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PROS AND CONS

PROS AND CONS

A NEWSPAPER-READER'S AND DEBATER'S
GUIDE TO THE LEADING
CONTROVERSIES OF THE DAY

New Edition Revised

by Samuel Glover

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THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED IN COMPLETE CONFORMITY WITH THE AUTHORIZED ECONOMY STANDARDS

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Preface to the Eleventh Edition

THE intention of this book is to provide material for debates on a number of controversial questions of current interest, and the widest possible range of subjects, religious, political, social, and educational, has been covered.

All the arguments for and against have been assembled under the heading of each particular debate, and as particular points may be contributed to the debate by advocates of widely divergent general views, they have been numbered, and each argument Pro should be read with the Con corresponding to it in number.

The debates have been arranged for convenience of reference in alphabetical order. This arrangement necessarily involves the separation of debates on similar subjects, but consultation of the index, which has been arranged with this point in mind, and of the cross references will provide a useful link between allied questions and possibly suggest points for further debates.

The book has been brought up-to-date by the omission of subjects which, owing to recent legislation or changes in public outlook, have ceased to excite controversy, and by the inclusion of more topical questions. The articles remaining have been thoroughly revised. Some questions which might have been thought worthy of inclusion as being subjects of present controversy have been omitted because they may be expected soon to retain a purely historical interest, and a few because in the present fluctuating state of internal and foreign relations the arguments on them might easily become misleading and obsolete during the life of the present edition. Every effort has been made to reduce such gaps to a minimum without impairing the permanent value of the work.

Suggestions and criticisms from readers will be welcomed, and dealt with wherever possible in future editions.

PROS AND CONS

ABSTINENCE, TOTAL

Pro : (1) Indulgence in alcohol brings only slight pleasure, but sets a dangerous example. It is the source of much pauperism and crime, especially brutal crime, and consequently puts the country to much unnecessary expense. Most criminals, or their ancestors, have been alcoholics.

(2) Little that is noble and very much that is base have been done under its influence. Many promising careers have been ruined by it. If abstinence was the rule, the current problems of society would be tackled more effectively.

(3) The liquor industry employs few people in proportion to its capital, and is therefore an enemy of the working classes. It is useless to industry in general, and destroys vast amounts of valuable foodstuffs which are needed to maintain life and efficiency.

(4) Alcohol is neither a food nor a mental stimulant, but a narcotic drug. Its use lowers general vitality, weakens response to stimuli, and reduces the capacity to concentrate on specified tasks. Animals and children thrive without it, as do the hardy populations of Asia. Every occupation has a large number of efficient workers who are teetotallers.

(6) In illness, accidents, and under anaesthetics, the habitual drinker is greatly handicapped, since his powers of recovery are reduced.

(6) Once contracted, the alcohol habit cannot easily be overcome, and the moderate drinker is always in danger of falling into it. The formation of vicious habits is quite possible in normal adults, as is shown by the effects of other drugs.

(7) The alcohol habit tends to be hereditary, so that it is criminal in parents to increase the risk of

Con : (1) Alcohol affords innocent gratification to multitudes of people. Abuse should not be confounded with use. In Europe, everybody's ancestors have drunk alcoholic drinks for centuries. The most dangerous criminals are not usually heavy drinkers, while all drinkers of alcohol are certainly not criminals. Drunkenness and crime, poverty and degeneracy, are products of the same causes, not causes of one another. Moderate drinking enables many people to support an environment which otherwise would be too much for them.

(2) Most of the achievements of civilisation in art, literature, politics, science, and technology, have been accomplished by moderate drinkers. The record of the races which have avoided alcohol, e.g., the Arabs, is indifferent.

(3) The ratio between capital and wages is no standard for judging an industry. The argument logically condemns the roundabout method of modern production and machinery in general. The industry supplies valuable by-products for agricultural and other uses.

(4) The D'Abernon Committee and other bodies of experts have found that many benefits come from moderate drinking. Alcohol is often medicinally useful. It is unsound to argue from animals and children to adult men and women.

(5) It would be foolish to base our lives on the fear of illness. The drunkard is handicapped in fighting disease, but not the moderate drinker, whose calm and cheerful frame of mind is a protection from ill-health.

(6) There is always some other factor besides the mere drinking of alcoholic liquors which deter-

its occurring in their children. Alcohol is furthermore a " racial " poison. It has a deleterious effect on the next generation through its operation on the bodies of the parents.

(8) Alcohol is very often the immediate cause of insanity, as it impairs the mental balance and the mental controls which are necessary for sanity. Its use is chiefly responsible for sexual vice and the prevalence of venereal disease, because it lowers the sense of responsibility and weakens caution and foresight.

mines drunkenness. Drunkards are pathological. Normal persons do not become drinkers to excess. Pathological restraint is also bad. Heavy drinkers would otherwise almost certainly be the victims of other vices.

(7) The scientific facts which are known about heredity make it practically impossible to say what the offspring of any set of parents will be like, either physically or mentally. The inheritance of acquired characteristics is not a scientifically established doctrine.

(8) Insanity arises from many causes, some of which also cause alcoholism, which is a symptom, not a cause. Vice, too, is a result of many causes, and flourishes among populations where the drinking of fermented liquors is taboo. Venereal disease can be stamped out by medical means.

See also PROHIBITION ; LOCAL OPTION.

ADVERTISING, PUBLIC CONTROL AND TAXATION OF

Pro : (1) The expense of advertising is a serious and increasing burden on the cost of production, and so increases prices to the public. It consumes labour, brains and material that could be put to better use, not only through the employment of able-bodied people as door-to-door canvassers but also through the setting up of whole businesses devoted purely to advertising.

(2) A large part of the advertising by well-known firms deals with goods which are perfectly well-known to the public, and during the Second World War, goods were even advertised which could not be obtained. All this activity was a waste of manpower, paper and effort.

(3) Advertisements are now an absolute necessity for newspapers, which cannot make profits without the revenue from them. The policy of newspapers is under the

Con : (1) It is the only way in which new goods and new business can be developed. By increasing sales it actually tends to reduce prices. Worthless goods can never succeed in keeping a market, however much they are advertised.

(2) Advertisement on a large scale ensures the maintenance of quality in the goods advertised. The nation-wide advertising campaigns of firms selling packed and standardised goods have largely transformed certain trades, e.g., grocery, to the benefit of the consumer. In times of shortage it is only through advertisements that reputable firms can hold their position against mushroom businesses that take advantage of scarcities to sell worthless goods.

(3) The restriction of newspaper advertising would, by reducing the revenue, lower the standard of the press, while it would touch only one of the many aspects of

influence of their advertising customers, e.g., during the international crisis of 1938, certain newspapers were credibly reported to have been coerced into supporting the Government's policy of appeasement by threats of large advertisers to withdraw their custom. This is against the public interest, and should be brought to an end by some form of State control.

(4) The pressure of competition in advertising between the wars was such that firms and newspapers were driven to ridiculous lengths to get custom from one another, such as free gifts of goods totally unrelated to the commodities advertised. Whole staffs were employed on the production and distribution of these goods, thus adding to the cost of the articles advertised. These firms found themselves incapable of putting a stop to such practices, which in some cases threatened to engulf their profits, and the government action which was finally taken on the occasion of the war not only benefited the public but also rescued the advertisers from the vicious circle in which they had become involved.

(5) Door-to-door canvassing is a particularly wasteful and absurd form of advertising, and it is very doubtful whether the waste of manpower involved is even compensated by any increase in sales. It is always resorted to most when purchasing power is at its lowest, and the probable returns at their most uncertain.

(6) The countryside is defaced by advertisements, and in the towns huge bill-boards and flashing signs are usually ugly and sometimes dangerous. Even the sky has not been free from the vandalism of advertisers. Wider powers should be given to the authorities to prevent these things.

(7) Advertising in its modern developments is very suitable as a source of revenue in these days of advertising. Newspapers are not controlled by their advertisers; they frequently refuse doubtful advertisements. No adequate form of State control has been devised, and the attempt at taxation measures made in 1947 was rejected by the government after it was seen to be unfair and impracticable.

(4) Government action to control the excesses of advertising would have been impossible without the natural scarcity of consumer goods which resulted from war. But the giving away of goods for advertisement was not an unmixed curse, for while the advertiser certainly recouped his expenditure by increases in price the public indirectly benefited through the provision of employment and the encouragement of production of useful goods.

(5) Door-to-door canvassing can easily be dealt with in times of labour shortage by control of the labour market in the interests of essential industry. In times of mass unemployment it helps to absorb some of the unemployed and provides much needed work and wages. It would certainly not be undertaken by advertisers if it showed no profit.

(6) The appearance of our streets and public places is improved by the best type of poster, which is often of high artistic merit. The standard set by the best advertisers is being gradually followed by the others, and the worst abuses can now be checked by action of the authorities.

(7) To tax advertisements would be to put another burden on trade. The advertisements which appear to cost most are generally the most effective, i.e., they bring in the greatest turnover in proportion to their cost. The small and at first sight inexpensive advertisements are in practice the most costly and wasteful, and these would tend to be the ones which would pay no taxes.

high taxation. Taxation would benefit the country indirectly by making advertising less profitable and so directing some of the energy put into it into more productive channels.

AGRICULTURE, BRITISH : Should it be Industrialised ?

Pro : (1) Farms in Great Britain are now often too large for the capital of the tenants and in consequence are worked with too small a staff. This causes rural depopulation and inefficient working.

(2) If farming were industrialised economies of various sorts could be secured, e.g., in labour, since machinery would be properly used ; in buying and selling, since the middleman could be eliminated ; in the land itself by straightening watercourses, etc. More skilful management would be possible ; and efficient direction, businesslike keeping of accounts, and scientific advice could be employed.

(3) Industrialised farming would be able to afford the higher wages now demanded by farm workers, and would attract new workers and bring back those who have abandoned farming for more lucrative occupations. Young men of trained intelligence, but without capital, could be employed as managers, etc. The outbreak of war in 1939 showed the danger of leaving agriculture in the hands of backward and unscientific people. The War Agricultural Committees were several times obliged to take drastic steps with inefficient farmers.

(4) The provision of a cheap electricity supply, available throughout the country, will greatly facilitate the industrialisation of agriculture.

(5) Small-scale farmers, who often live on the verge of bankruptcy, are tempted to grow crops

Con : (1) The unsatisfactory position of British farming has always been due to the pressure of foreign competition and this is now being mitigated by tariffs, quotas, subsidies and the like.

(Some) It is due to the land system in which various reforms are needed, and to the lack of agricultural credits.

(2) Farming is a personal occupation, and cannot be reduced to a system. Rich men and corporations who have put it under the management of paid servants have failed almost universally. The requisite qualities are only developed by men working for their own profit.

(3) The great increase in agricultural production during the late war was achieved by the small-scale farmers who had always run the farms. The guaranteed markets which farmers generally lack in peace-time were sufficient incentive then, and can always be so. Reasonable prices for the farmer will do more to achieve good wages and conditions for the farm worker than would his absorption in a large industrialised machine, and County Agricultural Committees exist to see that farming is carried on efficiently.

(4) The advantages of electrification apply equally to farming as at present conducted.

(5) Large-scale farmers generally tend to grow such industrial crops as wheat, sugar beet and potatoes and to neglect the mixed crops which are equally necessary. Smallholders and market gar-

which bring in quick returns or earn subsidies. Large farms can fall in more easily with any plan for agriculture which takes the nation's needs into account. This applies particularly to the export aspect.

(6) An industrialised farm would be able to afford the scientific aids to fertility and productivity of the land which alone can prevent its wastage and eventual exhaustion.

(7) Marketing Boards are monopolistic in character, and interfere with the free play of economic laws. They are producers' boards and are terminable at the will of the producer. They interfere with the freedom of the individual and so are unpopular with many farmers, while they protect the incompetent and set up a restrictive control of production to the disadvantage of the consumer.

deners have an important part to play in the home market. It is in any case doubtful whether such crops as wheat could ever be grown in sufficient quantity in Britain to make them a true economic asset.

(6) Large industrialised farming tends to waste land by using it for quick profits without thought of its future, and to feed it with synthetic products, the excessive use of which is condemned by modern opinion. A small farmer is obliged to care for his land, since every acre is important.

(7) Marketing Boards, a form of organisation set up by agricultural producers themselves with government support, greatly improved conditions for farmers in the 'thirties. Co-operative use of marketing facilities and machinery is a quite adequate safeguard for the farmer. Some farmers have achieved success in the direct marketing of their goods to the public.

ALIENS, EXCLUSION OF

Pro : (1) Britain has too large a population of aliens, who are mainly of an undesirable and inferior type. Many of these immigrants have no intention of becoming anglicised, some indeed are incapable of it, and they are tending to form large alien centres in our cities.

(2) We should at least imitate the United States and lay down quotas by which preference is given to stocks more like our own in standards and civilisation. No alien ought to be allowed to settle here who is not at least twenty-five per cent above the average.

(3) In case of war an alien population is likely to be a danger, as was the large German-born population in the United States during the 1939 war.

Con : (1) The number of aliens in this country is grossly exaggerated. The great majority of those already here have become anglicised, and there is no reason to suppose that the others will not also be assimilated into our national life. Indiscriminating agitation against aliens is prejudicial to the status of Britons abroad, who might suffer from retaliatory measures.

(2) Reasonable health tests are already imposed. It would be very difficult to decide which are the superior stocks, especially as there is no basis other than experiment of discovering how far bad characteristics are due to previous bad environments and will disappear in a new and better one. The failure of the United States system is shown by the

Many of the immigrants now being encouraged to settle here have given years of service to our enemies in war.

(4) Aliens lower the standard of living owing to their ready acceptance of low wages and bad working conditions. They often overcrowd, are uncleanly, and spread disease. Many of them have been demoralised by years of enforced idleness in labour camps and prisons, and they are often not trained workers and thus a liability to industry. In times of unemployment they will be competing in the labour market with our own men on unfair terms.

(5) Asylum for political refugees exposes Britain to the risk of difficulties with foreign states and of seditious movements at home. Some aliens allowed to settle here have made no secret of their intention to use Britain as a base for warlike activities against their home governments.

(6) Administrative action is the only way to deal with aliens. The useful and harmless could be retained and the rest deported without fuss.

(7) Alien criminals are expensive, dangerous and numerous. The frauds and even murders committed by Polish soldiers in this country are a scandalous instance of the folly of allowing such people asylum.

(8) Anti-Semitism is rife all over the world and is increasing in this country. The continued presence of alien Jews here makes it easy for Fascist propagandists to work up feeling against them and destroy the atmosphere of tolerance which has been Britain's pride in the past.

serious crime problem which exists in all parts of the country despite the immigration precautions.

(3) The spy danger in war can easily be exaggerated. Not all the Germans in the United States supported her enemies in war. Many aliens and sons and daughters of foreign-born people have fought in our own armies. Some have married English people and have acquired a stake in the welfare of our country, and it would be unjust to their British wives to expel them.

(4) The alien immigrant, given a chance, quickly raises his standard. The second generation is quite up to the average, and sometimes above it. The East End Jews in the past entered industries which the Englishmen did not like and would not develop. New industries have been set up by refugee business men, and professional men were of great help in war, especially doctors and other scientists. This has been so ever since England welcomed the Flemish and Huguenot refugees centuries ago. Immigrants are now being brought in to help cope with shortage of labour in unpopular occupations such as agriculture and mining. The trade unions are strong enough to deal with any encroachment on the rights of British workers.

(5) The traditional policy of Britain has been to receive victims of foreign tyranny. Our generosity in the past has never injured us. Any activities harmful to the interests of the nation can easily be controlled by the police, and a satisfactory livelihood and family life do much to curb political ardour.

(6) The Home Secretary's powers are already too extensive.

(7) Alien criminals are comparatively few, and can be dealt with by deportation. International police co-operation is the most effective weapon against foreign crooks.

(8) The British people do not suffer from persecution mania, and racial incitements do not move more than a small unstable element. They should be dealt with by police or legislative action and not by persecution of the victims.

ANARCHISM

Pro : (1) Universal suffrage and representative institutions do not prevent governments from being as hostile to liberty as aristocracies or monarchies were in the past. Only the abolition of governments and all compulsory associations can secure the right of liberty, for persons whose profession it is to manage or control others will always be tyrannical.

(2) Voluntary association has always accomplished much more than is commonly recognised. One can always refuse to work with, or for, those who have failed to act honourably. Men are social beings and behave socially, except when prevented by anti-social institutions.

(3) In history some communities have flourished without government.

(4) There can be no real liberty as long as a constant check is imposed from without on the actions of the individual.

(5) If adopted, anarchism would not mean disorder; the only thing against it is that it has not recently been tried; and that is not a valid argument.

Con: (1) Government is necessary to prevent a minority of depraved or wicked people from exploiting the common man. If as many abuses as possible are prevented, it is better to risk occasional oppression by governmental control than to run the greater risk of private tyranny and violence. Most people do not want the troublesome task of managing everything for themselves. Some considerable amount of uniform behaviour is necessary for the development of social life and civilisation.

(2) Boycott, strikes, and refusal to co-operate are just as much instruments of coercion as fines and imprisonment. Most important so-called voluntary associations rest either on some government's coercive resources or on equally coercive economic conditions.

(3) Tribes and communities in the modern world which are without governments are invariably a curse to their neighbours.

(4) "Liberty" is equivocal. Liberty to do good is desirable, not liberty to do evil.

(5) Institutions are a necessity for any form of social life. Without them there would be chaos.

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM

Pro : (1) Anglo-Catholics seek to restore to the whole Church in England elements which, though they were truly Catholic, as dis-

Con : (1) Anglo-Catholicism is an attempt to re-introduce doctrines and practices which were condemned as non-Catholic by the

tinct from Roman, were omitted from it at the Reformation or allowed to fall into disuse since.

(2) The Reformation in England and even more on the Continent was based, where it was not simply political, on too intellectual a view of those religious needs of humanity which had been fully recognised in the Church previously. "The Mass" is a very convenient and honoured name for one of the central mysteries of the Christian religion, and should not be barred because of its association with medieval superstition and ancient hatreds.

(3) The essential marks of Catholicism are fellowship, that is, corporate experience, and the sacramental system, by which what is inward works through what is outward.

(4) The Movement has brought new life to the Church, and transformed church buildings into more attractive places than they commonly were a hundred years ago. It has had great influence in the Church throughout the British Empire, and may sometime facilitate the reunion of all Western Christendom.

(5) It does not seek to dominate the Church, as it recognises that there are different types of souls. But it claims freedom within the fold, and naturally seeks the conversion of all to what it sincerely believes to be the true path.

(6) To find out what the Reformers specifically condemned in the Prayer Book is extremely hard. The points generally at issue are so trivial and unessential that they show how narrow-minded the Movement's opponents are. The Prayer Book contains much that had some sort of importance when it was drawn up, but has now with the lapse of time become valueless.

(7) Anglo-Catholics are as sincere and true followers of the Church as the Modernists, who are their strongest opponents.

Reformers. It aims at uprooting Protestantism and returning to the Church of Rome.

(2) The definition of Catholic is *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, i.e., what has been held "always, everywhere, and by all." Many of the practices and ideas of Anglo-Catholicism are not Catholic. For instance, the Mass was unknown in the Early Church, as the Reformers, who were excellent scholars, knew well enough. The doctrines concerning it are a product of the later Middle Ages, and depend on the doctrine of transubstantiation. There are good grounds for believing it to be an alien and pagan accretion on Christian tradition.

(3) The Movement favours reliance on authority, instead of the use of our own divinely-begotten power of judgment, which is the Christian ideal.

(4) It has promoted disunion and strife in the Church, and impedes the reunion of the Protestant Churches throughout Europe and the world, especially as the chief hope of reunion rests on the acceptance of a common Liturgical worship.

(5) It has now reached the point of endeavouring to dominate the Church and totally to subvert its essential character.

(6) Its doctrines and practices are both subversive and illegal. It flouts the Prayer Book, and indeed preaches the exact opposite in some particulars.

(7) The consciences of the clergy who support these irregular practices must be perverted, since the points at issue are in absolute contradiction to the vows they took at ordination. They are sailing under false colours.

(8) The practice of Reservation is forbidden by the Rubrics, and in this Movement is observed rather for purposes of worship than for the benefit of the sick. This gives occasion for superstition, a danger particularly

Between them and the Evangelicals there is much in common. Whenever the Church has contained active life, there have been various schools of thought which have engaged in conflicts that have proved a sore trial to official Anglicanism. No one of whatever school takes the Prayer Book or Articles literally, and for a long time this has been recognised by the Church at large. It is unjust for the Anglo-Catholics to be singled out as guilty of monstrous double-dealing.

(8) The practice of Reservation for the Sick is not forbidden by the law of the English Church. The object of Catholicism being to unite matter and spirit in one universal law, superstition is avoided.

(9) The Church of Rome, though not ideal, approximates more nearly to the spiritual needs and ideals of man than any other institution.

(9) The essence of the Movement is to achieve religious reaction under the guise of satisfying the emotional weaknesses of man. The proper duty of the Church is not to accept, but to eradicate the imperfections and shortcomings into which Christians have fallen in the past, and to set ideals for them to follow.

ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF

Pro : (1) Animals have rights, though in a less degree than men. They consist in the " restricted freedom " to live a natural life in harmony with the perpetual requirements of the community.

(2) The rights of animals have long been recognised by thinkers, e.g., Bentham, and emphasised by some religions, e.g., Buddhism.

(3) It is absurd for distinction to be drawn between " domestic " and other animals, so that it is allowable to inflict pain upon the latter but not the former.

(4) The lack of recognition of these rights encourages great cruelty under the excuses of scientific research, the provision of food, and so on.

(5) Animals (if left to themselves) live their own lives fitly, killing for food only and not for

Con : (1) Such rights are absurd. We should be kind to animals for the sake of our self-respect, not because they have the right to exact kindness from us.

(2) These theories are connected with mysticism, vegetarianism, etc., which have no application to Europeans, to whom they are uncongenial.

(3) We protect domestic animals because they are valuable. The only argument against hunting is that it may demoralise the hunter.

(4) Only arbitrary distinctions can be drawn between animals which should be protected and those which should not. Man must fight against the animal world on pain of extinction.

(5) Animals have no other purpose than to preserve themselves

the pleasure of inflicting pain, which is more than can be said for man. Like man himself, they form part of nature's scheme of evolution: from them we do not know what developments may yet come.

(6) Animals need man's protection, and before pain or death is inflicted, we must be assured that it is necessary.

(7) If rights must be reciprocal to be allowed to exist, what claim on our protection can a lunatic or an infant have?

(8) The feeling of community among all sentient creatures would increase the finer virtues and religious emotions.

until they have contributed members to the next generation.

(6) Sometimes man has to be protected from animals which would kill him either by violence or by eating up his food supplies. Animals show small consideration for other species of animals, and are only "entitled" to the same treatment.

(7) Solidarity between members of the same species is natural and necessary, but not between members of different species.

(8) This feeling would be all on one side, and in practice means sacrificing one's fellow men.

See also VIVISECTION.

ARBITRATION, COMPULSORY INDUSTRIAL

Pro: (1) The damage arising from strikes is so immense that the State, in the interests of the general public, ought to interfere and afford means for arbitration, which must be compulsory to make the award binding on both parties. No section of the community should be allowed the power of so preferring its own interests to all others as to inflict widespread injury on innocent parties.

(2) Arbitration has worked successfully in the past, e.g., during the War of 1914–1918, and is working satisfactorily over the greater part of the Civil Service. There can be no sound reason for objecting to abide by decisions made by an arbitrator agreed on by both parties, or even independently chosen.

(3) Similar devices have worked satisfactorily in Australia and New Zealand.

(4) Arbitration, by importing into industrial conflicts the idea that the general welfare should count before anything else, would tend to mitigate the differences

Con: (1) The feature of compulsion destroys all the good arbitration might do, as it is then felt to be a means not of agreement but of over-reaching.

(2) If the parties could agree on the arbitrator, they would not agree on the principles of his working. If the State interferes in making appointments, the choice or the award will always be likely to be influenced by the distribution of political power.

(3) Compulsory arbitration, which must be distinguished from conciliation boards, prevents attention from being paid to new principles and ideas of settlement. In Australia it makes trade union officials into pettifoggers and has robbed the unions of creative ideals. The community has no more voice in the matter than it had before; it is only the bureaucrat who gets more scope.

(4) Arbitration is certainly not suited to deal with the profounder divergences between the parties, who would strenuously oppose any suggestion that the principles

between capitalists and workers and so do something towards securing a stable industrial order.

(5) Arbitration without some element of compulsion is ineffective because decisions arrived at can be nullified by recalcitrant minorities.

of industrial life, as well as day-to-day questions of wages and hours, should be determined in this way.

(5) The coercion of minorities is contrary to the principles of freedom and individualism.

ARMAMENTS, LIMITATION OF

Pro : (1) Swollen armaments encourage militant nationalism and mischievous pride in the countries which maintain them. At the same time they create distrust and fear among other nations, leading them to increase their armaments in turn, and so the mad race for military supremacy goes on, each nation's defensive measures being interpreted as preparations for aggression by its neighbours.

(2) The Washington Agreement showed that schedules of disarmament are possible. The legitimate interests of the States of the world can be assessed by conference or by special arbitration courts.

(3) This Agreement served a useful purpose in forcing its participants to lay their cards on the table and fostering an atmosphere of greater frankness. Its imperfections are admitted, but its necessity was admitted by the measures UNO has taken to set up a similar conference.

(4) The burden of armaments is heavy in all countries, and in some it was crushing even before the outbreak of war. If it could be removed, trade would have a chance to improve, taxation would be lessened and all countries would become more prosperous.

(5) Large armies and navies involve the existence of a large class of professional military men who are naturally prone to warlike ambitions.

(6) Disarmament on a large scale would secure at any rate a

Con : (1) Armaments are not a cause but a symptom of the causes which bring about war. Preparedness for war is natural only in a country which has a definite war programme.

(2) It is impossible to bring about any effective limitation because qualitative reckonings cannot be made, and these are more important than purely quantitative. No satisfactory scheme for assessing the basis of limitation has been put forward, because so many factors have to be taken into account, particularly the rise of new weapons and methods of warfare.

(3) The Washington Agreement was merely an agreement for certain nations to discard their "false teeth." Even on the surface it merely encouraged the technical experts of each party to it to devise ways of circumventing its intentions by new designs. The potentially powerful arms, i.e., submarines and aircraft, were left untouched. Actually it was flagrantly disobeyed by some of its signatories.

(4) One lesson war has taught all countries is that unless armaments are kept up-to-date and in sufficient stock a war can easily go in favour of the aggressor in the early days and at least be prolonged, if not lost altogether.

(5) In most countries, especially among the Great Powers, the professional soldier is the more peaceable and law-abiding. The fomen-

considerable delay before war was resorted to, and the time taken to raise a nation to the pitch of warlike efficiency would give the forces of peace a better chance of prevailing.

ters of modern war are the civilians.

(6) It is impossible to disarm any modern country, because armament is co-extensive with the country's organised knowledge and resources.

ATHLETICS FOR WOMEN

Pro : (1) Athletics, games and sports give enjoyment to large numbers of women, who are rendered healthier, happier and better fitted to become the mothers of the next generation. Certain diseases, such as anaemia, once common in women have now almost disappeared since women took to athletics.

(2) Overstrain is equally bad for both sexes, and men are just as prone to it as women. Women athletes are no less modest and likeable than their less strenuous sisters. Women have grown out of the slavish imitation of the male sex, but team games have helped them to acquire some of the "peculiarly masculine virtues."

(3) In the last two wars women have been called on to do and endure many things previously done and endured by men alone. Some of them received battle training for this purpose.

(4) Many women are in sedentary occupations where they do not get the exercise which is necessary for the adequate fulfilment of their proper functions. Athletics tend to correct these faults.

Con : (1) Girls and women are foolish to imitate men's pursuits, many of which are quite unsuited to their physique. While exercise is natural and healthy, strain in competitive games and attempts at record-breaking cause nervous and bodily damage. The improvement in the health of women in this century is due almost entirely to their more rational dress and their improved standard of living.

(2) The publicity and advertisement arising out of athletics have a bad influence on the character and the peculiarly feminine virtues, such as modesty.

(3) Most of the work done by women in the last two wars was clerical and precision work. Very few women were given battle training, and it was always modified. Women, especially healthy peasant women, have always been able to endure hardship without the aid of athletics.

(4) Enough exercise can be obtained by such gentle pursuits as walking. Healthier habits of life generally can also do much to correct functional defects.

BACHELORS, TAXATION OF

Pro : (1) Taxation should be based on the resources of the citizen. A bachelor has generally only himself to support and can afford to pay more than a husband or a father.

(2) A family contributing able-

Con : (1) Bachelors are already taxed indirectly by the granting of allowances to married men and mothers. Double taxation of the same section of society on the same grounds is opposed to the first principles of taxation.

bodied children to the State is *ipso facto* contributing to the welfare of the country.

(3) Taxation of bachelors would encourage earlier marriage. Those who refuse to procreate in order to maintain the population of the country can fairly be called upon for an additional contribution to help those who will.

(4) The unmarried state is in itself an evil, since marriage is natural to man. All men are better for the responsibilities and influences of married life.

Although without wives and children, they often have relatives to support, or may be saving to get married.

(2) The theory that citizens exist for the benefit of the State is an exploded theory that has found favour only in Fascist countries. No democracy should base its taxation on such principles, which are a gross interference with the liberty of the subject.

(3) No one except perhaps a few irresponsibles would be likely to marry for such a reason. Marriage would be more successfully encouraged by better housing, more allowance for school expenses, and so on.

(4) The unmarried state is an evil only for those who want to be married but cannot. Many people are unfit physically and psychologically for marriage.

BETTING ON HORSE RACES : Should it be Taxed ?

Pro : (1) Betting is immoral, and any reduction which taxation would bring about is all to the good (*See* GAMBLING).

(2) Betting is a luxury, quite unnecessary for the community, especially in these hard times. It involves a great and unproductive expenditure of time, money and effort, directly and indirectly, and should bear part of the burden which is now put on other and more valuable industries, as well as on other forms of gambling.

(3) The registration of bookmakers will ensure that the reputable ones are given a definite status, while the unlicensed street-corner betting which does so much mischief in the poorer quarters of big towns will be largely eliminated.

(4) Exemption of horse-racing from taxation is mere discrimination in favour of the wealthy, who are the mainstay of the horse-

Con : (1) Betting, being immoral, should not be a source of public revenue. Taxes are of little avail in reducing evils, and would give the State a vested interest in their continuance.

(Some) As betting is not immoral, taxation should not be used to penalise those who indulge in it.

(2) Luxury taxes are always difficult to collect, and owing to the manifold ways in which betting is carried on, the cost of collection would be excessive, while the opportunities for evasion would be endless. Most of the calculations of what a betting tax might be expected to bring forth are guesswork.

(3) If the State taxed betting on horse races, many people would think it approved of it, and many young people, already contaminated with the gambling mania, would take to it more readily than ever.

racing industry. The only forms of betting now taxed are those indulged in by the poorer classes.

(5) Even a small tax on each bet would bring in a sum up to £15,000,000 a year. As the backers are presumably able to afford their bets, they could afford a small addition for the community's benefit and would not refrain from gambling on account of it.

(6) There is no evidence of any falling off in football pool forecasts since taxation was introduced.

(4) None of the other forms of betting involve any benefit to the country, whereas horse breeding can be made one of our national assets. It is not true to say that street corner betting is insignificant. Apart from football match forecasting it is one of the main forms of gambling indulged in by the poorer classes.

(5) Bookmakers already pay income tax on their profits, and if a tax were put on turnover, many of them would have to go out of business, and horse-racing, together with the betting revenue, would suffer, as has happened in Ireland.

(6) In football pools, as in lotteries, large winnings by a few are the rule, and the incidence of taxation is not felt as it would be in racing.

BIRTH CONTROL

Pro: (1) Left to the operations of nature, men, like plants and animals, tend to outrun the supplies available to satisfy their wants. Fierce competition and destruction of the weaker is the usual way of meeting the difficulty, but this is a wasteful method and not in accord with man's increasing mastery over nature. For centuries man has been learning and practising the control of nature's productivity in the plant and animal worlds, yet the application of such principles to man himself is only still in the elementary stages. It is urgently necessary, since populations are in general increasing and the natural resources available are reaching their limit, that birth-control clinics should be established to encourage the spread of knowledge on the limitation of families.

(2) The provision of reliable medical advice on birth control would at once reduce the number of illegal abortions. It is impossible to estimate accurately the

Con: (1) The danger of food shortage, apart from special causes, is a temporary one caused by the large-scale devastation due to war, and also to a certain extent to the artificial restrictions resulting from financial difficulties and manipulations. Even in the past, migrations which used to be thought due to the pressure of population on the means of subsistence turn out to be very often movements in search of precious metals, etc. In China and India the poverty of the people is due more to the hidebound conservatism they cherish and certain superstitious ideas they hold than to any actual production problem. Mankind has such reserves of energy and such resources in scientific methods that an increase in supplies at least proportionate to population could be effected without difficulty.

(2) Artificially to check the birth-rate is immoral. It is rankly disobedient to the teaching of the Catholic Church, and indeed of

number of such operations performed in a year, but judging by the evidence available they must run into hundreds of thousands. These figures represent an appalling amount of misery and ill-health, most of it avoidable. A woman must be driven to desperation before resorting to such an expedient.

(3) Abortions and sterilisations are now performed in hospitals where birth would be dangerous to the health of the mother. Many more must have been avoided by the wise use of birth control. The idea that such suffering is inevitable is a relic of the barbarous age that resisted the use of anaesthetics in childbirth. There is no evidence that birth control does any harm to those who practise it or to their potential fertility. If such a decline in fertility is a fact, which itself is not proved, its causes must be sought elsewhere. But great fertility is not in itself a proof of superiority, or the fish, which lays thousands of eggs at a time, would dominate man.

(4) Birth control is used mainly to limit, and not to avoid, childbearing. The rise in the standard of living of the poorer classes has coincided with the decrease in the size of families. People no longer regard their children from a purely economic point of view, and have a higher conception than formerly of their fundamental rights. It is now only among the least intelligent sections that large families are common. There is no civilised country where birth control is not practised by some sections of the community despite religious teachings.

(5) Birth control is implicit in the changed conception of women's rights that is now generally accepted. Women are no longer content to spend their whole lives in bearing and rearing children; they wish to play their full part in the life of the community. Theologians have been unanimous on this point. The motive of limitation is purely selfish.

(3) It should be left to those qualified to judge whether the risk of death and suffering is sufficient to justify the avoidance of childbearing. The easy use of birth control has been used too often to avoid imagined risks for purely selfish reasons. Further, there are indications that the continued practice of birth control actually reduces fertility, and if it becomes sufficiently widespread will in effect bring about race suicide. When birth control is used to prevent childbearing altogether, women are denying themselves the exercise of their natural functions. It is a well-known fact that childbearing has a beneficial effect on a woman's mental and physical health.

(4) The desire for small families often springs from less worthy sources than regard for the welfare of the children. Often enough children have to compete with amenities or with the desire for amusement. Higher housing standards may have been a factor, but planning of new housing is now beginning to be adapted to the needs of larger families, and as this trend continues limitation will be unnecessary. In these days of increasing State assistance there is no reason for the average person to shrink from the cost of raising children. It is doubtful whether the real standard of life is higher today than formerly, or than in countries where religious beliefs forbid the practice of birth control. Loss of spiritual values may well outweigh the benefit of any increase in material amenities.

(5) Increased leisure has not proved to be of any particular benefit to the average mother of a small family. She has nowadays too much leisure and no idea how to use it. It is only a minority of women who show any interest at

munity and to do this they need more leisure than the old-fashioned family could give them.

(6) It is often assumed by opponents of birth control that it means small families or none at all. That is not necessarily the case; control does not mean abolition.

(7) Greater official encouragement given to the spreading of birth control information would make it easier to prevent its acquisition from doubtful sources. Immorality is no greater today than in past ages when birth control was unknown.

all in the life and welfare of the community at large. Most women either spend their lives bewailing their loneliness and pass their spare time in cinemas, or enter industry to the neglect of their small families and to the detriment of what remains of family life.

(6) In practice birth control nearly always results in small families. The vast majority of families in Britain today contain two children or less.

(7) The unrestricted facilities already granted to the sale of birth control appliances is encouraging immorality in the young, and will eventually tend to the breakdown of our civilisation, which is founded on monogamic marriage and the family.

BIRTH RATE, HIGH

Pro: (1) A country's prosperity is bound up with the size of its working population. It cannot be developed, nor its economy carried on, with a too small population: the British Dominions are only partly developed because of their lack of vigorous young men and women which they are forced to try to alleviate by immigration.

(2) Modern methods of production and scientific improvements in agriculture make it possible for larger populations than were ever dreamed of to be supported. Britain's population has increased fourfold in the last century, yet the standard of living of her people has also risen beyond measure. The success of wartime efforts to increase agricultural production prove that its possibilities are not yet fully exploited.

(3) Populations cannot be reduced harmoniously at all levels, unless by emigration on an enormous scale. A low birth rate really means a gradual decrease in the number of young people and a corresponding increase among the old.

Con: (1) It is possible for a country to suffer from over-population. In India it has led to chronic malnutrition and a high death rate and in Japan to colonial aggression and war. Britain is the most highly populated industrial country in the world, and is nearing saturation point. It is inevitable and right that as people's standards of life rise they should revolt against the waste and suffering caused by a too high population.

(2) Britain as a country is not naturally fitted for supporting a large population. Climatic reasons and the size of the country make it impossible to grow enough wheat, for instance, to support the whole of the present swollen population. Despite the huge rise in agricultural production since 1939, we are still unable to achieve self-sufficiency. We have lost our unique position in the world which we had as pioneers of the industrial revolution and which led to the multiplication of our population.

(3) The expectation of life has risen by over twenty years in the

This tendency is already beginning to be noticeable in Britain, where the proportion of children to the general population has dropped from over a fifth to about seventeen per cent. The harmful effect of this on manpower available for production is aggravated by the earlier retirement of the old and the continual raising of the school-leaving age.

(4) The falling birth rate is a sign of the increasing sense of insecurity among the people. The world-wide wars and economic depressions of the last half-century are responsible for this, and though a temporary increase in the birth rate is a common war-time phenomenon, the peak reached during these periods is steadily becoming lower. Wider State aid to parents and children has made the U.S.S.R. one of the few civilised countries where the birth rate is rising despite facilities for birth control.

(5) The small family of today is bad for the children, who tend to become too dependent owing to the over-anxious care they receive. Children in large families start out in life with a wider experience. They have been polished by the society of several others, have undergone the salutary discipline of considering other's needs and sharing in their joys and occupations. Infantile mortality has been very much lessened by modern science, and hardships to the parents can be alleviated by society, though no action by society should interfere with the individual's discharge of his duty.

(6) A large population is necessary from a military point of view. No country can successfully hold its own with a stationary or falling population. In war the decisive factor is numbers. France was handicapped against Germany in 1940 and onwards for this reason, whereas the sheer weight of numbers of the Russian and

last century or two, and a person forty years old, who might at that time have been approaching old age, is now in the prime of life. Modern technical advances make possible a vastly increased production at the cost of much less effort, and a fall in the number of workers available will encourage further research along those lines. Children should not be regarded as sources of cheap labour, and their progressive withdrawal from the labour market would have operated in any case.

(4) The people and classes of society best in quality are those who prefer to rely on their own efforts for the raising of their families. Too much State aid will encourage the proliferation of apathetic and dependent families. Actually the insecurity of war seems to call forth in nature a response in the raising of the birth rate. This has been noted in Britain in the wars of both 1914 and 1939.

(5) A high birth rate is always accompanied by a high death rate and invalidism in mothers. In present circumstances few parents can support a large family properly. Overcrowding, which is now unavoidable, is a chief cause of mortality and inferior health. Quality is more necessary than quantity. The theory that children in large families are more independent or that they benefit from family life is untenable, because no large family can be brought up without making the older children's lives a burden to them, physically and mentally, with disastrous results to their development. Children get plenty of companionship in school and elsewhere.

(6) Numbers are not necessarily decisive in war, especially in these days when mechanised warfare is the rule. Victory is more likely to depend on a sufficiency of weapons and a high level of industrial

American armies helped largely to win the day.

(7) Though poverty is alleged to vanish with restriction of the population, France has a standard of living lower than that of her highly populated neighbours Belgium and Holland. Both Britain and France are now compelled to import foreign labour to keep the national economy going, and in France the number is so great that the ethnographical picture of the nation is changing.

(8) If the morale of society were good and purely artificial hindrances to family life were removed, much recent social legislation would be unnecessary, as parents would be able and willing to carry out the duties for which they are peculiarly fitted. Housing is not a permanent problem, and the development of new towns and the improvement of amenities in the old will largely solve the problem of living space. Progressive local authorities are already beginning to provide for the accommodation of larger families.

production generally. But even if numbers were decisive, a good deal might be said against conducting life from the standpoint of wartime alone.

(7) France, the classic example of the under-populated country, was actually more prosperous than other countries. The shortcomings of its society were due, in part, to the very extent of its prosperity. Controlled immigration is a better method of regulating the size of the population than an anarchic natural increase which cannot be measured.

(8) It is impossible to organise society with large numbers of children. For instance, the improvements indicated in the 1944 Education Act proved largely unworkable owing to the fluctuations in the child population and the tremendous amount of money and labour required. The cost of education is already prohibitive, and the standard is steadily falling.

BISHOPS: Should they be Excluded from the House of Lords?

Pro: (1) Bishops have quite enough to do in looking after their dioceses. They are rarely fitted by circumstances or temperament to be legislators, and as a body have an unfortunate history in this capacity.

(2) When the bishops were temporal powers, their position was necessary and natural. Today their original status and duties have gone; the country holds many faiths and no faith. Their presence occasions resentment among those who are not members of the Established Church. It is in addition an infringement of the cardinal principle of democracy that the members of the Legislature should be elected.

Con: (1) Being independent of party, the bishops do very useful work as guardians of the interests of religion and the Church. They can take a statesmanlike view of public policy. As the clergy are not allowed to sit in the Commons, the bishops are all the more needed in the Lords.

(2) They are among the few Lords who sit by virtue of merit and not by accident of birth. As any reform in the Lords may be expected to take the form of converting it into a chamber representing the various functions of the commonwealth, the presence of the bishops is sound political science.

(3) Their exclusion would mean

(3) Religion should have no place in politics. It appears to give no sure guidance in the problems before Government. Now that the Church has a much larger measure of self-government than it used to have, the bishops are not needed to defend its interests.

a further divorce between religion and politics. Most English people are religious, and the Church of England is still the State Church and the one which best represents the national feeling.

See also DISESTABLISHMENT ; LORDS, REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF.

BLASPHEMY LAWS, ABOLITION OF

Pro : (1) The blasphemy laws are absurd. Under them any Unitarian or other non-Trinitarian denying the divinity of Christ, not necessarily offensively, may be indicted for blasphemy. They are used only against unfortunate and illiterate people who cannot defend themselves, while powerful and cultured atheists can say or write what they like unmolested ; this is a travesty of justice.

(2) Honest disbelievers have as much right to express their views freely as believers to express theirs. There is no indecency in want of faith. The Christian religion is indeed harmed by these laws, because its apparent need of this special protection makes people think it is full of weakness.

(3) If Christianity is true, such laws are superfluous. If it is false, they will fail to save it. Britain is not a country of Christians, and all institutions based on the supposition that it is have obviously outlived their usefulness and ought to be abolished.

Con : (1) Certain rules of morality and belief are so universal and so deeply underlie the conscience of everyone, or almost everyone, that speeches and writings which treat them with public contempt are rightly deemed to constitute a constructive breach of the peace. The blasphemy laws no longer operate harshly in practice because, like so many laws on the statute book, they have in large part fallen into desuetude.

(2) Blasphemy laws are useful for maintaining the decencies of life and defending the religious convictions of the people from needless offence.

(3) Christianity is part of the law of the land. Hence anything that denies the former comes into conflict with the latter, and cannot be permitted.

BLOOD SPORTS (i.e., Hunting and Shooting)

Pro : (1) Sport is one of the best elements in our national life, tending to keep the race hardy and manly and to maintain the idea that physical strength and endurance are objects to be aimed at.

(2) There is comparatively little cruelty about blood sports. Cer-

Con : (1) Such sports are not national, as they are only practised by a section of the community. Games like football and cricket promote physical health and manliness more effectively.

(2) Sport involves great cruelty, and demoralises the sportsman because it fosters pleasure in the

tainly the British sporting class is less cruel than its opposite number in many foreign countries.

(3) In many ways sport counteracts the evil effects of city life by bringing man closer to nature and to an observation of her ways. This is specially the case with shooting and fishing.

(4) The keen sportsman does not mind undergoing discomfort in pursuit of sport, and this calls out in him the power of sacrificing the present to the future, one of the signs of man's superiority over the brutes.

(5) Sport encourages the growth of the powers of observation, of quick calculation, and of rapid decision.

(6) The chief objections to sport are made by so-called humanitarians who claim that animals should be admitted to have rights and should be regarded as existing for their own ends. Man can tolerate the existence of animals only inasmuch as they subserve his aims, and those which are either useless or harmful must disappear. (*See* ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF.)

(7) Sport has been an element in the spread of civilisation and in giving us a knowledge of unexplored parts of the world. It has given to the British that roving spirit which has placed them in the forefront of the nations of the world. Big game hunters have been of great benefit to tribal communities in destroying dangerous wild animals.

(8) Hunting with horses plays an important part in improving their breed and maintaining a proper supply.

(9) If blood sports were abolished there would be a large amount of distress among many hard-working classes of the community. The popularity of hunting is proved by the large crowds that gather to watch a meet.

infliction of pain. This is proved by the way the classes given to sport governed Britain when they were in power and by the ferocity with which they treat intruders, e.g., poachers.

(3) The men who have advanced our knowledge of nature have been either hunters for a living or naturalists. The game laws and the enclosure of large areas have helped to shut off the great mass of the population from nature. Youth hostels and the Scout movement have done far more than blood sports to counteract the evils of urban life.

(4) Sport is made the excuse and occasion for luxury. Most industrial occupations involve far more hardship.

(5) The powers of observation, etc., can be cultivated otherwise. The sportsman only observes things connected with sport.

(6) To treat animals as means to man's gratification is demoralising. Animals must be seen to have ends of their own in nature before man can really advance in his knowledge of nature. Sport is a most inefficient method of exterminating noxious animals, and in fact sometimes deliberately preserves them. The unpopularity with sportsmen of farmers who shoot foxes is sufficient commentary on the usefulness of fox-hunting.

(7) Sport has played a negligible part in spreading civilisation compared with the motives of trade, adventure, and social conscience. The sportsman in the tropics is of very varying value, e.g., he would have exterminated elephants if given the chance.

(8) The needs of agriculture, special breeding by the State, and horse-racing will improve horses much more certainly.

(9) Sport is enormously wasteful. Hunters arrogate to themselves the right to ride over ploughed fields, destroy fences and

generally disorganise farm economy. Farmers regard hunts as an unmitigated nuisance, though the feudal organisation of our agriculture prevents them from expressing their views.

BOARDING v. DAY SCHOOLS

Pro : (1) The modern family is small, and children have no longer the same opportunities of mixing with other children and learning the practice of mutual tolerance as they had in the old-fashioned large family. A boarding school provides this opportunity.

(2) An over-sensitive child is usually the product of unwise upbringing by over-fond or over-strict parents. The company of normal children, and the influence of a trained staff, does much to correct the effects of bad upbringing and fit the child for normal life

(3) Our best boarding schools, the public schools, have traditionally been the source from which most of our national leaders have been drawn. There is no time in a day school to inculcate the habits of leadership, loyalty and decision which make the natural leader.

(4) Boarding schools are generally situated in the country, and have facilities for sport and country life generally which exist only in the more privileged homes. Both work and leisure times are used constructively to foster physical and mental health. Children do not feel the deprivation of the society of the other sex, indeed, many of them prefer to do without it.

Con : (1) Children in day schools have a daily opportunity to practise mutual tolerance and co-operation. A day school has the further advantage that a sensitive child who might suffer from continuous contact with hordes of other children can find mental and emotional repose, and the extra personal affection he or she needs, at home.

(2) The average teacher and house-master or mistress in a boarding school is no more fitted than a parent for bringing up a child, especially a " difficult " one. A parent of ordinary intelligence has the advantage of understanding from personal experience the inherited character which often inspires a child's behaviour.

(3) The impossibility of escaping from school influence and atmosphere all too often means the stifling of individuality. Too many boarding school products are recognisable by their dull uniformity and lack of initiative. Continual submission to regimenting authority does not make for self-reliance and independence of judgment.

(4) The advantages of country air are often outweighed by the effects of institutional feeding. It is a known fact that day-school children gain more in weight than boarding school children of the same social class and circumstances in term-time. The comparative freedom of a day-school child to explore the world outside school is an undoubted mental and emotional advantage. Again, few boarding schools are co-educational, and they give little opportunity of mixing with the opposite sex on normal and natural terms.

BRITISH EMPIRE : Should it be Dissolved ?

Pro : (1) The old-fashioned imperialist outlook is now thoroughly discredited throughout the world. Since the system of mandates was first established by the League of Nations it has become impossible to annexe territories and establish colonies in the old sense. It is time that Britain followed the general world tendency.

(2) The Dominions are to all intents and purposes independent. The ties that bind them to Britain today are mainly sentimental, and in all vital matters they tend to decide for themselves. For example, it was for some time uncertain whether South Africa would come into the 1939 war on Britain's side. Economically Britain is dependent on them rather than the reverse. Some form of voluntary organisation might be entered into which would recognise the strength and equal status of the Dominions.

(3) Whatever might be said about the Dominions, the Colonies are in effect alien communities dominated by Britain. Except possibly in parts of the West Indies, no "family ties" bind them to us. Burma has resigned from the Empire, and India and Pakistan may do so. The desire for independence is present in nearly all the colonies, and only their lack of military strength prevents them from realising it in action.

(4) The principle of trusteeship implies that we should educate and develop the colonies to the stage where they can benefit from independence. It is the contention of colonials that we have left them in the stranglehold of British monopolies, which act exclusively for the benefit of their shareholders in Britain and prevent the development of a balanced economy in the colonies themselves.

(5) The education we have

Con : (1) Imperialism may be nominally dead, but the virtual annexation of territories continues, generally under other names but sometimes even openly, as in the case of South-West Africa. For Britain to strip herself of her colonies as a gesture to an ideal to which only lip service is paid would be to commit political and economic suicide.

(2) The Dominions exist within the present arrangement, with which they are clearly content since talk of secession—except occasionally in South Africa—is rarely heard. To end the present organisation with the aim of offering independence to the colonies would mean raising the question of secession. Deliberately to break the family ties that bind us to the Dominions might easily open the way to a change in their economic outlook, with disastrous results to Britain.

(3) Questions of ideal and ethics apart, the Colonies have the greatest need of British aid and tutelage. In their present stage of economic and cultural development they are incapable of existing as independent countries, and if released from British control would certainly fall under the domination of some other power. Most responsible people in the Colonies would prefer to remain in their present state and work to fit themselves for taking a greater part in their government.

