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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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From Week to Week

There is a moderately well-known story, which will bear elaboration, to the effect that while walking on the moors, the hero of it met a pig. Intrigued by its unusual appearance and situation, the man enquired politely whence it came, and whither it was bound. The pig replied with equal courtesy that he was the sole survivor of the Gadarene swine, but that his future plans were uncertain. Expressing his surprise, the man begged to be enlightened as to the cause of his deliverance. "Well" said the pig, "about half way down the steep place, I became convinced that there was no future for our policy. But the rest said that this was just negative. So we parted."

The points to which we wish to direct attention are (a) unlike the rest of the herd, the pig was still alive; (b) a bad "positive" policy is worse than a good "negative" policy; (c) lacking a good direction to substitute for his rejection of a bad direction, the pig hadn't got anywhere in particular. But for the moment, he still could choose.

There are few more able Members of the House of Commons, and it is a measure of the distance off the road that we have travelled, that Mr. Quintin Hogg, in the Debate on the Parliament Bill can be brought to say "I am devoted . . . to . . . the unlimited power of this House to alter the law in any direction it pleases."

If there is one feature of the present times which is clear, it is the necessity to separate political from economic power, and it is one more instance of the low level to which political thinking has sunk in this country that a man of the education and opportunities of the Member for Oxford should make such a palpable *gaffe*.

That it is unmitigated Rousseauism is only one objection; it contains the associated idea that is probably at the root of our worst disease is this country now—apathy and scepticism combined. If a considerable body of individuals, and particularly if they comprise the best culture and subtlest qualities of the race, becomes convinced that the whole of their efforts are at the mercy of politics, they will either emigrate or die out. If a man of the type of Mr. Hogg cannot see that it ought to be impossible to pass certain laws (just as the U.S. Constitution makes it extremely difficult seriously to tamper with its own provisions), then it is fairly clear that we have no body of statesmen to which to look—merely politicians.

" . . . fascism, naziism and communism. The last, it is true, has had a redeeming quality in that it has been inspired by an aim that was humanitarian.—"Viscount Samuel on the "B." B.C. Home Service.

Yes, we noticed its quality, when, under the direction

of Lord Samuel's co-racialists, millions of inoffensive Russians were slaughtered and starved. "There is much in Bolshevism which embodies the highest ideals of Judaism," in fact.

THE EXPORT RACKET

. . . In 1947 our exports and re-exports to Poland were worth a little over £10m., but our imports from that country were only £1,458,000. Last year we sent goods worth £5,768,000 to Yugoslavia and received a mere £733,000 in return. In 1946 Egypt had £24m. from us and sent us £15m., while in 1947 she received from us £22m. and gave in return less than £15m. To the U.S.S.R. we sent £11m. in 1946, receiving only £5m. from her, and in 1947 she had from us £14m., but gave us only £7m.

Are we taking sufficient care to see that we receive an adequate return for all our exports? Yours, etc.,

L. M. ANGUS-BUTTERWORTH,

Ashton-on-Mersey, Cheshire.

—From a letter to *The Daily Telegraph*, August 4, 1948. (Re-quoted from *The Australian Social Crediter*).

And have you noticed the vivid interest which the common man takes in the fact that we have "exchanged" about 64.7m. pounds worth of goods for about 24.2m. pounds worth? After all, full employment, you know. And as for austerity, we welcome it. Mr. Strachey says he prefers the middle class to be worse off. You will remember that Mr. Montagu Norman didn't think prosperity was good for us, but like Mr. Strachey, only for himself.

In a certain village school, taken at random, there are fourteen children. There ought to be one more, but it is "backward."

Three of the children who do attend are mentally defective. There are families in the country which produce a more or less defective child every year. Almost without exception, these potential judges of political issues are the offspring of enthusiastic supporters of the present Government, but are not quite sure what is its official title. All men being born equal, however, presumably all Governments are also equal, so why bother?

It is not necessary to go outside our own unfortunate country to observe the insulting travesty offered for public consumption by the party political system, but the evidence of its internationalism is reinforced by the antics of Messrs. Truman and Dewey in the . . . States. Everyone knows that

Mr. Dewey is a Jewish nominee; he was forced on the Republican Party with a cool disregard of electoral sentiment. To assure the Democratic Party that he is shopping with the right firm, Mr. Truman announces that he will support the New Deal ("Jew Steal") policy of the late President Roosevelt. That is as much as to say that the Presidential Election in November, like the Lord Mayor's Show, is a celebration, not a choice. The President has already been elected although his name has not been decided; he will be a Jew.

