal of freedom is the mere hobby of fair weather friends. Those who have not the fortitude to suffer for freedom will always betray her, and will rationalize their betrayal in protestations of expediency, just as the betrayal of Jesus was rationalized by Judas Iscariot.

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FRANCIS NEILSON

It is customary, and of some business importance, for a corporation to announce changes in its directing personnel, particularly its policy-making body. Stockholders are entitled to know the make-up of the board as a basis for confidence in its integrity and in its ability to carry on.

The Trustees of the HGSSS have been remiss, therefore, in not announcing the resignation of Hon. Francis Neilson from the Board, as well as the reason for his resignation.

This resignation was received by the Board of Trustees early in January of this year. Why has the matter been hushed up? Maybe Mr. Neilson did not agree with the other members of the Board on matters of fundamental policy. If so, supporters of the School ought to know about it. Straight dealing would require an unqualified statement of the difference of opinion which led to the resignation, so that other Georgists can make up their minds on the issue involved.

Those who know Mr. Neilson, even if only through his admirable record, regret deeply the loss the School has sustained by his resignation. His reputation in general is so much wider and more important than that of all the other Trustees combined, that comparison is unthinkable. Not only is he a writer of repute, and a forceful speaker, but his record as a protagonist for Henry George in this country and his native England dates back nearly half a century. He is indeed that kind of friend of the Truth of whom George wrote:

".....it will find friends - those who will toil for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it."

We cannot afford to lose such friends. Why did Mr. Neilson feel impelled to resign?

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THANKS

The AOTTA Committee acknowledges receipt of \$10.08 contributed by supporters to help defray our expenses. Your further contributions are solicited. We do NOT have a \$400,000. endowment, you see. (No war Savings Stamps please.)

Can anyone offer us the use of a mimeograph machine on which to run off the AOTTA? That would save us a bit of money.

OUR UNKNOWN POLICY

When an emissary from Albany came down to quiz the Trustees on the 'soundness' of our teachings - a matter which had been put under suspicion by excerpts from FREEMAN editorials on the now outmoded theory of natural rights - he intimated rather cleverly, we have been told, that the special privilege granted to the School via the charter might be abrogated if we did not behave.

This special privilege amounts to tax exemption on our real estate. This is something not to be sneezed at; at least that's what the Trustees thought, and they seem to have hastened to assure the powers that George goes along pretty well with the status quo, and that the School which bears his name will be particularly careful to keep in tune with the current trend. We have no definite information to that effect, but we understand from remarks made sotto voce by some Trustees that their report to Albany will prove satisfactory.

Have you seen a copy of this report?

Neither have we.

It was not written up by any of the Trustees, nor indeed, by any of the faculty - the men and women who teach at the School, and are supposed to know what the School is all about. A Mr. Lissner was employed to do the job. We understand that this gentleman taught a class at the School in 1937, and we are told that while the subject was supposed to be George's "Science of Political Economy" it dealt with other writers' ideas, with special reference to "modern" economists from Karl Marx down. At any rate, this man has not taught in the HGSSS since 1937. Where he got the knowledge for a report on the policy of the School is therefore a mystery; for he certainly could not have gotten it from personal contact in teaching at the School.

Now, perhaps you received a reprint of a letter signed by John Dewey, the eminent pragmatist and booster of "social controls", in which he says the report to Albany meets with his approval. So, we know that the Trustees, Dr. Dewey and, of course, the stranger to the School who wrote it, have seen this brief on George's regularity - BUT NOT THE TEACHERS.

Now, this report, we are led to believe by the Trustees, is the final word on the policy of the School. It presumes to tell how the institution is organized, what its purpose is, how it teaches, what it teaches; how the teachers are selected, what standards of education prevail, and all about the subject matter. Also, undoubtedly, how the mistakes of the past will be rectified, with assurances that non-conforming heads will summarily be chopped off. Of this last surmise we have some documentary substantiation.

The policy of a school must be carried out by its teachers. How else can it be made effective? But how are the teachers of the HGSSS going to carry out this "new educational policy" if they don't know what it is? Imagine a coach telling his team to carry out a plan of action without telling them anything about the plan. That's the situation the faculty of the HGSSS is in.

It may be smart to keep this statement of policy in the dark. Perhaps the Trustees aim to fool the politicians; that is, maybe they hope to protect the School's special privilege with a statement of new policy, but plan to carry on with the teachings of unadulterated Georgism as in the past. Then, again, it might be that publication of the policy statement would sour many loyal supporters of the School, particularly the money contributors. That is not exactly honest, but when you go in for expediency honesty becomes superfluous baggage.

We teachers are exasperatingly befuddled by the procedure, perhaps because as followers of Henry George we are inclined to be stupidly straightforward and incapable of following the intricacies of slick guys.

We want to know the stated policy of the School.

We intend to know it.

If it is not forthcoming soon, we give notice to the Trustees that we will go to Albany to ascertain from the charter-givers all about the policy we are supposed to be carrying out.

Perhaps they'll tell us.

VIA THE GRAPEVINE

One Trustee has said that it is unwise to release their statement of policy until the Board of Regents have handed down their decision because, if we do it now, "Michael J. Bernstein could get hold of it and shoot it full of holes."

Is the statement that bad? If M.J.B. could "shoot it full of holes" what may we expect of the Board of Regents, with their collective wisdom, and with the acute examiners and analysts at their disposal?

Another excuse advanced by a Trustee, we are told, is that we (the teachers at the HGSSS) might take some sentence in the report out of its context and distort its meaning! Well, the distrust is mutual.

Perhaps you have heard some other excuse advanced for failing to release the Trustees' statement of policy. Send in the story that was dished out to you. A compilation of these would no doubt prove amusing - and sharply illumine the confusion and lack of consistency which now agitates our Trustees.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

For fear of reprisals which may be attempted against teachers of the HGSSS who support the AOTTA, a number of them have indicated their support verbally, but have asked that their names not be mentioned. Out of respect to their wishes the names of members of the AOTTA COMMITTEE will not be published, and I, Daniel Goodman, accept full and complete responsibility for all material appearing in the AOTTA.

May 18, 1942

AOTTA

BY THE RIGHT OF LABOR

Since the beginning of this year the Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science seem to have adopted a policy of keeping the faculty in complete darkness in all matters relating to the future of the School. Whether this hush-hushedness is a policy, or a timidity resulting from lack of policy, we cannot tell. In either event the effect on the morale of the faculty is the same. The air at 30 East 29 Street is thick with distrust, suspicion, and bitterness. And, as is always the result when there is a hiding of essential information, rumors built around slight remarks or insignificant facts add to the confusion.

The Trustees own the School. We do not question their property rights. Just as monopoly rent is legal, so the corporation law under which the School operates gives the legal right to the Trustees to run the School as they please, even, if they wish, to promote ideas which are as foreign to the teaching of the man for whom the School is named as is holy water in hell.

But we teachers of the philosophy of Henry George have some rights too, and they have the moral sanction of labor. We give our time, our effort, and our devotion to the ideal for which we believe the School was founded and endowed. We trained hard that we might be better teachers; we read, study and observe that we may carry on more effectively. We were proud to feel that this is OUR School; nay, more, we were TOLD that the faculty IS the School. We believed that - and we believe it still!

Therefore we resent the attitude of the Trustees in keeping us completely in the dark on matters vitally affecting the future of the School and its teachings. We have a right to know. If the Trustees plan to "interpret" George into something he did not write (to protect their property rights) that's their business, but our business is not in such a School.

It is the intention of the group of teachers who are sponsoring these AOTTA letters to find out what is going on. And we intend to use this method to keep those Georgists who are sincerely interested in the School and the philosophy, including instructors who are unable to be with us for one reason or another, informed as to what is going on at the School.

We have lost confidence in the Trustees. We fear what they intend to do with the School, and we have reason to believe they plan a "revision" of Henry George.

Our object is constructive; we aim to save the School for Georgism. We aim to save it in spite of the Trustees if need be. None of us have any personal ambition to advance.

Now, this AOTTA is the first of a series we shall issue. In each one we shall publish the facts, rumors, and suspicions which are causing disharmony to replace the co-operative camaraderie that characterized the School in past years. If the Trustees wish to answer any statements made in these letters, we shall publish them.

AOTTA means "As One Teacher To Another", and it signifies association in equality. It does not mean that the owners of the School are the owners of the conscience of the faculty; it cannot be "interpreted" into a master-and-slave relationship.

Maybe you think we are unduly apprehensive as to what is going on, but the evidence all points in one direction - perversion of the truths enunciated by Henry George. Read these issues of the AOTTA - then decide.

THE AOTTA COMMITTEE

Daniel Goodman
Harold S. Bock
Sidney Bernstein

Richard Brennan
Peggy Brennan
Ami Mali Hicks

ANYONE who is interested in Saving the School for Henry George can join this Committee by merely expressing his desire.

Address: The AOTTA Committee
324 Elmwood Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

We invite you to submit material for the AOTTA. The AOTTA is being sent only to members of the faculty and volunteer staff of the Henry George School (as well as to the Trustees), and to ACTIVE Georgists in the movement. These letters are not being sent to inactive graduates and students, nor are they being discussed with students.

FRANKNESS

At a conference between a Committee of the Faculty and some members of the Board of Trustees, discussing a suggestion designed to remove the friction now so apparent, one Trustee made the following remark:

"I don't trust your sincerity."

A teacher retorted:

"We don't trust your ability."

File M.J. Bernstein

226 E. 12th St., N.Y.C.

GRamercy 7-6450

Aug. 15, 1941

Dear Fellow-Georgist:

The exchange of correspondence which appears in the following pages is perhaps self-explanatory. But because of the grave and significant issues involved, I consider it absolutely imperative to make clear to Georgists who read these letters the motives which impelled me to present them in this manner. These copies are being distributed only among those whose connection with the School has been extremely close, to those whose devotion to the teachings of Henry George and whose interest in fostering the growth and expansion of the School have been evidenced by the substantial sacrifices of time, effort and money which they have made. But I feel that it is precisely those persons who should be made acquainted with the nature of the controversy which the existence of this correspondence indicates. And because there was no other means by which it was possible for me to reach them, (as will be obvious from a reading of what follows), I have adopted this particular method, time-honored in the history of social controversy.

Very sincerely yours,
Michael J. Bernstein

July 17, 1941

Dear Frank,

As you have undoubtedly gathered from our many conversations, I take issue with certain views to which you have committed yourself.

As long as you confine yourself to expressing your views in conversation around a common table, those disagreeing with you are able to answer on an equal footing.

However, through access to the editorial columns of the Freeman, you are able to reach several thousand people, while those of us at the School who disagree with you are at a disadvantage in this respect.

Therefore I have written the enclosed letter to you, in your capacity as Editor of the Freeman, which I feel you should publish in recognition of the fact that there can be honest difference of opinion between Georgists on the issues I have raised.

Although I know that it is a common practise among editors to cut letters addressed to them for publication, I must ask you not to do so in this case as I feel that this would mutilate my argument.

I am certain you will recognize that conditions have left me no honorable alternative than to set myself publicly on record in favor of the views I hold.

Sincerely,

Michael J. Bernstein

July 17, 1941

To the Editor of The Freeman:

At the recently concluded Concluded Convention of the Henry George School of Social Science, the assistant editor of The Freeman emphatically declared that those who disagree with the periodical's policy or practice are warmly welcome to submit their criticisms.

As one who, for many months, has viewed with grave alarm the direction of The Freeman's editorial policy, I take this occasion to protest most vigorously against the bias which has been permitted to creep into the editorial columns of what professes to be a strictly non-political Georgist journal.

Inasmuch as The Freeman is regarded by most of its readers (and is meant to be so regarded) as the organ of the Henry George School, reflecting what many sincerely believe to be the School's official teaching, I deem it my duty to point out that the magazine's editorials are merely the editor's opinions and interpretations. Not only are they not Georgist; in many instances they are flatly anti-Georgist. They are rarely, if ever, based on any thorough factual research, but are built rather upon a priori generalizations and facile assumptions. They exclude from consideration all the facts save a few (a very few) which do not conflict with the premises, and arrive at conclusions which do not necessarily follow from the evidence presented.

What is more, many of the articles to which I refer are obvious examples of special pleading. They represent an anti-British bias, as well as a contempt for political democracy; they manifest a cynicism about spiritual values which large sections of mankind have, through the agencies of church, law and voluntary associations, painfully acquired through the long centuries, a cynicism identical with the irreverent debunking so prevalent (and so deadly) during the post-war years.

This attitude, this spirit which permeates the Freeman's editorials, although it attempts, most clumsily in my opinion, to cloak itself in Henry George's profound faith in human dignity and the desirability of human freedom, is in reality the crudest sort of belly-want materialism, directly opposed to the spirit of George's teaching, and does not, when occasion lends itself, refrain from stooping to a perversion, as well as a disregard for historical fact.

As this is meant to be a Letter to the Editor, and not a contributed article, I will confine myself to several examples from a recent issue, and if the Editors of the Free man challenge me to prove my other assertions, I shall be pleased to accommodate them in a more detailed letter for a subsequent issue.

On page 150 of the May 1941 issue there appears an article called "From Paul to Peter," dealing with the military resistance offered by Yugoslavia to the recent German invasion. Here are some quotations:-

"That the populace of Yugoslavia was determined to preserve the independence of their country from German domination, even against the sell-out attempted by now deposed rulers, just proves that they had become adjusted to their slavery and feared a Hitlerian readjustment. (Perhaps they should have welcomed it as an improvement? MJB). It does not prove that they are a free people, economically or politically."

"So, Yugoslavs prefer slavery under their own masters. That's all there is to it and any romanticism about liberty fighting tyranny is gratuitous."

Now here's a quotation from PROGRESS AND POVERTY, Book IX, Chapter IV:-

"It is not selfishness that enriches the annals of every people with heroes and saints. It is not selfishness that on every page of the world's history bursts out in sudden splendor of noble deeds or sheds the soft radiance of benignant lives. It was not selfishness that turned Gautama's back on his royal home or bade the Maid of Orleans lift the sword from the altar; that held the three hundred in the Pass of Thermopylae, or gathered into Winkelried's bosom the sheaf of spears; . . ."

(emphasis mine, MJB).

Apparently Henry George did not share the cynicism of the Freeman's editor. He did not believe that the French and St. Joan, the Swiss and Winkelried were either stupid or slavish or debased for resisting the foreign conquerors. Why, he even admired the Spartan landlords and slave-owners, who under Leonidas, fought to the last man in defense of their native land against the barbaric Persian invaders. Patriotism which manifests itself in defense against armed aggression held for him the highest moral grandeur. And he did not seek to exonerate the aggressors in the belief that their aggression was not really their fault, but only the fault either of their poverty or of their need for the land that their adversaries were wrongly withholding from them.

Let us examine another pearl from the Freeman rosary. On page 152, the same issue, is an editorial with the title "Conscripts Forever". Its first paragraph reads as follows:-

"Time was when a despot would march his army up to a town, declare his intention to shoot it up and promptly proceed to do so. If victorious, he ensconced himself in the seat of government, outlawed the old forms and installed the "Ideology" which to him seemed desirable and perhaps profitable. That was the way of King David, Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Caesar, Napoleon and George Washington. It was forthright, and one knew in advance what to expect."

One scarcely knows where to attack this gross perversion of fact, this transparent attempt to defile with cynical contempt the name of one of America's greatest patriots. To couple George Washington with the murderous conqueror Genghis Khan, and to attribute identical motives and methods to both, is the nadir of blind "destructionism", a very frenzy of iconoclasm whose distorted vision has blinded it to all the values that decent men hold precious, as well as to the facts themselves. Washington, who, whatever else he said or did, refused a crown, refused a third term, helped to form-

ulate the U.S. Constitution, and whose later adult life constituted one long service to his fellow-countrymen; and the Freeman classifies him with Genghis Khan who ordered all prisoners murdered, and piled up literally mountains of skulls on the lands he conquered. Malice and slander have here combined in a manner which will sicken every true Georgist.

Let me assure you that Henry George did not share this point of view. In Chapter IV, Book X of PROGRESS AND POVERTY, he is discussing the corruption of popular government in our great cities, and the sordid characters who there so frequently secure public office. He says, "Why, there are many election districts in the U.S. in which a George Washington, a Benjamin Franklin, or a Thomas Jefferson could no more go to the lower house of a State Legislature than under the Ancient Regime a base-born peasant could become a Marshal of France. Their very character would be an insuperable disqualification." (Emphasis mine, MJB)

I am looking forward to an opportunity to prove the other assertions made in this letter.

Yours very truly,

Michael J. Bernstein

July
~~June~~ 22, 1941

Dear Mike,

Your letters, addressed to Mr. Chodorov, have been turned over to me.

Communications intended for the "Letter to the Editor" column should conform themselves to the space available. I have, for example, a letter from another member of the faculty, on the same subject as your but taking quite the opposite point of view. I should not think of giving it more than 200 words, if indeed I thought it worth printing at all.

Every contribution, of whatever kind and from whatever source, is subject to a double editing. The first takes place when the manuscript is being prepared for the printer. For this editing I am always willing to consult the writer, if he so requests, and give due consideration to his wishes. The second editing takes place when the pages are made up, in order to make the material fit the space available. For this editing a consultation is usually not possible.

I am always glad to get good material for The Freeman, and if you will condense your letter and submit it on the same basis as our other contributors, I shall certainly be happy to consider it for publication.

Very cordially yours,

Paul Peach, Ass't Ed. of Freeman

July 27, 1941

Dear Mr. Chodorov:

On July 22nd, I received a letter from Paul Peach in reference to my Letter to the Editor of July 17th, which you turned over to him. He informs me that he rejected my letter as it stood because it did not conform to the 200-word limit he has set to all letters to the Editor.

In view of the fact that you did not reply to my letter, I do not know whether or not you agree with my assertion that the views expressed in the Freeman are those of one man with which other Georgists may have principled disagreement. I repeat this assertion and am confronted with the following dilemma: since eleven pages of the periodical are devoted to strictly factual and "non-controversial" articles, seven pages to editorials, leaving four pages to School news and Letters to the Editor, there is apparently no space provided for a detailed exposition of views in disagreement with the editorials. It is obvious that such views could hardly be given fair treatment in 200 words, in answer to months of seven-page editorializing.

The suggestion has been made - a good one, I think - that some of the editorial space be relinquished in order to provide room for the exposition of contrary views. I am placing this suggestion before you in the belief that a prudent policy would not bind the Freeman and hence the School to partisan commitments on political questions to which Georgism gives no one unequivocal answer, not to mention considerations of tolerance and sportsmanship.

I hope to hear from you soon on this suggestion.

Sincerely,
Michael J. Bernstein

July 29, 1941

Dear Mike,

I turned over your previous letter in which you take exception to the editorial attitude of the Freeman to Paul Peach without any comment. Obviously I do not consider your point of view Georgist at all. For that reason I desired to get Paul's reaction without being influenced by anything that I might say. Besides, Paul has complete charge of the getting out of the Freeman, and except for consultation with me he decides on what will go into the body of the paper.

He brought back your letter and asked me whether I wanted to run it. I told him he could do just as he pleases. His reaction was expressed in the letter that he sent to you, without any influence or direction by me. It would seem from this that he too is satisfied that your position is not Georgist at all, and that this position should therefore not be given airing in the Freeman, which is supposed to be an interpretation of current events in the light of Georgist philosophy.