(4) Whatever the mistakes and omissions of the past, there is now a new conception of responsibility to the Colonies. The economic needs of Africans, for example, are now being met by the development schemes set up under Government corporations. The economy of the Colonies is complementary to that of Britain, and each would tend to lose if the present economic ties were broken.

given our colonial subjects has naturally hastened the process of dissolution by implanting in them a desire for self-government and the democratic ideals which are the basis of the British way of life. It was this awakening of modern ideals that led to the secession of Burma and the formation of the Indian and Pakistan governments, rather than any decision on our part that these countries were ripe for self-government.

Nominal independence as undeveloped agricultural countries is incompatible with the ambitions of those who advocate colonial independence.

(5) The desire for independence among Colonials is mostly confined to a comparatively few young idealists; with advancing age and maturity most of them are content to enter the service of the government, where opportunities for advancement are continually increasing. To yield to their uninformed clamour would be a disservice to the Colonies themselves and a disaster for Britain.

BROADCASTING, PUBLIC CONTROL OF, IN PEACE-TIME

Pro: (1) Broadcasting has by now become possibly the most potent method of propaganda and education. Its influence is so pervasive that the service cannot be left with safety to private concerns; some form of public control, and indeed of management, is essential.

(2) Commercialisation of broadcasting would lower the standard of the programmes. Public control, as exercised in Britain by the B.B.C., enables all tastes to be catered for in some measure, whereas a commercialised service would tend to pander to the lowest, and the more serious talks, classical music and educational broadcasts would suffer. No privately owned broadcasting service would have initiated the Third Programme, for example. The B.B.C. have accomplished much in raising the general level of the public taste, particularly in music and drama, and in stimulating a thirst for knowledge. The schools broadcasts are models of their kind. Freedom of speech is more likely to be preserved by an impartial authority than under the control of vested interests through sponsored programmes.

Con: (1) Because of its power of manufacturing opinion, broadcasting ought not to be the subject of government control, much less of public management. The inevitable result of such control is that programmes are biased in favour of the current Government viewpoint, minority bodies and views are given no hearing, and live controversial subjects are suppressed from discussion.

(2) Public control is in effect a form of dictatorship by persons who, as in the B.B.C. in Britain, are virtually inaccessible to the public. In the B.B.C. a "civil service" attitude prevails which is utterly foreign to the spirit of entertainment, and as a result of its timorous compromise and remoteness from everyday life no section of the public is entirely satisfied. Commercialised broadcasting in the United States has provided a wide variety of programmes, mostly good of their kind. Freedom of speech, in the form of open discussion of controversial subjects, fares no worse than under the British system.

(3) The alternative to public or quasi-public control and management is not unrestricted competi-

(3) In Britain the smallness of the country and its proximity to the Continent impose narrow limits on the number of wavelengths available for broadcasting. Without public control there would be chaos; satisfactory reception would be impossible. Technical advances have demonstrated the need for a greater measure of international control rather than the throwing open of the air to unrestricted competition.

tion but regulated competition under private management. Revenue could be obtained partly by apportioning the charges for licences and partly by allowing sponsored programmes.

CABINET GOVERNMENT

Pro: (1) Under Cabinet Government the more important Ministers are supreme in their respective departments and at the same time benefit from their colleagues' advice and support.

(2) By giving each department a chief of wide outlook and experience, the prejudices of permanent officials are counterbalanced.

(3) The House of Commons is incapable of exercising authority and must be content with the power of dismissing Ministers.

(4) The Cabinet connects the executive with the legislative branch of government, and protects the departments from hasty and disastrous interference by Parliament.

(5) A complexity of affairs can only be managed by a small and united group; hence the success of our system. The business of the Cabinet is to formulate a general policy as the outcome of calm discussion. The temperamental differences among its members are sufficient to prevent its becoming a rigid machine.

Con: (1) Cabinet Government compels Ministers often to give a colleague indiscriminate support, and thus impairs the individual Minister's responsibility for the administration of his department.

(2) Permanent officials inevitably dominate the inexperienced and harassed Minister.

(3) The Cabinet has reduced the House of Commons to impotence. In practice it does not dismiss either Ministries or Ministers, and cannot criticise one department without attacking the whole Government, of which it may otherwise approve.

(4) It subordinates administration to the political vagaries of a few men, who are both inexpert and primarily concerned with the fortunes of their party. Departments should have permanent heads directly responsible to Parliament.

(5) Once established, a Cabinet, provided it remains unanimous, has all the power and the characteristics of an oligarchy. Most Cabinets play for safety for themselves.

CALENDAR REFORM

Pro: (1) Our present calendar, devised by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, is both inconvenient and illogical. It was a correction of the

Con: (1) The Gregorian Calendar has been used satisfactorily for three and a half centuries. The only people who wish to change it

Julian Calendar drawn up by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. which reckoned the length of a year as 365¼ days, whereas it is actually 365.2422 days. But its irregular and arbitrary division of the year into months of uneven length could easily be improved upon. Various associations exist with the object of bringing about such reform, and it would not be difficult to arrange for international action. The matter was under consideration by the League of Nations in the 'thirties, and about 200 different proposals were investigated.

(2) There are definite advantages in such a tidying up, and several excellent schemes have been put forward. The simplest was one suggested by a Yugoslav who would abolish weeks and months altogether, and distinguish the date only by number. Thus one might make an appointment for 11 a.m. on the 159th. Leap Year, according to this plan, would merely stop at the 366th day instead of the 365th.

(3) In spite of British conservatism, some such scheme is bound to come sooner or later. The main thing that is needed is a perpetual calendar that remains unchanged year after year. There are two main schools of thought—the equal months school, and the equal quarters school. British reformers mainly incline to the latter, and Americans, exemplified by the International Fixed Calendar Association, to the former.

(4) It is generally agreed nowadays that a perpetual calendar would have great advantages in business and accounting. Such a one is the international fixed calendar, whose chief advocate was the International Fixed Calendar League. This calendar has thirteen months each of twenty-eight days, and a New Year's day which comes between December 28th, the last day of one year, and January 1, the beginning of the

are a handful of cranks, who would find themselves in a very small minority if any of their schemes were taken seriously. The whole civilised world would be thrown out of gear by such a change, and would gain in compensation nothing but a rearrangement or reshuffling of names and days. The calendar might look a little better to people who set logical tidiness before practical convenience, but there would be no real advantage whatever.

(2) Such a scheme would be of little value unless universally adopted. Great Britain, of all countries, is least likely to agree to it. We waited 170 years before accepting the Gregorian Calendar, and began to use it long after the rest of Europe had fallen into line.

(3) Similar schemes have been put forward before, and have met with no lasting success, since they gave no fundamental advantage. The French Revolution Calendar, introduced in 1793, had twelve equal months of thirty days, each subdivided into ten-day weeks, or decades. The year was completed by five national holidays. The months were named according to their traditional weather—Brumaire, Frimaire, Nivôse, Pluviôse and so forth. This calendar was abandoned in 1806, and its only survival is the decade, occasionally used for official purposes. Russia in 1929 abolished Saturday and Sunday in favour of a five-day week, but the final result has been merely an arrangement comparable to our staggering systems. During the Fascist régime Italy introduced a system which counted years from the beginning of the Fascist régime instead of the birth of Christ, but the change had no effect on everyday life in Italy.

(4) The number 13 is unpopular. An unofficial committee on calendar reform has already considered this scheme and has described the 13-month year as "definitely

next. The thirteenth month, named Sol, comes between June and July, and in Leap Year an extra day is inserted between June and Sol, which would be a general holiday. The advantage of this scheme is that the same date always falls on the same day of the week.

(5) There are already business concerns which have successfully worked the thirteenth-month system, e.g., Kodak.

(6) There is a clear public demand for a fixed Easter, which makes itself heard every year as that holiday comes round. According to the British scheme (usually known as the Desborough plan) not only would the date of Easter be fixed, but other important social fixtures, such as August Bank Holiday, and school and university terms, could be standardised.

repugnant to British feeling." Moreover, for business purposes it has several disadvantages. the number 13 is difficult to divide by and impossible to divide into. Neither the quarters nor the half-year would contain a whole number of months; a quarter would consist of three and a quarter months. Thirteen monthly balancings, stocktakings, and payments, would increase trouble and complicate business.

(5) The exception does not prove the rule. If there was any general desire for calendar reform, we should hear more about it.

(6) There is still a considerable body of opinion, especially religious opinion, opposed to a fixed Easter. And those religious bodies which approve a fixed Easter would show great divergence of views on the questions how and when it should be fixed. If school and university terms were permanently stabilised, the attempt to popularise the staggering of holidays would meet with even more difficulties than it does now.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, ABOLITION OF

Pro: (1) The death penalty is an anachronism in the modern penal code. It is a relic of an age when all punishments were savage and vindictive, and will be regarded by our successors with the same horror with which we now look upon the hanging of little children for theft. A century and a half ago the death penalty could be, and was, inflicted for more than two hundred different offences. It is now applicable to four, and in actual practice is imposed for only two—treason (rarely) and murder. Hanging is now generally recognised to be a revolting and cruel punishment. To abolish it altogether would be a further step towards the humanisation of our laws.

(2) If it be true that such crimes

Con: (1) Capital punishment is a stern, though regrettable, necessity. Without it our lives and property would be less secure and the crime of murder would increase. In the present unsettled state of the world it is becoming more, not less, necessary, for acts of treason and crimes of violence are on the increase.

(2) Capital punishment should be extended rather than diminished in its scope, with a view to ridding society of its enemies, instead of keeping them for the remainder of their lives as a perpetual charge upon the public purse. Some of the countries which had abolished capital punishment have now found it necessary to reintroduce it, e.g., France. In countries under

are on the increase, that shows that capital punishment, as a deterrent, is not effective. In fact the statistics of crime in all countries prove that violent punishment tends to increase rather than decrease violent crime. For every step in the reform of our own penal code there has been a progressive diminution in the number of minor offences, while in spite of the death penalty the number of murders has remained almost stationary for half a century.

(3) The main body of evidence proves the contrary to be true. Out of nearly thirty countries that have abolished the death penalty, not one, according to the evidence given to the Select Committee on Capital Punishment in 1930, reported any increase in the number of murders committed. A penal code based on the idea of education and reformation of the offender is far more likely to reduce the amount of crime.

(4) The death sentence is irrevocable. A mistake once made cannot be put right.

(5) Murderers do sometimes escape all punishment, because the jury refuse to convict. This would be less likely if there were no death penalty. In some cases sentence is passed as an empty and cruel formality, when there is no intention of carrying it out. And pleas of insanity and petitions for reprieve are multiplied.

(6) Very few of the murders committed really are premeditated. Four out of five are committed by people who are found to be insane—and no threatened penalty is likely to deter a lunatic —while in those cases in which the murderer is held to be sane, the crime is usually committed under the stress of violent passion or anger, in circumstances which either blind the perpetrator to possible consequences or make him regardless of them.

(7) The infliction of the death

dictatorships, such as Nazi Germany, where at least good order was kept, the death penalty was freely used.

(3) The reformation and re-education of some types of criminal may be possible, but a hardened murderer is beyond hope of reform. Are such men to be allowed to live, and to return to society as a source of danger to their fellows on the expiry of their sentences—for even a life sentence is in practice not more than twenty-five years?

(4) Mistakes are not likely to be made. If there is the slightest doubt in the minds of the jury, a verdict of guilty is not returned.

(5) Petitions for reprieve are sometimes found to be justified. Infanticide might be freed from the capital punishment now only nominally applied to it. In general, there might be more discrimination between various degrees of homicide, but the capital penalty should be retained for premeditated and brutal murders.

(6) A life sentence is in some ways just as cruel as a death sentence, and there might be some who would actually prefer the latter.

(7) This is merely the result of mass suggestion or hysteria, due, it may be, to newspaper propaganda. It proves nothing.

(8) The moral standards observed by nations are, unfortunately, lower than those expected of individuals.

penalty is against the conscience of civilised man. Thousands are always eager to sign petitions for reprieve even in cases where murder is definitely proved.

(8) To destroy human life is a crime, in peace or in war, by the State or by the individual.

CENSORSHIP OF THE CINEMA

Pro : (1) The cinema has become one of the chief amusements of the nation. All the arguments for censorship of the stage and of fiction apply equally to the cinema. A good deal of juvenile crime is due to the influence of bad films, and the voluntary censorship at present in operation utterly fails to check the showing of such films, while banning very often scenes and subjects of true scientific interest or dramatic value. The action of the police is spasmodic and generally too late to prevent harm, while local authorities use their licensing powers in a very erratic manner.

(2) Films destined to be shown in India, China and other countries where the prestige of the white races is at stake should be rigorously censored. Already untold harm has been done by the caricatures of European life shown to Asiatics and Africans.

Con : (1) The existing privately organised board of censors is quite adequate ; indeed, there is a case for reforming or abolishing this body also. The present powers of local authorities enable enlightened authorities to use their discretion. An official censorship would tend to act to prevent criticism of the established order and to close the loopholes through which advanced films are enabled to reach the public. In any case the evil influence of the cinema has been greatly exaggerated. Standards have been steadily rising, and the crudity and sensationalism of the earlier films is rare today, particularly in British films. Investigations have shown that the public in general, and children in particular, are tending to avoid voluntarily the cruder type of film.

(2) Most films shown in the Orient and in Africa are of American origin, and censorship would be impossible without American co-operation, which is unlikely. The remedy for this evil lies in the encouragement of the better type of British film.

CENSORSHIP OF LITERATURE

Pro : (1) Pornographic and pernicious literature is a dangerous evil, and has a demoralising effect on its readers, especially the young. It is undoubtedly responsible for a good deal of crime.

(2) If artists have no proper sense of their responsibility to the

Con : (1) The fiction that does the harm is not the small number of vicious books, but the multitudes that contain nothing but rubbish. These no censorship could touch, though they lower the morals and the intelligence of their readers. Such censorship

community, the State should interfere and support morality with the criminal law.

(3) Censorship is simpler and more efficacious than suppression when the evil is done. Some writers aim at commercial success through exploiting the vicious side of humanity.

(4) Fiction is a powerful influence and plays an important part in moulding the ideals of the future. In a democratic country, censorship is not likely to be carried to extremes; and a wise sifting out from the great mass of fiction published of the few books that might have a harmful influence is definitely desirable.

as is now exercised (e.g., by the circulating libraries) is incompetent and foolish: it frequently fails to distinguish good work with unpopular ideas from bad work that is merely vicious. The connection of fiction with crime is much exaggerated. All censorships of this sort are failures.

(2) This is outside the province of the State, which would only reflect the opinion of the most narrow-minded part of the community.

(3) Censorship is expensive and unsatisfactory. Police proceedings at least give the author a chance of defending himself.

(4) In actual practice, the books objected to by the censor are frequently of high literary value. For example, *Leaves of Grass, Poems and Ballads, Ulysses, Moll Flanders, Lady Chatterley's Lover,* have all been banned or restricted at one time or other.

CENSORSHIP OF THE STAGE

Pro: (1) Pornographic and pernicious art must be prohibited in just the same way as other anti-social things. The censorship provides that those who do not wish to see improper plays shall not run the risk of unexpectedly doing so.

(2) In time of party or national crisis and excitement, the Censor can prevent the presentation of matter which might lead to disorder or even to foreign complications.

(3) It is only fair to producers that they should know beforehand whether or not their performance will be allowed. It is far better to prevent indecent performances than to step in when the harm has been done.

(4) The best sort of manager welcomes the censorship as a protection against the competition of those who pander to debased tastes.

Con: (1) Art can only flourish when allowed freedom of expression. The public can always boycott the stage to show its disapproval. The censorship in practice can give no guarantee against impropriety, as every playgoer knows.

(2) The Censor is unable to exercise a political censorship, and if he did, it would always be unfair and one-sided.

(3) The Censor does not, in fact, guarantee against future police proceedings, and very generally indecency resides in additions made later or in action, etc., which the Censor never gets a chance of judging.

(4) The best managers, and the best playwrights, and the best actors are against it. They are almost the only ones who suffer from it.

(5) The Censor cannot for purely physical reasons read pro-

(5) When one man is the Censor and does his work with a full sense of responsibility, injustice is reduced to a minimum. No doubt censorship has occasionally been used in the past in restraint of a few admirable plays, but it would be difficult to improve on its present administration. In these days both the Reader of Plays and the Lord Chamberlain are ready to discuss difficulties with authors and managers and to accept all reasonable proposals.

(6) The anomaly of the "private" production calls for legislation to make the censorship even more effective.

perly the masses of plays submitted to him. He can judge only by means of set formulas, with the result that he has refused to license many valuable works (including several leading pieces in English literature) which have been performed in private to the complete satisfaction of cultured and critical audiences. The Censor tends to confuse the new with the immoral.

(6) The censorship is nowadays evaded by the well-to-do through the nominally "private" performances given by certain societies, so that it is more farcical than effective.

CHANNEL TUNNEL

Pro : (1) The Tunnel would make communication between Britain and the Continent much easier, and tend to make Britain less insular in outlook. This is of the utmost importance, as Britain will never solve its problems without a better appreciation of the outside world.

(2) The engineering problem is comparatively simple. The tides, winds, and currents make sea communications uncertain, but a tunnel would always be available.

(3) The military arguments against the Tunnel are unsound because of the ease with which it could be blocked. In any event the military advantages of our insular position have already been destroyed by the development of aircraft. In a war with France as ally, its value would be incalculable.

Con : (1) The sea passage is not formidable. For passenger traffic the development of flying renders the Tunnel superfluous. For goods traffic ships are more economical than rail transport. An insular outlook is not necessarily cured by sending tourists abroad, as returned tourists prove.

(2) The train-ferry system is doing practically all that the Tunnel would do, at less cost and less engineering risk.

(3) Caution is the best policy. In war the Tunnel would be an added difficulty in defence and no great advantage in attack.

CHRISTENDOM, REUNION OF

Pro : (1) The ideal of Christian reunion is both desirable and necessary if the churches are to stem the flood of scepticism and indifference that is spreading throughout Europe, to make any

Con : (1) However desirable, the ideal cannot be realised. Any proposals put forward or supported by the Church of Rome would mean simply the absorption of other churches. There are at

real impression on the non-Christian world, or to deal properly with contemporary social problems. Internecine feuds consume energy fruitlessly.

(2) Minor differences should be sunk or natural allowances made for them. They must not outweigh the interests of the whole.

(3) Modern thought is less interested in theological problems than in the ethical side of religion. Many non-believers could be attracted to the churches if they were to produce a united programme of social reform based on such views as could be agreed between all sects.

present such strong antagonisms between the various sects that we can only wait and try to heal the internal dissensions existing in each body.

(2) Undenominational Christianity would be colourless and therefore of less value. Few would accept it, least of all the Catholic Church.

(3) Good works are not the whole of Christianity. Sceptics would still prefer to dispense with the theological doctrines, and people of religions other than Christianity are not impressed by them. Christianity is concerned with the world after death as much as with this one, and few sects would be prepared to risk eternal error by sacrificing what they believe to be the truth in the interests of temporary earthly advantage.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Pro : (1) Christ's teaching applies quite as much to life in this world as to a future life, and is intimately concerned with teaching us to obtain and realise justice on earth. Many sayings in the Gospels which are taken to refer to a future life apply even more surely to this one. The Socialist theory of the Brotherhood of Man is a natural complement of the belief in the Fatherhood of God.

(2) The Early Church undoubtedly laid down standards of conduct, even inculcating communism, for its members. The Medieval Church took the greatest pains to arrive at ethical principles for the conduct of life and commerce and industry, including such ideas as the Just Price and the condemnation of usury. Monastic communities tend to be communistic in spirit and often in practice. Many of the Protestant sects since that day have shown a strong interest in the problems of social life and organisation, and the new

Con: (1) Christianity and Socialism have no connection. Whereas the Socialist declares that the individual's chief aim is happiness in this life, Christianity teaches that the greatest happiness will be found in the life after death. This world is merely a preparation for the next, and we should live for the Kingdom of Heaven before all else. Socialism has no interest in the other world, and has a purely naturalistic theory of morals. The results are to be seen in Russia and other places where Socialism has had its fling.

(2) Christ's teaching applies to general principles of individual conduct. He lived in a society where modern Socialism was undreamed of and indeed inconceivable. Any communistic organisation of Church bodies was a temporary measure used for the defence of the Church against barbarism, or the establishment of new Christian communities in new countries. The leaders of the

democratic spirit abroad in Europe since its liberation from Nazism has led to the formation of Christian Socialist or Democrat parties in most countries.

(2) If the Church is to regain its hold on mankind, it must identify itself with the highest aspirations of humanity, even if they sometimes appear from outside its borders.

Catholic Church, and many others, today see in Socialism and Communism an enemy of religious doctrine. Most "Christian Socialist" or "Christian Democrat" parties have found it necessary to abandon bit by bit the socialistic programmes with which they began, in order to preserve intact the domination of the Christian idea.

(3) No religion has ever won the day by rashly embracing the passing doctrines of the moment What, in fact, is Socialism?

CHURCHES, THE : Should they take part in Politics?

Pro : (1) The churches, as representing the idealist element in the community, are bound to share in its most vital activities, which necessarily involve political and industrial questions.

(2) The Christian churches have in the past played great rôles in times of crisis. They have a body of ethics and traditions which binds them morally to follow precept with practice and oppose actively the abuses of the times.

(3) Although church-people may very well differ in their views, it is possible to present common policies in accordance with Christian teaching, and secure that the problems of the day are handled in a humane and Christian way.

(4) The action of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other religious leaders during the General Strike of 1926 shows how great an influence the church can still exert. Its results warrant the expectation that both the churches and the world would greatly benefit from such intervention in the future.

Con : (1) The churches are concerned with religion and private morals. They should remain outside the arena of political controversy, and limit themselves to presenting ideals on which all people of goodwill may draw for inspiration and guidance. They have no business to lay down rulings in matters which necessarily admit of doubt or of different points of view.

(2) (Some) The churches in the past have always stood for reaction. In spite of the gestures of a minority of church-people, there is no reason to suppose they will do anything different in the future.

(3) Members of the churches hold conflicting but equally sincere conceptions of the proper principles of the community's actions and organisation; active intervention in politics by the churches would therefore bring about disastrous quarrels, with serious damage to the cause of religion.

(4) No Government could take the pronouncements of church dignitaries as really representing the feelings of their religious followers on non-religious matters. Those who clamour for the churches to enter politics are almost always those who expect it to favour Socialistic tendencies.

See also the preceding article.

CLASSICS (LATIN AND GREEK) IN EDUCATION

Pro : (1) The Latin and Greek Classics represent the most important and vital part of our inheritance from the past, both in literature and in social institutions. They have been a great, sometimes the sole, source of inspiration to most of our leaders and teachers of eminence, past and present. Their study need not preclude the proper study of other subjects.

(2) Their literatures have a more permanent value than the generally ephemeral products of contemporary nations, which constitute the staple reading of nearly all students of modern languages except specialists.

(3) The study of the Classics has great disciplinary value, and the prolonged period through which they have been studied and taught has brought the teaching of them to a high level.

(4) Latin and Greek are fine instruments for the expression of human thought. They enshrine the works of the picked intelligences of two great peoples, from whom we still have much to learn. A great deal of their value is lost if they are read only in translations.

(5) Most of the masters of English style have had the Classics as the foundation of their education.

(6) The Classics are a reminder of other values and other achievements, and so prevent mankind from undue pride in modern scientific and industrial triumphs. These latter are not of much cultural value. Modern life, scientific, industrial, and mechanical, is not satisfying to the artistic aspirations of man, who has had a vastly different environment through almost all his existence; nor are man's recent triumphs over matter likely to create moral and aesthetic values suited to his essential needs and nature. Greece

Con : (1) They represent only part of our cultural inheritance. Ancient Egypt, the Middle Ages, and more recent times are quite as important, and are more interesting because less hackneyed. The study of prehistoric and primitive man is of more moment than that of Greece and Rome, which were half-barbarous, half-civilised. Statesmen reared on the Classics have often been ignorant, unprincipled, and stupid.

(2) Proper education in other subjects is neglected through lack of time, e.g., modern foreign languages, in which the Englishman is usually woefully deficient.

(3) The disciplinary value of German or Russian syntax is equally great and the practical value incomparably greater. The study of mathematics and science instils habits of logical thought, mental accuracy, and regard for truth much more effectively.

(4) "Classics in Education" usually means Latin crammed for a few years, dropped, and forgotten. Greek, much the better language and literature, is less frequently studied. Both are clumsy and undeveloped languages, far inferior in grammar, syntax, and vocabulary to English. Not more than half a score of Latin authors (medieval writers whom the Classicist very rarely reads excluded) are worth reading, and no more than a dozen Greeks, though these are much superior. Their chief merits are visible in translation, and the time saved could be spent on the rich literatures of Europe.

(5) Many masters of English prose have had no such education, and the multitude of bad writers who have studied the Classics for years shows that their benefits are most uncertain.

(6) Modern life is founded on science and technology. Only by concentrating on these and by

and Rome represent the more permanent values in life.

treating all problems in the light of current needs and organised knowledge can we expect to maintain or reach a satisfactory condition. The value of history in relation to current problems diminishes in proportion to its remoteness. Greek and Roman civilisation rested on slavery; ours rests on science.

CLOSED SHOP

Pro: (1) The working classes have had to struggle continuously to gain improvements in their wages and working conditions and a reasonable standard of living. Their weapon has been collective bargaining and the unity of their organisations, the trade unions. The closed shop is the logical next step in the consolidation of the power they have so far gained.

(2) The principle of the open shop enables unscrupulous employers to introduce into industry new untrained or semi-trained personnel. This is unfair to those who have had to pass through the stage of apprenticeship, and burdens an industry with people who know nothing of its traditions and customs.

(3) Temporary relaxations could always be permitted to cope with special circumstances such as war and other emergencies, provided that the general principle is preserved and the unions are consulted.

(4) If all workers in an industry, including clerical and administrative and professional workers, are not organised in trade unions, strike-breaking becomes easy, and union organisation as a weapon for bargaining is rendered useless. The threats of doctors and nurses to withdraw their labour as a protest against organisation shows that professional work is not incompatible with the use of the strike weapon.

(5) Employers have done their

Con: (1) While the right of workers to organise for collective bargaining is accepted, in their capacity as producers they are only one section of the community, and should not have the right to impose their will on the majority. Freedom of conscience is a fundamental right which is being attacked every day in modern society. No man should be deprived of employment because he is unwilling to pledge himself to action which might cause suffering to the community as a whole.

(2) The requirement that only members of an approved trade union should be employed in any industry unduly restricts the freedom of workers to change their occupations and stifles initiative in industry. Such restrictions are unfair to the community and hamper its progress, especially today when new processes and machines have often replaced the craftsmanship required in the old days, and unskilled or semi-skilled labour is in wide demand.

(Some) The 100 per cent shop, where new entrants to an industry are required to belong to a trade union during their employment only, would meet the requirements of unity in action without destroying flexibility in industry.

(3) The closed shop system is unworkable where large numbers of new workers are suddenly required, as in the engineering industry in war-time. It then comes into direct conflict with patriotism.

best by means of rings and cartels to combine and exclude competitors from their operations. Employees have a similar right to act in this way. Those workers in industries which have already achieved the closed shop are only doing what other sections of workers would do if they had organised strength.

(4) Several types of professional work are not amenable to trade union organisation, such as that of welfare and medical workers, who have no moral right to withdraw their labour, or the work of people responsible for safety precautions.

(5) Workers in closed shops have been able to gain huge concessions out of all proportion to those of their fellow workers and at the expense of the community as a whole.

CODIFICATION OF THE LAW

Pro : (1) The law is in a state of confusion, and the principle that everybody " is presumed to know the law " is completely vitiated. Partial codification, where it has taken place, has been so useful as to warrant the general application of the process.

(2) If the law were clear, there would be less litigation. The unscrupulous lawyer who promotes so much litigation would practically disappear. Misconstruction by legal advisers would be much rarer, and so cases would be settled outside the courts of law.

(3) The decrease in the ranks of lawyers which would follow would have a good effect in political as well as in legal life.

(4) The administration of the law by justices and judges without special legal training would be facilitated, and the present anomalies found in the conduct of justices of the peace (and not seldom in that of judges proper) would be lessened.

(5) The systematisation of the law of real property is an example of the value of clearing away anomalies and bringing scattered legislation into one scheme.

(6) The just administration of the present law depends largely on the character of the persons administrating them now and in the past. Judges and Justices

Con: (1) Some good has been done by consolidating statute law. But a Code would not be intelligible to laymen ; it is alien to the spirit of historical development which is the most valuable feature of any system, and would tend to conservatism by reason of the limits it imposes.

(2) The layman, thinking to know the exact significance of the Code, would tend to rush into court on any and every provocation, and as a result litigation would increase. Codification cannot deal with subtleties as does living law.

(3) Lawyers are valuable in politics by reason of their habits of precise thought and their analytical powers.

(4) The history of lay judges under the Indian Code points to the necessity of specialists in interpretation. The shortcomings of J.P.s are due to other causes than the complexity of the laws, and could be remedied by a reformed system of appointment.

(5) This measure of codification shows that complexity and uncertainty cannot be avoided. Case-made law reflects the changing standards from one generation to another.

(6) A written code would be equally subject to modification by the prejudice or incompetence of

have been particularly prone to class bias. The possibility of reference to a written code would limit the excessive powers of such people and the injustices often resulting from them.

those who had framed it. The lengthy process necessary for its amendment might result in complete disregard of an unpopular law. The Eighteenth Amendment to the American Constitution caused untold harm to the social structure of the U.S.A. before it could be repealed. British judges under the present system have a world-wide reputation for probity and impartiality.

CO-EDUCATION

Pro : (1) The mixing of the sexes in education is natural, practical and economical. It was formerly prevalent in Scotland, and is still in vogue in the United States of America, and has been adopted in several private and State-aided schools in this country.

(2) The feminine mind gains from association with boys and men, and the masculine from association with girls and women. The character develops more rapidly and shyness diminishes. Competition is greater between the sexes than between rivals of the same sex, so that higher standards of achievement are reached.

(3) False masculinity was a temporary phenomenon which arose during the struggle of women for emancipation. It now tends to be found only in girls educated in girls' schools. In co-educational schools it is completely absent; the relation between the sexes falls into a more natural pattern, and the only loss is perhaps the sentimental chivalry which is in any case a survival from the days of women's subjection and has no place in modern life.

(4) The presence of both sexes together is a wholesome factor in institutions. In all communities where one sex is segregated, e.g., schools, colleges, monasteries, convents, etc., various evils flourish. Women tend to become hysterical, men to acquire unnatural vices;

Con : (1) It is not convenient for the two sexes to be educated together. Many subjects are necessary for one sex which are not suitable for the other. Some subjects cannot be taught in the presence of both sexes without embarrassment on the part of teacher and class. Co-education tends to diminish the chivalry that is largely the product of early separate education. Co-educational schools in England have mostly produced cranks.

(2) The feminine mind assumes masculine characters which are only a hindrance in later life, and which actually repel men, while some boys become effeminate and so are disliked by both their own and the other sex. Competition in any form should be discouraged. Shyness is a natural stage in the development of youth, which wears off in family and ordinary social intercourse.

(3) It has been found that far from raising the status of women, co-education tends to their being relegated to second place and pushed into the careers which have always been considered as belonging to women. The best academic records among women are actually those of people educated in single-sex schools. Although co-education may be of benefit to the mediocre, it does not favour those of outstanding ability.

(4) Co-educational institutions

the whole atmosphere is morbid. In colleges and universities the presence of women raises the general tone both ethically and academically.

(5) Marriages made after co-educational experience are best. If the man and woman have known each other as fellow-students, a surer basis is given for married life than that gained from purely social acquaintance. If they have moved among others of the opposite sex on equal terms, each will have a better appreciation of the qualities and make a fairer judgment of the shortcomings of the other.

(6) Co-education in schools for children under ten years of age has many advantages if sufficient care is taken to secure the control in the hands of able and responsible women. In rural districts the mixed school is often the only and usually the best solution of the educational problem, both elementary and secondary.

(7) In all branches of life women are becoming more and more the colleagues of men or their rivals on equal terms. They are equally competent as teachers, members of committees, administrators, doctors and research workers. In mixed schools a greater proportion of headships should be thrown open to them; at present the most they can achieve is a kind of assistantship. If it is absurd to think of a woman as head in a school containing boys, it is also absurd for a man to be head in one containing girls. Men and women should be placed on the same professional level of conditions and pay.

(8) Co-education enables investigation to be made into the different characters of boys and girls, the different environment and subjects they may need. It offers a field for wide varieties of research that may provide solutions for many of the problems

provide conditions conducive to a low tone, and serious evils might result. Enforced association of the sexes at adolescence would be likely, in many cases, to make permanent the slight aversion from the other sex that sometimes exists at that period. In Russia, where widely varying educational experiments have been tried, opinion is turning away from co-education in adolescence.

(5) The history of marriage in the United States does not encourage expectations of much advantage from co-education. Love depends on an element of romance, which is destroyed by too much familiarity between the sexes.

(6) Quite young children may well be educated together, but after nine or ten years boys should be taught by men and girls by women. They need separate training to suit the different rates of physical, intellectual and emotional growth. The two sexes can thereafter mix quite enough in family and social life.

(7) Though adults may co-operate successfully, children are not adults. They have not acquired the control and habits necessary for such a life. One sex gains its experience in a different way and interprets it differently from the other. It can only be guided through this stage of life by someone who has traversed the same path.

(8) Such investigations can be pursued with the sexes separate. Co-education should perhaps follow—it should certainly not precede—the data on which it might be based.

(9) Mixed schools are more expensive than those for one sex only.

that vex both education and society.

(9) Most schools are inadequately staffed and provided with material and equipment. It would cost less to provide the improvements that must be provided for a co-educational school than if they have to be duplicated for boys and girls.

COLLECTIVISM

Pro: (1) The narrow conception of the State's function as confined to securing order and liberty for person and property is quite antiquated. Economic pressure of every sort, price fluctuations as well as unemployment, sweated labour as well as land monopoly, work more injury to the mass of citizens than an occasional robbery. The economically weak must be protected from the economically strong. Therefore the State must reorganise the vital productive and distributive processes in the interest of the community.

(2) It is no more iniquitous to order the economic actions of citizens than to conscribe their persons for war ; yet many anti-collectivists approve the latter.

(3) Private capitalism has achieved much, but not enough. It has developed vast power, but the lightening of the burden of human labour has only come from the pressure of the workers. Capitalism directs enterprise into profit-making rather than into socially desirable channels. Modern capital depends almost entirely on manipulations of credit by bankers and financiers. The present situation shows the inadequacy of capitalism.

(4) Collectivism is necessary if Britain is to husband its comparatively small natural resources and hold its own in international commerce. Recent experience suggests that tariffs, quotas, sub-

Con : (1) The function of the State is to govern, not to trade. It should keep order and maintain the conditions of liberty. The State is a purely political institution, designed to protect the national independence, the rights of persons and the rights of property. If it steps outside these limits it does wrong and will inevitably cause trouble.

(2) Collectivism implies monopoly. The rights of the individual to trade and dispose of his capital are attacked ; collectivism thus offends the principles of justice. War is an exceptional episode in the life of a society and justifies exceptional measures.

(3) The justification of private enterprise is its results. It has built up modern industry with its vast achievements and its vast possibilities. Wealth has been increased many times over. The ends of the earth have been developed and made to yield their riches. A civilisation undreamed of has been erected, and mankind is better off than ever before.

(4) Foreign trade depends peculiarly on private enterprise. Collectivism would mean ruin. All the good alleged to be derived from it can be obtained by protection in the form of tariffs or subsidies or other incentives to producers.

(5) Private capitalism built up a strong edifice which proved capable of taking the strain of war. Governments have proved just as

sidies and the like do not suffice to maintain Britain's economic prosperity, and that salvation is only to be found in a greater measure of collectivism and direction of the national economy.

(5) In time of war, despite the patriotism of captains of industry and the strength of our credit system, the State is hampered by the need to support capitalism first of all on the credit of the community; the needs of the country as a whole are necessarily relegated to second place. In the war of 1939–45 the Government, although largely composed of people politically opposed to collectivism, was forced to exercise more and more control over industry, and sometimes to take over factories and firms in order to save the country from the effects of their inefficiency The Ministries of Food and Agriculture controlled the import and production of food, with notable benefit to the public, and saved the country from the worst evils of food shortage.

(6) Under private enterprise profits are the only incentive, the end and the criterion of all industrial activity. This does not necessarily produce efficiency; in fact, under privately run monopolies it has often led to the restriction of production and the suppression of inventions which might have been of benefit to the world as a whole because they might encroach on the markets for outmoded goods.

(7) Centralisation effects enormous economies. Private ownership of the railways, for example, involved great waste of carrying power. Privately owned coal seams were incompletely exploited because of the need to maintain barriers between properties underground. The only other way of abolishing wasteful competition is by anti-social trustification, and whenever a monopoly is attained by capitalists, they have no further motive for efficiency, guilty of waste as any private body. For example, army supplies have been dumped in large quantities and left to rot, good farming land has been taken over and destroyed, and government departments have built up swollen clerical and administrative staffs which encroached on housing and industrial buildings and productive manpower.

(6) The success of commercial undertakings depends largely on elasticity and breadth of view, and in competence to make prompt decisions and take wise risks. State officials are notoriously cautious and unenterprising. They fear responsibility and resist innovation. Collectivism would mean hordes of bureaucrats with vested interests and conservative minds.

(7) Centralised monopoly is not so efficient as decentralised competition. It abrogates the interplay of supply and demand. It is also relatively less efficient after the unit of management exceeds a certain size. The advantages that are claimed for it are obtainable by voluntary agreements between various firms. Trusts are rarely successful in practice from their own point of view, for they never succeed in eliminating all competitors.

(8) The constitution of the machinery of government, with its hierarchy of divided responsibilities, its political influences and intrigues, is unsuited to administer commercial undertakings. There is no appeal against a Government monopoly, as Ministers and Government departments rarely give satisfaction to individuals aggrieved. The State telephones in Britain are less efficient than the privately owned telephones of the United States; the Post Office is not better than the Express Company in America.

(9) Business men are the backbone of the nation. They are the most vitally interested in its welfare and shoulder most of the

since within wide limits they can secure constant profits from an indifferent service highly priced. Private enterprise in practice always tends towards monopoly, and the choice nowadays lies between a monopoly operated for the benefit of a few shareholders and one operated for the good of the community as a whole.

(8) Government departments are administered successfully. Despite the deliberate starving of the Post Office to prevent it from competing seriously with transport agencies and banks, and despite the frequent appointment of Postmasters-General who have been openly opposed to State enterprise, the Post Office today is quite as successful as any other huge undertaking in the country.

(9) Political and national life and policy are rotten owing to the influence of private capitalist forces which, while repudiating State interference on behalf of the community at their expense, seek to secure State interference on their behalf at the community's expense. There is no doubt that international commercial interests are as powerful in modifying government policy as strategical or ethical considerations.

(10) People are more willing to work efficiently for the State as the organ of the community than for individuals or companies whose first concern is profit, gained through a system of which unemployment is a necessary feature and where maximum production brings economic crises. The feats of production achieved by miners since nationalisation could never have been approached under capitalism. The serious loss of manpower to the industry has been arrested by the incentive of collective enterprise.

(11) The ever-increasing gap between wages and profits, and the consequent bad distribution of goods and fluctuations of purchasing power, are the chief evils responsibility for securing it.

(10) The workers will only work under pressure. They will not work efficiently for the State, but will want it to supply them with everything in return for nothing. They will use their political power to extort the most favourable conditions, just as much as they use their industrial strength under private enterprise.

(11) The gap between wages and profits, which is justified by the increased risk taken by the capitalist, is being continually narrowed by taxation and the provision of costly social welfare schemes.

(Some) The chief problem of industrialism is the wage system, which Collectivism does not solve. Collectivism may easily mean the servile state in which the mass of the workers toil, under good conditions maybe, for a minority of State bondholders.

at present. Collectivism would remedy them. Domination by bondholders is by no means an inevitable feature of collective systems. On the contrary, their aim is the service of the community. Payment of doles to bondholders does not imply control by them of the country's industrial and financial policy.

COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE

Pro: (1) In most civilised societies at present, marriage is deferred long past the age of sexual maturity on account of economic difficulties. Companionate marriage makes possible at an early age an honourable sex partnership in which both young people may go on with their normal occupations, either as students or as wage-earners. If no home is set up, no additional expense is incurred. Two can in fact live together more cheaply than they can live separately.

(2) There would be fewer promiscuous and irregular sex relations if earlier marriage were made possible in this way.

(3) Young people whose sex life is normal work better and are in general happier and less neurotic than if compelled to wait years after sexual maturity to begin married life.

(4) It is understood that children will not result from these marriages. Hence there is little difficulty in dissolving partnerships which do not prove successful. Experience shows, however, that many of these partnerships lead to successful permanent unions.

Con : (1) Companionate marriage is a deliberate incitement to promiscuity. If young people are allowed to live together in this free and easy way, with the knowledge that the so-called marriage can be dissolved at will, sexual morality will receive yet another setback.

(2) People who indulge in surreptitious love affairs would probably continue to do so under any conditions.

(3) On the contrary freedom and independence are among the chief sources of happiness in youth. As for work, two people thrown together in this way would be so preoccupied with each other that they would waste most of their time.

(4) This would cause a big increase in the already too large number of divorces, and is simply lowering the conception of Marriage to the standards of Hollywood.

COMPULSORY VOTING

Pro : It is the duty of every citizen to take an interest in the affairs of his community, and to

Con : Compulsory voting obliges electors to choose one out of two or three persons or measures, of

express his opinions on the questions at issue and choose between rival policies. Voting should therefore be made compulsory under penalty for failure to vote. The ballot paper can be drafted so that no one has any grievance about being made to support a policy or candidate that he dislikes. Such a measure would prevent the State or municipality from getting into the hands of adventurers, and would heighten the sense of civic responsibilities.

all of which they may disapprove. It endeavours to force them to give a practical assent to a system which they may not like, and may even want to change. The negative comment implied by abstentions from the poll may at times be most valuable.

(Some) If people are so indifferent to what happens that they do not trouble to exercise their rights, they should be left alone to bear the results of their negligence.

CO-OPERATION : Compared with Capitalism

Pro: (1) Co-operation, by substituting for the self-interest of an individual or a small group of individuals the interest of the whole community of workers, puts each worker in the position of being, in a sense, his own master, and secures a higher standard of work, since he receives his proportionate share of the proceeds in full.

(2) The commercial policy is regulated by the advice of those immediately interested in its success. Unlike capitalism, co-operation, does not primarily aim at profits, so that efficiency and service are preferred to merely monetary balances.

(3) It places the producer in direct contact with the consumer, and by thus saving the expenses of middlemen reduces cost.

(4) In enterprises where the workers know that they are not making profits for others' consumption, they work better. The system in private concerns is to pay most of the employees inadequately and a handful at the top exorbitantly.

(5) The co-operative movement has been very successful, not only in distribution but also in production. It has undertaken with great success banking, insurance, and foreign trade. There

Con : (1) By freedom of contract, or in any case by trade unionism, the worker has already secured fair wages and equitable conditions of work. Co-operation has to face exactly the same difficulty with its workers as private employers, as is proved by the increasing number of strikes. Every device by which the workers can be made contented without destroying the system is open as much to capitalism as to co-operation.

(2) Under capitalism the commercial policy is regulated by a single expert individual or small group of individuals. Uniformity and continuity of policy are better secured than under co-operation, where experts have to be employed, but work under harassing conditions.

(3) Middlemen perform important services, though trusts and other later developments of capitalism can dispense with them very largely.

(4) Co-operation keeps all the essential features of the wage-system, and is therefore of no advantage to the workers; moreover, the dividend, though not of the same origin as profits, has much the same psychological effect on its recipients.

(5) Co-operation has been

is no reason to suppose that co-operation could not be generally adopted.

chiefly successful on the distributive side. On the productive side it has been a failure, for the Co-operative Wholesale Society is really nothing but a capitalist concern with shares held by unusual holders. Private stores are equally successful in mere distribution.

CO-OPERATION : Compared with Collectivism

Pro : (1) Voluntary co-operation, as opposed to State socialism or collectivism, makes self-help the basis of social reform. By banding men together for a common end, it teaches self-reliance and gives independence.

(2) While collectivism would depose the capitalist only to exalt the bureaucrat, thus leaving the worker as dependent as before, Co-operation would make him his own master and render such abuses as sweating impossible.

(3) Co-operation, unlike collectivism, does not aim at the expropriation of vested interests. It defrauds no man ; neither does it cripple the nation with any scheme of wholesale compensation.

(4) The State is not a proper or suitable body to carry on industry. The main departments of human effort require special organisations to develop them properly. In the Civil Service seniority counts for more than special merit ; enterprise is stifled ; responsibility is insufficiently devolved and immediate decisions cannot be given ; and the ordinary citizen is rarely able to obtain reasonable consideration of his complaints or to influence the provision of the services he needs. If things go wrong in a co-operative society, the members can set them right, withdraw, or let them continue, as they please ; but in State trading citizens have to put up with what is offered.

Con : (1) Co-operation benefits only a small portion of the working class, and that the part that needs assistance least. The most optimistic and reliable estimate of the ultimate success of co-operation does not suggest that it can ever take over more than one-fifth of the national production.

(2) Co-operation simply substitutes competing societies for competing firms. The only alternative is local monopoly coupled with absolute dependence on the central quasi-capitalist producing organisation. Sweating and wage disputes are quite common in the movement.

(3) Co-operation based on the savings of the poorer part of the community has no chance of competing very seriously with capitalism based on profits and credit manipulation. It does not touch evils like the land monopoly.

(4) State enterprises are at least as successful as co-operative ones. The weakness of co-operation is shown by the way it is seeking help against its difficulties from people who are committed to collectivism.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES : Taxation of Dividends

Pro : (1) The dividends paid on Co-operative Society purchases correspond with the profits of a private firm, whether that firm is a single individual or a big joint-stock company. They are derived from the same source as profits, viz., the difference between the total financial costs of the undertaking for a period and the total receipts from sales. The mere accident that they are usually distributed among many people in small amounts is no justification for exempting societies. Exemption gives them an unfair advantage over their competitors which should be removed.

(2) If dividends were eliminated the societies would lose their chief attraction ; this method of evading taxation would therefore fail.

Con : (1) The dividend is merely a roundabout way of selling at reduced prices to people who unite to obtain this advantage. The only thing corresponding with taxable income is the interest paid on the capital subscribed by the members. Sales to non-members are negligible. In addition the individual sums concerned are so small that the cost of collection by the tax authorities would swallow up most of the revenue from that source. Taxation or the attempt at it would be a blow at a valuable social effort.

(2) Taxation, if imposed, could be evaded by reducing prices and eliminating dividends.

CO-PARTNERSHIP IN INDUSTRY

Pro : (1) By giving the workers a concrete interest in the total efficiency and remunerative operation of industry much discontent and friction can be avoided and a better spirit be developed to the great advantage of all parties and of the community at large.

(2) It has been very successful in the gas companies which started it, in the enormous concern of Lever Brothers, and in many other firms drawn from every section of industry, but chiefly engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, pottery, and glass. Strikes have been almost extinguished among them, and the prosperity of the workers has increased.

(3) Shareholding gives the workpeople a sense of security, a sense of dignity, and a wider outlook on life and industry. They are thereby raised from the status of mere " hands " to that of responsible members of a community.

(4) The moral and economic

Con : (1) Co-partnership is an endeavour to mask the fundamental defects of capitalism by bribing its victims. It makes no attempt to put an end to its vicious principle of production for profit. Consequently it must be condemned as a deceptive and degrading palliative.

(2) It assumes the continuance of good trade, and cannot guarantee an income when trade is poor. By increasing overhead charges through the issuing of preference shares it may actually help to depress trade. The gas companies where it has been most successful are quasi-monopolies enjoying peculiar advantages. The Lever concern is a trust, and consequently enabled to avoid many of the influences which affect other firms. Co-partnership has not saved engineering and ship-building firms from prolonged depression or their workers from unemployment. The financing of sections

necessity of supplementing wages and salaries by another mode of income is met by these schemes. Otherwise the only alternative seems to be the dole, the Public Assistance Committee, and pensions.

(5) Large concerns, which are unrivalled as exponents of modern commercialism, have adopted the principle on the grounds of commercial expediency.

of the Lancashire cotton trade by loans from the operatives has brought calamity on large numbers of them, though all the alleged advantages of co-partnership were present in this practice.

(3) Workmen shareholders are kept in a strictly subordinate position and have no say in the policy of the firms, They still retain their status of wage-slavery.

(4) Rent, interest, and dividends are immoral. "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." It would be disastrous if trade unionists were converted to the defence of parasitism.

(5) Co-partnership is largely the hobby of philanthropists who can afford it.

See also PROFIT-SHARING.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Pro : (1) Corporal punishment for certain offences is most effective, because it is prompt and feared by all. It combines the elements of the remedial, the deterrent, and the vindictive. It teaches the schoolboy or the convict that the doing of wrong is followed by the suffering of pain.

(2) When inflicted justly and without anger it does not brutalise the giver. In most schools it is resorted to only as a final punishment, while among convicts it can be administered only for rebellion against prison discipline.

(3) It accustoms the pupil to the hardships of real life. No bitterness is left after chastisement if it has been administered for good cause.

(4) It is impossible always to "make the punishment fit the crime." The amount of corporal punishment can be adjusted to suit the gravity of the misdemeanour.

(5) It is better than other punishments, such as impositions, which are deadening to mind and body. Schools which dispense

Con : (1) It is degrading and otherwise harmful to the sensitive victim, while it is no deterrent to the hardened one, who sometimes even courts it.

(2) Its brutalising effect is seen when we reflect that those ages when parents and teachers resorted to it most were the most brutal in other respects. It appeals to the strain of cruelty that exists somewhere in everyone.

(3) Children resent injustice coupled with indignity. If it hardens, every boy, but especially the good boys, ought to receive its benefits daily.

(4) It is an excuse for laziness and inefficiency in teachers. They are content with terror instead of discipline, and a bad teacher can continue his work when otherwise the impatience of the pupils would force a change in either the methods or the staff.

(5) Impositions and detentions are more effective because they encroach on the leisure time of the miscreant and may even give an opportunity for reflection. Desire to stand well in the eyes of autho-

with corporal punishment, especially with young children, often substitute a most pernicious system of browbeating called " moral suasion."

(6) Impositions and detentions are harmful because they increase the number of hours a boy is compelled to spend indoors in physical inactivity. His health is adversely affected and his natural restlessness is increased by the enforced restraint, so leading to further offences against discipline.

(7) Corporal punishment should be retained for criminals convicted of violence. It opens their eyes to the effect of their crimes on their victims, and since bullies are generally the greatest cowards, is of the utmost value as a deterrent from future crimes.

rity and public opinion is surely a higher motive for good behaviour than fear of punishment.

