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Mirabeau and a Constitution

When he was on his death bed, Count Mirabeau made his intimate friend Count de La Marcke promise to collect the correspondence between them to vindicate his loyalty to the Crown. La Marcke did this, but it was not until 1851, sixty years after Mirabeau's death, that the letters were published, by M. de Barcour.

La Marcke noted, in a long memoire on his relations with Mirabeau and others, that the Duke of Orleans had imbibed from "his frequent journeys to England and his intimate relations with the Prince of Wales" the notion of forming an Opposition to the Government. He knew that Louis XVI detested English ways and manners, and he adopted them.

But Mirabeau learned a deeper lesson than that of party politics. The only hope was a government "more or less similar to that of England". For "he admired greatly the form of the English gvernment, and found in it all the desirable guarantees for a wise liberty in the balance maintained between the royal power and the forces of the people by an aristocracy that was strong but was able, moderate and being continually re-enforced by men who distinguished themselves outside it."

Mirabeau declared: "I shall be what I always have been: the defender of the monarchic power subject to law, and the apostle of liberty guaranteed by the monarchic power." But his objections to the French aristocracy led Mirabeau to reject the idea of two legislative chambers. He wrote (December 1789): "I have always wanted to return to the true mean. National liberty had three enemies: the Clergy, the Nobility and Parliaments. The first does not still belong to this century. The Nobility belongs to all centuries . . . it must be kept within bounds by a coalition between the people and the royal authority . . . We must revive the executive power, regenerate the royal authority, and conciliate it with national liberty . . . a new ministry will be badly composed as long as the ministers are not members of the legislature." He also wrote (October 16, 1789): "The king, in a monarchic government, is the supreme executive . . . if military power is not entirely in his hands, there is no longer one executive, there are two, ten, a hundred. . ."

It is notable that in this scheme, where King and People counterbalance the Aristocrats, Mirabeau takes it for granted that the King is the Executive. Since those days, the executive power of the king in this country has been usurped by the prime minister. And while we realise the need for a force in this country to counterbalance the single chamber of the Commons, we might agree with Mirabeau that the absolute power of an oligarchy was undesirable: for in our case this is not an "aristocratic" but a *financial* oligarchy who, like the bureaucrats, exercise *power without responsibility*.

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A deeper analysis is needed today which will differentiate Power and Authority, State and Government. But it is noteworthy that the revolutionaries both in America and in France looked with interest at the *balanced* constitution of England.

H. S. SWABEY.

U.N.O.

The following is extracted from a private letter of a Dutch Naval Officer (not a Social Crediter) resident in England during the war and now somewhere in the former Dutch East Indies: —

"... Compared with Holland life here isn't half as easy yet and political strife isn't doing these islands any good. Apart from the war I attribute most of the trouble out here to this damned United Nations interference. The world doesn't seem to be able to realise that we do not want somebody in power here who barely four years ago collaborated with the Japs. Our position is very difficult indeed. (The irony of it all!).

"Before the war we were known as an honourable, peaceloving and democratic nation; now we are made out to be a nation of hooligans whose favourite pastime is bumping off Indonesians. Some papers in the U.S.A. even want to go so far as to treat Queen Juliana as a war criminal—isn't it damned funny!

"We already promised these people self-government in 1942. We had a more democratic way of governing than any other nation, but now everyone shouts murder because we refuse to let the work of generations fall into the hands of a few irresponsible turncoats. Whether Britain blasts the extremists in Malaya sky-high with rocket-firing Spitfires doesn't matter, but as soon as we take action, we've done it.

"Isn't it funny that most of these accusations should come from a nation where a coloured man is considered less than a low animal! Still, there's not much we can do about it; we are too small to tackle the U.S.A., but we would if we could. They have a United Nations Commission here, a body mainly consisting of economicallyminded politicians and it is general knowledge that they are doing their damnedest to keep a finger in the pie.

"Where are all the slogans from the war? Where is all the friendship? To-day we are preparing ourselves for the next struggle, the war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. One almost feels inclined to say let them fight it out between themselves. I hate communism to its roots but at the same time I don't feel half as scared about communism as the U.S. makes me out to be.

"... We are made to believe that Britain's socialisation is a huge success—for the benefit of the British people. I certainly hope so. On the other hand I have no faith in nationalising the medical profession or science as a whole."

PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: May 8, 1950.

North Wales Hydro-Electric Scheme

Mr. Marples asked the Minister of Fuel and Power if he will place in the Library a model of the proposed North Wales Hydro-Electric schemes, together with photographs of the landscape as it is at present.