"They did get even with the Christians, and still do. They have killed the First Born (N.B., Ed. T.S.C.) of the Russians, the Germans, and the English in less than thirty years. The flower."—A distinguished Arab correspondent.

PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: September 20, 1948.

Antarctica (British Territory)

Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if Argentinian and Chilean naval parties are still occupying British territory in the Antarctic; and what steps he proposes to take in this matter.

Mr. Mayhew: Argentine and Chilean parties are still occupying posts on British territory in defiance of our protests. As I have explained to the House on previous occasions, it is the policy of His Majesty's Government to refer the question of disputed sovereignty in this region to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. There has, however, been a new development, which is welcomed by His Majesty's Government. The United States Government have made certain proposals aiming at the promotion of scientific investigation and research in Antarctica and an agreed international solution of the problem of conflicting territorial claims on the basis of some form of joint administration by the countries concerned. A communication on this subject was recently addressed by the United States Government to the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, Norway, Argentina and Chile. The terms of the reply to be made by His Majesty's Government are being carefully considered in consultation with the Commonwealth Governments concerned.

Enforcement Officers

Captain Crowder asked the Minister of Food under what regulations enforcement officers employed by his Department are empowered to question a private individual regarding packages and parcels he is carrying in his car.

Mr. Strachey: No regulations are necessary for this purpose.

House of Commons: September 22, 1948.

Farm Workers (Extra Rations)

Mr. Hurd (Newbury): I beg to move,

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, praying that the Order, dated August 3, 1948, entitled the Food (Seasonal Allowances) Order, 1948 (S.I., 1948, No. 1823), a copy of which was delivered to the Votes and Proceedings Office on August 3, in the last Session of Parliament, be annulled."

For many months past we have been trying to persuade

the Minister of Food to adopt a sensible policy for the issue of the small seasonable extra rations that are allowed for farm workers at hay time, the corn harvest, and the time when potatoes and sugar beet are lifted—the times when the farm workers are extra busy. These modest allowances—and they are very modest—are four-fifths of an ounce of sugar, a quarter of an ounce of tea, three-quarters of an ounce of margarine, two-fifths of an ounce of cheese, three-quarters of an ounce of preserves, and half a point per day. These little extra rations are supposed to make up for the lack of canteens. . . .

. . . We have pressed the Minister to allow farm workers or their wives to draw these extra allowances directly. We have pressed that the farm workers and their wives should be trusted, in just the same way as miners and their wives are trusted to draw the extra meat ration directly. There is no new principle involved in this. We thought we had made some impression on the Minister, and the National Farmers' Union and the two workers' unions were also hopeful. However, on August 3, the Minister made this order that we are discussing now. It perpetuates the unsatisfactory arrangement by which the farmer must apply for these allowances and distribute them to his men, or a local officer of the men's trade union may procure the food in bulk and distribute it. By this order not only does the Minister perpetuate what we consider to be an unsatisfactory system, but he also takes powers to enforce it with most extraordinary penalties. If the farmer fails to meet this obligation, then he may be liable to a fine of £500 or to two years' imprisonment, or both. That may be a salutary warning to any laggard farmers who fail to do their duty; but when we look at this order we find the most extraordinarily fatuous provision in it which really must bring the law into disrepute if such penalties as I have mentioned are ever enforced. . . .

. . . What I wish to draw attention to is Section I, which lays down that if a farmer takes on even casual labour at harvest time or, it may be, at the fruit picking time, or the potato lifting time, or the sugar beet lifting time, he must give 24 hours' prior notice to the Food Office, and not only make out the form but deliver it. What a factitious impractical arrangement to make. [HON. MEMBERS: "Why?"] I will tell hon. Gentlemen why. At the moment, we are busy potato lifting. I am personally only too delighted if two extra chaps come along and say, "Look here, we can give you a hand." Under this order, I must say that I cannot take them on today or tomorrow, but I can on Saturday, after I have chased to the Food Office and got this form and completed it, but otherwise I shall be liable to very serious penalties. What a crazy way of administering what could be quite a simple matter.

. . . So dissatisfied are the farmers and the farmer workers that the three unions—the Farmers' Union and the two workers' unions—sent a deputation to the Ministry of Food on September 1. They were unanimous in pressing for these extra rations to be issued direct to the men, and also in pointing out that in many agricultural districts the present supplies of points goods were inadequate to supply anything reasonably sustaining to put into sandwiches. I know that I must not pursue that point, but I would like to say that undoubtedly the shortage of points for allocation to farmers has been made worse by the operation of this order, by necessitating that these allowances should be drawn in bulk by the farmer. If the Minister doubts that, let one of the clever men in her Ministry go to a village in Berkshire and

see how this arrangement operates.

