

# THE SOCIAL CREDITER

## FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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### From Week to Week

We have, on many occasions, expressed our respect for, and agreement with the political views of *The Tablet*. It would be strange if it were not so, since our contemporary's sources of information, and its outlook, are both traditional, Catholic (in the non-doctrinal as well as the religious connotation) and second to none. But we have been careful to distinguish between its political and economic opinions. The latter appear for the most part to represent the writings of Mr. G. D. H. Cole in his lapses from the provision of detective stories nicely attuned to the taste of the W.E.A.

But we should not suspect Mr. Cole of writing "The Makers of Money" (*The Tablet*, March 22) although Mr. James Dandy, who signs it, has so far escaped our acquaintance. We do not think Mr. Cole would say "He [Major Douglas] had started from the old premise that the creation of credit could be carried on almost without limit" and refer to this as "a basic fallacy in his reasoning"; or refer to "the Major's Greenshirts."

According to Mr. Dandy (*cf.* Americanese adjective, "dandy") "Mr. Aberhart was forced to ask for a dissolution in 1940. . . . Little has been heard of Social Credit since."

Much of this stuff suggests journalese, but one, almost the initial, statement would justify the belief that Mr. Dandy understands, even if he does not say, what he is writing about. It is that "credit creation by the banks is attacked on two mutually opposed scores: on the one hand, that it produces too much money; on the other, that it does not produce enough.

Now it so happens that with a little careful emendation, this statement is true in both cases, and if Mr. Dandy understands it (he does not deny either defect), he knows more about financial theory than he wishes to tell his readers.

*Industry* distributes too little money, and the banking system distributes too much *on loan*.

We await with interest Mr. Dandy's further promised *jeu d'esprit*.

We note that "Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries" by J. J. Walsh is obtainable as an American re-issue for ("estimated cost") 48/- (B. H. Blackwell, Oxford).

Mr. John Carter writes from 23, Bedford Street, London, to *The Times*:—

"Sir,—I ventured to point out that the import of books into this country is, and has been for years, restricted. Sir Stanley Unwin says it is not—except, of course, for (a) all hard-currency countries, which in practice means the United States, the only other substantial producer of books in (ap-

proximately) our own language; (b) fiction; (c) publishers who were improvident enough to import very little, or were too young to be established at all, in the datum year for the rule-of-thumb quota, 1938-39. He might have added that no poetry, no books for the young, no works of the imagination, are licensed even to quota-holders. Misleadingly or misled, I still think any one who, in the circumstances, supports with disingenuous arguments a 'governessy' attitude towards other people's import regulations, needs reminding of the mote, the gander, and the glass house."

If we ever believed it, we have long abandoned the idea that you (or anyone else) can do much with any practical situation by writing about it. There may have been a time when it was not so—before, let us suggest, the invention of printing and certainly before reading (of sorts) became a national occupation. The folk who read most, do least; they are 'great readers.' Books are very much like laws: a very few go a very long way; multiplication dilutes all their effects but one—the effect of making nonsense of each other. This is not to say that there is no reason for restricting the Englishman's access to some books published in America, and reciprocal action to correspond. We merely doubt whether the trouble obviously taken is justified. Our own experiences convince us that considerable trouble is taken.

Talking of American books, *The Times Literary Supplement* is moved by a review of three books on crime in America to wonder "what kind of a future—if any deserving the name—American society has." It remarks that "there is a wide scarlet thread of violence right through the fabric of American history." Waal, waal, waal!

Since 'American' society seems to be spreading, what kind of future has any other?

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"In spite of Senator Kefauver's and his bi-partisan senatorial colleagues' admirable aspirations, the cleaning-up of American civic and political life is the prerequisite of any cleaning-up of crime and criminals. It is no use blaming the police for winking at the bookies when the elected sheriff and a whole raft of elected judges are paid from their takings. It is no use blaming the law-enforcement officers if the mass of the people do not respect the law, do not want it for themselves and their families and pay to break it, which is what happens with gambling, slot-machines, liquor in dry States and so on. It is no use paying the police and law-enforcement officers so badly, in a lush economy, that massive bribery becomes a breaking strain, and then expecting the better half of them to shine like little candles in a naughty world. Finally, and above all, it is no use giving some 10

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## PARLIAMENT

*House of Commons: March 18, 1952.*

### Supply (Air Estimates.)

*Mr. Charles Ian Orr-Ewing (Hendon, North):* . . . I should like to make three brief points. First—and here I find myself in line with the hon. Member for Ayrshire, South (Mr. Emrys Hughes), although I hope that does not damage my political future—I suggest that we should produce more economical fighters. Something which is quicker to produce; something needing less engineering man-hours, and something more easy to maintain than those aircraft envisaged.