Mr. P. Noel-Baker: Yes, Sir; after the Whitsun Recess I will place a model of the country affected, and of the proposed schemes, in the Library of the House.

Mr. Marples asked the Minister of Fuel and Power what is the estimated extra capital cost of the North Wales Hydro-Electric schemes over a coal-fired power station capable of producing a similar output; and how is this extra cost divided between civil engineering and generating plant.

Mr. P. Noel-Baker: I regret that the necessary surveys are not yet complete; I am unable, therefore, to give the hon. Member the estimates for which he asks.

Mr Marples: In order that Members of this House may be able to make an accurate assessment of the position in North Wales, where there is great disquiet, will the right hon. Gentleman see that all the necessary information is placed before us?

Mr. Noel-Baker: At the proper moment, of course, all that will be done, but it cannot be done before the survey has been made.

Mr. Keeling: In view of the small saving of coal through the adoption of this scheme—of which the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor gave us the figures in the last Parliament—and the havoc it will bring to the Snowdonia National Park, will the Minister give an assurance that he will reserve judgment on the scheme until we get the Bill?

Mr. Noel-Baker: Yes, Sir, the hon. Gentleman may be quite sure that I will jealously consider the natural beauty of the region.

Legal Aid and Advice Act (Operation)

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton asked the Attorney-General when the first stage of the legal aid scheme will be brought into operation.

The Attorney-General: As I stated in reply to a written Question by the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Baker White) on 18th April, it is hoped to bring into force on 1st October that part of the Legal Aid and Advice Act which has not been deferred and, before that date, to provide the public with full information as to how to apply for legal assistance in the classes of litigation which the provisions of the Act will then cover.

Strawberries

Sir G. Jeffreys asked the Minister of Food whether his attention has been called to the danger to consumers of strawberries which have recently been sprayed by one of the new insecticides based on the organic phosphorous compound parathion; and what steps he proposes to take to see that strawberries imported from the Continent during 106 June and July are safe so far as this consideration is concerned.

Mr. F. Willey: Yes. I understand that the results of the research done on this compound show that so long as it is used on strawberries in accordance with the instructions of the manufacturers there is no danger to consumers. Medical officers of health at sea and air ports already have general powers to examine foodstuffs on arrival and to submit for condemnation any considered to be unwholesome or unfit for human consumption. My right hon. Friend is considering, in consultation with his scientific advisers, whether it is necessary to give these officers special advice about imported strawberries.

Education (Size of Classes)

Mr. Bossom asked the Minister of Education if he will give the approximate percentage of classes in Governmentaided schools in which the numbers of pupils exceed the number announced as desirable; and how many new rooms or schools would be required to correct this situation.

Mr. Tomlinson: In January, 1949, the latest date for which information is available, registrations in about 40 per cent. of the classes in maintained primary and secondary schools in England and Wales exceeded 30 in nursery classes, 40 in junior and infant classes, and 30 in senior classes. It is estimated that if all pupils could be registered in classes not exceeding these totals, about 11,500 additional classrooms would be required. Owing, however, to the uneven distribution of the school population throughout the country the actual requirement of additional classrooms would be greater than this.

As I explained in the answer I gave on 4th May, 1950, to questions by the hon. and gallant Members for Wembley, North (Wing Commander Bullus) and Norfolk, Central (Brigadier Medlicott), in a number of classes, particularly in secondary schools, children are taught in smaller classes than are assembled for registration.

House of Commons: May 9, 1950.

Aged People (Hospital Beds)

Mrs. Jean Mann asked the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he is aware that certification of old people is increasing in Scotland because a bed in an institution is required; and if he will take steps to remove this stigma from the elderly people requiring care and attention.

Mr. McNeil: I have no precise information on this subject but I certainly share my hon. Friend's anxiety that proper care and accommodation should be available for old people. Within the material and financial limits imposed by the present economic situation, hospitals and local authorities are doing all they can to meet this need.

Mrs. Mann: Is my right hon. Friend aware that the medical profession are gravely perturbed at the number of old people who are merely senile and yet have to be certified as lunatics? Would he consider introducing some such certification as "aged and infirm"?

Mr. McNeil: While I think that rather odd things are happening, I have no precise information, and I have been offered none, which would warrant the assumption made by my hon. Friend. However, on the second point, I certainly think there is a good case for considering some other descrip-

tion than that of certification, and I am looking closely at the point.

