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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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STALIN'S FIFTH COLUMN

By JOHN MITCHELL

The Imperial Policy Group views Soviet Russia as a dangerous enemy of this country. The character of the information which it supplies in its monthly memoranda and the manner in which it is presented encourage a belief that its sources of information are of a high order and integrity. The current number of its *Memorandum* contains statements about the rulers of Russia which, while we shall criticise them, if they serve to inform a wide public that Russia is our enemy will represent a valuable national service. We will quote from the *Memorandum*:

"Although Stalin's policy is, to a large extent, opportunist, it is nevertheless influenced by certain guiding principles. He is thoroughly, unshakably, anti-British. That fact emerges from every scrap of information reaching us. He profoundly believes in the necessity for collaboration with Germany and has done so for many years past."

"The first object of an Italo-German offensive will, then, be to seal both ends of the Mediterranean, over-run Egypt and the Sudan, dominate Greece, and bottle up the Mediterranean Fleet at Haifa, and our land and air forces in Palestine. This must be resisted at all costs. We must, however, take the precaution of securing and improving our communications with Palestine through the Persian Gulf and thence overland. The steady increase of Soviet influence in Persia has been very noticeable of late, and it is believed that Stalin may at any time ask the Persians for a base in the Gulf. If he does, and anyone in Britain recommends its cession, that man will be Germany's best friend and ally. If we should allow our command of the Persian Gulf to become endangered, or any European Power besides ourselves to gain an influence there, we should be taking terrible risks."

We are informed that Stalin's objective is either an "indecisive peace" or a "hard won German Victory" and that "Upon the outbreak of war the propaganda [Russian] was switched over for the purpose of securing a compromise peace more or less on Hitler's terms." Reasons are given why this would serve Stalin's purpose. Then we are told:—

"The failure of this particular scheme was followed by the collapse of Western Europe. Stalin at once switched over the whole of his great machine for another purpose. A sweeping German victory leading to a peace without compromise imposed by an unexhausted Reich, would have proved a major disaster, and M. Stalin knew it well. His alternative to an indecisive peace was a *hard won* German

victory—not a swift shattering success. He therefore set his agents to work in every part of the globe to encourage further and effective resistance to German aggression. The *volte face* was brilliantly executed. Nothing in the history of propaganda has been more spectacular. The Stalinists who, during the autumn and winter had been doing everything in their power to sabotage the Allied war effort and to work for a German peace, were obliged to change their policy swiftly. The new order was not hard to carry out. It resolved itself into swimming with the tide, whereas for the previous eight months, M. Stalin's agents had a pretty hard time struggling against it."

"Within twelve months, the Russian dictator has, with some skill and after running some terrible risks, created a situation highly favourable to his country. Now that the tide of events is no longer strong against Britain as it was immediately after the collapse of France, and Germany's prospect of an absolute and quick victory are disappearing, we must soon expect to see the Russian propaganda machine more directly working against us once more. Our information shows the virtual certainty that we shall find the Stalinist movement acting as a super enemy Fifth Column throughout the British Empire."

Now, this is all very interesting and in all probability somewhere near the truth, but one would expect members of a Group, who produce a *Memorandum* such as this and who demonstrate as well as represent themselves the possessors of a very considerable knowledge of what is the true position in international affairs, to be aware of the existence of the forces commonly represented as "International Finance," of the nature of those forces, the means through which they work and the influence which they exert. These forces are ubiquitous and their influence on current events enormous. Yet we do not find in any of the *Memoranda* any reference to these forces unless it be in an occasional hesitant and extremely vague phrase. Have the members of the Imperial Policy Group a blind spot? If so, and it is such a large spot, how can they possibly present a true and accurate picture of events? If they have not a blind spot then it would be interesting to know how they come to ignore, not some minor factor, but the architect of the tragic and sordid happenings they so vividly record. Allusions to the sovereign powers of France and Britain which were to be welded together and escorted by the British navy to

Canada or the U.S.A. are strangely missing from a *Memorandum* claiming to be so well informed and their absence seem to falsify their view of what a sweeping German victory over Britain would have meant to Stalin. Perhaps they are not familiar with the cunning strategy of 'backing both sides'. But it is odd that they should appear ignorant of the causes of the Bolshevik Revolution, and the interests whom Stalin serves. Nevertheless their views of why "Stalin" does not want a British victory are to the point:

"There are some who still wonder why it is that Stalin is working against a British victory, and why he would prefer a German success. The answer is not far to seek. The British victory will be a triumph for political moderation. Stalin is no fool. He knows that the supreme energy of our war effort has been generated by the simple man, who is sick to death of international banditry and so of those extremist political movements which disturb our way of life. Stalin knows that millions of men and women in all parts of the world sympathise with, and share the philosophy of the ordinary Britisher. He knows that a British victory will bring with it a reaction against all forms of political extremism, and that this may spread to Russia, where discontent amongst the peasant classes is already rife, and where the cry for freedom becomes ever more persistent.

But the matter which it is of more immediate importance to consider is the activity of Stalin's Fifth Column, for this is a peril quite inadequately recognised by the general public. It will help us to gain an accurate background of the present position in Russia to quote several passages from an article in the *Economist* of August 31:—

"In point of fact, the revolutionary situation in Russia was not due to a deadlock created by class war (as Marx had predicted) but to the much less novel, and completely un-Marxian, phenomenon of an unpopular autocracy defeated in war. In pre-Soviet Russia there was no political Labour movement, not even a trade union movement. The *popular* character of Communism was a simple myth.

"Thus, though the leading Communists may have thought of themselves as representative of a mass movement, they were, in fact, a political clique, divorced from any economic class and bent on destroying existing authority in order to substitute their own. In a very real sense, they were the prototypes of the *deracines* adventurers who were later to carry through the totalitarian revolution in Germany. But a number of them were also genuinely and idealistically Marxist.".....

".....In the winter of 1920-21 there were wide spread revolts with the slogan of 'The Soviets Without the Communists.' Lenin tried to reconcile his conscience to the existing degree of governmental control by talking of 'bureaucratic deviationism.' He could hardly add to the evil by accepting the vastly extended scope of government which Trotsky's plan would have entailed. He fell back on the N. E. P., the restoration of private enterprise. If there was no industry, then private enterprise must create it and later on, when it was 'ripe', it could be socialised. Trotsky accepted the policy, but not from any desire to reinforce the bureaucratic tendencies of the Soviet Government. He welcomed and relied on mass support. It was to his popularity that he looked to secure him the succession to Lenin."