Secondly, we need to recruit more women for the W.R.A.F. in order to release young men for more of the combatant duties and, thirdly, there is the vital need for transport aircraft.

On the question of a cheap and simple fighter, it is surely an alarming fact—although I have no figures for British production—that a single fighter in America now takes 27 times the number of engineering man-hours that it took in 1940. The American figure is 1.13 million man-hours per aircraft. Are we not beginning to get so complex that we may never get aircraft that are better than the enemy's? By the time that they are in squadron service they may be slower than those we are up against.

The "Economist" among other papers, has drawn attention to the grave engineering problems which are going to be created in providing the new aircraft. Turbine blades were an example. Could we not go in for a rocket aircraft? I should like to draw attention to the very considerable results which the German Air Force achieved in the last years with the M.E. 163. This was a swept-wing rocket-propelled fighter, and it would go to 30,000 ft. in 2½ minutes. It was simple and cheap to produce.

I believe, although we must not draw priority and super-priority away from the "Swift" and the "Hunter," that we ought to divert some of our development effort to something which is cheaper and quicker to produce. One wonders whether the new plastic processes, which we have seen announced in the Press as developed at the Government's Research and Development Establishment at Farnborough, could not be applied and used for tail units and even wings for a new rocket fighter.

In the long-term future, we have been told today that we are going towards a greater and greater use of guided missiles for our air defence. My hon. Friend mentioned they were to be ground-to-air and air-to air, etc. I hope we will not put too much faith in the guided missile. One must realise that a guided missile, when it is fired from the ground to the air, needs to home on its target. It may home—on radiation, light reflection, ionisation or radar reflection. Whatever it homes-on, it is capable of being jammed. I hope we will not put so much of our engineering effort or so much of our security into this one weapon and find, when it comes to be used in an operational crisis, it is jammed and does not achieve its proper result.

My own recommendation would be that we go for something between the "Swift" and the "Hunter" types and the guided missile, and that we produce a simple rocket

aircraft manned by a person. One cannot jam a man's eyes or a man's intelligence with anything like the ease with which one can jam an electronic weapon homing on its target. I should also like to ask my hon. Friend whether an evaluation has been done on the load which will be thrown on industry, particularly on the electronic industry by these guided missiles. One reads in American papers that each one of them may use up to 100 or more sub-miniature valves. Of course, each one goes to its destruction and never comes back to be used again. Have we got the economic capacity and the industrial know-how to produce all the equipment necessary to produce these guided missiles? . . .

*House of Commons: March 19, 1952.*

### Hydro-Electric Development Bill

*Mr. Gerald Nabarro (Kidderminster):* . . . On the Second Reading of the Bill I said that I would support it for this reason—and perhaps I may quote from the peroration of my speech on Second Reading:

"I have said today that the excessively high cost of capital development of the hydro-electric schemes could only be justified on account of the fact that there is a direct saving in coal. It is primarily for that reason that I am supporting the Bill."—[OFFICIAL REPORT, 29th January, 1952; Vol. 495, c. 100.]

That is a very legitimate reason, but it does not detract in any way from the necessity for this House to scrutinise carefully the measure of capital investment granted under the Bill and the span of years in which the capital investment so granted shall be expended. It is fortunate that the Report stage of the Bill is being taken after the Budget, whereas the Second Reading and the Committee stage were taken before the Chancellor's Budget statement.

I want to quote from a speech made only the day before yesterday by my right hon. Friend the Member for Aldershot (Mr. Lyttelton)—a speech upon this very important question of capital investment. I suggest, with great respect to hon. Members who represent Scottish constituencies, that we are not considering a parochial Scottish issue. This is an issue involving "below the line" expenditure in the national investment schedule, and it is a matter which is just as important to English Members as it is to Scottish Members.

. . . I do not wish to be contentious at this stage of the Bill, but rather to find the highest common factor of agreement with Her Majesty's Government in the matter of the figures put forward by the Hydro-Electric Board. It is a fact that in the hydro-electric scheme in Scotland the present cost per kilowatt installed is £200, whereas in a thermal station, an ordinary power station, the capital cost per kilowatt installed is £60. From those simple figures, and without waxing at all technical it will become evident that the capital cost of providing equipment per kilowatt of power is three times as great for a hydro-electric scheme in Scotland as it is for a thermal power station.

When we are short of money for capital investment I submit that a three times greater capital investment per kilowatt is a major consideration for this House. The second issue, which is a parallel consideration—

*Sir Ian Fraser (Morecambe and Lonsdale):* Would my

hon. Friend permit a question? Although the cost is as he says, does not the hydro-electric scheme use more cement, and more workers of various kinds, but less skill? Is not that perhaps a point?