(6) In modern schools there is plenty of opportunity of physical exercise in the form of games and gymnastics. Impositions and detentions in girls' schools are not considered to have any bad effect on health.

(7) The infliction of corporal punishment on an already anti-social person who evidently regards it as a legitimate means of achieving his ends is not likely to have any corrective action, and on the contrary will more probably lead to a deeper feeling of enmity towards authority and society.

DEATH DUTIES

Pro : (1) Death Duties are the least oppressive form of taxation, as the late owner is unaffected and the inheritor receives in any case an accession to his fortune, although the Treasury also benefits. They are easily collected and do not depress the standard of living, as does the income tax.

(2) They check to some extent the accumulation of private property, which is handed down to following generations who live in idleness on the toil of the community.

(3) Without them taxation would become yet more oppressive. In time of war, it would be impossible to raise sufficient revenue without death duties, unless perhaps a levy on capital were resorted to. They may be looked on as an insurance premium against a revolution or chaos.

(4) Hardships likely to arise from their incidence can be avoided by taking out assurance policies on favourable terms.

Con : (1) They can be, and are, evaded by gifts during life. The inheritor, especially where landed property is concerned, is hampered by the necessity of paying large amounts in one sum. He would pay more easily and ultimately much larger amounts through income tax.

(2) A leisured class is necessary for the maintenance of our culture. It discharges other important functions, not often recognised, e.g., the production of works of art.

(3) They encourage extravagance during life. This at once drains the sources of capital for the country, and creates bitterness among the working classes.

(4) Assurance to avoid payment of heavy sums on death is a heavy income tax on the individual and involves a sacrifice of revenue by the State owing to the relief allowed in respect of the premiums. The proceeds of such policies are, most inequitably, themselves liable to taxation, and may increase the rate of duty applicable to the rest of the estate.

DECIMAL COINAGE

Pro : (1) At the present time, when greater freedom and flow of international trade is of paramount importance, trade relations between the different countries would be greatly facilitated by a " common language " of currency and measurement. The decimal system of coinage is used by almost every great power in the world except Great Britain, and in a modified form in certain British colonies and protectorates. In it lies the obvious answer to the problem of reorganising world trade. Our present system of weights and measures is quite unintelligible to foreigners and imposes a strain on the memory even of our own citizens which most of them are quite unable to cope with.

(2) The decimal system is so much simpler that, once the initial prejudice against any kind of change is overcome, it will be generally welcomed. A system of quoting prices in certain trades in shillings instead of pounds has grown up of recent years, and its easy acceptance has shown that the established system need not be considered sacrosanct.

(3) No such general change can be carried out without some initial difficulties, but they should not be exaggerated. A number of prominent business houses in this country already employ a decimal system internationally. The quotation of stock market prices in decimals instead of fractions shows the usefulness of the change.

(4) The decimal system is already the foundation of all scientific calculation and is in general use at engineering works. Financially, the change is indispensable if an international monetary system is to be established. Either the shilling, divided into ten pence, or the pound, divided into florins and tenths of florins, could be used. Smaller units such

Con : (1) Our duodecimal coinage and our peculiar system of weights and measures are a national tradition which most of us would be very unwilling to change. The difficulties of our weights and measures are exaggerated. Trade relations would be equally well facilitated by cataloguing goods for firms abroad in the currency and measures of the people concerned.

(2) People are extremely conservative and the old system would be continued in practice. In France, the home of the metric system, the old-fashioned *sou* and *livre* are still retained. In England the crown has been abolished but the half-crown remains, and has proved its usefulness.

(3) The duodecimal system has one great advantage over the decimal system, viz., the number of factors in 12—2, 3, 4, and 6—as compared with 2 and 5 in 10. This is sufficient to outweigh all other considerations.

(4) The metre, though designed to be a natural or scientific unit, is not so, as the calculation on which it is based was slightly inaccurate. Sometime this difference might become important. Engineering makes use of much of the old system. Any change of the coinage in Britain would mean either a suppression of the smaller denominations with hardship to the poor and the small shopkeeper, or an unwieldy system such as the French, which involves calculations and quotations in thousands and millions.

(5) The pound sterling is an integral part of the world economic network, and must be retained as the base of any British system. Any tampering with the pound would open the door to devaluations and other manipulations which would only harm our credit.

as the present farthing are already disappearing from current use as money falls in value.

(5) The advantages of an international system have been shown long since in the working of the Latin Union coinage.

DEGENERACY OF MODERN CIVILISATION

Pro: (1) The degeneracy of Europe and of European civilisation has been noticeable for more than a century. Literature, journalism and art have more and more laid stress on the morbid and the abnormal. Britain is not exempt, as is proved by the crazes in different classes of society for such importations as the Russian novel, negro music, lascivious oriental dances, and the crude, puerile and violent sentimentalism of American films.

(2) A loathsome industrialism has subjected men to machines. Industrial populations are marked by ignoble countenances, by a mania for gambling, for watching other people, especially professionals, playing games which they themselves do not play, by an insatiable desire for something new, which shows itself in the endless buying of vulgar newspapers and the incessant pursuit of machine-made pleasures.

(3) Moral laxness and even crimes have been increasing, fed by weak sentimentalism and the flood of pernicious literature and films. The most outrageous forms of immorality are now openly spreading in most countries, and are being cynically tolerated.

(4) Mental diseases and neurotic symptoms are on the increase. Mental healers, psycho-analysts and even astrologers flourish. The passion for sport which has overtaken the women of the British middle classes and the persistent clamour for exercise and holidays show that we are less fitted to

Con: (1) Britain and Europe can only be accused of degeneracy by those who are ignorant of social history, and those who idealise the fancied memories of their youth. We often confuse what we do not like with what is evil. Morbidity and sensuality are found in the literatures of every country and every age.

(2) Civilisation is a function of technical knowledge and improving transport. Industrial progress is steadily improving both physique and intelligence in the areas where it flourishes. The state of mind which made possible the horrors of the industrial revolution was a product of the pre-industrial period. Such evils would hardly be accepted nowadays even by the most reactionary. Gambling and the pursuit of new things are as old as society, and the age which watches football matches is perhaps less to be condemned than that where bull- and bear-baiting, cock-fighting and the murder of gladiators flourished.

(3) Immorality is no greater than formerly, though it may seem more because there is less hypocrisy. Cruelty and barbarism such as now occasion widespread horror when a sporadic case occurs were hardly noticed characteristics of daily life some generations back.

(4) Accurate statistics of insanity are too recent for comparison. Nicotine and tea are perhaps the only examples of drugs whose use is more widespread today than a century ago; on the other hand, drunkenness is far less common,

stand the strain of life than our ancestors. Drugs of all sorts are being used extensively. Venereal diseases are widespread, especially in the large towns.

(5) Divorce rates are steadily rising, and the birth rate is no longer sufficient to maintain the population. Home life and domestic duties cease to attract women, who prefer a round of excitement or the unhealthy surroundings of shops, offices and factories.

(6) Everywhere the country population is deserting to the towns, yielding to their smart and shallow attractions. The artificial cry for the simple life is only a symptom of the evil that it is opposing.

(7) The growing discontent and peevish attitude to the difficulties of life show lack of stamina. Higher standards of comfort bring demand for still higher ones regardless of efficiency. Suicide as a method of avoiding reality is becoming commoner, as are insanity and nervous breakdowns.

(8) The outbreak of two world-wide wars in one generation proves that Europe has lost its ideals and its moral standards. The ferocity and stupidity with which war is waged, and the epidemics of frenzy, revolution and braggadocio which accompany it, reveal our degeneracy.

(9) Our political systems are outworn, and our statesmen, particularly in the international issues, prove much inferior to those like Pitt, Canning and Castlereagh, Palmerston and Disraeli, who wrestled successfully with the problems of earlier days.

(10) Our decadence is due to a variety of causes, of which the decline of religion and the older virtues is the chief. Owing to the premature democratisation of our social institutions, power rests with half-educated crowds who can be directed only by experts in deceit and cajolery, whether journ- and laudanum has died out. Venereal diseases are being attacked by the only possible method —medical treatment, and the hypocritical silence which veiled the whole subject is giving way to a healthier attitude.

(5) High birth-rates are the prerogatives of the subnormal classes and the most barbarous countries, where also infantile mortality is highest. The increase in divorce is due to restriction of the laws governing it, and may be measured against the suffering without hope of release which was the lot of so many people in the old days. Women are just escaping from the serfdom of centuries, and are no longer content with the restricted life which was formerly their lot.

(6) Rural populations have always drifted into towns, and laws forbidding them to do so were a feature of the ages of serfdom. Civilisation has always been a product of town life, as its name implies.

(7) Our ancestors only bore hardships because they could not circumvent them. For most of our population higher standards of comfort mean progress, and discontent is a first symptom of moral and cultural advance.

(8) War is the result of a complexity of causes. There have always been wars, so the fact of another war proves nothing.

(9) Modern problems, owing to the interdependence of modern communities, are much more complicated than those which faced former statesmen. The widespread desire and effort to improve our political and economic systems show that the ability to make new departures and new ventures is inherent in Europeans today.

(10) If the " older virtues " are at a discount today, it is because their exponents, the churches, no longer expound a doctrine which

nalists or politicians; a spirit of small-minded egoism prevails, and loyalty to State and society is replaced by general discontent and skirmishing for greater personal advantages. Children absorb these pernicious doctrines at home, and are at the same time deprived of the stabilising influence of religion in day and Sunday schools, while wholesome discipline and the inculcation of obedience are derided

corresponds with modern spiritual needs. The newer virtues of co-operation and personal initiative are being inculcated in all modern schools. Universal education and the influence of the better newspapers and the radio have raised the general standard of culture and brought to nothing the power which the former leaders of society had over ignorant populations. These instruments of culture have been debased only by those countries imposing Fascist philosophies; one of the main planks of their now discredited propaganda was the degeneracy of modern populations and the inadequacy of democracy. Such views have proved untenable in action and are now thoroughly discredited.

DELEGATION v. REPRESENTATION

Pro: (1) The representative system has broken down in all modern supposedly representative assemblies. Members represent no longer the general views of their constituents—it may be questioned whether such a thing is even possible—but rather party and other interests. The general feeling that, when once an election is over, the successful candidate is free from all effective control by his constituents, has weakened the popular reverence for and faith in political democracy of the old type. The remedy is the principle of delegation.

(2) Theoretically every elector ought to vote by proxy on every question of government; the nearer the approach to this ideal, the more perfect government is likely to be. A Member therefore ought to represent his constituents in each vote he gives, and should consult them on every occasion where a vote is involved. The Recall is a necessary adjunct to electoral machinery.

(3) Constant appeals to con-

Con: (1) A man is elected to Parliament on broad issues with the necessary understanding that he shall consider and decide on details for himself. His constituents cannot take such decisions for him. The evils found in representative institutions are due to other and various causes.

(2) Delegation is unworkable. It means either complete submission to an elaborate but inelastic party programme, or else futility. In practice representation is inevitable, unless the assembly is purely temporary and deliberative. The mechanical difficulties in the way of getting constituents to express themselves on half a dozen main questions are enormous; to get decisions on proposals running to dozens of clauses is impossible. The Initiative, Referendum and Recall are compromise and faulty solutions.

(3) Delegates will always tend to be inferior to representatives in character and ability. For no self-respecting man will act as an

stituencies would not be derogatory to the dignity of a Member, and consequently equally good men would offer themselves. They would, in fact, be protected in a measure from the pressure and influence of parties and interests.

(4) The nemesis of representation is that it allows governments to put through the most important measures, like the abdication of Edward VIII, without discussion. Delegates whose limits of action were determined beforehand would not have been able to condone the flouting of the League of Nations' authority after securing election on a contrary policy, as happened in 1935.

automaton without even theoretical responsibility. Party domination continues, corruption is not eradicated, and the executive steadily encroaches on the sovereign body.

(4) Representation enables many important matters to be dealt with which cannot come within the scope of delegation, e.g., foreign policy.

DIRECT ACTION (Industrial Strikes to affect Political Issues)

Pro : (1) The present system of government reduces the masses of the population to a state of helplessness between elections. As events and situations change rapidly, this means the practical despotism of the government that has a parliamentary majority. Trade unions comprise the largest organised part of the citizens of the country, and trade union action is the only way they have of interfering to show their opinions on critical occasions. A satisfactory government would not be threatened.

(2) Industry is becoming as important as citizenship. Direct action is the beginning of the development of the industrial state which will supplement, if not supplant, the political state.

(3) Direction can only be occasionally applied, and only when the vast mass of the workers approve. The pressure put on Parliament by financial, industrial and newspaper interests is the work of a smaller minority, and is more pervasive, more constant and equally unconstitutional.

Con : (1) Parliament, elected on a very wide franchise, reflects and represents the will of the people as a whole. The Government of the day depends on Parliament, and its policy follows the greatest common measure of the wills of the community. It is therefore both the constitutional instrument of public policy and the only qualified judge of policy. To attempt to influence its action by extra-constitutional means is wrong, and will end in anarchy. The opponents of the demands of the Labour Movement will inevitably organise their forces to resist direct action and possibly to press demands of their own. Movements have already sprung up in this country for this purpose.

(2) Citizenship is the supreme privilege. It is impossible to separate political interests from industrial interests in the State. The former include the latter.

(3) Direct action would lead to anarchy. The moral stability of the workers would disappear. It would be resorted to more and more on the most trivial occasions,

(4) Direct action is especially to be recommended for securing the ordinary and recognised civil and industrial liberties of the subject. It then becomes purely negative, and is in the nature of a demonstration.

(5) Politics are properly the object of such action, since one political development may spell more ruin to trade unionists than half a dozen unsuccessful industrial strikes. Industrial power cannot be gained for any purpose unless there are constant attempts to exercise it.

(6) The ballot box gives a fallacious result. The constitution, the party system, the machinery of government, the confusion of issues and proposals at election times, prevent the electorate from giving an informed and effective vote.

(7) The 1926 General Strike, which was for an industrial purpose, failed through incompetent leaders. As a strike it was amazingly complete.

sometimes by a few unions, sometimes by many, but always by a minority of the community.

(4) Parliament, the law, and public opinion are quite adequate to defend the liberty either of groups of people or of individuals.

(5) It is absurd for trade unions to devote their energy and power to strikes on political issues when they have so many other problems more nearly relating to themselves to settle, and are too weak to carry through their modest industrial programmes.

(6) All grievances can be remedied more certainly and much more easily through the ballot box.

(7) General strikes alone are likely to have any effect and they are in fact a revolutionary weapon. The General Strike of 1926 failed because of the tardy recognition by its leaders of this fact and their recoil from it.

DIRECTION OF LABOUR

Pro : (1) The balance of Britain's foreign trade has always been delicate owing to her large need for imports. The dislocation of our economy caused by the Second World War having to a certain extent upset this balance, the prime need is for British industry to concentrate on essential trades, chief of which are those which have the power to earn foreign currency. Canalisation of available manpower into these channels can only be achieved by direction of labour.

(2) It is undesirable for the State to have to enter into competition with private employers for available labour. War-time restrictions led employers in the less essential occupations to offer special inducements in order to attract labour. Apart from this

Con : (1) If the balancing of Britain's international trade and the stepping-up of national production can only be achieved by coercion of labour, then the benefits which may result from it will certainly be nullified by the evils such methods will bring in their train. The national economy should function for the benefit of the nation's citizens, and not for some higher overriding body known as the State. Incentives in the form of higher wages, good conditions of work and other special privileges perhaps will be sufficient to direct labour into the desired channels.

(2) The worker has the right to sell his labour where it will be of most profit to him. A system of subsidies to suitable employers would make it possible for them

factor, workers are traditionally unwilling to leave occupations and places to which they are accustomed, even in those areas where local industry has declined.

(3) During the 1939 war, workers accepted direction without complaining, not only for purely patriotic reasons but also because it was necessarily accompanied by adequate working conditions and security of employment. Both these reasons are still cogent.

(4) A great deal of the waste and disorganisation which are a natural feature of modern private enterprise systems would disappear if labour were withdrawn from unessential industries and anti-social occupations. Direction of industry and capital expenditure is not a feasible alternative, since the goodwill of the industrialist and financier is essential to the smooth working of the national economy, and indeed the absence of it can wreck any national plan or any government.

to offer inducements themselves to attract labour. With the development of electrification and the growth of new industries it should be possible to restore prosperity to areas where the older industries have decayed, without uprooting workers from their homes.

(3) Measures which are accepted in war-time are not necessarily accepted in time of peace. Direction of labour interferes with the freedom of the individual and operates, moreover, unfairly; its supposed democratic nature is rendered farcical by the power of wealthy and influential people to escape the net.

(4) The efficiency of industry is seriously hampered if workers are made resentful by encroachments on their rights. Direction tends to operate most against the most essential types of workers with the most useful training. Their resentment is further increased if they are conscious that capital is allowed to operate unhindered. Any attempt to operate a scheme which is appropriate only to a socialist economy is doomed to failure inside the framework of capitalism.

DISENDOWMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Pro : (1) As the Church is the State Church, its property is held subject to the welfare of the nation. The term "Church property" does not mean that the Church has proprietary rights. In fact, the Church as such cannot hold property. It is not a corporation, but composed of a number of corporations in which the property is vested.

(2) The State has always exercised rights of ownership over what is called Church property, and has taken some of it away and applied it to secular uses. It has reduced exorbitant incomes held by bishops, etc., and suppressed bishoprics, deaneries, and canon-

Con : (1) With the exception of grants as a thank-offering for the return of peace and for the building of churches, the contributions of the State to the Church have been negligible. The property of the Church comes from the voluntary gifts of its members at various periods in its history, and is not national property.

(2) Parliament can undoubtedly confiscate any property, but might does not make right. Actually disendowment would have to be accompanied by compensatory grants, which would make no practical difference to payers of taxes and tithes.

(3) If the clergy are public

ries altogether. It has altered incomes, compelled clerical residence, etc., and regulated the clergy as the civil service is regulated. The property of Nonconformists is not State property, and so has never been interfered with.

(3) The clergy are public functionaries, who are remunerated not directly by the Treasury, but by incomes arising from public property set apart for that purpose.

(4) The Church, when endowed, was the Church of the whole nation. It is so no longer. Religious censuses show this, even though all the indifferent people in the community are reckoned in as members of the Church.

(5) The fact that every inhabitant of the country may claim the offices of the Church is a proof that the Church is supported by national, and not private, resources; otherwise the State would have no right to impose any obligation. In fact, the State clergy cannot possibly minister to the entire population, so that it is in a way fortunate that many people do not want their services.

(6) Nonconformity is in general financed on a much more adequate basis, though the funds are all voluntary. There is a much better approximation between the distribution of funds and the demand upon them.

(7) Disendowment would be a boon to the Church, as it would stimulate the now latent generosity of its richer members. Its adherents contribute very poorly to its support, and this reacts on their enthusiasm for it and its causes.

(8) "Riches never were the strength of the Church. Never was she stronger than when Peter said 'Silver and gold have I none'." (Pusey)

servants, they should be maintained by a charge on the Budget. The anomalies of unequal incomes, sizes of parishes, methods of patronage, etc., prove that it was individuals who endowed the Church, and not Parliament.

(4) The great majority of the nation are either active members of the Church or so attached by sentiment to it as a national institution that they would repudiate any attempt at spoliation. Dissenters, by leaving the Church, voluntarily abandoned all right to share in its resources.

(5) That the Church and its ministers are at their service is a great boon for the poor. The advances in recent years have made the Church well able to cope with any emergency, and development along lines of greater efficiency is being achieved as a result of the activities of the National Assembly. Any member of the community may obtain the services of its clergy if they are needed.

(6) Disendowment would mean the cessation of the present regular provision for religious needs; many churches would go to ruin. Church finances undoubtedly need overhauling and supplementing, but the Church is now enabled to put this work in hand because it has been granted the National Assembly, in which the laity have a constitutional right to make their voices heard. Reforms can now be speeded up, and the best results of voluntary support be obtained. But this does not mean that what is enjoyed at present should be thrown away. The Church needs both.

(7) (Some) Disendowment, accompanied by compensation, would give the Church command of such a mass of fluid capital that it would promptly become a financial corporation of the most dangerous kind.

(8) The wealthier the Church, the more good it can do.

See also DISESTABLISHMENT.

DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Pro : (1) The union between Church and State is undesirable, as they are essentially different in aim. The State deals with the individual as a member of society in his relations with the world, while the Church looks on him as an individual with a soul to save and from the point of view of his relations with God.

(2) In the past the State knew of but one religion and looked upon those who professed another as scarcely to be counted as citizens. But in Britain this was finally ended when Bradlaugh was admitted to the House of Commons.

(3) It may be admitted that the two have certain common functions, but it is nevertheless not a wise policy to connect the two, as their spheres and methods differ. Such union tends to diminish the efficiency of both.

(4) Established Churches create false ideals of religion. Many who are religiously Laodicean fancy that religious duties can be done for them by proxy, and that the worship of God need make no demand on their life, but that the State in maintaining a Church satisfies the requirements of religious duty and social morality.

(5) The State drags the Church down to its lower level, encouraging worldly prudence and an unreligious tendency towards diplomacy and discretion. Bishops and clergy, for example, through this connection with the Throne, are restrained from denouncing evils which the interests of society make it unwise to pass over.

(6) Establishment renders the Church's efforts to reform itself vain and nugatory. Parliament alone can alter its rites and ceremonies. The XXXIX Articles show how this worked in Tudor times; the Gorham judgment and other cases show how it has

Con : (1) Religion is one of the chief elements in national and social life. Each nation is bound to have a religion and teach it to the people, so that it is a prime duty of the State to countenance religion officially and not be indifferent whether the people hold religious principles or not.

(2) Although the State no longer claims to be the exclusive arbiter of what is religious truth and admits to its counsels persons of many religions or of none, nevertheless the Church of England is historically and psychologically the National Church and should remain so.

(3) Both State and Church exist to improve society and to promote the Good Life. For centuries no man dreamed that these two institutions for securing this common end were other than two aspects of the same unity. This philosophical principle should still be recognised, and the best form of recognition is by means of an official Church, which need no longer mean the condemnation of other non-official Churches.

(4) An established Church with its social prestige attracts to itself many who otherwise would have no religion at all. Religious zeal may be stronger in the Churches not established, but this is because an established Church, while not excluding such enthusiasts, tends naturally to lay little stress on rigid dogmatic beliefs, but to combine several elements within it.

(5) The duty of the Church is to import a moral element into our political life. Its ministers are secure from pressure by the Government because they practically hold office for life and are in no sense of the term either bureaucrats or place-seekers. In recent years the bishops and leading clergy have not been backward in denouncing social injustice and

operated since. Parliament, being composed of people of all types of belief, is manifestly unfit to be the authority in matters of religion. It does not even represent the feeling of the nation on the subject, for members are elected for completely different purposes.

(7) Such things as the law's allowing the marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister show the dangers to which the Church is exposed through dependence on the State.

(8) The Church of England can only maintain its present relations with the State on one condition—that the Crown and Parliament should abstain from any interference in its internal concerns. The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, appointed in 1905, took upon itself the duties of a spiritual court and determined what was or was not consistent with the teaching of the Church. In the problems connected with the Catholic Movement within the Church, which are likely to come to a head within the next few years, we shall see the anomaly of the Church's having its future settled for it by laymen and non-Church laymen, too. The theory that the State or the King should manage the Church was one of the errors associated with the Reformation and Lutheran Protestantism.

(9) The Enabling Act is a recognition that the time is come when Churchmen should manage their own affairs. Though it touched only a few points, it was a step in the right direction, and all the steps required to give the Church " life and liberty " should now be taken.

(10) It is improper that the Government, which may be made up of atheists, should appoint the chief officers of the Church, i.e., the bishops and archbishops, and that such political dignitaries as the Lord Chancellor, whose only scandalous conditions of life.

(6) Parliament cannot alter either the Creeds or a single doctrine. The Prayer Book was drawn up by the Church, not the State, but accepted by the latter.

(7) No clergyman with scruples need marry a man to his deceased wife's sister. The connection of Church and State ensures a broad tolerance in the former, which thus attracts men of widely different individual convictions.

(8) Upon substantial matters of doctrine the State never has claimed to dictate to the Church, but where the internal conduct of the Church is a matter of national importance, it is quite fitting that the State should take a part. State interference has always helped to raise the Church in the estimation of the people. Patristic authority, furthermore, is clearly on the side of kingly authority, even when it comes to a reform in the status of the Church, so that State Churches are not simply an idea from Lutheran politics. The Anglo-Catholic Movement demands freedom from the State in the hope that it itself will thereby be enabled to capture the Church organisation. (*See* ANGLO-CATHOLICISM.)

(9) By the Enabling Act, the Church has now sufficient scope to express its desires without separation from the nation as organised in the State. Complete freedom even to define doctrine need not mean the surrender of the position as National Church. The Church of Scotland is still national, though granted autonomy in matters of doctrine.

(10) The Sovereign does not make bishops, but merely allocates them to particular posts; they are " made " by consecration. They are quite as likely to be the most suitable for the dignity as those who might be chosen as the result of intrigue inside an autonomous Church. Parliament like-

necessary qualification is that he shall not be a Roman Catholic, should have a large number of livings in his gift. Parliament also creates bishoprics at its entire discretion. All religious sects should be treated as equal by the State, though that does not mean that they can be made equal.

(11) Through its unfortunate position the Church cannot insist on its clergy's rigidly adhering to its formularies.

(12) Church reform has a different meaning in the mouth of each party in the Church, and there is no point on which they can agree.

(13) The parish clergy often neglect their poorer parishioners altogether, and indeed in the big towns are not numerous enough to attend to them even if required.

(14) The traditional connection of the established clergy with the land-owning class and the well-to-do sections of the community prejudices them in the eyes of large numbers of the working population. Disestablishment would at once tone up the Church and help to remove this feeling against it.

(15) The clergy are now much too indifferent, as a rule, to the needs and requirements of their congregations.

(Some) An independent priesthood, standing on its own dignity and governing itself without any reference to an external authority, is a first necessity for healthy religion.

(16) The bishops are among the most bigoted, obstructive, and useless members of the House of Lords, and should be removed from it without delay. (*See* BISHOPS.)

(17) If disestablishment were effected, large numbers of wavering Anglicans would join the Church of Rome, and others drift into vague theisms or ultimately atheism.

(18) Establishment saves the wise sanctions the creation of sees; it neither initiates the demand for new ones nor frustrates that demand when well-founded.

(11) The Church has long been noted for allowing freedom to its clergy to teach what they think is right, so long as they keep the main doctrines of Christianity as laid down in the Prayer Book. Heresy-hunting is rarer than among the Dissenting communities with the happy result that schism is also rarer.

(12) Now that the laity have a recognised position in the organisation and government of the Church, necessary reforms can be carried through with less acrimony and less delay.

(13) If the Church were disestablished, there would be no one in the parish upon whom the poor would have a *right* to call to perform services such as visiting the sick, praying with the dying, or celebrating marriages. For it is in the crises of life that they need and look to the Church most.

(14) Disestablishment would reduce the prestige of the Church, especially with the generation which is growing up, and in consequence the cause of religion would suffer. It would diminish the self-respect of many of the clergy, and cause their ranks to be recruited from inferior grades of society.

(15) The clergy would be reduced to much greater dependence on the whims and fancies of their congregations, especially of the richer members of them. It would be an evil day for religion if the Church came to be governed by those with the deepest purses, which has often happened in Nonconformist Churches.

(16) The bishops are among the few Peers who sit by merit and not by the accident of birth. When they intervene, they invariably do so with responsibility.

(17) No Church is stronger for

Church from becoming merely the battleground of warring factions. The relationship with the State is a brake on hasty action, giving ample opportunities for reflection and compromise, because action is impossible until the assent of the State is secured. In the Church of Rome the appeal to Rome is a similarly effective instrument of delay.

carrying with it a multitude of the religiously indifferent, for these only act as dead weights against true religious life and activity.

(18) The Church of England has undergone vast changes during the last eighty years. These changes have taken it further both from Erastianism and from Nonconformity. To a great extent it has become sacramental and sacerdotal, and even those who repudiate such principles the most strongly have fallen under their influence to some degree. The conditions suitable for its establishment in England have therefore ceased to exist, both as far as its own character is concerned and because the mass of the people are no longer true Church members.

DIVORCE

Pro : (1) Though, in the Roman Church, marriage is in theory held to be indissoluble, in practice this has never held good, and some device has always been found to circumvent the difficulty, e.g., the Pope has always had the power to dissolve marriage, provided it has not been consummated, a plea which has been visibly strained in many instances. In the theology of the Western Church, the doctrine that marriage is indissoluble stands in the closest association with the "Roman doctrine of intention"—if the intentions of the bride and bridegroom have, in any way, come short of being a genuine "consent unto matrimony," the marriage is regarded as null and void. A theory of marriage which ignores consent can be defended neither by reason nor by authority. In England before the Divorce Act, and in Ireland now, a long process had to be gone through in each case. Divorce, therefore, was possible to the rich, but the poor had no alternative in case of unhappy marriage but continued misery or sin.

Con : (1) In the marriage ceremony no mention is made of possible divorce. Each party swears solemnly to take the other "for better, for worse, till death do us part." Though State and Church have erred, they should not continue in error. The indissolubility of Christian marriage is a plain and simple principle, resting on the authority of the whole Western Church.

(2) Marriage has by nearly every nation been regarded as a rite and condition of mystical significance. Its extreme importance in respect of the next generation makes it imperative to surround it with all possible responsibility and dignity. If we looked upon it as irrevocable, we should enter upon it with more care and solemnity.

(3) When adultery is considered a ground for divorce, marriage loses its seriousness in popular estimation, and opportunity is given for relative promiscuity by a succession of remarriages.

(4) Even if Christ allowed divorce for adultery, he never allowed remarriage, which was expressly forbidden by the

(2) Marriage is a purely civil contract, and should be so treated in law and opinion.

(3) It has always been held that adultery on the part of the women dissolves marriage.

(4) Divorce for adultery was allowed by Christ; there is no difference between the Greek word *apoliio* (I put away) and divorce. This doctrine was taught by a great many of the Fathers. The Council of Arles has been reported in two diametrically opposite senses.

(5) The denial of divorce has never acted as a deterrent from adultery. It has merely made public opinion and private conduct scandalously lax about adultery, concubinage, and prostitution, and its chief effect has always been to victimise the woman through the laws of property.

(6) The worst thing that can happen to children is for them to live with estranged and quarrelling parents, or to be brought up in contact with one parent, whichever it may be, who is demoralised and worthless.

(7) As the King is head of Church and State, the State clergy have no right to debar people who are not breaking the law from being married in Church.

DIVORCE, EASIER

Pro : (1) It is injurious both to the State and to the individual that two people between whom there exists a fundamental antagonism in tastes, interests, and ideals, should be kept by law in a union which has become distasteful to both of them. The atmosphere of such a household fosters neither good citizens nor fine characters. In practice such a situation ends in permanent separation with one or both partners entering into extra-matrimonial relations.

(2) Religion, and morality that

Church at the Council of Arles.

(5) The knowledge that they are not allowed to separate and remarry will always tend to induce husbands and wives to minimise differences which they might otherwise magnify into occasions for separation. The risk of their agreeing on full licence for each other in sexual relations is not one of which the law can take account, but one against which public opinion would express itself strongly.

(6) Nothing can be worse for children than the legal separation of their parents. The true home cannot exist in the absence of either of the parents, both being still alive.

(7) The State must not expect the clergy to lend their churches for sacrilegious purposes, such as the marriage of divorced persons. Those who wish to defy the Church's laws can go to the Registrar's Office.

Con : (1) Where people are unhappily married, although it may seem to be in the interest of morality to allow divorce and remarriage, if they have entered into marriage with the prospect of having children, they have given a pledge not only to each other, but also to their children, and should not be allowed to break it.

(2) Christ's teaching is plain and simple, and any attempt to explain it away fails completely and is mere casuistry. The moral and the legal codes should be as

is supposed to be derived from religion, must be kept out of politics. The majority of people are not Christians; those who are can keep Christ's law privately.

(Some) Christ was ever striving to help individuals; his spirit, not a fragmentary saying, must be followed.

(3) A marriage is annulled because of the physical inability of either party to gratify the other, but no account is taken of mental or spiritual inability. When its fundamental purpose is frustrated, marriage should be dissoluble. Any other theory reduces humanity to the level of animals.

(4) The family exists for individuals, not individuals for the family. Its composition and functions vary from place to place and from time to time. Civilisation, so far from being based on it, has devoted much energy to destroying the old forms of family life in the interest of the individual. The family is not a divine institution.

(5) The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1937, has brought about considerable improvement, but it does not go far enough. For example, a decree of nullity should be permitted in cases where one party to a marriage deliberately conceals from the other any notable hereditary mental or physical defect, such as haemophilia. A man married to a wife who carries the seeds of this disease should be enabled to contract a fresh legal union from which healthy offspring are possible.

(6) In spite of special arrangements for poor persons, the law at present operates in favour of the rich. This is unjust. The poor should have the same relief as the rich from intolerable matrimonial conditions.

(7) A long term of imprisonment, a remitted death sentence, or a judicial separation that has far as possible identical. Our social and political institutions must aim at ideal morality.

(3) There can be no true analogy between failure to satisfy the physical and the mental needs of the partner. There is the practical difficulty that mental incompatibility is not easily ascertainable or measurable. It is usually the result of hasty and unconsidered marriage.

(4) To relax the laws of divorce inevitably tends to weaken the sanctity of marriage ties. Individuals must occasionally suffer in order that the conception of the family around which civilisation has grown up may not be impaired. If men and women feel that unsuccessful speculation in marriage can easily be set right, they enter more light-heartedly into marriage and the solemnity of the rite tends to be forgotten. Knowing that marriage cannot be dissolved without some difficulty, husband and wife often resolve to face their problems and learn to live together happily. Easy divorce would usually mean injustice to the woman, especially the older woman. Women who have taken to home-keeping are naturally much less mobile than men, so that easy divorce would favour the latter.

(5) The Matrimonial Causes Act, by extending the grounds of divorce to desertion for three years, cruelty, insanity incurable for five years, and presumed death, has already largely increased the number of broken marriages. In the first year of its operation, 1938, there was a jump of 60 per cent in the number of matrimonial petitions presented to the courts. (There were 3,909 petitions for cruelty, 326 for lunacy, and 47 for presumed decease.) Every further increase in the facilities for divorce would merely further increase the instability of marriage, without in

lasted over five (or fewer) years, should be a ground for divorce. None of the conditions of marriage is being fulfilled, and the family is broken up.

(8) Divorce should be granted when either wife or husband becomes an habitual drunkard, or develops an ungovernable temper. Intense misery is caused by these things, which often lead to desertion and immorality.

(9) In general, whenever a marriage has in effect ceased to exist, divorce should be possible on the petition of the aggrieved partner. Divorce is in many ways preferable to judicial separation. Separation orders usually lead to irregular unions, which, besides being undesirable in themselves, lead to a diminution in the legitimate and an increase in the illegitimate birth-rate.

(10) The present system is rapidly bringing marriage into contempt. Those who would like to, but cannot, get divorce live openly in extra-matrimonial relations with others, and public opinion is indifferent. Among the intellectual classes more and more young people live together without marriage either permanently or as a preliminary. The same system is spreading among the working classes. Scots law has provided easy divorce for more than 400 years, yet no one can accuse the Scots of being at any time more immoral than the English, either now when the latter have more restricted divorce facilities, or formerly when they had none at all.

(11) (Some) The basis of divorce should be the desire of either party, with some delay between application and the decree, and a little delay before remarriage.

(Some) The sexual relations of adults are not the concern of the State, which should intervene only to protect the interests of the children.

any way increasing the number of happy marriages.

(6) While this principle is good, care must be taken not to encourage divorce by collusion, through making it cheap. The alleged hardship on the poor is no excuse for relaxing the law.

(7) A long term of imprisonment is in no sense a violation of the marriage contract, and therefore should not be regarded as a breach entitling to dissolution. Nor should prolonged separation by judicial order be followed by divorce, because the aggrieved partner has chosen separation as the remedy preferred.

(8) Such provisions for divorce would merely render marriage a ceremony with no binding force at all. Drunkenness is not incurable. People who marry agree to take the step for better or for worse.

(9) If divorces were granted so lightly, the institution of marriage would be reduced to a mockery. The people whose voices are raised in favour of further relaxation of the law are merely the careless and indifferent, a few of the wealthy and self-indulgent, and certain circles of the intelligentsia. They do not represent the general public.

(10) If the marriage laws are further relaxed, the country will become hopelessly immoral. In the United States of America, which are notorious for casual marriage systems, not only are large sections of the adult population demoralised, but among the adolescents of all classes, depravity, arising from the moral slackness of the example set them, is shamefully common. Other countries where lax ideas prevail are faced with similar results and problems.

(11) Our matrimonial code should be based on the highest ideals. The extreme proposals of the "reformers" would bring about the destruction of civilisa-

tion. Marriage and recognised family life are essential to the stability of society.

EDUCATION, SECULAR

Pro: (1) The secular solution is the only one which will permanently bring peace on the religious side of the education system in this country.

(2) There was some excuse for religious instruction of school children as long as tests were applied to candidates for public office, and the sacrament taken according to the Church of England was held to be a test of civil rectitude. Now there is no excuse.

(3) The State must either admit denominationalism (covertly, if not overtly) to its schools or reject it.

(4) Parents have, of course, a perfect right to teach religious beliefs to their children, but the State has no such right. It is a secular institution, and it also happens that most of its citizens are indifferent to religion.

(5) If religious instruction is not given in schools, it will still be given at home. School religion is of little value at best, and is generally of the nature of a farce.

(6) The special Bible lesson becomes a mere secular task in memory. Thus the training of the religious faculty suffers doubly: it misses the ethical character of secular subjects on the one hand, and it secularises the expression of the sacred on the other.

(7) There is no general correlation between morality and religious instruction; but it must be admitted that children and people are better behaved and more moral now than fifty years ago, and that fifty years ago there was more religion and religious instruction.

(8) Denominational schools are notoriously less efficient than public undenominational schools. They are one of the many obstacles

Con: (1) The secular solution will not bring peace; it will merely change the one conflict into two: one concerning the nature of the moral instruction to be given; the other whether religious instruction shall be revived.

(2) Though the State is now widely tolerant and avails itself of the services of men of every creed, the Anglican Church is still the national church, and its tenets still form the national faith.

(3) The State still remains Christian. Christianity is still the law of the land. The State should, therefore, teach in its schools at least the Bible history common to all the Christian Churches.

(4) Religious teaching is vital to the State, and it is in the interest of the State to reinforce the parental duty of religious instruction.

(5) It is contrary to experience to suggest that the Church would be able to give systematic instruction to more children without the aid of the State than it can give with such aid. It would be able to instruct the children of the faithful; but these would be precisely the ones who would least need special care.

(6) Morality in the highest and truest sense cannot be effectively taught apart from religion. The moral lessons in France are so spiritless and insipid as to be almost valueless.

(7) All the "secular" nations have to deplore the increasing criminality of their people; the only countries that can show improving conditions are those where religious instruction is given.

(8) (Some) Even if we admit personally the objective worthlessness of religion, we have still

to an efficient national educational system.

(9) A large number of teachers do not believe the religious teachings they have to inculcate. The result is hypocrisy, with consequent impairment of character on the teachers' part, and bad instruction. Religious education logically demands religious tests, which are unthinkable.

to reckon that religious instruction imports into schools an element of the romantic and idealistic that is being more and more crushed out of the Council School and threatens to disappear altogether as children are increasingly subjected to the " practical."

(9) Teachers who are unbelievers need not be chosen to give religious instruction.

EMIGRATION

Pro : (1) Emigration in the past has peopled new countries with citizens sympathetic to the home country, and one of the results of its encouragement in the past has been the growth of the British Commonwealth of nations. Colonies of British people in other countries have often proved an invaluable link with those countries, for they are often respected citizens and serve as unofficial ambassadors for Britain.

(2) It is true that the generality of people would not uproot themselves and sever their home ties if they were not dissatisfied at home. Religious persecution was a factor in the past, both in the emigration of the Puritans from England to America and in the immigration into England of refugees from France and the Low Countries. Economic difficulties are a more common cause today. A country that cannot provide for the welfare of its citizens, whether spiritual or material, has no right to prevent them from seeking a better life elsewhere. If such people are helped and encouraged they are more likely to remain friendly to their country of origin.

(3) It is unjust to stifle initiative and enterprise, which are such valuable qualities to the world at large. For the mass of people nowadays life consists in a dreary repetition of routine tasks, and increasing regimentation closes the door to the capacities for

Con : (1) Emigration has not generally been undertaken in order to strengthen the home country. Emigration to America produced a community hostile to the motherland and resulted in the loss of the American Colonies; and distrust of Britain is not yet dead in the United States. Complete severance of the emigrant from his home ties and nationality is equally common; many people bearing English names in South American countries have no other link at all with Britain.

(2) It is unpatriotic to emigrate. If the country is in difficulties they may be solved by the energy and courage of its inhabitants but certainly not by their desertion. Mass emigrations of able-bodied young people from Ireland during the last century have dealt her a blow from which she has not yet recovered.

(3) What has been thought to be frustrated initiative has often turned out to be a fundamental maladjustment to life and its problems. Many emigrants have proved to be as inadequate and dissatisfied in their new homes as in the old, and have ended as a despised burden on the new country.

(4) There is very little opening up of new countries left to be done in the world today. Emigrants into under-developed countries nowadays are only solving the temporary difficulties of the other

organisation and adventure which had free play in the past. For millions of people war offers the only escape, and some who might have been of value to the community misdirect their capabilities into crime.

(4) The opening up of a new country in the past by peoples from northern Europe led to the greatness of Britain. There is no further scope for development here, but many countries are only imperfectly exploited because of their lack of manpower. The development of such countries and the exploitation of their resources cannot but benefit the world as a whole.

countries at the expense of their own. In times of crisis and unemployment, from which there is no country now exempt, emigrants are apt to be the first to suffer. Emigration nearly always takes place to countries of a higher living standard than that of the home country, and emigrants are for this reason despised and distrusted by the indigenous workers. The same process can be seen at work in Britain today.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Pro : (1) The present inequality of conditions, in both manual and non-manual employments, is harmful to the character and the professional efficiency of both sexes. The maximum productivity of the nation is not attained, and the crafts and professions suffer.

(2) The exclusion of women by law or custom from the better-paid posts has driven them to compete with one another and with men in the lower grades of each occupation, where they have been paid lower rates for purposes of profit. It is not true that women never have family obligations, or that they have smaller needs, whether for food or dress, or a lower level of intelligence. Experience has shown that for many classes of work women are equally capable with men, and for some of them are more suitable.

(3) The same products have the same value, whether they are the work of men or of women. Differentiation of pay is purely in the interests of the employer. There is no more reason for differences in remuneration according to sex than according to race, creed, height or weight.

Con : (1) While women may be called upon to help the nation's effort in times of emergency, in normal times it is undesirable for them to be induced to enter industry wholesale, for woman's place is the home. The better the conditions for women in industry, the worse will be the effect on marriage and home life. However desirable maximum productivity might be, it should not be achieved at the expense of the family and the home.

(2) Men have more responsibilities than women, especially as it is the social custom that they and not the women provide the family income. In most occupations women can only acquire skill and expertness equal to men's by exertion and strain. They are most successful on repetition and other inferior work, and might be safely left to this and paid the rate of wages appropriate to it.

(3) Women are paid less than men because they cannot and should not be relied on to work under special conditions, e.g., at night. The tendency is to give women the easiest jobs which are comparatively better paid in

(4) In the medical profession and in Parliament this principle is adopted with success.

(5) Adjustments to deal with family questions can be made in the form of agreed distribution of allowances and benefits. Married men already benefit under the present system through income tax allowances, as women through family allowances.

(6) The competition of women in times of unemployment is particularly severe and disastrous. Much of the degradation of the first half of the nineteenth century, and the thirties of this century, was due to the ousting of men from employment by women and children. Some of the largest trade union organisations have shown their recognition of this danger by admitting women to their ranks and campaigning for equal pay.

relation to their importance. Women lose more time through sickness than men ; many of them regard their work as a stop-gap before marriage, and such training as they may have received at the expense of the employer is rendered valueless when they abandon an industry.

(4) There are relatively few women doctors and M.P.s, so the problem there is not serious. But in the teaching profession the margin between the salaries of men and women is already so small that it is difficult to get men teachers of a proper standard.

(5) Family allowances are paid to women on the understanding that children are primarily their concern. The question of equal work does not enter in. In countries such as Russia where the principle of equal pay is accepted, women are actually financially favoured by special consideration as regards holidays, alimony, etc.

(6) Women receive less wages because they will work for less. Industry must keep its wages bills as low as possible if the country is to regain its former position in world commerce. The political representatives of the trade unions in the Labour Government of 1945 voted against the increase of women's wages to the level of men's as inexpedient.

EUTHANASIA : Should it be Legalised ?

Pro : (1) We are too humane to allow an existence of pain and misery to continue, provided the sufferer is an animal ; yet we refuse the same merciful release to our fellow men. In spite of all that modern medicine and surgery can do to prevent disease, many human beings still end their days by a slow and often agonising illness. A doctor should have the right to give an overdose of morphine to a patient who would otherwise die a lingering and painful death.

Con : (1) A doctor cannot draw up a list of diseases which are invariably fatal. Hundreds of people suffering from cancer have been cured. People with heart disease may live long and useful lives. It would be undesirable to draw up hard and fast rules when medical science is in a state of continual change and progress. The doctor's duty is to maintain life as long as possible by every means in his power.

(2) This argument is tantamount to a plea for the legalisa-

(2) Although it may not be possible to draw up a list of diseases that are always incurable, a doctor can generally say with comparative certainty whether a particular patient is beyond hope or not. The patient himself should be the best judge whether life has become, for him, intolerable. If he wishes for release from suffering, it should not be denied.

(3) If the patient is unaware of the hopelessness of his condition the decision should be taken out of his hands. The family doctor would know best; but to avoid any risk or error of judgment on his part there should be a consultation with a specially qualified medical assessor. If the doctors were in agreement that euthanasia was desirable, the final decision might rest with the relatives.

(4) If we are to call it murder to take man's life with his own consent, then we must call it theft to take his property with his consent, which is absurd. As for pain, no doubt it has its uses, if only as a danger signal. But not many of us would go on enduring a pain we could avoid. And none but a fanatic would advocate the cessation of human effort to alleviate or abolish pain.

(5) In practice "mercy killings" by relatives have been condoned by the Courts; few of the culprits are sentenced to death, and the sentence is almost never carried out. Many unfortunate people are born who have no hope of ever leading a normal life or being of any value to the community or anything but a tragic liability to their families. Such people should not be forced to enter on a travesty of life, much less to continue it.

tion of suicide. If physical suffering is a valid excuse for cutting life short, then why not other forms of suffering? Unless a patient was aware of his condition and deliberately asked for euthanasia, it would be an act of intolerable cruelty to let him know that such a measure was being considered. A request for euthanasia might easily be due to temporary despondency; a person in great pain is not always responsible for his utterances.

(3) Doctors do not always estimate correctly a patient's recuperative powers, and should not be saddled with the responsibility of making what is in effect a decision to murder. It would be painful for relatives to have to decree the cutting short of the life of one linked to them by ties of blood or affection. Unnatural relatives, on the other hand, would have a ready-made weapon for unscrupulous practices.

(4) (Some) The Christian religion teaches that it is wrong to take away human life. "Thou shalt not kill" is an unequivocal command. Moreover it is possible that pain itself has a significant place in the scheme of evolution, and serves some mysterious moral purpose.

A civilisation based on a high conception of the value of human life cannot countenance the deliberate taking of life where no crime has been committed by the sufferer. Many people are in favour of abolishing capital punishment for crime, for which there is a far better case than for euthanasia.

(5) The danger of such cheapening of the respect for human life was seen in Fascist Germany, where thousands of people were put to death for imaginary "racial defects." It is better that a few should suffer unwanted life than that sanction should be given to such practices.

EXAMINATIONS: Should they be Abolished?

Pro: (1) Examinations as at present organised test only a certain kind of skill. Some people have a good memory and a special facility which enables them to pass examinations and achieve brilliant results, while completely lacking any capacity for original thought or imagination. While examinations remain they will be taken as a criterion of worth by employers and academic authorities, and such people will continue to be unduly favoured.

(2) Examinations are the bane of a pupil's life. They involve cramming, depress the pupil, and often rob him of mental vitality at an early age. Subservience to the examination curriculum necessarily frustrates any initiative on the part of the teacher, and deadens the atmosphere of school life. Some of the subjects set in examinations, particularly by the older universities, bear no relation to the intended course of study and academic future of the student and merely involve an irritating detour.

(3) Examinations assume that all school-children have reached the same mental level at the same age. Medical and educational investigators are agreed that this is not so. Nor does the mental development of boys and girls follow the same course. School records are much more reliable than examinations for the assessment of these differences and adjustments to correspond with them.

(4) Educationists are biased in favour of competition and the brilliantly clever pupil. In consequence, the stupid who need most teaching are neglected, and a specialised curriculum that frustrates the true purpose of education is maintained.

(5) A test of the examination system showed that the same

Con: (1) The ability to pass an examination is currently decried, but it is in reality a valuable quality. It shows a capacity for coping with new problems without the protection of the accustomed environment, and for expressing thought in a manner intelligible to others. A *viva voce* examination will elicit any special qualities which the written examination may have passed over, or equally well, reveal the lack of them.

(2) The mental effect of preparation for examinations is excellent since even the dullest exert themselves, while no discoverable harm is done either physically or mentally, except to a handful of unbalanced persons. The curriculum exercises a wholesome restraint on teachers and discourages too fanciful schemes of education. Pupils of schools not subject to examinations sometimes show startling gaps in their knowledge.

(3) The principle of unequal development by age has been recognised at the primary school level by the institution of the "late developers'" examination. At later ages the inequality has considerably decreased. The equal balance as between the sexes is under the present system disposed of by the size and capacity of boys' and girls' schools respectively.

(4) Teachers are no more to be trusted to give an impartial judgment on a pupil than other people. Examiners have the advantage of being impartial as between pupils. It is a flaw in our educational system that the clever and the stupid have to be taught together, but this should be remedied by better organisation of classes and the provision of more teachers. The difficulty would exist if there were no examinations. It would be equally harmful to the cleverer

papers, marked by different examiners, were placed in an entirely different order of merit; and that the same papers, marked by the same examiners after an interval of some months, received widely differing marks. Surely this proves that, at any rate as a competitive test, examinations are useless.

students to be neglected and have their desire for advancement frustrated.

(5) Modern examiners judge general intelligence as well as book knowledge. An intelligence test forms an integral part of examinations nowadays. Where intelligence and character are both of importance in a candidate, an examination, supplemented by an interview, remains the best method of selection.

FASCISM: Should it be Outlawed in Britain?