Mr. Malcolm MacMillan: Would it be possible to put some form of pressure upon local authorities who only have permissive powers to do something more about institutional accommodation for old people who are not certifiable although they may be senile and in need of help?

Mr. Hubbard: Will my right hon. Friend bear in mind that it would be highly undesirable in any circumstances to put old people in that type of institution?

Mr. Hubbard asked the Secretary of State for Scotland the number of old people in Fife who are on the waiting list for hospital treatment for reasons arising from old age; and the number of beds available for this purpose in Fife.

Mr. McNeil: The number of old people in Fife on the waiting list for hospital treatment for conditions other than acute ones is estimated at 65, and about 64 beds in Fife are used for such patients. Numbers of Fife patients are, of course, admitted to hospitals outside the area.

Mr. Hubbard: Is my right hon. Friend aware that during last year there were fewer beds available for that type of patient than in the previous year, and that at the present moment many old people suffering from illness because of their age are awaiting beds to be provided for them in the City of Edinburgh?

Mr. McNeil: I do not think that the first assumption is correct, but it is of course true, as we all know, that more aged people suffering from conditions generally associated with senility are looking for additional treatment.

National Finance (Dividends, Interests and Profits)

Mr. Osborne asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how he reconciles his recent estimate that dividends and interest distributions represent 14s. 6d. per week on wages and salaries with the previous estimate that 25 per cent. of profits would represent a rise of 4d. in the pound to wage earners; and on what data were the two estimates based.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Stafford Cripps): The answer I gave the hon. Member on 25th April was that the total payments of dividends and interest by companies and public enterprises in the calendar year 1949, when divided by the total number of wage and salary earners in 1949, gave a figure per head of 14s. 6d. per week. The statement I made to the T.U.C. in September, 1948, was that a quarter of distributed corporation profits, after deduction of tax, in 1947 was equivalent to an average addition to wages and salaries after deduction of tax of 4d. in the pound. The figures are calculated from estimates in the latest White Paper on National Income and Expenditure as regards 1949, and from similar estimates as regards 1947.

Mr. Osborne: Are not these two statements quite contradictory; and is not the second statement likely to induce the industrial worker to think that there are large sums of money which he could have as wages, whereas the right hon. and learned Gentleman's previous statement to the T.U.C. pointed out that there was only 4d. in the pound extra that could be had if they took the whole of the distributed profits?

Sir S. Cripps: The answer to the hon. Gentleman, of course, was made to comply with the Question as he put it, and I was obliged to give the answer in that form. There is nothing inconsistent between the two. If the calcuations are made upon the same basis, they come to roughly 4d. in each case,

Mr. Manuel: Do these increases apply to Scotland? Mr. Awbery: Is not this an argument for the "freezing" of profits and wages?

Gold (South African Proposals)

Colonel Crosthwaite-Eyre asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the representatives of this country on the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund voted for, or against, the South African proposals on the price - and sales of gold.

Sir S. Cripps: His Majesty's Government instructed their representative to vote against both proposals.

Colonel Crosthwaite-Eyre: May I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer why, in view of the value of this proposal from the point of view of the sterling area as a gold producer, the Government thought it necessary to take this view?

Sir S. Cripps: That is not a matter capable of explanation in answer to a supplementary question.

Colonel Crosthwaite-Eyre: In view of the Chancellor's answer, I beg to give notice that I shall raise the matter again on the Adjournment.

House of Commons: May 11, 1950.

Private Building

Brigadier Clarke asked the Minister of Health if, as an experiment, he will allow houses to be built without licence in one city in order to test whether private enterprise produces better results than his controls.

Mr. Bevan: If, as the Question suggests, the hon. and gallant Member has in mind the building of houses by private enterprise on an unrestricted scale, regardless of the building resources of the area and the local authority's own programme, free from control of selling price, and to be disposed of without any test of priority of need for a house, it is not an experiment which I can countenance.

Brigadier Clarke: Does the Minister realise that his controls and the planning, of his party have just about halved the building programme of this country?

Mr. Bevan: That is not the opinion of objective observers in other countries.

Squadron-Leader Burden: If the housing report recently issued indicts private enterprise, why should not the Minister welcome such a suggestion, to prove that the Government can build more cheaply than private enterprise?

Mr. Bevan: Because the report of the Girdwood Committee has established no evidence whatever that houses built under licence are built either quicker or more cheaply than by local authorities.

Lieut.-Colonel Elliot: What does the Minister mean by saying "established"? What the Girdwood Committee said was that they were aware that houses were built quicker, and there was no evidence one way or another to show they were cheaper.