".....Trotsky had advocated industrialisation by the State for economic reasons. In 1928, Stalin based his decision on *political* grounds. The N.E.P. was producing a new bourgeoisie in the Kulaks, while the town workers were feeling their way towards a trade union movement. Both developments threatened the totalitarian character of Stalin's dictatorship. To permit initiative to carry still further the economic development of the country would have stimulated still more the emergence of new economic classes which the Moscow machine could not control. The only way in which a dictatorial hold on all classes—the essence of totalitarianism—could be combined with further economic development was for the State itself to enforce industrialisation."

Concerning the present position the *Memorandum* of the Imperial Policy Group informs us:

"In the diplomatic sphere, Stalin has strengthened an already powerful hand. Despite all the vicissitudes through which Russia has passed in the last twenty years, all the disapprobation she has incurred and all the mistakes she has made, she now possesses an influence of great magnitude. This is almost entirely due to the fact that the great European Powers are locked in a life-and-death struggle, and because Russia has a body of extra nationals working for her in almost every country of the world."

"A minority of Stalin's foreign subjects work for good money, but the majority for ideological reasons. During the last year, Russia's foreign organisations have proved themselves far more powerful, extensive, and effective, than those of Germany. They have, of course, only been tested in the political sphere. The Soviet has done much to strengthen this important arm, especially in the United States, where Stalinists, most of whom profess the Communist faith, have recently gained ground and some important positions. This instrument has given Russia an influence out of all proportion to her military strength and foreign policy. No other ruler in history, except the Pope, has ever been at once the head of a state and leader of a sect, commanding the allegiance of millions of men and women in all parts of the world outside his own frontiers."

The propaganda of Stalin's foreign subjects who work for him for ideological reasons is of two kinds. There is that which is specifically directed to the justification or "face saving" of Russian foreign policy, about which the Imperial Policy Group seems to be chiefly apprehensive, and there is that which frequently disowns origin or connection with Russia and which in one form or another endeavours to encourage a belief in communistic ideas. Such are the "community" ideas of J. B. Priestley which are finding favour, among other places, in the Christian News Letter of the Archbishop of York—who attacks the "profit motive" and "the traditional rights of private property"—and the ideas of that wide fringe of "pale," "respectable" socialists, who don't generally like to be known as socialists. More defined in their attitude are the writers whose propaganda books are published by Gollancz and Penguin and Pelican Books. D. N. Pritt and Sir Richard Acland are two of these "Left Wing Intellectuals." The latter has published a book significantly named *Unser Kampf*. In this he gives expression to his own idea of communism. He thinks we should think in "Big Ideas": "There is only one rule,—a small-scale argument which says 'No' does not answer a large scale argument which says 'Yes'". He also thinks that we need

a new morality: "The situation which confronts us now has been brought about because we have based all our public life, both national and international, on the principle of selfishness. If this is so, it surely suggests that we would be wise to look for our salvation in the adoption of an entirely new standard of morality."

Discussing ideas of a "free society" Sir Richard says: "it is roughly speaking true to say that no line of policy can be persistently pursued which is not substantially supported by the majority desire of the people.

"This does not mean that the progressive should ever be content to find out what the majority desires and then offer it to them. It is the right and duty of the progressive not merely to give the people what they do desire, but to teach them what they should desire". So much for our "free" society.

But the "Big Idea" is "common ownership." He writes: "Today the only form of organisation which allows the economic and moral incentive to coincide is that of common ownership. Only when we, as a people, own the means of production in common can we call upon ourselves and each other to work and produce and to use our best endeavours not for ourselves, not of course for others to the exclusion of ourselves, but for ourselves and for the community because we love our neighbours as ourselves."

The facile manner in which these idealists can make the facts suit their ideology will be evident from the following quotation from *Unser Kampf*: "...I would be surprised therefore if we do not see the army leaders combining with the party leaders to deprive the German 'Owners' of their swollen profits and of their grip on industry. General Goering's recently acquired powers point in the same direction.

"If this should happen, Germany will very largely have dispensed with the profit motive in industry. There would in fact be common ownership...of a sort! There would be common ownership in the hands of the Nazi party....."

"Whatever superficial similarities there might be, if this forecast is correct, between the bare economic

machinery of Russia and Germany, it remains vitally important to understand the profound moral differences between the two countries, for nothing is more likely to pervert our judgement and lead us to disastrous courses of action than the thought-saving process of assuming that 'Russia and Germany are just the same.'

"A revolution means the violent transfer of power from one group to another. This happened in Russia. Private owners were replaced by representatives of the workers. Say if you like that these representatives have degenerated into a bureaucracy,—I have not myself enough evidence to contradict you,—but the fact remains that no one in Russia sits back and draws income in respect of the ownership of property. In Germany, a class of people, already controlling the country by their ownership of property, stamped their control more firmly on the people by abolishing liberty. They may now be ousted by the party machine as a war emergency measure, but the party machine, and its individual members, will become the new owners in time of peace."

This member of Stalin's Fifth Column tells us that: "If it be a fact that the world forces of common ownership, under Russian guidance, have now decided to spread their doctrine outwards, if they can, by force of arms, then this is very largely due, I believe, to their reaching the conclusion, since the collapse of Popular Front movements in the Western Democracies, that there is no hope whatever of our conducting ourselves in such a way as to make possible a world based on any kind of moral principles. In such a world they decide to look after their own interests."

The Britisher however has in general an inductive mind which is his protection against the propaganda derived from the deductive thinking of the idealist. Notwithstanding the effects evident everywhere of the imposition of puritanism in our national education, underlying it all the morality which comes naturally to an inductive mind somehow finds expression. That morality has been pragmatically defined as "that which works best." That which works best is obviously in accord with reality and will always *eventually* defeat any attempt artificially to produce conditions which do not work as well as the best.

READY SHORTLY

"This 'American' Business"

Major Douglas's articles in *The Social Crediter* of August 10 and 17, reprinted as a pamphlet. Price (including postage): 3d. each; 2/- doz.; 6/- for 50.

It is important that this pamphlet should have as wide a distribution as possible in Great Britain, the Empire and the United States of America.