Your suggestion that some of the editorial pages be turned over to self-appointed editors is rather a bizarre one. There are anti-semitic Georgists. Do you think that editorials from such writers should appear in the Freeman? There are Protectionist Georgists. Should we run their Protectionist editorials in the Freeman? I have received letters from graduates of the School who object to anti-socialistic editorials, and who urge a favorable attitude towards Marxism. Does this belong in a Georgist publication? Some Georgists have written me that the solution of our economic problems is in the solution of the money questions. To follow your suggestion, these too should be given prominence in the Freeman.

The editor of a paper, like the head of any business, is the final arbiter of all that goes into that paper. In a journal of opinion, the editor's duties are even more definite. He must select the material which in his opinion follows the line of thought which that journal wishes to popularize.

Now, whether you like it or not, I happen to be Director of the School and Editor of the Freeman, by choice of the Board of Trustees. While I try to be amenable to reason, to weigh suggestions of other people whose judgment and knowledge I respect, I would be derelict in my duty and untrue to myself if I permitted the Freeman to carry thoughts which, in my opinion, are completely contrary to the philosophy of Henry George. And much of what you express is of that kind; again, in my opinion.

The customary column of expression of opinions by readers is "Letters to the Editor" column. Because of the limited amount of space in the Freeman, Paul has made a rule that no letter to the editor should be over 200 words. I think that we can afford to give a full column, which contains 300 words in six point type, to any good letter. But I will not countermand the orders of a subordinate in whose judgment I have absolute confidence, and for that reason I let him handle your letter in his own way.

For your information, if you are interested, I have made inquiries as to the extent to which your attempts to rationalize the present war from a Georgist point of view has taken root among the teachers of the school and if the teachers have been honest with me in their expression there isn't one who agrees with you. There are several who believe that as a matter of expediency the war is necessary, but not one attempts to justify the war on Georgist grounds. And, further for your information, your views in Chicago at first aroused a laugh and then bitter antipathy.

Thus you see I have checked up to find out to what extent the present emotionalism has affected the teachers of the school, and I am gratified to say that yours seems to be the only virulent case. Under such circumstance, I see no reason why I should change the policy of the paper and to permit it to be a vehicle for the twisting of Georgism into something which it is not, according to my opinion.

In re-manualizing the Progress and Poverty course during the past few weeks I have had more confirmation of the correctness of my position on the political situation than I had before. And I therefore take the liberty of suggesting to you that you re-read that book, particularly books VII and X.

Yours sincerely,
Frank Chodorov

Director (of H.G.S.S.S. and
Editor of the Freeman)

August 7, 1941

Dear Mr. Chodorov:

Your letter of July 29th makes one thing abundantly clear; that you are determined to pursue your present policy in The Freeman - a policy which consists of your evaluation of the present world situation, elevated by assertion and the weight of authority your office lends you, to the position of "The Only Truly Georgist Attitude Toward the War." This position has, therefore, been made the position of the Freeman and hence of the School. Even a hasty glance at the current issue (Aug., 1941) can leave no doubt of that.

You have made it sufficiently clear as well, that you intend to give no space to the expression of dissident views on current world questions beyond that portion of the "Letter to the Editor" column (1/3 of a page) which your assistant will ration to such a letter, provided he "thinks it worth printing at all."

You support your consequent monopoly on policy-making by the following arguments:-
 1. In your opinion, (not to mention that of your "subordinate"), my views are anti-Georgist; 2. You are "whether I like it or not" the final arbiter of what goes into the magazine; 3. Your "inquiries" have convinced you that not a single member of the faculty to whom you have spoken shares my views on the present world-crisis.

Let us consider these arguments one by one.

How qualified are you to determine what views are or are not Georgist? It is impossible to take seriously such an assumption of omniscience from one who: 1. declared in the pamphlet "Educating for a Free Society" (first published in Scribner's Commentator) that George "chose the 'single-tax', a minor detail in his economic and social system" (emphasis mine, M.J.B.); 2. rejects George's advocacy of government ownership and operation of natural monopolies, such as railroads, etc; 3. rejects all political action and decries George's use of it; 4. repudiates George's hope "that it may be the mission of this Republic to unite all nations of English speech . . . in a league which, by insuring justice, promoting peace, and liberating commerce will be the forerunner of a world-wide federation that will make war the possibility of a past age, and turn to works of usefulness the enormous forces now dedicated to destruction."; 5. does not share George's views on cheap-money (desirability of inflationary methods), and his proposal to repudiate the national debt; 6. does not share George's approval of taxes on consumption for ostentation; 7. avoids George's explanation of interest; 8. completely disagrees with George's religious view-point and belief in immortality; 9. unlike George, disparages defense of one's native land against foreign aggression; 10. disagreeing with George, believes that the mainspring and root-cause of human behavior is the desire for material satisfactions; 11. does not approve, as did George, the assumption by government of extraordinary powers in emergency situations.

There are others, but I feel I have said enough to make my point. I myself share some of your disagreements with Henry George, but the very fact that such disagreements exist should make impossible for anyone not himself 100% orthodox (if that were desirable) the role of heresy-hunter. As is evident from the possibility of wide disagreement on the issues enumerated above, George did not have an unequivocal answer to all the immediate and future problems facing society; for example, the question of national defense. Yet presumably the point-of-view on this question as expressed in your Freeman editorials is "The Georgist One". An innocent reader, or even a government agent who had never spoken to you, would unquestionably gather from these editorials that you are unalterably opposed to any defense program whatsoever. However, in conversation with you, I have frequently heard you deny that you are a pacifist and assert that you believe in fighting "only when the General Francos come marching down the street." From which it follows as a necessary conclusion from your own admission, that the question when defense should begin or the area in which it should operate is one to be decided, not by recourse to George's writings, but as purely a matter of military strategy, which neither you nor I are competent to discuss. And yet in editorial after editorial in the Freeman you have attacked the present defense program in every conceivable way. Had you but followed the line of the British Georgists as reported in "Land and Liberty" your position would have been quite Georgist on the one hand, and far less dangerous to the best interests of the School, on the other.

Incidentally I have been carefully re-examining The Freeman from its first number

onward. And I have made several interesting discoveries. In the early issues, edited by Will Lissner, considerable space was devoted to a treatment of fascist totalitarianism, the menace which its growth held for the world and a recognition of the qualitative and hence fundamental differences between it and the imperfect but nonetheless democratic social systems prevailing in England, the U.S.A., France, etc. This emphasis tended to disappear with your incumbency, and during the past year and one-half was actually transformed into a point-of-view which refuses to recognize that such a distinction has any significance, either for Georgists, or for the unfortunate millions who in France, Czechoslovakia, Norway and Denmark have forcefully been placed under the Fascist yoke. And despite your oral references to the "General Francos" my examination of your articles and editorials fails to disclose that you ever so much as mentioned him or his movement during the period in which he was acting as the instrument for bringing Spain under the heel of the Axis. You have failed to evince a similar delicacy in your frequent references to President Roosevelt, George Washington, Secretary Morgenthau, and other objects of your antipathy both in the U.S. and Great Britain, but in your treatment of Hitler, Mussolini and their movements, have nearly approximated, in the pages of the Freeman, the amount of space you formerly "devoted" to General Franco.

In your third argument, you assure me that not only do your actions meet the approval of your conscience (and that of your assistant) but equally of all the teachers with whom you have spoken. Such a vote of confidence would be formidable indeed had the plebiscite been more ubiquitous. My own modest inquiries, following yours, reached a number of instructors who had not been polled, and indeed were somewhat offended at having been excluded, although I assured them that you are a very busy man. While I do not doubt your word, I think you would agree, as a practical matter, that we ought both to be present when the votes are counted.

Of course, I am unable to speak for "Chicago". Your report of their reactions upon hearing my views left me deeply disturbed. I met and chatted with some of the Chicago delegates at the Convention and found them ostensibly well-balanced and fairly sophisticated men. Therefore, I am led to wonder exactly what you could have said to arouse in them such a tempest of hilarity turning into such bitter hate.

Since experience has shown that you are not immune to "misunderstandings" of things I have said in conversation with you, I would frankly prefer to speak my views myself. But since you may have occasion to discuss them when I am not present, I shall set them forth clearly and carefully for the purpose of providing you with unmistakable documentary evidence regarding them.

In the late fall of 1939, shortly after the war broke out, in conversation with Mr. Dorn and myself, you stated quite categorically that the School and the Freeman should avoid commitments on what was a very dangerous political question, namely, the attitude of the U.S. to the war. During the time which has elapsed, I have completed the giving of seven(7) classes in Democracy versus Socialism, in the conduct of which I refrained as carefully as I could from partisan political bias and discussion, in the naive belief that this practise was being faithfully followed throughout the School. During recent months, however, I have discovered, to my dismay, that in the conduct of both the Freeman and the Teacher Training classes, you have failed to exercise similar discretion.

In view of the fact that political discussion has been forbidden in the classrooms and has now been forbidden throughout the entire building (see those unbelievable signs plastered all over the walls) you, through the agency of the Freeman, and the virtual exclusion from its columns of those who disagree with you, have been left with a complete monopoly for the propagation of partisan, biased, distinctly political views.

The inequity of such a state of affairs would, to the fair-minded observer, seem scarcely credible. Yet the enormity of it is equalled, if not surpassed, by the dangers to which such a course of conduct must inevitably expose an institution such as ours. In these critical times, this danger threatens not only our charter, our privileged fiscal status, but indeed the very existence of the School itself.

If the Freeman must continue to appear, I would like to make a suggestion for a change in its policy, which would, if faithfully adhered to, eliminate the undesirable features I have already described. It is obvious that no discussion of significant

Intimidation

current events can possibly escape a "political" treatment. Therefore I feel that the magazine should confine itself to dealing with School news, items of interest about the Georgist movement as a whole, and to the publication of purely theoretical articles of a strictly economic and not of a sociological and political nature. A good example of this abstract method of treatment can be found in Prof. H.G. Brown's "The Economics of Taxation," particularly Chapters III and IV. This would not only have the beneficial effect of solving the problem under discussion, but in my opinion would be an adjunct for the use of teachers in their classes immeasurably superior to the sketchily documented, rarely substantiated, explosively controversial material now provided by the Freeman.

Were it not for limitations of time and space, I could go on enumerating the issues upon which we disagree, and a detailed and precise exposition of my views. However, what causes me considerable uneasiness is the fact that I can be certain that my personal attitudes are accurately understood only by those with whom I have had direct or private discussion, and grossly misunderstood by those who have gotten them second-hand. Where you stand is a matter of record. Seven pages of monthly editorializing in the Freeman plus an occasional signed article have made your position plain. So I would like to make the following proposal: a debate between us in the School auditorium to which all teachers, trustees, volunteer workers and advanced students, etc. should be invited. The topic for debate might very well be any or all of the issues raised in this correspondence between us. Of if you prefer some other subject, the following list should provide sufficient alternatives from which to choose:

1. The Consequences of a Nazi Victory.
2. Meeting Germany's New Trade Policy (The Freeman, Apr. 1941, p. 135)
3. The Economic Interpretation of History
4. Civil Liberties - For Whom?
5. Has the Negro Benefited Thru Emancipation? (The Freeman, Feb. 1941, p. 74)
6. Did the Yugoslavs merely Resist a Change of Masters? (The Freeman, May 1941, p. 150)
7. Does Conscription Doom Democracy? (The Freeman, May 1941, p. 152)
8. The "Real" Enemy Within (The Freeman, July 1941, p. 194)
9. Why We are in the War (The Freeman, Aug. 1941, p. 222)
10. Buzzards With and Without Feet. (The Freeman, Aug. 1941, p. 220)
11. What Georgism Means to Me.

You will note that I have cited certain of your Freeman articles in the list of proposed topics. My purpose in so doing is simply this: to indicate to you more specifically than do the titles enumerated above exactly where my views are opposed to yours. A reading of those articles will show you where we differ.

I am optimistic enough to believe that you will not refuse to accept this opportunity to make clear to our colleagues where we both stand, especially since the controversy is being so widely discussed in the School and since it is at least as important a topic for debate as the one you had with Mr. Gilbert Tucker on the question: Organization - Yes or No.

Before closing I should like to call your attention to several matters which a reading of your letter as well as the current issue of the Freeman raise in my mind. There is widespread agreement that the substance of the Freeman's ~~editorials~~ editorials is almost entirely destructive, and venomous in tone, which as has so aptly been pointed out, cannot fail to leave the most unfavorable impressions on the reader. As long as this method is applied to men in public life or to historical characters it might, with some charitableness, be assumed that the attacks are a matter of principle. But when this technique is used to make the Freeman a weapon for a personal assault on those of your co-workers (or former co-workers) who have the temerity to disagree with you, it becomes, as a mutual acquaintance wrote me, "beneath contempt." The pseudo-anonymity with which you pretend to hide the identity of your "victim" seems to me merely a device to protect yourself from counter-attack. And your monopoly of The Freeman, in any case, makes any effective reply extremely difficult. For your information, I am referring specifically to the following editorials: How I Lost a Friend - Freeman, March, 1941; Lebensraum in South America - Freeman, August 1941.

In your letter you write, "There are antisemitic Georgists. Do you think that editorials from such writers should appear in the Freeman?" My answer is that they should not. But Albert Jay Nock whose opinions on the Jews and the Jewish question

have recently become a matter of unsavory notoriety has appeared in the pages of The Freeman, has been quoted in the Freeman, has been advertised in The Freeman. And his picture still hangs in the entrance hall of the School, an insult to the memory of Henry George.

Very truly yours,

~~P.S. Your statement about the division of authority~~ Michael J. Bernstein

P.S. Your statement about the division of authority as between yourself and your assistant in the matter of deciding the content of the Freeman leaves me wholly unconcerned. By your own assertion, and as a matter of common knowledge, you are the final authority on such questions and hence I have addressed myself exclusively to you.

When "You Can't Do Business With Hitler", by Douglas Miller, was published, Helen Bernstein asked Paul Peach, Ass't Ed., for a copy that she might review it for the Freeman. The review she submitted was rejected by Mr. Peach and his revised version was suggested as a substitute. The original and revised reviews appear below.

(Original)

"For the desire of one party however strong it may be, cannot of itself bring about trade. To every trade there must be two parties who mutually desire to trade, and whose actions are reciprocal." (Emphasis mine, H.B.)

"And as trade becomes free and extensive. . . as pirates and robbers are extirpated and treaties of peace put an end to chronic warfare - so does wealth augment and civilization grow." (Emphasis mine, H.B.)

These paragraphs, written by Henry George in 1886, recognize clearly that trade requires mutuality and a trading area, freed, by force if necessary, from the depredations of armed marauders. Douglas Miller, who spent six of his fifteen years as commercial attache at the U.S. Embassy, under the Nazi regime, has written a factual account of a contemporary robber-collectivism which has substituted force for the principle of mutuality.

The most gigantic pirate in history is loose in the market-place which is the world, bent on plunder and universal domination, its whole structure, from its beginnings, geared to expropriation and the production of instruments essential to the "political" rather than to the "economic" means, to employ Oppenheimer's happy distinction. - Hitler once said that Germany "must export or die". Mr. Miller demonstrates, conclusively, that Nazism "must fight or die". ~~The~~ ~~immense~~ Nazi war machine requires vast quantities of raw materials for its existence. But it absorbs Germany's productive resources almost to the exclusion of the goods necessary to pay for these materials. Hence, the only alternative is to use the machine to acquire by violence the wealth for which it cannot pay. How this was accomplished is a matter of recent and current history; and the end is not yet.

The history of Nazi "trade" methods in the Balkans, Latin America and at home is the history of an insatiable appetite which trampled underfoot the sanctity of contracts and property rights in its frenzied drive for complete domination, which no concessions, commercial, material or political, have appeased.

A victory for Hitler, warns Mr. Miller, will enable him to organize Europe, Asia and Africa into a huge self-sufficient unit, supported in the Pacific by the Japanese Empire, and virtually "encircling" the Western Hemisphere. In the face of this powerful opponent controlling most of the earth's resources and population, and bent on world conquest, he believes that in sheer self-defense, the U.S.A. will become permanently totalitarian; that its living standards will fall to those of a blockaded country, drained to feed its swollen defense forces; and that a military dictatorship will impose its rule permanently on a population to whom peace will have become only the vaguest memory. Mr. Miller is convinced that the sole hope of salvation lies in not giving the Nazis the opportunity to organize their conquests. His book is compulsory reading for thoughtful Americans - especially those who believe that "you can do business with Hitler."

Helen Bernstein

(revised review)

Trade requires mutuality and a trading area, freed, by force if necessary, from the depredations of armed marauders. Douglas Miller, who spent six of his fifteen years as commercial attache at the U.S. Embassy, under the Nazi regime, has written a description of this contemporary robber-collectivism which has substituted force for the

principle of mutuality.

We learn (if we did not know already) that a gigantic pirate is loose in the marketplace of the world, bent on plunder and universal domination. His program, in all its details, is geared to expropriation and to the production of instruments peculiar to the "political" rather than to the "economic" means.

Hitler once said that Germany must "export or die." Mr. Miller demonstrates conclusively that Nazism must "fight or die," and points the lesson of the ages that recourse to armaments is always followed by recourse to arms. The tremendous Nazi war machine requires vast quantities of raw materials for its existence. It absorbs Germany's productive resources almost to the exclusion of the goods necessary to pay for these materials. The only alternative is to use the machine to acquire by violence the wealth for which it cannot pay. How this was accomplished is a matter of recent and current history; and the end is not yet.

The history of Nazi "trade" methods in the Balkans, Latin-America and at home is the history of an insatiable rapacity which disregarded utterly every contractual and property right in its frenzied drive for complete domination. No concessions, commercial, material or political, have ever appeased it.

A victory for Hitler, warns Mr. Miller, will enable him to organize Europe, Asia and Africa into a huge self-sufficient unit, supported in the Pacific by Japan and virtually encircling the Western Hemisphere. With so powerful an opponent controlling most of the earth's resources and population, and bent on world conquest, he believes that in sheer self-defense the U.S. will become permanently totalitarian; that its living standards will fall to those of a blockaded country, drained to feed its swollen defense forces; and that a military dictatorship will impose its rule permanently on a population to whom peace will have become only the vaguest memory. Mr. Miller is convinced that our sole hope of salvation lies in preventing the Nazis, at no matter what cost, from organizing their conquests.

To those fatuous individuals who still believe in Hitler's essential good faith, this book should carry conviction of error. To those who advocate our increased participation in the war and find it simplest to denounce their opponents as "appeasers" it will be a welcome weapon. But to the huge apathetic mass of the American people, who hate Hitler's guts but still oppose our going to war, the book has little to offer.

Nobody thinks of denying Miller's facts. They are not new; they have been common knowledge for a long time. But "You Can't Do Business with Hitler" is not a judicial review; it is a purely ex parte presentation. To those who are genuinely in search of information not previously available, it has little value; to those who desire a propaganda weapon to incite Americans to war, it has some.

American cynicism has been nurtured with many lofty words and noble sentiments, various numbers of Points, campaign promises and platform planks. The most extensive propaganda machine in the world, with two years to work in, has hardly made a dent in this cynicism, and it seems probable that the American people will eventually be pushed into the war, willy-nilly. Until then, they will continue to ask, "Yeah; so we lick Hitler. And then what?" If Mr. Miller had answered that question, his book would be monumental.