Mr. Bevan: The answer is that it is not true today. If local building contractors who have contracts to build houses for local authorities build houses under licence more cheaply, they are not doing their duty by their contracts with the local authorities.

Lieut.-Colonel Elliot: Then the Minister withdraws his previous statement that the Girdwood Committee—[HON. MEMBERS: "No."] Then the Minister withdraws his pre-

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From Week to Week

Mr. Barnett Janner, M.P., who "represents" Leicester in the Planners' interests and, no doubt, his own, is most urgent that "we" shall ratify the Genocide Convention which refers "group crime" to the. United Nations without a moments delay.

Genocide is a new word for a new crime (together with a portmanteau full of old crimes) which may be committed against a "Group." Apparently, the good people of Leicester are unable to sleep of nights in fear of Genocide. Now why should the folk of an inoffensive town like Leicester live in terror of "group liquidation"?

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After Mr. Janner, who can see what isn't there, we have Mr.—.* who can't see what is. Regardless of the fact that the nationalised British Railways, the corpse of the finest railway system in the world, are now slow, dear, dirty, and dangerous, and are only used when no other transport is available; and nationalised coal is dear, bad and frequently unobtainable; and that under the management of the nationalised Bank of England the pound sterling is losing value daily, prices are rising and shareholders are robbed of their dividends and their rights on any flimsy pretext or none at all, Mr.—.* thinks that it is time to weigh in with a demand for the national control of joint stock banks.

We can hardly be accused of tenderness for any kind of bank, although we have always drawn a clear distinction between the Bank of "England" and the rest. But we see no evidence of any Parliamentary understanding of the fundamental defects of our financial system, and on the contrary, a hell-bent determination to accentuate those defects by still further centralisation. To adapt very slightly a well-known comment of (we think) George III on his generals, to our political-financial reformers, "I don't know what the bankers think of them, but they terrify me."

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To anyone to whom this world is more than a nightmare of unconnected lunacies, there is little difficulty in perceiving the objective of the present "Cold War" and the possible atomic war. The stake is, of course, World Credit, with which goes the control of everything else. It is only necessary to recall the League of Nations, and the Bank of International Settlements(where is it?) as the outcome of

*A broadcast report. We have yet to confirm the identity of the speaker.

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the 1914-18 War, and the United Nations and the World Bank as the outcome of the 1939-1945 War (both insisted upon by the U.S.A.) to establish this beyond the realm of reasonable controversy.

We are concerned, however, with an aspect of this situation which is neither so obvious without expert knowledge, nor, apparently so well understood by the quite considerable minority who are sufficiently well informed. We refer to the systematic sabotage of British interests and the mass murder of the native born and bred British people. As a text on which to base our comment let us use the words of General Ludendorff (one of the most brilliant brains of the 20th century).

"The majority of the English do not realise that, having done their duty by the inner Jewish circle, they have now got to disappear as a world Power." Ludendorff, *The Coming War*, 1931 (notice the date, that of the emergence of P.E.P.).

Credit is primarily metaphysical ("Who steals my purse, steals trash.") Belief, prestige, morale, are all essential elements of "the substance of things hoped for." If I say I have a ton of gold, and no one believes me and will not even cross the road to look at my gold, my gold is useless. If, without a murmur, we hand over the supreme command of the greatest of wars to a swivel-chair warrior from Washington, we acknowledge that we are a second-rate military nation, and everyone insults us. Entirely apart from other aspects of the Indian situation, we could not rule India nowadays, because nobody believes we could. If we advertise the fact that our unit of currency is exchangeable for \$2.80, and talk, talk, talk, about the need for precious dollars, we proclaim our financial instability and dis-credit our money. If we part with our Empire without a murmur, and are found to be loaded with unpayable debts to it, we become, as we are, objects of derision.

If we allow our railways, coal and steel to be "nationalised" in return for vanishing pounds, not exchangeable into the sacred dollar, and allow any dollars we possess to be confiscated by the Bank of England, is there anyone who sees these things who can deny that we have "disappeared as a world power" and are sold into slavery? Was Clemenceau right when he said "Some essential virtue has departed from the British"? Whether he was, or not it has been made to appear so.

If anyone is foolish enough to deride the importance of prestige, they will not have long to wait for enlightenment.