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DEFICIT FINANCED BY THE "TAP"

"The monthly statement on the Floating Debt, showing the position on August 31, and covering a period of five weeks, reveals again how largely the deficit accumulated over this period has been financed from internal sources. The total creating of debt in these weeks amounted to £247,971,834. Of this total no less than £146,062,000 is accounted for by the growth in the Treasury bill debt. As over this period the amount of bills issued through the weekly tenders rose by £10,000,000 only, the "tap" issue has expanded by £136,000,000. In addition, a further amount of £17,000,000 was borrowed from public departments during the five weeks, so that the contribution to the financing of the deficit from non-market

sources totalled £153,000,000 or about 62 per cent. of the new debt created. The size of the increase in tap bills must in part reflect the expenditure of gold and foreign exchange assets during these five weeks, while no doubt extra budgetary funds have again been able to absorb a considerable volume of bills—or of Government securities previously held by public departments and now replaced by tap bills. The individual banking statements for August which have already appeared also suggest that last month the banks made a further considerable increase in their holdings of gilt-edged securities. Some of these may have been provided by public departments which in their turn filled the void by taking up additional amounts of Treasury bills."

—*"The Economist,"* September 7, 1940.

DIARY OF EVENTS

(Military events are recorded in italics, other events in ordinary type.)

AUG. 3—Lord Beaverbrook has joined the War Cabinet at the invitation of the Prime Minister.

AUG. 21—Mr. Churchill concluded his review of the war situation: "The two great organisations of the English speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. For my own part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgiving. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll on in full flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days."

The Allied Forces Bill, which gives legal sanction to foreign forces on British soil to train under their own flags, commanders and military laws, was passed through all its stages.

Leon Trotsky received a grave injury from which he subsequently died, from a French Jew. Rumania agreed to cede Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria.

AUG. 22—*A British convoy passing up the Channel was shelled by German guns situated on the French coast. It was not harmed.*

Mr. Mackenzie King described the agreement between the U.S. and Canada to form a joint defence board as a realistic approach to American defence problems. The agreement does not commit either country to any definite action.

AUG. 24—*Bombs fell on Central London for the first time.*

Negotiations between Hungary and Rumania on the Transylvanian question have been broken off as no common basis for discussions could be found.

AUG. 29—Greece has been subjected to a 'war of nerves.'

AUG. 29—Hungarian and Rumanian Foreign Ministers have been summoned to Vienna, where the Foreign Ministers of the Axis Powers will impose a settlement of the Transylvanian dispute.

AUG. 30—Complaints have been made of the unsatisfactory system of air raid warnings.

The French Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, have joined the Allied cause.

AUG. 31—Under threat of an ultimatum, Rumania has yielded to the Axis terms by which Hungarian claims to Transylvania have been imposed. Sir George Paish has been advised by the British Embassy in Washington to leave the United States.

During the month of August German air-raids on Britain became much heavier, and for the first time made a factor in the life of the ordinary man.

R.A.F. raids on Germany continued, and were said to be most successful.

The number of German aeroplanes brought down

by the R.A.F. was very much larger than the number of British aeroplanes lost.

SEPT. 2—*The French colony of Gabun has now joined the Allies; all forces in French Equatorial Africa are now with the Allies.*

A ship taking 200 British children to Canada was torpedoed in the Atlantic. All the children were saved.

Feeling in Rumania is running high against the settlement with Hungary, and demonstrations are taking place.

SEPT. 4—*The United States are to transfer for immediate use 50 over age destroyers to the Royal Navy. In exchange Great Britain will lease to the United States, without charge, naval and air bases in British possessions in the North and South Atlantic for 99 years. A correspondent wrote to the "News Chronicle" that the destroyers were so old that their armaments were unfit for modern warfare.*

In Transylvania anti-Hungarian demonstrations continued.

SEPT. 5—Hitler has spoken of the final reckoning with Great Britain and the New Europe he hopes to build after the war: "When people are very curious in Great Britain and ask 'Why don't you come?' we reply, 'Calm yourselves, we shall come.' The world will be set free..... The hour will strike when one of us will break, and it will not be national Socialist Germany... What strengthens the German soldier is the consciousness and the knowledge that at his back there stands a whole nation, united by iron determination and a fanatical will, and with a high aim before them....."

SEPT. 7—King Carol of Rumania abdicated in favour of his son, Crown Prince Michael, after consultation with General Antonescu, the Iron Guard leader who was recently made dictator of Rumania.

The biggest air-raid of the war was launched on London; it was estimated that 300-400 people were killed and over 1,000 seriously injured. The attack was not confined to military objectives.

SEPT. 8—*Another large scale air-raid was launched on London. The morale of the people is said to be good.*

SEPT. 9—*The attack on London continued for the third night. Goering is believed to be directing it himself.*

"The American Way of Life must be Defended"
(President Roosevelt).

They have a way of life to be defended,
They have a way of life that should be ended.
But which they mean to end and which defend,
Is still a puzzle to a candid friend.

—Excalibur.

NEWS & VIEWS

ON SPITFIRE FUNDS

"..... Meanwhile, a new contribution is being made to the financial resources of the Government. Public imagination has been captured by the life-and-death duel in the air. Funds for the purchase of fighters or, more aggressively, bombers have been started all over this country and in the Empire, and several million pounds have been collected. *Per se* these free gifts—'benevolences' in the simplest sense—will not, of course, raise the rate of aircraft production; it is not the supply of money, but the supply of materials, plant and labour, that limits the manufacture of aeroplanes. But they can be of assistance in raising the rate of civilian saving. It will obviously do no good if the money given for these funds is simply withheld from other forms of saving."

—*"The Economist," August 31, 1940.*

TRUST FUNDS

A correspondent writes to say that he hears of a scheme on foot in Worcester for the Government to take over the administration of trust funds at present being run by local men. The funds include a number of bequests intended for local people, large enough to be very important to the recipients and obviously best administered by people of the district. At least one Councillor is opposing this centralising move for all he is worth, but most of his colleagues are in favour of it.

W. E. A.

A secretary of the Workers' Educational Association was approached by the Ministry of Information to take a part-time job, with a division of his salary between the Government and the Association—a division that increased his salary considerably. The society, however, would not accept such an arrangement, although the secretary was willing.

SHARE PRICES ROSE

"Share Prices move up as Junkers come down: the more Junkers come down, the more Stock Exchange prices go up. Yesterday morning was just like

any other morning in the markets—few inquiries and no business. But when around midday, things began to happen in Throgmorton-street, too. Inquiries turned into firm orders, the market found itself short of stock and prices spurted and there were some really substantial gains.'

—Financial Chitchat.

"Lovely.

"Perfect.