Accompanying Mrs. Peach's revised review was a request that if it were not acceptable to the reviewer, that the book be turned over to him so that he might review it in time for the next issue of the Freeman. In his note of request, Mr. Peach said that he could not permit quotations from George to appear in the Freeman in support of a view he considers mistaken. (Note that what appears in the original review as a direct quotation from George, appears in the revised review without quotation marks and without acknowledgment.) However, in every issue of the Freeman there are several excerpts from George, i.e., on the front cover and in the center fold. Mr. Peach usually selects these quotations and "accepts full responsibility for them," (even though his name does not appear as their selector.)

The following letter was written in reply.

Aug. 19, 1941

Dear Paul,

Here is the book. Will you please return it to me as soon as you can since Mike is in the midst of extracting material from it for an article he is writing?

In reading "your revision" of "my review" I underlined certain of the "superficial changes" (to use your expression) which you made. These changes, besides giving a completely false and inaccurate impression of the book, grind a political axe in precisely the manner for which you condemn Mr. Miller. Natürlich, I could hardly sign my name to a review which I consider a distortion of truth and a panning of what I consider a first-rate book. (It is strange, incidentally, how even the most "scientific" minds approach a subject in which they are emotionally involved. You have written the review of the Miller book (and were prepared to publish it) even before you read it and I'd bet my right hand that it will scarcely be affected by a reading of the book. This observation applies to all of us poor mortals, of course, man being the imperfect creature he is.)

One or two points of information: "the most extensive propaganda machine in the world" is indubitably not, as you think, the American (or shall I say Rooseveltian?) but probably the Russian or the German, since propaganda in these countries is a state monopoly. In the United States, as I remarked today, the vast majority of newspaper readers get their news from isolationist publications, as, in the past few presidential elections, they read anti-Roosevelt newspapers. An article in the NEW LEADER, two or three weeks ago, gave all the statistics. Even the Freeman adds its bit in the United States. There are no Freemans in Russia or Germany.

Second, in all friendliness, I would caution you not to put too much faith in the "apathy" and "cynicism" of the American masses. Remember, for one thing, that the masses are not nearly as apathetic or cynical as ~~some~~ Georgists I know in regard to the question of aid to Britain. Since you speak so confidently about the state of mind of the nation, I assume you get your information from the independent polls, just as we all do. The polls show, as I recall, that while approximately 80% are opposed to an immediate declaration of war on Germany, an equal number favor all-out aid to Britain and about 60% favor convoys, which is even ahead of administration policy. This would indicate that their state of mind is not so much "Yeah; so we lick Hitler. And then what?" as "Let the other fellow do it. We're right behind him." I am not kidding myself into thinking that the American people hold my views completely (although I do share their feeling to some extent about the other fellow doing it) but I think you are kidding yourself into thinking that they share yours. One more thing, there's no doubt that America backs its defense program. Do you?

It seems that we have reversed places - that I am doing a little voluntary editing of your still unborn, or shall I say prematurely born, review. I hope you don't mind.

While I am not using your revision of my review in the way it was intended, I may use it to prove a point in another connection, as well as your letter. Since you wrote the first for publication and the second for the sake of the record, I don't think I am violating any confidence by showing them to other people. Incidentally, I am truly sorry that we have been unable to effect some compromise on this thing. Fratricide is always distressing, although I hope that is too strong a term even for an analogy.

Helen Bernstein

P.S. I notice, with amusement, that the "400 to 500" word limit you imposed on my review was considerably expanded when you wrote "your version." It seems that the problem of limited space is a barrier to ^{full} publication in the Freeman only when views of which you disapprove are involved.

COPY

December 1, 1941.

Mr. Aram Bashian,
Henry George School of Social Science,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Bashian:

I have read carefully the resolutions, a copy of which I received a few days ago, signed by you and a number of the "graduates, advanced students, teachers and workers of the Boston Extension of the New York School;" also your criticism submitted with your letter of October 11, 1941, to "LAND AND FREEDOM."

Discussing the letter with one of my friends who also received copies, his opening remark was, "Whatever the man's intention may be, it looks to me like a complete vindication of the course Mr. Chodorov is pursuing."

Your complaint, in the main, is that "THE FREEMAN" takes a neutral position in a war between foreign nations; quoting: "The editors of 'THE FREEMAN' have their eyes glued so closely to the microscope of their academic life that....." etc.

Outside of the inference conveyed by the word microscope, because frequently the view is telescopic, the impeachment stands. Let us hope that all your indictments will ever be as soft.

Quote: "We must not demand perfection in an imperfect world." Except, of course, our particular variety. Make "THE FREEMAN" a perfect advocate of our particular view on international affairs.

Quote: "Now, if Georgism were part of science....
....." etc. It is, my boy, it is. All that the so-called Georgist asks is that folk look into the elementals of political economy, which Henry George described as, and with which description from long acquaintance with both subjects I am perforce in agreement;" as exact a science as geometry;" see the opening chapter of "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

Mr. Aram Bashian,
Boston, Mass.

12-1-41

Quote: "He (George) knew that the struggle would be long and hard and that we would need allies to aid us, and should ally ourselves with other groups if they were going our way."

Is there no way that politically inclined men can conceive of the purpose of a school as an agency for disseminating knowledge? And if a school does this faithfully, may not understanding follow? The Henry George School of Social Science is the agency which, faster than any other, is producing allies against the day when right thinking shall result in right action.

As for allying ourselves with other groups -- my experience for forty years with that sort of effort, both in the propaganda and political field, speaking for myself, I say, "Not" To criticise others for doing so, or not doing so, is a bit of impertinence in which, I trust, I shall not be found indulging.

As for groups of Henry George men allying themselves with "other" groups going the same way, - what is to stop them? Only the lack of such groups -- there are none.

Now I want to go back a bit in your letter. You use the expressions -- "if we lose the war" and "if we win the war." I ask you - "which war?" I am not aware that we are at war. The Congress has not declared war and, until it does, I, living under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, cannot recognize that we are at war.

It is true that our government has undertaken to spend some of the wealth we daily produce, including some of mine, and without constitutional authority, to help other nations in their wars. I do not approve. I am not at war. I hope we shall keep out of it.

Perhaps we of the middle west are stodgy and stupid -- plain dumb, if you please; but the propaganda of the British Empire has not yet driven us into a panic nor given us the jitters, nor has the Nazi element accomplished more than to amuse us with their blather. I speak not for all, but for the great majority.

Quote: "It is in times of strain and difficulty that friendships are tried and proven." Are you quite sure that you are not helping to set up the strain and make a difficulty?

I do not agree with everything in "THE FREEMAN." It often seems a bit unorthodox according to my doxy; but I see no occasion to circularize the neighbors about it. I am quite accustomed to disagreement, even with my close friends. Consequently I cannot seriously sympathize with your complaint -- though, of course, I see no reason why, if

Page 3

Mr. Aram Bashian,
Henry George School of Social Science,
Boston, Mass.

12-1-41

you wish to make a loud noise hollering into a rain barrel, that you should not do so, and I am willing to be part of the barrel.

I am, I trust, to be included among those whose love of his native land will be cause for being included among those whom you will call friend.

Respectfully and Cordially Yours,

Henry L. T. Tideman,
Director.

HLTT:LF

December 9, 1941

Mr. M. J. Bernstein
Apartment L89
10 Monroe Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Bernstein:

Some time since, I received from you a set of mimeographed copies of correspondence between yourself and the editor and manager of the FREEMAN. I read it and reread it and went over it several times. It had good writing; but nothing that I would consider worth all the trouble you were at to get it out. The editor would not print your stuff. So what? He frequently, usually in fact, turns mine down. Again, so what?

Now I have received your tentative program to be presented at a mass meeting organized to offer interference with the work of the HGSSS. May I express myself?

I. "Proposed policy for the Henry George School."

(a) "A cessation of all attacks on other Georgist groups---etc." Except by those whose injured vanity impels them to attack the Georgists who manage the School and the FREEMAN.

II. "Proposed administration of the School."

(a) "The adoption by the School of a Constitution and By-Laws providing for democratic administration." Consistent with the requirements for legal corporate existence, I consider the School to be completely democratic. No one is required to attend, no one is required to help, everyone is free to come or assist or to go out and organize a competitive school.

(b) "Democratic selection of trustees, mechanical and legal details to be worked out." We have it now. Those who choose to help do by that fact endorse and select the trustees.

(c) "An elected committee to receive, consider and present to the trustees suggestions, criticisms and grievances." Why go to the trouble of electing them? Everybody in the School can make his grievance, if any, known and get a hearing, just as you are doing and were offered. That the hearings should be conducted as public forums is a poor joke. Imagine the trustees of the University of Chicago calling a meeting of students, alumni and friends over such a clothes line fight as yours.

(d) "Formation of a faculty and student council." For 15-week and 10-week student bodies? Be yourself! You can always get a committee of representatives out of existing classes for anything you need done, that will interfere with the progress of the work and give you all the problems of injured vanity to solve that you think you should have.

(e) "Policy of appointing teachers (1) on the basis of merit alone in accordance with (2) accepted educational practices." (1) Hold examination to admit a teacher

December 9, 1941

whom we ask please to take a class? (2) Pay salaries? Quit hollering and go raise a fund.

(f) "A small committee selected by the "faculty and student council." For what?

(g) "A willingness on the part of the School Administration to experiment with new educational techniques in dissemination of Georgism, both of a popular and scholarly nature." "New educational techniques" - regular six-bit phrase; good work! Whose money should we spend on the experiments? With the rest I agree; if you quote me, don't abbreviate; the FREEMAN for popular exposition class room for scholastic.

(h) "A willingness on the part of the School Administration to attempt to reach and influence other progressive and liberal groups." Sure; if you can find them, get them to subscribe for the FREEMAN for their members.

III. Rectification of abuses.

(a) A matter for the existing School Administration.

(b) I don't know whom this is shot at; but it is nasty.

(c) You say SCRIBNERS is "fascist." I can read, and while I get annoyed with it sometimes, I know I must not expect other people to consult my views when they print. For your view you want tolerance; for the fellow who disagrees with you, you want proscription. A bit queer.

(d) Is that why you insist on II (h) above?

(e) Surely. That is why you employ a method of innuendo in III (a) and (b); it explains why you refer to the SCRIBNERS COMMENTATOR as pro-fascist and why you want "Educating for a Free Society" suppressed.

Now for general comment. If you wish to be tolerated you must be tolerated. If you wish to be treated with kindness, you must yourself be kind.

The School Administration is spending a fund entrusted to them. It is not as though they were spending their own money which they might devote to any cause appealing to their ideal of democracy? Their business is to operate a School, which like Henry George in PROGRESS AND POVERTY shall lay a philosophic basis in the students' minds by the careful teaching of the elements of political economy and the philosophy of freedom such, that they shall appreciate the justice and expediency of his proposal. To spend funds on adventures with "liberal and progressive groups" would be a violation of trust. For myself, I earnestly hope they will never do that and I cannot see how anyone could do other than approve of every refusal so to do.

I am

Respectfully,

Henry L. T. Tideman

L A N D A N D F R E E D O M
150 NASSAU STREET -- NEW YORK

November 13, 1941

Mr. Edwin Hamilton
155 North Clark Street
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

We wish to thank you for the interest you have shown in connection with Mr. Bernstein's article, "'Unfinished Victory' and Mr. Nock." In the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM we published criticisms, similar to your own, in the correspondence section, and in the forthcoming issue, more will appear. We feel that in publishing the letters previously received, we have done full justice to all sides. We are taking the liberty, however, of turning over your manuscript to Mr. Bernstein for his "enlightenment," and we have instructed him to return it to you when it has served its purpose.

It seems unfortunate that after reading Mr. Bernstein's article, you were disposed to read no farther. If in the meantime you may have read some other articles, we would be thankful to have your opinion.

Sincerely yours,

LAND AND FREEDOM

(Signed) Charles Joseph Smith

The above is the "rejection slip" that came with the return to me of the accompanying article, WHAT PRICE POLEMICS?

Edwin Hamilton

Edwin Hamilton
155 North Clark Street
Chicago, Illinois

November 11, 1941

What Price Polemics?

Georgism without polemics must sound to the old Single Taxer like soda without whiskey, or bread without leaven. George himself set the fashion. Of its kind, "A Perplexed Philosopher" is a great work; none of George's followers or professed followers has ever approached, in any admirable respect, the quality of the master's attack upon Spencer. Yet it detracted nothing from Spencer's fame, and neither George nor the movement to which he gave his name gained in stature because of it. As for the miscellaneous personal attacks upon outsiders and each other with which Georgists have amused themselves since George's time, their net effect seems to have been to divert into vulgar squabbling energy which might much better have been devoted to constructive undertakings. Their passion for writing polemics has been an unmitigated liability to Georgists--one which they would have done better to bring under control.

It is therefore with deep regret that I find "Land and Freedom" willing to help keep this old vice alive. I refer to the attack by Mr. Michael J. Bernstein upon Albert Jay Nock, in the July-August issue. The good that can be done by such a publication is negligible. Its inevitable effect must be to raise a new crop of perplexed Georgists. No less a person than Rabbi Aaronsohn, it seems, has been numbered among them.

The writer of polemics is not in quite the same position as an advocate, a debater, or a political orator. All these people may present, and are expected to present, a completely biased point of view. We take it for granted that the Hon. Smith should call the Hon. Jones a thieving blackguard, and that the Hon. Jones should reply in kind. The arena in which these controversies take place affords both sides an equal opportunity, in a setting which they themselves have accepted. Bullying in the court room, misrepresentation in debate, slander on the stump -- we accept these, because the other guy has a chance to do it too, and probably will.

The polemist (if he cannot overcome his lust for writing) should pursue a different course. Especially when he

What Price Polemics? (2)

is obscure or without credit and his victim is known and respected, he cannot demand that his adversary meet him in debate. Virtue is singularly defenseless against an unscrupulous liar. It is up to the polemist, then, to avoid using the poisoned pen --unless he is willing to have his polemic dismissed by thinking readers as a mere grudge attack, devoid alike of intelligence and honesty.

Instead, the polemist (if he is to command respect) must strive for impartiality. He may not say to his readers, "Here is what Jones did and said. Jones' meaning was thus and such. But this is horrible! Down with Jones!" Instead, he must say, "Here is what Jones did and said. I present the evidence without bias and without suppression. Give Jones the benefit of any reasonable doubt. Examine the evidence. My conclusion is that Jones' conduct is reprehensible. Do you agree?" If one must write polemics, only this spirit of candor and fairness can earn any merit for the writing.

One might frame a set of rules for polemist, and illustrate many of them with selections from Mr. Bernstein's article in "Land and Freedom." I suggest tentatively the following:

1. Never make a categorical statement unless you are certain of your facts. A mistake which would be inconsequential in a general article is inexcusable in an attack upon a man's character. You will be properly blamed for any misrepresentation which you may have made through oversight or accident.
2. Never over-elaborate trivia. Emphasis on weak points weakens your strong points.
3. Never supply a context of your own for a quotation which has no significance when standing by itself. If the sentence doesn't obviously mean what you want it to mean, don't quote it.
4. Be careful about deletions. Remember that your opinion on what constitutes a material misquotation is probably prejudiced in your favor. When in doubt, leave it in.
5. When you quote as an authority a source which is not readily available to your readers, be over-scrupulous in exactness, even at the cost of increased wordage.

The soundness of these rules should be obvious to every writer who makes even a pretense of journalistic integrity.

What Price Polemics? (3)

Failure to observe them must inevitably discredit the writer's entire output. In the circumstances, then, it is a pity that Mr. Bernstein was not more careful in preparing his manuscript for the printer. Every one of our five rules is violated, some repeatedly.

The article is an attack upon Albert Jay Nock, based on the following reasoning:

- (a) "Unfinished Victory" by Arthur Bryant is an anti-Semitic book.
- (b) Those who recommend anti-Semitic books are scoundrels.
- (c) Mr. Nock recommended "Unfinished Victory."
- (d) Ergo, Mr. Nock is a scoundrel.

None of the premises is completely obvious. Not everyone who likes Voltaire and Anatole France is an anti-cleric, and it is quite possible to praise a book in one connection and condemn it in another -- for example, Boccaccio's "Decameron." But Mr. Bernstein relies chiefly upon his first premise; he devotes most of his space to an attack, not upon Mr. Nock, but upon the book, "Unfinished Victory." Whatever the merits or demerits of the book, the fact is that by breaking every one of our five rules Mr. Bernstein has left his case unproved, has indeed done it considerable harm, and has demeaned himself in the minds of all lovers of fair play and decent conduct.

Consider Rule No. 1: Never make a categorical statement unless you are sure of your facts. According to Mr. Bernstein, "Unfinished Victory" conceals from the reader the fact that the Jews constituted less than one per cent of Germany's total population. Exactly why the point is important, Mr. Bernstein does not tell us. What is important is that Mr. Bernstein has made a mistake; this bit of information appears in "Unfinished Victory" -- page 139. Such a blunder as this raises questions about the propriety of Mr. Bernstein's suggestion that "Mr. Nock is either deliberately attempting to distort and mislead, or else has assumed the role of irresponsible scribbler."

Rule 2 advises us not to dwell on trivial points. Mr. Bernstein dwells at considerable length on Bryant's reference to Matthias Erzberger as a Social Democrat, asserting that Erzberger was really a member of the Catholic Centrist party. (Land and Freedom, page 109, col. 2.) If this point has some hidden importance, it should by all means be brought out in the text; American readers cannot be expected to familiarize themselves with the host of party distinctions of the Old World. As it stands, the reader may think that Mr. Bernstein was grievously short of ammunition and straining the resources of his scanty material.

Rule 3: "Never supply a context of your own for a quotation which has no significance when standing by itself." Mr. Bernstein violates this rule several times, especially in the earlier portion of the article. He quotes from "Unfinished Victory" the passage, "Hitler's real quarrel with the capitalist and Marxist system alike was that they stopped things from growing. They were concerned not with creation, but the one with making quick profits (Emphasis mine -- M. J. B.) and the other with establishing an unnatural and sterile uniformity." Mr. Bernstein supplies a context which tells us how to interpret these sentences: "Note the mystic nationalist's hatred for the merchant, the trader." Again he quotes: "Hitler was acute enough to realize that the Marxist did not stand for freedom but for a despotic uniformity, enforced by terror and the annihilation of all who opposed them." Once more Mr. Bernstein supplies us with an interpretation made to (his) order: "Hitler, in Mr. Bryant's opinion, obviously stands for freedom and individualism." It is easy to find similar cases scattered through Mr. Bernstein's text, varied occasionally by a quotation which has no meaning of itself, and for which Mr. Bernstein does not supply any: "To the dispossessed millions it (Nazism) offered something even more attractive -- status and responsibility."

It is with respect to the fourth rule, however, that Mr. Bernstein makes his most serious mistakes. We all know the dangers of quoting out of context. When in addition we edit the quotation itself, we cannot shirk the obligation to be certain that the parts we strike out are really immaterial.