The farmer has, say, to draw these extra-seasonal rations for 16 men. He takes the S.A. 1 forms to his grocer, the man with whom he is registered for rationed goods. The grocer is placed in a great difficulty, because if he lets the farmer have a distribution for his men of all the points goods he went on the 16 S.A. 1 forms, he will have nothing left for his regular registered customers. Only this afternoon, we were told again that points goods are now allocated to grocers on the basis of their registrations for rationed goods. Would it not be much better if these extra points were given to the men direct and the demand spread? . . .

These considerations were put to officials of the Ministry of Food on September 1 by this joint deputation, and they receive the smooth, half promising reply which one would expect from a Department presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Minister of Food, but, nevertheless, the deputation were not satisfied. They asked to see the Minister himself. Then the T.U.C. was brought into the picture. That happened because the National Union of Agricultural Workers ventured to raise this matter at the Margate Conference. We all know that the relations between the T.U.C. and the Minister are pretty close, but until this episode, I had no idea that they were as close as they are, because what happened was that immediately the Minister of Food sent one of his officials to the Margate Conference, and it was arranged that the spokesmen of the National Union of Agricultural Workers should get up on the rostrum and recant.

The farm workers, he said, were glad to report that arrangements had been made to deal with their difficulty, and they were grateful to the T.U.C. for its efforts on their behalf. Well, the T.U.C. and the Minister may have squared this up to their satisfaction, but as the representative of several thousand farm workers I am not satisfied; I am not satisfied that they are getting the sustaining food to which they are entitled. . . .

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food (Dr. Edith Summerskill): . . . But I do want to refer to this order [HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear?"] Certainly, I like to set hon. Members an example. In 1941 my Ministry, in consultation with the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Farmers' Union, and the T.U.C. decided to make these seasonal allowances. They can be obtained for harvesting, hay-making, hoeing and singling of root crops, lambing, sheep-shearing, and threshing. The hon. Member from Chichester (Mr. Joynson-Hicks) described the woes of the farmer. The poor man had to fill in hundreds of forms. But these are the only operations which entitle a farmer to apply for seasonal allowances. I find it difficult to understand why he should be called on to fill in hundreds of forms. . . .

. . . I think it was the hon. Member for Westmorland (Mr. Vane) who said that the procedure was so complicated that it was very difficult for these people to find the right answer to every question, and that in order to answer one of them he had had to come to me. I must say that that is a gross exaggeration. We have arranged that the farm workers' representatives, the Ministry officials and the representatives of the National Farmers' Union can meet at both the divisional and local office levels and that any question there will be answered by an official whom we ask to attend. Furthermore, the whole procedure has been simplified. A pamphlet has been agreed upon and will be distributed widely in which

even the simplest question will be answered. Therefore, we have tried as far as possible to meet the difficulties, not only of the farmers, but of the farm workers. . . .

Mr. R. S. Hudson (Southport): . . . The choice lies between two alternative methods. In this order the Government are selecting one method, the method of saying that farmers should be compelled to collect these rations and distribute them to the workers, under a heavy penalty. I shall have a word to say about the ludicrous results that ensue and the quite unnecessary difficulties it imposes on farmers. The alternative, which we believe to be the right method, is to say that the farm workers' wives should be given a right to these points direct and allowed to go into the shops and buy what they like with these points. That is the fundamental difference between us on this matter. I repeat: if it was put to a plebiscite of farm workers and their wives, there is not a shadow of doubt on the part of any reasonable being here which way they would vote. They would vote in favour of being allowed to draw these rations themselves.

The result of what the Government are doing under this order is definitely to discriminate against a particular class of the community, namely, the farmers. They are compelling the farmers to do in respect of their workers—and I am sure that the hon. Lady will agree with me—what no other employer in the country is compelled to do in respect of his workers. They are compelling farmers to do what no firm in this country running an industrial canteen for, say 100 workers, is compelled to do; that is, to say 24 hours in advance that on the following day there would be 101 workers using the canteen. One only has to put it that way to see the ridiculousness of the position. The unfortunate farmer is compelled to say 24 hours in advance the exact number of men or women, or children for that matter, he is going to employ on a certain day.

The hon. Lady said she could not understand why the hon. Member for Chichester (Mr. Joynson-Hicks) said that the farmer might have to make 100 applications. That just shows her ignorance of the difficulties of practical farming today. Let me quote my own case.