"Gold was always sensitive to blood and Almighty Mammon is first cousin to Mars.

"The money changers in the Temple cash in—while the young men die.

"They died to save old England,
And all that England gives;

Her lanes and fields and homes and inns.
Who dies, if England lives?

A hundred Junkers swept the sky,
And out the Spitfires went,

And by the evening Gilt Edge rose,
From two to five per cent."

—*Cassandra in "The Daily Mirror,"*
September 3, 1940.

HENRY FORD AGAIN

"Henry Ford is continuing to aid widespread anti-Jewish propaganda in the United States, alleges the newspaper P.M., published in New York. The paper states that Ford workers, when they enter and leave their plants, read such signs as 'Jews teach Communism,' 'Jews teach Atheism,' and 'Jews Control Money.'

"It is also alleged that Mr. W. J. Cameron, a Ford Company official, is head of the anti-Semitic Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. He is said at present to be endeavouring to convince Protestant ministers that 'Jesus was not a Jew,' in order to remove one strong opposition group to Hitler propaganda.

"Anti-Semitic literature distributed by the Federation carries, it is declared, endorsements from Ford, who allegedly says that even if the *Protocols of Zion* are false they are probably true in essence.

"It will be recalled that in 1923

and 1925 the *Protocols* were published in Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, but that, after several lawsuits, Ford retracted his anti-Jewish attacks. Some months ago Ford was presented by Hitler with the Golden Eagle, the highest Nazi decoration."

—*"Jewish Chronicle," Sept., 6, 1940.*

RAILWAY CHARGES

".....The Government cannot logically maintain that food subsidies are necessary and at the same time remain a partner to a financial arrangement in which it has deferred interest in increased railway earnings. Whether transport, like food, should be subsidised in war-time may be arguable; but it is certainly wrong that the cost of transport should be saddled not merely with the burden of higher profits for the railway companies but also with a back stairs revenue for the Exchequer. The railways are entitled to the square deal for which they have so persistently asked. But the present position is that they are first of all provided by the Government with an increased volume of traffic and allowed (subject to an Exchequer share) to retain the full automatic benefit to their net revenues thereby entailed; that, secondly, they are encouraged—indeed, compelled—to give the inflationary spiral an additional boost every quarter; and, thirdly, that they, unlike the rest of the community, are protected against the consequences of the inflation which they automatically foster. That may be no more than a square deal for the railways; but there are ways of ensuring equality for them without such an accumulation of penalties for the community."

—*"The Economist," August 31, 1940.*

ENGINE DRIVER

"You should have seen him," said the little man. "I was on home guard all night round the railway station. I saw him.

"He went on shunting for four hours. I reckon they dropped about 60 bombs round about him. He just went on shunting trucks.

"And every time they dropped a packet—they all missed him—he just pulled the engine whistle peep-peep."

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Saturday, September 14, 1940.

THE SUNDAY EXPRESS AND THE ARMY

Three Sundays ago, a feature-writer on the *Sunday Express*, a newspaper owned by Lord Beaverbrook, published a substantial account of a visit to Aldershot. His story gravely reflected on the organisation of the Army in the region, and the inference which most readers would have drawn was that if the winning of the war depended upon the safe-keeping of official secrets and the maintenance of due precautions for the safety of the troops from aerial bombardment we certainly shouldn't win it. A week later, the writer, Peter Howard, explained that he had been strongly criticised; but, anyhow, (so these gentry get away with it) things have been put right (or half-right). Black-out rules were to be observed, though at the personal expense of the tommies.

Lord Beaverbrook is now a member of the War Cabinet. Is he too shy to mention delicate matters there? Or are his schemes too far-reaching for prosecution without the 'power of the Press' to assist them? And, anyhow, how did the stuff get past the Censor?

A LETTER FROM EIRE

Dear

Since I wrote to you last, they gave me a high-powered ambulance and sent me out on field work.

I am very glad to have the opportunity of meeting all the young lads of my own country and I am very proud of them, both for their personal and soldierly qualities.

This island, as you may know, is under the heel of the Bank of Ireland, a masonic institution run by jewboys, working for the Bank of England. It grieves me to learn that Ireland will eventually lose what might be the nucleus

of her native aristocracy when these young lads will be forced by economic duress to leave Ireland and eke out a miserable existence in the swamps of Africa and such-like places.

The work is congenial and healthy. There is as much Medicine as in the average Panel. I have come across no v.d.—not even one case for prophylactic treatment. Ireland may have a good deal of illegitimacy; but illegitimacy isn't a disease.

Serious study is difficult, but I manage to read an odd chapter occasionally. Moreover, I have completely got out of the shadow of panel practice in a slum. Most of the local doctors have their own hospitals, and if my object were to be a country doctor doing a spot of everything in my own hospital, I believe I would be nearer the ideals of Hippocrates than many of the Street boys.

I have met some of the aristocracy imposed on us by Cromwell. Many are now ardent Catholics; but their heart is in England. They are very shook by economic duress. The daughters are typical of the stage broken-down Irish aristocrat—very horsey, very fine physically and the temperament of a highly-strung filly. I have never come across such a fine type before, unfortunately completely spoilt for living by the Bank of Ireland. In one house (or castle) I raised such a rumpus about the duties of the aristocracy to the people and their responsibility for dealing with our real enemy that the Colonel was called out. Fortunately he was a scientific farmer and took my part

My father is a local security-man. He does a spot of drilling, and instructs on the use of small arms. I can hardly believe it of him. He is ten years younger. My idea of coming back to Ireland has been justified.

P.S. I am a 1st. Lieut. and we wear the staff and snakes!

THE CAPITAL

From "A Shepherd's Life" by W. H. Hudson:

To the dwellers on the Plain, Salisbury itself is an exceedingly important place—the most important in the world. For if they have seen a greater—London, let us say—it has left but a confused, a phantasmagoric image on the mind, an impression of endless thoroughfares and of innumerable people all apparently in a desperate hurry to do something, yet doing nothing; a labyrinth of streets and wilderness of houses, swarming with beings who have no definite object and no more to do with realities than so many lunatics, and are unconfined because they are so numerous that all the asylums in the world could not contain them. But of Salisbury they have a very clear image: inexpressibly rich as it is in sights, in wonders, full of people—hundreds of people in the streets and market-place—they can take it all in and know its meaning. Every man and woman, of all classes in all that concourse, is there for some definite purpose which they can guess and understand; and the busy street and market, and red houses and soaring spire, are all one, and part and parcel too of their own lives in their own distant little village by the Avon or Wylde, or anywhere on the Plain.