Against Positive Eugenics

"The vigour of a race and its adaptability to changing circumstances lies very largely in its genetical variability. Any processes which, like the stockbreeding of animals, encourages some desirable qualities at the expense of increasing uniformity must be regarded as dangerous."— *The Lancet* (reviewing Dr. Lionel S. Penrose's "The Biology of Mental Defect.")

"Both Come to the Same Thing"

"He was too good a statesman ever to confiscate; he confined himself to taxation. Confiscation is a blunder that destroys public credit; taxation . . . improves it; and both come to the same thing."—*Tancred*. Disraeli,

Some Reflections on Means and Ends

by BEATRICE C. BEST.

All human wickedness consists in treating ends as means, and means as ends.—St. Augustine.

It is possible to agree with this statement and yet at the same time it seems necessary to show that the initial wrong consists in the carefully designed and determined act of separation of the means from the end which makes the treatment of them separately and apart possible. For once this severance has taken place anything can happen and a state of distraction and chaos can be made to arise. Means can be elevated into ends, ends into means and false connections can be set up between means and ends that have no true relationship one with the other. The severance can be absolute and the end, relegated to the realm of the purely ideal, can become the object of everlasting aspiration, dear to those who think it better to travel hopefully than to arrive; while, once separated, the end or the means can be safely consigned to the academic world and turned into subjects for never-ending discussion and dispute.

But all this trouble and confusion arises from the failure or refusal to understand and see the means and the end as an integrated whole, inseparable, a two in one relationship unalterable and complete.

Perhaps the fact of the inviolability of this relationship is best illustrated by Christ's statement that the truth shall make you free. Truth is the way, or means to freedom, the end, but the two are one. They are involved, and the question of treating them separately is meaningless. For freedom can only be understood and realised within the truth; it is, as it were, the acid test of truth. Any attempt to separate them renders them sterile.

The outcome of this separation of the means from the end can be most clearly observed in the results which arise and have arisen, from the pursuit of the policy of 'Full Employment', proclaimed as the avowed end and aim of all political parties today.

One may assume it will be allowed that employment is the use of the means to produce wanted goods and services and full employment the use of all the available means of men, machines and power needed to produce all wanted goods and services.

But for political purposes the word employment is given a restricted meaning and made to apply solely to Moreover, the purpose or end of this man's labour. employment is primarily a money income (wage-salary, or however designated) not production.* Thus by severing employment from its proper purpose, or end, of production, it has been possible to attach it to an alien end, inimical to the welfare of the people, but necessary to those powers aiming at world control. For it must be stressed that full employment, though ostensibly the aim of the political parties is not, in reality, so regarded by them or more correctly by those who use these for their own purposes. Neither is the 'worker' so besotted as to- suppose that employment is his end. He may dislike his job or consider it unnecessary. His demand is for higher wages, not more His end, and quite clearly, is the pay packet-the work.

*This can be seen in the activities of a swollen bureaucracy, created by the Government, engaged in earning money but producing nothing, neither real wealth, nor useful services, indeed in many cases obstructing these. bigger the better. And justly so, since his living is made to depend on it. His job is the only way open to him by which he can claim it.

This fact makes it safe and easy for the powers that be to use the demand for full employment as the means enabling them to pursue their real aim of establishing the welfare, otherwise the Work State, undetected. For it is evident that a universal demand for a paid job must end by giving the money power supreme and absolute control, and 'Churchill's recently declared intention to have no 'drones' in the state must have met with their full approval.

Slavery is necessary to seekers after power. But it is interesting to note that man's conscience, even in prechristian days, had to be given some excuse to justify its existence and maintenance; so we have the legend that slavery was necessary for the growth and development of culture by a leisured class.* However, two factors helped to undermine this excuse. One was the advent of Christianity which gave a new value and importance to . the individual as such, and to freedom. This resulted in a new stirring of man's conscience which drove him to condemn slavery out of hand. But the power-maniacs were not thereby defeated. Indeed the condemnation of chattel slavery and its abolition in the southern states of America, for instance, served their purpose well, for it created the illusion that slavery itself had been abolished. Thus the fact of wage slavery was concealed, and its inevitable extension due to the abolition of the chattel slave greatly increased the hold and control of the money power.

The second factor which undermined the cultural excuse for slavery was the increase in the use of machines and the application of power to production, due to man's inventions and discoveries and consequently the possibility of a general possession of leisure and freedom.