Consider for example Mr. Bernstein's complaint about Bryant's alleged misquotation from Mowrer's "Germany Puts the Clock Back" (Land and Freedom, page 109, col. 1.) Mr. Bernstein apparently feels that Bryant, by terminating his quotation when he did, sought to convey the impression that graft and corruption in Republican Germany were almost exclusively Jewish. Mr. Bernstein then quotes another paragraph from Mowrer, showing that Gentiles were concerned as well. But this information is supplied by Bryant in the sentence which immediately follows his quotation from Mowrer: "Among those involved were the Mayor of Berlin's wife and many prominent members of the administration." ("Unfinished Victory," footnote, page 151.) Mr. Bernstein has deleted this sentence, the only portion of the footnote written by Bryant. It would have been better to leave it in, even at the cost of killing the

point of the argument which immediately follows.

For another example, consider the long quotation on page 108, col. 2, of "Land and Freedom." Mr. Bernstein quotes Bryant as follows: "Few of the Jews who set the spiritual and cultural fashions for Germany in the 'twenties had any comprehension of a countryman's point of view. They were not themselves countrymen or producers, but by long wont migrants and middle men (Emphasis mine -- M. J. B.): the descendants of men who had been forced to live for centuries as exploiters (though never landowners like Prussian Junkers or British Tories -- M. J. B.) rather than as creators. . . . Their inherited instinct was to skim the cream rather than to waste vain time and effort in making enduring things. . . . They were exponents of the get-rich-quick philosophy. . . . lovers of the flamboyant and the arts of advertisement. . . ."

" . . . Who (the Jews) in the nineteen-twenties seemed, with all the invincible vitality and opportunism of their race, to be making of a broken nation their washpot."

These "choice" anti-Semitic morsels from Mr. Bryant's heavily-laden tray" (M. J. B.) appear in "Land and Freedom" as two quotations, but they are parts of a single paragraph, which begins on page 142 of "Unfinished Victory." Mr. Bernstein has omitted portions. Here is the paragraph entire, with the omitted portions italicized, not for emphasis, but for identification:

"Few of the Jews who set the spiritual and cultural fashions for Germany in the 'twenties and early 'thirties had any comprehension of a countryman's point of view. They were not themselves countrymen or producers, but by long wont migrants and middle men: the descendants of men who had been forced to live for centuries as exploiters rather than as creators because all other livelihood and outlet for their strong racial genius had been denied them. They gathered in the great cities of the industrial capitalist world, where quick fortunes were to be had by quick wits.* Their inherited instinct was to skim the cream rather than to waste vain time and effort in making enduring things which would only be taken from them by their Christian oppressors before they could be enjoyed. They were exponents of the get-rich-quick philosophy that all persecution tends to beget; lovers of the flamboyant and the arts of advertisement; scorers of the slow and unshowy creative virtues of discipline, labour, and craftsmanship -- of all, that is, that the solid and more sedentary native Teuton means by thorough. I am writing not of the Jews long domiciled in Germany who had learnt to live and think as Germans and who had been often conferred; especially in the realm of learning, science and medicine, the greatest distinction on their adopted country, but of the migrant type -- "Asiatic hordes on the sands of the Mark of Brandenburg" -- who in the nineteen-twenties seemed, with all the invincible vitality and irrepressible opportunism of their race, to be making of a broken nation their washpot."

What Price Polemics? (6)

The asterik refers to a footnote: "According to the Prussian Census of 1925, 73 per cent of the Jewish population, as opposed to 30 per cent of the non-Jewish, was concentrated in towns of over 100,000 inhabitants." Mr. Bernstein does not quote the footnote, nor does he indicate that it has been omitted; it seems unimportant, but is supplied for completeness. It is curious that the two deletions which will probably be accepted by everyone as permissible ("and early thirties" near the beginning of the paragraph, and the word "irre^{pre}ssible" near the end) are not even indicated by dots in Mr. Bernstein's article.

One word of falsehood may require for its refutation a volume of truth. It is simply out of the question to analyze each of Mr. Bernstein's sentences and rectify all the errors he has allowed to creep into his writing. Exactly for this reason, his violations of our fifth rule assume augmented importance. "Unfinished Victory" is not published in the United States, and copies of it are not readily available. The reader of Mr. Bernstein's article must therefore either accept his statements in good faith, or go ~~the~~ considerable trouble in checking them. We all know the tendency of people to trust the printed word, and to neglect to verify what they read. When in addition to this natural indolence there are material obstacles in the way of verification, the integrity of the writer must assume an additional burden. If I misquote the Bible, anyone can check me up. If I misquote "Unfinis hed Victory" the case is different. But those who read Mr. Bernstein's article who can get hold of a copy of Bryant's book should by all means do so, and decide for themselves whether it be anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi or no.

It is not easy for any polemist to abide by the rules of fair play. His very desire to write a polemic indicates a closed mind: he has reviewed the evidence, formed his opinion, and is now going to put it in print. He must know that, once in black and white, he cannot retreat from his position without considerable loss of face; indeed, the act of publication is a sort of burning of his bridges. Human nature is always reluctant to admit a mistake; that reluctance is even greater when the mistake has been spread upon a public record. As a practical matter, then, the polemist pledges himself to defend his position until he is overwhelmed by adverse evidence. This pledge commits him to the policy of treating both reason and truth as secondary to the main object, that of justifying himself. How can he bother with rules in such a situation?

The Church detests the sin but embraces the sinner. Georgists might well follow this good example. Vicious institutions, ignorance, prejudice -- attacks upon such as these may bear good fruit; they have done so in the past. We search history in vain for a polemic which has resulted in anything for the betterment of mankind. Who, indeed, is entitled to call any man evil? The Savior had the right; but even He is best remembered, not for His attacks upon the Scribes and Pharisees, but for his efforts to show men the path to a better world.

(END)

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

CHARTERED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

30 EAST 29TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 4-6270

November 17, 1941

Mr. M. Mason Gaffney
Grays 27-28
Harvard College
Cambridge, Mass.

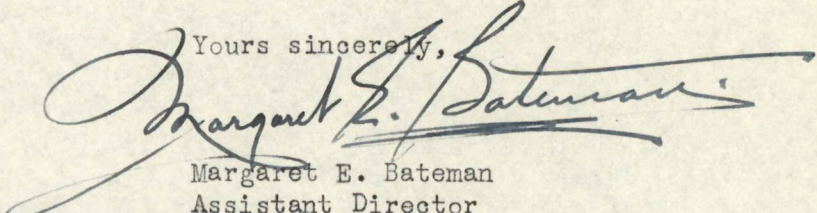
Dear Mr. Gaffney:

I am taking the liberty of replying to your letter addressed to the Board of Trustees as I understand they will not meet for another week or so. Mr. Chodorov has had a very heavy load to carry all year and went off for a short vacation about ten days ago. We expect him back in a week or shortly after.

We appreciate the fact that you wish to know all the circumstances before you make a definite decision on this matter. We are trying to run an educational and not a political institution here. It seems a little difficult at the present time to adhere strictly to this policy. But we intend to do so, and if I read your letter correctly, you intend to help us.

You will understand that it is not my responsibility to reply fully to the point raised in your letter, but I am sure you will hear from the Board of Trustees in due time. Your letter will be turned over to them today. In the meantime, as I suggested in a note to Mr. Zalles last week, will you please reserve judgment until you know the full particulars of this case?

Yours sincerely,


Margaret E. Bateman
Assistant Director

MEB:hs

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCE

Chartered by the University of the State of New York

CHICAGO EXTENSION
600 GARRICK BUILDING, 64 WEST RANDOLPH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

December 9, 1941

My dear Mason:-

I have been looking over correspondence in the office and so I have looked over yours with John and your comments on the Frank Chodorov controversy. That sort of thing tends to get me down.

There always will be, probably, a quarrel with the folks who cannot get the picture of the School as an educational institution. The ultimate act whereby the advice of George will be adopted - or let us say, passed upon, will be a political act. The anticipation of this, by impatient people, makes them want to do something political now - than which nothing could be more silly - especially when attempted by folks who have no concept further than "get the thing done." The political thing cannot be a wise thing until the pressure of public opinion brings it about - forces the politicians as a matter of their own success to act.

These politically minded folks are ever pressing at the School to "do something" - not meaning to conduct classes, but to encourage "organization," to "contact and influence other liberal groups going our way." Now, just between us, that is silly. Others think we should go along with F.D.R. in his politics - or policy. Others that we should take sides in the war, an issue now dead, praise be. Others, that the School should be conducted as a glorified single tax club. B

As a matter of cold fact, we could have a lot of fun doing these things, and developing a lot of new bases for quarrelling while we neglect the duty of teaching the basis of our hopes.

It may be that F. C. gets impatient and is not always in a generous mood, but folks who know him know there is no malice in him; and ultimately his aim is to keep the School on the track. It is his unwillingness to let the School become a hotbed of agitation for various reforms - or the exarchate of some individuals - that makes him an object of attack. You will observe that the attack is not always honest - and when honest is a reaction from dishonest attack except in rare cases.

I don't know why I write all this - you have troubles of your own; but I wanted to have an excuse for the enclosures herewith. That of Edwin Hamilton is an exposure of a trick by Bernstein. My own stuff is appended - well just because I wrote it - vanity will out.

I trust that you soon will become acclimated to the New England intellect and environs. It has its virtues as well as history. When you come home for Christmas, if your folk's claims permit, it would be a real pleasure to visit a bit. I am

Cordially
Henry Pickman

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Grand Jury Hunts Griffin

No Trace of N. Y. 'Enquirer' Editor Wanted in Nazi Probe

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—William Griffin, editor of the weekly New York *Enquirer*, has disappeared.

Agents of the Grand Jury investigating Nazi propaganda have been trying to serve a subpoena, but have been unable to find any trace of him. William Power Maloney, Assistant Attorney General, expressed concern last night about the safety of the editor, who, he said, is "badly wanted."

On two previous occasions men have disappeared while under investigation by the same Grand Jury. A volunteer witness was assassinated in Colombia last July as he was about to leave for Washington to testify against German agents who ran the Transocean, a Nazi press service.

Ralph Townsend, a writer for *Scribner's Commentator*, also disappeared before he was indicted along with four others for disseminating Japanese propaganda without registering as a Japanese agent. Townsend turned up yesterday in Milwaukee and posted \$5000 bond.

During the 1940 Republican Convention the *Enquirer* printed a special edition supporting Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York for President. Prescott Dennett, secretary of the Islands for War Debts Committee, who has figured in the Grand Jury investigation as an associate of George Sylvester Viereck, the German propagandist, signed the *Enquirer's* article on Fish.

In district court yesterday Viereck's trial on charges of concealing his activities on behalf of the Nazis was set for Feb. 16, in Washington.

Laura Ingalls, the American flier, who is under indictment for failing to register as a German agent, will go on trial here next Monday. At the time Miss Ingalls was supposedly collecting a salary as a propaganda agent for the German Embassy, she was a featured speaker for the America First Committee.

FDR and Britain Took Griffin's Sunday Punch

The Sunday punches of William Griffin's New York *Enquirer* have often been thrown at Roosevelt and England.

Griffin ran a half-page ad in the New York *Times* on Christmas Day, 1940, reprinting an *Enquirer* blast at "the policy of having America finance and fight Britain's war."

In October of the same year he wrote an *Enquirer* editorial calling the Roosevelt administration "as treacherous and sordid as any ever cursed any nation."

Enquirer used to print full texts of speeches and urged a march on to curb the "cohorts of inter- A year ago Griffin was writing public has nothing to fear from us," and as late as last to the "U. S. Government dicaters."



Wm. Griffin

U. S. War Communiques

The War Department's Communique No. 89, as of 4 p.m. Monday, said:

American bombers of the Flying Fortress type raided Japanese airfields at Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan in Malaya. Poor visibility made it impossible to estimate the damage. We lost no planes. Jap fighter planes intercepted four of our bombers on the way to attack Japanese shipping at Balikpapan, Borneo. Nine Japanese planes were shot down, one of ours lost.

Complete war news, Pages 14-18; war maps, Pages 15-17.

Avoid Farm Price Conflict

Secretary of Agriculture Wickard and Price Administrator Henderson have issued a joint statement saying they are in "complete agreement" as to the objectives of the new Price Control Law.

Wickard, who has veto power over Henderson's farm price ceilings, had been criticized by the Congressional farm bloc for testifying last week that the Government did not intend to let farm prices go much higher.

The Wickard-Henderson statement said they were determined to keep farm prices fair to the consumer by taking "every possible step to insure abundant supplies for all," including the release of Government-owned stocks of grains and cotton.

WLB May Mediate Sunday Pay Dispute

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—The War Labor Board is expected to mediate the dispute over double-time for Sunday work in Detroit plants.

R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Auto Workers union, probably will raise the point when the full WLB meets today.

Reports from Detroit indicated that both union and General Motors officials will welcome WLB intervention; in fact, the UAW proposed this step several weeks ago. A UAW spokesman said today:

"The issue is being inflated anyway. Right now the problem is providing jobs for men any day in the week. We're ready to work now, mediate Sunday pay later."

Navy Training at Stanford and ND

Stanford and Notre Dame are two of the four universities selected by the Navy as centers for its new aviation training program, United Press reports. College facilities will also be leased in New York and Georgia, but the colleges have not been announced.

War Time

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—FDR suggested yesterday that the term War Time be used when the Nation's clocks are advanced one hour on Feb. 9 instead of the usual Daylight Saving Time.

Loan to China

FDR yesterday asked Congress to lend China \$500,000,000 in addition to the lend-lease aid that country is getting from the U. S. A.

George School Probe Begins

Teacher Files Charges Based On Publication's Statements

By LUTHER CONANT, JR.

The Henry George School of Social Science, 30 E. 29th St., was removed yesterday from the tax-exempt list and placed on the tax rolls.

Behind that action, an automatic procedure when a complaint is made against a tax-exempt property, is a bitter controversy involving charges by former teachers and students that the school has been disseminating antidemocratic and pro-appeasement propaganda.

Formal complaint to the Tax Commission and the University of the State of New York was made by Michael J. Bernstein, a former volunteer teacher at the school. It is his contention that the school has forfeited its charter rights.

The school is now under investigation by the University, which issues the charters for educational institutions. Final action by the Tax Commission depends on the University's findings and appeal by the school.

As part of the movement by Bernstein and a group of his associates, leaflets embodying the propaganda charges were distributed to students entering the school last night.

Meanwhile, Frank Chodorov, the director of the school and editor of the Georgist *The Freeman*, has been removed from both offices by the trustees. Officials of the school deny, however, that the change represents a repudiation of Chodorov's basic policies. Here is the background of the charges.

¶ *The Freeman*, according to one of its publicity circulars, is the "official organ" of the Henry George School.

¶ The directors of the magazine are all trustees of the school.

¶ The magazine receives grants from the school.

Officials of the school now claim, however, that *The Freeman* is not the official organ.

This was the pre-war line of *The Freeman*:

On Democracy—

"Democracy is done. . . . Our 150 years under the democratic formula has been attended with constant internal strife, recurring periods of industrial depression, increasing unemployment and misery, and a spasmodically interrupted succession of those complete breakdowns of civilized existence—wars."

On Relations With the Nazis—

"We must buy from all the world, including Germany and her slave states, all the things which they make better or cheaper than we can make them. If we permit emotionalism to shape our trade policy and proceed sanctimoniously to whip Germany into line . . . by refusing to do business with them, we shall drive them into the chaos of Communism."

In other words, you can and should do business with Hitler.

On Relations With Japan—

"Now we are told that we cannot do business with Japan. . . . But of one thing we can be certain: that this political interference with trade will cause American unemployment, raise American prices, increase American taxes, make for less American satisfactions. . . . The Japanese may be forced

into this undertaking (invasion of the Dutch East Indies) by their inability to do business with moralistic Uncle Sam."

It is significant to point out that while free trade was thus upheld with reference to the Axis countries, *The Freeman* did not call for revision of the Neutrality Act, a legal restriction on free trade.

The Freeman argued violently against the draft. Equally violently it attacked the New Deal as composed of "economic illiterates."

On an Axis Victory—

"But the point I am especially emphasizing here is that, in the particular matter of free trade, there is at least a possibility that totalitarian policy will operate to extend it, and even to force it upon foolishly reluctant democracies to the very considerable benefit of their people." (Henry Gunnison Brown, associate editor).

During the period from which these typical excerpts were selected, Chodorov was both editor of the paper and director of the school. During the two pre-war years, he contributed to *Scribner's Commentator*.

Douglas M. Stewart, co-publisher of the *Commentator*, is a graduate of the Henry George School and a friend of Lancaster M. Greene, a trustee of the school and a director of *The Freeman*.

Thursday, Greene had this to say regarding the change of administration:

He denied that the charge was a repudiation of Chodorov's policies.

"We do not read into them the narrow inferences made by others," he said.

He added that Chodorov would continue to receive grants to allow him to continue writing and that he had been invited to contribute to *The Freeman* in the status of an independent columnist.

A somewhat different complexion was put in the change by Paul Peach, formerly assistant editor and now editor of *The Freeman*.

He said Chodorov had a "penchant for unfortunate statements" and that the new policy of the paper would represent a "radical break from Chodorov's use of injudicious phrases."

Peach argued that the school and paper had never been pro-Axis, that it opposed any trend toward collectivism as incompatible with the philosophy of Henry George, and that misunderstanding arose over different connotations of words.

Miss Margaret Bateman, the new director who was assistant director the past year, said she did not wish to criticize Chodorov and that she had never known him to deviate from the principles of Henry George in his conduct of the school.

26 1/2 Billion Navy Bill Passes in Senate

The Senate yesterday heard a report by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox that we're trying to fight a two-ocean war with a one-ocean navy, and quickly passed a \$26,495,264,474 appropriation which provides for:

¶ 23,354 naval planes this year.

¶ 382 combatant vessels and scores of auxiliary ships.

The measure goes back to the House for concurrence in Senate amendments.

Supreme Court Decisions

The Supreme Court yesterday ruled:

¶ Unanimously that the Federal Government had the power to regulate the sale of milk marketed solely within one State.

¶ By a 5 to 2 vote that the State of New York infringed on the treaty-making power of the Federal Government when it seized over the assets of the defunct Insurance Co.

NEWS FROM

FOR OFFICIAL NEWS
WORLD BATTLE

Japs Drive Singapore

Japanese planes yesterday raided the islands of Bangka and Billiton off the coast of Sumatra, attempting to block the Japanese approach to besieged Singapore.

Dutch sources already have acknowledged the fall of Pontianak, on Borneo's west coast, and if the Japanese can seize the two Sumatran islands they will be able to surround Singapore. With the seizure of Pontianak they now have a base between Sumatra and Java. Their occupation of Malacca effectively seals the passage to Singapore from the Indian Ocean.

The British radio, noting that Japanese attacks always precede Japanese landings, said an attempt to land forces on Bangka and Billiton was expected.

Gov. van Starckenborgh of the Dutch East Indies, announcing the evacuation of NEI, announced the evacuation of NEI, warning in a broadcast.

"The Japanese aim at the complete isolation of the pelago and pressing the attack on our defenses."

Danger

Bangka and Billiton, off the coast of Sumatra and Borneo, which are separated by the 120-mile stretch of sea, and Billiton is so dangerous that mariners avoid it. The distance between Billiton and Borneo and Sumatra.

Bangka, larger of the two islands, has a population of 205,363 and covers 1,363 square miles. It is only 100 miles from Batavia, capital of the Dutch East Indies. Java. It is 250 miles from the west coast of Sumatra. Japanese have just captured it.

Planes for

Premier John Curtin announced yesterday after a War Cabinet meeting that the government was going to spend \$26,495,264,474 on the manufacture of more combat machines.