..... For Salisbury is the capital of the Plain, the head and heart of all those villages, too many to count, scattered far and wide over the surrounding country. It is the villager's own peculiar city, and even as the spot it stands upon is the "pan or receyvor of most part of the waters of Wiltshire," so is it the receyvor of all he accomplishes in his laborious life, and thitherward flow all his thoughts and ambitions. Perhaps it is not so difficult for me as it would be for most persons who are not natives to identify myself with him and see it as he sees it. That greater place we have been in, that mighty, monstrous London, is ever present to the mind and is like a mist before the sight when we look at other places; but for me there is no such mist, no image so immense and persistent as to cover and obscure all others, and no such mental habit as that of regarding people as a mere crowd, a mass, a monstrous organism, in and on which each individual is but a cell, a scale. This feeling troubles and confuses my mind when I am in London, where we live "too thick"; but quitting it I am absolutely free.

THE FOOLS' PARADISE

"Sooner or later the spurious whig culture of New York and London, equally with that of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini, which are mere derivatives of it—must crash in ruins, because of the fundamental weakness of absentee management."

—C. H. DOUGLAS.

By B. M. PALMER

The torpedoing of the child refugee ship an event which did not arouse much surprise among realists, received the following comment from New York: "There was great relief that none of the children had been injured and admiration for the discipline and bravery which, helped by good fortune, had prevented the attack from becoming the tragedy it might well have been." Mr. Mackenzie King expressed on behalf of the Canadians his admiration for the presence of mind, the courage and the discipline displayed by the children in face of so great a peril—etc., etc. Mr. Crerar hoped that "Hitler's tactics would not have the effect of deterring the further evacuation of children to Canada."

In the evening some of the children broadcast, and it needed no effort on the part of the B.B.C. to tell us that they were happy and undismayed. If they can stand up to such an experience so splendidly, why was it thought advisable to send them out of this country? They are not likely to endure worse perils here.

These children, the best children in the world, are the victims of absentee management, which has deprived their fathers of the right to bear arms in their own defence, the right to protect their own wives and children, and has "landed them in the biggest war of all time." The safety of their families is now the concern of people whose names are scarcely known to them and whose motives can only be guessed at.

It would be instructive to have figures concerning the different sections of the people who were anxious to avail themselves of this scheme. We were told, over and over again, that it was a "cross section" which was to be sent; but indignant letters were written to the papers, mostly from those of the "voluntary official" type, complaining that most of the accommodation had been taken by the "middle classes."

In the absence of any figures I can only speak from personal surmise, but I think it extremely unlikely that there was a large demand from the so-called

working classes. These people, however, befogged by newspaper and B.B.C. propaganda, still have their hearts in the right place. The feeling expressed by so many of them, "If we're going to die, let us all die together," though possibly condemned as "selfish" by L.C.C. officials, has something much deeper behind it: the certainty that there is a value in life beyond that of mere existence.

Everything was done by the newspapers to give the impression that hundreds of thousands of parents were longing to send their children overseas. Photographs were published of the queues outside the inquiry offices. There is little doubt that this was exploited in some quarters to shake our nerve and make us accept the idea of possible defeat. It looks like another phase of the billeting scheme on a world-wide international scale—to cut the rising generation away from its roots and deprive it of the cultural inheritance which is every Englishman's due and is the only foundation for real love of country. It is my genuine belief that thousands of these parents thought better after a few weeks, and that many of them are looking back on what they might have done with the relief that follows the awakening from a nightmare. There is also the chance that they had almost allowed themselves to be stampeded. Almost, but not quite.

There is, however, a small section of the nation to which this scheme undoubtedly makes a strong appeal, but I want to say that I believe it to be a steadily shrinking number. They are people who have never been part of Society in its organic sense—as, for example, a farmer and his family form a real part of the community in which they live; they are people who imagine they owe their first allegiance to institutions and thus they are the servants of unreality. The Banking System, the Law, the Service, the League of Nations they see as ends and not as means. Such words as "Peace comes from overwhelming force behind the Law," are to them words of salvation, for they want the assurance that there exists a supreme

embodiment of authority to which they can relinquish their own responsibility and thereafter have nothing to worry about.

I have called these people the Dwellers in the Fool's Paradise.

This civilisation, built on the false foundation of a fraudulent money system, is fundamentally insecure for each of us. Miners, fishermen, factory workers, agricultural labourers have always known what it is to face sudden disaster, unemployment or accident. They are realists to the extent that they know it is useless to run away from trouble. They are therefore able to bear the ups and downs of war with more equanimity than those who have been living in a fool's paradise.

This is not to say that war and poverty are good, but it is to say, with the utmost emphasis, that beastly as war is, and degrading as poverty can well be, it is still more degrading for the human individual to live as though it were possible to hand over his own responsibility to a delegate, and gain security by playing for safety and respectability.

Several years ago I came across these lines. A young man was speaking. He says:

"Oh give me
High up on a sunny peak,
With forest scattered over endless slopes,
Give me a log cabin,
To live in and see
The great event that happens once in ages,
See the fire that only my chosen eyes
can see
And hear the voice that only one man's
ears can hear....."

Said the voice from the Town:
"There is a job for you in a bank
I know the manager, he is quite a friend,
You write out figures in a big book,
There is a cheap restaurant round the
corner

And a tea shop for the afternoon,
The chief cashier is old and asthmatic,
Soon you may be in his place,
And cash cheque and change money
Issued in Rome, Paris or Cairo,

You will have long week-ends,
 And a car, and ride down to the sea
 With friends and take a lunch basket
 And eat sandwiches on the shore
 And break the eggs, the hard-boiled eggs
 On the harder pebbles on the shore.
 Sunday night you come back
 And you live with me
 The Voice in the Town.....
 Be more successful—
 Make a life insurance—
 Eat more fruit—
 Wear the right clothes—
 Don't think much
 Don't feel much
 Keep in a pink middle.
 The head of your office
 The manager of your bank,
 Whoever he may be
 Is the wisest of men
 As long as he is at the head".*

This fool's paradise in my view, has been inhabited until recently, by the hangers-on of the absentee management. To them has been delegated

*From *Aurea Mediocritas* by Joseph Bard.

the routine work of centralisation and many of them spend their lives making marks on pieces of paper. Most of them live in suburbia. We have known them of old.