Pro: (1) Whatever the divergence of opinions on the cause and nature of Fascist theories, there is no denying that they have in practice caused unexampled devastation and suffering in the modern world and have set back the economic and cultural life of Europe by decades if not centuries. As the international courts of the United Nations officially outlawed Nazi ideas during the trial of war criminals in Germany, after 1945, it is anomalous that British offshoots of them should not be declared illegal and similarly outlawed.

(2) Fascism and Nazism as movements preach subversion and the use of violence to attain their ends. A peaceful population has no protection against them, and the fate of Austria in 1938 and the Spanish Republican government in 1936 show the folly of trying to deal with them without the aid of special legislative measures.

(3) Fascists seek to divide the community against itself by the provocation of racial and sectional hatred. The inflammatory nature of their doctrines has already led to riots and brought suffering and fear to peaceful members of the community. Among those not directly affected they create an atmosphere of disturbance and instability which leads eventually

Con: (1) Many aggressive wars have been fought in the past in the name of movements and ideologies, but their causes have always been a complex of interwoven economic and political factors. The outlawing of Fascism, the latest of these movements, would give no guarantee against the recurrence of war. The increasing horror and devastation of war is as much due to the development of new means of killing as to the influence of any ideology.

(2) The only certain cure for Fascism is a contented population. Given this, or at the least a government determined to secure it, Fascist ideas would fail to secure an audience without the need for legislation, especially in Britain, where the system of government is fundamentally stable, as it was not in Spain or Austria. Violence breeds violence, and coercion in peace-time is undesirable. More harm is done by the publicity given to Fascist movements by their opponents than by any influence their ideas might have of themselves.

(3) The airing of racial questions in public enables the listener to clear his mind of prejudice and provides a safety valve for the upholders of racial doctrines. Prejudices are not the monopoly of Fascists, and if everybody holding them were to be outlawed

to disbelief in the stability of government. If they were outlawed they would soon cease to trouble the peace of the community, for underground movements do not prosper in this country.

the liberty of a number of respectable citizens would be endangered. The extent of rioting has been grossly exaggerated, and it existed in any case long before Fascism was heard of and can be dealt with by ordinary police methods. The penalising of people who have not yet committed any crime savours of authoritarian methods itself, and is repugnant to the spirit of English law.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Pro : (1) Every member of a community has a right to employment. There will always be a certain minimum of unemployed persons, composed of married women leaving work but remaining temporarily in benefit, seasonal workers, and a few unemployables. But any talk of maintaining a permanent "pool" of unemployed is heartless and immoral, treating the worker as a mere unit and ignoring his moral and material needs as a member of the community.

(2) Unemployment itself, by reducing general purchasing power, restricts production and breeds more unemployment. It is an integral part of the "trade cycle" which was a feature of the old system of unrestricted competition. This unregulated and chaotic working of economy is now condemned not only by socialists but also by intelligent supporters of capitalism. The modern trend is towards the proper planning and zoning of industry to correspond with the country's needs, and full employment is quite possible, and is indeed an integral feature, under such a system

(3) An adequate degree of State control, together with the growth of combination among employers, should curb the anarchic practices of individuals which are the ultimate cause of international crises. The advocates of a large pool of

Con : (1) Full employment in the last analysis is against the interests of the working classes. It makes for a lack of flexibility between industries and industrial areas. The growth of new industries and the decline of others due to changes in standards and technological advances must be taken into account. Failure to provide the available labour for the development of new industries adversely affects production, and in the long run harms the interests of the workers, since it inevitably means a decline in the world market.

(2) The planning of industry to match available manpower cannot be achieved on a national scale. Such planning does not take into account the constantly changing relations of the different countries in the world markets, and their financial interdependence. It could only exist on a basis of complete self-sufficiency, which is difficult for most countries and impossible for Britain. The alternative is the financing by the State of unproductive public works in times of crisis in order to provide employment, a practice which would lead to still further distortion of the industrial situation.

(3) Full employment means in practice a shortage of labour, and competition between employers. This leads to over-high wages and absurd demands from the workers

unemployed persons are mainly those big producers who stand to gain by competition between workers in the labour market; the only way of restricting employment would be the restriction of production at an artificially low level, or the introduction into industry of the only section of the community which is still available as a source of competing labour, i.e., married women, which could only lead to a direct attack on men's wages.

(4) No justification whatever can be made out for subjecting anyone to the demoralisation and semi-starvation which was such a blot on our national life between the wars, when mass unemployment was rife. If individual employers are unable or unwilling to cope with the manpower problem by technical advances and improved organisation of production and distribution, then the State must step in and perform its duty to the citizens as a whole.

which constitute an unbearable charge on industry. The problem would inevitably be solved by the importation of foreign labour which would accept the lower standards needed for the maintenance of industry and the export markets.

(4) The doctrine of full employment is a utopian socialist doctrine aimed at robbing the employer of the fruits of his industry. In the long run it leads to export of industry and the ruin of home economy. It is to be noted that Labour governments which have upheld it in theory have never put it into practice.

GAMBLING, MORALITY OF

Pro: (1) Gambling is a natural human trait, and is only to be condemned if carried to excess. Its suppression would lead to the emergence of something worse, just as the suppression of alcoholic drinks is followed by graver evils.

(2) Love of sport is an important national characteristic, and is inevitably accompanied by more or less gambling, because both rest on the same psychological basis. All men but cowards are willing to take risks, and the taking of risks is the essence of gambling.

(3) When a man can afford to gamble, no harm whatever is done. If he gambles when he cannot afford to do so, the fault is personal to him, and does not imply that the same actions by other people are a fault in them.

(4) Gambling adds an element

Con: (1) An evil that is old is not therefore to be condoned. Gambling may be a legacy from the animism of primitive man, but civilisation's task is to raise man above the primitive.

(2) True sport is damaged by gambling. The essence of gambling is to get something for nothing. Gamblers actually endeavour to avoid risks by relying on "tips," "exclusive information," "systems," and other specious devices.

(3) Gambling is mere waste of effort, producing no addition to the community's wealth, but increasing its inefficiency, misery and degradation. Its spread among women has had a pernicious effect on home life.

(4) The evil of gambling is that it distorts clearness of thought and helps people to avoid facing the more unpleasant realities of

of excitement to people's lives, which in the conditions of modern civilisation tend to be dull and uninteresting. By keeping alive the hope of personal improvement, which is difficult of attainment nowadays by more austere methods, it helps to prevent discontent and recourse to subversive movements.

(5) In commerce gambling is essential and beneficial.

life. They would be far better employed in making personal efforts to improve their condition of life than in relying on illusory hopes of unearned wealth to do the work for them.

(5) Trade which aims at getting a benefit for oneself by doing service to others is quite dissimilar from gambling. Speculation, which is true gambling, should be suppressed.

GAME LAWS, ABOLITION OF

Pro : (1) Game is not property in the ordinary sense of the word, since the owner's rights in it depend on its territorial movements.

(2) Game rights are expensive to defend. Every citizen ought to have the right to roam at will over uncultivated land, subject to penalties for doing wilful damage.

(3) Though a natural stock of partridges and pheasants may do as much good as harm, an artificial stock undoubtedly does great harm to crops, for which the farmer cannot obtain adequate compensation.

(4) The landlord who requires such inducements to look after his estates is unfitted to own them. The shooting tenant is a nuisance to the countryside.

(5) Game always leads to trouble in the neighbouring villages, for even the best youngsters will poach at times and get into conflict with the law.

(6) The coverts could grow good timber or give way to farm land. Woods should not be closed to children and others who wish to enjoy nature.

(7) In Scotland and even in parts of England large tracts of land are deliberately left undeveloped or even thrown out of cultivation in the interests of game preserving, and thus the sport of the few is a cause of rural depopulation and the emigration

Con : (1) Game is property just as much as is any other product of the soil.

(2) If the game laws were repealed, a law of trespass would be required.

(3) A tenant gets compensation for damage done, though game is not so destructive as is often thought.

(4) Game and the prospect of sport attract landlords to their country seats, and thus help to maintain contact between landlord and tenant. Sport provides valuable means of relaxation.

(5) Like other property game should be protected from damage. If the game laws were abolished, some species would become extinct.

(6) The preservation of game encourages some of the best features of the countryside, e.g., woods, which would otherwise be sacrificed to the commercial spirit.

(7) The " deer forests " of Scotland are barren tracts unsuited to any form of agriculture. Such land yields to the hardest labour nothing better than a beggarly subsistence.

of some of the finest stocks in the country.

HIRE-PURCHASE

Pro : (1) There has been a phenomenal rise in the standard of living and amenities enjoyed by the working classes since the beginning of the century, in which hire-purchase has played a material part. Before it came into use the poorer classes were precluded from buying amenities for their homes by the difficulty of accumulating large sums of money to pay for them. Commodities which they would have regarded as unattainable luxuries have become quasi-necessities today, and the obligation to keep up payments encourages thrift and careful budgeting.

(2) Hire-purchase encourages useful production and the circulation of money. It is not a cause of economic crises, which indeed were felt perhaps more acutely before hire-purchase was ever heard of. Inasmuch as it tends to canalise spending within certain comparatively predictable limits it might be said to mitigate their operation.

(3) Hire-purchase is not confined to flimsy articles of furniture. The growing practice of buying houses on mortgage has led the working and lower middle classes to better their conditions of living and given them a stake in the country's welfare as owners of property. Home life has been rendered more agreeable by the amenities that are now common. The stability of society is thus increased, especially since buyers have been protected by law against exploitation by the unscrupulous.

Con : (1) Many of the goods now considered as necessities have reached that status only through the pressure of hire-purchase salesmen. It is doubtful whether people are fundamentally happier for owning most of these things. Many of the goods are shoddy, being produced especially for such sales, and have no lasting value. Money often has to be found for hire-purchase payments at the expense of other important things, such as food, and the result in the long run is a lowering of the real standard of living.

(2) Hire-purchase causes overproduction of consumer goods because people are persuaded by salesmen to buy things they do not really need. A large number of people are kept from useful production for this purpose. When crises arrive they tend to swell further the ranks of those trying to persuade people to buy things they can no longer afford. Competition between salesmen further aggravates this state of affairs.

(3) The mortgaging of houses induces a false sense of security, but is in reality only one more way of exploiting the public, as is shown by the huge profits made by building societies. Nothing can endanger family happiness and home life more than the anxiety caused by a lifetime spent in debt.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

Pro : (1) The growing strength of the British self-governing Dominions has made it necessary, as well as desirable, that the British Empire should be reconstituted. The Dominions were recognised as partners in the wars of 1914 and 1939, by the establishment of the Imperial War Councils, and in UNO they have a separate voice in the deliberations and decisions.

(2) The Imperial Parliament would be the proper body to settle the differences between, or the problems common to, the various parts of the Federation. It would not meddle with internal affairs, which would be left to the separate legislatures of each member, to the great advantage of Great Britain, for one.

(3) It would cement the British Commonwealth still more firmly and give to each part the strength or backing of the whole. It would then be impregnable. This is important, since the Dominions have now very wide interests throughout the world. Canada, especially, would be strengthened in dealing with the problems which arise out of the important part played in its affairs by American interests.

(4) If UNO is to succeed, the Federation would be its surest support. Failing this, Federation becomes a prime necessity. It would in any case strengthen Britain as a moderating force in world affairs, and perhaps help to relieve the burden of her independence on the dollar countries for vital imports.

(5) The Colonies could be provided for on the lines of the recommendations on citizenship made by the Imperial conference called for that purpose. This Conference proposed to equate British and Colonial citizenship, and this could serve as a constitutional precedent, providing also for the

Con : (1) An Imperial Federation is unnecessary. It would merely mean the entanglement of the Dominions in every European question. The Commonwealth will rest more securely on common loyalty and on the honourable obligations of unwritten constitutions.

(2) Though unity may be achieved in time of war, it would not last in time of peace ; first, because the status of the different parts of the Commonwealth, and their economic interests, vary, and secondly because interference by one member of the Imperial Parliament in the internal affairs and trade policy of others would be certainly resented. Such problems as now arise are solved satisfactorily by *ad hoc* conferences or arrangements.

(3) By committing each section irrevocably to the international relations and politics of the whole (i.e., in practice the United Kingdom), in case of trouble no section could escape, even though it had no share in or had even opposed the general attitude, as on several occasions has occurred in UNO deliberations. Though ultimately impregnable, strategically the Commonwealth is immediately vulnerable, e.g., Canada by the United States and Australia by Japan.

(4) Federation would, by exciting the envy and anger of other States, lead to counter-alliances, and so endanger the world's peace.

(5) No proper provision could be made in such an arrangement for the Colonies. It would obviously be improper to include them as members of equal standing with the Dominions, and their inevitable attachment to the United Kingdom would give this country an undue weight in Federal deliberations.

(6) The United States would be

possible emergence of a West Indian Federation with Dominion status.

(6) A strong Federation might eventually draw within its orbit the United States as the only remaining great English-speaking country. Despite the efforts made by its isolationists in the past, that country has found that it cannot withdraw itself from world politics, and would naturally seek allies among its kindred if they were powerful enough.

(7) Federation would exercise moderating influence on faction and party strife in each of its members.

(8) The present tendency is towards alliances, understandings, and international organisations. Federation stands directly in the line of this tendency and may therefore be expected to be a success.

unlikely to link up with any other system, as they are quite strong enough to stand on their own. Indeed, any merging with the United States is more likely to take the form of a body under the domination of that country. They have already shown their disapproval of Imperial Preferences, and any closer amalgamation would certainly be interpreted by them as a hostile move.

(7) The Imperial Parliament would be dominated by politicians seeking to use its power and prestige to influence the solution of domestic problems in their particular direction.

(8) The world tendency is towards emphasising nationalism and autonomy, not centralisation or a mitigated internationalism. We see it operating in South Africa, and Canada certainly could not afford to consent to any change which would impair her close economic relations with the United States.

INDETERMINATE SENTENCES FOR PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS

Pro : (1) There is a small class of prisoners—the professional criminal—consisting of formidable offenders, men who are physically fit, who take to crime by preference, decline work when offered to them, and, unlike the habitual criminal proper, are not amenable to reform. They should be sentenced to an indeterminate period of imprisonment.

(2) These offenders should not be released until they have given satisfactory proofs of such an improvement in character as would make it safe to the community for them to be at large again. They can be observed by competent experts who could arrive at accurate decisions. There is no need to detain them in prisons proper; penal colonies would be sufficient.

Con : (1) There is no such difference between the habitual and the professional criminal. They are both the product of our civilisation and largely manufactured by our present English prison system. The cry for indeterminate sentences is mainly an endeavour to avoid thorough-going social and prison reform.

(2) Conduct in prison affords no proof of reform; most professionals are exemplary in prison. Indeterminate sentences would give an impetus to religious hypocrisy. Jail conditions render psychological examination impossible, and freedom is the only condition under which we can judge of character.

(3) The indeterminate sentence would, in practice, be a long-

(3) Whether the aim of punishment is the protection of society or the reformation of the criminal, there is no justification for keeping a man in prison after he could safely be released.

(4) To prevent abuses, a maximum period could be fixed. This would probably be desirable while the system was in the experimental stage. Penal detention would give greater scope for education and remedial training than the penal servitude or hard labour which it would replace.

(5) The criminal of this type should be treated exactly as persons suffering from epidemic disease. The individual is then prevented from injuring society.

(6) Where tried, as in the U.S.A. in some places, it has worked well. It would prevent criminals from making plans with fellow prisoners for the commission of new crimes on the expiry of sentence.

(7) Prisoners might be provisionally released, on parole. A system of after-care should be developed to deal with these, and other cases. At present many a man leaves the prison gates without the prospect of work and without friends and so drifts back into crime.

(4) Such sentences infringe the liberty of society and good government. Men are kept in prison for being suspected of intending to commit a crime, not for crime itself, and are put entirely at the mercy of a few officials without check or criticism from the community.

(5) There is no analogy between disease and criminal acts; disease is not punished. Society must be just even in protecting itself.

(6) The indeterminate sentence in the United States of America corresponds with our "star" class in convict prisons, and is reserved for the less professional of criminals.

(7) This would be an unfair risk for the community. There are already Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.

INDIVIDUALISM

Pro: (1) Government exists for the sole purpose of defending the lives and property of citizens. All other duties, e.g., control of education and the country's economic services, should be left to individuals.

(2) By their very nature Government offices and State undertakings are never, even in the simplest matters, so well or so economically managed as a private business run for profit; inevitably they are more governed by routine and red tape.

(3) As Government has to rely on taxation, the more duties it

Con: (1) If Government confines itself to protection against robbery, violence and petty dishonesty, citizens are still exposed to robbery and maltreatment by the growth of economic forces which remain within the strict letter of the law, e.g., trusts.

(2) While many anti-individualists would agree that the State has committed mistakes in the running of enterprises, most State organisations never reveal such scandals of mismanagement, inefficiency, not to say corruption, as private concerns of the same size. This is proved by the history

undertakes the more heavily do they weigh on taxation, thus depressing industry while restricting the field of private enterprise. Whereas the capitalist pays for his own mistakes, the Government official throws the costs on the taxpayers.

(4) Where the Government works an institution for profit, e.g., the Post Office, it lays an indirect tax on industry, raising money by indirect means.

(5) History is one standing protest against the folly of over-legislation, undertaken with the most excellent motives, as most of such legislation was. The best legislative work of this country is that which has freed us from the legislative enactments of previous centuries.

(6) The more we increase the number of indictable offences, the more (to a large extent unnecessary) criminals we create, and the more blackmailing and corruption we render possible. During the war illegitimate influences were powerful in every direction, thanks to ill-considered legislation and Government control. Every new restriction imposed by the Government nowadays opens up a new field for the activities of black marketeers.

(7) The more Government undertakes, the more it checks that wholesome spirit of self-help which has already carried the English-speaking races to the foremost position in the world. Our Colonial Empire has been entirely won for us by the energy of individuals, despite the blunders of various governments.

(8) Government interference tends to preserve the less fit members of society against the workings of natural selection, and thus to lower the standard of society. Reliance on Government is a sign of weakening fibre. It was a potent factor in bringing about the decline of Roman civilisation.

of trusts, and the failure of private enterprise to deal, for instance, with railway traffic and the coal and cotton industries. Big private undertakings employ just as many officials, while the small concerns which a State enterprise replaces employed many more. If State enterprise is so badly managed, why did its private competitors complain about its menace to them ?

(3) Governments are concerned with service, not with profits. The capitalist always compensates for his losses by raising the price of his goods. If he fails, then the creditors and shareholders pay.

(4) Would not the profits of a private company cost as much to industry, while the Government would have to take just as much in taxation ? No privately run Post Office would have put its profits into the building up of the broadcasting industry.

(5) History is a record of the sacrifice of the economically weak to the economically strong, and of the ruin of industry and resources in the interests of immediate profits for a small section of the community.

(6) In business, "pulls," "squeezes," secret rebates and the like are stock means of pushing one's interests and in some kinds of transactions the chief means. Even when laws are not completely successful, the conditions after their operation are infinitely to be preferred to those existing before ; the Factory Acts are an example.

(7) Good legislation adds to the freedom of the subject. Association is a more potent force than individualism or self-help. The natural trend of industry is towards association ; the joint-stock company has ousted the one-man firm, the trust destroys its rivals, the trade union has rescued its members from the miseries that resulted from freedom of contract.

Every tendency for people to initiate enterprises for themselves should be encouraged.

(9) The rule of the majority is not any less a restriction on the freedom of individuals than that of kings or aristocrats or plutocrats.

(10) The strength of Britain in the past was due to the triumphs of private enterprise. If it is to remain strong, it must free itself from the recent additions to Government control. The evils of control, however necessary it may be as a temporary measure, are shown by the muddles and contradictions into which the various departments get.

The State is one form of association and its existence is a proof of the inadequacy of the individual.

(8) The most "fit" are not necessarily the best; the "less fit" secure their survival by association, and collectively are just as successful as the powerful individual. The power of association is one more weapon in the struggle for existence.

(9) In a democracy the rights of all get a place; as it is not a homogeneous group it tends to accommodation and elasticity. No one should have the right to cause suffering to his fellow men, either directly through the infliction of violence or indirectly through economic and moral coercion.

(10) The inadequacy of individualism was proved in the Second World War, when many firms were taken over by the government in order to ensure efficient running; industry and labour had to be inspected and directed, and the Food Ministry took over most of the functions of private distribution. The evils of unfettered individualism have been shown in the catastrophic rise in prices in the U.S.A., whereas through Government control Britain suffers less from inflation than most of the other former belligerents.

INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY, APPLIED

Pro : (1) The essential idea of Scientific Management—that the processes and conditions of production (including salesmanship) are capable of being improved by systematic study—is a sound one. Industrial psychologists have realised the shortcomings of the generality of Efficiency Experts and look upon the problem chiefly from the human point of view.

(2) Industrial psychologists aim first and foremost at improving the conditions under which workers operate, so that unnecessary strains, whether due to physical fatigue, mental boredom,

Con : (1) Industrial psychologists are merely Scientific Managers and Efficiency Experts under another name. They are aiming almost exclusively at making the worker more efficient in the present capitalist system. They expect to increase output, thereby further clogging the system, which cannot deal with what it already produces. The net result will be a reduction of working staffs and more unemployment.

(2) The most important factor in industry is the question of incentives. The supporters of this movement rely on it to save the

or emotional antagonisms, e.g., between foremen and workers, may be eliminated. They take no side, naturally, in the disputes between employer and employed; all they are concerned with is that the knowledge at the disposal of the community which relates to these problems shall be applied and extended. And in doing this, they have achieved excellent results, though the study is still incompletely developed. Even in a Communist State industrial psychology would be needed.

industrial system from the consequences of its imperfections. They necessarily have to work under the conditions imposed by these flaws, and under suspicion of the mass of the employees for whom they prescribe. The beneficial results are therefore likely to be small, but the appearance of concern for the welfare of the workers which industrial psychology presents no doubt consoles those who believe that with trifling adjustments the present system is satisfactory and likely to be permanent.

See also SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

INITIATIVE, THE

Pro : (1) The Initiative, under which, on the demand of a section of the electorate, a government must examine a certain question and make proposals for dealing with it, is the nearest approach yet made to the ideal State in which the whole body of the people makes its own laws. (It is usually combined with the Referendum [q.v.].)

(2) The Initiative is necessary to save a country from the stagnation caused by party quarrels, and the possibility of a government's deliberately shirking vital problems. It affords the opportunity of getting important questions discussed without forcing any political party to commit itself to any particular solution.

(3) In Switzerland the Initiative has had a remarkable success, as is proved by its adoption for both federal and cantonal purposes. In the Western United States the Initiative, coupled with the Referendum and the Recall, is achieving great success and great popularity. It is now established in more than a score of States.

Con : (1) The theory on which the Initiative is based is bad. The State should depend on intelligent conceptions of progress steadily applied, not on bursts of public enthusiasm, based as often as not on hysteria or panic

(2) The Initiative lowers the responsibility of legislators, who feel that if anything goes wrong it is not their fault. The tyranny of party government is not restricted, because if there is no Referendum, the government can pass whatever legislation on the subject it wishes, but if there is, it may safely take risks since the Referendum is predominantly conservative in its effects.

(3) The practical effect of the Initiative is small. Switzerland is completely different from Great Britain or any other big State, and its institutions are necessarily also different. In America, where conditions are also unlike ours, the application of direct popular sovereignty has not resulted either in great social advance or in the maintenance of liberty.

INTELLIGENCE TESTS

Pro : (1) Tests of the capacity of both children and adults, where used, and decisions as to the kind of work for which they are most fitted, formerly depended entirely on unscientific and stereotyped examinations. It is now generally admitted that such examinations are inadequate, and intelligence tests are generally used to supplement them. There is a strong argument for abolishing written examinations altogether at some stages, and using intelligence tests in their place. This has been done in a few progressive schools, e.g., Bedales, where intelligence tests have been used for some years in place of the conventional scholarship examination, with very satisfactory results.

(2) In adult life manual dexterity, memory, reasoning powers, swift reaction to sensations, etc., are required in various degrees in different occupations. The crude guesswork on which employers have had to rely in the past for information about their workpeople has put many square pegs in round holes, with unfortunate results to both employer and employed. Intelligence tests have latterly been used with great success in the armed forces to determine the spheres in which men and women should serve.

(3) Intelligence tests do not claim to be character tests, but because they do not deal with every side of life we should be foolish to ignore their application to the side they do test.

(4) There are so many alternative tests that the danger of their being " crammed up " is negligible.

(5) That intelligence tests, even when not perfect, are remarkably accurate is proved, for example, by the fact that the results of the tests applied to the American Army by Columbia University examiners gave a grading of the soldiers almost identical with that

Con : (1) The use of written examinations is admittedly limited, but no adequate case has been made out for their abolition, especially in the higher levels of education. They are the only method of testing the acquisition of knowledge, the possession of which is even more important than the capacity to react quickly to situations where experts are required. Many intelligence tests have no conceivable relationship to the problems of school or of life.

(2) Trial and error, and experience, are the soundest tests for vocational suitability. Misfits are almost always due to the rigidity of our economic system and labour market, so that if a child enters one occupation he has too often to remain in it for the rest of his life. The result of an intelligence test may be rendered futile by the lack of jobs considered suitable for the examinees. Since production can never be correlated with the capacities of potential workers, promotion on the basis of the employer's judgment is the only satisfactory method of exploiting intelligence.

(3) These tests have the great shortcoming that they cannot test character—the qualities of initiative, hard work, determination, honesty, etc., which are more important in life and business than mere cleverness. Neither can they test the all-important quality of power to grasp new ideas.

(4) Intelligence tests are limited in number and scope, so that in the hands of unscrupulous or even over-keen teachers they can be made the subject of cramming.

(5) They frequently break down in practice, because, for one thing, they are often extremely stupid. They set questions to which the examinee must answer yes or no, though the only intelligent answer

given by the officers who had had the same men under them for many months.

is often long and qualified with all sorts of reservations. The testers have concluded that human intelligence does not grow after the age of sixteen, partly because they have taken too narrow a view of what constitutes intelligence, and partly because they have failed to devise satisfactory tests for intelligence above that age, and often encounter resistance in adult examinees because of the apparent absurdity of the questions.

INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGES

Pro : (1) In areas like the Mediterranean and India common artificial languages for intercourse between people speaking different languages have grown up in the past to satisfy an obvious need. Latin was the international language of Europe for many centuries. Commercial, political and social relations would be made easier by the adoption of an international auxiliary language.

(2) Esperanto and Ido are scientifically constructed languages, with flexible structure and the simplest grammar. They can be learned with ease by nearly everybody, arouse no national jealousies, and are not without literary possibilities.

(3) Basic English (consisting of a vocabulary of about 800 essential words with which any ideas can be expressed) is eminently suited to become an international language. It has obvious advantages over an artificial language, and can be learnt in a very short time even by those ignorant of English.

(4) That Basic English should replace good normal English is not suggested. But there is no gainsaying its value where a good working knowledge of English is required, without a great expenditure of time. Basic English has been used in schools in Denmark, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, and is making headway in the East.

Con : (1) Enough people are able to learn the one or two other languages besides their own which enable the business of the world to be successfully carried on. The newspapers and news agencies already spread through translation more information about the world than can be properly assimilated. It is erroneous to argue that the ability to communicate with people of other lands will promote international understanding. For example, many French people are well acquainted with English, and many English with French, but they have never been able to comprehend the psychology of each other's country.

(2) For many purposes French, and for others English, are international languages already. They have acquired qualities in the course of centuries of growth far superior than those which any artificial language could have.

(3) If only the absurd spelling of English were abolished, English itself would rapidly become a world-wide tongue. Its grammar is less complicated than that of most other languages. In its excessive simplification Basic English has lost most of the vigour of the true English tongue.

(4) Basic English can no doubt be learnt with ease. But language has a dual function. It should enable us not only to express our own thoughts, but also to under-

(5) In international affairs the use of an international language would save an enormous waste of time and expense involved in the use of interpreters. It would also tend to avoid many of the disagreements and irritating misunderstandings between statesmen and diplomats, many of which are certainly due to insufficient knowledge by statesmen of one another's languages. Now that diplomacy has become world-wide in its scope, and so highly publicised, the old-fashioned closed corporation of diplomatic exchange is out of date, and a language in which all speakers have the same standing, and none can suspect collusion between others speaking an alien language, is more than ever necessary.

stand those of others. Basic English performs only one of these functions. Its students may express themselves in English but they cannot understand the speech of an Englishman, unless he also has memorised the 800 or so essential words of Basic English and confines himself exclusively to these.

(5) The value of an interpreter is that he understands the idioms and turns of speech of a language as well as its more academic conceptions. Misunderstandings between statesmen would continue even if a common language were used, since they arise more from fundamental antagonisms in philosophy and interpretations of the meaning of words—and at times also to a clash of temperaments—than from any mechanical language difficulty. Many words are capable of more than one interpretation—for example, " democracy," " freedom," " honour "—all words which occur frequently in international discussion.

INTERNATIONALISM

Pro : (1) Despite the outburst of nationalism that marked the period between the wars of 1914 and 1939, it is clear that the struggle of the future will be between classes and ideologies and not between nations. Nationalism has become obsolete as a basis of political organisation since the development of communications has rendered the whole world an economic unit.

(2) The nation is not eternal. It has existed for only a few hundreds of years, and came into being to respond to the economic needs and development of the time. It will probably remain always as a reflection of differences in culture and custom, though these are tending to lessen with the increase in international com-

Con : (1) National rivalries and nationalism are more accentuated than ever. They transcend the class war just as they destroy international agreements.

(2) The nation is a fundamental fact, and national patriotism is a persistent virtue. The nation is the largest unit that is economical, so that arguments from the past are not relevant.

(3) The international organisations mentioned, especially those of labour and political groups, cannot become important until their members control all the nations to which they belong, which is impossible. International combines often operate by making agreements to respect national frontiers.

(4) The types of association

munication, but its part in the world will sink to that which the province, the county, or the clan now plays in relation to the nation.

(3) The economic problems of most nations are similar. The facts have forced an international organisation of workers on the one hand, and of trusts and financiers on the other. UNO is a public recognition that isolation is an anachronism.

(4) There are vast numbers of associations, agreements, societies, etc., which are knitting together the principal nations. Some of them stood even the strain of war. These will multiply in the future and lay the foundation of the International State.

(5) The advent of Socialism in some form or other, if only because all alternatives break down, will see the triumph of internationalism. General prosperity and culture will overcome the narrowness of nationalism.

(6) Internationalism is a noble creed to which all religions pay, at the least, lip service. It must be the basis of world organisation if civilisation is to be saved from destruction by war and human folly. National differences are in reality no greater than those which often cause regional antagonism in the same country, and mutual tolerance can smooth them out.

(7) Internationalism is compatible with true patriotism. It is only objected to by the " my country, right or wrong " type of person.

cited as evidence of the growth of international agreement and development are *ad hoc* organisations such as have been found since the beginning of history. They break down when strain arises, and in any case affect only in an infinitesimal degree the national life.

(5) It is by no means certain that Socialism will triumph. Nevertheless, if it does, the national divisions and national peculiarities will survive. This is recognised even by the Communists, whose gospel is internationalism. A series of Socialist or Communist societies might not even be so closely allied as to form a federation.

(6) Internationalism postulates an unprecedented change in human nature. Most religious sects are limited by national frontiers, and their adherents, while they might aspire to internationalism, do not generally attempt to practise it.

(Some) Internationalism is bad because it implies the continuance of national divisions. Cosmopolitanism—a single World State—is a preferable objective.

(7) Internationalism in practice means anti-patriotism, and propaganda in its favour should be stopped.

IRELAND : Should Ulster join Eire ?

Pro : (1) Ulster's opposition hitherto is largely artificial. The Irish, as a nation, are tolerant and easy-going. Their history proves them to be much less bigoted and persecuting than the alien leaders in Ulster, whose animosities are played on by vested interests

Con : (1) The rest of Ireland is different in religion and race from the majority of Ulstermen. Ulster is implacably hostile to the dominating rôle played by the Catholic Church in Eire. Its belief that persecution due to religious and political bigotry would be its

which would be disturbed if harmony in Ireland were re-established. Ulster would always be able to break away if badly treated.

(2) The north-eastern part of Ulster is responsible in large measure for the disastrous history of the Irish nation since 1913. The Covenanters committed treason before the Nationalists, and set the example of unconstitutional proceedings.

(3) The existence of two governments in such a small island is absurd. Partition will not be a permanent solution; the boundary problems are merely quiescent, and the opposing factions in each part will embroil both the governments time after time.

(4) If Ulster is as superior in wealth as its protagonists claim, it would naturally dominate the rest of Ireland rather than be despoiled and dominated.

(5) All Ireland is an economic unit, and Belfast is inseparable from Ireland as a whole. The exigencies of war led to a temporary official separation, but its unpopularity, and its harmful effect on the economy of the island as a whole, is shown by the wholesale smuggling which proceeds along the border and the unofficial connivance at it at lower official levels. The thousands of workers who now leave Eire to work abroad in England could be retained to build up the country's industry if the economy of Ireland as a whole were reintegrated.

(6) The Unionist question has kept the Ulster industrial workers years behind the industrial workers of Great Britain in conditions and ideas, and has imposed a semi-authoritarian rule on the country which is itself a proof of the unpopularity of partition. With a united Ireland the Belfast workmen would soon be in the van of reform and political democracy established.

lot if it joined Eire is supported by Eire's refusal to grant such elementary rights as facilities for divorce and the establishment of the fantastic censorship of literature and culture generally.

(2) Ulster has deserved well of England, which it supported through the troubles of the wars with Germany, while Eire by its neutrality in the last war provided a home for enemy activities. Its cardinal principle is loyalty to King and Constitution. The question of British citizenship alone makes any programme of union unworkable.

(3) Hard facts have dictated partition. The boundary question can now be considered settled.

(4) Ulster would remain in a minority, unable to resist the extirpation of the things it cherishes. It would also be looked on as the milch cow for reviving the decrepit finances of Eire.

(5) The nature of its industries differentiates Ulster from the rest of Ireland, and connects it with Glasgow and the textile districts of England, and with England's international trade. The agricultural south has nothing to offer which would compensate for the cutting of this connection.

(6) Ulster's comparative prosperity is due to the steadiness and efficiency of its workmen and traders, which come of their Protestantism and Scotch extraction. Union with Eire means the levelling down of Ulster, not the levelling-up of all Ireland. Allegedly undemocratic forms of government are Ulster's only protection against subversive propaganda from Eire and the terrorist means used to secure its ends.

JOURNALISM: Should Articles be signed?

Pro: (1) Signed articles make the writer responsible, increase his pride in his work, and give him proper standing with the reading public.

(2) A system of signing articles would help to break up the domination of the Press by the handful of wealthy proprietors, as allowances would be made by readers for the fallibilities of known writers.

(3) Leading articles, even if they are jointly composed, ought to be signed so as to reduce the weight of the editorial "we" and the importance of the "stunt."

(4) The signed article enables people outside the professional ranks of journalism to contribute to the papers. The reading public likes to be able to endow what it reads with personality, and on the whole would like articles to be not only signed but also headed with photographs of the writers.

Con: (1) Signed articles lead to the acceptance of inferior work, as the writers trade on their reputations. Professional interests could be safeguarded by the use of Monomarks, which give identity without publicity.

(2) Anonymity gives greater freedom for expressing sincere views without making personal enemies.

(3) "Leaders" are becoming less and less important compared with "news"—even in the weightiest newspapers. The editorial "we" expresses the policy of the paper, which may not exactly coincide with any one person's views.

(4) Editors are relying more and more on "star" writers and celebrities, who count for much more than they are worth. Many of the "special contributions" are known in the profession not to be the work of those who sign them. This "value of a name" is bad for the professional journalist.

JURY SYSTEM

Pro: (1) A man has a right to be tried by his peers, and twelve ordinary men are more likely to arrive at the truth than a single judge, however capable.

(2) Misdirection of the jury by the judge is dealt with by the appeal courts and errors are there corrected.

(3) In all cases where the credit of either party to a suit is at issue, the jury is the best tribunal, for it estimates better the effect on public opinion.

(4) The system has always worked well. It was established to abolish flagrant abuses, and jurymen have time and again enforced justice despite powerful pressure on them. The system should not be abolished, as it is the chief bulwark of the common

Con: (1) An innocent man would, in nine cases out of ten, prefer to be tried by a judge, rather than by a jury, as he would be appealing to a higher order of intelligence, and especially to a trained intelligence.

(2) In all cases that are not straightforward juries are at the mercy of the judges and are therefore useless.

(3) Whatever the merits of the jury system in criminal proceedings, there are none when applied to civil proceedings. Certain verdicts delivered in recent years were notoriously unjust and based purely on prejudice and ignorance.

(4) As a rule the jury is influenced by one dominant personality, who practically replaces the judge. Being generally with-

man against legal sharp dealing.

(5) The jury system, at times when legislation lags behind the social conscience, enables juries to force the hand of the legislature by refusing to find a verdict in accordance with unjust laws. In this way the abolition of the death penalty for stealing was obtained.

(6) A jury is often better able to form a correct opinion upon facts connected with the daily life of the working classes than a judge, who has only academic knowledge. The judge, who is usually of advanced years, is likely to be more prejudiced and more hasty than a jury of a dozen different persons.

(7) The process of explaining a case fully to a jury often elucidates facts which would otherwise be overlooked. Knowledge is rarely complete until it has been expressed.

(8) A judge has too much to do, e.g., he cannot take notes and at the same time carefully watch witnesses. He is more liable to be impressed by documentary than by oral evidence.

(9) Trial by judge and trial by a small selected group mean trial by experts who have the ordinary man at their mercy. The panel system would be complicated and expensive, while the experts would frequently disagree.

(10) That the jury is a palladium of liberty is shown by the circumstance that when powerful interests in the United States want to victimise somebody through the law, they try to proceed by asking a judge for an injunction rather than letting the suit come before a jury.

out technical legal knowledge, the jury is at the mercy of clever counsel.

(5) Though the object of criminal proceedings is not to ventilate grievances but to administer the law, it is to be noticed that juries failed to check the multiplication of death sentences on frivolous grounds during the eighteenth century, and that judges, too, have contributed to social progress by their rulings.

(6) Juries are apt to be prejudiced, especially if they know the person on trial, and are susceptible to public opinion, which is often wrong. They are usually drawn from a different class from the class of the defendant, and have not a wide knowledge of the subtleties of character, so that unfavourable or favourable appearances affect their verdict.

(7) Appeals to emotion constitute part of the stock-in-trade of lawyers, who are well aware of the susceptibilities of jurymen. Judges are harder to move and pay more regard to facts.

(8) Juries are quite incompetent to weigh evidence. That is a laborious and technical process. They are more taken in by superficialities and by oral testimony, which makes a greater impression than documentary and is easier to follow.

(9) The alternative to a jury system is not necessarily trial by a single judge. A group of experts in law and psychology with, perhaps, one or two ordinary citizens, would be more satisfactory than either.

(10) American conditions are not likely to arise in Britain.

See also INDETERMINATE SENTENCES.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE? Should they be replaced by Stipendiary Magistrates?

Pro: (1) Our courts of summary jurisdiction are entirely in-

Con: (1) It is not necessary to appoint Stipendiary magistrates

adequate for the business with which they have to deal. Most crimes committed in this country are tried before them. Every year Justices of the Peace, sitting in about a thousand courts, deal with over half a million non-indictable offences. The small residue of more serious crimes also come before them on proceedings for committal for trial. A body of men dealing with work of such importance should be above suspicion of prejudice or incompetence. Stipendiary magistrates properly qualified for the task (already employed in London and some of the larger towns) should everywhere replace the voluntary J.P.s.

(2) The voluntary magistrates have usually no knowledge of law law or legal procedure, and most of them make no attempt to acquire such knowledge.

(3) Many magistrates—perhaps a third of the total number—never attend the Courts at all, and of those who do attend, many are old and deaf, careless of fact, and warped by prejudice.

(4) Many voluntary magistrates are far too ready to accept police evidence against the man in the dock.

(5) Another serious objection to the present system is the extraordinary diversity and inconsistency shown in the decisions and sentences of the various courts.

(6) The present system has only been tolerated so long because the people coming before the Courts of summary jurisdiction were, on the whole, without influence or social standing. Now that motoring offences form the bulk of the work dealt with, the position has altered, and dissatisfaction is freely expressed.

(7) Appeals have been rare, not because justice is done, but because appeals involve expense which few can afford and would often cost more than the fine imposed.

for all Police Courts. Our voluntary Justices of the Peace are perfectly capable of dealing with the type of case that comes before them. Proceedings for committal for trial are merely formal. The voluntary magistrates are on the whole both conscientious and respected, and the British public is satisfied that it gets justice, even if legal technicalities are sometimes waived in favour of common sense.

(2) There is always a Clerk of the Court—usually a trained solicitor—who can be consulted on any legal points which are too technical for a magistrate himself to deal with.

(3) Most Benches are, in fact, already too large for efficiency. An actual reduction in the number of magistrates attending is desirable. A Bench of from three to five magistrates is quite enough, and this number is often exceeded.

(4) Naturally, magistrates vary in competence, but the best of them are fair-minded and painstaking, and quite able to secure fair play.

(5) It would be possible to raise the standard of efficiency, without departing from the voluntary system, by a different method of appointment. Justices of the Peace should be selected, not as still too often happens for their political views and services, but for judicial qualities and suitability for office.

(6) If the voluntary magistrates have been able to deal out justice to the poorer classes, the same treatment should be good enough for motorists also.

(7) That the smaller courts do their work satisfactorily is shown by the rarity of complaints and appeals.

LAND, NATIONALISATION OF

Pro : (1) Land differs totally in kind from all other kinds of property, inasmuch as its value is not the result of human labour, which alone constitutes a valid claim to property of any sort.

(2) Land is limited in quantity, but is essential to all.

(3) Land is still concentrated in the hands of a few who constitute a monopolist body, having undue economic, political and social power. They draw income largely in return for merely obstructing the use of land except at a price.

(4) The private ownership of land is a menace to the health, comfort and prosperity of the community. There is no such thing as an indefeasible right in property.

(5) The present landowners have done nothing to earn the land for themselves. Their ancestors stole it from the common people and previous owners.

(6) The present land system is the ruin of agriculture. It permits neither efficient large-scale farming nor peasant proprietorship. The agricultural worker is without hope and the farmer without independence.

(7) Sport is as often as not the chief occupation and interest of the owner. The Sutherland clearances, the game laws, the coverts of England, are a notorious scandal.

(8) The countryside has been depopulated because there is no chance there of a satisfactory livelihood or an interesting life. Small plots for allotments have been refused by some owners.

(9) Rural depopulation leads to overpopulation in the towns. But the chief cause of urban overcrowding is the extortionate prices charged by landlords when land is wanted for housing schemes. The social and moral results are appalling. Land increases greatly

Con : (1) Land has no value unless human labour has brought it into cultivation or built on it or exploited it.

(2) Land is no more limited or essential than capital or food. All commodities are limited. Under modern conditions transactions involving the fate of whole countries can be carried out by financiers in their offices ; land is less important to the country's economy than it was a century ago.

(3) The landlord monopoly is not so complete as is imagined. There are many small owners, especially since the practice of buying houses and land on mortgage from building societies became popular. The large estate is more generously managed than the small one, and tenants are treated better.

(4) Land nationalisation is a gross interference with the natural right of private property.

(5) The enclosure movement laid the foundation of England's prosperity. The origin of the property is irrelevant. Where an institution is well established, those who benefit from it do so without incurring blame, and should not be made to suffer unjustly on account of alleged historic injustices.

(6) Merely to transfer land from private owners to the State would not increase the farmer's or the labourer's interest in the land. Recent legislation has helped to ensure a certain security to the tenant farmer.

(7) Sport is an important element in English life, but such statements are exaggerated.

(8) The countryside has always been undergoing depopulation. The chief cause nowadays is an unhealthy craving for excitements. Allotments are now dealt with by special legislation.

in value owing to the growth of population and the industry of man; e.g., the site of Westminster Hospital, worth £6,000 a hundred years ago, was sold for £350,000. This increment is not earned by the landlord who received it, and it should go to the community that created it.

(10) The landlord class performs no useful function in society. It is merely ornamental, and constitutes a danger to national prosperity by its immense power, which it always exercises against reform.

(11) Tenants' improvements are appropriated and rack rents charged against them.

(12) The evil results of the private ownership of mineral rights were at length recognised and mining royalties were bought by the State. Greater advantages would be derived from a similar transfer of other property rights in land to the community.

(13) State tenancies and State farms are the only solution of the agricultural problem. Nothing else will ensure adequate supplies for the nation at fair prices, with good conditions for the producers and efficient exploitation of the land.

(14) The people are shut off from enjoying nature. The law of trespass should apply only to land where damage to cattle or crops would be done.

(15) Several schemes have been proposed by which the land can be nationalised speedily, with adequate compensation, and without great disturbance or undue expense. Compensation could be paid in the form of State bonds, as in other examples of nationalisation. Alternatively, landlords could be given notice to quit at the end of, say, a hundred years. This would be equitable to landlords, who would get about thirty years' purchase, and advantageous to the State, which would have no compensation to pay.

(9) Urban overcrowding is due to overpopulation. Town life can be as healthy as country life, and is much more interesting to most people. The Land Acquisition Act of 1947 will prevent abuses in the future in the prices demanded for housing land.

(10) The existence of a leisured class is necessary for the maintenance of the art and culture of the nation. The landed gentry render many services which are, on the whole, efficiently performed.

(11) Abuses can be prevented by care in drawing up agreements.

(12) The buying up of mining royalties by the State did not reduce the price of coal, and it remains to be seen whether the National Coal Board will be more efficient as a result of nationalisation. Landlords have prevented the ruthless destruction of natural resources in the past, whereas the Coal Board may be concerned more with successful exploitation of the industry without so much regard to long-term interests as was given by private owners.

(13) Even if we admit the badness of the present system, the remedy lies in peasant proprietorship or private enterprise and not in nationalisation.

(14) There is ample space for public enjoyment. The Access to Mountains Act greatly increased such facilities for the people.

(15) To buy out landlords at a fair price would cripple the resources of the nation for many years. State management is not successful, and the losses would ruin our finance. Any other method of dealing with landlords would be unjust.

(16) The remedy is to relieve the landowner of penal taxation, and enable him to play the part he has always played of providing the bulk of the capital in agriculture. A proper system of protection for our agricultural produce is desirable.

Better still, a heavy graduated tax could be imposed on rents, which would ultimately bring all rents into the national treasury.

(16) Owing to taxation and price changes during recent years, many large landowners have been driven to split up their estates among a number of purchasers or to sell them to limited companies, which are naturally without even those merits which landlords possessed. The result is that large estates are falling, directly or indirectly, into the hands of concerns with a purely profit-making outlook. Only State intervention can retain what was good in the old system and at the same time supplement it by a wise and comprehensive policy.

(17) Few advocates of nationalisation believe that agriculture should be administered either by Whitehall or by county councils. A system of committees on the lines of the County Agricultural Committees is an integral part of any scheme for reorganisation. These committees should consist of farmers and workers in agriculture together with technical experts. At present the attitude of farmers is to demand all sorts of advantages in money and conditions without giving any guarantee of efficiency or output.

(17) The efficiency of the County Agricultural Committees is open to question, and any extension of their powers should be discouraged. All that the farmer needs is a steady market supplied by a town population enjoying good incomes, together with easy credit, facilities for co-operative marketing and possibly co-operative purchasing. None of these things depends on the replacement of the landlord by a superlandlord.

LEGALISATION OF ABORTION

Pro : (1) Abortion should be legalised (it cannot be stopped) chiefly in order to prevent the hole-and-corner methods by which it now takes place. If doctors were permitted to perform the operation in the normal course of their duties, people would then seek and receive competent advice for or against, and where necessary surgical skill would be at their service.

(2) Until the knowledge of contraceptive technique is avail-

Con : (1) Abortion is the taking of human life, and as such is a crime which nothing can excuse.

(2) If doctors were allowed to perform the operation whenever a patient requested them to do so, the birth-rate would decline even more rapidly than is now the case. Sexual irregularities would be encouraged, when the major risk was thus removed, and so morality would decline. In any case, such an operation would be an expensive luxury, and no solution for

able to all, i.e., to the poor as well as the middle and upper classes, many women will resort to abortion rather than bring into the world an unwanted child. These women are now driven to risk their health by taking undesirable drugs, or their lives by seeking the services of charlatans whose ignorance and unhygienic methods are a grave danger and who charge extortionate prices for incompetent services.

(3) No woman should be compelled, for reasons of health or poverty, to bear a child whose advent she dreads. An unwanted child is not likely to be a happy child, and a mother overburdened by work, care, poverty, or too frequent maternity, is not likely to provide a suitable home for the training of a useful member of society.

the problems of the poorer classes.

(3) Many women dislike and fear the coming of a child; but when that child is actually born the maternal instinct comes into play and the child is loved and cared for just as well as any other.

LIBERAL PARTY : Is it Unnecessary ?

Pro : (1) The rise of the Labour Party indicates that the time has come for those who have hitherto been members of the Liberal Party to decide for which of the two tendencies and main ideas in English politics they stand. The Labour Party stands for increasing State control of the main national industries and equalisation of the present differences in wealth, while the Conservative Party advocate a return to the principles of uncontrolled private enterprise. One wing of the Liberals inclines to the former view, the other to the latter. It would simplify matters and benefit the country if each wing joined its affinity, and these two conflicting ideas were made a clean-cut issue.

(2) Individual liberty is already a slogan of the Conservatives, and in the Labour Party we may expect that with increasing prosperity the pressure of the constituents would bring about the

Con : (1) Liberalism represents the "middle way," and is therefore more likely to be in the right than either of the parties which stand for the extremes of political opinion. There is no more disunion among Liberals than elsewhere. Indeed, various sections of each of these parties are as much at loggerheads with the others as any section of Liberals.

(2) The stress laid in the past by Liberals on the necessity of individual liberty is just as urgent at present. For neither of the two other parties, whatever they may say, is concerned with the rights and privileges of the private citizen so much as with the rights and privileges of a series of organised vested interests. Thus in the matter of political liberty and the most efficient ordering of our political institutions, Liberalism has a task to fulfil.

(3) Though Free Trade was temporarily abandoned, the ten-

relaxation of controls and exercise a curb on bureaucracy.

(3) The Liberal Party served a useful purpose when Free Trade, one of its main planks, was the fiscal policy suited to the needs of the nation. The balance of world trade and industry has changed so much that this policy is no longer possible, and from this point of view the Liberal Party is now *functus officio*.

(4) The Liberals have lost the support of the working-class voter, who now tends to vote Labour, and of large sections of the middle classes, who in fright are voting Conservative. The tendency of the younger "intelligentsia" is to turn Labour or Socialist. Liberalism is now like a general staff without an army.

dency today throughout the world is towards the lowering of tariff barriers and the abolition of restrictions. It is generally recognised that tariffs, quotas, exclusive bilateral agreements and the restrictions involved in Imperial Preference have done more to worsen than to improve the condition of world trade, and have led to a paralysis against which special measures have had to be taken.