Curtin also said that the government was going to spend \$26,495,264,474 on the manufacture of more combat machines.

"I am anxious to see the conditions of defense between the United States and the whole world," Curtin said.

Refugees from the Japanese attack on Singapore are being evacuated to the United States.

October 11, 1941.

Land and Freedom,
150 Nassau Street,
New York, N. Y.

To the Editors of Land and Freedom:

I am enclosing an article in criticism of the editorial policy of the Freeman. It doesn't do any good to write to them because our Leader allows no dissidence in our movement, he being the final arbiter and interpreter of Georgeism. I do not believe that we should handle him too carefully as he exceeded the bounds of common decency in aligning himself and our movement with the Fascist elements in this country.

I hope you will consider the article worthy of printing, or will at least take it and re-write it more emphatically. Some such criticism, however, should be made at once, and publicly. Quite a few of our people here at the Boston School, including Reginald Zalles, have read the paper and their encouragement has prompted me to send this article to you.

Thank you for your favor.

Sincerely yours,

ARAM BASHIAN.

The leading editorial in the October Freeman ends by asking rhetorically "Mr. President—why start shooting—before you have tried the scheme of crushing Hitler by undermining his support?" The plan to crush Hitler suggested in the editorial preceding this final questioning, is really the pay-off in the series of editorials that rank our school paper, the Freeman, with all the propaganda sheets such as, the Daily Worker, the Call, or Social Justice. It would seem that these papers and their editors assume no other allegiance to America than an irresponsible freedom to spread their Messages. It is in times of strain and difficulty that friendships are tried and proven. We should be recognized now as being among the truest lovers of Americanism in the land. Our opinions and advice should be respectfully asked and listened to, and this means that our opinions and advice should be given respectfully.

The fact is, however, that our Freeman takes its place with the lunatic and un-American fringe of papers and adds to their sneers and snarls that this is "an imperialistic war." Of course, it is imperialistic. Every war we have ever studied has been imperialistic. Wasn't the threatened battle at Runnymede imperialistic? Wasn't our Revolution imperialistic? Would the Freeman have remained detached from those wars?

Interwoven with the imperialism of Germany is the philosophy of feudalism in which the individual's relations to society were governed by status and dogma. Interwoven with the imperialism of England are the new philosophies of Western civilization in which the individual's relations to society are governed by individual contract. The imperialisms and the philosophies cannot be separated. If you kill one, you automatically kill the other. When Philip of Macedon finally smashed Greece, not only was the imperialism of Athens destroyed, but also the democracy of Greece. We are engaged in a long and historic revolution against the forces of feudalism. The socialists and the Franco allies are part of the counter-revolution. They each wish again, in their own way, a civilization of status.

The editors of the Freeman have their eyes glued so closely to the microscope of their academic life that they have lost sight of our long underlying and historic struggle for justice. When they do perceive this struggle, they become discouraged, bitter, and vituperative. They remind me of Marx, who fled from the dynastic atmosphere of Germany and wrote in an English library for forty years whatever he pleased, unmolested and protected under English law, read everything that was available in the whole known world of print, and saw nothing but evil around him.

Imagine what will be the attitude of the rest of the country toward Georgeism at the end of this war. If we lose the war, the Fascists, who will surely be in control, will stamp us out at once.

If we win the war, Georgeists will not have earned any right to sit at the peace table to take part in the negotiations. In the meantime, as the war pressure mounts, we will be looked at as Bundists or Fronters. Our classes will fall off, and we will be debarred from the schools and libraries where we now hold our classes.

My brother and I went to an auction once, and became separated in the crowd. It so happened that he had the cash with him, but I started to bid on a machine which we needed for our shop. After four or five bids, we found out that we were bidding against each other. The Freeman's editors are doing to Mr. Roosevelt what I, in my ignorance, did to my brother. They will, in the end, merely have helped the Fascists in this country force Mr. Roosevelt to pay a higher price for victory.

No one condemns the short comings of our democracy any more than I do. They are a shame and a disgrace to our heritage. Our stupidity in not recognizing the principles involved in the Spanish war was appall-

ing. Our protectionist policy, as exemplified at the Washington Conference in 1922 and culminating in our sabotage of the London Economic Conference in 1933, surely strengthened Fascism here and abroad. But, our criticisms should be of the friendly and sympathetic kind so as to be constructive. The sarcastic and persistent criticisms of the Freeman will rouse the indignation of hopeful and believing men against us. The rest will be left confused and bewildered, prey to the propaganda of the Fascists.

I don't expect any immediate change for the good when we win the war.

In the end we will only get the kind of government we deserve. "Justice," says Louis Wallis, "comes not abruptly. Its dawn is gradual and we are yet living in its morning hour." We Georgeists are part of the long revolutionary struggle for Freedom. We are continuing the Abolition Movement which freed man politically, to free men economically. We are a radical movement and should be in the forefront of this revolution. "The world is a stage," as Shakespeare wrote, but we do not have the imagination to dramatize our time and place in the long expanse of history. All of us have thrilled at the famed Philippics of Demosthenes. We have pitied the Greeks of that day for not uniting and defeating Philip of Macedon. Their duty, with our present historical perspective, seemed clear. Yet, our own duty, the Freeman attempts to determine by using a microscope in some intellectual tower. Surely the democracy of our day is as much worth defending against Fascism as was the democracy of Greece. The objections and obstructions that the Freeman makes to the intelligent preservation of our democracy were the kind that defeated the efforts of Demosthenes. The task of the Freeman's editors is to present, not only the microscopic details of specific problems, but to thrill those who have been through our courses with a panoramic view of the struggle for justice, and the part that they can and must play in the struggle. There can be no detachment from, or neutrality in this struggle. There are no Georgeists in Spain today, and the few there were in Central Europe must have been wiped out by this time.

We must not demand perfection in an imperfect world. All that we can hope for is that the Fascists will not win here or abroad, and that we can continue to teach and to discuss our philosophy of life as we are privileged to do today.

On page 2 of the September 15th issue of Social Justice, a mother, supposedly writing to her drafted son in the Army, says, "Get all the training you can without cost. It will help you when Roosevelt brings about the revolution, and we have to start building America all over again."

Mr. Roosevelt is not bringing about the revolution this mother mentions to her son. Mr. Roosevelt is part of the long, long revolution against feudalism; and the revolution this mother mentions is the counter-revolution against which George fought and gave his life.

Now, if Georgeism were part of a science, such as chemistry, or metallurgy, it might be that we could remain impersonal and completely detached from the struggle around us. An accountant or a bookkeeper can be detached from the heat of the economic struggle. But we are not mere bookkeepers or economists, we are social reformers, and are deeply and irrevocably concerned with the social struggle.

George, long ago, outlined for us our purpose. It was completely involved in the morals of the social problems facing us. He knew that the struggle would be long and hard and that we would need allies to aid us, and should ally ourselves with other groups if they were going our way. The present editorial Fellow Travelers of the Freeman are not the sort George would have chosen.

Our whole argument against authoritarianism, and our whole argument for Georgeism is summed up in the words of the great Catholic historian, Lord Acton, "Power corrupts—absolute power, absolutely." The power vested in the dynastic imperialism of Rome corrupted that civilization, and it disintegrated as other civilizations had before it. Power later became vested in the dynasties of feudalism. Under these economies, the individual had no more rights than a horse or a cow. It was against this philosophy of life that St. Thomas Aquinas wrote. In the long struggle to free the individual from his feudal status and give him his freedom, no Georgeist can remain detached. "The only complete detachment is of the dead," said Lord Acton. I have been told by defeatists that Georgeism in England was dead; that when the war started, they gave up their principles and became imperialist war-mongers. I don't believe so. The Land party in England is devoting all its energies to the immediate task at hand, namely to win the war. They are very much alive and are being refined and revived by the trials of the war. At the peace tables after the war, they will be listened to with respect.

77 The collectivism to which the British people are submitting will not be permanent. Neither they nor the American people can be collectivized at this late date. I am not worrying about England, or that English Georgeism is dead. I am only hoping that the complete detachment of the Freeman from the social problems facing us doesn't signify that American Georgeism is dead.

ARAM BASHIAN

George School Probe Begins

Teacher Files Charges Based On Publication's Statements

By LUTHER CONANT, JR.

The Henry George School of Social Science, 30 E. 29th St., was removed yesterday from the tax-exempt list and placed on the tax rolls.

Behind that action, an automatic procedure when a complaint is made against a tax-exempt property, is a bitter controversy involving charges by former teachers and students that the school has been disseminating antidemocratic and pro-appeasement propaganda.

Formal complaint to the Tax Commission and the University of the State of New York was made by Michael J. Bernstein, a former volunteer teacher at the school. It is his contention that the school has forfeited its charter rights.

The school is now under investigation by the University, which issues the charters for educational institutions. Final action by the Tax Commission depends on the University's findings and appeal by the school.

As part of the movement by Bernstein and a group of his associates, leaflets embodying the propaganda charges were distributed to students entering the school last night.

Meanwhile, Frank Chodorov, the director of the school and editor of the Georgist *The Freeman*, has been removed from both offices by the trustees. Officials of the school deny, however, that the change represents a repudiation of Chodorov's basic policies. Here is the background of the charges.

¶ *The Freeman*, according to one of its publicity circulars, is the "official organ" of the Henry George School.

¶ The directors of the magazine are all trustees of the school.

¶ The magazine receives grants from the school.

Officials of the school now claim, however, that *The Freeman* is not the official organ.

This was the pre-war line of *The Freeman*:

On Democracy—

"Democracy is done. . . . Our 150 years under the democratic formula has been attended with constant internal strife, recurring periods of industrial depression, increasing unemployment and misery, and a spasmodically interrupted succession of those complete breakdowns of civilized existence—wars."

On Relations With the Nazis—

"We must buy from all the world, including Germany and her slave states, all the things which they make better or cheaper than we can make them. If we permit emotionalism to shape our trade policy and proceed sanctimoniously to whip Germany into line . . . by refusing to do business with them, we shall drive them into the chaos of Communism."

In other words, you can and should do business with Hitler.

On Relations With Japan—

"Now we are told that we cannot do business with Japan. . . . But of one thing we can be certain: that this political interference with trade will cause American unemployment, raise American prices, increase American taxes, make for less American satisfactions. . . . The Japanese may be forced

into this undertaking (invasion of the Dutch East Indies) by their inability to do business with moralistic Uncle Sam."

It is significant to point out that while free trade was thus upheld with reference to the Axis countries, *The Freeman* did not call for revision of the Neutrality Act, a legal restriction on free trade.

The Freeman argued violently against the draft. Equally violently it attacked the New Deal as composed of "economic illiterates."

On an Axis Victory—

"But the point I am especially emphasizing here is that, in the particular matter of free trade, there is at least a possibility that totalitarian policy will operate to extend it, and even to force it upon foolishly reluctant democracies to the very considerable benefit of their people." (Henry Gunnison Brown, associate editor).

During the period from which these typical excerpts were selected, Chodorov was both editor of the paper and director of the school. During the two pre-war years, he contributed to *Scribner's Commentator*.

Douglas M. Stewart, co-publisher of the *Commentator*, is a graduate of the Henry George School and a friend of Lancaster M. Greene, a trustee of the school and a director of *The Freeman*.

Thursday, Greene had this to say regarding the change of administration:

He denied that the charge was a repudiation of Chodorov's policies.

"We do not read into them the narrow inferences made by others," he said.

He added that Chodorov would continue to receive grants to allow him to continue writing and that he had been invited to contribute to *The Freeman* in the status of an independent columnist.

A somewhat different complexion was put in the change by Paul Peach, formerly assistant editor and now editor of *The Freeman*.

He said Chodorov had a "penchant for unfortunate statements" and that the new policy of the paper would represent a "radical break from Chodorov's use of injudicious phrases."

Peach argued that the school and paper had never been pro-Axis, that it opposed any trend toward collectivism as incompatible with the philosophy of Henry George, and that misunderstanding arose over different connotations of words.

Miss Margaret Bateman, the new director who was assistant director the past year, said she did not wish to criticize Chodorov and that she had never known him to deviate from the principles of Henry George in his conduct of the school.

26 1/2 Billion Navy Bill Passes in Senate

The Senate yesterday heard a report by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox that we're trying to fight a two-ocean war with a one-ocean navy, and quickly passed a \$26,495,264,474 appropriation which provides for:

¶ 23,354 naval planes this year.

¶ 382 combatant vessels and scores of auxiliary ships.

The measure goes back to the House for concurrence in Senate amendments.

Supreme Court Decisions

The Supreme Court yesterday ruled:

¶ Unanimously that the Federal Government had the power to regulate the price of milk marketed solely within one state.

¶ By a 5 to 2 vote that the State of New York infringed on the treaty-making powers of the Federal Government when it took over the assets of the defunct First Russian Insurance Co.

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Grand Jury Hunts Griffin

No Trace of N. Y. 'Enquirer' Editor Wanted in Nazi Probe

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—William Griffin, editor of the weekly New York *Enquirer*, has disappeared.

Agents of the Grand Jury investigating Nazi propaganda have been trying to serve a subpoena, but have been unable to find any trace of him. William Power Maloney, Assistant Attorney General, expressed concern last night about the safety of the editor, who, he said, is "badly wanted."



Wm. Griffin

On two previous occasions men have disappeared while under investigation by the same Grand Jury. A volunteer witness was assassinated in Colombia last July as he was about to leave for Washington to testify against German agents who ran the Transocean, a Nazi press service.

Ralph Townsend, a writer for *Scribner's Commentator*, also disappeared before he was indicted along with four others for disseminating Japanese propaganda without registering as a Japanese agent. Townsend turned up yesterday in Milwaukee and posted \$5000 bond.

During the 1940 Republican Convention the *Enquirer* printed a special edition supporting Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York for President. Prescott Dennett, secretary of the Islands for War Debts Committee, who has figured in the Grand Jury investigation as an associate of George Sylvester Viereck, the German propagandist, signed the *Enquirer's* article on Fish.

In district court yesterday Viereck's trial on charges of concealing his activities on behalf of the Nazis was set for Feb. 16, in Washington.

Laura Ingalls, the American flier, who is under indictment for failing to register as a German agent, will go on trial here next Monday. At the time Miss Ingalls was supposedly collecting a salary as a propaganda agent for the German Embassy, she was a featured speaker for the America First Committee.

FDR and Britain Took Griffin's Sunday Punch

The Sunday punches of William Griffin's New York *Enquirer* have often been thrown at Roosevelt and England.

Griffin ran a half-page ad in the New York *Times* on Christmas Day, 1940, reprinting an *Enquirer* blast at "the policy of having America finance and fight Britain's war."

In October of the same year he wrote an *Enquirer* editorial calling the Roosevelt Administration "as treacherous and sordid a lot as ever cursed any nation."

The *Enquirer* used to print full texts of isolationist speeches and urged a march on Washington to curb the "cohorts of internationalism." A year ago Griffin was writing that "this republic has nothing to fear from old-world attacks," and as late as last August referred to the "U. S. Government and its Allied war inciters."

U. S. War Communiques

The War Department's Communique No. 89, as of 4 p.m. Monday, said:

American bombers of the Flying Fortress type raided Japanese airfields at Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan in Malaya. Poor visibility made it impossible to estimate the damage. We lost no planes. Jap fighter planes intercepted four of our bombers on the way to attack Japanese shipping at Balikpapan, Borneo. Nine Japanese planes were shot down, one of ours lost.

Complete war news, Pages 14-18; war maps, Pages 15-17.

Avoid Farm Price Conflict

Secretary of Agriculture Wickard and Price Administrator Henderson have issued a joint statement saying they are in "complete agreement" as to the objectives of the new Price Control Law.

Wickard, who has veto power over Henderson's farm price ceilings, had been criticized by the Congressional farm bloc for testifying last week that the Government did not intend to let farm prices go much higher.

The Wickard-Henderson statement said they were determined to keep farm prices fair to the consumer by taking "every possible step to insure abundant supplies for all," including the release of Government-owned stocks of grains and cotton.

WLB May Mediate Sunday Pay Dispute

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—The War Labor Board is expected to mediate the dispute over double-time for Sunday work in Detroit plants.

R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Auto Workers union, probably will raise the point when the full WLB meets today.

Reports from Detroit indicated that both union and General Motors officials will welcome WLB intervention; in fact, the UAW proposed this step several weeks ago. A UAW spokesman said today:

"The issue is being inflated anyway. Right now the problem is providing jobs for men any day in the week. We're ready to work now, mediate Sunday pay later."

Navy Training at Stanford and ND

Stanford and Notre Dame are two of the four universities selected by the Navy as centers for its new aviation training program, United Press reports. College facilities will also be leased in New York and Georgia, but the colleges have not been announced.

War Time

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—FDR suggested yesterday that the term War Time be used when the Nation's clocks are advanced one hour on Feb. 9 instead of the usual Daylight Saving Time.

Loan to China

FDR yesterday asked Congress to lend China \$500,000,000 in addition to the lend-lease aid that country is getting from the U. S. A.

ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION

To Promote the Economics of Henry George

32 East 29th Street, New York

MURRAY HILL 5-6459

January 6, 1942

Mrs. M.P. Gaffney
525 Ash Street
Winnetka, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Gaffney:

During the Christmas season you placed an order with us for several books including a copy of "The Life of Henry George" by his son. We did not have the latter book to send you, and I regret to find that no letter of explanation was written to you. We were extremely busy the week before Christmas. "The Life of Henry George" will be reprinted very shortly, but I cannot at this moment promise exactly when it will be ready. Would you like us to return your \$1.00 to you, or would like to have us send you another book.

In 1939, Albert J. Nock wrote an "Essay on Henry George" which is biographical in character and which I would suggest as a substitute for the more detailed biography in which Henry George, Jr. chronicled his father's life. Mr. Nock's book is described in the enclosed leaflet. A postcard is also enclosed so that you may tell us your wishes.

Sincerely yours,

V. G. Petersen

Executive Secretary

VGP:
Enclosures.

11.7.1940

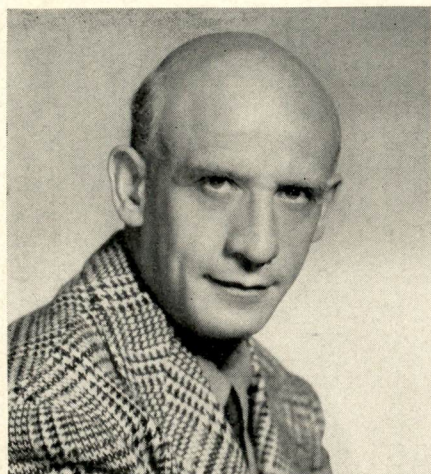
Dear Mase:

May I turn this over to
your tender reply? Gosh but
we miss you

Brooklyn

Mother

Much excitement here
over gas being turned off.
We have a coal fire & cook by electricity



← DIMITRI MITROPOULOS

Conductor

First week. June 30, July 2, 4, 5

Following his brilliant success in his native Greece, Mr. Mitropoulos now conducts the Minneapolis Symphony. The opening week marks his first appearance at Ravinia.

PIERRE MONTEUX →

Conductor

Sixth week. August 4, 6, 8, 9

Mr. Monteux is recognized as the most famous of contemporary French conductors. For the past six years permanent conductor of the San Francisco Symphony, he returns to Ravinia to take up the baton for the final orchestral week.