"Yes, of course, it is all very sad, and I agree with what you say, that poverty in the midst of plenty is a disgrace to civilisation, but what can we do about it?"

Thinks, "But of course, I am all right, my family is secure. By working hard and saving I can provide for old age, the children will all have a good start in life, *this* country is sound, there won't be a revolution, and so-and-so says there won't be a war; *we* shall be all right."

And now the fool's paradise has fallen about their ears. These are the people who have had the greatest mental adjustment to make, and to give them their due, many of them have born the loss of their false security bravely. But as one of them said to me, "There seems to be no future."

There is certainly no future in the sense in which they had imagined it. Moreover they have two more lessons to learn, that the wages of sin is death, and that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children.

Everything comes home to roost. If we acquiesce in absentee management, thus shelving our own responsibility, we cannot escape the consequences either for ourselves, or for our children. Moreover we have no right to teach our children that the logical results of our actions can be avoided by scampering about the earth. And as the headmaster of Winchester very justly observed in a letter to *The Times*, those children who are sent abroad now will lose something which they can never regain.

We know that they will lose their power to participate fully in the rebirth of a nation which in their life time, if not in ours, will arise strong on the ruins of that "spurious Whig culture" which even now has received its death-blow.

WAR AGAINST THE MIDDLE CLASSES

Extracts from "War against the Middle Classes" by Peter F. Drucker, in the "Saturday Evening Post," August 10, 1940.

"Millionaires don't count politically nowadays," Rudolf Hess, No. 3 Nazi, once told an American newspaperman; "they have so much to lose that they will obey orders. And if they don't, there are so few, a strong government can always break them. But the middle classes are different. They are the real problem of a totalitarian state."

To eliminate this problem, the German middle classes have been attacked economically and socially right from the beginning of Nazi rule. Today they are weakened and exhausted to the point of destruction. The Nazi slogan for the war, "Down with the plutocracies," is not only a smoke screen for the Nazi aim of military and political domination at home; it is also the camouflage for the social revolution against the middle classes all over Europe. In the small countries in Western and Northern Europe which have either been overrun by the German armies or which, like Sweden and Finland, live under the shadow of swastika and Soviet star, this aim seems very near realization. Although the

position of the middle classes in England and France had been maintained largely intact before France turned totalitarian, their economic position had deteriorated more in nine months of war than it had in the preceding ten years of intermittent depression.

Three years ago, a small manufacturer of buttons in Central Germany told me his story. The business had been in the family for 150 years. It had always paid well. And my friend had been determined to hand it on to his sons as prosperous and up-to-date as it had been when he took over from his father. He did not suffer from lack of business; on the contrary, the army snapped up uniform buttons as fast as he could turn them out. But he needed new machines to replace his outworn equipment, credit with which to buy these machines, and raw materials to produce his buttons. He could get neither. Credit, machines and raw materials being scarce, they were obtainable only against permits. The government control boards which issue these permits simply turn down the small independent. "Every time I apply for a permit," he complained, "they ask me: 'How many men do you employ?' And when I say 'A hundred,' they refuse me my permit and give it to a fellow

who employs a thousand and who formerly couldn't get any credit because he was always in the red. So now I have sold this fellow my plant. I can't run it any more."

During the past few years thousands of independent grocery stores have been closed by the government as "superfluous"; the former owners were put into munitions factories or used as unskilled labor to dig ditches along the Siegfried Line.

The surviving retailers are not much better off. Though they took over the customers of the closed stores, their profits have been cut to the bone. In many parts of the country, especially in industrial cities, they are allowed to deal only with a certain number of customers, each of whom may buy only a certain limited quantity of goods. The grocer gets those goods at a fixed price from a central government-controlled wholesaler, and he must sell them at a fixed price. No room for initiative, business acumen, personal service or any other qualifications. The retailer is just a stock boy who wraps goods up and hands them over the counter. His income is fixed from above without regard to his abilities or his capital—it is really not more

than a low wage.

Other branches of middle-class business have suffered just as much. Wholesalers, importers, exporters, warehousemen, insurance brokers, jobbers, distributors, small-town bankers—all the many middleman's businesses in which an independent with integrity, experience and initiative could compete on equal terms with big business have been liquidated and replaced by huge government-controlled and government-owned monopolies. The progress has even invaded the professions. In one middle-sized industrial city in Western Germany there used to be twenty-five lawyers, all of whom had enough to do. The government in 1938 declared twelve to be superfluous and ordered them to close shop. The older men were retired on a small pension. A few of the younger ones who had good political connections were taken over into the ever-growing Nazi bureaucracy at very much lower wages.

I knew the wife of an official in the German Ministry of Agriculture. She has four sons, ranging in age from ten to fifteen—all normal, healthy and intelligent boys. But she was allowed to send only two of them to high school; the other two will have to end their education with grade school. Neither her husband's political connections nor her friendship with the wife of an influential Nazi was of any use in her attempts to get this order changed. On the contrary, she was told that the admission of two out of four was already a major concession; the normal ratio would have been one out of four. And there is very little chance that even one of the boys will be allowed to enter college. The number of college students has been cut to a very low figure. They are selected, not according to ability and intelligence but almost exclusively for "political reliability"; and the children of a man who was a civil servant long before Hitler came to power are almost as suspect in Nazi Germany as are children of Czarist officials in Bolshevik Russia.

What motivates this savage onslaught against the middle classes? What is its explanation and its purpose? Only a few years ago the answer would have seemed simple, for at that time left-wing propaganda had convinced many in Europe that the middle classes are "economically inefficient" and a barrier to economic and social progress. Of all the bitter legacies of left propaganda

LORD BEAVERBROOK

The following is reprinted from "The News Review" of September 6, 1940:

Informed observers of the political scene are watching with undisguised interest, and not a little excitement, Lord Beaverbrook's activities in the Ministry of Aircraft Production.

"The Beaver" is digging himself into the Cabinet good and strong, and some high Tories, who resented his inclusion in the Cabinet, feel uneasy at the organisation he is building up round himself.

First he pulled in A. Beverley Baxter, onetime piano salesman and now M.P. for Wood Green, as an assistant. "Bax" is a Canadian, and used to edit the *Daily Express*.

Next Beaverbrook roped in the services of his friend W. L. Stephenson, head of the Woolworth organisation in Britain. He is English to the backbone.

Then came another Canadian, Richard Bedford Bennett, onetime Conservative Prime Minister of Canada.