(4) The votes gained by Liberals in recent elections give no ground for supposing that the party has not retained an enormous number of supporters of all classes up and down the country. It may hope to retain these and gain more, as the inadequacy of the other parties' programmes becomes apparent. It is rich in intelligence, and indeed is always being paid the compliment of having its ideas annexed by other parties.

LOCAL OPTION

Pro: (1) The present system works very badly. The best bodies to deal with the question are the Town and County Councils, which, as representative bodies, know the wants of the localities much better than licensing magistrates.

(2) The people ought to possess the power through a vote of the local electors to protect themselves against the admitted evils of the liquor traffic. If the people of a neighbourhood think a public house is a nuisance, they ought to have the power to abate that nuisance.

(3) Where evils exist the liberty of the minority must give way to the interests of the community as a whole; moreover, if individual houses were closed, it would only happen by the vote of the local majority. The number of houses open is far in excess of the public needs.

(4) The question of temperance is one of the most important ques-

Con: (1) The present system as a whole works well. The licensing magistrates administer the law ably and impartially, without so much regard to irrelevant issues as elected authorities would show.

(2) Local Option would enable a body of faddists to work grave injustice to all local members of a legitimate and respectable trade, and would give a local majority an unfair opportunity of tyrannising over those who differed from them.

(3) Local Option would be an infringement of the rights of the subject, and its exercise would promote suppression and intolerance in other matters.

(4) A new element would be introduced into municipal elections, and often be the issue on which elections would turn. Temperance reformers are so often fanatics that local self-government would be stultified through

tions of the day, and the more it bears upon local elections the better.

(5) Municipal authorities are well fitted to deal with questions of public morals, and the more pernicious the trade the greater the need of its control by the municipality.

(6) Local Option would be the greatest incentive to the licensees and owners to set about reform of the public house, since the most attractive, least objectionable, and generally most serviceable houses would naturally excite less hostility and so escape closing.

(7) Compensation would still leave the municipalities a decent margin of profit.

(8) In Scotland, the Colonies, and some other places Local Option laws work excellently.

LORDS, REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF

Pro : (1) As an institution, the House of Lords is an anachronism, and out of sympathy with the modern democratic spirit. It is the only institution of its kind persisting in the modern world.

(2) While the House of Commons has been made representative of the whole nation, the House of Lords has stood still, and so the constitutions of the two Houses are entirely at variance.

(3) The attendance of Peers is notoriously small ; in fact, a great many attend only to vote on party measures or those affecting their private interests. It is desirable to relieve from their parliamentary duties peers to whom such work is irksome and ill suited, but to whom it has come inevitably by inheritance.

(4) The House of Lords is predominantly of one way of thinking, that is, Conservative. It has steadily opposed the programmes of both Liberal and Labour Parties and in fact, whenever enthe predominance of this one question.

(5) Municipal authorities ought to have no concern in liquor licensing, as it would give them an interest in the trade, which would be an opportunity and cause of demoralisation and corruption.

(6) Other agencies and causes are at work to improve the public house. If it were not for the perpetual menace of disastrous legislation, much more would have been done than has been.

(7) Compensation would have to be given, which would either be ruinous or lead municipalities to allow houses to remain open, thus nullifying the measure.

(8) The conditions in the Colonies are not comparable with ours. In Scotland Local Option has cast a blight over political and public life

Con : (1) The House of Lords has grown up with, and forms an integral portion of, the British Constitution, and consequently is much more adapted for its purpose than any new Second Chamber could be.

(2) It thoroughly represents the wealth and culture of the nation, and expresses that aspect of national life more fully than the Commons. A considerable number of peers have been created, drawn from among men who have shown exceptional ability in their several professions and from the ranks of all parties. These men exercise a distinct influence on its policy. At present the overwhelming power of the Party machine is bringing the House of Commons into disrepute considerably faster than the House of Lords.

(3) The House of Commons also gives examples of small attendances and party votes. It is more and more a habit there to

lightened legislation is urgently needed to meet serious situations, the Lords tend to oppose it. Even the reducing of the veto period to two years has not curbed the power of the Lords, since it may be expected that if a Government is hostile to their politics, they will oppose consistently every measure brought forward in the last two years of its term of office, in the hope that electoral changes will prevent them from being brought forward again.

(Some) The reduction of the period over which the Lords' veto is operative to one year would not settle the difficulty. The only solution is for the function of the Lords to become purely consultative.

(5) If the Upper House is to function as a body of elder statesmen and act as a bulwark against over-hastiness on the part of the Commons, it should be reconstituted on an elective basis. We do not object to the son's inheriting his father's title, but we object to his making or unmaking *our* laws.

(6) The House of Lords is an irresponsible body. It should, like other Second Chambers, be a body responsible to the people in whose interests it is supposed to exist, and elected by them, or at least by their representatives.

(7) It is possible to have a reformed Second Chamber which, while consisting entirely of men qualified to deal with a nation's affairs and responsible for its acts, will yet be free from party ties.

(8) There is no scheme of reform which would not leave the Second Chamber a highly conservative body, and at the same time add greatly to its moral strength. This has been the universal experience in other countries, where the Second Chamber is always to the right of the Commons.

vote according to party orders without necessarily hearing a word of the debate. The peers who do attend are at any rate keenly interested in the topics discussed, and important subjects draw a large attendance.

(4) The Lords have always had very good reasons for their opposition. If their policy is conservative it is not without advantages, for from 1914 onwards it is the Lords who have championed the traditional liberties of the subject and resisted the growing power of the Executive. An unscrupulous government can always circumvent the right of veto by rushing through legislation in the early years of office; the period during which the Lords can exercise their veto is already dangerously short.

(5) If the Lords are put on an elective basis, it will either be subject to the operations of the Party machine and lose its independent character, or, if its party affiliations are different from those of the Commons, be in a continuous state of conflict and rivalry with the Commons.

(6) The House of Lords is responsible because it is independent. All Second Chambers should be removed as far as possible from the transient gusts of popular control. The Commons' subjection to Party leaders means a slavery to the sectional prejudices of constituents.

(7) It is difficult to see on what basis such men would be chosen. If they are to be chosen by members of the Government, endless opportunities for packing the House with their protégés would arise; if various sectional interests are to be represented there would be no concession made to democratic practice. Election by popular suffrage would certainly not bring forward the most suitable people, as experience in the Commons has shown.

(8) By reform and strengthen-

ing of the House of Lords, a risk is incurred of placing the forces of reaction in a stronger position than at present. The work of the Parliament Act of 1911 would thus be undone. The Lords themselves have recognised this opportunity by putting forward a scheme of their own, for reform.

LOTTERIES

Pro : (1) There is a definite public demand for lotteries and sweepstakes, and it is unfair that the puritanism of the few should be allowed to hinder the harmless enjoyment of the many.

(2) A lottery in itself is a quite innocuous amusement and provides interest and excitement in many otherwise dreary lives. It involves no destruction of wealth, but merely transfers money from one pocket to another, with the consent of both parties to the transaction. That excesses may occur and that born gamblers may stake more than they can afford to lose is no reason why the moderate gambler, any more than the moderate drinker, should be penalised.

(3) A law which cannot be enforced and which is systematically evaded should be removed from the statute book. Lotteries exist in fact in the form of football pools, and legal technicalities have been introduced which render them immune from legal action. By imposing a tax on winnings the Government has actually recognised lotteries in effect.

(4) A well organised lottery is an excellent way of raising money. The Irish hospitals are now wealthy and well equipped on money raised by this method, and most foreign countries find lotteries a useful adjunct to taxation They absorb surplus purchasing power and thus help to avoid the danger of inflation ; they are more popular than national savings.

Con : (1) The public already have only too much opportunity for gambling, which is a national evil, involving loss of time and money and creating misery for the families of those who waste their substance on it.

(2) A lottery, like all gambling, is an immoral attempt to gain something for nothing, and can never be harmless. It encourages idleness and waste of time. Moreover a sudden change of fortune, such as is occasioned by the winning of a big prize, disturbs the balance of life for the owner, placing him suddenly on a different social level, whence he looks down on his former equals and is in turn looked down on as an upstart by his former superiors in fortune.

(3) The law in this connection admittedly needs revision, but it should be tightened up, not relaxed. The tax on gambling profits should not have been imposed, since it only encourages gambling. Alternative sources of taxation should have been explored.

(4) State lotteries may be useful in countries whose citizens actively object to taxation, but there is no need for such immoral contrivances among the more highly educated British public. Restriction of purchasing power is not a desideratum in normal times. Any gain in revenue would be outweighed by the necessity for the creation of another branch of the civil service, which would become redundant if a rise in economic standards brought about a decline in gambling.

LUXURY TAXES

Pro : (1) Some luxuries are bad in themselves and should be discouraged. Luxury enjoyments absorb productive powers which would be more usefully employed in satisfying the more urgent wants of other people. Luxury taxes supplement income tax and level up its inequalities.

(2) They would bring in a considerable revenue, especially if directed to objects susceptible of gradual taxation, and imposed, for example, on the employment of servants. Evasion can be checked and administration economised by using existing machinery as far as may be, as has been done with the entertainments tax and the purchase tax.

(3) The people taxed would be those whose luxury shows that they can well afford to bear additional taxation.

(4) Their imposition would in itself tend to diminish the discontent against the rich and ostentatious which is the cause of much industrial disturbance. The imposition of purchase tax on a wide range of goods bought by all classes has given recognition to the slight rise in the standards of living of the poorer classes, so that the rich need have no cause to complain that they alone are bearing the brunt of taxation.

Con : (1) Luxury cannot be defined, and Puritanism is not a proper object of State action. The price of luxurious commodities does not vary with the amount of labour, etc., involved, and the labour itself can be controlled by purposive direction. There is no point in taxing a man for buying antique furniture in order to induce him to buy more cheap, newly made stuff.

(2) Luxury taxation is useless for revenue because if the taxes are low the yield is low ; if they are high the yield diminishes quickly. The results in France were disappointing. Only direct purchase can be controlled by means of the purchase tax, but evasion is easy and continual new crops of government orders fail to arrest it.

(3) The taxes would inevitably prejudice the buying of commodities if imposed on possession of them, and tradesmen with stocks in hand would suffer. Luxury articles are not generally those which are most frequently the subject of exchange and renewal.

(4) Luxury taxes only confirm the superstition that the salvation of the poor lies in the persecution of the rich. The poorer classes are already favoured by differential taxation and were exempted from tax altogether through the establishment of the Utility mark.

MANAGED CURRENCY

Pro : (1) The object of any form of currency control is to prevent the rise of prices which results from the flooding of the market with increasing quantities of money and leads to damage to export trade and the collapse of home economy. Formerly this was done by adherence to the gold standard, but this system had

Con : (1) Sound finance is the sheet-anchor of our prosperity. The danger with a managed currency is that our credit system might be manipulated by political bodies for what are really political purposes. The automatic system based on gold is the only safe one in the long run, for the issuing of notes is always more readily under-

inherent disadvantages and is in any case rendered obsolete by the present-day concentration of the world's gold in one or two countries. A much better system is the management of currency and the credit system to make them correspond with the trend of production. By the issuing of money, for example, at a time of serious depression and unemployment, or by the raising or lowering of the bank rate to increase or dam the flow of capital investment as desired, a government can mitigate the worst extremes of the economic cycle. It is the duty and right of a government to provide conditions for the prosperity of its citizens. Without control of credit finance becomes the master and not the servant of the community.

(2) Complete control of currency and credit enables a government to regulate more satisfactorily its monetary relations with other countries. The desirability of international agreement on these matters has been recognised by the countries which set up the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank. A country's currency can be so organised as to enable it to play its part in the general encouragement of world trade. Devaluation of a currency in terms of those of other countries, or its opposite, can be used as a means of equalisation, and the modifying influence of currency control can be extended to the international sphere. Such a system has no room for a monetary standard based on a purely fortuitous set of circumstances.

MILITARY TRAINING, COMPULSORY

Pro : (1) Nations should rely on their whole manhood for defence purposes and not on a limited professional class. It is the moral duty of everyone to take part in the service and detaken than their withdrawal, and inflation is the inevitable result. The fact that through temporary difficulties Britain has been forced to abandon temporarily the gold standard should not blind us to the possibility and desirability of returning to at least some approximation to it.

(2) International agreement on currency questions means little, as the events of the last few years have proved. While production and industrial life generally remain on a national basis, each country should have the right to increase its credit and financial prestige abroad. Gold is still demanded for the payment of international debts and is used as a standard by the U.S.A., the greatest creditor country today. In other countries given over to a manipulated currency inflation goes on and devaluation is used as a weapon in economic warfare. Economic co-operation is impossible until currencies become stable by reference to some international standard.

Con : (1) The moral argument is misleading : the real national service that we owe is the fulfilment of the duties of everyday life. In this way we shall most effectively strengthen the military

fence of his country and to be so trained that he can do so effectively. People who believe that the State should defend itself and them, but put the burden on a few, many of whom are driven to enlist by poverty and other causes outside their control, are hypocrites.

(2) After every war in the past the British and their governments have neglected the national defences, only to find themselves unprepared when the next crisis arose. Witness the frantic haste with which preparations had to be speeded up after the Munich fiasco in 1938. This could not occur if every citizen were trained, and a potential soldier.

(3) The training and discipline of the young male population makes them better citizens and better workmen. Physically and morally the benefit is enormous. The voluntary associations can still be used for refresher courses and the training of older men.

(4) The mingling of classes in training promotes respect and comradeship, and may help to avoid class bitterness in later years.

(5) The present system of conscription is capable of rapid expansion without muddle. Even if industry is disturbed, money-making is not Britain's only vital interest, and no disturbance need be caused since the annual loss of manpower to industry is known in advance. Recruiting for the regular army will be encouraged as the attractions of military service become clearer.

(6) Modern warfare demands intensive weapon training, which can be given to large numbers only through the method of conscription for peace-time service. Unless a large number of combatants is available at once in these days of blitzkreig, an aggressor might well overwhelm his victims before they can be mobilised for defence.

(7) In times of peace a citizen power of the nation, and also its general moral power and financial resources.

(2) Immediate conscription in wartime as carried out in 1939–40 is adequate. For peace-time policing purposes the regular army, together with that to be formed by UNO, will meet all the needs. Britain's crisis in 1940 arose from shortage of materials, not men.

(3) To take young men away at a crucial moment in their civilian training is unfair, and in the case of professional men might actually unfit them for their future work. Military training in peace-time necessarily involves long periods of demoralising idleness or futile occupation.

(Some) The present system is unfairly advantageous to women, especially in the professions. If conscription is to continue women should also be conscripted for nursing, clerical and other non-combatant duties, as they are in some other countries.

(4) Despite recent reforms the classes are still largely segregated owing to the system of choosing officers. Class feeling is notoriously strong in countries where conscription is an old tradition, for conscripts are brought into contact with privileges the lack of which they would probably not have felt without the mingling of the classes in military service.

(5) The keeping of a million young men under arms is bound to cripple our export trade and industrial development, and might cause effects as bad as those of a trade depression. Voluntary recruiting is not a success, although millions have seen the benefits of army life during the late war.

(6) Weapons are continually changing and only those who have recently been under arms will be up-to-date in their training. The main thing to be learnt in peace-time military service is discipline and smartness, and these could be

army is much the cheapest form of military establishment, and any extra expenditure on it should be regarded as insurance.

(8) The discipline and training on a democratic basis bring about a better feeling throughout the country and diminish social unrest. The army has several times been able to avert widespread suffering threatened by irresponsible strikes, and would be a useful check on possible disorder; men can be mobilised at once if the need to bring them under military discipline arises.

(9) A citizen army is a valuable check on the policy of a Government, as it is much more serious and cautious in spirit than the untrained and irresponsible crowds which applaud their governments under the exciting influence of the war spirit without thinking of the consequences.

(10) Compulsory training enables the responsibilities of citizenship to be realised by all. The physically unfit are assigned to light duties, while objectors can be put to hospital or other useful work if they are not exempted.

(11) A large army on land will always be needed to follow up air and sea successes and for occupying a conquered country. No war will ever be decisively won without it.

(12) Strength and numbers of military personnel remain the fundamental basis of military effectiveness. This was proved conclusively in the Second World War.

learned in camps or during week-end training on Home Guard lines.

(7) The expense of maintaining a huge conscript army is prohibitive for a small country like Britain. It forms a disproportionately large part of our national budget, and the loss of manpower to production in industry will only add to the expense.

(8) The world is in such a state of unrest that even in Britain circumstances might arise in which the calling up of conscript troops entailed a risk of arming the discontented for an assault on the present social system. The use of troops for strike-breaking, which is becoming far too frequent and automatic, is increasing bitterness of feeling in strikes.

(9) The existence of a large army encourages the governing classes and the Government to be reckless in diplomacy and to take on unjustifiable commitments which increase the risk of war.

(Some) There is a risk that other nations with smaller armies will want to use the British army as cannon fodder in any future war. This allegation has often been made in France against other countries, and it is a fact that French losses in the 1914 war were a crippling blow to her industry and were a factor in the serious depopulation of the country.

(10) Compulsory training at present leaves half the adult population (i.e. the women) without this reminder of their civic responsibilities. If its benefits are real, then young women also should be conscripted for nursing, farming, clerical and other suitable duties. If women do not need this experience, then neither do men.

(11) Our best insurance for defence as an island, and in the light of modern experience in war, is an adequate navy and a strong air force. These branches prefer voluntary enlistment for long terms, and draw to a far smaller

extent than the land forces on the men available for conscription.

(12) Military effectiveness depends less than ever before on the weight of numbers of armed men, and more on the general social and industrial efficiency of a country. The building up of aircraft and munition industries to war strength and effectiveness is a much more lengthy and complicated business than the elementary training of recruits, and it is on this that a country should concentrate for preparedness against war.

MINIMUM INCOME FOR EVERYBODY

Pro : (1) Every human being has a moral right to the bare necessities of life. Every individual ought, therefore, to receive from a central fund some small allowance in money which would be sufficient to maintain life and liberty if all else failed.

(2) It would bestow greater economic freedom on all. People would try to improve their position who are now kept where they are by fear that, by striking out, they would become destitute. The working man would be peculiarly benefited and the economic independence of women would be facilitated.

(3) Nearly everyone wants more than a bare subsistence ; it would therefore not encourage idleness.

(4) It would reduce infantile mortality and encourage the raising of families.

(5) Its advocates do not pretend that the scheme is a cure-all, but it would do something towards allaying unrest, and give sufficient time for all parties to consider the present difficulties and to find a satisfactory way out.

Con : (1) Everyone has a right to the necessities of life only in so far as he works. Hardships are already mitigated or prevented by special arrangements to meet exceptional cases. The net result of the scheme would be to present unscrupulous employers with an opportunity for reducing wages.

(2) Agitators would have readier material to work on and strikes would be started on more frivolous pretexts. Progress has never been made by people who would not take risks.

(3) It would encourage all the impulses to idleness. Production would decrease and the nation, including the bonus scheme, go bankrupt.

(4) The granting of family allowances, and improvements in medical knowledge, have already assisted in the reduction of infantile and maternal mortality. What is wanted more than any panacea is the strengthening of individual self-reliance and of the family.

(5) Such a scheme does not touch the main difficulties of modern society and is not worth attempting. The fate of the similar Speenhamland scheme for agricultural workers in the last century shows its futility.

MINIMUM WAGE, A NATIONAL

Pro : (1) No individual can maintain even the bare pretence of a civilised existence if his income falls below a certain definite level. This is even truer for families. Therefore the State should fix minimum rates for each trade, through national legislation, below which no worker in those trades should be allowed to sink. This minimum rate should be not a piece-work rate or an hourly rate, but a weekly rate, so that those who did not receive it would automatically come into the category of those entitled to assistance from public funds.

(2) If trades cannot afford to pay a decent wage, they either deserve to be scrapped or require drastic reorganisation. If labour in an industry is found to be redundant, the sooner it is reduced the better for that industry and the community. A minimum wage assured to the working population would mean such a steady demand for staple commodities that any unemployment caused by economising labour in this way would quickly be absorbed in the brisker trades.

(3) Prices of essentials are now reasonably stable and are probably going to be kept stable. But otherwise administrative action could regulate the money wage as often as desired according to an index figure.

(4) Minimum rates would be the maximum only in those trades which are now paying less than the new minimum rates.

(5) A national minimum would make our exporting industries set their houses in order sooner than anything else.

(6) If a group of essential trades found the rate set for them too high, the wages they could actually pay might be supplemented out of special taxation on the very wealthy.

Con : (1) The theory of a national minimum wage or schedule of minimum wages assumes that the national income of goods and services will not fall below a certain absolute level. Regrettable though it may be, we must recognise that in certain trades it is at present impossible to pay a minimum wage which would be regarded as satisfactory by the trade unions and other bodies who would have a voice in determining the scales. Thus the only result would be that many of these trades would have to shut down. The alternative that they should be subsidised out of the national fund is unthinkable.

(2) The enforcement of a minimum wage would mean that every employer who had to raise wages in adopting it would strive to cut down his labour staffs to the utmost extent, and would thereby increase unemployment. Thus in the end poverty might well be more widespread.

(3) Owing to the changes of price levels which are continually taking place, usually determined, at any rate in part, by factors outside the State's control, the minimum would continually have to be changed, or else, in comparison with prices, it would be sometimes so high as to cripple industry and sometimes so low that the workers would suffer.

(4) Minimum wages have the unpleasant habit of becoming maximum wages.

(5) The trades which are sheltered, i.e., mainly concerned in the home market, would set the standard and so bring about the ruin of the unsheltered trades exposed to foreign competition, whose prosperity can be assured in the long run only by a readiness to accept lower rates in times of difficulty.

(6) Any attempt to make sure

of the minimum wage by taxing the rich would cause them to refrain from saving and to withdraw their capital from industry, thereby making the last state of the country worse than the first.

MINORITIES, RIGHTS OF

Pro : (1) Ever since the League of Nations undertook the remaking of Europe after the 1914 war it has been recognised that national minorities have a right to a certain autonomy. Such oppression as took place under the Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist Russian régimes is discredited today, but not all national minorities were liberated by the League, and some of the new countries which arose as a result of that liberation have been guilty of oppression in their turn. The attempt to solve the problem quickly by the summary ejection of foreign communities, such as that of the Germans from East Prussia and Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, offends against the principles of justice.

(2) The fact that some members of national minorities have abused their privileges is not an argument for depriving others of them. Subversive elements in a foreign country are not necessarily organised in compact national communities ; indeed, they may prefer to permeate the indigenous population. The only logical consequences of this argument is the expulsion of all foreigners, which is repugnant to civilised countries.

(3) Not all minorities are formed by immigration. Some of them are communities and nations which have been forcibly annexed in the past, or summarily attached to another country, as the Croatians and Slovaks by the League of Nations. Justice demands that they should be given full rights of autonomy and independence ;

Con : (1) People who settle in a foreign country have no right to remain in it as an organised separate community. They should assimilate themselves to the community which has received them ; otherwise they are liable to become nurseries of sedition, and can be used by unscrupulous aggressors as outposts, as the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia were used by Hitler Germany.

(2) The whole idea of artificially fostering separatist feeling in a community abroad is absurd and unreal. Left to itself the second generation normally becomes part of the indigenous population, as they have done notably in the United States. The preservation of national festivals is harmless and may enrich the cultural life of a new country, but any attempt to elevate this into the political sphere should be discouraged.

(3) In its linking of different communities together into nations the League of Nations was inspired by considerations of economics. As it was, what was left of Austria found it impossible to survive as an independent economic unit ; the agriculture of Slovakia complements the industry of Bohemia. In modern economic conditions the creation of small units amounts to economic suicide ; the whole trend today is towards larger and larger units. The political and economic *rapprochements* of the Balkan countries, and the movement towards closer relations of western countries, are examples of this tendency. All that is possible for small minorities today is a meaningless

failure to do this always leads to conflict, and in the end the offending countries are usually forced to grant what they would not grant willingly.

(4) The difficulties of newly liberated countries have generally been due to the manner of their liberation, which has usually involved some degree of violence. Separation by proper agreement would involve provision for possible economic problems and avoid most of these difficulties. International bodies have usually concerned themselves with minorities only in so far as these affect the interests of the Great Powers. The cause of justice would be immeasurably strengthened by some provision which was incapable of misinterpretation and by the forces to implement it.

political form of independence.

(4) Separation by agreement, while it might be desirable, is not feasible in the case of the few minorities which are left. A better solution, and one more likely to allow for economic difficulties, would be a painless transition through " Dominion status " for such minorities as are recognised as having a right to independent existence, with the option of eventual federation, and perhaps a body similar to the Russian Soviet of Nationalities to provide political status in the interim.

MONROE DOCTRINE

Pro : (1) The United States, as the most important power in America, are justified in claiming a sort of protectorate over all the other States of the two continents. They have many interests in common, and an attack on any American country must affect unfavourably the United States. In the past the Monroe doctrine has done good service for the South American republics. Now that the American financial system has gained ascendency in the Southern continent, it is only logical that this close connection should be extended to the political sphere.

(2) Some American countries are still not sufficiently developed to be able to stand on their own resources against aggression by any other power. They are so rich in unexploited resources that in the absence of some powerful guardian they are very likely to be looked on as suitable for partition into spheres of influence. Nazi propaganda was active in South America, as was economic

Con : (1) If the United States wish to exercise a protectorate over all the other American States, they should do so formally and accept the consequent obligations as well as advantages. But there is no clear justification for their doing so ; indeed, their economic pressure on South America has already greatly harmed the interests of other countries, including our own.

(2) The Monroe doctrine may have had a justification when first put forward, but today no European state has the power to subvert the independence of any part of America. The various republics have mostly grown strong enough to hold their own in the world ; indeed, Argentina particularly has achieved economic ascendency over Europe because of her importance as a meat exporter. Those countries which are not strong have been placed, on some excuse or other, under the rule of American troops.

(3) Argentina, Brazil, Chile and

penetration by Germans, Italians and Japanese before the 1939 war.

(3) The apprehensions of Argentina, Chile and Brazil are unjustified. The protectoral doctrine applies only to the weaker States. They have all a common object in resisting the possible aggression of other nations and the intrigues of European powers.

(4) The future of UNO is so uncertain still that the United States are justified in taking steps to protect themselves from being involved in European questions through the relations of other American countries. Canada is a proper subject for application of the Monroe doctrine, in view of the very strong economic and cultural links between them and her strategic importance.

Mexico are all capable of standing alone, are jealous and mistrustful of the United States, are not at all of the same civilisation, and have no wish to be entangled in the economic system of the United States, or prevented from becoming first-class world powers.

(4) The conception of America as being in a position to isolate itself from European affairs is completely out of date. The Monroe doctrine is incompatible with the principles of self-determination as expressed by UNO, to which America formally subscribed. The logical consequence of the doctrine is domination of Canada and the West Indies, which brings it into conflict with the conceptions of the British Commonwealth. We should therefore oppose it.

MULTILATERAL SCHOOLS

Pro : (1) The artificial prestige of purely academic education has in the past diverted ambitious young people from the path of technical training, thereby harming industry through a shortage of highly trained personnel, and condemning many young people of a technical turn of mind to a dull and unfruitful existence in offices and classrooms. Entrance to a grammar school, and possession of university diplomas from matriculation upwards, have acquired an unreal social value. Separate technical schools have grown up which, though providing an adequate training within their limits, have perhaps failed to educate their pupils for life and to give them a broad appreciation of culture. A comprehensive school, in which all sides of school education had equal prestige, would do away with this difference. Graduation from it would be the portal to further training in any sphere.

(2) The size of a multilateral school would make it economically

Con : (1) In practice the separation between the academic and technical sides of education would continue, just as in most grammar schools a gulf exists between those studying sciences and arts. This will continue so long as the older universities continue to retain a classical bias. In practice nobody has time for an "all-round" education now that specialisation is continually increasing both in schools and in the trades and professions which the pupils follow in after life. All that would result would be a confusing and over-organised curriculum with a consequent strain on both teacher and pupil, for the sake of the formal imparting of knowledge in which half the pupils would have no interest. If the school fulfils its purpose of training the intelligence, its graduates can be relied on to enrich their lives for themselves.

(2) One objection to the comprehensive school is its size, which because of the dictation of economic considerations would neces-

possible to provide improved equipment, including such extensions of teaching as the cinema and radio. Auxiliary subjects not perhaps strictly necessary for the passing of examinations, but none the less important in any scheme of true education, could be taught adequately by an adequate staff. At present they are taught sketchily as an "extra" by junior teachers, or dealt with by cumbersome methods of exchange of classes between schools.

sarily be unwieldy. In too large a school it is impossible to inculcate those feelings of loyalty and tradition which are an important part of school training; at any rate in a day school, which would become a mere teaching factory. Improvements in equipment are overdue in many schools, but the fault lies with the niggardly conception of the needs of education held by authority hitherto. The status of technical schools and the efficiency of grammar schools can be improved without interfering with their present organisation.

NEWSPAPERS: Should they be Reformed?

Pro: (1) The Press in Britain has travelled very far from the days when periodicals were read by the cultured few and broadsheets contained the only comment on the events of the day for the unlettered many. In these days of almost universal literacy the Press has become a great power that can make or break governments and systems of government and change the fortunes of a country, and it is time that some control was exercised in the interests of the public.

(2) As newspapers have grown in size they have fallen in number. Through amalgamation and buying up of bankrupt competitors a situation has been reached where a handful of national daily newspapers are read by almost the whole population, and the fortunes made from their sale have created a class of "Press barons" who may or may not have any knowledge of, or real interest in, any but the purely financial aspects of the newspapers they control. The true function of a newspaper, the dissemination of information, has been distorted by the pressure of financial interest; with some exceptions, newspapers today aim at the providing of sensational stories and the

Con: (1) The influence of the Press on the general public has been greatly exaggerated. The election of a Labour Government in 1945, and that of President Roosevelt for his second and third terms of office in the United States, in the teeth of almost unanimous Press opposition, are examples of readers' ability to form their own judgments. People are in fact far less credulous than in the days before compulsory education and national newspapers.

(2) The amalgamation of newspapers and the tendency towards monopoly are merely examples of the general trend of world economy today. The days of small newspapers are gone, just as the days of small-scale enterprise are numbered. Under the system of private enterprise there are still enough newspapers to provide a diversity of views, and the effect of a proprietor's influence is no more undesirable than would be that of a Government monopoly. The reading of newspapers was in the past the occupation of a leisured minority, and the "lightening" of news and the provision of items of general interest is the very reason why it

elimination of any matter which might exercise the intellect. The presentation of news is subject to the personal predilections of the proprietor or the interests which he openly or otherwise represents.

(3) The race for huge circulations has led to the predominance of advertising as a source of revenue, and the interests of advertisers in their turn influence the policy of a newspaper. Ideas, policies or items of news which they might consider harmful to their profits are modified or suppressed altogether. The pressure of competition has raised costs to such a level that a newspaper which is prepared to risk the loss of advertising custom can scarcely hope to survive, or even to be started.

(4) The control of such a political weapon as the press by private individuals is a danger to democracy. In France and other countries before 1939, the buying of newspapers and the bribing of editors were practised by pro-Nazi interests as part of the campaign to subdue the populations of these countries. There is nothing in the laws of this country to protect the State from similar practices by subversive elements, provided they are wealthy enough. Some system of licensing such as that followed in Czechoslovakia, where newspapers can be owned only by properly constituted organisations, whether political or non-political, would protect the public from deception and oligarchic rule.

(5) Journalists themselves have complained of their servitude to financial interests. The power wielded by the great editors of the past, who built up the reputation of our best known national newspapers, is virtually unknown today. Reporters have seen their stories distorted or suppressed, while unsupported rumour is accepted for the purpose of furthering propaganda. Evidence is now indulged in by the whole population.

(3) Advertising is a legitimate occupation which has naturally grown in extent with the growth of industry and trade generally. Advertisers do not influence the policy of newspapers directly in the pushing of their products, and there is no evidence of any indirect influence having been exercised. The interests of minorities can quite well be catered for by the running of periodicals.

(4) What happens in other countries has no bearing on events in Britain. The freedom from corruption of British official and commercial life is known throughout the world, and is reflected in the absence of corruption in the Press. Policies of reform suitable to other countries are not necessarily workable in this. Czechoslovakia, like all continental countries, is a country of small newspapers. It would be impossible in Britain to allocate the small number of national newspapers to the large number of organisations which would compete for recognition. A country, too, which had its entire national life destroyed by Nazi oppression is not in the same position as one where the Press forms an integral part of our cultural and financial life. But even if such reforms were possible there is no evidence that control by organisations would result in any better presentation of news than control by individuals and business bodies.

(5) Journalists have the remedy in their own hands to a large extent. No journalist who objects to the political policy of a newspaper need work for it. Comment on and interpretation of news do not necessarily amount to falsification, and most facts can be interpreted in more than one way. The existence of rival newspapers and of the B.B.C. news service, is a sufficient protection to the public.

given to the Royal Commission on the Press showed the existence of these practices, which are bringing the profession of journalism into disrepute and creating an atmosphere of cynical unbelief among the public which is a menace to the rule of democracy.

NUDISM

Pro : (1) Clothing is unnatural and unhealthy. It is one of the artificial conditions which civilised man has created for himself, to his own harm. Exposure of the skin to light and air is one of the natural conditions of health. Essential vitamins are manufactured in the body by the aid of sunlight.

(2) By covering the skin man loses the normal reactions to changes of temperature and renders himself more subject to colds and disease.

(3) The more clothing one wears the more one's body loses its natural resistances and the more one feels cold. A man who is accustomed to go heavily clad feels no warmer than one who is used to wearing little or nothing.

(4) Clothing encourages prudery by habitually hiding the body and so indirectly suggesting that it ought to be hidden. A healthy human body, hardy and bronzed everywhere and not just in patches, should be beautiful and strong and a pleasure to the eye.

(5) People who are shocked by the nude are of two types : those who dislike the unusual (most people do, except perhaps the very young) because it puts them to the trouble of readjusting their mental habits ; and those who project their own evil thoughts into the world around them.

(6) Many people, especially women, become obsessed by the importance of dress, and so it becomes a source of extravagant display and of wasted time and money.

Con : (1) For the white races clothing is necessary in most parts of the world as a protection against cold and damp or against strong sunlight. If nudism were the general rule, many countries in which white men now live comfortably would be uninhabitable for them, and the white population of the globe (or such of it as survived) would have to concentrate in narrowly restricted areas.

(2) Clothing is one of the means by which man extends his conquest over nature. Suitably equipped, men may go to the Poles, up into the stratospheres or down to the bottom of the sea.

(3) Clothes are as necessary as houses as a defence against the inclemencies of nature. Even primitive man wore skins and sought the shelter of caves. Nature provides the lower animals with fur or feathers ; man must use his intelligence to provide his own protective covering.

(4) Few people's bodies are beautiful enough to be pleasant to look upon. A certain degree of exposure to sun and air is of course beneficial, but nudism is neither necessary nor desirable. The effects on health are more likely to be harmful than otherwise. The remains of primitive man discovered by archaeologists frequently show signs of rheumatism.

(5) It is not only the puritanical who are disgusted by nudism. All people of good taste dislike extremes, whether in dress or in undress.

(6) The desire to adorn one's

(7) To discard clothing is courageously to take advantage of modern knowledge of the laws of health. The fashions of the bathing beach (a slightly modified form of nudism), if more generally adopted, would greatly improve the average standard of health.

body is natural to all mankind, and is cognate with the love of beauty. Dress may be, and often is, both beautiful and artistic. Hence it is a means by which our aesthetic taste may find expression.

(7) To discard clothing is to turn the tide of civilisation backward. Nudism is entirely unpractical. Clothing is healthy, comfortable, and convenient. How can a man exist without his pockets ?

OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS : Should they be Abolished ?

Pro : (1) On the whole, the Officers' Training Corps do more harm than good, and it would be an excellent thing if they were done away with altogether. Parents' money is wasted in uniforms. Time that can be ill-spared from the proper purpose of a school, i e., imparting knowledge, is wasted in fatigues, mechanical drills and military studies. The modern schoolboy is already so hard-pressed that any additional burden on his time and energy is to be deprecated, especially now that he will in any case be called on later to repeat the training during military service.

(2) Even as recruiting grounds for future officers the O.T.C.s are a dismal failure, for most boys merely tolerate the drill and routine work as a slightly less boring alternative to lessons. Since the present-day system in the army is to choose officers from the ranks, special pre-military training is futile, since it may quite possibly be of no value as an aid to promotion in the armed forces.

(3) Most schools which have an Officers' Training Corps either openly compel membership, or exercise such moral suasion that it amounts to compulsion. Thus, even boys who are pacifists themselves, or whose parents are paci-

Con : (1) The Officers' Training Corps provide a training which is valuable from the points of view of health and discipline. Moreover, they instil a sense of duty and of civic responsibility. But their chief function is " to provide students at schools with a standardised measure of elementary military training, with a view to their applying eventually for commissions." They thus form an important recruiting ground for future officers.

(2) Even in the modern army some specialists have to be recruited directly as officers without undergoing preliminary training in the ranks, e.g., doctors, architects, lawyers, etc. The type of school which produces these professional specialists is the type which should have an O.T.C.

(3) Similar compulsion or moral suasion is now exercised at military age. Pre-military training and experience will help to ensure that only the real convinced pacifists attempt the difficult process of obtaining exemption from military service. It is surely wrong to lead boys to believe that they are not themselves concerned with this issue.

(4) Even those who most regret the horror and wastefulness of modern warfare should be ready in case of need to play their part

fists, are forced into the military machine, and taught to think that war is an integral part of the scheme of things.

(4) It would be much more to the point if all boys were taught that war is wasteful and futile, and that it is for them to try and create a better world, in which differences can be settled by more rational means than the killing of one's fellow men. Pre-military training was condemned when it was practised in Fascist countries, and has no place in a peaceful democratic system.

and share in the risks and dangers which their fellow countrymen are called upon to face.

PARLIAMENT, REFORM OF : Devolution

The Speaker's Conference on Devolution issued its report as a White Paper in May, 1920. The Conference agreed that the following powers might be devolved on local legislatures: Regulation of internal commercial undertakings, professions, and societies; order and good government; ecclesiastical matters; agriculture and land; judiciary, and minor legal matters; education, primary, secondary, and university (Oxford, Cambridge, and London excepted).

In order to meet the expenditure on the transferred services, including those covered by local taxation grants, the Conference recommended that there should be handed over annually for a period of five years to the local legislatures in Great Britain with power to vary those particular duties the following sources of revenue: (1) Liquor licences (dealers and retailers, but not producers), (2) establishment licences, (3) traders' licences, (4) entertainments duty, (5) inhabited house duty (since abolished), (6) land values duties (since abolished), together with the equivalent of the net yield of so many pence in the pound of the annual income-tax (excluding sur-tax) as would at the outset balance the account.

Pro : (1) The chief cause of the breakdown of the parliamentary machine, with the consequent loss of its prestige throughout the country, is the enormous pressure of business. Since 1874 at least, Parliament has been overworked, with the result that important legislation has not been passed; money has been paid away for objects the Commons could not discuss; Scotland, Ireland, and Wales have had their peculiar interests neglected; the power of departments has increased to an alarming extent; and efficient government is only possible if the Cabinet practically ignores the Commons. Worst of all, foreign affairs have passed out of the Commons' control. The system of committees for dealing with particular questions arouses no

Con : (1) The collapse of Parliament is due to more fundamental causes than physical insufficiencies. The party system has wasted enormous amounts of time. The stupidity of members will, eventually, ruin even sectional parliaments. It is an exaggeration to say that matters of importance have been neglected. Ireland used to occupy an undue amount of Parliament's attention; and Scotland and Wales have had all the important bills they wanted. No reliance can be placed on statistics which purport to show that these parts of the British Isles have received inadequate attention, because one bill for Scotland may be more important and beneficial than twenty bills for England.

(2) The removal of all local affairs would mean the inanition

interest in the members concerned, except that of obstructing business in the interests of their party.

(2) Local affairs should be handed over to local Parliaments. It is immaterial to the principle whether, as some wish, Scotland, Wales, and England should have a Parliament each, or whether, as others wish, small areas based on geographical and economic considerations should be chosen. Such a federal system would not destroy the main principles of the United Kingdom, since the federal or central government would retain its supremacy. M.P.s might sit part of the year at Westminster and part in the local Parliaments.

(3) Federal devolution in Great Britain would be the greatest step towards the establishment of an Imperial Parliament.

(4) Decentralisation would reinfuse life into institutions that are now being attacked. By getting rid of purely local business, Parliament would be free to undertake the task which it is elected to perform, viz., to supervise the estimates and criticise and control the Government's policy. Popular interference, if continuous, is beneficial. Devolution by function is tantamount to revolution, and the denial of political democracy.

of the federal body, since the electors would not be enthusiastic over foreign, Empire, and other business they did not understand. There would be constant bickering between the various parliaments, as no system of devolution would prevent the adoption of different policies on matters that seem local but really affect the whole country.

(3) An Imperial Parliament can quite well be set up under present conditions. The federal Parliament could not become the Imperial Parliament by the representation of the Dominions, because Great Britain is a unit as regards several interests which are no concern of the Dominions.

(4) (Some) If a federal government means that the uninformed masses are to direct foreign policy and dictate to the executive continually, it will not promote prosperity or success.

(Some) Geographical political theories are out of date. Devolution by function, not by area, is necessary. The constitution is worn out, and federal schemes merely try to postpone radical alterations.

See also IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

PARTY GOVERNMENT

Pro: (1) Party government is desirable and beneficial, and in some form or other inevitable. Only if the government is directed by a coherent group with a settled policy can progress be made or public business be done.

(2) Coalition experiments have generally been a failure. Especially in peace-time is a national coalition bad, because its place is regulated by the most conservative section. If a Government receives its mandate from a suffi-

Con: (1) On many questions there is a general measure of agreement. Yet to maintain the prestige of the party unimportant points are necessarily used for purposes of obstruction. Proposals cease to be judged on their merits, but are judged on their supposed influence on the party fortunes.

(2) Coalition government was eminently successful during the war of 1939–45, when the complexion of the government had ceased to correspond with the

cient majority of electors, then it has no right to abdicate from its position of supreme responsibility in attempting to share it with its defeated political opponents.

(3) Party government ensures a thorough discussion of all important topics. There is no possibility of collusion to rush measures through without publicity.

(4) The group system has failed repeatedly on the Continent. It is a synonym for unstable Cabinets, intolerable intrigue and discreditable scenes.

(5) There only two real parties in the House of Commons today—the Labour Party and the Conservative Party. These correspond with the only two real forces in the State. In course of time the Liberals are bound to disappear; they are already ceasing to count as a balancing force and a two-party system is actually in force with no need for combinations and coalitions.

(6) It is impossible to prevent the growth of parties under a representative system. Any such devices as *ad hoc* bodies built up to secure one reform and then dissolved are academic and futile. All the disadvantages that are put down to party systems are inherent in political life of any kind.

country's wishes in some ways and election was impracticable. There is no doubt that it called forth an immeasurably increased amount of devotion and hard work from the people.

(3) Debate is reduced to a farce. A party government can always use its majority to enforce its will, and can stifle discussions by use of the closure. The net result is that the Cabinet is master of Parliament.

(4) The group system ensures a greater elasticity of policy and greater responsibility for the individual members.

(5) Three parties in the House of Commons make a group system inevitable, for as the three parties approach equality government by one of them becomes more difficult. Whatever advantages which formerly belonged to party government cannot be claimed for it now.

(6) Party systems are full of dishonesty, log-rolling, secret influences, and other evils, which destroy the uprightness and independence of the individual and make politics at once servile and frivolous. Each change of government brings with it a change of policy, so that there is no stability in the conduct of the nation's affairs.

PAYMENT BY RESULTS IN INDUSTRY

Pro : (1) The workman paid by results is rewarded according to the energy, efficiency and initiative which he puts into his work. This is more just than the time-work system by which lazy and active, efficient and inefficient, get the same. Where payment by results is adopted, the morale of workmen goes up, and they take greater pride in their work.

(2) Production is stimulated; machines and plant are used to

Con : (1) The important thing in industry is the general standard of the workers and not nice discrimination of merit. Indeed, the inefficient worker may be just as hard-working as the most efficient. All piece-work systems sooner or later result in the cutting of prices for work done, and are more for the benefit of the employer than the worker. The logical issue of dealing according to results is the turning of the inefficient adrift.

the fullest extent and most economically; the workman gets higher wages and the employer higher profits; and the consumer benefits by lower prices. This is particularly so in the export industries and in building, where production will have to be maintained for years to come. Fears of victimisation are groundless where a guaranteed minimum wage is also secured.

(2) While production may increase in quantity, the final result is harmful to quality, which is harder to measure. In the building trade it is likely to lead to scamped work and the decline of honest craftsmanship. In many trades the work is non-repetitive and cannot be paid in this way. And in all trades worker is set in competition with worker to the disadvantage of the spirit of the works and of the trade union.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP AND SMALL HOLDINGS

Pro: (1) Peasant proprietorship encourages the growth of a sturdy, independent, and thrifty class of men who are in every way the backbone of the nation. It satisfies the requirements of the capable and self-reliant man who, perhaps, works badly under other people's orders. Determined men are enabled to start with a minimum of capital and to rise in the world.

(2) Small holdings increase the population on the land, and bring into cultivation areas now deserted. The "magic of ownership" secures the best a man can produce from the land. Peasants pass on their qualities of hard work, etc, to their children, who escape the vices of the town-dweller. Rural depopulation is checked and the State depends less on unnatural urbanisation for its strength. The nation is insured against war; its foreign indebtedness is reduced; and its resources are developed. Land which is tilled intensively by peasants is more productive than large farms. Britain's agricultural future lies with the development of dairying and mixed farming, for which small holdings are suitable, provided that co-operative methods of marketing are adopted, as is both feasible and likely.

(3) The setting up of small holdings leads to more intensive

Con: (1) Peasant proprietors and small holders, to judge from those countries where they flourish most, are sordid and conservative. They only survive at the cost of great toil by themselves and their families, who are sweated intolerably. The proportion of failures at starting and in bad seasons is very high, while successful peasants are only anxious to become ordinary farmers. Even so, the advantages are social rather than agricultural.

(2) The trend of English agriculture has always been against the peasant. His children, at all times, have flocked into the towns, and rural depopulation is complained of in peasant communities. The best land is already occupied, and the largest part of England consists of clays and chalks only suitable for extensive cultivation. The nation's strength comes from the plough, which small holders are least likely and least fitted to use, and from its stock farming and breeding, which requires large tracts of pasture land for grazing. The average small holder cannot hope to succeed as a dairy farmer.

(3) Large farms are capable of intensive cultivation and they enjoy the advantages of organisation, for small holdings are uneconomical in management labour, and buying and selling'

cultivation, since the small holder is not content with the small return per acre that satisfies the farmer. As a result, on the Continent and also in England, he has literally worked marvels. Market gardening is peculiarly suitable for him. Most English farms cannot, in any case, enjoy expert specialised management, as they are too small.

(4) Disadvantages can be largely removed by adopting co-operation, so that the whole area of a small-holding colony becomes a single economic unit. The advantages of wholesale management are thus combined with those of individualism. Small holders have shown great powers of co-operation, and the system has triumphed in Denmark, Holland, and Belgium. They have carried out extensive works, bought machinery, and organised sales.

(5) Small holdings are peculiarly suitable for farm colonies for the unemployed who wish to live on the land. Credit can be supplied by agricultural banks, and the settlers can co-operate.

(6) They are the only way of raising the standard of agricultural workers' lives, since standardised wages cannot be paid under the present system. They would offer an alternative to the agricultural labourer, and so raise wages under stress of competition.

They cannot produce corn or cattle, nor practise crop rotation, nor manure heavily, nor drain effectively. Market gardening is hazardous, as crops cannot be stored, nor is it capable of great expansion without lowering prices. The Continental peasant only survives on industrial crops like beet, colza, grapes, and tobacco, which cannot be raised here.

(4) The small holder is generally averse from co-operation, which in any event is not of much use for corn-growing and cattle-raising. Machinery which is wanted in several places at the same time is thus not available. Co-operation is most suitable for buying and selling, without which small holders fall into the hands of moneylenders and middle men.

(5) They would have to take the worst land. State farms on the corporate system would be much more likely to succeed than an individual system that would crush out the weaker. The State's efforts to promote small holdings after the First World War were dismal failures.

(6) Profit-sharing, State-managed agriculture, or industrialised farms, will do more to raise standards. Minimum wages already exist. Small holders are too much at the mercy of the local dealers and conditions to reach a uniform respectable standard.

PREMATURE BURIAL : Are Preventive Tests Necessary ?

Pro : (1) Owing to the absence in most countries of satisfactory laws relative to the disposal of the dead, to hastiness in burying victims of epidemics, to the uncertainty of the signs of death, apart from actual decay, as well as certain cataleptic and other morbid states which counterfeit the appearances of death, the danger of living burial is a very real one.

(2) Hundreds of cases of premature burial are on record, while,

Con : (1) The present laws and regulations are sufficient. Premature burial may occur, but it must be exceedingly rare in Europe. The commonly accepted signs of death are admitted by all the best scientific men to be valid.

(2) The "cases" are almost always unreliable and on investigation are proved to be worthless. Premature burial is a very good subject for newspaper scares, but that does not prove its seriousness.

if we are to believe the reality of the alleged "spirit messages" from the other world, the proportion of people prematurely interred is surprisingly high.

(3) Embalming, autopsy, burial, and cremation should be discouraged until all possible doubt is removed. Sudden death without extensive injury is most uncommon. Decomposition is the only trustworthy evidence.

(4) Mortuaries should be erected where bodies not showing signs of decomposition should be kept, and experts should examine the bodies the day before the funeral. Failing this, the least that can be done is to insert a bottle of chloroform with a leaky stopper in the coffin.

"Spirit messages" are no evidence, as there is no proof they ever emanate from the dead (*see* SPIRITUALISM).

(3) Cremation is to be encouraged, for it would prevent resuscitation after burial. In any case the system of certification for cremation, by which two qualified doctors must view the body and certify the cause of death, is a safeguard—not only against premature burial, but also against crime.

(4) The erection of mortuaries would be an unnecessary expense, since the whole scare about premature burial is nothing but a neurotic fad. Presumably, if a living but apparently dead body were put into the coffin, the shutting of the coffin would ensure speedy and painless death by suffocation.

PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM

The Premium Bonus is one variety of bonus systems. These are numerous and complicated, but depend mainly on rewarding workers on the basis of increased output. The general principle of the Premium Bonus is that instead of fixing a piece-work price for the job, the employer fixes a "basis time," in which the job ought to be accomplished. If it is done in less time, the workman is paid, over and above the standard time-work rate, a bonus proportionate in some way to the time saved. There are many systems, e.g., Halsey (the simplest), Rowan, Bedaux.

Pro : (1) The Premium Bonus gives an incentive to the worker in the shape of increased wages for increased work. The employer does not pay for all the time saved on each job, but only for a part of it. His overhead charges are reduced by the full employment of his machines, and he is thus put in the way of meeting competition. Whereas under a plain piece-work system an employer's costs may not decrease very much per unit of output, under this system great economies are effected.