Mr. Alpass (Thornbury): The right hon. Gentleman is on dangerous ground there.

Mr. Hudson: I happen to have a crop which will shortly be ready for harvesting and I require a considerable number of casual workers. I went to the local employment exchange and asked if they could provide labour for this work, which is a light job which married women can easily do. I said that I could arrange the hours of work on any particular day of the week to suit any particular woman who has a few hours to spare and is willing to help. They said that, of course, they could get a certain number of women for the work. But there is no means of my knowing from one day to another exactly who is going to come the following morning or how many will come, or whether they will come in the morning or in the afternoon. Yet under this ridiculous Regulation I am compelled either to break the law or, when the women turn up, to say, "I did not know, Mrs. Jones, that you were coming today; I thought you were coming tomorrow." As I have no application in, you cannot work today." It is fantastic. The hon. Lady has not taken the trouble to read her own order, which says:

"Where any person employs, gratuitously or for reward, any
(continued on page 7.)

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Initiative

It is symptomatic that recently there has been a wave of rediscovery of writers touching more or less clearly upon matters which affect us, concerning, as they do, the grounds of objection, familiar to readers of this paper, to the general direction of social and (under compulsion) individual policy. It is not we only who are unearthing such expressions of thought and feeling. Some of the writers to whom we refer had, apparently, only a 'debating-society' motive behind their remarks, and prejudice rather than sound instinct guided their reflections. Others more considerable have been forgotten, overwhelmed by the avalanche of printed matter, or 'incorporated' in a setting of which they must have most strongly disapproved, since the effect of their inclusion is only to fortify the very weaknesses they set out to repair—*corruptio optimi pessima*.

Whatever may have been the real meaning of the extraordinary burst of activity which marked the years following the Revolution of 1648, right on into the nineteenth century, of advisors, meddlers and planners who were attracted by the possibilities afforded by the field of education, not all of them were shallow men or plotters against the individual good. An example is Johann Heinrich Pestolozzi, who entered this world in 1746. He is quoted as an 'authority' on education, and future school teachers 'know all about him.' His "Evening Hour of a Hermit," says Robert Ulich, remained almost unknown, in spite of its author's fame during the later years of his life. A passage from it appears on another page of this issue. It was, it seems, the result of an almost mystical experience born of disappointment at the failure of Pestalozzi's first educational experiment, and contains in a clearer form than his later work the idea, "not yet realised in our time, namely, that education of both young and adults is ineffective unless it grows out of the initiative of the people themselves, unless it speaks their language, and unless it influences not only isolated individuals but the life of the whole community."

Well, nowadays the language of the class room is more and more borrowed if not from 'the people' from at least the people in the street (it is the age of the common man), and it influences the whole world or nothing, if only for the reason that acts of Parliament have gone far towards abolishing isolated individuals altogether. But it certainly does not spring from the initiative of the people themselves, which any reader of "The Evening Hour" would deem to be the condition first in the mind of the author, whatever commentators may place before it.

To exercise initiative is to be launched with the forces of the Universe at one's back, and whatever the scale or object of the enterprise, there is nothing intermediate, moderate or mediocre about the result: it is not a mere lurching between guide-ropes: it has quality even if, sometimes, bad quality. Bacon deemed the ringing of a bell to call the wits together "the meanest office," and "only sparks" that which could

work "but upon matter prepared"; but the mind and spirit which is "apt to be kindled" is apt from within not from without. "Give me place to stand, I will move the earth," is a sentiment appropriate to all, not only to Aristotle.

The Pope and Financial Policies

According to a message to the *Catholic Herald* from Vatican City, the Pope addressed a hundred of the delegates to a congress of the International Public Finance Institute in Rome on October 2.

The newspaper says he spoke in French for several minutes about the world economic crisis, urging the delegates not to put into effect in their countries measures which would "ruin morale from on high, offend and wound the people's sense of justice."

"Many people," he said, "too many people guided by preconceived notions by party spirit and sentiment rather than reason, as economists and politicians for the moment, deal with and treat of financial and fiscal questions with more ardour and earnestness and with the more assurance and nonchalance, as their incompetence is greater.

"Sometimes these men do not even seem to suspect the necessity of solving the questions with careful study, multiple observations and investigations and experience.

"The financial needs of nations, large and small, have greatly increased. The fault is not alone due to international complications or tensions. It is due also, and much more perhaps, to the unmeasured extension of the activity of the state, activity which, dictated too often by false or unhealthy ideologies, makes of the financial policy and particularly of the fiscal policy an instrument at the service of interests of a completely different order.