*Mr. Nabarro:* If my hon. Friend will allow me to continue my argument I will, in time, pass to responding to his point.

The second point of major relevance is the fact that a hydro-electric scheme is often considered to last in perpetuity, or for all time. [An HON. MEMBER: "Yes."] An hon. Member opposite says, "Yes." That is not strictly correct. The length of time which a hydro-electric scheme is estimated to last is 75 years. That is the period on which most of the hydro-electric schemes in this country are based. A new thermal station is generally estimated to last 25 years. Therefore, a hydro-electric scheme lasts three times as long as a thermal station.

The period of amortisation of plant and equipment for a hydro-electric scheme is three times as long as for a thermal power station. But, as the capital cost of a hydro-electric scheme is three times greater than for a thermal power station, the two considerations cancel each other out in terms of the sum of money which must be amortised for every unit of electricity generated in each year.

*Mr. Alex. Anderson (Motherwell):* Is not it the case that the Hydro-Electric Board must sell their current at a price comparable with the cheapest steam stations? Is not it a fact that they have done that for the last five years and this year, in spite of a rise in costs, are not they still making a profit and bringing electricity to areas where no private enterprise concern would go?

*Mr. Nabarro:* The hon. Member is partly right and I will cover his point in due course. I was just clearing up the point that the greater length of life of a hydro-electric station almost exactly off-sets the cost of installation, in terms of annual depreciation or amortisation of plant and equipment.

The point made by the right hon. Gentleman is that the cost of a unit of electricity is the same. Indeed, that is absolutely correct. If he will look up the broadsheet issued by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board to hon. Members of this House he will see that in the final paragraph, it is stated that, including transmission charges, the cost of a unit of electricity is exactly the same whether generated by steam station or hydro. Therefore, the capital costs as between the two types cancel themselves out and the cost of a unit of electricity is equal in each case, we are driven to only two remaining economic issues.

One is the amount of coal that can be saved by this capital investment, which this Amendment seeks to reduce, and the other is the issue of satisfying the local needs of electricity in the North of Scotland. May I speak first on the coal saving, because it directly affects the question of capital investment? I take the figure given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Stirling (Mr. Woodburn), who, on Second Reading, said that for the capital investment to date, which is £47,500,000, the saving of coal is 500,000 tons a year. Those are the figures which the right hon. Gentleman gave. I think they are on the high side, but I will take them as being correct.

In days of extreme stringency of money for capital

investment, it is imperative that every pound we invest should give us the greatest possible yield, either in electric power or in coal economy. That £47,500,000 invested in any one of half a dozen different projects would give us a yield in coal economy three or four times as great.

May I give one example to prove my point? Last Friday week, the hon. Lady the Member for Coatbridge and Airdrie (Mrs. Mann) was pleading very eloquently on the need for installing modern appliances in the homes of Scotland in order to conserve fuel. If we had put this £47 million that has already been spent in the hydro-electric scheme into new grates in Scottish homes, it would provide, at £10 a time, 4,750,000 such grates, and each one would save half a ton of coal a year. I am glad to have the support of the hon. Member for Ayrshire, South (Mr. Emrys Hughes), who represents a mining constituency, because one of his purposes is to stop men going down the pits unnecessarily. The hon. Gentleman will therefore support me when I say that 4,750,000 grates, at an average cost of £10 a time, would provide—

*Mr. Speaker:* This seems to be an argument directed not only against the Bill as a whole, but against the parent Act. We are really considering the Amendment, and I hope the hon. Gentleman will come back to it.

*Mr. Nabarro:* I was endeavouring to demonstrate a comparison of capital investment yields in support of my plea that the amount that we propose to invest under this Bill is too large in present circumstances. However, if I may, I will complete that argument by saying that if we spend that £47 million in new modern appliance grates, it would yield approximately four times as much coal economy as the 500,000 tons of coal that is saved each year by the investment in hydro-electric schemes.

*Sir William Darling (Edinburgh, South):* But how many tons of coal would be required to make the 4,750,000 grates: [Laughter.]

*Mr. Nabarro:* Hon Gentlemen opposite should wait a minute; they have got it coming to them. My hon. Friend inquires how much cast iron will be required for the grates. [HON. MEMBERS: "No, coal."] All right; how much coal would be required to make the cast iron that would be put into the grates in the houses. Not half as much coal as was required to make the steel which has already been consumed in the hydro-electric scheme—not half as much.