Guest Conductors at Ravinia Season 1942

Photographs of the soloists appearing with the orchestra are to be found on following pages.



Enjoy the music of composers whose works are of eternal worth in a woodland setting of unparalleled beauty.

GEORGE SZELL

Conductor

Second and third weeks.

July 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19

Mr. Szell has starred his distinguished career with numerous engagements throughout Europe. He returns for two weeks, following the enthusiastic reception accorded him last year.



← EUGENE ORMANDY

Conductor

Fourth week. July 21, 23, 25, 26

As conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, formerly of the New York Philharmonic and Minneapolis Symphony, Mr. Ormandy is one of the leading conductors of the country. He returns for his third appearance.

ARTUR RODZINSKI →

Conductor

Fifth week. July 28, 30, August 1, 2

Famed conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, Mr. Rodzinski has scored triumphs all over the country. He has been actively engaged in summer music, and has conducted at three past Ravinia festivals.



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The poster and program cover are by courtesy of Park Phipps

The Unpredictable Mr. Nock's "HENRY GEORGE"

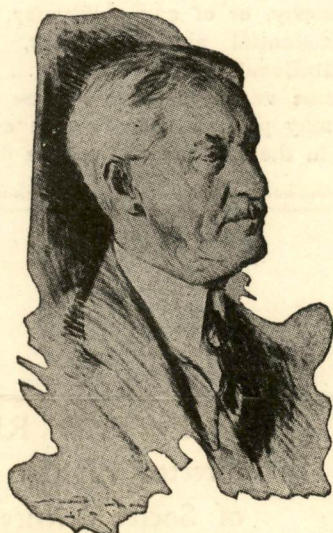
Surely the worth of a book must to an important degree be measured by its ability to hold the reader's attention. By such a minimum standard, Mr. Nock's "critical essay" on Henry George is pre-eminently a good book. I started reading my advance copy one night at nine, and could not get myself to bed until I had finished it five hours later. A newspaper man to whom I loaned the book picked it up at four in the morning, when he left his job, and lost a good part of his day's precious sleep because he could not lay it down.

My first reaction was to indite a panegyric—to tell in fulsome phrases the many reasons why every Georgist should—nay, must—read this book. Indeed, apart from one's opinion of Mr. Nock's point of view, aside from its sheer literary brilliance, here is a long-delayed critical study of Henry George, the man, the philosopher, the propagandist. Here is a sympathetic, though analytical evaluation of the environment that shaped his course through life. Here is a portrait of Henry George that we have not had before—a portrait painted with understanding and appreciation, but free from the conventionalized deification with which "followers" are wont to bedaub him. For Mr. Nock gives us George as a man, and therefore does not omit the frailties to which all men are heir.

Moreover, at least a plausible answer to the ever-recurring question "why is Henry George so little known or understood in his own country?" is offered in this book. It is not a simple answer. It goes deep into the roots of things. Not only was George's philosophic trend moulded by his environment, but the course of his career was similarly charted, and it is in this course that Mr. Nock finds the answer to the enigma of the "Forgotten Man of Anglo-American Civilization."

George was a depression baby.

Poverty stalked him throughout his life. Deprived of even the limited educational facilities that stuffy Philadelphia of the early nineteenth century could have afforded him, George was early confronted with the problem of "getting on in the world." At sixteen, the eldest son



ALBERT JAY NOCK

of an indigent family of ten, he went to sea as foremast-boy. On his return he started learning his trade of printer, at two dollars a week. At eighteen, out of a job, as frequently happened during his life, he turned again to the sea, shipping as a storekeeper for a five months' trip to California. In 1858 the prosperity years of the gold rush vanished; the depression of 1857 had set in. From then on followed in rapid succession periods of employment and unemployment, the latter prevailing. That George retained through all these privations (shared by a wife and children) any philosophic instinct is little short of miraculous. But the bitterness of these years undoubtedly aroused in his sympathetic soul the urge to reform, and inclined him toward the art of propaganda rather

than the reflective science of philosophy which seems to have been his natural bent.

The career of journalism into which printing led, inclined him to exaggerate the importance of events and of personalities, to the detriment of his philosophic instinct. The editorial office is prone to lay great stress on "movements," politics and politicians. To the reporter the things that are being done now loom much larger than tendencies which know no time limitation, and movement rather than ideas is of prime importance. In this environment George developed his polemic proclivities, his ardor for organizing, his urge for political action, none of which, Mr. Nock intimates, were inherent in the man, or conducive to the ultimate acceptance of his ideas. As he puts it:

"The predominance of the philosophical instinct effected itself gradually, and against all the force of wind and tide. The instinct abdicated at intervals throughout his life, it never scored a complete and lasting triumph, but when one sees what its power and persistence was and considers the crushing forces which were massed against it, one's emotion falls but short of reverent wonder."

Up to the time of "Progress and Poverty" Mr. Nock's analysis of George's development seems incontrovertible. And it is quite likely that the subsequent events, particularly the political phase of George's career, inevitably follow from the forces set to work in this early environment. I am inclined to agree that by his entrance into the political arena the "temperament of the reformer" overshadowed "the intellect of the philosopher," and to the detriment of a wider acceptance of the philosophy. George himself seems to have been reluctant to enter politics, apparently realizing that he had a greater mission than "throwing the rascals out." That the bitterness of

political struggle resulted in stamping George as a nostrum-peddler, that he was almost completely misunderstood, that his philosophy became submerged in the personal recriminations and misrepresentations involved in politics, that he fell heir to a "lunatic fringe" of followers, who besmirched his philosophy by their mere attachment to his cause—all this is true. But, whether this accounts for the almost complete pall that fell over his teachings immediately following his death is quite another matter—one which probably never will be quite decided.

As Mr. Nock points out, the early part of the century was characterized socially by "movements" of all breeds, each seeking to reform the world by some politically-maneuvered nostrum. Politics was the thing. Whether George could have kept out of politics—because of this temper of the times, to say nothing of his nature—is questionable. Whether his philosophy—besmirched and misunderstood as it was—would, without politics, have obtained such notice as it did get (the impetus of which has lasted to this day), is another question that will never be answered satisfactorily.

Yet, one cannot but agree with Mr. Nock's observation that following George's death his philosophy virtually passed out of public notice. The only question is whether his political and propagandist activities had doomed his ideas to oblivion. Certain it is that all his work along these lines did not spread any lasting knowledge of his philosophy on a scale commensurate with its world importance. Only a minority of his professed followers really understood him. And Mr. Nock rightfully takes to task some of these followers who, with an eye to expediency, subverted the philosophy into either a fiscal reform or an economic theory, robbing it of the grandeur of a great moral and social ideal. And if George's methods of evangelizing, of organizing, of seeking political action failed, their efforts along these lines were even more miserable failures.

The peroration of Mr. Nock's book is perhaps the most interesting (and will undoubtedly be the most controversial) part of it. The methods of George, and of his disciples, says Mr.

Nock, were based on the postulate that the masses can be educated.

"If that postulate be sound, then obviously George was right in his choice of methods, and the results might be expected to show, at least measurably, that he was right. On the other hand, if results are negative or positively unfavorable, the postulate is in doubt. There is no way of judging save by the results of practical experimentation, because the postulate is purely conjectural. . . . It seems that henceforth any review of George's career must take into account the question whether the general incapacity for acceptance of his philosophy, or of any philosophy, is circumstantial and temporary, or constitutional and permanent. . . .

"Some vague instinctive sense of this may perhaps even now be evident in the attitude of George's dis-

ciples of the second generation who have abandoned the idea of proselytizing-at-large. Perhaps on the other hand, they have merely made the salutary observation that the world's great philosophers never contemplated a mass-acceptance of their doctrines, but only their acceptance by an elite."

Students of Henry George should be thankful to Mr. Nock for having given us this book. It is most readable, informative, provocative. And regardless of whether we agree or disagree with his conclusions as to the merit of the course Henry George pursued, there is no doubt that in this generation, and perhaps for several generations to come, there are many who will accept it as a compass by which to chart their own course.

FRANK CHODOROV

AT THE REQUEST OF THE
director of the Henry George School
of Social Science, William Morrow &
Company, publishers, have produced a
special paper covered edition of "Henry
George" by Albert Jay Nock, to retail
at One Dollar. The regular cloth cov-
ered edition sells at \$2.50. The One
Dollar edition will not be offered by
bookstores, and can be secured only
through the

ROBERT SCHALKENBACH
FOUNDATION

32 East 29 Street, New York

Wedgwood's Speech Relayed By 'Error in Judgment'



The BBC announced Wednesday night that "a serious error in judgment" on Tuesday permitted Sir Josiah Wedgwood's speech, which criticized the British handling of Palestine, to reach the U. S. A.

Wedgwood had urged the U. S. A. to take over the mandate because "the British Administration doesn't like Jews."

The BBC explained that the Home Security censor had passed the script, but that neither the Foreign Office nor the Colonial Office knew of its contents in advance, as they were supposed to.

246182 Pro W 'U D

ometimes called the Flying Bullet, carrying two and a half tons of bombs, is powered by two 1850-horsepower engines, has a power-driven turret on top of the fuselage and a tail turret. It made its first appearance in December 1940.

China: Chinese defenders of Kinkwa in the eastern coastal provinces of Chekiang have tricked 1500 Japanese into a land mine field in the outskirts of the city and blown them up.

Chungking said a second major thrust against Kinkwa was broken 10 miles northwest of the city, with 1300 Japanese killed or wounded. Total Japanese casualties in the past week's fighting were reported



JOHN DEWEY
630 DEY STREET
KEY WEST, FLORIDA

March 7 '42

To The Trustees of the Henry George School
of Social Science:

Dear Sirs,

I have read with interest and approval the statement of the principles underlying the educational work of the Henry George School. They are educationally sound and in harmony with the best practices in adult education. Experience has demonstrated that methods taken over from regular academic practices have worked successfully in adult education only when the latter was being used to supplement prior academic education or to prepare students for further academic work. Except in a few cases where the teachers had an inspiring personality, they failed, often miserably, in adult education projects to hold the interest and attention of grown persons who need a more direct approach and one they can connect with their own experiences and social interests and problems.

Having visited the school, I am glad to add my hearty endorsement of the principles set forth by the Trustees, an expression of my conviction that from the side of scholarly preparation and knowledge, the School measures up to high academic standards. The remarks of the previous paragraph apply only to the methods used to get and hold the attention of students.

Respectfully yours,

John Dewey

(Professor Emeritus, Columbia University)

December 1, 1941

Dear Fellow-Georgeist:

You know of our fight to democratize the set-up of the Henry George School, and to right certain flagrant abuses that have long existed there. In line with our belief in the democratic process, we believe that the clear light of knowledge is necessary for right judgment. Therefore, we present to you the case of Edwin Ross, whose motives in resigning are now being viciously distorted.

Mr. Ross has been a life-long Georgeist, one literally born into the movement. Both of his parents knew Henry George personally and his father was associated with George in his last mayoralty campaign in New York. Mr. Ross' interest and faith in the School as the best means of spreading Georgeism dates back to its founding by Oscar Geiger. Here is what Mr. Geiger said of Ed Ross (who was one of his earliest students) in a letter to Mrs. de Mille written in 1931:--

"Edwin Ross Jr. the son of Edwin Ross of Arden, Del. (who was also there) came up especially to make his 'talk' and left to get his train back immediately after. I wish you had been there. He gave an outline of Henry George's life and did it admirably, then he recited the entire chapter 'The Central Truth' from P & P and did it as only a polished actor, that he is, could do.

"He told me this was his first talk on any phase of the Single Tax question to any audience, and I could not help saying to the meeting after he had gone that if the School had never done anything else it deserved success for having brought this young man out into the open.

"I am not through with him. We will impress him into the service of our Cause and I predict that he will be one of our future leaders. He is a fine young fellow and makes a pleasing and impressive appearance."

(Signed - Oscar Geiger)

In January, 1940, Frank Chodorov, the Director of the New York School, with a great display of what seemed overwhelming enthusiasm, appointed Ed Ross Assistant Director at 30 East 29th Street. In February, 1941, he was sent by the Director to Philadelphia to take charge of the School there, and begin the necessary work of building up an extension which was, to say the least, badly run-down. To the average reasonable person this might seem a mark of the highest confidence in his ability; however, we shall permit the material which follows to tell its own story.

While in Philadelphia, he learned more of the non-Georgeist policies and methods of the School's present administration, and finding it impossible to square these dubious goings-on with his conscience, decided on October 12, 1941, to resign his position in Philadelphia, despite the fact that he had no immediate prospects of other employment. Portions of the correspondence and other material concerning his resignation follow:

October 12, 1941

Director, Henry George School

Dear Mr. Chodorov:

It is with the greatest reluctance that I inform you of the necessity of my resignation from the School. But since I differ so widely from the "official party line" on so many subjects of vital current importance, I do not feel that I can honorably discharge my duties in conformity with the School's dictates as to matters of policy.

Let me say, by way of further explanation, that in the recent controversy between you and Mr. J. Bernstein, I thought you almost wholly in the wrong, not only on the merits of the case, but in your method of handling it. It has come to my attention through sources which I know to be reliable, that you did not hesitate to stoop in conversations with mutual acquaintances, to the contemptible expedient of personal assaults on the characters and integrity of several of my closest friends. Assaults, which by indirection, since my attachment to the people in question is well known, constitute a reflection on myself as well.

Perhaps it is worth while to point out wherein, in addition to the points made by Mr. Bernstein, I differ radically from the official attitude of the School as expressed through the Freeman --

an attitude that I regard as purely opportunistic, as the following example I believe proves beyond doubt.

In the early part of 1940 there appeared in the Freeman an article under the caption of "Finland and Russia." If my memory is accurate, the article was one long quotation from some of Henry George's most lofty writing in praise of those who defend their liberties against military aggression. The plucky fight Finland put up was made to appear in the light of this article, as a direct result of the greater individual freedom enjoyed by the Finns -- a view to which I myself subscribe. But a year later, when Yugoslavia, Greece and other countries are threatened with a tyranny fully as complete and more virulent even than that imposed by Russia, then, (can it be because the fate of Britain is more closely intertwined with the enemies of Nazism?) all talk of liberty fighting tyranny is "gratuitous."

I also decry the attitude of the Freeman as expressed in such articles as that by Paul Peck, entitled "The Slums of Sydney" in which the efforts of Georgeists who have attempted to do something to further their cause are "courageously" smeared by a paper which refuses to give any space to those who might oppose this view.

Finally, I am completely sickened by the failure of the School to attempt any forthright answer to the charges made by such men as Mr. Bernstein, and disgusted by the pose of martyrdom which has been adopted to cover deficiencies in logic and truth.

Therefore, in order that I may do what I can to combat this spirit, I ask that my services be concluded at the end of the present week. Mr. Hickok is thoroughly conversant with all the details of the School here, and can easily turn the business over to my successor, if you choose to send someone in my stead. If necessary I will stay on a short while longer, without compensation, if Mr. Hickok should deem it advisable. (Signed - Edwin S. Ross)

October 14, 1941

Mr. E. S. Ross

Dear Ed:

Your letter of the 12th resigning from the staff of the School has been received.

You will receive a check for this week's salary. In view of your present frame of mind it would be best that you discontinue all connection with the School. (Signed - Frank Chodorov, Director)

October 15, 1941

Anna George de Mille

Dear Anna George,

Enclosed is your letter from Mrs. Post. Thank you for letting me read it. Naturally I agree with every word of it. And, although I have never been in any doubt as to what your stand on the matter was.

It disturbs me deeply that you feel I am deserting the School in a time of crisis. On the contrary I feel that I am supporting the real School, which is something larger than the dictatorial policies of one man. In the hierarchy of loyalties, it seems to me that loyalty to an ideal ranks a good deal higher than loyalty to an organization that can at most be but temporary.

Believe me that I intend to continue to work for what I consider the School to be (and I also believe that the School is the best method that we have yet found to spread our message). It may be that I shall shortly appeal to the Trustees for permission to teach some classes in the Washington, D.C. area. Since I have received a letter from the Director of the School in reply to my letter of resignation, stating that I "had better sever all relations with the School", it will no doubt require a decision on the part of the Board of Trustees to enable me to carry out my purpose.

It may be thought by some who are unacquainted with the true position of affairs at the School that I could have continued in my capacity as a paid employee while struggling against what I consider to be gross perversions of our central doctrines. But in the light of the experiences of several people in the past who have had the temerity to express their dissent from the policies of the Director. I can see no advantage to be gained from placing myself in a position where I would quite probably have been discharged at a time when it would cause the greatest inconvenience both to myself and those to whom I owe family obligations.

Finally, let me state that the step which I have taken is one at which I have arrived only after mature consideration. Had it not been for the fact that I felt that I owed certain obligations to Mr. Hickok and his associates here in Philadelphia, and wished to see the fall term get under way with a minimum of dislocation, I should have expressed myself in this manner several months ago.

(Signed - Edwin S. Ross)

On October 14, 1941 Mr. Chodorov wrote to Mr. J. P. Kickok, president of the Board of Trustees of the Philadelphia School, saying:
 "For your information, I thought Ross would quit when I sent him to Philadelphia".....and....."Ross has not kept me informed as to the situation down there."

It might well be asked why the Director sent someone in whom he had no confidence to such an important post as Philadelphia!

Mr. Hickok wrote to Mr. Chodorov as follows:

"In reply to yours of the 14th, have to state that all of us here in Philadelphia feel very sorry that Ed Ross found it necessary to resign from the position of field director for Philadelphia. We were satisfied that he was doing a good job and were hopeful of bright prospects for the future." At about the same time Ed's aunt, Anna Ross, a Philadelphia School Trustee, widow of one of the most famous men in the Georgeist movement, addressed a letter to the New York School's Board of Trustees, protesting against the conditions which had resulted in Ed's resignation. She received a reply written and signed by Mr. Chodorov and not by the Board (this was verified by telephoning Mrs. de Mille, President of the New York Board, who didn't even know of the existence of the letter sent by Anna Ross at the time Chodorov's reply was written.) This reply, among other things, stated in substance that Ed was incompetent, and that Chodorov had gotten more work out of his volunteer workers than he'd ever gotten out of Ross.

However, the following extracts from letters written by Mr. Chodorov to Mr. Ross show that he did not expect Mr. Ross to quit when he sent him to this post.

(Dated February 27, 1941)

"You really should not teach. But under the peculiar circumstances existing in Philadelphia, I suppose you will have to put in at least a year in developing a curriculum.....I know that you have a tough job in Philadelphia, but I am quite sure that in a couple of years you will have as good a school as John has in Chicago."

(Dated April 2, 1941)

"No one knows better than I the difficulties you were under when you went to Philadelphia. It is for this reason that I do not expect any startling results from you for one year. If you do operate a dozen classes in the Fall I will think you a marvelous success..... You will have a successful school in Philadelphia in two years."

"Of course you have no teachers. And those teachers that you do have don't know anything.....However, this is between you and me, and I don't want you to advertise my opinion."

Mr. Chodorov also expressed his confidence in Mr. Ross to mutual acquaintances. The following is an extract from a letter written to Mr. Ross by Joseph Stockman, who replaced Mr. Ross when the latter resigned.

(Dated March 22, 1941)

"Have heard a little of your efforts so far in the Quaker City. Know only too well what you are up against Ed, but then I do have lots of confidence in your ability to get around some of the difficulties. Spoke to Mr. Chodorov, or that is, he started it. He too believes in time you will master the situation."