(2) The injustice and dishonesty charged by some workers against the system is met by a fair and liberal estimate of the "basis times." It is much better for the workers than the piece-rate system

Con : (1) The Premium Bonus has all the disadvantages of "payment by results" on the worker and on the goods made. In addition, it tries to get more from the worker and at the same time pay him less. Its evil nature is shown by the fact that often employers have introduced it first almost casually by offering workmen extra money on pay day, and letting them work the system or not as they pleased.

(2) The dishonesty of the system is not rectified by setting up a false standard as a "basis." Fundamentally it is an attempt to get a lot by giving a little. In the hands of self-seeking employers, it would bear very harshly upon the workers.

(3) The figures quoted show

under which they are charged with losses such as waste of time in delivering materials, or waste of time due to lack of co-ordination between different departments.

(3) Bedaux Limited, the business concern responsible for the the latest of these devices, claimed in 1933 that the results of their system "in over 200 plants in different industries during the past eleven years have been an increase of production of 44 per cent, accompanied by an average reduction of labour costs of 20 per cent, and an increase of labour earnings of 15 per cent."

that the workers receive only a small share of the advantages (for which, however, they have to work much harder). It is practically impossible for the average worker to check the bonus due, and the utmost secrecy surrounds the methods used in working out rest allowances. The introduction of the Bedaux system has caused many strikes in Britain and elsewhere.

See also INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY, APPLIED ; PAYMENT BY RESULTS ; SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

PRISON REFORM

Pro : (1) The objects of imprisonment are the protection of society and the reclamation of the criminal. The prison can be made one of the chief agencies for the latter. Our present prison system still does too little to reform the criminal, hence the number of recidivists. Even the Borstal system, though an advance on previous methods, is not beyond criticism. It follows too closely the ideas of the English Public School, with its emphasis on loyalty, patriotism, and *esprit de corps*—ideals so remote from the previous experiences of these boys that they tend to breed hypocrisy rather than honesty and independence.

(2) Every prisoner should be considered mentally sick and given the special psychological treatment adapted to his case.

(3) The present system has several serious defects. The slavish discipline enforced destroys all independence in the prisoners. Some of the work exacted is futile, and the machinery used out of date. Creative activity, even for the better-class prisoners, is rarely allowed, though on the Continent

Con : (1) The duty of the State is to the public as well as to the individual. Advocates of "pleasanter prisons" are apt to forget that a term of imprisonment *must* do more than merely reform the criminal. It is of the first importance that it should act as a deterrent, not only upon the criminal himself, but upon others who might be tempted to follow his example.

(Some) The prison system has, in fact, gradually been humanised and transformed by administrative measures, so that the old strictures no longer apply. The Borstal and probation systems prevent most of those whose characters are capable of reform from entering prison till they have had an excellent chance of making good, so that prisons now have only to deal with a residue.

(2) The whole reformatory system is a fad. It leads to gross hypocrisy on the part of the prisoners, whose sole idea is to escape proper punishment and obtain release, often enough in order to commit another crime.

(3) Such conclusions are drawn from observations made by crimin-

literary composition is freely permitted. The net result is that the prisoners are not fitted to find work or resume a normal life in society; instead they often develop various kinds of mental disorders which render them a misery to themselves and a menace to others.

(4) Educational work in prisons, voluntary or otherwise, needs extension and development. Those institutions which are too remote to permit of this should be done away with.

(Some) Criminals may be divided into three classes: political, passional, and habitual. The last are the most numerous and will be found to exhibit certain abnormal characteristics, e.g., heads of an unusual shape, liability to epilepsy, scrofula, sullenness. These facts point to the conclusion that crime ought to be regarded as a disease, and treated medically rather than punitively.

(5) Most law-breakers offend through economic pressure. Others are physically degenerate and therefore fitted for asylums or education centres, or else suffer from obsessions and mental weaknesses which it is the proper function of the psychopathologist to treat. Recent advances, notably in connection with Freud's psychoanalysis, now make such treatment very hopeful. A few real moral degenerates who are past hope should be kept under asylum conditions. The handful who are deliberately, and so to speak inexcusably, habitual criminals, ought to be sent to a penal colony. The present system deals adequately with none of these several classes. If each prisoner were given on release a fully stamped insurance card, enabling him to draw unemployment insurance until he found a job, all those unfortunates who are now driven by poverty to crime would be given a decent chance. The cost would

ologists on nervous subjects. When prisoners were allowed more freedom, they corrupted one another to an incredible extent.

(4) Incorrigible offenders should be shut up for life, as dangerous to society. Other offenders should be treated with the utmost severity, to prevent repetitions of the offences and as warnings to others.

(Some) The " science " of criminology, especially Lombroso's version, which no one can defend, is largely made up of theories and distorted facts. Many of the traits so loudly announced as criminal have no necessary connection with crime, and are constantly found in people who have shown no criminal tendencies at all. But if true, it does not seem worth while to burden ourselves for the sake of a doubtful cure, when the only logical remedy for the criminal class would be extermination. In any case, the theory is dangerous; it puts people into the none too reliable hands of experts, and relaxes the idea of responsibility.

(5) Most of the psychological theories of crime rest on shaky foundations, and have yet to be demonstrated. The treatment suggested tends to be objectionable in itself, and would be very difficult, tedious, and expensive. The criminal code is concerned not with antecedents, causes, and expectations, but only with the facts of crime. To allow a discharged prisoner to draw unemployment benefit is equivalent to paying a man to keep out of prison. It would be an unwarrantable charge on the public finances.

(6) Elmira was long a by-word for the prisoners had a much better time inside than outside its walls New York State declined to support it. Sing Sing also has been reorganised on the old lines.

(7) Punishment must be to some extent retributive, to satisfy

be less than that of maintaining a man in prison.

(6) The Elmira State Reformatory in New York, Sing Sing Prison under Osborne, the Neudorf Convent Prison near Vienna, and other such places, have been successful in their humane methods of dealing with their inmates. Especially has the encouragement of self-reliance and ordered social life been followed by marked improvement. Similar experiments here are on too small a scale.

(7) The diet is badly balanced and inadequate for health. The status of "hard labour," which involves a reduction of the already wretched diet and temporary deprivation of bedding and reading facilities, should be abolished. Above all, flogging should be completely done away with for it has been proved by statistics to have no deterrent effect whatever.

(8) The hardened criminal has no fear of our prisons. In the times when punishment was savage, crime was more rampant than it is today. This is another example of the ineffectiveness of drastic methods.

(9) The system of imprisonment for debt needs drastic reform. Thousands of people have been sent to prison for non-payment of fines, or of maintenance or bastardy orders. That the number of such committals varies with the rate of unemployment suggests that in many cases payment was impossible. In some instances a certain amount of compulsion is necessary, but this can be met by the establishment of special types of workhouse, where the prisoners can wipe off their debts by their own earnings. At present the liability for debt is often cancelled by imprisonment, although the debt has *not been paid*. In cases of offences against property, restitution should be enforced by law. At present there is little or no the outraged sentiments of the community and of the criminal's victims. Much of the concern for the criminal is due to a perverted sympathy which forgets the suffering of those whom he has wronged.

(8) If prison is to be reformed, let it be made more unpleasant. For several classes of offender, against both person and property, it is at present quite inadequate as a deterrent, and bears no relation to the damage he has inflicted. Many of our honest slum-dwellers have to endure harder conditions than our old "lags."

(9) The Money Payments Act of 1935 has already improved matters in this respect by making necessary a second appearance of defaulters in court before committal. There might be trouble with the trade unions about competition with prison-labour if prisoners were paid enough to make such a scheme feasible. Restitution for damage to property would be practicable only where the crime was exclusively against property. Legal complications would be endless.

attempt to compensate the person wronged, and young people on probation have been known to be still spending the proceeds of their wrong-doing!

See also INDETERMINATE SENTENCES AND CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

PROFESSIONALISM IN FOOTBALL AND CRICKET

Pro : (1) Professional sportsmen today are paid openly, whereas formerly players were paid by the clubs secretly out of gate receipts. If professionals were abolished, secret payments would be revived. The modern professional is a true sportsman who is paid for his skill as good musicians are paid for theirs.

(2) The professionals set a standard for amateurs. It is under their guidance that games develop.

(3) Games are ennobling and affect the characters of the professionals just as much as those of amateurs. Professionals at sport are no more exposed to demoralisation than professional actors or professional musicians.

(4) In cricket it is admitted that professionalism is necessary and an unmixed benefit. Amateurs can rarely spend the time required in first-class matches, and there is real need for professional coaches.

(5) Football provides thousands with a healthy occupation for Saturday afternoons. They could not play themselves, because there is no room. In proportion, the number of amateur players has increased with the growth of professionalism.

(6) Football clubs are only commercial by accident. Transfer fees prevent the too frequent migration of players. Control by the Football Association prevents serious abuses, and the Players' Union exists to secure for its members the same rights as other workers. In practice all but the very rich amateur sportsmen are forced to recoup their expenses by

Con : (1) Professionalism in all games, but especially in football, tends to lower the tone by introducing a commercial element. Association football has become a business, though Rugby, where the amateur is supreme, is just as good a game. In first-class Association matches amateurs are practically crowded out.

(2) Games, e.g., lawn tennis, develop quite satisfactorily under amateurs. If they did not, it ought to be recognised that their object is sport, not development.

(3) Professionalism is degrading to the character. The game is turned into a competition in which players try to win for the benefit of the firm that hires them and its popularity with the spectators who pay the gate money.

(4) Professionalism is much less harmful in cricket. Nevertheless, championship games are ruined by being turned into duels between the opposing professionals. Cricket is also almost free of the transfer system, and is less susceptible of dishonesty in the playing.

(5) People should play, not look on. The ordinary football crowd contains a percentage of the worst type of town dwellers. Gambling, competitions, and other evils are the concomitants of the professional game.

(6) Transfer fees are hopelessly immoral. Football clubs have ceased to be social bodies and have become companies whose first regard is money-making. The debasing of amateur status by

seeking the patronage of commercial interests, and it has been proposed to compensate amateurs in international matches for lost working time, since only in this way can Britain hold her own against the competition of other countries where international sportsmen are sponsored by the State.

other countries is no excuse for imitation by our own.

PROFIT-SHARING

Pro : (1) As the worker creates to a large degree the profits pocketed by the capitalist, it is only right that he should be allowed a share in them. Though he cannot directly contribute to losses in bad years, he may do so indirectly by the establishing of a reserve fund and by foregoing bonuses in good years.

(2) Under the present system an employee has no interest in the success of a business or in the prevention of waste or of damage to machinery. Profit-sharing improves the quality and leads to an increase in the quantity of the output.

(3) It has generally succeeded very well where it has been tried, especially where there is some provision for the workers to take up shares in the company; sometimes they may have a seat on the directorate. Failures have been due to employers' attempts to use the system as a weapon against trade unionism.

(4) Profit-sharing brings worker and capitalist together. Strikes are prevented, industrial unrest avoided, and all sides benefit. The South Metropolitan Gas Company had a quarter of a century and more of harmony, and in 1936, Lord Nuffield set up a fund of over £2,000,000 by which his workpeople not only could become shareholders but also could themselves share in the administration of the fund.

Con : (1) As long as workers have no share in losses as well as in profits, any scheme for profit-sharing amounts to charity on the part of the employer. The employee has no claim beyond the competitive value of his labour; profits depend on the wisdom and skill of the employer in using his capital.

(Some) Profit-sharing is a concealed form of paying wages, and peculiarly unjust because it is not reasonable to invite men to receive more or less remuneration for their services in consequence of causes entirely beyond their control. The details and rates are generally at the mercy of the employer, and are used to depress standard wages. Trade unions, knowing that their activities bring better results, frown on profit-sharing.

(2) It is only occasionally that workers get a sufficient share to interest them. In the whole of the schemes operating in Britain the number of non-sharers is as great as the number of sharers. Payment by results is a much more efficient method of encouraging increased production.

(3) Its success is greatest where labour forms but a comparatively small part of the costs of production, e.g., with gas. At least half the schemes initiated have failed, and most of them are intended to isolate the workers from the trade union influences.

(5) Profit-sharing is especially suitable for agriculture, where regulation by trade union methods is difficult owing to the variation between local conditions. It would be advantageous for farm colonies since it is capable of immediate operation without involving any new departures in management or changes in habit.

(6) Profit-sharing could be organised nationally, with a Ministry of Profits to pool and distribute them. The form of the Coal Mines Agreement operating up to 1926 shows a precedent for this. It would be a suitable arrangement for industries where nationalisation was not feasible, and is in general far more desirable.

(4) Profit-sharing is no cure for our evil industrial system. It merely leagues a section of capitalists and workers together to exploit the consumers. It is often made an excuse for getting a contract of service which turns the worker into a temporary serf.

(5) Agriculture has proved in the event as susceptible of trade union organisation as other industries. Agricultural conditions can also be improved by industrialising farms. Profit-sharing is least applicable, because labour is such a large item in the cost of production. Farm colonies are no different from other co-operative enterprises and are therefore outside the argument.

(6) No national scheme could be worked owing to the complex difficulties that would face it. Profits are best shared on a national scale by a special tax on them, the revenue from it to be returned to the country as a whole.

PROHIBITION

Pro : (1) Where liberty in the consumption of drinks containing alcohol leads to licence, and licence to such evils as are apparent, the State should interfere to prohibit their use.

(2) It is erroneous to suppose that the suppression of one evil leads to the creation of others to replace it. That has not been the case in history where great social advances have taken place.

(3) Prohibition has been a success time and again. It increases a country's industrial efficiency and the prosperity of the working classes. Many leaders of industry and of religion support it. In a country like Britain, with an efficient police force and a traditional respect for the law, evasion would be negligible.

(4) To impose the will of a minority on the majority of a democratic community is no uncommon

Con : (1) Prohibition is a gross attack on the liberty of the individual. The existence of a small proportion of admittedly evil results is no excuse for victimising the bulk of the population any more than cases of gluttony or unsound habits of diet justify the State in saying what people shall and shall not eat.

(2) The imposition of total abstinence or something like it by force would suppress much good with the evil, and replace one evil by others which might be worse. Prohibition is a symptom of an unsound view of sociological problems : drunkenness is less a cause than an effect of bad social conditions.

(3) Prohibition in America has been tried and abandoned. It was the product of a neurotic Puritanism, which attained its ends by corruption and log-rolling. It in-

thing in this or other countries, and the results are rarely serious under modern conditions. The imposition of the will of the majority on the minority is the established rule in most States today, where serious issues are at stake. Prohibition is advocated openly in Britain, as it was in America, and, however desirable, will come only with the general consent of the electorate.

(5) Palliative measures, which have now been adopted by anti-prohibitionists only because they fear defeat, are not adequate to deal with the colossal waste and suffering due to alcoholic indulgence.

creased the use of other drugs, encouraged defiance and mockery of the law, developed widespread corruption in the ranks of public officials, and weakened the sentiment and practice of friendship. It removed or distorted a whole group of social habits without putting anything in their place, while its effects on the generation growing up were thoroughly bad, for they were surrounded by an atmosphere of contempt towards public authority.

(4) Elsewhere Prohibition, essentially an attack on liberty, has only been put in practice by underhand methods, which have enabled a minority to decide the fate of the majority.

(5) All the evils which constitute the alleged justification of this policy can be removed, and in fact are being removed, by education, by improvements in social conditions, and by the efforts of the manufacturers of alcoholic liquors, who are no more enamoured of excess than their opponents. Often their proposals are thwarted by the fanaticism of these opponents.

See also ABSTINENCE, TOTAL; LOCAL OPTION; STATE PURCHASE OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Pro: (1) The present system of election produces unrepresentative Parliaments. It may reverse a national verdict. In 1929, for example, the Labour Party polled fewer votes than the Conservatives but obtained 32 more seats in the House of Commons. On the other hand, a majority may obtain much more than its fair share of seats, i.e., of power, so that representation in the House of Commons is dangerously one-sided. In 1945, the Labour Party polled 12,000,000 votes to the Conservatives' 9,000,000 and obtained 195 more seats, while the Liberals with 2,250,000 votes gained only 12.

Con: (1) On the whole, the present system is fair, and its shortcomings affect all parties about equally. The weight of public opinion is reasonably reflected in the Parliaments elected, and any undue predominance which the present system appears to give to one-party government is offset by the influence of other manifestations of public opinion.

(2) Under proportional representation minorities would still be unrepresented at by-elections, which often have an influence on policy much greater than their immediate bearing on the state of the parties in the Commons. The

Our present system is indeed a gamble and it frequently works in a way contrary to the intention and spirit of self-government. Further, it unnecessarily weakens the personnel of Parliament. The swing of the pendulum acts without discrimination ; it summarily dismisses from Parliament many of those most competent to serve the nation.

(2) Under proportional representation the House of Commons would represent the nation fairly. The majority would have a majority of seats, and substantial minorities would be represented in accordance with their strength. It is implicit in the right to vote that the voter should have his vote represented in Parliament. When there are three parties, the anomalies of our present system are increased, but the need for reform was apparent and reform was demanded when there were only two substantial parties.

(3) Today, if the House of Commons is not representative, if it is weak in personnel, it loses respect. The House of Commons will retain its great authority only if it is in reality representative of the nation. The excessive powers exercised by the party machine tend to diminish the prestige of Parliament. With proportional representation Members of Parliament would have greater freedom from caucus control ; they could, without giving up their main principles, take independent action where they deemed it in the national interest to do so, and yet secure re-election.

(4) One scheme submitted to Parliament provided for constituencies returning some five members each. Such constituencies provide no room for the one-ideaed candidate. Those returned would be the ablest of the party politicians and in addition some others known and approved by virtue of their personal difficulties of the present system might be met by the less fundamental method of the second ballot (q.v.).

(Some) Present tendencies indicate that we shall eventually return to the fundamental characteristic of British opinion of being roughly divided into two parts, represented presumably by Conservative and Labour Parties.

(3) The House of Commons has lost prestige in recent years for quite different reasons—the increasing complexity of public affairs is one of the chief. Its position is not to be restored by any mechanical devices such as proportional representation. It is significant that in the debate on the Representation of the People Bill in 1948, the Conservative opposition did not speak in favour of proportional representation, although the operation of the present system lost them many seats in 1945.

(4) Proportional representation would cause a great increase in the number of candidates and members whose programmes were limited to special fads and crotchets. This would make the House farcical, stultify politics, and be unrepresentative, for the more successful it was, the more certainly it would turn representatives into delegates isolated and futile.

(5) The independent men would in practice represent local interests. Everyone with good qualifications for political life can enter it through one great party or another, for their bases are broad. If proportional representation were to suceed, the House of Commons would come to resemble the pre-war French Chamber of Deputies, where a stable government with a settled policy was almost unknown, because there were so many groups and subgroups which could only be got to work together after much log-

ality or previous public service.

(5) Under proportional representation Members of Parliament would to a great extent continue to be associated with parties, and parties would in general form the basis of government. Governments would, where necessary, be formed by a frank co-operation of parties in respect of policies held in common. That is, they would be less partisan and more national in character. The Scandinavian countries use proportional representation in all their elections, with the result that their governments are both stable and democratic. In France, where the second ballot and not proportional representation is used, the French deputy up to 1940 was in bondage to the multiplicity of minority parties on whose support he had to depend for election at the second ballot, and he was forced to compromise on many issues in order to keep that support.

(6) The single transferable vote form of proportional representation has been embodied in many Acts of the British Parliament. In Eire there have been several elections under this system. The political campaigns there are nation-wide; there are no uncontested seats, and the polling is high (82 per cent in 1948). A party which fails to obtain a clear majority over the other parties cannot govern alone, and such a situation as that of the 1929 Labour Government in Britain is impossible.

(7) The greatest corruption occurs in small single-member constituencies in which the result can be turned by those electors who, seeking their own sectional interests, are influenced by demagogic promises. The adoption of proportional election by New York City is considered to have diminished the corruption which formerly reigned there to a startling degree.

rolling and intrigue. The state of affairs was undoubtedly responsible in large measure for the disillusionment of the average French voter in 1939.

(6) There are so many varieties of the system that deductions cannot be made from successes reported from abroad, where conditions are very different from those in this country. The complexities of voting and counting confuse the voter, and are sometimes unfair to candidates. Second ballots would remove the only real cause of complaint and are much simpler.

(7) While petty bribery might vanish, the subtler forms of currying the favour of constituencies would be developed. There would be a general campaign to obtain the votes of small sections which ran no candidates. The wealthy or astute man would be at a greater advantage than before in being able to canvass a huge area. Expenses, already prohibitive for all but the chief parties, would increase. Not mechanical devices, but education and a better spirit, are the cure for political evils.

PROTECTION (TARIFFS, QUOTAS, SUBSIDIES, ETC.)

Pro : (1) In the last century, when Britain was for a long time the only industrialised country and her exports found a ready market throughout the world, free trade was an appropriate system and of benefit both to Britain and to the agricultural countries with which she traded. Since those days other countries have become industrialised, and some have even outstripped Britain in the degree of their industrialisation. Protection is necessary now in order to protect Britain's industry, especially new industries, from foreign competition. Since the war of 1939 upset the delicate balance of British trade, it has become even more necessary in order to prevent unrestricted imports from increasing the national deficit. The removal of controls would simply lead to chaos and national ruin.

(2) World-wide Free Trade would leave the poorer countries at the mercy of the most wealthy. The general trend now is towards a system of bilateral agreements and preferences. The agreement to whittle away Imperial Preferences was a disaster, since it exposes our only protected markets to the pressure of foreign competition.

(3) Protection of our agriculture is particularly necessary if Britain's productivity is to be raised. Free trade in the last century was responsible in the last analysis for the decay of farming in Britain, when our predominance in industry tempted so many workers away from the land. The perils of such a policy were exposed in two wars, in the first of which we came near to starvation through neglect of our agriculture and dependence on imports. Without a guaranteed market and adequate prices farmers will not take the risks involved in increasing pro-

Con : (1) Now that Britain is forced to accept imports in order to secure markets the effect of a high tariff policy can only be disastrous. Imposition of a tariff is invariably followed by retaliation from purchasing countries. The general effect is thus to reduce the yield from exports and increase the price of imports. This can only lead to a progressive paralysis of world trade, and is particularly disastrous in these days when financial relations between countries play such an important part.

(2) On the contrary, high tariff walls diminish trade between the poorer countries and weaken them in relation to the wealthy. The wealthy countries are those which are self-sufficient and can manage without imports, and are thus comparatively unaffected by the imposition of tariffs. This fact was recognised by the European nations which—including Britain —have agreed to the principle of general lowering of tariff walls and bilateral preferences. Imperial Preferences have become out-of-date since the processes of war have changed the relations, both industrial and financial, between Britain and the Dominions.

(3) The decay of British farming up to 1939 was due less to the pressure of foreign competition than to the conservatism of farmers and their resistance to new methods and technical improvements. A system of subsidies means in practice encouragement of inefficiency, and does not benefit the country since the most profitable subsidised crops are not necessarily the most suitable. Some crops such as wheat cannot be grown in sufficient quantity in Britain, and are the subject of competition to buy throughout the world rather than restriction of import. Protection of British

duction, especially now that our trade agreements generally involve the import of food. Already the phenomenal progress of British farming since 1939 has been slowed down by the partial withdrawal of incentives.

(4) Relaxation of import restrictions would in the end undoubtedly mean a falling off in employment which would not be compensated for by any increase in export trade. The country with the highest tariff scale at present—the United States of America—is also the most prosperous, and its world predominance in the economic sphere is daily increasing.

agriculture amounts in practice to the destruction of the natural balance of British agriculture in the pursuit of a self-sufficiency which is in actual fact unobtainable.

(4) The subsidising of exports at the expense of the home consumer, together with the restriction of "inessential" imports, produces in the long run a situation where the incentive to produce is destroyed. It leads to a shortage of consumer goods and a consequent rise in prices and finally ends in outright inflation. Free trade keeps prices low and the country's economy stable.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

The three main schools of Psycho-analysis are the followers of Freud, of Jung, and of Adler. Other people have proposed a combination of the teachings of these three. The common doctrine of them all is that many of our states of mind and many of our actions, if not most, are largely determined by "unconscious" wishes and memories. The Freudians have stressed the importance of our love and sex relationships, Jung and his followers the general idea of the "libido" or life-force, and Adler the instinct of self-preservation and self-expression, which, when thwarted, produces an "inferiority complex." Needless to say, the whole subject is difficult and technical, but there are several general arguments worth mentioning.

Pro : (1) Many of our actions and emotions cannot be accounted for by causes we can ourselves discover. They are clearly influenced by other things unknown to us consciously. Psycho-analytic technique shows that there is an active part of our mind of which we are not aware, and that this affects even those of our actions for which there appears to be adequate motive in our conscious life. This "unconscious" mental activity comes out in a confused form in our dreams, etc., and from these we can get back to it and learn *how* it acts.

(2) "Unconscious wishes" are potent causes of mental instability and even insanity. By applying psycho-analytic technique they can often be made "conscious" to the patient, so that he can face them squarely, and often be cured of his affliction. A large number

Con : (1) Though we may grant the importance of the "unconscious" activities of our minds, they are not to be regarded as determining our character and actions. Psycho-analysts are wont to find what they set out to find, especially in dream-interpretation. This is shown by the different interpretations different analysts put on the same dreams and the same symptoms.

(2) Psycho-analytic treatment has upset the mental balance of quite a number of people. The cures might have been obtained by other methods, especially by suggestion. In fact, though psycho-analysts claim not to use suggestion, the prolonged treatment the most eminent of them employ cannot but be suggestive. A great deal of ordinary medical treatment depends for its success on suggestion, a phenomenon

of cases have been successfully treated by this technique.

(3) The principle of determinism, i.e., that everything that is or happens is a result of a series of causes which can be discovered, at any rate in theory, is a successful hypothesis in physical science, of which it is, indeed, the foundation, and is also true of psychological occurrences and phenomena. If it is not true, then there cannot be any science of psychology at all, for we should be quite unable to say that one thing will always follow something else, other things remaining the same.

(4) The main theses of psycho-analysis are supported by a world-wide examination of the myths, customs, beliefs, and practices of primitive and other peoples. In these we see the same results of unconscious forces on a larger scale.

(5) The discrepancies between the psycho-analytic theories are partly due to the fact that it is a new science whose data are only being collected gradually, and partly because the theories are often incomplete and stress one side of the matter under discussion.

(6) Psycho-analysis aims at establishing man as more completely master of his own mind and character. This is a perfectly moral and wholly admirable purpose. Those who attack psycho-analysis are often people who have a vested interest in keeping man the slave of ignorance and prejudice. Every science and art has its rogues and charlatans, but is not to be condemned on that account.

Con : (1) It is a fallacy to suppose that public opinion on general matters can be ascertained in such a mechanical manner. The system is subject to considerable

which cannot be avoided, however much we desire it.

(3) There is reason to suppose that psycho-analysis is based on the unprovable assumption that mental phenomena occur in a deterministic fashion. It is not at all certain that they do.

(4) If we adopt the theory that the various cultures in the world grew up independently of one another, the argument from anthropology might hold. But there is a growing school of thinkers who argue that they are causally related one to another. If their arguments hold, the anthropology of Freud, Jung, and their followers becomes untenable, as the facts on which they rely will prove to have definite historical causes, and so cannot be the product of the " racial unconscious."

(5) Psycho-analysts do not agree among themselves over the most essential points of their theories. The majority concern themselves with the abnormal. Psychology as a science would make better progress if more effort were directed to the study of the normal and the perfecting of experimental technique for that purpose.

(6) By exalting the importance of the unconscious it aims a blow at the idealism of mankind, and tends to undermine morals by making it appear that men are automata. Many so-called analysts are charlatans.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Pro : (1) The public opinion poll or " straw vote," in which selected samples of the public are invited to give their opinion on questions of public policy and

interest, and the results are analysed statistically, is becoming an important feature of public life. Run on scientific lines, they are capable of yielding very accurate results, and some of the straw votes taken by public opinion organisations in the U.S.A. before elections have been shown by the event to be extremely accurate forecasts. It is reasonable to suppose that the results of polls on general questions are equally accurate.

(2) Inaccuracies are rare enough to be of little importance, and can in general be allowed for by statistical adjustments based on mathematical principles. It is possible to get a broad picture of the majority view of a subject and the modifications of the view according to age, sex, social standing, etc. The importance of a question and its vividness in the public mind can be judged from the number of undecided answers.

(3) Any change in opinion on any question can easily be checked by a further poll. The alternative, of not attempting to test public opinion at all, is more undesirable. At present the only opportunity the public has to express its views on many questions is at elections, that is, at intervals of five years or more. The questions then presented for its consideration are even more crude and susceptible of misunderstanding and inaccuracy than those in a poll. Since referenda and the initiative (*qq. v.*) are not used in this country, there is no other way for the public to express its views except by political meetings, political strikes, or even, if no safety-valve is provided, by riots.

Con : (1) The inaccuracies, resulting either from the inadequacy of questioners, purely accidental factors or the nature of the questions asked. The only answers possible are generally "Yes" or "No." Qualifications and reservations have to be ignored, and the answers elicited depend on the form in which the question is put. They will tend to conform to the conscious or unconscious prejudices of those who formulate the questions. In some cases further questions have revealed that the question has been entirely misunderstood.

(2) A vague or undecided answer might well indicate that the person questioned has not had time to make up his mind. It is not possible for most people to give snap judgments on every possible question, and the habit of doing so is dangerous and should not be encouraged. Considered opinions are based on a variety of causes, not all of them purely intellectual; an opinion may be changed overnight by some dramatic event, and the record will become completely inaccurate.

(3) Owing to the method of sampling on which public opinion polls are based very few members of the public have an opportunity of expressing themselves in person. The value of such polls as a safety valve is therefore negligible. The use of such polls by aggressive or unscrupulous bodies might lead to the lobbying of legislators which is one of the curses of American political life. Most questions of national importance can be settled at elections. Other lesser problems can be left for time to settle.

PUBLICITY OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS, CONTROL OF

Pro : (1) The publication in the Press of disgusting details in judicial proceedings is against public policy. It tends to deprave the

Con : (1) Press notices are usually very judicious, and publicity acts as a warning. Lack of it, as in incest cases, has been

young and innocent, and lowers the standard of public taste. Vice and crime always find imitators, and murders have been committed as a direct result of court publicity.

(2) In certain kinds of cases the judge or magistrate should be empowered to close the courts to the public. The interests of justice are sufficiently secured by the presence of counsel for both sides and of the officers of the law. The majesty of the law is too often perverted into a free entertainment for vulgar people.

(3) The detection of crime would be assisted if the law were to compel certain specified investigations to be held in camera, as witnesses would then come forward who are now deterred by fear of publicity.

(4) Owing to the restrictions of space, newspapers rarely report trials fully enough to bring out the points which are vital if a true judgment is to be made.

(5) In cases like divorce, which should be the concern only of the parties to it, reporting should not be permitted at all. The French attitude is much better. It is scandalous that sensitive people who are seeking the aid of the law should be forced to endure an ordeal of publicity for the pleasure of those who have nothing to do with the case.

disastrous. Secrecy is apt to give a feeling of injustice. If the limits of decency are over-stepped, the law already provides adequate remedies.

(2) Trial in camera is alien from the whole tradition of English law, but is a feature of those foreign systems which we have always most strongly condemned. Counsel are necessarily interested from a professional point of view, which is frequently less concerned with securing justice than with gaining the verdict. Courts of law have already sufficient discretion in ordering the court to be cleared.

(3) Trials in camera would be an incentive to blackmail, and any extension of the practice would tend to increase the prerogatives of the legal profession.

(4) All cases of sufficient importance are reported in the national newspapers, and are followed by sufficient people to ensure that abuses do not creep in.

(5) Since the reform of the divorce law reporting of cases is minimal, and is usually confined to a bare record of the decision. Some publicity is necessary in all marriage questions to prevent abuse, particularly in bigamy cases.

RATING OF EMPTY PROPERTIES

Pro : (1) Our present rating system is based on the Poor Law Act of 1601. It is both antiquated and unfair, and needs fundamental reform, particularly, with regard to empty properties. The loss of rates in 1934 on vacant properties in the County of London was estimated at £1,479,968 or 4.9 per cent of the total rates chargeable. Empty properties share in many of the services provided by the local authorities, e.g., police, fire brigades, roads, lighting, and

Con : (1) Superficially, it may appear just to levy a rate on empty properties, but the objections are many and serious. There is actually no loss of revenue to the rating authorities. A slightly higher rate is levied so as to bring in the amount required, and the charge is borne by the community. Such services as police and fire protection are only of potential use. The benefit to the owner is deferred until the property is tenanted :

drainage. It is equitable that the owners should pay some portion of the general rate as a contribution to these services.

(2) At present, many landlords hold their properties off the market in the hope of obtaining rents above the ordinary level. If they were compelled to reduce rents in order to secure tenants, that would be to the general advantage, for rents are too high (especially in London) and empty buildings are an administrative and social nuisance: the fewer there are of them the better.

(3) Scotland already levies rates on vacant properties and the system works well enough. The City of London has also had powers since 1839 to rate unoccupied premises up to fifty per cent of the ratable value. The risk to speculative builders can be minimised by allowing a period of six months after completion before buildings become liable for taxation.

(4) Rates might be transferred wholly, or in part, to site values—the most equitable form of taxation that can be devised. The taxation of buildings and improvements has the disadvantage that it handicaps trade, and penalises initiative and industry. The exemption from taxation of vacant land encourages the witholding of land for development until a high price can be obtained. The increase in the value of a site is a measure of the industrial and social advantages arising from community services provided out of the public purse. Site value is therefore eminently suitable for local taxation.

payment should therefore also be deferred.

(2) It is doubtful whether the rating authorities would derive any real benefit from such a measure, for owners of vacant houses or offices would be compelled to let them at lower rents, and the rateable value would therefore fall. Comparable property would also tend to fall in value, with the final result that a higher rate would have to be levied all round.

(3) Employment in the building trade would suffer, because speculative building would be badly affected. In Scotland, where the rates are at present about equally divided between owner and occupier, hardly anybody builds houses for letting, as such an investment carries a serious liability from which other investments are free. Many buildings, such as manor houses and factories, have actually been demolished which, under a better system, might have survived to more prosperous times. There is a considerable agitation in Scotland in favour of a change-over to the English system of rating. As for the City of London, the general rate there covers only a few services and is a very small proportion of the total rates. Elsewhere the general rate covers nearly all services, including the very expensive one of education.

(4) The liability for rates and taxes under English law is upon the individual, not upon the land. In the case of buildings, it is upon the occupier, not upon the premises he occupies. If there is no occupier, there is no one to tax. The proposal to tax an owner for property from which he is receiving no income is introducing an entirely new basis of taxation. It is grossly unjust that the man who has provided the capital, and who is getting no interest, should be further mulcted in respect of rates. The proposal is in the nature of a

capital levy and is mainly a Socialist attack on the property-owning class. Unfortunate owners would be penalised by a slump in trade, the change in character of a neighbourhood, or possibly the excess of accommodation over demand—all circumstances over which they have no control.

RECALL OF REPRESENTATIVES

Pro : (1) The Recall of Members of Parliament is a necessary complement to the theory that Parliament should be subject to the will of the people. If it were possible for re-election to be forced on Members at the petition of a certain number of the electors, politicians would become more responsible and more serious. Elections would be conducted in a better spirit, and a distinct check would be given to the operations of Party machines and unscrupulous election propaganda

(2) The Recall would give opportunities for showing the feelings of the country towards Government policy. At present this depends solely on the fortuitous occurrence of by-elections. It would also enable voters to deal with Members who, once elected, repudiate the view of their voters or of the party on whose programme they were elected, and thus disfranchise their electors.

(3) The Recall is very popular in America and the U.S.S.R., where it is held to be a necessary item in the machinery that expresses the sovereignty of the people.

(4) (Some) The principle should be applied more widely. Not only elected representatives, but semi-elected persons, officials, judges, and important functionaries, should be liable to it. Only thus can satisfactory service be assured and the likelihood of corruption be

Con : (1) The doctrine of the Recall is theoretically bad. It applies properly to delegation, whereas representation is superior. Unless representatives are given a measure of responsibility, only inferior candidates will come forward ; these will indulge in the wildest demagogy, and no coherent public policy will be ad-advanced. The Recall would be exercised on trivial grounds, and lead to incessant elections.

(2) The Recall would not be an occasion for manifestations of popular feeling on general policy. There are always enough by-elections during the life of a government to show the trend of public opinion, and a hundred other ways of expressing it.

(3) The Recall was instituted in the United States because the people have, with reason, little faith in their political leaders. But it does not secure its ends : for example, in Oregon it has been made a weapon by which corrupt interests get rid of their opponents on public bodies. In the U.S.S.R. no party candidates are allowed, and people are elected as individuals. It resembles more closely, therefore, the dismissal of an official for inefficiency than the expression of disapproval of a political policy. Neither the United States nor the U.S.S.R. practise political democracy as understood in Britain.

(4) The Recall is a desperate

eliminated. It should apply to both State and municipal affairs.

measure. It is not promising for the development of a responsible trustworthy public service. Judges would lose their independence. Corruption would still prevail, and more cautious and foresighted officials would be subject to all the perils of inexpert and uninformed criticism at the hands of a crowd.

REFERENDUM, THE

Pro : (1) The Referendum would be a check upon hasty legislation ; it would ensure that vitally important measures could not be passed by a Government against the wishes of the majority of the electors ; it is the last step in the process of making the voice of the people effective.

(2) The compulsory Referendum, and possibly the Initiative, would be the greatest possible safeguard against sudden tampering with the constitution. It would be chiefly applied to questions of constitutional change and so would not involve serious changes in the routine of government. In America and elsewhere it has generally been used in this way.

(3) The representative system has completely broken down. British statesmen, though professing to serve their constituents and the will of the people, are becoming more and more independent and out of touch with them, except at elections. They can hardly object to becoming more subject to popular control. Under the Referendum it is not necessary for a Ministry to resign when one of its schemes is rejected. It thus permits able men to remain in office even if one of their proposals is rejected.

(4) The heart of a whole policy is often contained in some single resolution or law, and if the doctrine of the mandate has any place in democratic theory, it is

Con : (1) Checks on hasty legislation are abundant. In general, legislation is years behind the times, and the Referendum, which is an appeal to conservative tendencies, puts off the day of reform. It is impossible to prevent the Government from deciding which questions are to be considered important and which not. The most important measures are not necessarily those most talked about.

(2) The British constitution has the advantage that it is largely unwritten, and can be changed by Parliament. The Referendum is workable only under a written constitution, and all written constitutions grow out of date and harmful long before anyone dreams of changing them.

(3) The central theory of the constitution is the responsibility of Ministers to the House of Commons. The Referendum would seriously affect that position. A true democracy is representative, and does not depend on the counting of heads.

(Some) The British constitution is too democratic already. Final decisions should not be placed in the hands of the populace, which is necessarily uninformed and swayed by passions.

(4) It treats policy in fragments. When a law is one part of a policy, to submit each part for separate acceptance or rejection is to present the issue artificially and out of perspective. The most intelli-

applicable on these pivotal occasions.

(5) The electors would have to vote for measures and principles, not men. This they are perfectly competent to do. At present they are asked to decide between two or three complicated policies, which touch every foreign and domestic interest of the State, without a chance of exercising a critical selection between the good points and the bad. They can surely decide on the advantages or disadvantages of a single legislative proposal. The merits of voting for "men, not measures" are disproved by the steady degeneration of the type of candidate elected. The reason why voting is so small in many referenda is that the considerations of party and personal passion and prejudice are absent. Those who do not vote are presumably indifferent to whatever happens, and so those who are concerned are rightly allowed to decide.

(6) It would be politically educational and would free people of the habit of thinking in parties. Measures would then be considered from the point of view of the community and not of the interests of parties, creeds, sects, and classes.

(7) The House of Commons would still deal with unimportant measures, and would have to draw up each measure to be referred, settle all the details connected with it, and finally present the best result it could reach.

(8) The adoption of the Referendum would lessen the evils of the party system, because the certainty that party support meant party victory would vanish.

(9) A partial or trial application of the Referendum might be made. There is no logical or necessary connection between the Referendum and the Initiative, which, of course, may be desirable for its own sake.

(10) It would put more vigour gent electors will not accept an inconvenient measure on the grounds that it is part of a larger policy of which they approve.

(5) The disadvantages of the Referendum are like those of voting for candidates. It is possible to accept or reject, but not to select or amend. The advantage lies with voting for a candidate, because other influences may afterwards be brought to bear on him, and it is easier to weigh up the merits and demerits of a number of items taken as a whole than of one item consisting of various closely related parts. The unsatisfactoriness of the Referendum is shown by the fact that in very many cases the total vote for and against a policy has been less than one-third of the total vote for and against the advocate of that policy.

(6) Political education must be gained less expensively and more thoroughly. The Referendum would not abolish the party or the section. Rather it would unite every discontented and dissatisfied party of every sort into an unnatural alliance *against* any measure. The Referendum is the great and fatal device for maintaining the *status quo*.

(7) The House of Commons would become even more an object of disrespect than it is now, as its debates and amendments would have an air of futility. It would labour in committee over every clause of the enormously complicated measures which are now the usual form of legislation, knowing quite well that the electorate would presently have to say Yes or No to the whole without proper consideration of the parts, because it is mechanically impossible for a Referendum to sift the good from the bad.

(8) The party system would remain; the mass of voters would follow one party or another, for one party would be identified with adoption and another with rejec-

into political life, and would give the electorate the sense that they really controlled their destinies.

(11) In some States of the United States of America and in Switzerland it has been tried with great success. So far from being an un-English institution, its origin was English (seventeenth century). Its position in New England and in America is that of a substitute for the *veto* which is a cardinal feature of English constitutional theory. The royal veto is now a mere survival, but the need for a sovereign veto still remains. No fewer than 1,600 instances at the least are known in America; if it had been a failure, it would have been dropped. It is a common enough feature in trade-union constitutions in Britain, and has worked well, e.g., strikes are nearly always subject to it, and those in which it is not used very often fail because of the discord which follows lack of agreement about the policy adopted.

(12) It keeps the legislature and individual members in touch with opinion in the country during the interval between one General Election and the next. This prevents a Government elected in one set of circumstances to carry through one policy from carrying out unchecked a different policy in different circumstances. It would also act as decisive when the two Houses disagreed over a measure.

(13) The expense need not be greater than the Government wished. It could be extravagant if the machinery were complicated, or very small if simple organisation were adopted.

(14) Laws thus sanctioned would receive greater respect than otherwise. They could not be said to be the result either of party or of class legislation.

tion of the measure. Each side would make the usual promises as the price of support, and voting would still be swayed by the popular idols of the day.

(9) A partial application would prove nothing as to its applicability in its complete form. If the Referendum is to be adopted, its complement, the Initiative, will have to be adopted, too.

(10) It would make political life more dependent on mechanical devices and lead to a further decay of popular interest in politics. Elaboration and complication in political institutions is a symptom and a cause of apathy.

(11) Neither Switzerland nor America is comparable in political life and problems with this country. In Switzerland the results have been ambiguous, while in America the Referendum has been confined to simple State issues. Trade-union experience has not proved its great superiority to other methods, but rather suggests that it gives freer play to the transient whims of the moment. A strike is a simpler affair to decide on than an Act of Parliament.

(12) By-elections are sufficient to keep the House alive to popular opinion. Shorter Parliaments would be preferable to this device. The Referendum would give the House of Lords an excellent excuse to block every measure it disliked and, for this and other reasons, parliamentary procedure, far too slow, despite the system of committees, would become even slower.

(13) The expense of this succession of minor general elections would be prohibitive or excessive. This is true both of official and of unofficial expenditure.

(14) Each Referendum would be accompanied by an outburst of all the worst features of political campaigning in the Press and by the parties.

See also DELEGATION AND PARLIAMENT, REFORM OF.

REGISTRATION, NATIONAL, IN PEACE-TIME

Pro : (1) Britain is one of the few countries which had no registration system in the past and thus no continuous record of its citizens. National registration served to increase the flexibility of administration in war-time, and was useful particularly in the management of rationing. At any time it can be used for the revision of voting lists and avoids much cumbersome procedure.

(2) Identity cards help to prevent crime, to catch criminals and to detect army deserters, undesirable aliens and evaders of national service. During the war of 1939–45 one mass inspection of identity cards was apt to give the police more information than weeks of searching.

(3) In these days when there is so much necessary regimentation and recourse to documents, an identity card is a much less cumbersome means of identification than the documents which would otherwise be necessary and can be used for the establishment of identity at any time. Impersonation becomes impossible, and the identity card was found very useful as a means of preventing Post Office frauds. No innocent citizen need object to carrying his papers with him ; they are in fact a convenience, since they may avoid lengthy questioning. They are no more a threat to liberty than passports, the necessity for which is now generally accepted.

Con : (1) Registration is only one more example of the increasing regimentation that is threatening the liberty of the British public today. While it may have some value in a police State, in a democratic country in peace-time there is no excuse for it. Machinery already exists for dealing with voting lists and census-taking, and rationing is not a feature of normal peace-time life in Britain, at any rate.

(2) They are utterly useless for catching criminals, for where they are in use the forging and stealing of them becomes an industry. Only with the addition of finger-prints, and perhaps photographs, could they be a reliable indication of identity, and the use of such documents, and especially the finger-printing of innocent citizens, is repugnant to a free community. A false identity card is otherwise accepted without question and police investigations have often revealed that it is quite possible to exist without possessing one at all and to escape all inquiry.

(3) Since ordinary identity cards are no danger to the criminal, their only purpose is the harassing of the respectable citizen. Where they are the rule a person can be required to produce them at any time, even where there is no shred of evidence that he is involved in crime. The same applies to passports, which, so far from being accepted, are generally detested, and are the subject of repeated promises of their abolition by governments.

SCHOOL-LEAVING AGE : Should it be Raised ?

Pro: (1) It is now generally recognised that a child has not finished its development even at the age of sixteen. At one time it

Con : (1) Even though childhood may be recognised as a privileged state, a time must inevitably come when most chil-

was thought that children of five and six were sufficiently mature to work a full day in factories. The descendants of those who held this view are now arguing against further raising of the school-leaving age.

(2) The disparity in leaving ages in different types of schools gives an undesirable advantage to the more academic schools. If the country is to acquire the advanced technicians it needs in ever greater numbers, they must be freed as children from the disability of having to leave school before their capabilities are truly known. At present the majority of children who wish to continue their education after the age of fifteen are forced to undergo the strain of working by day and studying by night. The attempt to provide part-time education in Continuation Schools after 1918 was a failure, as any such scheme is bound to be.

(3) Many children fail to take advantage of the present facilities for higher education because of economic stress in the family; the numbers of children remaining the full period in grammar schools has considerably increased since all secondary education was made free. Raising of the universal leaving age, combined with increased financial aid to parents to compensate for lack of earning power, would remove the temptation in parents to sacrifice their children for temporary economic advantage.

(4) Modern theories of education need a longer period of school life to be successfully worked out in practice. Without this, any scheme of improvement can only remain a pious theory sketchily applied. Raising of the leaving age would also increase the supply of children willing to qualify for teaching, and thus would pay for itself.

dren are tired of learning in isolation and begin to feel a desire to take part in the working life of the community. Except for those who wish to make the pursuit or imparting of knowledge their life work, education after that time should be carried on as an adjunct to paid work in factory, office, or even study.

(2) The increasing need for technicians goes hand in hand with a need for mass production workers who may be unskilled or semi-skilled. Moreover, many children have neither the capacity nor the inclination to reach a high level of technical efficiency. Such children are already failing to gain any benefit from the latest raising of the school-leaving age, and their life would become even more futile if the age were further raised. An extension of the present scholarship system is a far better method of solving the problem.

(3) The idea is unpractical and harmful to industry because young people are needed to keep up the level of industrial production, especially now that older people are tending to retire earlier from working life. A child of fifteen is sufficiently developed to be able to do the light tasks required without physical strain. To keep young people out of industry by means of money raised from taxation is to rob the taxpayer twice over.

(4) Improvements in technical education and equipment at school are already tending to be nullified by lack of the teachers, buildings and materials required to carry out the provisions of the 1944 Education Act. The raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen has already made school life more crowded, unpleasant and futile for both children and teachers. No further change should be contemplated until the present situation is more satisfactory.

SCIENCE : Is it a Menace to Civilisation?

Pro : (1) It is more than doubtful whether the advantages of scientific progress are not counterbalanced by the evil that it does. In particular, scientific research as applied to mechanical inventions is fast becoming a menace to the world. We travel at continually increasing speed in our luxurious trains, motors, and aeroplanes, and as a result, more people are killed in one year in Great Britain on the roads alone than British soldiers were killed in the whole of the South African (Boer) War.

(2) Science has enabled us to manufacture engines of destruction for use in war—tanks, submarines, high explosives, poison gas and atomic bombs—which are so devastatingly effective that very little of our civilisation is likely to survive if another war were to break out.

(3) In industry scientific inventors are continually improving the machinery of production, with the result that fewer and fewer men are required to do the same amount of work. Thus the advance of science is one of the main causes of unemployment because the rate of increase of productivity is so great that reorganisation cannot keep pace with it. At the meeting of the British Association in 1934, Sir Josiah (Lord) Stamp seriously advocated that attempts should be made to slow down the rate of scientific progress and invention because society could not readjust itself sufficiently rapidly to the changing conditions.

(4) One of the greatest dangers of science today is the opportunity it offers to those in power to create a race of robots. Not only can they subdue their victims by force. They can subdue their minds by wireless propaganda, by control of the Press, and by a subtle use in education of the new

Con : (1) In some respects, obviously, the risks of modern life are greater than those of a few centuries ago. But it is by no means certain that the proportional accident rate is any higher than it has always been. There are more people in the world, and there are more vehicles on the roads. Life is less static than it used to be. Besides, where a few hundred people are killed in accidents nowadays, thousands used to die in epidemics before science had taught us the laws of health and hygiene, or in famines before science had been applied to communications and transport.

(2) It is not science that is to blame for this, but man's evil nature. There would be no war but for the greed, jealousy, fear, and quarrelsomeness of man. The scientist rarely has an axe to grind. He works disinterestedly to increase the sum of human knowledge, because he feels the urge of the quest for truth. If his discoveries are seized upon by politicians and by governments and used for evil purposes, that is not the fault of science or the scientist.

(3) The improvements in methods of production certainly enable fewer men to do the same amount of work, or in other words to produce the same amount of wealth. Therefore the same number of workers can produce far more wealth. If this increased wealth were satisfactorily distributed, as it might be by rational reorganisation, the general standard of living could be raised and hours of labour could be reduced. The chief obstacle to this is not science, but capitalism, which blocks the way to the necessary reorganisation.