"Thus one sees today, in many departments of life, a skilful and painstaking system of planning and procedure, but without an interior spring of strength, without life, without soul.

"The average citizen, little by little, is losing all touch with the financial affairs of the state. Even in the wisest policy, he always suspects some mysterious manoeuvres, some evil hidden motive against which he should defend himself.

"It is there, definitely, that one should look for the moral conscience of the people in the field of public welfare, and in the field of fiscal matters particularly."

Public-finance experts, he said, should "abstain from those measures which despite their technical virtuosity, wound the people, in their sense of the just and unjust, or that relegate to second place the people's vital force, its legitimate ambition to harvest the fruit of its own work, without worry over family security—considerations that deserve first, not second place.

"The financial system of the state should be directed to reorganise the economic situation in such a way to assure to the people the material conditions indispensable to life and to the pursuit of the supreme aim assigned by the Creator—the development of the people's intellectual, spiritual and religious life."

For Readers' Use

A limited quantity of back numbers of *The Social Crediter* is available for distribution to readers, on request, on payment of postage. The issues are selected issues going back to 1945. Many numbers are sold out, and it is not practicable to allow readers discretion in the choice of available issues. Will readers who desire copies please inform the publishers? Orders will be executed as they arrive until the supply is exhausted.

"There should be an Act of Parliament . . ."

(From *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, June 23, 1860).

When a Briton sees anything wrong which the law does not already provide against, he is pretty sure to be heard saying: 'There ought to be an act of parliament to put it to rights.' But, in nine cases out of ten, it will be found that an act of parliament on the subject would only do further harm, and no good; and this is because in nine out of ten cases in which the Briton wishes for legislation, he is only expressing offence at something displeasing to his own prejudices or inclinations, but which is agreeable to the prejudices and inclinations of other people: he wants, in short, to impose a restraint upon the liberty of some of his fellow-citizens, in points indifferent to the general interest, convenience, and taste, and which, therefore, had much better not be meddled with.

Though our function is not political, we may be permitted to express surprise that so much attention has been given for eighty years past to possible improvements of the legislative power, and so little to the character of the acts which it is desirable to see any legislature pass. While we think of the claims of Jack and Tom to vote in the election of a legislator, and deliberate whether Little Peddlington should have one or two representatives in the Lower House, scarcely a remark is ever heard about what are and what are not the proper objects of legislation. The great body of the public remains on this subject very little enlightened. It must be admitted that things were at one time worse in this respect. In the seventeenth century, it was considered as proper and fitting that parliament should prevent the use of expensive dress; that it should compel holders of grain, during a scarcity, to bring it to market, and sell it at a price below its value; and even that it should prescribe the proper stuff in which a corpse should go to the grave: while much more lately, it was allowed to the legislature to forbid the lieges to deal with foreign countries for needful articles; in other words, a modified starvation in the community was absolutely enforced. We have cleared ourselves of these errors; but many remain behind, and above all, that of a too great tendency to look to government for the enforcement or prohibition of things beyond its sphere.

The evil, in reality, consists in an inclination we all have to impose what we think salutary rules and restraints upon each other. Generally, the object aimed at is something we think highly moral, something we believe to be fraught with great blessings to the community. Only let us get it embodied in a law binding on all, and which the executive must enforce, and a step will be made towards a regeneration of society. The intention is usually good, and this naturally makes us only the more earnest in our desire to effect our purpose. But the worst things that fanaticism ever dictated were based in good intention. We are bound, in the first place, to consider if we have a right to impose our own views upon others, to the detriment of their liberty of action. We are bound to make sure that, in working out this supposed good for our fellow-creatures, we shall not inflict upon them great and overbalancing evils.

Now, every restriction that is put upon our own healthy spontaneous action, we feel to be an evil—this is acknowledged by all. That we submit to any restraint, indeed, is only a concession we make for the sake of some indispensable good. Each man is entitled to the free exercise of his judgment regarding matters concerning himself, whether of a secular or a religious nature, so long as he does not allow

this to interfere with the like freedom of others. Each man is entitled to the free use of his faculties of body and mind, for the promotion of his own material interests, so long as he respects the same rights in others. If this be granted, it must follow that there is more need for a government to be watchful to prevent, than to favour the imposing of clogs on our several freedoms of thought and action. In all matters affecting our personal movements and habits, the way we shall spend our time, the access we shall have to enjoyments and recreations, or what we severally consider as such; in all matters in which our profoundest feelings and convictions are concerned; if a state power is to interfere at all, it should be as a guardian to protect each individual and group of individuals from the restraints which others would impose.