It was found simple, however, to supply another and incidentally a more powerful sanction for maintaining the curse of Adam and keeping man's nose to the grindstone; for, as a moral being, man was easily persuaded that to work for a living was a virtue and a moral necessity even when by his own scientific achievements it had ceased to be a practical one. So the leisure which might have been enjoyed by all was transformed into 'unemployment'. The Church assisted by adding a 'religious' sanction to the obligation to work for a living, so we have the nauseating spectacle of unbeliever and christian, politician and priest, all one in their support of the policy of 'full employment'.

Thus the worker, or wage-earner, though he may secretly envy the independence of the man with a free income who, though he may work need not work for a living, feels entitled to regard him with contempt as a parasite (the 'Idle Rich') and Mr. Churchill's reference to 'drones' will have his full approval also.

At one time the Worker's slogan, "Work or Maintenance" betrayed a glimmering perception of the real

^{*}The following quotation seems to have some relevance: "Every known society has a psychopathology apropriate to its culture, with the implication that you might have a culture congenial to the 'true' nature of man, and that this is what ought to be established." I would add, that this could not be until the 'true' nature of man was allowed free expression.

Saturday, June 3, 1950.

situation, and a faint understanding that 'full employment' was not the solution. However, the dole, with all its attendant disadvantages, conditions and restrictions, helped to depopularise the idea of maintenance. But something more was required to make assurance doubly sure. It was found necessary, therefore, to bring about an illusion of scarcity and of threatened starvation in order that a new slogan, "Work or Want", well and truly advertised by the government, could be given justification and replace the dangerous idea suggested in "Work or Maintenance".

It is interesting and important to observe that the 'advance' into the "Welfare State" is, in reality, a retrogression into a state of universal chattel slavery. For the difference between the chattel and the wage slave lay in the fact that the wage slave was free, legally anyway, to choose his work and change his master, and, if he wished and circumstances permitted, did so. But with the advent of nationalisation and the restrictions imposed by orders directed to control engagement* this distinction will disappear. Probably the wage or salary will continue to be distributed to conceal this fact and for reasons of convenience.

It must not be lost sight of, however, that all this has come about by dissociating, or forcibly separating ends and means, and thus destroying their essential unity which must be kept intact, and the breaking down of which is always and forever the first objective of the enemy. For through the breach thus effected, misdirections, lies and deceits, can be introduced and established. Nothing else can explain the strange spectacle of a nation claiming to love freedom —and sincerely, so far as the people are concerned—hell bent for slavery.

A final judgment demands the recognition of a third factor essential to a full understanding of this rrelationship between ends and means. This factor involves a three-inone association. The matter is not simply one of ends and means, it is one of the end, the way, and the means. For example: I may be standing on the bank of a deep and swiftly flowing river wanting to reach the other side. My end is quite clear-arrival at the opposite bank of the river. I can see furthermore that my only safe way to reach it is by a bridge. But I can also see that to get my bridge-my way-I must seek the expert advice and help of an engineer who will apply the best means or technique for building my bridge. My responsibility is to demand the bridge (the way) and to see that the engineer is made responsible for building me a safe and efficient one (the means).

The end and aim of Social Credit is freedom, freedom to choose, to contract out, to be able to plan my own life and refuse to allow it to be planned by others. The only way to this freedom is a free and independent income. But this income must be based on the national inheritance, "the unearned increment of association" and not one decided upon by the Government, based on its own peculiar ideas and fancies, and doled out on its own terms. And as, in the given illustrations, I do not tell the engineer I want to cross the river—he might advise me to swim or take a boat—I order him to build a bridge. So, by the same token, I do not tell the Government I want to be

*The withdrawal of the war-time Control of Engagement Order recently appears to have been dictated by expediency rather than by political conviction.

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free, for then I might be told to fight a war, or beg for Marshall Aid, or work harder, or export more. My business and responsibility is to demand the distribution of the National Inheritance by way of a National Dividend. After that it is the Government's responsibility to see that its experts devise the best means for doing so. And if I am sure of my end, and the way to reach it, I am in a position to judge by results, and the Government will not be able to deceive me.

It is a lamentable fact that the Christian is not interested in the end or aim of economic freedom, or at any rate is not impressed by the need for it. But this indifference leads him to be indifferent to a number of questions he, as a Christian, has no right to ignore. Is he indifferent to a man's right to choose his work or occupation ----to the fact that a man may have to wrap his talent in a napkin and bury it in the ground-that he may be forced to engage in work he may consider useless or ignoble? If he replies indignantly, as he probably will, that, of course he is not indifferent to these things, but that a man is always free to choose the right; then he should be asked to ponder the fact that when he pays his taxes, or allows them to be taken from him he is perforce, perhaps unwittingly, yet nevertheless, in the position of one who compounds a felony.