Shortly after Mr. Ross' resignation, he had occasion to make a trip to New York. While there, Mr. Lancaster Greene, one of the Trustees of the New York School, asked Mr. Ross to send him a copy of his letter of resignation. Mr. Ross did so, and took occasion to mention that the Director had been attempting to distort his motives. The appended letter from Mr. Green, and Mr. Ross' reply complete this "dossier."

November 7, 1941

Mr Edwin Ross

Dear Ed,

Thank you for your letter with a copy of your letter of resignation. I had hoped you would prove to be the ideal

director for Philadelphia as John Monroe is for Chicago and as Miss McCarthy is for New Jersey.

I understood from you that you had built up 13 classes from seven at the time you started; that you felt that criticism by our director of your lack of results in ten months was not based on knowledge. Accordingly I asked for a report from Philadelphia, which has reached me.

The report says: There are 7 classes going, (two of which had no teacher when you left). Total enrollment for these classes was 61 students. One class was scheduled in Wilmington, but no definite information on it is available.

While I may differ on principle, I do not wish to engage in any personal differences with you or anyone else. I know that you and Mr. Chodorov are sincerely doing the best you know how for the Henry George School. If you disagree with some of his policy I hope you will still get classes together and teach them wherever you are.

(Signed - Lancaster M. Greene)

On Nov. 24th, in a lengthy reply to Mr. Greene's of the 7th, Mr. Ross made the following points in regard to the information sent to Mr. Greene by an anonymous Philadelphian and referred to in Mr. Greene's letter:

1. Mr. Ross was director at the Philadelphia Extension 8 months and not 10 as Mr. Greene had stated.
2. When Mr. Ross first arrived in Philadelphia there were 4 classes operating, not 7 as Mr. Greene had stated.
3. When Mr. Ross left his position in Philadelphia there were 12 classes operating and not 7 as Mr. Greene stated. In addition to the 7 classes Mr. Greene's alleged informant granted Mr. Ross, there were:
 - a. Three classes in Wilmington which subsequently may have been combined into one. Mr. Hickok in a letter to Mr. Ross on Nov. 19th confirms this.
 - b. In addition there were two late classes started, one in Manoa and one at the Frankford High School. Mr. Hickok's letter confirms this as well.
 - c. Another class started without Mr. Ross' assistance at the Har Zion Institute. (This brings the total number of classes in the Philadelphia area to 13).
4. Re the matter of leaving classes without teachers which Mr. Greene mentioned:
 - a. Two teachers were suddenly taken ill before the start of the term. One subsequently recovered and is teaching his scheduled class.
 - b. Mr. Stockman, one of New York's most successful teachers arrived on the scene to take over before Mr. Ross left.

Mr. Hickok adds in his letter: "I note your great concern about alleged reports of your failure to make good in Philadelphia. There is no need for this as everyone has given high praise of your work...."

Mr. Ross concludes his letter to Mr. Greene as follows:

"You do not tell me who your informant was, but in the light of the above it scarcely seems possible that it could have been Mr. Hickok or anyone associated with him.

"Of course I know that Mr. Chodorov was in Philadelphia on Oct. 23, but I cannot believe that you would accept a "report" from the very man against whom my complaint is directed. So I must conclude that you did not know how to reach Mr. Hickok and so were forced to contact someone who, unfortunately, did not know what he was talking about."

See also article on Philadelphia Extension in the current (December, 1941) issue of the Freeman, page 45, for corroboration of the utter inaccuracy of Mr. Greene's letter. Somebody slipped up somewhere in concocting this story about the inefficiency of Ed Ross.

But why continue? The quoted material speaks for itself. It is high time that the Georgeist movement became aware of the methods and tactics which are employed by the administration of the N. Y. School against those who have had the moral courage to oppose their destructive policies. The case of Mr. Ross is neither the first nor the last instance of these methods:-- the firing of Sidney Abelson, the resignation of Lloyd Buchman, the ejection of Donald MacDonald and Charles Washbourn from the School, the firing of Helen Bernstein and Gaston Haxo, the suspension of Michael J. Bernstein from the faculty, all have been accompanied by similar perversions of truth - but in simple truth all have been purely cases of opposition to the views, policies and methods of the present administration of the Henry George School of New York!

Dec. 4, 1941

Follow-Georgist:

The following tentative Program was presented at the mass-meeting held on Nov. 30. In accordance with the will of the meeting, copies are being sent for your consideration. If you have any recommendations please transmit them to M.J. Bernstein, Apt. LE9, 10 Monroe St., N.Y.C.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

I. Proposed policy for the Henry George School:

The complete taxation of land values and the abolition of all taxes on production constitutes the basic Georgist program. The Henry George School hoping to achieve its ends through educational methods, recognizes that the democratic liberties of free speech, free press, free assembly, equal and universal franchise and representative government are the absolutely indispensable prerequisites to the attainment and maintenance of a Georgist social order and hence must be preserved and defended.

a) A cessation of all attacks on other Georgist groups and the adoption of an attitude of positive cooperation and helpfulness to them insofar as the facilities of the School and the limitations of the Charter permit.

II. Proposed administration of the School

a) The adoption by the School of a Constitution and By-Laws providing for democratic administration.

b) Democratic selection of Trustees, mechanical and legal details to be worked out.

c) An elected committee to receive, consider and present to the Trustees suggestions, criticisms and grievances.

d) Formation of a "faculty and student council."

e) Policy of appointing teachers on the basis of merit alone in accordance with accepted educational practices.

f) A small committee selected by the "faculty and student council."

g) A willingness on the part of the School Administration to experiment with new educational techniques in the dissemination of Georgism, both of a popular and scholarly nature.

h) A willingness on the part of the School Administration to attempt to reach and influence other progressive and liberal groups.

III. Rectification of abuses.

a) Invitation to all teachers and volunteer workers whose connection with the School has been severed for any reason whatsoever to return and resume participation in the School's activities.

b) No one receiving any wage or fee from the School, directly or indirectly, to be eligible for selection to the Board of Trustees.

c) An immediate and absolute repudiation of any past or present acts of School officials associating the School with Scribner's Commentator or any other pro-Fascist agency, and an immediate removal from the School premises of the pamphlet "Educating for a Free Society."

d) A repudiation of the Freeman's present editorial policy; the Freeman to confine itself to School news, items of interest about the Georgist movement as a whole, and the publication of purely theoretical articles of a strictly economic and not of a sociological and political nature.

e) It shall be the policy of the School and of all its officers, faculty and workers to comport themselves in their relations with each other and with all outside groups with tolerance and decency.

The trustees have granted Mr. Bernstein's request for a hearing on Dec. 13, 1941 but on the following terms:

1. No stenographer will be admitted and hence there will be no verbatim record of what transpires.
2. Only the trustees, their Counsel and Mr. Bernstein to be present; i.e., no audience, no witnesses, and not even two of the principal defendants, F. Chodorov and P. Peach.

The trustees have known for months many of the facts that Mr. Bernstein was to present (except Mr. Lincoln who asked to see Mr. Bernstein privately anyway), and previous star chamber hearings of this kind have proven utterly ineffectual in remedying abuses. Hence, having asked for the right to present witnesses, question the defendants, and bring along a stenographer, and having strongly recommended that all present or past active School Georgists be admitted in order to learn the facts, Mr. Bernstein feels wholly justified in categorically refusing to go through with the hearing on the utterly absurd terms proposed by the trustees.

However, a mass-meeting to discuss all the developments to date, as well as plans for further action will be held on Sunday night, Dec. 21, 1941 at 7:45 p.m. at Union M.E. Church, 229 W. 48th St., N.Y.C. Please come on time and bring friends who are graduates of the School.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL (WHICH THE SCHOOL WON'T TELL YOU)!!!

"National unity seems to be something under which you crawl into bed with Lindbergh at night and wake up with Burt Wheeler in the morning. We are for national unity of course, but we know we haven't got it. The America Firsters haven't changed their point of view. They will start shouting for a negotiated peace as soon as we have some military reverses and Hitler makes overtures."

This quotation, from a speech by Dr. Frank Kingdon, president of the Union for Democratic Action, would be well to keep in mind while observing the future tactics of the Henry George School.

The Director of the Henry George School, also editor of its official publication "The Freeman", has not merely written articles for SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR, the leading pro-Nazi journal in the U.S.A., recently investigated by the Federal Grand Jury, but gave it, in his capacity as School Director, the following endorsement:

"A magazine which is deliberately pointed away from the collectivistic tendency of the times - is indeed a novelty in the periodical field. SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR will hit a responsive chord in the hearts of those Americans who still believe in the freedom of the individual."

This testimonial was embodied in a circular by SCRIBNER'S and mailed to hundreds of graduates and students of the Henry George School. These names, supposed to be kept confidential by the School, were made available by the School administration. Do you want your name on the mailing list of pro-Nazi agencies?

Do you know why F.B.I. agents have visited the Henry George School on several occasions, the first visit occurring almost a year ago?

Do you know that the Henry George School maintains the closest relations with Albert Jay Nock, notorious anti-Semite and pro-Fascist; that Nock's books are sold at the School; that Nock's anarchistic ideas constitute the philosophy of the School's controlling personnel?

Do you know that the School's official magazine, in the past two years, has refused, except in a few cases, to print anti-Nazi articles, and that in those few cases, the authors of the anti-Nazi articles were subsequently "purged" from all connection with the School?

Do you know that all those teachers, volunteer workers, and employees of the School who opposed its anti-democratic, anti-conscription and defeatist view-point, have been expelled, dismissed or forced to resign?

We illustrate the School's official "line" (a line which it has never repudiated) by quotations from the School's official magazine, "The Freeman". The examples could be multiplied, ten-fold; lack of space forbids:

"There's no sense in fighting for land which belongs to others who will make you pay to use it after you have risked your life to ward off prospective foreign landlords." (July 1940, p. 194)

"Maybe Japan will prove to be a benefactor to the coolie Chinese enslaved by his age-old masters." (May 1941, p. 147)

"What difference does it make what flag flies over the domain? Have not the landlords always made the laws and fashioned the patriotism of all countries?" (August 1941, p. 223)

"To oppose military conscription as a violation of natural rights is only a part of the struggle for freedom."

"That is why he [your neighbor] should be warned against the iniquity of conscription." (Sept. 1940, p. 243)

"Permanent conscription in annual classes will become the law of the land when America is properly conditioned." (May 1941, p. 152)

"The Japanese may be forced into this undertaking [invasion of the Dutch Indies] by their inability to do business with moralistic Uncle Sam. In that case will the American fleet go into Asiatic waters to protect something or other?" (March 1940, p. 99)

"We must buy from all the world including Germany...." (April 1941, p. 136)

"In business, we trade with those who are both willing and able to pay their bills. Their political beliefs, their moral conduct (save where it throws light on their ability to pay,) their creed, race, color or mannerisms do not determine their desirability as buyers or as sellers." (Sept. 1941, p. 246)

"Without serious loss to our intellectual probity, we can dismiss the moralisms of the speech [Roosevelt's] out of hand. After all, we have heard the stuff so often from the lips of Messrs. Mussolini and Hitler."

"Mr. Roosevelt's 'State of the Union' speech before Congress was replete with the banalities of liberalism [the Four Freedoms]." (Feb. 1941, p. 79)

"President Roosevelt has fireside-chatted us into an 'unlimited emergency'. That.... means we are at war. In due time, we will be informed with whom - Japanese, French, Italians, or maybe Germans. Ours is not to question why, ours is but to pay and die."

"The answer that any analysis of current events brings us is that Americans of the future will be slaves of the State." (July 1941, p. 194)

"The 'power of the people' is a contradiction in terms..... that is the anomaly of the democratic political order: the assumption that power may reside in all the people." (May 1940, p. 146)

"When we assay the abracadabra of politics with the touchstone of economic freedom, we observe that even the American Constitution was born in a bed of disease." (Feb. 1941, p. 80)

"On Jan. 11, 1941, [the date Lease-Lend became law] the curtain was raised on the last act of the tragi-comedy entitled 'American Democracy'. When it falls at last, will the audience acclaim the performance with a Heil?" (Feb. 1941, p. 80)

In the more comfortable times of peace, when our being at war seemed utterly remote to some, The Freeman asserted (Aug. 1940, p. 218):

"If it was true a year ago that conscription is a complete denial of man's inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, any justification of conscription now as a democratic principle is intellectual prestigitation."

"If it was true a year ago that war entrenches the forces of monopoly, degrades the individual, strengthens the political machine, and destroys democracy, than to argue now for war as a means toward freedom is either a denial of principle or a rationalization that defies all reason."

But war has come to America, and says the Freeman, "Wisdom makes its bargain." It now soft-pedals the war, and concerns itself exclusively (like all defeatist elements) not with winning the war but only with the peace. It cannot however resist a parting defeatist thrust on page 56 of the January, 1942 issue:

"We are training skilled air pilots by the thousand, not to render service to society but to destroy it as much as possible."

Hence we reproduce for you the following Georgist resolution first presented on Dec. 21, 1941:

The Henry George School of Social Science in New York City is professedly a non-political, non-partisan, educational institution chartered by the University of the State of New York to teach the doctrines of Henry George who was the greatest liberal America has produced. Henry George loved his fellow-men and gave his life in the cause of the dispossessed. He believed in political democracy and was ready to fight for it, to defend it against attack and aggression. If Henry George were alive today, he would be in the fore-front of the struggle to save mankind's painfully acquired though imperfect liberties against the barbaric and inhuman assaults of the Axis-powers. Nevertheless, the Henry George School which enjoys the privilege of tax-exemption, has through its official publication "The Freeman" and with the full cognizance and corporate approval of its Board of Trustees (who are also the Directors of the Freeman), adopted the following definite political positions:

1. That no nation has ever justifiably participated in any war, including the present one.
2. That it should be a matter of indifference to mankind whether the present war is won by the Allies or by the Axis powers, and that resistance to Hitler is unjustified, involving merely a change of masters.
3. That the present hatred for Hitler and Nazism are purely the result of false propaganda and that the Nazis do not really desire conquest.
4. That a defense program for the United States is entirely unnecessary, and that conscription is a violation of the citizen's rights and should constantly be opposed.
5. That the aggressions of the Nazis and the Japanese are simply the result of the refusal of the political democracies (including the United States) to do business with them, and that the war could have been averted and could now be satisfactorily concluded for all concerned if the democracies offered the dictatorships free trade; that failure to make such an offer, in effect, throws the responsibility for the present war on the democracies (the United States included) and not on the Axis-powers.
6. That the present Roosevelt administration is entirely responsible for leading us into war in an attempt to divert our attention from its inability to solve our internal problems, and that their ultimate purpose is the creation of a collectivized slavery in the United States. Hence, the Roosevelt New Deal represents a far greater danger to our freedom than do the Axis powers, with which it is, in substance, identical.
7. That any country which goes to war must of necessity emerge permanently totalitarian.
8. That the attainment of political democracy by large sections of the human race is essentially a worthless achievement, there being no fundamental difference, as far as human welfare is concerned, between political democracy and totalitarianism. Democratic institutions and practices are worthy only of contempt.
9. That democracy in the United States is finished.

However, despite the apparent definiteness of these positions there is reason to suspect that they were not even the result of reactionary principle but of sheer opportunism and expediency, for, the Henry George School.

- A. Despite its professed desire for justice, did never once protest against the barbarism and beastliness of the fifty-to-one Nazi executions in France, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans;
- B. Despite its professed clamor for free trade as manifested in its demand for the lifting of the embargo against Japan and for normal business relations with the Nazis, never once demanded the repeal of the Neutrality Act, which was equally a restraint of trade, never once specifically demanded the free entry of all refugees from the totalitarian countries, even though there can be no genuine free trade without free migration.
- C. Although it praised (and rightfully) the gallant Finns for having resisted the Russian invasion, nevertheless poured contempt on the Yugoslavs and Greeks for resisting the even more virulent and brutal totalitarianism of the Nazis.

Therefore, we the undersigned Georgists, many of us now or formerly connected with the Henry George School as students, graduates, teachers, volunteer workers and employees, wish to make the following statements:

1. That we completely repudiate as untrue the position taken by the Henry George School of New York on the issues involved in the present world conflict and that we condemn the opportunism which has dictated this policy.
2. That we affirm that the defeatist and anti-democratic propaganda disseminated by the Henry George School of New York, particularly through its official organ "The Freeman", is not only wholly antagonistic to the principles and doctrines of Henry George, but is calculated to lower morale and give aid and comfort to pro-Axis forces, thus destroying the national unity so essential to the successful prosecution of the fight against totalitarian domination.
3. We, the undersigned, reaffirm our faith in our democratic institutions and assert that they must be defended at all costs, against the dehumanized onslaughts of the modern barbarians from without, and the machinations of traitors within. We call upon the Henry George School to purge itself of those elements who are responsible for this reactionary and totalitarian line which has been grafted on to the School, and publicly to announce that this line was a perversion of Georgist thought, and a betrayal of Georgist principle.

SIGNED

Henry Hellyer	George Bigley	Herbert Good	W. Chamberlaine
Morris Farkosch	Julian Loebenstein	David Newman	Rubin Mitotsky
Miriam Hetzel	Charlotte Curtis	Martha Zalles	Katherine Ross
Celia Chancas	Miles Shefferman	Sara Wald	Sidney Abelson
A. B. Hawkins	Edward Roxburgh	John Michael, Jr.	Elbert Josefson
Max Flechner	Philip Rubin	Martin Schlesinger	Grace Yavelow
Sophie Vernes	Lucretia Harding	David Ross	Donald Harding
Carl Chancas	Edith Shefferman	George Berger	Ruth Grayber
Ann Ross	Olive Michael	Gaston Haxo	Robert Clancy
William Auerbach	Helen Bernstein	Selma Levine	Sara Fishman
Ralph Rosen	Hester Bradbury	Charles Washbourn	William Newcomb
Norman Barasch	Rose Gutman	Aaron Rutberg	Milton Ohrbach
Edwin Ross	Margaret Fellows	Roger Morgan	D. P. Economopoulos
Rita Levine	Florence Auerbach	Esther Newman	Michael Bernstein
Reginald Zalles	Aram Bashian	Laura Ross	Eugene Lokey
Ruth Rutberg	Harold Lebe	S. Mehalides	Aaron Brown
Jonas Brown	Bernice Yavelow	Joseph Perrini	Victor Orsini
Arthur Seiff	Ruth Brown	Erna Nash	Matthew Green
John Finnerty	Henry Sklow	Beatrice Ortis	Samuel M. Levin
E. de F. Curtis, Jr.	Gertrude Rubenstein	Lazarus Maistelman	

But nothing in the School has been changed fundamentally. The same administration and teachers who were responsible for and supported the positions described in the above resolution are still actively in control. All opposition has been purged and hence it has become imperative to expose the Henry George School of New York as an institution using the name of the great American social reformer for purposes directly opposed to his teaching and to recommend that if you are interested in a genuine instead of a spurious, Georgeism, that you contact any or all of the following truly Georgist agencies:

1. Henry George Institute of New England - 90 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
2. American Alliance to Advance Freedom - 160 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
3. Land and Freedom - 150 Nassau St., New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Robert C. McNamara
20 Indian Hill Road
Winnetka, Illinois

November 27, 1941

Dear Mason:

Your mother tells me that while you have not yet Prof. L. J. Johnson, you have heard about him in connection with your Single Tax work. It seems to me she said also, that you hoped to meet him.