"Ah! freedom is a noble thing," says old Archdeacon Barbour. "Freedom makes man to have liking." Seeing how all enjoyments are a mockery without it, how *with it* even poverty may be blest, it becomes of importance that the control which we exercise over each other by mere force of opinion should also be conducted with gentleness. To most men, ridicule is as terrible as an act of parliament. There may, consequently, be as great a tyranny exercised in censorious remarks on our neighbour's dress and manners, the way he spends his leisure hours, and the opinions he is known to entertain, as there could be through the medium of statutes and police-offices. It would be well that we took more liberal views of all such matters, since a greater freedom in them would undoubtedly conduce to the general happiness. It is remarkable that liberality in this particular does not necessarily advance hand in hand with political freedom. On the contrary, America, the freest of states, has a people believed to be more enslaved to each other by the tyranny of public opinion, than is to be found in any other country.

The Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, brother of the celebrated Alexander, and a man of large experience in high political situations, wrote a work on *The Sphere and Duties of Government*, in which he gave the weight of his great authority to the conclusion, that the solicitude of the State should be confined to the preservation of the security, and not extended to the positive welfare, of the people. We are not inclined to discuss this proposition at present. At the utmost, we would ask our friends to keep it in view as a principle which it would be well to lean to in future, as that most favourable to our great object, the utmost possible freedom of individual action. With the account of M. von Humboldt's ideas, which has been given by an able English writer, we shall conclude this paper.

"His investigation starts from the postulate that the welfare of men as individuals is the end for which the state exists, and not the increase, wealth or prosperity of the *association* formed by those individual men, other than as the association is the mere sum-total of the elementary individuals. He proceeds to assert, that the happiness of men lies not in possession, but in activity, for it is activity and not possession which strengthens and elevates the faculties. It follows from this that men require a sphere in which they can freely choose where and how to exercise their faculties; and moreover, that a vast variety of situations should exist, so that each man may find a sphere suited to the specialities of his own individual case. But government implies authoritative direction, and leads to uniformity of situations. Authoritative direction suppresses the delightful action of the faculties which is necessary to the growth of the individual man; uniformity of situation, the necessary consequence of control from a centre, deprives the individual man of the choice of situation and circumstances for the

exercise of his faculties which would otherwise naturally exist, and want of a harmonious situation enfeebles the faculties themselves. The suppression of the spontaneous action of the individual is followed by the decline of active energy and the deterioration of the moral character. Reliance on the care of and provision of the state is substituted for the vigour of personal interest and resolution, while essential right and wrong are confounded with mere external obedience to the accidental law. To think and cater for men may make them easy and quiet, the great object of despotic governments, but it is not to make them substantially happy. Men so treated are helpless they are overwhelmed when inevitable emergencies happen; they do not rise under the pressure which should stimulate and strengthen them; they are dwarfed in spirit; they accomplish nothing great. Governments at best can look only to what is profitable; but the true nature of man requires abundant exercise about that which is great and good, independent of results, and which cannot be regulated, or even defined, by rules and forms, the necessary implements of government. Governments can contemplate only external issues; true life of man is concerned only with the spirit and manner with which a thing is done the issues, in this view, are of inferior moment. Government can only impose commands; but morality commonly grows feeble where its office is superseded by authority. Government can only act by general rules, framed according to the average condition of the mass; but the true life of the individual requires guidance according to the infinite fluctuations of circumstances, and government injures the individual whenever it hinders the corresponding adaptation. Government can only order its business in relation to the truths already discovered, and interests already established; but where true manhood is active, new truth is constantly appearing, and new interests are ever being created, the office of which is to discipline and exalt still further the manhood out of which they have sprung; but government, always and necessarily unprepared for them, inevitably embarrasses their operation, and greatly damages their effect. Finally, these interferences of government, once begun, always go on with ever-increasing necessity. The first of them creates relations and interests which could not be foreseen; these require new interferences, which in turn create new complications, until at length law becomes a mystery instead of a guide, and the spurious business of the state can be managed only by a vast class artificially raised up, and separated in feeling, views and interest from the people who have only to obey them.*

The Roosevelt "Myth"

The Republican high command has decided not to raise the ghost of Franklin D. Roosevelt during the campaign. According to reliable reports from New York, Governor Dewey will refrain from attacking Roosevelt personally, and from assailing the late President's domestic and foreign policies. Delicacy has little to do with this decision. The theory is that a great many voters resent criticism of F.D.R. and his policies. The Dewey strategy board, therefore, believes that such voters should not be alienated by some painful reminders. Whether or not the lower echelons of the Dewey battle order will be directly discouraged from disseminating anti-Roosevelt literature may be another matter. But the national 'Party line' is to avoid offending voters who still cling to what remains of the Roosevelt myth.—*Human Events* (Washington).