The question, at bottom, is one of integrity; in reality, for the Christian, one of incarnation, not the word alone, but the word made flesh, freedom incarnate in the truth. Divided, anything can be paraded as the 'truth', and 'freedom' can be enlisted in the service of those determined to destroy it. Moreover, the Christian deludes himself if he supposes personal integrity can remain unimpaired within a system calculated to undermine it. The extent to which it has suffered in the service of the destructive forces aiming at world control is revealed in the statement of Dr. Toynbee when he said in Copenhagen in 1932: "I will merely repeat that we are at present working, discreetly but with all our might, to wrest this mysterious political force called sovereignty out of the clutches of the local national states of our world. And all the time we are denying with our lips what we are doing with our hands." It is not easy to see how the promotion of a policy by a method founded on falsehood and deceit could be more frankly advocated.

Social Credit has exposed the error that misrepresents and distorts the facts, and so destroys the truth and integrity of our economic existence; turning what should be a credit into a debt; what might be enjoyed as leisure into unemployment; what could be a state of peace and freedom into a state of conflict, conscription and war. It has also shown the way by which the error could be eradicated and the truth made to prevail. If the Christian cannot be looked to for support in this work of enlightenment to whom should one more rightly turn? And may it not be asked, with justice and without impertinence, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?"

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Demagoguery

".... To this end our exemplary demagogue would take away every obstacle between the opinion of the moment and the enactment of that opinion into law. Hence the initiative and referendum. Above the legislators is the Constitution, devised in order that legislation . on any particular question may be made to conform essentially with what has been laid down on deliberation as the wisest general course of Government. It is a check on hasty action and implies a certain distrust of popular judgment at any moment when passion or delusion may be at play. Therefore our demagogue will denounce reverence for the Constitution as a fetich. . . ."

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"But the full venom of his attack will be directed against the courts because in them is impersonated the first sovereignty of unimpassioned judgment over the fluctuations of sentiment and with it the last check upon the operation of the demagogue. . . ."

"The demagogue paints himself. In a word you may know him by this single trait: he is one who in the pursuit of the so-called rights of humanity has a supreme contempt for those unconcerning things, matters of fact."

• •

"... and always, meanwhile, the people are to be soothed out of a sense of responsibility for error and corruption by the skilfully maintained suggestion of a little group of men entirely removed from the feelings and motives of ordinary humanity, sitting somewhere in secret conclave, plotting, plotting to pervert the Government. Our public crimes are never our own but are the result of conspiracy.."

"These are the agencies that in varying forms have been at work in many ages. Only now—you will hear daily resoundings in the pulpit and press and in the street 'the cure of democracy is more democracy'."

• •

"Now there is to-day a vast organisation for manipulating public opinion in favour of the workingman and for deluding it in the interests of those who grow fat by pandering in the name of emancipation to the baser emotions of mankind; but of organisation among those who sufer from the vulgarising trend of democracy there is little or none...."

•

".... Before anything else is done we must purge our minds of the current cant of humanitarianism. This does not mean that we deny the individual appeals... On the contrary it is just the preaching of false humanitarian doctrines that results practically in weakening the response to rightful obligations and by 'turning men's duties into doubts' throws the prizes of life to the hard grasping materialist...."—PAUL ELMER MORE, Shelburn Essays, 1914 ("Natural Aristocracy").

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PARLIAMENT

(continued from page 3).

vious statement--[HON. MEMBERS: "No."]--that the Girdwood Committee established---[HON. MEMBERS: "No."] I am asking----

Mr. Speaker: Order. To ask the Minister to withdraw a statement is hardly asking for information...

Identity Cards

Major Lloyd asked the Minister of Health whether in view of the fact that the system of national registration of citizens is no longer necessary, and in view of the work and expense involved in the replacement annually of some 1,000,000 identity cards, he will now consider the abolition of identity cards.

Mr. Bevan: The National Registration system continues to render a number of valuable services. The small cost of replacing identity cards is largely met by fees charged for replacement.

Mr. John Hay: What are the "valuable services" which are now rendered by these cards?

Mr. Bevan: National Service, security, rationing, the Health Service, family allowances and post-war credits.

Major Lloyd: In view of the fact that the last reason at any rate, does not apply in any way will the right hon. Gentleman not reconsider this matter?

Mr. Bevan: I should have thought that hon. Members opposite would be anxious to preserve the records, anyway.