As she may have told you, he is an uncle of mine, by marriage, and if you would like to go to see him, I know he would be delighted to talk to you. As a matter of fact, I have just been writing a letter to my aunt, and told her about you, so that if you called them up, or appeared there some day, she would know who you were.

Please don't feel for a moment that you have to look them up just because I told them about you, or you about them. But if you would like to do so, you would be very cordially welcomed, I know. You will find both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson very stimulating people to talk to and I know they would enjoy you. They live at 90 Raymond Street (about a mile from the Yard) and their telephone number, I believe, is Kirkland 0535. (I may have the exchange wrong. It used to be University and was changed.)

I am glad that everything is going well with you. I shall hope to hear about it when you are home at Christmas time.

Cordially,

Helin M. McNamara

January 5, 1942

Dear Fellow-Georgist:

The resolution which follows was first circulated on November 2, 1941 after many months of futile attempts to induce the Trustees of the Henry George School of New York to clean house. The resolution was sent to them at that time, and our attempts at reform have since continued. But instead of reform, more "purges" and severances were the only results. It has become obvious that the School is now in the hands of a monopolistic and reactionary oligarchy, working in cooperation with a dictatorial director. It refuses either to adopt any real measures of reform or to surrender a single bit of its power to a genuinely democratic reconstruction of the School.

The following tentative program was submitted to and rejected by the School Trustees: 1. Cessation of all attacks on other Georgeist groups and an attitude of positive helpfulness to such groups. 2. Constitution and By-Laws providing for a democratic administration. 3. Democratic selection of trustees, in place of the present self-perpetuating oligarchy. 4. A democratically elected grievance committee. 5. A "faculty and student council." 6. Appointment of teachers on the basis of merit alone. 7. An elected committee to be observers at trustees' meetings. 8. A willingness to experiment with new techniques and methods for disseminating Georgism. 9. An attempt to reach and cooperate with other liberal and progressive groups. 10. Invitation to all "purgees" to return to active cooperation at the School. 11. No one receiving any wage or fee from the School to be a Trustee. 12. Absolute and open repudiation of the School's cooperation with "Scribner's Commentator," or other pro-Nazi agencies. 13. Absolute and open repudiation of the School's and the Freeman's anti-defense, anti-democratic, anti-Georgeist and anarchistic ideology. 14. An attitude of mutual tolerance, decency and respect.

Hence, it has become necessary to expose the Henry George School of New York as an institution using the name of the great American social reformer for purposes directly opposed to his teaching and to recommend that if you are interested in a genuine, instead of a spurious, Georgeism, that you contact any or all of the following truly Georgeist agencies:--

1. The Henry George Institute of New England - 90 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
2. American Alliance to Advance Freedom - 160 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
3. Land and Freedom - 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.
4. Society for Long Island Georgeists - 207-12 Jamaica Ave., Bellaire, L.I., N.Y.

The Resolutions and signatories follow:

1. WHEREAS, the Henry George School, under its present administration, is, despite greatly increased financial expenditures, faced with a constantly declining enrollment, AND
2. WHEREAS, the Director of the School seems at a complete loss to find means for increasing the enrollment, and refuses even to consider any changes in those methods and techniques which no longer seem particularly effective, AND
3. WHEREAS, the Director has failed, except from among a tiny fraction of those actually graduating, to secure even the smallest financial contribution to the School, clearly demonstrating that his administrative policies and techniques of conversion have utterly failed in turning out any appreciable number of Georgeists whose devotion extends to a willingness to make even the smallest financial sacrifice, and this despite the thousands of graduates the Director has claimed for the School, AND
4. WHEREAS, the Director and the Board of Trustees have kept the teachers and volunteer workers in practically complete ignorance of the management and internal affairs of the School, AND
5. WHEREAS, the Director of the School has announced that the Freeman of which he is editor is the official organ of the School contrary to the assertion by some, when found expedient, that the two were separate and distinct entities, AND
6. WHEREAS, the Director, as Editor of the Freeman, has refused to permit expression to any views opposing his own decidedly political opinions in the said Freeman, or in any of the School's other organs, agencies or media, AND
7. WHEREAS, the Director has by his actions clearly indicated that he insists upon being regarded as the infallible judge of what constitutes the pure Georgeist philosophy and has treated as heretics condemned to excommunication any who have dared to disagree with his views, AND
8. WHEREAS, in controversies arising out of such disagreements, the Director, abandoning the plane of intelligent and courteous argument has not hesitated to attack his opponents with the most violent personal abuse and with a deliberate distortion and perversion of both their ideas and of their motives, as well as of the facts of the controversy, AND
9. WHEREAS, despite the positive political position taken by him in the Freeman and in the classroom, the Director has failed to set forth clearly, unequivocally and honestly this position in the School's advertising matter or publicity literature, but has, on the contrary, attempted to convey a contrary impression to the public he is trying to reach, AND
10. WHEREAS, the Director has purged from the ranks of teachers and volunteer workers all who radically disagreed with or criticized him, and has used

the methods of withholding classes, blunt expulsion, insult, abuse, and provocation to, resign, and subsequently has circulated false explanations of the severance, and has thus attempted to insure himself a majority support on the faculty, AND

11. WHEREAS, the Director has publicly stated that the School is not a democracy, AND
12. WHEREAS, the School, through its Director and Trustees has literally strayed from its proper function of education to abuse and attack other Georgeist groups and publications, and done all in its power to discourage and disparage any attempts to spread the doctrines of Henry George by other Georgeists and by other methods, AND
13. WHEREAS, the School, through its Director, has in several instances banned or blacklisted the works or writings of other Georgeists, establishing in this respect a virtual totalitarian dictatorship, AND
14. WHEREAS, the Director has frequently boasted of his power to control the actions of the Board of Trustees whose employee he is supposed to be, AND
15. WHEREAS, the School's charter, which constitutes it a semi-public institution entitled to exceptional privileges and exemptions has been violated and seriously endangered by many of the above acts and others not mentioned herein,

THEREFORE, the undersigned, consisting of many of the School's contributors, ex-students, graduates, friends, advanced students, teachers, ex-teachers, volunteer-workers, ex-volunteer-workers, and ex-employees, wish to call the Trustees to a recollection of their legal and moral responsibilities, and respectfully but firmly demand that the Board of Trustees take cognizance of the evils herein set forth and initiate immediate steps leading to the eradication of said evils.

SIGNED

New Jersey School

Aaron H. Brown
Ruth Brown

Philadelphia School

Edwin S. Ross
Laura Ross
Miriam Hetzel

Wilmington, Delaware

Henry George III (grand-
son of Henry George)
Mary Jane George

Tucson, Arizona

E. E. F. Skeel
Helen Mouat
Hester Meigs

Arden, Delaware

Lucretia Harding
Donald Harding
Katherine F. Ross
E. de Forest Curtis, Jr.

Boston School

Aran Bashian
Roger W. Morgan
Reginald Zalles (all about
but No. 1)

Charles Joseph Smith (N.Y.)

Robert Clancy (N.Y.)

(Signed to points 4,7,8,9,10,11,13,15; subscribe
(to 12 for the Director only - do not know enough
(about trustees in connection with 12, or about
(1,2,3,14. As editors of Land & Freedom do not
(wish to comment on another publication, and hence
(do not sign points 5 and 6.

Salvatore Fiore, Jr.

Martha Zalles
L. Leo Greenwald
William W. Newcomb
David L. Newman
Richard Lane
Ruth R. Rutberg
Jonas Brown
Gertrude Rubenstein
Matthew Green
Esther Newman
D. P. Economopoulos
Sidney J. Abelson
E. M. Lokey
Helen Bernstein
Lydia Nilsson
A. A. Rutberg
A. B. Hawkins
Bernice Yavelow
Elbert E. Josefson
Selma Levine
S. A. Schneidman
Edward Roxburgh
Louis Marshak
Erna Nash
L. N. Stjernberg
William Auerbach
Hester Ann Bradbury
Lloyd Buchman

John J. Manson

Rita Levine
S. Mehalides
Max H. Fleishner
Lee Simons
Celia Chancas
Arthur Seiff
Florence Auerbach
Benjamin Embinder
Abraham Leaf
Olive Michael
Martin Schlesinger
Michael J. Bernstein
Helen L. Rattray
Lazarus Maistelman
Pearl Grodman
Meyer Miller
Dorothy R. Posner
Ruth Grayber
Doris Korn
Anna Lichtman
Morris D. Forkosch
Norman Barasch
Morris Van Veen
Grace Yavelow
Yale Leavy
Syd Lander
Charles Washbourn
Milton Auerbach
Leon T. Arpin

Joseph J. Perrini

C. M. Ossias
Joseph C. Hutchinson
Rose Gutman
Charles A. Kee
Sara Fishman
Charlotte O. Schetter
Harry Cooperstein
Floyd Hasselriis
Eva J. Bernstein
Marion Seeley
Sara Wald
Gaston Haxo
G. Berger
Shirley Marshak
Madeleine Swarte
Ernest L. Fein
Margaret A. Fellows
John P. Snyder
W. L. Lean
Victor Orsini
W. H. Coffin
Darthea B. Coffin
Mildred Shotton
Edith Munson
Harold Lebe
Jacob A. Allen
Milton Ohrbach
C. J. Chancas

Yours for the Cause,
LAND AND FREEDOM
150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

Contributions to Sustention Fund in 1941

Dr. Comfort A. Adams, \$5; Herbert C. Allen, \$5; Anonymous, \$100; Howard J. Bailey, \$9; Warren S. Blauvelt, \$30; Roland Bostroem, \$13; Harold S. Bittenheim, \$8; Joan Chaffe, \$30; Arthur Taft Chase, \$12; William E. Clement, \$5; Grace Isabel Colbron, \$5; Thurlow E. Coon, \$5; W. L. Crosman, \$10; Otto Cullman, \$10; Anna George de Mille, \$7; Helen D. Denbigh, \$15; Amalia Du Bois, \$5; Harris T. Dunbar, \$25; Hon. Charles R. Eckert, \$15; A. D. Engelsman, \$5; Albert Firmin, \$10; Frances H. Gray, \$6; Edward A. Hach, \$12; William L. Hall, \$5; Dr. Wm. J. Harrington, \$10; Dr. Royal E. S. Hayes, \$20; Edward J. Hilton, \$5; C. M. Hoose, \$5; John B. Knight, \$5; John C. Lincoln, \$10; Charles A. Lingham, \$44; John Luxton, \$10; F. W. Lynch, \$7; Harry C. Maguire, \$25; J. Rupert Mason, \$8; Mona McMahon, \$10; Gustaf Miller, \$18; Theodore H. Miller, \$14; Helen Mouat, \$5; Hon. Francis Neilson, \$150; George C. Olcott, \$10; Dr. A. W. Plummer, \$19; James B. Pullman, \$5; Hon. Lawson Purdy, \$18; J. Craig Ralston, \$20; Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, \$13; Leonard T. Recker, \$5; Francis T. Reilly, \$5; Matthew Roche, \$5; John R. Roebuck, \$10; George L. Rusby, \$23; Charlotte Schetter, \$50; Dr. S. A. Schneidman, \$11; Jake Shell, \$5; Emily E. F. Skeel, \$140; Willis A. Snyder, \$5; Walter G. Stewart, \$8; Harold Sudell, \$5; Joseph Swaine, \$5; Howard M. Thomson, \$5; George Q. Thornton, \$8; Ida Toepfert, \$5; U. A. Vincent, \$5; Charles D. Willard, \$5.

In all amounting to-----\$1088

In sums of less than \$5-----76

Total-----

\$1164



MIDWOOD STA



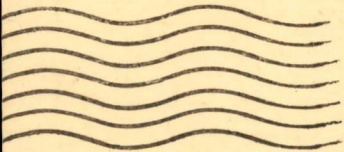
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. Mason Gaffney
525 Ash St.
Winnetka, Ill.

Wissent to Winnetka, Ill.

Dear friend:

The AOTTA will no longer appear. We have made clear (we hope) the reasons for the division of opinion among the Georgists at the New York School. Announcement of the plan of action to be taken by those in agreement with the AOTTA will be sent you - possibly within the next 6 weeks.



For the Committee,

Daniel Gordon



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

CHURCH STREET
ANNEX



Mr. M. Mason Gaffney
Grays 27-28
Harvard College
Cambridge, Mass.

LAND AND FREEDOM

150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Dear Mr. Gaffney:

Thanks for your remittance of \$1.00 for one year's subscription to LAND AND FREEDOM. Thanks, too, for your encouraging words about our publication. We would like to use your letter in our next issue.

Our thanks also go to Mr. Alexander Greene for awakening your interest in our magazine.

Sincerely yours,
LAND AND FREEDOM

A MESSAGE FROM FRANK CHODOROV

"PHARISEES AND GEORGISTS"

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" said Jesus, and for approximately twenty centuries we've been running down those fellows who substituted phrases for reality, making a fetish of form and forgetting that God is the God of the living not of the dead.

But, are we not all inclined more or less toward pharisaism? Is there not a tendency among all who have acquired a particular knowledge or who have accepted a definite line of thought, to codify that philosophy or knowledge, label it, put it into clever phrases and scintillating syllogisms, and then find a perfect refuge from reality in the pastime of juggling these phrases and syllogisms?

Georgists have been particularly addicted to pharisaism, not only because they are human, but more so because the philosophy they have mastered is such a perfect line of reasoning that the tendency is to emphasize its formulae rather than the human ideal which prompted its founder. The end and purpose of Georgism is not to expound the law of rent or the theory of private property, but to bring about a social order of decency. And the most fabulous self-satisfaction of Georgists is that of ringing the changes in debates on the fiscal reform George proposes.

Now, the Pharisees had some good points. Their emphasis of words rather than meaning, of ritual rather than substance is the basis of the charge of hypocrisy. But, were they not more guilty of smallness of vision than wickedness of purpose? Were they not like many of us who delight in whittling words into the small hours of the night and feel that in so doing we are furthering the cause of human liberty? Were they not small, rather than bad? Are we not similarly deficient in vision when we give ourselves up to argufying over theory rather than preaching the gospel?

In that the Pharisees kept to the Law expounding its principles and refining its doctrines, they served a purpose. Jesus was with them on that point. He said He was not for changing the Law, but for implementing it with reality. The Law was all right, but how did it apply to the living? A theory is as good as the results of its application, and here was a good theory - the Law - which was not being applied to the social order, not even being put up for trial. That made it a barren theory. But, because the Pharisees were delinquent in offering the theory as a working principle, or a guide to life, did not mean that the theory was deficient or should be thrown overboard.

Likewise, we Georgists must be good Pharisees in that we are well-posted on the theory of Georgism, we must fortify ourselves with a thorough knowledge of our philosophy, so that we do not go off half-baked. Lack of understanding can hurt our cause as much as insincerity of purpose. Like the Pharisees, we should know all our definitions, our doctrines of natural law and natural rights, our theory of economic conditioning, our reasons for abolishing taxes, our justification for collecting economic rent. Unlike the Pharisees, we must not rest satisfied with our knowledge; we must interpret the status in terms of that knowledge, we must show up the unsoundness of the life we are forced to live.

The explanation for pharisaism throughout the ages is that men seek to satisfy their desires with the least effort. A social philosophy - and this includes nearly all religious systems - is one that aims to make the world a better place to live in. That means a change in the existing conditions. But, whatever the existing conditions may at any time be, some fellows find them quite pleasant, for themselves, and as a consequence they look upon a change with disfavor. These well-fixed fellows don't

like social reformers and are likely to make things unpleasant for them, if they talk too loudly or too boldly. Nobody worries much about a theorist who indulges his fancy only to the extent of arguing about it with his friends. But, when he brings it out in the open, lets it pour its revealing light on the beneficiaries of the status quo, he must be curbed - crucified, if need be.

Jesus, because He was what He was, insisted on making the Law a living thing, and therefore He was put out of the way. But the Pharisees were of a different substance; desire for reform under the circumstances being difficult of accomplishment, they made things easier for themselves by changing that desire. They made of the Law a theory, enjoyed themselves by twiddling about it, and nobody had any objection to that. So long as they confined the jurisdiction of their God to the dead, they actually played into the hands of the stand-patters, and profited accordingly. Pharisaism became a comfortable desire, easily satisfied.

And so Georgists, being human, are prone to find that any attempt to make their philosophy a living thing will meet with considerable opposition - from their friends, wives, and even their own, more "conservative" Georgists. That makes things difficult. And when the forces of reaction are most firmly saddled - as during a war - the opposition to such a radical change as the complete abolition of privilege is decidedly menacing to anyone advocating it. Those who would benefit most from the proposed change are the shock troops of such opposition.

The inclination toward pharisaism in such circumstances is very strong. And that is what hurts the advancement of Georgism. Its advocates find comfort in cultism - in talking to one another about their glorious transcendentalism, and even in rejecting the possibility of an imminent change. And for further comfort, it is easy to so trim the edges of the philosophy as to make it palatable to those who for personal interest should be violently opposed to it. This is what is euphemistically known as an adjusment. Jesus named it hypocrisy.

This tendency toward adjustment, of taking refuge from the reality toward which a true philosophy drives, is the plague of all social reforms. It comes from that human urge to try to get along as best one can, an urge that finds its sublimation in slavery. And only those Georgists are worth while who are fortified by both knowledge, and that inflexibility of purpose which does not permit them to compromise, no matter how great the temptation to do so might be, no matter how threatening the road to Calvary.

June, 1942

Land and Freedom

An International Journal of the Henry George Movement

150 NASSAU STREET
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: BEEKMAN 3-2806

August 6, 1942

Mr. F. Mason Gaffney
525 Ash Street
Winnetka, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gaffney:

Your change of address has been noted, and a May-June issue has been sent there, as well as the new July-August issue. Please advise us whether this is a permanent change or whether you are to return to Harvard in the Fall.

With reference to your statement, "You have lost my confidence," we must confess to some surprise at this late time. We do not know by what reasoning you have accused us of making you "sound like a Bernstein man," the editing having gone no farther than omitting your reference to the Henry George School of Social Science as an "ivory tower." For your information, your letter, in part, read as follows: ".... who has accused the Henry George School of Social Science of being an ivory tower affair...." Your allusion seemed an unnecessary embarrassment to the School, and we reserved our right to generalize the statement. As edited, it then read as follows: "...who has no use for those Georgeist groups who wish to remain in an ivory tower...." We fail to see how this change could be interpreted in the manner that you have chosen.

LAND AND FREEDOM has always welcomed criticism, but we believe that yours has been a rather tenuous one. However, we trust that our relations will remain pleasant, and we would be glad to hear from you from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

LAND AND FREEDOM

Charles J. Smith

Land and Freedom

An International Journal of the Henry George Movement

150 NASSAU STREET
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: BEEKMAN 3-2806

August 22, 1942

Mr. M. Mason Gaffney
525 Ash Street
Winnetka, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gaffney:

Mr. Smith has asked me to thank you for your letter of August 10, addressed to him. He appreciates your extended explanation of your reasons for taking exception to our editing of your letter. On behalf of LAND AND FREEDOM, he is glad we are in accord on basic principles, despite certain minor differences.

Sincerely yours,

LAND AND FREEDOM

Robert Clancy