**Westminster Review*, October, 1854.

The Evening Hour of a Hermit

"Man who is the same whether in the palace or in a hut, what is he in his innermost nature? Why do not the wise tell us? Why are the greatest of our thinkers not concerned with knowing what their race is? Does a peasant use his ox without knowing it? Does not a shepherd care for the nature of his sheep?"

"And you who use man and profess that you guard and nurture him, do you care for him as the peasant cares for his ox? Do you tend him as the shepherd tends his sheep? Does your wisdom help you to understand truly your race and is your goodness the goodness of enlightened guardians of the people?"

"What man is, what his needs are, what elevates and humiliates him, what strengthens and what weakens him ought to be the most important knowledge for the rulers as well as for the humblest.

"Mankind feels this need everywhere; everywhere man is struggling upward with pain, labour, and passion. Generations after generations fade away with their lives unfulfilled, and the end of their days tells them that they completed their careers without achieving their goal. Their end is not like the end of ripe fruits which have fulfilled their task before the sleep of the winter.

"Why does man seek truth without method and scope? Why does he not search for the necessities of his nature that he may build upon them the enjoyment and happiness of his life? Why does he not seek such truth as gives him peace and enjoyment, which makes him content, which develops his strength, brightens his days and brings blessings upon his years?"

"Man, driven by his needs can find the road to this truth nowhere but in his own nature.

"The nursling, his hunger satisfied, learns in this way what his mother is to him; she develops in him love, the essence of gratitude, before the infant is able to utter the words 'duty' and 'thank'; in the same natural way the son finds his happiness in the duties towards his father who gives him bread and a hearth to warm himself.

"Man, if you seek truth in this way of Nature you will find it as you need it according to your station and your career.

"Obedience to your nature is essential for your rest and your peace; it is your guiding star in your personal matters; it is the foundation on which your life ought to rest, and it is the spring of your happiness.

"Following the path of your nature you cannot make use of all truths. The sphere of knowledge from which man in his individual station can receive happiness is limited; its sphere begins closely around him, around his own self

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and his nearest relationships, from there his knowledge will expand, and while expanding it must regulate itself according to this firm centre of all the powers of truth.

"The pure feeling for truth is formed in limited circles and pure human wisdom rests upon the firm basis of man's knowledge of his closest relationships and upon his maturity in handling his own personal matters.

"Power, strong and clear sentiments and a sense for right application is its expression.

"Sublime road of Nature, the truth to which thou leadest is power and action and source of culture, enrichment and harmony of humankind.

"Yet thou permittest not man to grow hastily and superficially and thy son, O Nature, cannot escape his natural limits, his speech cannot be more than the expression and the result of his knowledge. If men exceed the sequence of thy order, they destroy their inner power and disturb their peace and harmony.

"They do so if they immerse themselves in the thousand-fold confusion of verbal instruction and opinions, before having trained their minds for truth and wisdom through firsthand knowledge, or if they make sound, speech and words instead of truth derived from reality the basis of their mental development and of the growth of their capacities.

"This artificial method of schooling, forging ahead of the free, slow and patient course of Nature and preferring words to things, gives man an artificial polish which conceals his lack of inherent natural power. Such a method can satisfy only times like our century."—J. H. Pestalozzi.

PARLIAMENT (continued from page 3.)

worker for the carrying out of any seasonal operation on agricultural land, that person shall, not later than 24 hours prior to the commencement of each such operation, complete and deliver to a Food Executive Officer of the Ministry of Food for the area in which the Agricultural land, or part thereof, is situate an application form."

That means that for every single day in respect of every single man who happens to be employed not continuously, but perhaps with a gap, I have to send in a separate application. It will not be a case of 100 a year in my case; it will be a case of 100 a month. It is no good the hon. Lady laughing, jeering and sneering. That is the case.

Dr. Summerskill: The right hon. Gentleman knows that he has never sent in 100 applications. He knows that the conditions he is describing just do not exist.

Mr. Hudson: There is a tradition in this House that if an hon. Member makes a statement, and especially from this Box, about something which he knows, that statement is accepted. If the hon. Lady is deliberately accusing me of telling a lie, I shall ask her to withdraw. I am telling the House what is going to occur in my particular case in the

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months of November, December and January, if this order goes through. She will have to take it from me that that is the case. I will have to send in hundreds of applications before the end of the year. I hope now that in the light of that statement the hon. Lady will withdraw her remark.