(4) Against these possibilities we must set the effects of science in the past on the human mind—the liberation of thought due to

knowledge of psychology. It is even possible to insist on the sterilisation of dissentients.

the work of Galileo, Copernicus, Darwin, and other pioneers of learning. Science has changed man's outlook from superstition to an enlightened understanding, and has substituted the conception of natural law for a state of ignorance in which a comet was a sign sent by an angry god.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

Pro: (1) Scientific management eliminates grounds of contention between workers and employers by giving an independent standard to which disputes can be referred. It determines through accurate analysis the proper task, wage, and working day for each individual, the results being calculated according to the laws of human nature, and in a spirit of fairness and liberality. It introduces a positive teaching that harmony and mutual understanding should be cultivated between management and men. Trade unions become superfluous and strikes are prevented. Suitable men are raised to posts of responsibility.

(2) It greatly increases output by systematising piece-work, by setting tasks based upon time-and-effort study, by encouraging the standardisation of tools and equipment, by careful choice of managers, foremen, etc., and by greater opportunities for specialisation. In some cases the increase in productivity is 100 per cent, and the workers are not fatigued because suitable rest-periods are allowed. With the general adoption of scientific management production would be increased so as to provide enough for all, without increasing cost.

(3) In firms where it has been adopted the results all round are excellent. The best possible working conditions are provided, the men are contented, and the industrial problem may be con-

Con: (1) The essence of scientific, or, as it is sometimes termed, psychological management, is that men are to be treated purely as productive machines, completely dependent on the expert. Management and men might agree, provided they were the only parties in industry, but the policy of industry still remains controlled in the interests of profits by outsiders. Trade unions are necessary to protect the less efficient workers from a low standard of life, based on their industrial worth. Their policy is for a high level, not a fluctuating standard. In practice only a few "efficiency engineers" have any real responsibility or independence.

(2) Scientific management cannot be applied on a national scale to all forms of industrial activity. In practice it tends to overwork employees and turn them into automata, for it is most successful on work that can be resolved into repetitive processes. The reduction of the need for skill is an insult to the best tendencies in the workers' nature. It is incapable of increasing or rationalising the activity of the brain, at the level where it itself operates.

(3) It is usually an excuse for union smashing, and its introduction serves to break up the natural association between men working in the same shop and industry. No matter how benevolent it may appear, a powerful concern cannot be allowed to get free of all restrictions put on it by unions,

sidered solved. Though there may be certain divergencies between labour opinion and management principles, co-operation and reasonable compromise have enabled both to operate together in some plants. It will restore the morale which all observers declare is deserting the industrial world.

or cease to have them as potential checks on its actions, without grave dangers to the liberty and welfare of the workers; for power, even more than profit, is the aim of the industrial overlords. It is a device to perpetuate and make the most of an evil system.

SECOND BALLOTS

Pro : (1) The system of second ballots, by requiring the successful candidate to have a clear majority of the votes polled, would lead to a truer representation of the people.

(2) Candidates frequently and notoriously are returned by minority votes.

(3) They would destroy the arguments against third-party or independent candidates, which now embitter political life and lead to caucus manœuvres on a large scale.

(4) The greater the number of candidates, the greater the choice of the electorate, while the deposit system checks "freak" candidates.

(5) They would reduce the power of party managers and break up hide-bound parties. Candidates could afford to be more independent.

Con : (1) Taken on the whole, the people are fairly represented; if accuracy is wanted, second ballots are inadequate.

(2) This is not so frequent as to make the system seriously at fault.

(3) Intrigues for support in the second ballot would give rise to the same phenomena.

(4) In Parliament we should have a multitude of parties with the consequent log-rolling and confusion. The deposit introduces a property qualification which has ruled out excellent candidates already; second ballots would add to the already heavy cost of candidature.

(5) Party discipline is a valuable factor in stabilising our political life. Independence of candidates would vanish at the second ballot. Where it has been tried, the results are not encouraging.

SINGLE-CHAMBER GOVERNMENT

Pro : (1) The tendency of all modern governments is to centre in one chamber. In none of the self-governing Dominions is the second chamber respected. The only result of having two Chambers is the alternation of obstruction with practical single-Chamber government. Second Chambers are admittedly Conservative, and oppose any reforming Government in the other Chambers, while they give unquestioning support

Con : (1) Wherever democratic countries have tried the single-Chamber system, the Second Chamber has almost always been restored. The concensus of educated opinion in Great Britain is in favour of a Second Chamber.

(2) A popularly elected Government is not proof against the temptations of absolute power. Many tyrants have rested their tyranny on the people. The only safeguard for the State is a balance

to a Conservative one. This happens invariably in Britain.

(2) There is no danger of a single Chamber's prolonging itself in power indefinitely under a democratic electoral system. The single Chamber is elected by the people, and is therefore always under their control. The bicameral system is a slow and cumbrous way of conducting public business, and unjust to the electorate.

(3) No Parliament which represents a conservative people like the British is ever likely to be guilty of precipitate legislation.

(4) The House of Lords has often been responsible for the withdrawal of men from useful public service in the Commons, especially where progressive governments have seen the need to strengthen their power in the Lords, and has thus ended many a promising political career.

(5) The existence of the House of Lords sometimes forces governments to appoint inferior men to important posts, in order to obtain the requisite proportion of peers.

(6) If a Minister is a member of the House of Lords he is rendered less amenable to criticism than if he were a member of the Lower House; this is especially felt where the Minister holds the position of Secretary of State.

(7) No institution ought to be allowed to continue in existence unless it can be proved to fulfil a useful purpose. The value to be put on the Lords is shown by the scant attention its proceedings receive from the public—and from the majority of its own members.

(8) Reform of the Lords would not meet the chief criticisms against it, unless such a Second Chamber is set up as involves a complete break with our constitutional tradition and procedure.

(9) The advent of the Labour Party to power in 1945 raised the problem in its acutest form, since of power among the different organs of government.

(3) The chief value of a Second Chamber is to provide security against hasty legislation; it gives an opportunity for reflection and full consideration.

(4) The House of Lords has secured for the nation the continued service of men who, for various reasons, would be unable to face contested elections, but whose experience entitles them to a voice in the national councils. If it were abolished, the House of Commons would be filled with peers, and would thus lose its distinctive character.

(5) The obligation to take so many Ministers from the House of Lords is no worse in its effect on the status of Ministers than a similar provision with regard to the Commons. In fact, it opens the door for Ministers to raise a specially able man, whether a politician or not, to the peerage in order to secure his services as a Minister.

(6) Special arrangements could be made for all Ministers to be questioned by or to address the Commons. Actually, the effective power of criticising Ministers who are in the Commons is decaying rapidly.

(7) Any existing institution, especially if it can point to an ancient and honourable career, has *ipso facto* an argument for its continuance. The vitality and importance of the Lords have been frequently demonstrated.

(8) It is undesirable to abolish the Second Chamber, even if we do not approve of the present one, for the increase in the mass and the kinds of business dealt with by the State renders it impossible for one body like the Commons to cope with it all. Reform, or a new type of second Chamber, is necessary to prevent the Executive from becoming supreme.

(9) The Lords stand for a more

the Lords at once revealed their Conservative complexion and attempted to use their power of veto to nullify in the interests of the section of Society which they represent, measures of nationalisation on the basis of which the Labour Government had been duly elected.

permanent element in the country than a Commons majority and consequently are entitled to be cautious in passing proposals that might be countermanded by the next election.

SLIDING SCALE WAGE RATES

Pro : (1) The regulation of wages by reference to changes in the index figures of price levels is the only fair way of determining what they should be. As in the iron and steel trades, wages could be altered according to variations in the selling prices of the industry's products, thus linking up the interests of the workers and employers, or else they could be made dependent on variations in the cost of living. One of the systems should be adopted in every trade and profession.

(2) An industry can only pay wages out of its revenue. Other costs tend to be fixed and inescapable, so that wages must sometimes be reduced in order to keep the industry from bankruptcy. On the other hand, when trade is booming, the workers have every right to share in its increased prosperity, and this the sliding scale wage rates would allow.

(3) The index figures are satisfactory on the whole, now that the basis of computing them has been brought into relation with the actual mode of living of the people. This method is peculiarly suitable for regulating the wages and salaries of public officials, and other civil servants such as transport workers, as they are necessarily concerned in occupations whose output cannot be costed and the cost covered scientifically in the selling price. For this same reason it is important to make

Con : (1) The theory of sliding scale rates rests on the assumption that the real income of the country remains fixed. It definitely limits the hopes and expectations of the vast majority of the nation in regard to their possible incomes. It thus robs work of an incentive and life of one of its interests.

(2) The bases for the rates are bad. The regulation of wages according to the selling price of products ignores the other factors in costs, such as overhead charges and raw materials and selling costs. Profits can easily be concealed in a firm's accounts in order to avoid sliding-scale increases.

(3) Wages in the Civil Service have always lagged behind those of other occupations in times of rising prices, and even the reformed cost-of-living index does not give a true picture in times of limited or regulated consumption. A fall in wages in times of depression is not felt less keenly because it is based on statistical evidence.

(4) This "fodder" basis of wages is degrading to humanity. It assumes that the mass of the population must be content with subsistence, but at the same time produce a great number of luxuries and quasi-luxuries and goods for export which they must not dream of enjoying. The proper aim of the trade unions is a steadily increasing real wage rate, such as this country could provide if capitalist control were modified.

sure that they do not absorb too great a share of the community's income, nor on the other hand receive too small a share per head.

(4) The services of management, capital, and new ideas must be paid for, so that this so-called "fodder" basis is only a more humane and systematic way of settling the old question—how much a man should be paid for his effort. These problems of wages would occur even in the most completely Socialist community.

(5) They save concerns from bankruptcy in times of depression and relate the cost of industry to world price levels, thereby enabling this country to maintain and extend the range of its exports.

(5) These sliding-scales have a depressing effect on trade, for when prices are sagging and the need for effective demand is felt, they operate by reducing spending power to curtail the demand still further, thus aggravating the trouble.

SOCIAL CREDIT

This title indicates the principles put forward for social reconstruction by Major C. H. Douglas and writers following him. The proposals may be summarised thus. Credit should be granted for production simply on the basis of the capacity of production exercised by manufacturers, farmers, etc. Prices to ultimate consumers, i.e., the public, should be based on the relation between the Production (increase in assets of all kinds) and the Consumption (depreciation of all kinds) in the community over any selected period. If Production is the greater, prices should be proportionately lower than the Cost Price as now ascertained by firms as the basis of their charges; if Depreciation is greater, there would be no reduction. The difference between the price charged to the consumer and the Cost to the producer or retailer should be made up to the latter by a credit—not a subsidy—from the Government. All future Capital Development should carry a dividend with it, which should be distributed per head over the community. As the country developed its resources, the dividend would become larger and form a substantial part of the income of everyone.

Pro: (1) The chief cause of trade crises and of poverty in this country is the inability of manufacturers to find a market easily for their maximum possible output. This indicates an error in our financial system of distributing the goods, as there is a *natural* demand for all they can produce.

(2) The current financial system has grown up accidentally and bears no relation to the physical processes of making and using up wealth (*see* MANAGED CURRENCY). It should be replaced by a scientific mechanism. The defects of the current system have been sufficiently shown by the financial and industrial crises that many countries have suffered at intervals.

Con: (1) The causes of our economic troubles are various. They comprise some or all of the following: Capitalism (*see* SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM), overpopulation (*see* BIRTH CONTROL), inefficiency in industry (*see* SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT), ca'canny on the part of Labour (*see* TRADE UNIONS), insufficient savings of capital, land monopoly (*see* NATIONALISATION (LAND)).

(2) The present financial system has been built up by centuries of experience and is a marvellously efficient and self-balancing instrument. Where it has been departed from, as in Russia and her satellite countries, a multitude of evils has promptly arisen.

(3) The retail prices charged to consumers have to cover a large proportion of costs which represent wages, etc., paid out so long ago that they have been spent and so are not available to buy the goods now on sale. Consequently the great bulk of purchasing power has to come from wages and salaries now being paid in respect of production not yet ready for sale. Owing to the development of industrial processes, this proportion tends to increase all the time. Owing to the permanence of capital equipment, this system is constantly breaking down. It is absurd not to be able to distribute the wealth available except on the condition of making a great deal more goods which may or may not be wanted and which in any case leave the problem no nearer solution.

(4) As the fresh credits depend on charging *lower* prices, there cannot be inflation. The principle of taking a national balance-sheet would prevent over-issue.

(5) Bank credit is a continually renewed stream of inflation, which means a robbery of the consumer through enhanced prices. The fact that, if it ceased, industry would stop, is only evidence that the system is unsound.

(6) Besides the unused capacity everywhere observable in industry, and the innumerable wastes which go on, the potentialities of production through improvements in technique are enormous. The results now are inadequate, because the prospects of reward, in the widest sense, are so doubtful.

(7) A system by which financial profits would depend more and more on effective turnover in production would minimise the evils and maximise the good in the present system. The alleged evil, self-seeking tendencies of human nature can be harnessed to the common purpose.

(8) The dividend is the logical

(3) If part of prices does involve costs which can only be paid for by new production and the wages, etc., paid to those who produce it, this process is continuous. It has always existed and will continue. The hitches which occur are due either to such causes as those in (1), or to other causes which set on foot trade cycles and to the mistaken policies in respect of currency pursued by various governments.

(4) The present system of covering all financial costs in prices accurately represents the debts incurred by various parties in industry which must be paid. The manufacture of credits by the Government, as proposed, would mean a mass of paper money and all the consequences of inflation, as experienced abroad.

(5) The issue by banks of credit for production is only a superior and economical development of old methods. It has enabled the greatly increased production of the present day to come about and is absolutely necessary for its continuance. That prices obtainable are so little above the costs incurred proves that there is no inflation.

(6) The whole idea is based on the assumption that a vastly increased production is possible. This may be true in certain small departments but is not true of industry as a whole, and especially not of agriculture. There are quite sufficient inducements already operating to secure that people shall do their best, though some minor adjustments are doubtless desirable.

(7) The principle of "production for profit" is the chief source of our difficulties and until "production for use" replaces it, no progress is possible. A different relationship between employer and employed is needed.

(Some) Human nature must alter before any such scheme can

successor of the wage. This is demonstrated not only by the unemployment problem and the tendency for the brains of the community to enter the selling rather than the producing branches of commerce, but also by the steady growth of dividend receivers. The wage-earner is now encouraged even by Socialists, in the hope that he will be enabled to save enough to become a dividend-receiver in his old age.

(9) We depend far more on the state of the industrial arts than on any of the other factors of production. This is an accumulating inheritance beginning from the earliest civilisations. Every inheritor, as a matter of justice, should receive from it a concrete revenue. A developing dividend system would turn " exploiters," " profiteers," and " wage-slaves " into citizens working together less and less from compulsion and more and more from inducement.

(10) The idea of Social Credit would unify the nation, for it would give everyone an immediate interest in the common prosperity. It would promote international peace by making the economic system of each nation self-balancing, and so end the unnatural struggle for markets and resources.

(11) The solving of the Financial Riddle is the first step in any form of social reorganisation whatever. Finance is the great instrument for securing co-operation in the modern world, and it is the first obstacle now met with in putting through any reform, large or small.

(12) It would make the poor rich without making the rich poor.

be a success, as it calls for closer co-operation and completer honesty in those working it.

(8) " He who will not work, neither shall he eat." The dividend is the hall-mark of social parasitism, and will inevitably breed a nation of *rentiers*, such as was Holland in the eighteenth century. Leisure as an end is repugnant, and so far from ensuring the development of free intelligence, will inhibit it.

(9) Land, Labour, and Capital are the only factors of production, and the proper reward of each is determined in the long run by the operation of supply and demand. The proposal for a national dividend is an attempt on the one hand to outwit economic laws and on the other to abolish that competition by which alone mankind can survive and evolve.

(10) A Socialism of producers is a nobler ideal. There can be no solution of our social problems while some have access to the means of production and distribution while the majority have not.

(Some) To imagine that conflicts between nations can be ended is a delusion (*see* WAR).

(11) Finance is but one of the implements of society. Social co-operation can be attained by goodwill and the determination of everybody to avoid waste and ostentation.

(Some) A revival of religion in the widest sense of the term is what we most need.

(12) No scheme of social reform is acceptable which leaves the rich in possession of the good things of life and the plutocrats masters of the community.

See also NATIONALISATION, *etc.*

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Pro : (1) The fundamental fact of human life is that men are

Con : (1) The evolution of society does not move in the

drawn into association with one another. It is to take the fullest advantage of this natural characteristic that a Socialist society should be established. It is not to be denied that individual and sectional interests have been dominant of necessity at various periods in the past, but human history is a long succession of changes leading up to a general reconciliation of the interests of the individual with those of society at large. The State is not necessarily the organ of integration.

(2) Men are not entirely selfish, nor entirely altruistic. But in the past, society has rested its conscious policy solely on the first impulse, with the result that excellent moral codes have existed side by side with the triumph of the strong, the brutal, and the cunning. If freedom, or rather the power to do whatever one wishes, is limited by society, the interests of all are enhanced and freedom is much more secure and much more extended.

(3) The alternative to socialism is chaos or a slave State. The present system is breaking down in the spheres of morals, economic efficiency, and culture.

(4) The economic development of capitalist production has divorced the producers almost entirely from all property in or control over the instruments of production, creating a proletariat on the one hand and a non-working capitalist and propertied class on the other. The surviving independent craftsmen are an unimportant exception to this general rule, and have an increasingly difficult task to maintain themselves. Peasants and farmers are very often only nominally the owners of their holdings, exploited unmercifully by mortgages or in the hands of transport or distributing agencies. Peasants only manage to maintain themselves by exploiting their families. Though idealised by direction of the Socialist State. The self-regarding impulses are more fundamental than the associational. The only way in which advantage is likely to be taken of the latter is by putting everything under the despotism of the State.

(2) True individuality and freedom can only obtain where the individual is left as much freedom as is consistent with the safety of the State. Humanity has no collective mind; human progress is due to the free play of rivalry between man and man.

(3) The cause of economic and social progress in the past has been individualism. The same force is the only one capable of carrying mankind forward in the future. Civilisation always depends for its cultural development on a small class, which is supported by the profits of individualism. That class has also been the standard-bearer of freedom in politics and morals.

(4) (Some) The trend of development does not divorce the worker more and more from the means of production. Side by side with the big factory, there constantly occur chances for small people to start independent trades. The peasant proprietor in most parts of Europe is as strong as ever. It has been shown that small-scale production can secure practically all the advantages of large-scale, and is superior to very huge organisations.

(Some) Even if it were possible to put an end to the economic and social process of differentiation, and all its causes and effects, such a consummation would not imply an advance in human culture.

(5) It is not true that the present system allows the greater part of the wealth of the country to go to those who do not work. The working classes take by far the greater share of the country's income. A large portion of the so-called unearned wealth of the rich is derived

some people they are in fact, physically, morally and intellectually and culturally, inferior even to the town proletariat. Shopkeepers are rarely independent; they are tied down to the wholesale firms, whose paid agents they often are. The only places where independence survives are in the interstices of big industry.

(5) The product of industry is so divided up that the workers have to be content with a subsistence that will keep them efficient, while the owner of capital exacts a tax on their labour, which is levied by making large numbers of them produce luxuries and non-necessities of all sorts. The non-producer has a much better life than the producer, and property is preferred to life.

(6) The measure of individual wealth should be the amount of work done by the individual; this being impossible to apply, the best maxim is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The present system secures a distribution that approaches neither principle. The capitalist exploits the labour of the producers by hand and brain, from the unskilled labourer right up to the manager, not by virtue of his transcendent services but because he has inherited stock from an ancestor or can limit production, or secures a mortgage, or can maintain prices—in fact, by means of any successful application of the principle of obstruction between the production of goods and their distribution to those who need them. A "pull" is more certain of gaining wealth than great genius or singular powers of organisation.

(7) Lack of an assured purpose breeds despair; hence the inefficiency of the chronically casual worker. Man loathes boredom to such an extent, and has such an instinctive aversion from futility, that in a properly constituted from money earned by them or their fathers, who, having elected to save instead of spending, have invested it and are living on the interest thereof. The Socialist theory prefers waste to thrift.

(6) The capitalist could not exist without the labourer, nor could the labourer without the capitalist, who supplies the sinews of industry with which the former produces a commodity. Besides this function, the capitalist often performs that of directing production. Most of the profits are the earnings of managerial ability. The distinctive feature of capitalism today is the complete withdrawal of the men of exceptional intellect from the business of performing or directing any labour of their own, and the concentration of their powers in organising the labour of others, with the result that the mental capacities of the few, instead of being confined to the task of guiding their own muscles, lend guidance to the muscular operations of the many. The profits of the capitalist employers have their origin in the fact that in this way commodities are multiplied as they were never before, their individual values remaining unaltered in proportion as this multiplication is general; and the sum of the values thus added to the general product forms the funds from which profits are drawn.

(7) Socialism, by guaranteeing to all a livelihood, takes away the chief incentive to exertion. Saving becomes useless. Private enterprise has been the best prerequisite of progress everywhere; wherever there are traces of communism, it is only as men get away from it that they become energetic and progress is possible.

(8) The labourer has shared proportionately in the increase of wealth; he has shared very probably to a greater degree than capital. He has also now shorter

society, where a few men could do the work with the machines to hand, there would be competition to get work rather than to avoid it and live a life of ease and sloth.

(8) The luxury of the rich increases faster than the comfort of the poor. Though better off than his great-grandfather, the worker has not received a proportionate share of the vast increase in the country's wealth. Terminologically the theory that wages sink to the level of "bare subsistence" may need restatement: its substance—that the workers receive only enough to keep them efficient—remains true. This is the latest scientific wage theory of capitalism—the economy of high wages. All the advances the workers have made have been gained despite capitalism, not because of it.

(9) Individualism is a theory that does not fit the present facts. The industry of the country is passing rapidly into the hands of a few men. The bank amalgamations are concentrating credit control. Trusts are far wider spread than even Socialists thought until lately. Interlocking directorships are held everywhere. The shareholder has to have blind faith in two or three of the board of directors. Financial and industrial magnates influence the stock and produce and raw-material markets in their own interests. The result is a nation of serfs on the one hand, and a few industrial and financial overlords on the other.

(10) The creation of a great body of unemployed is an invariable accompaniment of capitalism. The chaotic fluctuations of that system at once form and demand an industrial reserve. Its inability to avoid gluts of the market renders unemployment more imminent the more the workers speed up production. The men affected are neither idlers nor wastrels, though constant disputes and better conditions. The statistics magnifying the disproportion of the wealth of different sections of the community are fallacious. If the national income were shared out equally, the addition to the workers' wages would be negligible. Under a free, individualist social system none has a fixed status; the same men are both capitalists and workers. To a large extent men reputed to be the possessors of great wealth are simply its distributors.

(9) There is no universal tendency to eliminate the small capitalist and business man; a small, ably conducted business has a very good chance of success. Co-operative enterprises and limited liability companies secure a large field of investment for the small capitalists, who are necessary to the captains of industry. The principal gambling in shares is not done in the case of companies which are on a sound basis, so that American methods of business are generally impossible in this country.

(10) Socialism would not solve the problem of the unemployed because that problem is as much moral as economic. In every community idlers and black sheep will always be present, and Socialism assumes an ideal state of society in which all men will be equally good.

(11) All Socialist systems mean the minute regulation of life by statute and by-laws, probably administered by officials. These would be so numerous that the manual workers would become impotent. All spontaneity or self-expression would cease or, eventually, escape from repression into revolution. Bureaucrats tend to develop the "red tape," obstinately conservative habit of mind. Their conduct becomes high-handed, as they feel bound to support the dignity of the administrative machine of which they are part. The alleged efficiency of the

turbances may turn some of them into black sheep. It is only in time of war, when weapons of death are produced in vast numbers and immediately consumed, or in the period after a war when the devastation it has caused gives rise to a demand for all kinds of goods for the rebuilding of normal life, that workers can be temporarily assured of steady employment. In a Socialist society the very few who were unwilling to work could be dealt with by disciplinary measures as a last resort. Socialism demands no "change of heart", only the enlightenment of self-interest.

(11) Society is at present minutely regulated openly but unobtrusively by Government officials in part, but mainly by capitalists. Socialism will endeavour to reduce regimentation and set people free individually in groups to manage their own affairs. Nevertheless it is hard to see why it should be more oppressive to be forced to behave in such a way by an official of, say, the Transport Executive than by an official of the privately owned railways. Socialism does not mean necessarily the aggrandisement of State departments. Devolution by area and function is possible, and Guild Socialism, and the Soviet system, are examples of other schemes. The British official is efficient and not corrupt, and can be trusted to work in the interests of the community.

(12) Crises which render everybody's existence insecure are inherent in the capitalist system, and arise from the fact that production for the world's markets cannot gauge the limits of consumption, and that production is continually outstripping the effective demand. The conditions under private property have become too narrow for the constantly growing accumulation of wealth. Malthus' law of population

nationalisation carried out so far in this country has failed to impress those who have come into contact with it, and strengthened their determination to resist extensions of it if not to end it altogether when possible. In many countries wholesale corruption would be inevitable, and here we should not be immune. The German official in the old days used to be incorruptible and intolerable; with the coming of the Third Reich he lost much of his incorruptibility but little of his overbearing behaviour. Nor would these dangers be avoided if some other form of organisation were adopted. For every large organisation develops the same habits; trade unions, trusts, the Soviets, and the Church can be cited as instances. Here the Ministries of Health, Insurance, Agriculture, the Treasury, the Post Offices, can all be cited as showing how the jack-in-office afflicts the supposedly free citizen and enfranchised constituent. Our aim should be the reduction of administrative machinery and the freeing of choice and initiative in as great a degree as possible.

(12) The primary question which presses for solution is not the unequal distribution of wealth, but the production of the wealth to be distributed. The wealth of modern nations depends upon international credit and trade. Under capitalism the two virtues necessary in the accumulation of capital—thrift and industry—are encouraged, and the rewards for the effective and punishments for the non-effective direction of labour are automatic. Under Socialism the detection of the misdirection of labour becomes a practical impossibility, and thus capital must waste away while the primary cause of its waste is unknown and therefore not remedied. Trusts do regulate production, and tend to avoid crises.

(13) The management of the

tion is now obsolete. It is not the population that presses upon the means of subsistence, but on the contrary the means of subsistence that press upon the nation. Hence the feverish race for new outlets, new consumers, profitable investments. Hence also the deliberate destroying of goods which would have been of use to the community, in order to maintain the level of prices at times when purchasing power has fallen. Under Socialism crises would be avoided, for production would be adapted to national consumption, and the needs of the nation could easily be ascertained. Famine and crises arise from a superfluity owing to the unrestricted competition of individual firms and companies for profit, and of the rank and file of workers for subsistence wages. The mere production of great wealth is no test of social and industrial well-being; distribution is the real test.

(**13**) The regulation of production is not incompatible with freedom of choice of profession. If it were found that too many people were turning in any one direction, it would always be possible to increase the inducements in other directions by offering more favourable conditions of work, e.g., increased remuneration, shorter hours or other privileges. The dirty work would be remunerated in proportion to its unpleasantness. Short hours, long holidays, and generous treatment should be the portion of those who do it.

(**14**) No regulation of individual consumption would be necessary, for modern labour is so productive that it could satisfy all needs of a civilised society. Moreover, Socialism, by broadening the basis of consumption, would give individual freedom also to those classes which, under the present conditions, are poor, and must necessarily limit very strictly their entire production would force the socialist State, in order to prevent overproduction, to abolish the right of the worker freely to choose his profession. Everyone would have to act in accordance with orders. Otherwise everyone would flock into those professions which afforded the pleasantest way of life.

(**14**) The regulation of consumption destroys all freedom of choice, and enslaves everybody, and only through regulation can productio be made exactly to meet consumption, otherwise the old difficulty must recur. Moreover, everybody would want the best things, which, by their nature, are limited.

(**15**) Socialism would abolish competition and establish a huge monopoly, which would soon be that worst of tyrannies, a mob tyranny. Free competition is the only real freedom in industrial matters, as well as the only guarantee to the consumer that he gets what he wants. The law should make and enforce regulations to ensure that fraud is not perpetrated on the consumer, but nothing more. Honesty pays in the general run. Given a number of labourers equal in productivity, working for an equal number of hours, and receiving as their rewards equal shares of the total product, no one group of labourers could augment their own gains in any way except by a successful attack on the gains of all the others. However an individualist community might be socialised, all the elements of industrial conflict would survive in it. The only way in which the position of any group of labourers could be improved would be by the advent of some exceptional man. He would demand his special bargain. The bargain which a Socialist State would, in the interests of the majority, have to strike with its exceptionally efficient citizen

individual consumption.

(15) Socialism would have no need to abolish competition, but would leave men free to compete not only for "service," but for high salaries, for position, for authority, and for leisure. Socialist competition is a well-known feature of life in socialist Russia. Under capitalism, while competition among workers for the means whereby to earn their daily bread becomes keener, competition among capitalists gives way day by day to co-operation. The more production gets into the hands of the big companies, the easier do capitalists find it to form rings, etc., to keep prices up. No legislation can prevent secret agreements. Again, the common practice of adulteration condemns the competitive system. Low prices mean poor goods. Dishonesty is an essential part of present-day competition. The consumer is not in a position under the complex conditions of modern life to know a genuine article, or to know what is compatible with health in food, dwellings, etc. He cannot be a universal expert. Such measures of inspection and regulation as have been taken are insufficient to deal with those whose intention it is to defraud, and it is hardly in a man's interest to be honest with a person whom he may never see again.

(16) There need be no such thing as confiscation. The tendency nowadays, especially in Britain, is to give compensation to the former owners of nationalised industries, generally in the form of State bonds. Although this involves a charge on the State, the curbing of the practice of investing in subsidiary industries or abroad should provide sufficient funds for improvements in working hours and conditions, as well as wages. The trusts have shown how enormously production can be raised, and the great difficulty would be in its essentials the same as that made under a system of free exchange and competition.

(16) Socialism would involve wholesale confiscation; confiscation would create universal mistrust, and prevent all progress. Theoretically, the State might confiscate all such resources as exist at any given moment, but no one, if it aimed at making this confiscation permanent, would ever accumulate any such resources again. The idea of buying out the whole property-holding class would spell bankruptcy, and moreover, bring no advantages. It would simply turn what are, in many cases, active workers into pensioners of the State. Socialists would soon find that people would not work if assured of a living, hence production would soon fall off. Destroy confidence in the future, and the great driving forces of the economic processes are paralysed. The continued progress of Socialism, if translated into a national policy, must drive the owners of liquid capital to domicile elsewhere. On the other hand, the owners of fixed capital and the population who live on their own personal labour would suffer from the consequences of excessive taxation and the attrition or flight of capital in abnormal quantities. As ninety-five per cent of the industries of Great Britain are conducted by credit, any interference with that confidence which is the basis of credit necessarily drives the injured industries to foreign countries which are our competitors in the world markets.

(17) The so-called idle classes do much valuable social and philanthropic work, which could not be done by any paid official with the same disinterested love. They are moreover the upholders of culture and patrons of art. From these classes our greatest statesmen have sprung.

(18) Socialism, by stopping the

of the capitalist—how to limit production so as to sell the products at a profit—would disappear. In a transformed society, when all the private capital of production and exploitation has been socialised, the compensation that former capitalists have received will enable them to buy the products of social activity, but not to control their production.

(17) The existence of idle classes is a direct social evil—whether the idle rich or the idle poor. The so-called services of the former to society are for the most part the merest dilettantism, and their social influence is pernicious in every way. Their artistic taste, even when sincere, is based on false values, and is generally mere ostentation. Inclined strongly to superstition, belief in luck and so on, and to barbarism in their amusements, blood sports, etc., they speedily degenerate. The political leadership of the propertied classes tends more and more to fall to men whose social origin is different from theirs. Their philanthropy, where felt, degrades the proletariat, as their patronage degrades art. It is not denied that this class has in the past performed a certain social function, though badly; but it has now become superfluous and noxious.

(18) Social progress and social evolution are different from natural selection and natural evolution. The present system has produced an inferior population out of a sound stock. The successful men are the cunning men, those with a commercial instinct. Given economic and social equality as far as may be, the best types would come to the front. The type of person who has a talent for prospering at the expense of others is not necessarily the "fittest" human being.

(19) The present marriage system is still a reflex of the property system. Socialism would determ competitive struggle for life, puts an end to the process of natural selection for the elimination of the unfit, and thus brings progress to a standstill. Those who fail are less desirable types of humanity than those who succeed, since they are physically, intellectually and even morally inferior. The growth of medical science reinforces this tendency. Socialism encourages the survival of the unfit.

(19) The Socialists teach that existing marriage relations are simply the outcome of property. Property in children under Socialism would soon cease to exist, and marriage be an association terminable at will by either party. Thus the family would disappear. If society guaranteed subsistence to all its members, it must regulate the number of citizens for whom it would have to provide.

(20) Socialism would have no leisured class; and since we owe a great deal of our art, literature and science, and the refinements of everyday life to this class, culture and progress would cease. The Socialist society would maintain a constant level of dull materialism.

(21) It is almost impossible to conceive how work is to be remunerated, save on a competitive basis. Under Socialism all kinds of work would have to be valued on a common basis, which could only be the amount of time spent in the production of commodities. Socialism would be possible only if all men were not only equally good, but equally gifted. One of the chief incentives to labour would be removed if parents were deprived of the wish and ability to provide for their children's advancement. The Christian doctrine of the equality of man is an ideal not a working system. Character must be the mainspring of the State; an atmosphere of potential inequality gives free play to all the passions and active

mine whether monogamy suited humanity by making everyone freer than he or she is at present. Recent trends in the U.S.S.R, with tightening up of marriage and divorce laws, suggest that monogamy would be found to be the best system ; the example of the U.S.A., on the other hand, suggests that monogamy is not an essential feature of capitalism. Socialism is in any case an economic doctrine which bears on the sex question only where it is complicated by money matters. It would undoubtedly end prostitution, which is caused largely by poverty and inequalities of wealth.

(20) By making work obligatory on all, Socialism would reduce work to a minimum for all alike, and would set free the worker to enjoy his leisure, to develop his cultural equipment, or to express himself in more personal methods of work. The culture that depends on a leisured class and is the monopoly of the few cannot be very valuable.

(21) The competitive reward of labour is a fiction in present-day society. The worker was never rewarded in proportion to his toil, but only as the market rate, determined by factors outside his control, allowed. Collective bargaining by trade unions has ended the theory. The best work has never been done out of consideration for money. Though inequalities may persist as between different classes of workers until society has achieved a sufficient abundance, ultimately equality of income will be general. Socialism would secure free play to the better side of humanity, i.e., pride in one's work. Socialism is designed for a humanity that has not been repressed and thwarted by economic serfdom.

(22) (Some) Socialism is the social interpretation of Christianity, and though some individual Socialists may be atheists, there

powers of man. Socialism presupposes men not only more perfect, but of an entirely different nature from what they will ever be.

(22) Socialism is atheistic. This is clear, not only from the doctrines and philosophy of the leading Socialist thinkers, but also from their policy and action when in power. Marx and Engels said that religion was "the opium of the people." Socialists everywhere desire the secularisation of the schools and the educational system.

(23) The international doctrines of Socialists are absurd. The real causes of war are nationalist ambitions and over-population. Socialism might well be intensely nationalist. The main driving force of Russian resistance to German invasion in the Second World War was the desire to drive out the foreign aggressor, and British Socialists today have become more rabidly warlike than the professed militarists themselves. Socialised industries would have to enter world competition, and as the whole might of the State and political machine would be brought into play to support them in their struggles for markets and the sources of raw materials, the danger of international rivalries and feuds would be as great as under the most rapacious private capitalism. The class war is more hateful than international war, and on a world-wide scale could work more damage than even international wars. Socialists often condemn strife between nations and at the same time extol strife between sections of a nation.

(24) The horrors of Socialism in practice are illustrated by Russia under the Bolsheviks. The cultured classes were extirpated, production as a whole fell off enormously after the Revolution, and distribution was poor. The

is no connection between atheism and Socialism.

(Some) Socialism has nothing to do with religion, which is a private affair. It is a sociological programme. Capitalism has equally little to do with religion, though its theories and practices are repugnant to most of the leading religions of the world, and some of them have in the past been specifically condemned by the Church. Socialists are generally anti-clericals because the clergy, especially in the higher ranks, have always been on the side of their enemies.

(23) Socialism will abolish war by mitigating the frenzies of nationalism and preventing the capitalist developments which make for international competition for foreign markets and resources. The patriotism of a Socialist society will accord with justice and benevolence. No Socialist regards the class war as desirable, though some believe it to be inevitable; all strive to gain their ends by the constitutional methods of modern political democracy. The conflict of classes is recognised by Socialists as inevitable until economic democracy has supplemented political democracy.

(24) The Bolsheviks are not typical Socialists, nor is Russia typical of the world. The state of Russia at the end of 1917, and the world-wide hostility she has had to face since for most of the time, are largely responsible for the special features of Russian Socialism. In each country the form of Socialism would be modified by the economic and cultural development of the country.

Soviets found themselves obliged as time went on to abandon more and more of their original doctrines, in practice if not in theory.

SPECULATION, SUPPRESSION OF COMMERCIAL

Pro: (1) Gambling in goods or shares or land disturbs ordinary trade and business.

(2) Dealers and investors are

Con: (1) Speculation is inevitable in commerce, for nothing else brings the present into connection with future needs and supplies.

thereby exposed to more risks than need be, while an army of parasites does nothing useful and gets rewarded for doing it.

(3) Prices fluctuate and expenses increase, and for both the general public has to pay.

(4) Trade inevitably is full of risks, but the gambler increases them. He excludes much talent from legitimate commerce.

(5) "Rigging markets," is made easier by the proneness of traders and investors to excited deals, and so unscrupulous business men are helped.

(6) During the present precarious economic world-conditions, commercial gambling is one more obstacle to reconstruction on sound lines.

(2) Middlemen are a necessity for securing efficient distribution. Without readiness to take large risks, large results cannot be obtained. All business has an element of gambling in it.

(3) In the long run the free play of business brings about the lowest possible level of prices.

(4) There is no way of making a clear distinction between what is gambling and what is not.

(5) "Rigging" would occur anyhow, and steadiness might even promote it.

(6) Free opportunity will bring about the results desired quicker than red tape and restriction. Beyond a certain point efforts to make trade conform with rigid systems only produce evil.

See also GAMBLING, MORALITY OF.

SPELLING REFORM

Pro : (1) The spelling of English, which was fixed by pedants only as late as the eighteenth century, bears no relation to the spoken language. It is a logical absurdity. The substitution of a phonetically consistent method would be of enormous value.

(2) Correct spelling is looked upon as a *sine qua non* of an educated person, so that an enormous expenditure of time and effort is involved in teaching it to children and to foreigners who, on the average, take five times as long to learn to spell reasonably well as they would if the language were spelt phonetically.

(3) The time taken to learn to read is similarly extravagant. Owing to the difficulties many people lose all interest in reading as soon as they leave school, and so remain inefficient workers and citizens.

(4) The superiorities of English as a language in point of grammatical ease, logical syntax, expressive idiom, and magnificent

Con : (1) The present spelling of English is an integral part of the language. Few languages have phonetic spelling, and there are sufficient rules for English spelling to make it reasonably easy to acquire.

(2) Phonetic spelling would not make it any easier for the child or the foreigner to learn English. Our alphabet contains five vowels. At least twenty symbols would be required to represent the various ways in which those vowels are pronounced in spoken English. Would this simplify the task ?

(3) Those who want to read will surmount difficulties. The remainder would not be any more interested in acquiring ideas through reading under a new spelling system than they are now. Reformed spelling would mean that children would have to learn two schemes until all our literature could be reprinted, at the risk of being cut off from all the great writings of the past. Many adults

vocabulary, warrant an effort to relieve it of its quite unessential difficulty. If this were done, English might very well become the world language.

(5) Phonetic representation is not necessary, though not unduly difficult if the international phonetic symbols were used. The use of a conventional but sensible system employing simply the ordinary letters would meet all requirements. American is already so different from English as to be ranked in several countries as a separate language. In any case, if we wish to take American English into account, it has already set us an example in spelling reform.

(6) The aesthetic argument is merely a plea that what is novel is ugly, what is old is beautiful. The meanings of words are usually to be discovered, not from their derivations, but from dictionaries. Many words even now quite conceal their origin, and history.

(7) There is no real difficulty in choosing which pronunciation to use. The right pronunciation is given in any standard dictionary and has been standardised by the department of the Spoken Word in the B.B.C. Local dialects and variations of pronunciation would continue to exist as they do now, independently of spelling.

Con : (1) Mankind has always believed that death was not the end of human existence, and that the dead were sometimes able to communicate with the living. Many religions are based on this belief.

(2) In history there are many authenticated instances of spiritualistic phenomena which cannot be put aside or otherwise explained.

(3) In modern times multitudes would not learn the new system at all.

(4) English is not particularly fitted to become an international language, nor are national susceptibilities likely to permit it. An International Auxiliary language (q.v.) is much more hopeful.

(5) Spelling reformers are not agreed on what system to adopt. The only sensible one, a phonetic system, would be extremely difficult to apply to English with its many vague sounds and numerous diphthongs, and would cut us off from writings in other varieties of English, such as American, which differs dramatically at times from our own language in pronunciation.

(6) The NU Speling is incurably ugly. To see the English classics transliterated into it gives our aesthetic sensibilities a shock. It also largely obliterates the indications of the derivation of words which the present spelling gives, and so weakens the interest we take in them and the understanding of their true significance.

(7) If spelling is to be made to fit pronunciation, whose pronunciation is to be chosen ? Would the Scots, the Irish, the northern English and the rest accept the decision of a committee of English dons ? They would more probably prefer to set up their own standard pronunciations.

SPIRITUALISM

Pro : (1) The belief in spiritualism has not been universal, and if it were, that would be no proof of its truth, as men have always believed firmly in things that were baseless.

(2) Most of the historical evidence is untrustworthy, and is based on malobservation or prejudiced theories. Much of it refers to happenings which would now be ascribed to disorders of the subjects' minds, while the best of

of sober and reliable people have witnessed marvels. Though sometimes they may have been mistaken or deceived, it is incredible that they should all have been deceived all the time.

(4) Eminent public men and more especially eminent scientists, such as A. R. Wallace, Lombroso, and Sir William Crookes, have conducted impartial and scientific investigations, which gave conclusive results. Many people who have made themselves famous for intellectual qualities and sound judgment, such as Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir A. Conan Doyle, and certain shrewd journalists with no axe to grind, have been convinced of the truth of spiritualism. We may have confidence in the conclusions of a variety of people of first-class intelligence.

(5) There is good evidence for otherwise inexplicable physical manifestations. D. D. Home's phenomena were unexceptionable. He courted investigation, he was never detected in trickery, and the witnesses are numerous and of the highest standing. Stainton Moses was, for years, the centre of phenomena recorded at the time by people with no motive for deception. Eusapia Palladino is admitted to have produced genuine phenomena, even by those who claim to have detected her in fraud. There is a host of mediums who have produced phenomena under test conditions who are vouched for by competent and eminent observers. The Boston medium "Margery," the Belfast Goligher circle, and the Austrian mediums Rudi and Willi Schneider are cases in point.

(6) Numerous messages have come from the dead, giving information for the living that no one else knew. Cross correspondences and communications through Mrs. Piper and more recently through Mrs. Garrett at Prince Hopkins University have

it shows traces of elaboration of the story.

(3) Conjurers perform equally marvellous tricks without their audiences' discovering their methods. Mediums work under more propitious conditions, as they choose the time and circumstances, e.g., darkness, and their audiences come in an excited frame of mind, prepared to accept any occurrence as the work of spirits.

(4) Only a few investigations can properly be described as scientific, and they give only negative results. The scientists commonly cited were not investigating their own subject-matter under their own conditions, and a physicist is no more qualified to investigate problems involving psychology and conjuring than a psychologist is to investigate physics. Their evidence shows the same gaps and faults as other people's. The class of scientist most fitted for the task, the psychologists, includes only one or two adherents of spiritualism.

(5) Nearly all mediums in whose presence physical phenomena have occurred have been detected in fraud when sufficiently shrewd observers have sat with them. Home's career is not free from suspicious events, and it is to be noticed that he always carefully chose his audience. It is quite possible that he had the power of causing hallucinations in his sitters. The evidence in his case is so incomplete and unsatisfactory that it cannot be properly appraised. Moses was undoubtedly a pathological character in some ways. His phenomena took place in a very select circle, and are only reported by himself and his friends. In reporting or discussing other people's phenomena, he was credulous to the last degree. Eusapia Palladino undoubtedly deceived very cleverly: the so-called genuine manifestations were

under careful examination, proved to come from super-normal sources.

(7) Mediums are enabled to give clairvoyantly quite conclusive evidence of the survival of dead relatives. Fraud is impossible, and in this way the most obstinate sceptics have been convinced.

(8) Spirit photographs give permanent and objective proof of survival. The conditions generally preclude fraud, as sitters are unknown to the medium.

(9) It is not sufficient to cavil at items in the evidence, as the mass of witnesses and the multitudes of separate instances establish a solid case. Evidence for spiritualism is much more abundant and of better quality than that for the origins of the Christian religion.

(10) Spiritualism is the easiest and most comprehensive theory to explain the multifarious mysterious happenings. Conditions usually exclude other explanations, and it is an error to suppose that the work of the spirits is uninfluenced by the minds of the sitters. This explains the unsatisfactory nature of sittings where some sorts of sceptics are present. The average man is quite as good a judge as the prejudiced and ignorant conjurer or materialist propagandist. Some conjurers have witnessed to spiritualistic phenomena, quite a number of which, e.g., levitation, cannot be performed by trickery.

(11) Mediums, as a class, are as good as the average man or woman. A few black sheep are not sufficient to establish a general charge of fraud. Even then it is not an impossible thing for lax morals to go with psychic power; geniuses are not noted for moral perfection.

(12) Spiritualism gives mankind a great hope, and more than hope, at a time when traditional only successful frauds. "Margery" has been declared fraudulent by certain experts of weight, and the Golighers would never accept the presence at their séances of Psychical Research Society investigators. The Schneiders survived a number of tests, but judgment on such cases must be suspended until they have undergone more complete investigation under strict scientific control.

(6) Messages from the other world are generally incapable of verification. Such of them as are more promising, like some of Mrs. Piper's, turn out to be guesses or derived from hints thrown out by the sitters. Spiritualists' explanations are far-fetched and strain the evidence too much. Mrs. Piper's different controls are all like one another and unlike the characters they profess to be.

(7) Success in clairvoyance comes through vagueness and shrewd guesses. Mediums get posted up beforehand in the history of sitters and of local spiritualists.

(8) Spirit photographs are invariably fraudulent, as conditions lend themselves to deceit It is a proof of the credulity of believers that the very evidence of double exposure, etc., is passed over without remark. It is significant that "spirit" photographers insist on using plates, whereas they avoid roll films, which can give just as good photographic results but are nothing like so susceptible to fraudulent manipulation. The most famous "spirit" photographers have been exposed one after another.

(9) A multitude of bad links will not make a strong chain, and the accumulation of bad evidence does not prove a good case. The case of Christianity does not affect those who are not Christians.

(10) Spiritualistic phenomena should be treated as explicable by normal or human causes before

religion is decaying and unsatisfactory. It is morally uplifting, does not promote nervous disorder, and indeed is much healthier than fervid religion which is often accompanied or followed by mental or moral decadence.

(13) The marvellous in spiritualism should not excite incredulity, for it is no more astounding than the ordinary phenomena of human life, or such discoveries as wireless telegraphy and telephony. Much has been done to advance and prove its cause in the past and, much more will be done in the immediate future.

(14) There is nothing in spiritualism which makes it hostile to Christianity on either the moral or the theological side. Many earnest Christians have been convinced of its truth, but remained Christian. The established churches believe it threatens *their* prerogatives, and oppose it just as they have always opposed what they thought would damage their worldly position. The Roman Catholic Church does not deny the phenomena of the séance room, but holds that they are the work of devils or evil spirits.

(15) (Some) It is well to keep an open mind and pursue investigations. Indubitable data of super-normal phenomena are still not available in sufficient quantity to permit of a scientific or logical examination. Spiritualism has at least the advantage of a ready hypothesis, which we should not reject merely because we are used to scientific phenomena which demand more mechanical and materialist theories.

bringing in the super-normal. The proper persons to investigate them are conjurers and psychologists. Before "spirits" are assumed to be at work, fraud, conscious and unconscious, abnormal psychology, imperfect observation, and telepathy must be eliminated. The conditions under which they occur should scientifically exclude all possibilities of human origin. Even when this has been done it is not proved that "spirits" are the agents, as there are probably latent powers in humanity not yet investigated.

(11) Spiritualism is the great arena for fraud, and it may be taken as a general rule that professional mediums are deceitful. They even have a sort of guild to aid one another in systematic plunder of the credulous public.

(12) Spiritualism promotes insanity and minor nervous disorders, and encourages a disastrous indifference to the affairs of this life. If the other world is like the spiritualists' descriptions of it, we should be thankful to escape it.

(13) Analogy is not proof, and does not make up for the absence of definite and conclusive evidence. Great progress was expected when the Society for Psychical Research was founded. Except for a wider knowledge of the abnormalities of the mind, no progress has been made since then.

(14) Spiritualism is antagonistic to Christianity. Its teachings simply give what the teachers think their followers want.

(15) It is precisely the need for keeping an open mind in the present state of our knowledge that should lead us to reject "ready hypotheses" based on such inadequate observation. The trend of modern science is more and more away from easy acceptance of hypotheses. A section of mankind is as ready now to accept assurances of communication with the other world as it was in former

ages to believe that objects of daily use buried with the dead in their tombs would be made use of after death. Desire to believe in spiritualistic phenomena can be simply explained by the desire for personal immortality.

STATE MEDICAL SERVICE

Pro : (1) Practically all doctors, even those who disapprove of Government control of medical services, are agreed that some kind of reform is necessary. Several schemes have been put forward in the past, some by doctors themselves, but the impetus necessary to bring about far-reaching changes in practice can only come from nationalisation. By this means it should become possible to treat positive health as the question of national interest which it is, and to end the anomaly by which doctors are forced by economic considerations to concentrate on ill-health and to profit by it.

(2) Doctors have in fact been servants of the State ever since National Health Insurance was started in 1912. In spite of their resistance at the time to the principle of State service, few doctors today are outside its scope.

(3) Inclusion of the whole population in the " panel " system is not the only improvement needed. Better organisation of hospital accommodation and treatment, better distribution of available doctors to respond to the needs of the population, and the establishment of local clinics where adequate staff and equipment could be available for practitioners, are also crying needs. In the past the vocation of healing has been confused with the profit motive; voluntary hospitals have been forced to make degrading appeals for charity and forego extensions and improvements because of lack of money, and medical practices have become expensive commo-

Con : (1) Most members of the medical profession do agree on the need for reforms, but it may be questioned whether any government is fitted to carry them through. Most of the far-reaching changes in the practice of medicine since the days of the apothecary and the barber-surgeon have been brought about through the initiative of individual doctors and the encouragement of the profession itself. Interference by a body of laymen always means in practice the discouragement of new ideas and the slowing up of progress. To bring doctors under the complete control of government and reduce them to the status of paid officials can only close the last avenue to originality and further reform.