Last week "The Beaver" added to his entourage, in a part-time capacity, Lord Ashfield, Canadian-educated Englishman who had an impressive career in the United States before becoming boss of the London Transport system.

Here is the nucleus of a group which

in Europe, this belief was perhaps the most vicious one. But it has been completely exploded by events; even the most convinced Marxist in Europe has now learned his lesson. People who formerly ranted against the independent shopkeeper, and who demanded that all retail distribution be nationalized, now pine to get back to the good old days of "inefficient retail trade," when stores were still allowed to function properly, to accept orders over the telephone, to deliver, to give a week's credit and to accept returned merchandise.

.....Even a Russian Communist in a high position once admitted to the writer that the Five Year Plans would have been ten times as successful had Bolshevik ideology permitted the existence of a real middle class of professional men, engineers and small businessmen. "As things are at present," he said "we must try, by an artificial system of punishments and rewards, to create that zest and initiative among our plant managers and intellectuals which they would display as a matter of course, could we but permit them the freedom of a middle class."

may have a profound influence on British politics very shortly.

Soundings were taken by Winston Churchill's political experts last week to test the popularity of Lord ("Max") Beaverbrook as next leader of the Conservative Party. So far results have been 50-50 in the Air Production Minister's favour.

Premier Churchill refused leadership of the Party when he took over the Government and broadened it to represent all Parties in the State. He asked Arthur Neville Chamberlain to continue as Conservative leader, which was regarded as a grand Winstonian gesture. It certainly created a bond of confidence between the two men.

Politically Mr. Churchill has since been at the mercy of the Tories, particularly those 182 who challengingly declared their faith in Neville Chamberlain's leadership and their regret at his displacement.

Since the ex-Premier's illness, Winston has had to face an acute problem. If Neville Chamberlain retired from active politics, the leadership of the biggest party would become vacant.

Nor are political considerations decisive for the drive. That democratic government in Europe rests upon the middle classes is obvious and explains the reluctance with which the democracies have introduced anti-middle-class measures. But with the exception of the "brown Bolsheviks"—the small group of confirmed Nazi revolutionaries who believe in "permanent revolution" and "permanent war"—the Nazi leaders are also scared when they consider what will happen after the middle classes have been destroyed. They know that the stability not only of the democracies but of their own regime in Germany as well rests upon middle-class support. And even the "brown Bolsheviks" realize that the technical, engineering and economic organization of Germany under Nazi rule was only possible because there was a huge reservoir of middle-class knowledge, experience and savings on which the Nazi state could draw. Certainly Hitler himself is well aware of this; all close observers of his policies agree that he was opposed to every single one of the anti-middle-class measures in Germany, which were, nevertheless enacted and enforced.

*European Background***(VIII) Historical Bias and the Reformation**

By NORMAN F. WEBB

The modern interpretation of history is purely materialistic. In the world to-day we see the results of this attitude to life as a practical proposition, and no one appreciates them.

These notes represent an attempt to see history from the Christian point of view—the metaphysical, as opposed to the physical interpretation of events.

It is a curious reflection on this modern age that is known as the Age of Reason and Science, that it should be guilty of so unreasonable and unscientific an historical estimate of the age immediately preceding it. If history is a science, as it certainly is—a department of knowledge—then it cannot consist in selection and emphasis, but in the verification and co-ordinating of historical facts. Yet the general impression of European history left on the minds of modern students is as though the Emperor Constantine, when he decreed a Christian state and founded his beautiful capital of Constantinople, as it were, switched off the current of intelligible and significant human activity in Europe, which was not turned on again for eleven centuries, when the fall of Constantinople before the attack of the Turks sent Greek scholarship Westward, as is popularly reported, to rekindle the Classical light.

In no sense is that a true estimate of the facts, neither of the history of scholarship, which as we saw in the previous section, had begun to penetrate to Western Europe through Arabian and Jewish channels at least three hundred and fifty years before the fall of Constantinople, nor of the worth and significance of that period known as the Middle Ages as a whole. For good or ill this period is part of what is known as the Christian Era; it cannot be disposed of like that without injury to truth; dispute how we like as to its exact duration, all the different readings will still be A.D. (in the year of our Lord), and the suggestion that it is to be regarded as little more than a lapse from Classic grace on the part of the European family is a frankly anti-Christian one, however it came to be.

For this attitude the British historians must take a considerable share of responsibility, and the chief among them Edward Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall*, in spite of its brilliance, contains all the worst features of false emphasis and subtle distortion. According to Gibbon, by the act of the Emperor Justinian in closing down of the schools of philosophy at Athens in the 6th Century Europe was left a prey to six centuries of unmitigated Christianity and barbarism, which to his Romanized mind were almost synonymous terms; but his prejudice dramatized this act out of all proportion to its possible significance, and at the same time prevented him from doing any justice whatsoever to the Graeco-Christian Empire of Byzantium for its service in preserving Scholarship during all those years—scholarship, incidentally, of which the Romans, whom Gibbon so much admired, had made remarkably little use. To Gibbon Byzantium was utterly effete and degenerate and that was all; which is a manifestly faulty generality to make of any political organisation preserving its existence continuously over a period of eleven centuries.

This question of Byzantium is perhaps the most difficult feature of the whole problem of the historical treatment of the Middle Ages. Western Christendom in this period was

undoubtedly rough and unpolished—with its job of subduing the Germanic tribes how could it have been otherwise?—and in addition it completely lacked political focus; it was like a landscape without a feature, of which it was hard to compose a picture. One could give that as a reason for its neglect were it not that the story of Constantinople and its Empire—the other half of medieval Christendom—and its gallant and centuries-long defence of Europe against the attacks of the Infidel has received the same treatment, notwithstanding the fact that it contains in perfection all the ingredients of stirring history, including an extraordinarily well-organized Government functioning over an immense and diverse area from Sicily to the Caucasus, and centralized in what remained for eleven centuries the greatest, the loveliest, and the wealthiest city in the world.

For eight of these eleven centuries, Constantinople kept the Infidels at bay. That she saved Europe something very considerable is shewn by the fact that when at last she fell in 1453—a catastrophe due as much to the treatment she had received at the hands of her own co-religionists of the Fourth Crusade, as to anything—although by that date the terrific force that had originally been behind the Moslem expansion was almost all spent, nevertheless the Turks eventually penetrated the North as far actually as the walls of Vienna.