Let me come to the final point, that of providing electricity to the local residents in the north of Scotland. On the Second Reading of this Bill I was interrupted on many occasions because hon. Members said that I was seeking to criticise the legitimate requirements for electricity in the north of Scotland. I corrected them and said that was not the case because the existing capacity of hydro-electric schemes in Scotland is more than enough to meet the needs of the 400,000 odd persons in the seven crofter counties. This further investment which we are now discussing, and which I suggest is too great, is solely designed to provide electricity for the Scottish Lowland grid and for the north of England grid.

When the Joint-Under Secretary of State replied to me on the Committee stage he said it was going to take 20 years to spend this £100 million. Therefore, what we

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Saturday, April 5, 1952.

### A Producers' Revolt?

"This burden of taxation will impair the efficiency of our industry, and we are calmly told it cannot be altered because the principles of accountancy are sacrosanct. The time has arrived for those principles to be subordinated to those of the national interest. If they are not so altered, there can be but one result from the present madness. . . ."

It is disappointing to hear, at this point, that 'the present madness' is our old friend the 'efficiency of industry'—"an ever-increasing average age of our tramp fleet, with no prospect of its replacement in the foreseeable future." Rejecting the hypothesis that man in society exists for the development of industry, that the aim and objective of human life is industrial expansion, not for the satisfaction of any real human need, but for its own sake, or, alternatively, as an illusory means of 'catching-up' on a chronic and progressive deficiency of purchasing-power, we nevertheless note the appearance in public discussion of the right *subject* to which attention should be directed, the consequences which arise from adherence to wrong principles of accountancy. Possibly, the innovation (outside of Social Credit circles) is significant. We hope it is; though if the correction envisaged is merely one designed to meet the producer interest, we are doomed to disappointment. It is small consolation that producers will share the disappointment.

The words quoted are from a report in the *Liverpool Echo* (an evening newspaper) of March 24 of a speech by Mr. E. C. Haslam, introducing Lord Eustace Percy's Presidential Address to the annual meeting of the North of England Shipowners' Association on the same day.

Mr. Haslam did not say (or the newspaper did not report) what were to be regarded as correct principles of accountancy.

We note at the same time that Lord Beaverbrook's *Sunday Express*, which has been taking a fling at the joint-stock banks on the score that they underpay their employees and do not disclose their profits does not disclose their profits either, or announce any system of computation, which would assist the reader to repair the omission. The *Sunday Express* may have its own axe to grind; but it is actually unnecessary to level any personal accusation against bankers on the ground of their control of credit. The banks act quite automatically according to the rules of the game, and if the public is so foolish as to sanction those rules no reason is evident why it should complain. On the surface, it seems that Mr. Haslam has begun contesting the rules—as we have done for many years.

In the absence of a specification from him, we may perhaps record here the main principles necessary to apply to rectify the situation in this and all other countries. The passage is from *Warning Democracy* by C. H. Douglas: "There are three: (1) That the cash credits of the population be equal to the collective cash prices for consumable goods for sale in that country (irrespective of the cost price of such goods), and such cash credits shall be cancelled or depreciated only on the purchase or depreciation of goods for consumption. (2) That the credits required to finance production shall be supplied not from savings but from new credits relative to production, and shall be recalled only in the ratio of general depreciation to general appreciation, (3) That the distribution of cash credits to individuals shall be progressively less dependent on employment, that is to say that the dividend shall progressively displace wages and salaries as production keeps increasing per man hour."

### Power and the State

An interesting commentary on Lord Radcliffe's broadcast lectures on Power and the State appeared as a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* for March 22. Following are the closing paragraphs:—

"If LORD RADCLIFFE lucidly traces the origins and development of this tendency, [towards collectivism] he offers no suggestions as to how it may be checked. With uncommon skill he charts the course from ROUSSEAU'S sovereignty of the people to STALIN'S sovereignty of the Politbureau, but there the road seems to end. Against the possibility that 'what is, practically, single-chamber Government, and the executive and legislative combined,' may jeopardise constitutional rights, the best safeguard he can offer is the traditional British flair for 'getting along by ignoring what wise people have said or what other peoples have done.' At the same time, he justly points out that 'the British have formed the habit of praising their institutions, which are sometimes inept, and of ignoring the character of their race, which is often superb.' Such an attitude of mind, he goes on, risks 'losing their character and being left with their institutions: a disastrous result indeed.'