Dr. Summerskill: I say that that is a gross exaggeration.

Hon. Members: Withdraw.

Mr. Hudson: I must press the hon. Lady to say whether there is any evidence to show that the statement which I have made is not right.

Dr. Summerskill: The right hon. Gentleman knows perfectly well, because he has been a Minister, and at the Ministry of Agriculture, that that Ministry discussed this matter with my Department; and he also knows that before an order of this kind is made, the farmers and farm workers' representatives are consulted and, if 24 hours—the figure which is put in—is ridiculous, as he suggests, it would never have been put into the order.

Mr. Hudson: All I can say is that I am glad the hon. Lady makes that point because my information is that the Department, so far from consulting the farmers and the farm workers on this particular matter, actually refused to meet a deputation; what is more, a deputation designed to urge that, instead of this, there should be the solution that the farm workers' wives should be allowed to draw the ration direct. What actually happened was that the Ministry refused to agree to receive a deputation from the farmers, and I was very surprised indeed to hear the hon. Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Gooch) make the statement which he did make. I admired his courage because I have it on the authority of the Ministry of Food that the T.U.C. refused to allow the National Union of Agricultural Workers to go on a deputation, but, instead, urged the adoption of this scheme which, he says, is the best solution.

Mr. Gooch: The right hon. Gentleman knows that, even when he was Minister of Agriculture, we pressed for the food to be made directly available to the farm workers' wives. We still stand our ground on that point, despite anything which may be said about what the T.U.C. has stated.

Mr. Hudson: Yes, but what the T.U.C. says is one matter. This is the letter from the Ministry of Food:

"... I have an explicit assurance from the T.U.C.—

here we see the connection—

"that they would not consent to any such deputation being sent by individual unions ..."

It is pretty clear, on the face of it, that this question of rations for farm workers has not been decided on its merits in the real interests of the farm workers. It has been decided by the Ministry of Food and the T.U.C. on quite other grounds; and when we talk of "differential rations"—which were not mentioned until the hon. Lady referred to them—and she says that the T.U.C. objected to "differential rations," how does she reconcile the position to which we refer with the fact that miners' wives may draw additional rations? What I want to know is why farm workers' wives should not be allowed to draw additional rations because, if it was not for the hard work of the farm workers and their wives, we should not be so well fed as we are even at present. I remind the hon. Lady that it is not the agricultural workers who have absenteeism; who are demanding always shorter hours, and yet they are being called upon by the hon. Lady, in this one respect to do what they do not want to do. It is farm

workers' wives who have deserved this ration far more than miners' wives. For that reason we shall vote against this order because we believe that it is not in the best interest of farm workers or their wives.

Question put. . . .

The House divided: Ayes, 47; Noes, 148.

House of Commons: September 23, 1948.

Artificial Insemination

Mr. Driberg asked the Minister of Health what facilities for artificial insemination are provided at clinics under the National Health Service; if such facilities include both A.I.(H.) and A.I.(D.); what information he has received from such clinics regarding the physical and mental health and development of children born as a result of artificial insemination; and if he will also make inquiries on this subject from private clinics.

Mr. Bevan: No such facilities are provided. On the last part of the Question I am not advised that such an inquiry would be justified.

Identity Cards

Major Lloyd asked the Minister of Health when it is intended to abolish identity cards.

Mr. Bevan: The card is an essential part of the National Registration system which renders valuable services in food and clothes rationing and in connection with the National Service Acts, the National Health Service and the system of Family Allowances. The National Register also proves useful in a variety of other ways of benefit to the public.

Newfoundland (Confederation)

Mr. Symonds asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what action is being taken to ensure that all interests are adequately represented in the negotiations before a final decision is made as regards the confederation of Newfoundland with Canada.

Mr. P. Noel-Baker: After the recent referendum in Newfoundland, the Governor appointed a delegation of seven to meet the Canadian Government and to settle the final terms of union between the two countries. The leader of the delegation is Mr. A. S. Walsh, the Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Government; he and his colleagues will leave for Ottawa early in October. I am satisfied that the members of the delegation will fully represent the general interests of Newfoundland. Individuals and organisations in the Island who may wish to do so have been invited to submit their views.

Mending Wool

Mr. Sharp asked the President of the Board of Trade whether, in order to assist the sock-mending housewife to economise in the use of wool, he will no longer require wool mending skeins to be made in the war-time make up of very short lengths.

Mr. Bottomley: The reason why coupon-free mending wool must be cut into short lengths is to discourage the public from buying it for handknitting.

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