One is forced to the conclusion that the significance of the preservation of Europe, or large tracts of it, from Moslem occupation was somehow not obvious to 18th and 19th Century historians; that in their subconscious the matter of faith was not important—after all the Moslems were ardent followers of Plato and Aristotle as well as Mahomet!

It is a very subtle, and a very delicate matter this; not so much one of the false deductions, though there are plenty, as of profound, subconscious bias. To how many students during the last three hundred years did Constantinople represent anything more than the capital of the Ottoman Empire—a place of harems and mosques? How many could have told you that for nine centuries St. Sophia was a Christian Church—the greatest in the world—and still the most beautiful? None, except those who were specialising in European history, or Art students, and Art students only since the time of Ruskin.

These facts are not omitted from history. They are all there, but the emphasis—that most subtle and human quality in literature—is not on them; they make no impression. Every school boy has a good mental concept of Rome on her seven hills—one that goes far beyond her transitory contact with Britain; of her republic and her empire and her subsequent ecclesiastical history, and of her great church of St. Peters; the details of her history have been nursery diet to at least fourteen generations. In contrast to that we have Constantinople, capital of a great Empire

for far longer than Rome, artistically pre-eminent, fabulously beautiful and wealthy, and yet for some strange and subtle reason she has never been fabled!

The truth was that the Classical Revival, however much its earlier stages were due to the Hellenizing influence of Plato and Aristotle, as it developed, became more and more a reactionary revival of Greeco-Roman Paganism, as is evident in architectural and other spheres. Tribute was paid to Greek scholarship, but the real homage and sympathies of Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe went to Rome, with its sense of centralized discipline and law, and its pragmatic, and even austere pantheism. It was in this atmosphere of reaction from the Christ-Idea that the Reformation was born. Itself a reaction from the corruption of a degenerate ecclesiastical dominance, how much did it partake in the general movement away from that Christian teaching which the Church had long ceased to represent?

Martin Luther, like many another reformer before and since, desired no split in the parent body. There was certainly more than enough subject matter for the famous thesis which was nailed to the church door in Wittenberg in 1517.

Perhaps for that very reason his challenge was accepted, and ultimately in no very Christian spirit. By a remarkable effort the Church reformed; not her heart, alas, as Luther had hoped, but her ranks and her organisation, and staged the Counter-Reformation—one of the least fortunate enterprises in all European history. The change was effected with extraordinary celerity, considering the nature of the task; clerical laxity was to quite a considerable degree replaced by a centralized and military discipline, largely through the instrumentality of the Society of Jesus; and in place of the liberality of outlook and patronage of Art and Learning, excess of which was not unjustly declared to have been the cause of the trouble, with the usual zeal of panic the baby was emptied out with the bath-water, and the Church became the centre of reaction and bigotry and obscurantism. It was a disastrous split, but complete; and the last vestige of Christian Unity, the very real authority of the Church herself, was gone; and in place of her sole reign two other authorities were admitted to equality with her—that of the Ancients of Greece and Rome, and that of the Inspired Word of the Scriptures.

(To be continued)

THE JEWS AND EUROPEAN LAW

The following extracts are from the essay "Jews and European Law" by Cecil Roth in his book "Jewish Contribution to Civilisation."

Any evaluation of the part of the Jews in the legal development of modern Europe must necessarily take account of the Bible. For, while European law harks back in the main to Rome, the influence of Hebrew ethics on the minds of legislators and of the growth of customary law cannot be overlooked. Moreover, the medieval Canon Law, based to a considerable extent on the Old Testament, could not but exercise a profound influence upon the Civil Law contemporaneously with which it was studied.

According to a theory which has now been put forward, the Jewish influence upon European law was far more profound and far-reaching than this would imply. It has been maintained in a recent study, with a wealth of learning and great force of argument, that Talmudic law deeply affected Syrian law, which in turn had a great influence on the Byzantine codes and the Roman as it was formulated by the great legalists of the Eastern Empire. If this theory is correct, the exclusive claims of the Roman jurists and the German folk-ways to the paternity of the European codes must be modified.

It is undisputable that the parallels (it is unwise to use a stronger term) between European and Talmudic law go beyond a few vague general principles. There is Rabbinic, but not Roman,

precedent for the principle *qui facit per alium facit per se* ('He who acts through another acts through himself'). The medieval Rabbis evolved a law of copy-right which is probably anterior to the practice among their neighbours. The Jewish system of tenant-right, or right of possession, became familiar in general circles through the *Jus Cazaga*, miserably evolved through the force of circumstances in the Italian Ghetto, and may not have been a barren example. The suggestion has even been made that one or two institutions and formulae of English law (such as the Writ *Eligis*, the mortgage, and the phrase *cuius est solum eius usque ad coelum usque ad inferos*) are derived from Jewish deeds, current among and familiar to, medieval lawyers in these islands. The 'universal code' based on the Bible (termed by the Rabbis the Law of the Sons of Noah) is paralleled (to say the least) by the *jus naturale et gentium*, or Natural Law, recognised by mediaeval jurists: this in turn was the formative principle at the basis of the English Equity Law, and the Continental legal philosophies upon which the nineteenth century codifications depended. The great priests of the seventeenth century, Grotius on the Continent, Selden in England—were positively soaked in Hebraic lore—Biblical, Rabbinic and contemporary—traces of which may be discerned throughout their writings.

The God of Israel is the God of Justice; and it is not remarkable that, since the age of emancipation began,

the profession of law, has exercised a powerful attraction on the Jewish mind. There can be no doubt as to the importance of the part played by Jewish lawyers in modern Jurisprudence.

Among other eminent English lawyers who were of Jewish extraction may be mentioned Lord Justice Ludlow during the last century and Lord Justice Slessor to-day, both of Jewish descent; and Sir Archibald Levin Smith, a great Master of the Rolls, who had a Jewish mother, Lord Chancellor Herschell, on the other hand, was the son of a converted Missionary among the Jews. England has had, too, one Jewish Lord Chief Justice in Lord Reading, whose greatest eminence was however, in a different sphere.

While the Jews are largely represented in the legal profession in America, two in our own day have achieved a peculiarly high reputation, both members of the Supreme Court: Louis Brandeis for the liberal spirit which won him the title of the 'People's Attorney', and Benjamin Nathan Cardozo, the philosopher of American jurisprudence. it is significant that they were elevated to their present position by Presidents of opposite tendencies in politics. Another outstanding contemporary American is Professor Felix Frankfurter, one of the most eminent legal theorists in the country, author of a number of standard works on political and constitutional problems and Professor of Law at Harvard University.

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