"The fact is that power deserves neither to be adulated nor despised. It is to the body politic what energy is to the individual man—a means but not an end. Christianity, with its insistence that duties were owed both to CAESAR and to GOD, provided a necessary equilibrium in human affairs. Lacking such an equilibrium, the terrible danger presents itself, as we saw in the Third Reich and as we see in Soviet Russia to-day, of CAESAR becoming GOD. Even here the danger is not to be wholly discounted as material values come to take precedence over all others, and as the claim to represent the majority is stretched to have ever larger implication. 'Power,' LORD RADCLIFFE finely concludes, 'is good or evil according to the vision it serves: not the vision of the governors alone, not the vision of the governed alone, but a vision that is somehow common to them both.' And, he might have added, the vision, to be valid, must partake of a horizon reaching beyond power's own dimensions."

## Education v. The Educationalist State

by DRYDEN GILLING SMITH.

In the first chapter of his book *Democracy and Education* (1916) John Dewey writes that "What nutrition and reproduction are to physiological life, education is to social life" and that "Education, in its broadest sense, is the means of this social continuity of life . . . Each individual each unit who is the carrier of the life-experience of his group, in time passes away. Yet the life of the group goes on." To this one might add 'sometimes'—for the passing of societies and the disappearance of cultural traditions has been a notorious factor in history and is an even more notorious factor in our own time. Why has the word 'education' been used with such enthusiasm by so many self-confessed revolutionaries and an 'educational system' found the unprecedented financial support of a 'Welfare State' the principles of whose existence mean the elimination of our own heirarchical society and culture? Men bent on the destruction of a society would be unlikely to nourish the means of its preservation. The simple answer might be that the intention of such men was to centralise as many as possible of the links, which make possible the continuity of the innumerable elements in our complex society, into one monopolistic 'educational system,' where they could be controlled in such a way as to ensure that they did *not* do their job and that the continuity was broken. Their interest would be one of sabotage.

Before however one can begin to make out a case for the application of this hypothesis to the action of the 'State' in our own time in becoming first a provider and finally, in the 1944 Education Act, absolute controller of Education in England, one must examine the new beliefs which, particularly in the last fifty or so years, have resulted in the transformation of the ideas contained in the words 'Education' and 'Society' to mean 'a system for conditioning the environment of the most pliable part of the population (children and youths) so that they will become the sort of people you want them to become and so help to make the world the sort of place you want to see made' and 'the omniscient state.' Both of these new ideas have been fostered with the same fund of subsidiary ideas and beliefs, and contemporaneously, and they are so inter-related that neither can be treated without the other. In fact the spurious education of 'environment regulating' can be said to serve the spurious society of the 'omniscient state' and it is unfortunately in those senses of the words that Education is to-day generally thought of as a 'social service.' The fact that these words still can have other meanings, and that 'social service' could literally mean the service performed to society by the link which makes possible its continuation, has blurred the picture of what has been happening, has been a smoke-screen under which our schools and constitution have been misappropriated almost without opposition. A weakening and inexact terminology has been the chink in the armour. In the following pages I will endeavour to show how the current notion of education as a 'social service' is the opposite of the true function of education in society, how that notion has been developed and been put into practice and the confusion of thought which has hamstrung the opposition to it.

In the traditional conception of a country, as a racial and territorial bond providing for the temporal protection

and means of continuation of the men and societies (family, Church, aristocratic hierarchy, trade guilds with their funds of practical knowledge, and societies for the preservation of written or oral traditions about the laws governing human association) of which it is made up, there was little in common with our notion of the 'State' as a 'unit of administrative convenience' which far from protecting these societies does its best to break them up and usurp their functions. Without going into details of the trinitarian constitution by which the country was able to do its job most effectively and with the least risk of its trying to do anything else, it will be apparent that such a constitution would be no more than a piece of irrelevant obstruction to men concerned with operating the modern 'state.' They are not concerned with the preservation of the traditional organic societies or with the country, being in many cases supporters of 'internationalism' or the 'world state.' Differences of opinion are largely concerned with who should control and what should be the slogans (or credos) of the omniscient state and its 'sub-groupings' (not being genuine societies). Mr. Jacks, for example, in *Total Education* speaks not unapprovingly of Hitler's method "to break down the traditional groupings (whether those be the family, the church, the political party, or the nation) in which he (the individual) finds himself and which largely determine what he is—a breakdown which is often significantly enough followed by a breakdown in the moral conscience of the individual and then to build up immediately new groups which would determine the type of individual and promote the kind of behaviour which he (Hitler) desired. The method worked and it is a method which we can purge of its evil elements and adapt to our own needs . . . Hitler has only misused and distorted a so-far neglected potentiality: the creative powers of group existence."