Insecticides

: :

General Sir George Jeffreys asked the Minister of Agriculture whether, before the new insecticides based on the organic phosphorous compound, parathion, are used on a large scale in this country for hops, fruit and other crops, he proposes to take any special steps to ensure the avoidance of danger, both to users and consumers.

Mr. T. Williams: My Department is taking every opportunity to make known through the National Agricultural Advisory Service and the Press the dangers of these substances and how those dangers may be avoided. The manufacturers also provide instructions on the use of the insecticides and the precautions to be taken. If the available advice and instructions are followed with reasonable care I am advised that there should be no danger either to users or to consumers. I would add, however, that the compulsory provision of protective clothing for those using dangerous sprays was the subject of one of the recommendations of the Gowers Committee; and their Report, as my right hon. Friend the Minister of Labour said in reply to a Question by the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Baker White) on 20th April, is now under consideration.

Sir G. Jeffreys: Is the Minister aware that in America a number of deaths have been attributed to the unskilled use of this particular insecticide, and is it to be understood from his statement that he has definitely ordered that special precautions shall be taken in its use?

Mr. Williams: We have given all the publicity we possibly can to the need for exercising great precaution to avoid any personal danger.

Mr. Gooch: In view of the fact that there have been several deaths in this country of people using these new in-

secticides, will my right hon. Friend consult with the Home Secretary with a view to completely abandoning their use?

Mr. Williams: The situation is being closely watched by the Agricultural Research Council, who are in close touch with the Medical Research Council, at the Ministry's Plant Pathological Laboratory. The protective procedure established and the conditions laid down are believed to be effectively and generally observed.

House of Commons: May 15, 1950.

Espionage (Canadian Minister's Speech)

Miss Ward asked the Prime Minister if he will disclose the names of the four spies the Canadian Minister for External Affairs stated on 1st May. 1950, were sent to the authorities here; and where they are employed today.

The Prime Minister: The answer to the first part of the Question is, "No, Sir"; the second part does not therefore arise.

Miss Ward: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what interpretation he puts on the speech made by the Minister of External Affairs in Canada on this subject?

The Prime Minister: We have been in consultation with the Canadian authorities. The position is very well understood on both sides.

Germany (Agrarian Reform)

Mr. Vane asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to what extent the basic Control Commission law requiring the Governments of the German Länder to expropriate farmland, where farms exceeded a given size, is still in force.

Mr. Ernest Davies: A British Military Government Ordinance laid down the general lines on which agrarian reform should be carried out in the British zone and is still in force. Detailed legislation implementing the ordinance in the individual Länder is likewise in force.

Mr. Vane: Can the hon. Gentleman say what advantage there is in keeping these ordinances in force, in the face of informed agricultural opinion in Germany, unless it is the same as that referred to last week and is only to please hon. Members opposite?

Mr. Davies: No, Sir. This is a question of land reform in Germany, and we are not aware that the majority of the German population is by any means opposed to this one.

Mr. Vane: Does the hon. Gentleman not realise that this particular policy does not deserve the title of land reform, as it affects only a comparatively small number of farms in the British zone, and the land is not going to be sufficient to settle any large number of people? It is a purely political move and nothing else.

Mr. Pickthorn: Can the hon. Gentleman think of any legal or moral justification for the use of the forces of an occupying Power for making what is a social arrangement?

"Gang Psychology"

In an essay "Workable Individualism," in Human Events for April 26, Lewis O. Anderson, of Minnesota, a former professor of psychology writes: — "Opponents of collectivism waste a lot of time by merely denouncing 'big government.' They should plump for 'unofficial government,' the true expression of individualism—which means 'divided responsibility'—not irresponsibility—and which signifies not 'selfishness' but true co-operation. Opponents of collectivism are losing the battle of ideas, partly because they are losing the battle of words.

"The erosion of individualism means erosion of a moral order. Morality is an individual matter; there is no collective salvation, material or otherwise. The inherent immorality of mob action and mob thinking is too well recorded to need comment; and it is the predominant type of mental escapade which is annihilating the distinction between right and wrong. Crowd-mindedness is perverting the true meaning of reform; social reform is a favourite cloak for collectivism. . . As an ethical problem, lust for power cannot be curbed by technology. It cannot be remedied by centralisation in industry; it can be held in check only under division of responsibility.

"The individualist is losing the psychological war largely by default. The remedy for too much gang psychology is not more of the same stuff. Only a positive substitute can turn the tide. It must be a substitute idea, not a new tune for the same goose step."

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