The societies with which we are concerned at the moment are those responsible for keeping alive in every age a knowledge of the laws of the Universe, the understanding of which has been the basis of all civilisation. This function has been performed in numerous ways and has been variously regarded. Thorstein Veblen, for example, says in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*—"In point of derivation and early development, learning is somewhat closely related to the devotional function of the community . . . To a great extent, the knowledge acquired under the priestly teachers of the primitive community was a knowledge of ritual and ceremonial; that is to say, a knowledge of the most proper, most effective, or most acceptable manner of approaching and of serving the preternatural agents." The last qualification is expressed from the materialist standpoint but looked at in another light, in the belief that the world and society are primarily metaphysical, this is an attempt to gain a knowledge about matters of permanent validity as opposed to the incidental details which one acquires during the course of practical pursuits. A ritual such as the Mass or that from which Greek tragedy developed contains statements about the metaphysical society on which human society is modelled and therefore has a 'universal' or 'classical' application in any study of the latter. It was when the importance of these 'universal' matters was most widely recognised that our own civilisation reached its high water mark, and, as we should expect, when the old 'Universities' were founded. (We tend now to think of the 'universal' element in their name too much in relation to

place and with too little regard for time.) Without a sufficient number of men acquainted with this 'classical' knowledge and possessing a universality of outlook the larger human society is at the mercy of opinions that vary from year to year and place to place like styles in clothing or the bonnets of motor cars. Sir Percy Nunn in *Education: its Data and First Principles*, admits this last state of affairs as something we have always to contend with: "Mr. G. K. Chesterton has somewhere gibed at the man who would decide the question of human immortality from the standpoint of an electrical engineer. But can an electrical engineer do otherwise? We can none of us escape from the habits that belong to our training. That is why men must differ in opinion to the end of time, and why large ranges of truth will always be inaccessible to each of us." What he tells us may unfortunately be true of our own age and that preceding it and he gives as an example those thinkers schooled in Darwinism who have dealt with social and political problems in terms of the biological notion of evolution through natural selection, but let us hope that Chesterton was right in the long run.

Werner Jaeger in the first volume of his *Paideia, The Ideals of Greek Culture*, tells us that the earliest references to Greek Education are to *practical* precepts such as 'Honour the Gods' and 'Respect the stranger.' Lest it be thought that the teaching of universal matters is necessarily limited to an organised religious body, one should mention that Veblen seems to have forgotten the poets. Perhaps the greatest part of our education which comes to us through ancient Greece was contained in the works of Homer. In our own land the Beowulf poet told us much that is permanently valid about this earth, this middle place under the dome of heaven. Much of our own discussion of what is 'universally significant' is centred round the works of such poets as Chaucer, Dante and Shakespeare. In a study "Paradise Lost—Visions and Obstructions" in the *Catacomb* (Autumn 1951) I examined the claims of poetry to reveal the ways of God to man and/or the nature of things—"A legend which embodies a myth or pattern of experience which is permanent to life is in itself a revelation. It gains in effectiveness at the hands of an individual teller when the latter has put at its disposal his particular excellence of imaginative perception and faculty of expression. So long as he is prepared to regard himself as the channel for something greater and more permanent than himself and of which *his* faculties are only a part, he will enhance the value of the story with which he is dealing."

The function of learning and education (learning's means of continuing active existence) in the hands of those who are destined to guide human society according to the principles which make its existence possible, and which I have illustrated above, clash violently with the notion of education as an 'end-product' that ought to be shared set forth by Mr. John Dewey in *The School and Society* (1900). He says that a few centuries ago "A high-priesthood of learning . . . guarded the treasury of truth and . . . doled it out to the masses under severe restrictions . . . There were not in existence any means by which the multitude could possibly have access to intellectual resources. These were stored up and hidden away in manuscripts." No doubt the scribes who did their best to increase the number of manuscripts available would smile ironically at hearing their action described as hiding knowledge away. (Mr. Dewey

would perhaps dismiss them as medieval for he shows elsewhere his bland contempt for medieval culture—"The classic languages were the only means of escape from the limitations of the middle ages.") For those who were prepared to do the job thoroughly, and a fragmentary knowledge of 'universal' matters is merely useless or dangerous in the hands of those who are not willing or able to do so, there was much material available—both Chaucer and his poor scholar had a goodly supply of books (measured by standards of quality as opposed to quantity). Mr. Dewey, no doubt thinking of his own experience, gives the real reason why such learning is restricted to a small number of people—because the majority find it more trouble than it's worth—"Of these (manuscripts) there were at best only a few, and it required long and troublesome preparation to be able to do anything with them."

The absurdity of Dewey's argument (apart from the basic fallacy of assuming education as an 'end-product') is apparent in the way he objects to learning being monopolised by a small minority while saying in effect that that sort of learning is useless to the majority in any case. It is the same argument as that employed by the people who want everybody to go to school and when they get them there want to change the function of the schools because the curriculum isn't suitable to everybody. It is ironical that these people who consider education a plaything to be monkeyed about with for the amusement or otherwise of the 'masses,' and are therefore unconcerned with its necessary function in the continued existence of our society, should often be the people who speak of education as a 'social service.'

Though the Church, as I have shown, is not the only medium through which learning is transmitted, the Catholic Church, has, particularly during its greatest periods, provided the most effective recruiting system for scholarship. Of the University, Veblen says that "Even to-day there are such things in the usage of the learned community as the cap and gown, matriculation, initiation, and graduation ceremonies, and the conferring of scholastic degrees, dignities and prerogatives in a way that suggests some sort of scholarly apostolic succession. The usage of the priestly orders is no doubt the proximate source of all these features of learned ritual . . . ." To have sufficient numbers of people trained in the necessary language work before they went to the University, the Church provided the Grammar Schools. Of course a mere intensive knowledge of Latin may not have been particularly useful to the boy who did not go on to the University but any institution providing the eternal renewal of the culture, whereby we survive, must make allowances for the many who will fall by the wayside when it decides how many will be given a grammar school training. The value of this training in itself though often belittled is testified by the "small Latin and less Greek" which Stratford Grammar School gave to Master Will Shakespeare, and which seems to have been sufficient to enable him to find much for himself in the world literature of which those two languages comprised a considerable part. Further down the scale there was the elementary instruction given in Churches to which Mr. Colgrave refers in the *Durham University Journal* for June, 1951. In a note on an Elizabethan novel's reference to St. Nicholas's School, Durham, he says that "There is no record of a school at St. Nicholas's Church, but there are many instances

known of children being given elementary instruction in the churches both before and after the Reformation."

The first two stages of this Church-sponsored education system were both, as it were, preliminary heats in the training necessary to the men who were to get to grips with this "classical" or "universal" knowledge and supervise its application in their own age. Since it is the intellect that is required for such a task it was as absurd for Mr. Dewey (1900) to complain that our education system "is something which appeals for the most part simply to the intellectual aspect of our natures" as it would be to complain that water was unfortunately wet. Like the assailants of our constitution he finds in the smallest remnants of our once great civilisation cause for an outburst against his *bête noire*—"It is an education dominated almost entirely by the medieval conception of learning"—One could only wish it were.

Unfortunately the medieval tradition was broken both by the Reformation and the advent of Renaissance 'humanism' (dismissed so admirably by Mr. C. S. Lewis with the words "Ciceronian Latin and the obsession that no works in the language forged to express the thinking that had been done in the middle ages, should be studied because they contained words that Cicero wouldn't have used.") The Universities remained, most of the Grammar Schools remained and in many places the nationalised Church continued to carry out the educational work performed by the Universal Church. The notion of an education however in things universal was no longer the same, being restricted to what we now call a 'classical education,' a knowledge of ancient Latin and Greek which though it should be an important part of a really classical education is by no means all of it. There were medieval and post-medieval writings that should have been studied alongside the older works and with the same thoroughness.

The break in tradition seems to have caused the men in charge of educational institutions to lose their grip of reality to the extent of allowing local and "provincial" conceptions of Society, the School and the State to be accepted far and wide with little criticism, and to be put into practice. Changes and attempts to change the work done in schools and universities have been directed to making them do miscellaneous new jobs rather than to carry out their proper function more effectively.

(To be continued.)

#### PARLIAMENT—

(continued from page 3.)

are being asked to do tonight is to legislate for expenditure in a nationalised industry some of which expenditure will not take place until 1972. What rubbish! We should not be legislating for 1972; we should be legislating for the next three years. I am not prepared to look any more than three years ahead in the matter of capital investment in view of the extreme stringency of funds available at this moment.

If, by this Amendment, the additional borrowing powers of the Board are reduced from £100 million to £50 million, then it means, according to the reply of the Under-Secretary of State, that we shall legislate for 10 years' expenditure ahead by the Hydro-Electric Board. I submit that 10 years' cover ahead is more than adequate. It should not be necessary to try to look further than 1962, and no civil contractor

and no local board in Scotland can deny that they only plan their hydro schemes up to five years ahead. I believe that on that score alone the Under-Secretary of State stands condemned.

I want to pass to another point. I have been very severely criticised in the Scottish newspapers—I enjoy criticism—for daring to suggest that Parliament, by scrutinising capital expenditure grants to the Hydro-Electricity Board, should exercise a greater degree of control over this particular nationalised industry. One Glasgow paper, the "Bulletin and Scots Pictorial," asked, in its leading article:

"Why a Sassenach Member should single out the North of Scotland Hydro-electricity Board for criticism? Why should not Parliament have the same degree of control over all nationalised industry?"

Those who are constant attenders in this Chamber will know that I have been standing up every Thursday afternoon for weeks asking the Leader of the House why all the nationalised industries that have their Reports and accounts in arrear are not being brought to the Floor of the House for regular debate, and why we have never debated the accounts of the Gas Council; why the accounts of the Electricity Authority are already two years in arrear? As was confirmed so eloquently by my hon. Friend the Member for Caithness and Sutherland (Sir D. Robertson), we have not since 1945 even discussed the annual Report and accounts of the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board. . . .

*Mr. Alex. Anderson:* Before the hon. Member sits down, may I ask him whether he has ever been in a crofter county in the North of Scotland before he allied himself with a man who has no real knowledge of his county and has been disowned by his own local authority in this matter of hydro-electric power? I should like to hear whether the hon. Member has ever been there and knows anything about the position in that area? I resent the fact that the hon. Member should be trying to practise his obvious opposition to the Snowdonia scheme by unfairly criticising the work of the Scottish Hydro-Electric Board.

*Mr. Nabarro:* I am a regular visitor to the North of Scotland, but this is a national issue and not only a Scottish issue, as I said at the beginning of my speech.

Furthermore, in case the hon. Member is not sufficiently well acquainted with the facts on hydro-electric power and has not studied the annual report and accounts with the same interest and care with which I have studied them, he should go back to the point in my speech where I said, as I said in Committee, that the existing hydro-electric capacity is much more than enough to provide for all the needs of the seven crofter counties and for any prospective industrial development and that this extra money is only required for the generation of electricity to the Lowland grid and to the North of England.

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## Unemployment

An article in *The Director* (the journal of the Institute of Directors) for March gives some "Facts About Unemployment," saying that in six months a remarkable change had come over the labour situation. "Twelve months ago the main problem was to find an extra 500,000 workers for the defence programme when the demand for workers from almost all other industries was still strong. The problem is the same today, but the background is changing daily."

"By the middle of January 378,000 workers were unemployed, the highest number since 1947. There are already forecasts that the total will have reached the half-million before Easter. Meanwhile other observers, taking note of the growing amount of short-time being worked in many trades, have estimated that by this trend alone the country is being deprived of five days' work by a million workers every week."

Two tables, of which the source is the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, account for workers temporarily stopped. Shortage of orders is stated to be the cause of short-time in London, Bradford, Leicester, Nottingham, Bolton and Leeds, and shortage of materials among workers in Coventry, Birmingham and other Midland towns. The tables are as follows:—

### Which Trades are Mainly Affected?

	Jan. 1952	July 1951
Iron and Steel smelting	1,921	1,495
Motors, Vehicles and Cycles	435	8
Cotton spinning	4,362	50
Cotton weaving	5,679	10
Woollen and Worsted	10,098	280
Rayon, Nylon, etc. Weaving and Silk	1,247	5
Hosiery and other knitted goods	5,318	137
Tailoring	9,368	1,508
Dressmaking	2,133	403
Furniture and Upholstery	3,611	1,506

### Which Areas are Mainly Affected?

	Jan. 1952	July 1951	Jan. 1951
London & South-East	7,108	2,124	898
Eastern	1,006	159	310
Southern	1,016	95	81
South-West	1,166	209	196
Midland	3,328	263	255
North-Midland	7,210	325	419
E. and W. Ridings	15,074	2,054	997
North-West	15,720	1,011	1,019
Northern	3,658	920	2,065
Scotland	5,239	2,514	3,351
Wales	3,174	672	802
Great Britain	63,699	10,346	10,393

### FROM WEEK TO WEEK (Continued from page 1)

million souls in cramped city districts as much political power as the more fortunate, abandoning them to racketeers and their appointees in politics, and then complaining about the unholy alliance between crime and 'certain politicians.' These weaknesses are American. They are in both political parties. They stem from all-American roots: the Constitution itself, which is almost the sacred cow; the hero-worship of the moneymaker and 'tough guy'; the log-rolling and lobbying for laws or their repeal, which is so like the gangsters' bribery to the same ends; indeed, the old, old violence of a tough society, now coming to the surface again—as scum."

## Freemasonry and the Church of England

"Darkness Visible" is to be the title of a book to appear at the end of April, "a revelation and interpretation of Freemasonry" by Mr. Walton Hannah, who thus carries a stage further his discussion of Freemasonry in the Church of England. The preliminary chapters propound the dilemma that the Christian Freemason cannot take his Christianity and his Freemasonry seriously at the same time. Most Freemasons, the author asserts either do not care about the full significance of Christianity or fail to comprehend the paganism of their masonic ritual.

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