(2) That some form of aid for poorer patients is necessary no doctor would deny, but it is to be doubted whether the National Insurance system has been of unmixed benefit to the contributors. The regimentation of treatment and prescription, and the multiplicity of clerical tasks which this form of State service has brought to the practitioner, have in general reacted unfavourably on the interests of the patient, so that those insured persons who can afford it often prefer to pay for their treatment.

(3) Hospital organisation has been very efficiently dealt with by agreement between the various voluntary hospital authorities, so that facilities corresponded on the whole with the needs of their users. There is nothing degrading in the

dities where adequate treatment of sufferers has been hampered by lack of equipment and the need to show a profit. Poorer neighbourhoods have been deprived of the medical service they need because they were unable to furnish a living for doctors.

(4) Many young people have been deterred from entering the medical profession in the past because of the enormous expense of training and the uncertainty of returns in the early years. The result has been that only those who could afford to sink capital in their businesses or were willing to begin their professional lives under the burden of a mortgage were able to become doctors, whereas many who were unsuited to the vocation of healing were forced into it by the interests of inheritance. Hospitals also have been unable to pay their nurses adequate wages, and this fact, and the poor conditions of living which they offered, have created a shortage of staff which has seriously impaired their efficiency.

(5) Ill-health and its alleviation, and the patching up of the population, should not be the sole concern of the doctors. The level of normal "good" health has been raised considerably by changing habits of life and public health measures, but there is still much to be done, especially in the way of research into the individual and the factors which make up his state of health. Privately financed health centres exist for this kind of research, but they have so far only touched the fringe of the question. There is no doubt that research on a nation-wide scale, which could be carried on in State health centres, would bring about great progress in this field, which is generally neglected by overworked or apathetic doctors.

acceptance of charitable donations, indeed, it is regrettable that the opportunities for the exercise of this Christian virtue should be continually decreasing. The advantage of such donations was that they were generally made without conditions; a body concerned with the spending of public money, on the other hand, is notoriously resistant to new ideas and unwilling to finance radical changes. The voluntary hospitals have built up a fine reputation for public service. Nor is there anything derogatory in the exchange of money for medical service in general practice. It is as legitimate as the payment of clergymen by their congregations, and no one has suggested that clergymen should be salaried officers of the State.

(4) It would be quite easy for the State to provide funds to encourage new entrants to the medical profession, without taking it upon itself to control their studies and the exercise of their profession. A large influx of new students into the profession would not necessarily be an advantage; the very extensive State aid given to the teaching profession has certainly resulted in the recruitment of many unsuitable people on the ground of the cheapness of training alone. Another deterrent is the length of time required for training, which cannot be reduced without harm to the student and would persist even under a State-aided scheme. Conditions and wages of nurses can also be dealt with; the Rushcliffe recommendations laid the foundation for improvements in this direction, which incidentally were not least needed in the municipal and county hospitals.

(5) Research into "positive health" is in its infancy, and the safest course is to leave its investigators to feel their way and map out the ground for study before

submitting it to the stereotyping process of nationalisation. It is open to question whether any government body could permit itself to give the latitude necessary for studies of such wide scope. It is more likely that State-run clinics would continue to concern themselves with the alleviation of ill-health and suffering and the registration of the sufferers.

STATE PURCHASE OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

Pro : (1) If the State took over the liquor traffic, no confiscation of vested interests would be involved, as full compensation would be given, based on a fair estimation of average profits and the prospects of the trade.

(2) The State, by effecting economies in manufacture, distribution, transport, storage, etc., could make such profits as would cover the amount invested in the purchase within a few years. The State Management District at Carlisle has justified itself financially and otherwise.

(3) The aim of State purchase and control is to abolish the abuse of alcohol and to preserve opportunities for its proper use. The actual vendors would have no interest in the amount consumed, though they might be given commission on non-alcoholic sales.

(4) Prohibition is impossible and undesirable here. Brewers will not provide the money or the organisation for proper reform, for it is not to their interest to do so. The State would have every incentive to turn the public house into a café or restaurant, and see that only good liquor was sold. The more pernicious spirits might be prohibited.

(5) The State already is interested in the trade and in the most harmful way, for it gets an enormous annual revenue under conditions that make it indifferent about the social effect.

Con : (1) Compensation to publicans and brewers would involve such huge sums that it would be ruinous.

(2) The State would never consent to a reduction in the traffic in which State money was sunk. If it did, its finances would go to pieces.

(3) The State's policy would be to encourage drinking for budgetary purposes.

(Some) The brewers themselves and private agencies, e.g., Trust Houses Ltd, the People's Refreshment House Association, are now reforming the public house and abolishing abuses.

(4) Prohibition is the only cure whether in one step or by Local Option. Many young people who could not otherwise drink would be encouraged by the reform of the public house to take to the habit.

(5) The State should have nothing to do with such an immoral trade. It would be countenancing crime, poverty, and misery.

(6) State purchase is mainly advocated by the Labour Party, as part of its gospel of nationalisation.

(7) The reduction in drunkenness during the War was due to the imposition of restrictions on quality and quantity and not to the operations of the Central Board. Carlisle was not a great success; the system was unpopular. In Sweden municipalisation (the Gothenburg system) has by

(6) State purchase is supported by men of all parties, but not by teetotal fanatics nor by brewers' agents. Especially is it popular with Labour, which views other projects with suspicion.

(7) State control in the War of 1914–1918 reduced drunkenness. At Carlisle the success was great, and adjoining areas have asked to come under it. The very imperfect Gothenburg system was fairly successful in Sweden, though it was not under complete public control and applied only to spirits.

(8) There is no reason why Local Option should not be provided for under State purchase.

(9) The present system is bad for the moderate drinker personally, inflicts great evils on the community, and is unsatisfactory to the publican. The brewers would accept a fair price.

STERILISATION OF THE UNFIT

Pro : (1) There is now conclusive evidence that certain types of mental deficiency and certain physical defects and diseases are transmitted to offspring according to known laws. The sterilisation of persons liable to transmit such defects would help substantially towards their eradication at a small cost and with the least possible interference with the liberty and the fullest experience of life of the present defectives.

(2) Moral and religious duty impels us to take such a simple step towards ending a source of great suffering and degradation.

(3) Degeneracy is largely responsible for slums and the worst social problems. It is cruel and absurd to try to palliate evil results, while leaving their sources unchecked.

(4) Owing to the greater security of life in modern times, this problem becomes worse, because defectives survive in a higher no means been a success. War conditions are not peace conditions and Sweden is not Britain.

(8) State purchase would prevent any more drastic treatment of the liquor problem for many years. Since, also, it will meet with just as much opposition as prohibition, it would be better to press for that straight away.

(9) The complaints against the present system are largely unfounded, and are losing what validity they had as the habits and standards of life of the people are changing. Public-house owners who wish to improve the conditions under which their trade is carried on have often been hindered by the stupidity and fanaticism of the self-styled "temperance reformers" among the licensing magistrates.

Con : (1) Sterilisation is an unwarranted interference with personal liberty and an infringement of the dignity which should be preserved even in the least fortunate of human beings. Moreover, sterilisation involves a major operation for females, though it is simple enough for males. Geneticists have shown that most of such defects are transmitted to offspring only when both parents, who may themselves be normal, carry the weakness (a "recessive gene"). Sterilisation of actual defectives would therefore only touch the fringe of the problem, and under random mating would only slightly reduce the proportion of defectives in each succeeding generation.

(2) It is against all religious standards and scruples. The tradition of Christianity is hostile to such interference with the workings of nature.

(3) Much degeneracy is due to

proportion than formerly, while people of intelligence above the average have smaller families than ever. This is a most serious matter for the future of civilisation in this and other countries.

(5) Great care must necessarily be exercised in carrying out the proposal, but doctors, who are traditionally and professionally jealous of the rights and well-being of their patients, and lawyers, who are notoriously conservative in their outlook, can be relied on to prevent abuses.

(6) The advance of civilisation comes from the superior stocks. The production of an occasional genius is not sufficient compensation for the harm done and suffered by an increasing number of defectives in the community.

bad social conditions, inadequate attention and education during childhood, and poverty. The true problem of mental deficiency can only be understood when these causes are removed.

(4) The most promising attack on this problem is by way of scientific research into the effects of diet, sunlight, and the activities of various glands on the mental and physical growth of man. As our present social system favours the prosperity of those who can make money rather than of those who can contribute to the development of culture, the infertility of genius is not to be wondered at.

(5) The administration of such a measure lends itself to great abuses. In countries where liberty of opinion and conduct is little valued, it is a punitive weapon against people who depart from the beaten track. It will always be used against the poor, never against the rich.

(6) Many of the geniuses to whom the world owes much of its culture belonged to families in which other members were below normal, and the potential losses are great.

SUICIDE : Is it a Crime?

Pro : (1) Suicide is wrong, because man's life, being a gift from God, belongs to Him, and only God has the right to decide how long a man shall live and when he shall die.

(2) It is opposed to natural human instincts ; healthy-minded men take pleasure in life and enjoy even facing difficulties.

(3) It is a dereliction of duty, since " we are all members one of another," and should make ourselves useful in the community to which we belong. Misfortunes, such as apparently incurable disease, are not sufficient excuse for deserting our posts.

(4) Struggling with adversity

Con : (1) Many religions, several Christian sects, and some philosophers have praised and practised suicide. The Christian Church did not denounce it till the Council of Arles, A.D. 623.

(Some) A man is not responsible for the obligation to go on living, which he did not undertake of his own free will.

(2) We do not know what is natural or instinctive in man. Many " instincts " are incompatible one with another. Civilisation has developed through the repression of instincts. What may be culpable in a healthy-minded man, may quite well be natural to a sick mind, and most suicides are

at once moulds one's own character and sets a good example to others. The suicides of older people, with more or less apparent excuse, have, through being condoned by a weak public opinion, a disastrous effect on a number of adolescents, who magnify petty disappointments into incurable tragedies, and kill themselves instead of facing their difficulties.

(5) The law should continue to punish attempts at suicide; it deters the culprit from other attempts and prevents others from following his example.

neither healthy nor happy.

(3) Suicide is often a benefit to the suicide's family and friends, and not infrequently to the community.

(4) To commit suicide, a healthy man must have received great provocation and possess great courage.

(5) The laws against suicide should be abolished. They punish, not suicide, but lack of success in attempting it. Just when some unhappy human being is most in need of help and sympathy the law threatens prosecution for a crime. Suicide is not anti-social, and the law should only deal with things that are.

See also EUTHANASIA: SHOULD IT BE LEGALISED?

SUNDAY CINEMAS AND GAMES

Pro: (1) There is a widespread demand for Sunday cinemas and for the opening of parks and other places of public recreation for Sunday games. People quite naturally desire the most wholesome form of rest, that is, not inactivity, but a salutary change of occupation, stimulating alike to mind and to body. The opposition to this demand comes from a minority of Sabbatarians, whose outlook is centuries behind the times, and who wish to impose their views on the whole nation.

(2) This is not so. The Act permitting the Sunday opening of cinemas makes the express provision that those employed on Sunday in places of entertainment shall have a complete day's rest on another day each week.

(3) In a complicated society like our own it is impossible to prevent all labour on a particular day. Trams and buses must run. Electric power must be generated for lighting and transport. Telegram and telephone services must be available. Monday morning's newspapers and Monday's bread

Con: (1) If Sunday games and cinemas were the general rule, still more people would discard all religious observances, and Sunday would become a day of noise, frivolity, and irreverence. If fewer people attend places of worship and fewer children go to Sunday School, there will be a general decline in morality. There has in fact been a continual lowering of moral standards contemporaneously with the decline in Sunday observance. Besides, the opening of places of amusement on a Sunday would deprive those engaged in them of their day of rest.

(2) A day off during the week is not equivalent to a free Sunday. It gives no opportunity for attending church or chapel, or for family reunion.

(Some) Sunday should be kept as a day apart. "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy."

(3) It may not be feasible to stop all labour on Sunday but at least there should be as few people employed as possible, and these only on essential services. No one can maintain that Sunday

are largely provided by Sunday labour. Few Sabbatarians would care to forego all these services. Still fewer, no doubt, would care to dispense with the protection afforded by the Sunday labours of the police, the fire brigades, and the medical profession.

cinemas are a necessity. It is doubtful even whether they serve any useful purpose on week-days, let alone Sundays.

TAXATION, INDIRECT: ABOLITION OF

Pro: (1) Indirect taxation violates the first principle of taxation, for it causes more to be taken from the taxpayer than it brings to the State. Direct taxation can still be extended, while its greater imposition on all classes will make them more eager to check extravagant expenditure by the Government.

(2) Indirect taxation can be transferred easily from the shoulders of one class to those of the class below it. The consequence is that the poor, who are least able to bear it, have to pay most.

(3) It restricts consumption and hampers trade.

(4) The revenue is uncertain and fluctuating.

(5) The expenses of collection are heavy.

Con: (1) Direct taxation is now so heavy that any extension is unthinkable. It is very unpopular with the working classes, who, nevertheless, ought to pay their share of the national expenditure. Though, theoretically, direct taxation may be better for the psychological health of the taxed community, moderate indirect taxation is to be preferred, as it is not felt so much.

(2) The transference is not so systematic as is often urged. It is only right that the poor should contribute to the cost of the benefits they receive.

(3) Some of the articles on which it is imposed are not suitable for unlimited encouragement, e.g., alcohol.

(4) Revenue from all forms of taxation is uncertain and fluctuating.

(5) Evasion is impossible, under the well-organised and incorruptible Customs and Excise Department.

THEATRES: ARE THEY IN NEED OF REFORM?

Pro: (1) The theatres of London have fallen into the hands of business men who openly admit they are concerned with nothing but profits. They know little of dramatic art, and agree that the largest profits are to be obtained from plays and entertainments which pander to the lowest tastes of the public. In the provinces

Con: (1) Theatres are not worse than they were. They give the public what amusement it wants, which is their proper function. Good plays are provided in sufficient numbers by the commercial theatre to satisfy those who wish to see them, and the occasional failure of very vulgar but expensive productions shows

matters are worse than in London.

(2) Landlords have put up rents to such an extent that serious producers can only venture upon the absolute certainty of packed houses or enormous capital. Even when these rare conditions are fulfilled, they are usually unable to get a theatre for more than a few weeks, if they get one at all. Plays or spectacles which achieve success are kept on for absurdly long runs, and many new plays never reach London at all. Actors who wish to do good work are forced to remain performing drivel, unless they are content with the limited audience of a suburban "little" theatre.

(3) The prices of seats in West End theatres are prohibitive for the majority of people, and this factor is largely responsible for the success of the cinema at the expense of the theatre. Managers treat obsequiously the rich who take expensive seats and conduct business solely with an eye to their requirements.

(4) The commercialised theatre is the centre of the grossest scandals. As the profession is overcrowded, owing to the policy of agents and managers to a large extent, entrance or continued employment is often made to depend on how attractive the actress makes herself to the managers and their richest patrons. It is notorious that promotion on the stage is often gained much as if it were a question of promotion in a harem.

(5) The stage has a direct influence much greater than that of the screen, but the present theatre policy does all it can to drive people away to the cinema.

that the public has a remedy in its own hands.

(2) If theatres are reformed as some people wish, they will fall into the hands of cranks, some of them with the theory that the chief subjects for drama are gloomy and unsavoury treatments of moral problems. One of the reasons for the commercial conservatism of managers is the already excessive taxation to which managers are subjected. Rents are admittedly high, but the remedy for this does not lie in further persecution of managers.

(3) The less wealthy are adequately considered, and those managers who have tried to increase cheaper seating by dispensing with expensive seating have quickly found themselves to be losing money. The majority of people would prefer suburban theatres near their homes, and the provision for the encouragement of municipal theatres in the 1948 Local Government Act should help to supply this need.

(4) Though the stage was always associated with immorality in the past, at present it is much less so than at any previous time. The large majority of actors and actresses take their art seriously, and any abuses are dealt with by British Equity and the leading managers. The growth of trade union organisation among actors has brought them into the same social and moral atmosphere as other workers.

(5) The cinema is now very much more important than the theatre as an industry and a social influence, but theatres will always remain for a specialised public, perhaps smaller than in former years.

TIED COTTAGES

Pro: (1) In feudal days farm workers lived on the lord's land, and gave him work in exchange

Con: (1) Tied cottages constitute a survival of serfdom, since a farm worker is prevented from

or accommodation and protection. Ever since then they have been accustomed to expect free or very cheap accommodation from their employers, with a little land where they can supplement their income by growing food for themselves. Farming is already suffering from a labour shortage, which will be further aggravated if farmers are no longer able to offer this inducement.

(2) Tied cottages are situated on the employer's land, and are placed there for the convenience of the workers. It would be grossly unfair if a dismissed worker were able to continue in occupation, or if a local authority were able to let these cottages to people quite unconnected with farming, while new workers on the farm were forced to live at a distance from their work. Hardship to dismissed or resigning workers and their families is part of the general rural housing problem, and would not exist if adequate alternative accommodation were provided by local authorities

(3) Rents in tied cottages are either low or non-existent. If a farmer were deprived of control over his tenants he could hardly be expected to charge an uneconomic rent. Similarly if a farm worker lived in a house away from his farm he would be obliged to pay a rent similar to those paid by other people, so that he would not benefit from any freeing of tied cottages, any more than would the employer.

voicing dissatisfaction, or views distasteful to his employer, by the additional fear of eviction, and is thus deprived of one of the elementary rights enjoyed by all other workers. It is partly the effort to escape from these feudal restrictions on their liberty, which have weighed longer on them than on any other section of the community, that has led so many of the younger farm workers to desert the land for other occupations.

(2) Living close to his work is not an unmixed blessing for the farm worker. It is often made the excuse for calling upon him to work at any hour of the day or night, and the threat of eviction and dismissal is used to coerce him. If there are no tied cottages, then the accommodation in a district can be made to correspond with the probable needs of its inhabitants, as in urban areas. Providing alternative accommodadation for workers who might or might not be evicted means in effect duplicating the housing problem in a district.

(3) The bad state of repair and lack of amenities of farm cottages are generally such that, were it not for their special status, many of them would be condemned by the authorities. Freeing them from restriction would encourage improvements, or in some cases overdue demolition. Increased rent for better housing accommodation would cause no hardship to farm workers who were properly paid, as they are more likely to be now that they have come into the scope of trade union organisation

TIED HOUSES, ABOLITION OF

Pro : (1) The tied-house system deprives the licence-holder of full responsibility for the good conduct of his house, and puts it under the control of a third party, in no way responsible to the magistrates.

(2) Those who own tied houses

Con : (1) It is to the brewer's interest that the tenant should conduct his house in a proper manner, so that the licence may not be endangered. Tenants of tied houses are often themselves largely interested in them.

impose onerous terms on their tenants, and by making their tenure terminable at very short notice, keep them completely under their own control.

(3) The quality of the beer suffers, since the brewers are able to sell whatever beer they choose to their tenants, who are bound by agreement not to return any; and for the beer thus sold to them the tenants are bound to pay a higher price than the owners of free houses pay.

(4) The tendency of the owners of tied houses is to extend the system to every article sold on the premises—spirits, wines, tobacco, etc.

(5) The uncertainty of tenure and the onerous terms oblige the tenants of tied houses to increase their sales to the utmost, so that they may make money while the business remains in their hands. Thus the system is a direct incitement to drunkenness.

(6) The system is illegal, since a licence, which is granted to one man, is granted to him alone, without power to assign it; and such transfer would be null and void; a brewery owning a tied house in pursuance of such a transfer would be guilty of a breach of law if it sought to turn out the original licence-holder.

(7) Brewers very often fix the rent at a low figure in order to lower the assessment, and thus are able to evade their fair share of taxation.

(8) The drink trade, being a licensed one, cannot be compared with any other, and the publican must be regarded in the light rather of a public servant than of a tradesman.

(9) Brewers cannot complain if their "rights" are ignored, since, knowing the law, they yet choose to risk their money on the chance of the law's not being applied. The publican has never been recognised as having a "right" to demand a renewal of his licence.

(2) No publican need take a tied house, nor would he if the terms were too onerous: that tied houses are the subjects of eager competition disproves all assertions as to the tyranny of the brewers.

(3) No brewer will deliberately sell bad beer in a house under his own name. Most brewers allow their tenants to return beer if not good; and if the tenant has to pay a higher price for his beer, he receives an excellent *quid pro quo* in that he has to pay nothing for the goodwill of the business, and gets possession for a lower rent than would be possible on any other system.

(4) The tenant is rarely tied for anything beyond beer; but even where the tie extends to wines and spirits, these must be good, or the public would not buy them.

(5) Customers buy the liquor that they want—no more. They are not likely to increase the amount at the bidding of the publican.

(6) If the tied-house system is illegal, why is it necessary to introduce an Act of Parliament to say so? Magistrates have, as a rule, declined to interfere with the system. In cases where they have interfered their action has proved most unwise; for instance, the Crewe magistrates insisted on the removal of a provision in the agreement fining the publican £100 every time he endangered his licence by illegal conduct or mismanagement of his house—though this was a strong guarantee for the good management of the house.

(7) It is a matter for the authorities to see that the assessment is put at a fair figure, and it cannot be charged as a fault against the tied-house system if they fail in their work.

(8) The tied-house system prevails in every country business where large firms have branches, and there is no reason why a distinction should be drawn between the drink trade and others.

(10) The system has often ended n throwing the trade of a whole listrict into the hands of one ›rewery, or amalgamation of ›reweries, thus destroying all ompetition.

(11) The evils of the system are elt by all connected with the rade, and the system is almost niversally condemned.

(9) Much money has been spent by brewers in improving their properties; to hand this over to the publican without compensation to the brewer would be spoliation.

(10) No district is so completely monopolised by any one brewery that it can be said that competition is altogether destroyed.

(11) If the system were universally condemned, it would be quite possible for the big breweries to combine to put an end to it.

TOTAL WAR

Pro : (1) The relation of war-waging to the life of the general population has irrevocably changed with the development of modern economy. Victory in modern war depends on the co-operation of the civilian population in the making of aircraft, munitions, and so on, and in the maintenance of industrial organisation generally. It is only logical that the civilian population should be attacked equally with the armed forces, since victory is the primary aim of war even today. Suffering among the civilian population keeps the realities of war before their eyes, and prevents them from becoming callous or complacent with regard to their own combatants and the conduct of war in general. They are also likely to become less bellicose when future wars are discussed. In the past the civilians were always those who were anxious for war to be declared; this is unlikely to be so in the future, in Britain at any rate.

(2) If a war must be fought, the interests of both victor and vanquished demand that it should be as short as possible, and mass bombing and attacking of the civilian population undoubtedly shortens war. Hitler achieved the subjection of Poland in a few

Con : (1) Total war, i.e., the infliction of suffering on civilians in order to demoralise or exterminate them, is not inevitable. It involves a barbarity which cannot be said to be an integral part of modern economic development. In its modern manifestations it is a German invention, and we are no more obliged to adopt it than to adopt Nazi methods of racial persecution and extermination. So far from inducing a more pacific frame of mind in civilians, it increases hatred of the enemy and leads to clamour for reprisals.

(2) There is no evidence that the use of such methods shortens war. Poland fell to Hitler because she was taken by surprise and had no means of defence; the mass bombing of Britain, on the other hand, brought no surrender and merely strengthened determination to resist. Japan cannot be adduced as an example since it is reported that the intimations of surrender had already been made by the Japanese authorities when the atomic bombs were dropped.

(3) That chemical warfare is strategically useless is proved by the fact that neither side attempted to use it in the 1939 war. It has the disadvantage that areas so treated tend to become impassable for advancing troops,

weeks in 1939. Resistance in Japan in 1945 collapsed overnight after atom bombs were dropped.

(3) Chemical and bacteriological warfare, and perhaps the atomic bomb, are useful elements in a campaign because they save the expense, organisation and weight of manpower involved in waging war on land. Bacteriological warfare particularly is suitable for development, and might even decrease the horrors of war if some means is found of disabling an enemy population without exterminating them.

(4) War has always caused suffering and devastation, from the days of the bow and arrow. As it becomes wider in its scope owing to the development of modern transport and long-range weapons, its effects are naturally more widely publicised, but the quality of the effect it produces on civilian populations is not altered. Under total war the population of a country with a successful army can no longer comfortably ignore the sufferings of the vanquished population.

without whom no war can finally be won. The danger would be even more acute in the case of bacteriological warfare. The use of such weapons is an act of cruelty the evil of which is not compensated for by any value in strategy.

(4) We rightly deplored the use of tactics of total war by the Nazis in the Second World War, and should not resort to imitations of them ourselves. If war has a legitimate purpose at all, which is doubted by many, it is the imposing of the will of the victorious nation on the vanquished, and not its extermination.

(Some) All war is wrong, and the terrorising of civilian populations by the methods of total war only shows the depths to which warlike practices can reduce the human mind and heart.

TRADE UNIONS : Should their Powers be Restricted

Pro : (1) By their power to call strikes as and when the leaders desire, the more powerful unions hold up industry to ransom, and injure the country in numerous ways. A secret ballot on any strike issue should always be enforced by law, and it should be carried out by public officials so as to avoid trickery. The public authorities might even be empowered to control the form of ballot paper.

(2) They should be prohibited from authorising or financing strikes on such frivolous questions as the demarcation of crafts or compulsory membership of one union rather than another.

Con : (1) Strikes are never called unless the leaders have the most overwhelming evidence that their members wish to strike. Most unions have elaborate machinery for determining what their members want, and the influence of trade union leaders is exercised nowadays rather in moderating than in provoking the desire to strike. To restrain workmen from going on strike is an infringement of their liberty, personal and in association.

(2) Such strikes usually occur only where the men have struck independently of or even against the advice of their leaders. There is nearly always some other more

(3) Pressure on workmen to become members should be prohibited, and any coercive steps which unionists might take against non-unionists should be heavily penalised, whether they involve violence or not.

(4) Because one set of people engage in malpractice, there is no justification for another set to imitate their example.

(5) " Peaceful " picketing should be prohibited, or at least surrounded with greater safeguards. Trade unions should be liable for the unlawful acts of their members, as their present legal privileges render them a danger to the community.

(6) The practice of " contracting-out," by which members who disagree with the political affiliations of their unions are forced to take special steps to retain their political levies, should be forbidden. Many workers are forced to acquiesce in the encouragement of political acts far removed from the legitimate purpose of a trade body, on pain of victimisation.

serious cause of trouble, to which justice is rarely done by a hostile Press.

(3) The reaction against those who accept all the benefits that their fellow-workmen get for them, and do nothing whatever to assist in getting them, is natural. Here again, the few abuses which occur are exaggerated.

(4) The whole idea of crippling the unions, on pretext of keeping them to their legitimate functions, is promoted by those who practise the same sort of abuse in their own interests and against the community—forming rings for the restriction of output and raising of prices, suppressing inventions, withdrawing investments to foreign countries, etc.

(5) The history of trade unions provides sufficient justification for their legal privileges. Any attack on their legal status will be a boomerang on those who engineer it.

(6) A trade union has as much right to further the interests of its members in the political sphere as in the industrial, especially now that industry is so closely affected by legislation. The overwhelming majority of trade unionists is content with the political affiliations of unions, and agitation against them is mainly conducted by Conservative elements who object to the increased power thus given to the Labour Party. Any member is free to " contract-out " and no compulsion can be laid on him.

UNEMPLOYMENT, STATE REMEDY FOR : " WORK OR MAINTENANCE "

Pro : (1) Unemployment is one of the worst misfortunes that can befall a person or family, and has many indirect evil influences on industry and society at large. As we are not likely to see it ended by the natural operations of economic forces as they work at present

Con : (1) The evils of unemployment are admittedly great, but it is due to conditions and circumstances which cannot be ended or mended quickly by any State action. Only by patience and the slow rebuilding of international trade can we look for relief. On

—indeed the present system of industry actually needs a reserve of unemployed for its maintenance—the State should step in to help. It is unjust that workers should suffer for conditions which they cannot in any way control. America's unemployment problem in the slump years was worse than ours. It was dealt with by President Roosevelt as a matter of national urgency—which indeed it was—with a considerable measure of success.

(2) A man who is less efficient than another is usually not responsible for that, and he and his quite innocent family ought not to suffer. The " dole " was and is a good thing. If it was not that which staved off revolution, at least it has saved wages and conditions of work from utter degradation, and been valuable in preventing adolescent workers from being forced into industry on a pittance.

(3) Subsidy is not the only method. Insurance can be much improved. But the best solution would be for the State to have on hand important and extensive work that could be hurried on or not, according to the number of workers to be absorbed. Idleness, on a pittance that scarcely keeps body and soul together, destroys health as well as happiness.

(4) Unemployment cannot be made a direct charge on industry because all sections of industry are not affected by it in the same way. There are also many workmen, chiefly unskilled, who shift about from one industry to another.

(5) Thrift is not a virtue when the family income is inadequate to satisfy present needs. If unemployment were properly dealt with, trade unions would be willing to relax their regulations about output and so on, for these are mainly designed to secure that their members are not thrown out of work owing to temporary gluts the other hand, matters would be much improved by the withdrawal of trade-union restrictions on rates of output and on the sort of job a tradesman can do, by the freeing of industry from the multitude of restrictions which hamper it, and according to some, by an increased measure of Protection for our home market. Otherwise co-operation among workmen in their trade unions and friendly societies can best cope with the evil.

(2) The majority of the permanently unemployed are the less efficient workmen. Inefficiency must not be encouraged. The " dole " given by the State since 1918 has done untold evil, and has proved the greatest single impediment to the adjustment of our industrial system to changed conditions.

(3) State intervention can only be by subsidy, an evil thing apart from the general undesirability of State action in economic affairs. The insurance schemes *per se* are unobjectionable, as long as they remain on an insurance basis; but political forces in a democracy invariably tend to remove them from that basis. If the State undertakes industrial enterprises, it is in competition with its own citizens, either directly or for the use of credit facilities.

(4) (Some) The State is not the proper organ for relieving the misfortunes occasioned by unemployment. Since capitalist industry depends on a reserve of labour, each industry should be made to support its own unemployed. This is a charge which ought not to be spread over the general population. If each trade had to meet its own problems, it would quickly turn to reorganisation of its production and marketing, with most beneficial results.

(5) State maintenance of the unemployed would discourage thrift among the working classes and would foster idleness and

on the market. It is well known that a period of unemployment decreases the skill and general efficiency of a worker by lowering his standard of living, so that the general prevention of unemployment would raise the average efficiency.

(6) The bank rate can be used to stimulate trade and industry.

inefficiency. Even on present standards the unemployed sometimes draw allowances of as much or nearly as much as their fellows get for a whole week's work.

(6) The manipulation of credit would have the gravest reactions on our internal and external trade, with the result that industry would sink to an even worse condition.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Pro : (1) That an international organisation of some sort is necessary has been proved by the fact that, in spite of the failure of the League of Nations in some fields, and fortified by the experience of another world war, the nations of the world have thought it necessary to form a successor organisation. A modern world without any international authority is unthinkable.

(2) The ultimate failure of the League, and the difficulties which UNO encounters in the field of high politics, should not blind us to the useful work done by the League which UNO is continuing. It can be a valuable agent in facilitating international co-operation in such matters as health, education, control of dangerous drugs, suppression of the white slave traffic, and (through the associated International Labour Office) conditions of labour in industry, [illegible]
It has been [illegible] mere habit of representatives of various nations meeting together, and discussing matters for the general good will create a valuable habit of mind and temper which should have a wide and beneficent influence."

(3) The constitution of UNO is more realistic than that of the League of Nations. The establishment of the Security Council, the pre-eminence of the Big Five, and the right of veto among them,

Con : (1) History is strewn with the wreckage of attempts at international organisation, of which UNO is only the latest. They have all split on the same rock of sovereignty, and UNO will be no exception. Such an organisation cannot succeed because the necessary prerequisite—willingness on the part of member countries to recognise its overriding rights—is lacking. The scant respect with which its decisions on such questions as Palestine and South-West Africa have been treated by the states concerned; the growing tendency to bypass it in making such projects as the Marshall plan for American aid to Europe; the failure to take even the first step in the setting up of a world armed force and the international inspection and regulation of armaments; all these things show that the process of decay has already begun, even sooner than it did in the League of Nations.

(2) That international regulation of various social matters is a good thing cannot be denied, but this work can equally well be carried on by *ad hoc* bodies, as has been done in the past. In fact it is endangered by being linked artificially to the controversial discussions on political and diplomatic issues on which there is continual disagreement. Wrecking of UNO on political issues would

ensure that whatever decisions are taken will correspond with the power and willingness to carry them out of those great powers on whom such duties would mostly descend. The taking of unworkable decisions to placate unimportant members, and the bargaining for the votes of these smaller members, that disgraced the meetings of the League of Nations are impossible in UNO. The right of veto, while it may limit the number of decisions taken on the Security Council, at least ensures that such decisions as are taken are in accord with the general will, and helps to hold UNO together.

(4) If there were no disagreements of principles between different countries there would be no need for any such all-embracing body as UNO. The function of UNO lies precisely in making it possible for nations to act together on the basis of whatever agreement they can eventually achieve after disagreement and discussion. Widely publicised international discussions put a brake on secret diplomacy and secret alignments of forces, and create at the very least a more wholesome atmosphere than that in which international life was formerly carried on. The League of Nations turned out to be a sturdier body than in its infancy it had promised to be, and despite its final decay actually ensured several years of comparative peace and achieved some progress in establishing the idea of international amity. It established the new principle of admitting defeated nations eventually to the councils of the nations instead of trying to hold them in perpetual bondage.

(5) Economically the world is moving toward the breakdown of national barriers. The formation of Benelux by Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, the progress leave its social committees hig and dry.

(3) Bargaining and intriguing for support of smaller members and for their votes in the General Assembly is continuing. The smaller nations are resentful at the predominance of the Big Five and will certainly try to force a a change in the Constitution. In the meantime they are trying to ensure that their interests will be brought to the general attention by attaching themselves to one great power or another. The right of veto is under continual attack in the Security Council itself. The very narrowness of the conditions under which agreement must be reached gives rise to an inflexibility which might well cause the breakage of the machinery itself.

(4) UNO corresponds even less than did the League to the world alignment of forces and social viewpoints. In hard fact the nations are divided into two camps, those of Socialist and capitalist countries, and decisions are taken, and arguments presented, in the meetings of UNO in accord with one or other of these tendencies. Where formal international agreement is difficult UNO is by-passed. The failure of the League when it was tested on the questions of aggression in China, Abyssinia and Spain was due to this fact, and UNO is likely to repeat the sorry story.

(5) Agreements to abolish tariffs and abide by international decisions on economic matters are premature and are apt to be flouted when conditions are unfavourable. Already the conclusions and decisions of the International Monetary Fund have proved unpalatable to more than one nation, and measures of national adjustment have been taken despite its advice and without its approval.

(6) Religious and political bodies are able to achieve a fairly stable organisation because they

towards European customs union and the general agreement on the desirability of lowering tariff barriers are all illustrations of this tendency. Conditions are likely to grow more favourable to the success of UNO, not less so.

(6) Liquidation of UNO would leave sectional bodies such as Communists, Catholics, and international financiers as the only ones internationally organised. UNO organises the citizen in his non-political and non-sectarian aspect.

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Pro : (1) The national idea was necessary in the Middle Ages to raise the world out of barbarism and help the development of modern civilisation, but it has served its purpose, and events since 1914 have finally shown that complete national sovereignty is unworkable. Ever since the Congress of Vienna the nations of Europe have been attempting to reach some form of unity. The League of Nations was wrecked on the rock of national sovereignty, and if Europe is to be a power in the counsels of UNO its constituent countries must consent to some form of federation among themselves.

(2) For various reasons, but mainly because of their sufferings as important theatres of war, the European countries are no longer economically strong enough to make their voices heard among the great powers ; yet European civilisation has a great tradition and a unique contribution to make to international life. Together they could become a telling force and rank alongside the numerically stronger American and Asiatic powers.

(3) Modern economics demand a larger geographical unit than can be provided by any single country have a common purpose, and financiers because it suits their pockets. UNO has no such basis in cold fact. Moreover, in such organisations as the Catholic Church and the Cominform the national offshoots accept in advance the authority of the central body.

Con : (1) The idea of European federation is fantastic and unpractical. There is no true identity between the various states of Europe, and national sovereignty is necessary in order to preserve the distinctions to which they cling. The League failed because it was not content with limited achievements based on the few common interests of its members, but strove after an unreal and unattainable unity. The same possibility is inherent in UNO, and would certainly appear in a U.S.E.

(2) The British Commonwealth is still strong enough and united enough to constitute a cogent force in world policy, despite occasional disagreements. A United States of Europe might benefit some other countries, but has no advantages for Britain and would complicate our relations with the Dominions and Colonies. Whatever may be said of other European nations, Britain and France are still recognised as Great Powers.

(3) It would be over-optimistic to expect any country to weaken the balance of its economic life for the benefit of a federation. So far from wishing to rise above nationalism, most countries are

in Europe. The industrial and agricultural nations of Europe are complementary, natural resources are distributed over the whole continent, and their integration would simplify the tasks of reconstruction and development which face Europe today. Britain particularly would benefit from freer access to Europe's food supplies. The Benelux countries have made a step in the right direction.

(4) There is no reason for a United States of Europe to exclude any nation from its orbit. Despite the differences of war all the nations have similar problems to face, and differences in ideology and degree of State control are of decreasing importance in these days, so that Socialist and capitalist countries could take part without any serious difficulties arising. Germany might eventually be included, since her prosperity is bound up with, and essential to, the prosperity of Europe as a whole.

(5) The idea of federation is not new. It has worked very successfully in the United States of America in spite of early growing pains, and the power of the Federal organisation there is expanding in a natural manner. Yet the idea seemed so outrageous to some people at first that a Civil War had to be fought to establish it. Since then political education in the world at large has so much advanced that federation could be initiated much more painlessly in Europe. It has also worked well in the U.S.S.R., which is a federation of national republics, and notably in Switzerland.

striving to achieve self-sufficiency, both industrial and agricultural. Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg have achieved a limited union because they have fundamentally the same economic interests and mode of life. Proposals for a Franco-British customs union have so far come to nothing. Britain's need for food can be met by normal import-export dealings and arrangements with the Commonwealth countries.

(4) For the United States of Europe to succeed it would have to include all European countries. There would be much opposition to the inclusion of Germany on equal terms, supposing that Germany continues to exist as such. Russia has shown little interest in the idea, and her economic system is too far removed from those of other countries to be easily absorbed into a federal system.

(Some) In practice the U.S.E. idea is most popular among those who would exclude Russia and countries ideologically linked to her. A Western U.S.E. would be more likely to lead to war than to encourage the rebuilding of Europe.

(5) The United States of America were formed in a new and unsettled country by groups of people whose outlook and racial origins were similar at the time. In Russia State autonomy is slender and the Federal authority overriding. Switzerland is composed of states with strong economic identity whose racial differences are more apparent than real. Europe, on the other hand, consists of old-established countries with long traditions and pronounced national differences. For Britain entry into a U.S.E. would amount to abandonment of some of our most cherished institutions and abdication as a great power.

UNIVERSITY REFORM

Pro : (1) Universities should be national, in that they ought to provide for the highest cultural requirements of the whole nation, and no university should be reserved for one or two classes of society. Oxford and Cambridge are first and foremost playgrounds for the idle rich. They make the chief criterion of entry the possession of so much money. Their social and cultural life is based on the habits of the moneyed classes first, and on the considerations of education and intellectual progress second. They admit persons who are unsuitable and cannot get rid of them.

(2) The consequence is that the standard of living is high and constantly rising both for undergraduates and for dons. Although expenses only cover about half the year, £350 is the very minimum required for the barest participation in the social side of the university, while at some colleges the minimum is much higher. Endowments have been largely diverted from the poor, for whom they were intended, to the rich.

(3) University legislation and administration should be in the hands of the teaching staffs and others who are carrying on the university, who know its needs and difficulties.

(4) Prize fellowships which involve no obligations should be abolished.

(5) All universities should be controlled to some extent by the Board of Education in the national interest, because they form part of the national educational system, and because they would become bankrupt without the financial help of the State. The newer universities are falling into dependence on the rich men who keep them supplied with funds in return for a development in favour of their own prejudices and com-

Con : (1) The number of persons from the poorer sections of society who would benefit from education at the older universities is small. Those who can benefit already have many opportunities through scholarships, etc. The ranks of labour can only be leavened by such methods as the University Extension system. It would be unjust to exclude the rich because they are rich. University life ought not to be based purely on intellectual considerations. Oxford and Cambridge are national institutions, as they are the repositories of the finest traditions of the nation.

(2) The misappropriation of endowments is grossly exaggerated. If they were retained solely for the poorer students, scholarship would suffer and a social discrimination would be introduced that would savour of patronage. An undergraduate can live on a very modest amount if he is careful, and at the same time enjoy all the solid benefits of university life.

(3) To limit the conception of a university to a body of resident dons marks a self-satisfied exclusiveness. The true university comprises all its graduate members.

(4) Prize fellowships are useful, as they afford distinguished young men a chance of getting started in a profession and form a valuable link between the university and the outside world.

(5) Private munificence will provide most of the fresh money required, but what is provided by the State should not involve control. The danger of management by business interests is remote. Management by the State would be fatal to progress and liberty of opinion. Nazi Germany was an example of this.

(6) The present cry is for science, regardless of other interests, and regardless indeed of

mercial undertakings. America is a warning in this respect.

(6) The older universities still lay too much stress on the comparatively valueless pursuits of classics, theology, and law. Educationally and for the sake of the community, university curricula ought to be based on natural science. Furthermore, they should be so reorganised, especially in the scientific departments, as to allow more time and opportunity for research. In the newer universities particularly, there is too much teaching which is directed to the passing of examinations.

(7) (Some) There are already too many universities. However small and local in character, they try to cover the whole field of university education. As a result there is widespread overlapping and inefficiency.

first principles of national welfare and educational progress. Oxford and Cambridge have produced many great scientists, but a university of scientists would be a national calamity. Many branches of science are almost useless, while science without moral philosophy is a danger to the world. Many scientists, not excluding some who are distinguished, are remarkably ignorant and presumptuous about subjects off their special track.

(7) No university is granted a charter until the institutions out of which it grows have reached a suitable status and can establish their case for the grant. Local universities, by their appeal to local patriotism, divert funds to education which would otherwise go to different objects. Moreover, they extend the opportunity of university education to many who could not afford the more expensive residential universities.

VACCINATION

Pro : (1) Vaccination, efficiently performed in infancy, and repeated at puberty, has proved an almost absolute protection against smallpox. In the few cases where smallpox occurs after vaccination, the disease is always modified to such an extent as not to be recognisable in its early stages. In pre-vaccination days the mortality from smallpox, and the blindness, disfigurement and other injuries caused by it were universally dreaded. The very success of Jenner's discovery has blotted out these dangers from our national consciousness.

(2) Statistics show an enormous difference between the relative numbers of cases of smallpox among the vaccinated and unvaccinated, which also show far fewer fatal cases. This was strikingly borne out in the case of the

Con : (1) The only definition that can be found for "efficient" vaccination is that which is not followed by smallpox. Even if this occurs in the individual, vaccination will not destroy the infectivity of the disease, so that a person immunised by vaccination might act as a carrier for non-immune people. This fact may easily disguise the serious nature of an epidemic at its start. In the present high state of development of preventive medicine in Britain there is no likelihood that an epidemic will get far before control measures stop it.

(2) In the first week or two after vaccination there is actually an increased liability to the disease in the patient. There is also the risk of infection giving rise to a severe form of encephalitis known as vaccinia, which may cause

troops invading tropical countries in 1939–45.

(3) The Registrar-General's annual returns show how smallpox has decreased since vaccination was introduced, and especially within the last seventy years. Improved sanitation and habits do not account for the change in the age-incidence of smallpox, since hygiene affects all ages. Nor do they account for such remarkable changes as that in the Philippines, where the deaths from smallpox numbered 6,000 a year before the Americans introduced vaccination. Within a year of the general introduction the number of deaths a year sank to *none*. Apart from vaccination, there is no reason why smallpox should be affected by sanitation to a greater degree than, say, measles or whooping cough, though its incidence has fallen much more. Recent outbreaks have been due to special causes such as the return of soldiers and sailors in great numbers from the tropics, and to carelessness in leaving children unvaccinated.

(4) Before antisepsis was practised, there was no doubt a small but real risk of conveying some form of sepsis. The risk now is infinitesimal. If vaccination were really the cause of disease and death, a crusade against it would be unnecessary, for it would not be countenanced by the medical profession.

(5) No infection except that of vaccinia can be conveyed by vaccination, if proper precautions are taken. The special risk to children has been recognised and it is no longer legally obligatory to have children vaccinated immediately after birth.

(6) Gloucester outbreak strikingly confirmed the efficacy of vaccination. Here, in consequence of the neglect of vaccination, the severest outbreak of smallpox recorded in modern times occurred. It is untrue to say that sanitary permanent mental derangement and invalidism if not death.

(3) Admittedly smallpox has decreased, but not to such an extent as other diseases, such as typhus and typhoid. Other diseases have shown remarkable decreases without vaccines or inoculations. The true cause is the sanitary awakening of the people, of which the Public Health Act of 1875 was both an integral and a striking evidence. Recent outbreaks have been quelled by energetic measures of sanitation and isolation, rather than by vaccination, since this is usually done after the first cases have been discovered, and too late for it to have any preventive effect.

(4) Coroners' inquests have over and over again proved that vaccination has been the cause of death. Jonathan Hutchinson in his *Archives of Surgery* recorded no less than 679 deaths from cowpox from 1881 to 1893, or more than a child a week. Such deaths were still being recorded in the thirties of this century. If these were instances of medical carelessness, the doctors should have been tried for manslaughter.

(5) There is a definite risk of infection at the site of vaccination by other organisms. There is no justification for subjecting small and helpless infants, who are the people most commonly vaccinated, to such a risk. The majority of vaccination deaths result from the use of calf lymph.

(6) There can be no doubt that the Gloucester outbreak was due to bad sanitary conditions, and also to the polluted water supply. As many as 61 per cent of the cases had been previously vaccinated. The arrangements at the hospital were disgracefully bad, and broke down utterly, a fact admitted by the medical inspector sent down by the Vaccination Commission. How much vaccination had to do with the decline of the epidemic may be seen from the fact that, while

conditions caused the outbreak, for the disease was confined almost entirely to the better and more recently built parts of the town; and the houses, so far from being jerry-built, had all, together with their sanitary arrangements, been approved by the authorities. It is also curious that, if the town suffered from bad drainage in any part, as was alleged by the anti-vaccinators, the deaths from typhoid were so few. The conditions at the hospital were not good, but there is every evidence from the statistics to show that the want of isolation was aggravated by the neglect of vaccination, which left the disease such a mass of material to work on. The sudden manner in which the disease declined when vaccination was initiated proves the efficacy of vaccination.

(7) Vaccination is an empirical example of the soundness of the germ theory of disease, upon which medical science now largely rests, especially that part which combats disease by inoculation of small doses of the same poison as the invading germs will produce, so as to prepare the resistance of the body against them.

(8) Smallpox, unmodified by vaccination, is one of the most infectious, contagious and fatal of all diseases. At any time it may be introduced into the country from abroad or a sporadic case of the worst type may occur. The increasing neglect of vaccination is converting large towns into veritable powder magazines. Any day a mild, unrecognised case of smallpox may cause an explosion compared with which previous disasters will appear trifling. In a city like London the rapid vaccination of millions of people would be impracticable. Hospital accommodation would be inadequate, and the supply of nurses and doctors far too small. It is urgent that people should be made to realise these things.

all authorities allow that vaccination requires fourteen days, sometimes a month, to become an effective check, the smallpox had begun to decline sixteen days before vaccination was resorted to on a wholesale scale, and had almost died down before it could have had any effect.

(7) Granted that the germ theory of disease is sound and that inoculation is a sensible procedure, vaccination is not in harmony with it, as patients are inoculated not with the germs or with the toxins of smallpox but with something different. Actually inoculation with smallpox is an offence liable to prosecution under the Vaccination Act, 1867.

(8) Smallpox is so rare that the time, money and effort spent in combating this non-existent enemy would be better employed fighting the serious evils of cancer, rheumatism, syphilis, tuberculosis, etc. The cases that do occur could be treated adequately by isolating and nursing them. By the theories of inoculation now current the whole population should be given a chance to acquire the very mild type of "smallpox" which now excites so much agitation, for thereby they would gain a degree of protection against the acute variety far superior to that afforded by vaccination. Thanks to the vigilance of our port authorities, smallpox brought in from abroad is prevented from spreading.

VEGETARIANISM

Pro (1) The slaughter of animals bred for the purpose is cruel and degrading. The conversion of pasture into arable land would greatly benefit the nation, as would the cessation of expensive meat imports. Artificial manures can be derived in ample quantities from coal and the atmosphere.

(2) (Some) Darwinian theories add special force to the argument against domesticating cattle for the purposes of slaughter; for artificial selection with a view to the table only is substituted for the healthy operation of natural selection, and the animal is thus deprived of its capacity to improve and rise in the scale of being. Moreover, animals in a domestic state are more liable to disease than when wild.

(3) The process of evolution teaches us that man will have less and less to do with animals, which are a fertile breeding-ground for disease, e.g., cows are largely responsible for tuberculosis.

(4) (Some) The universe is a whole, animals are just as much a part of it as man. Mankind must not violate the harmony and plan of the world by destroying his fellow creatures.

(5) The slaughter of animals is accompanied by much cruelty, as when calves and lambs are separated from their mothers. Animals also suffer much in transit, and while the cruelties at present associated with the slaughterhouse might be abated, they never could be quite abolished.

(6) The work of destruction is demoralising and the surroundings of the slaughterhouse are degrading. We ought to relieve our fellow-citizens of such employment. If everyone had to slaughter his own meat, most people would be vegetarians.

(7) Revelations from time to time, such as Upton Sinclair's

Con: (1) Unless animals are kept for food they will die out. If they are not kept in large numbers, arable land will not be properly manured, as artificial manures are not a complete substitute for organic. Fertilisers and manures would have to be imported instead of meat if there were any large extension of arable farming. A general conversion to vegetarianism would not prevent the killing of animals. If cows are to be kept for milk and cheese, then bulls would have to be destroyed as non-productive.

(2) The only alternative to domestication in man's service is extermination by man. Either process is a part of man's survival and selection. It is erroneous to suppose that wild animals are freer from disease and parasites than tame ones, or that natural selection is not as cruel in its operation as artificial.

(3) A world in which man has left no room for other animals is inconceivable. The tendency of history is to make man more and more dependent on a rational exploitation of the lower animals.

(4) A universal harmony is accepted or desired by only a few. Destruction of one animal by another seems to be a part of the world plan.

(5) Cruelty could easily be much mitigated by substituting public abattoirs for private ones. Much pain has been eliminated by the invention of the humane killer, and supervision of markets could help to ensure that animals were not unduly frightened. A certain amount of suffering is inevitable in nature; we can alleviate but not eliminate it. Moreover, the separation of the cow from its calf for the sake of its milk also involves a certain amount of cruelty.

(6) The fact that a trade is dis-

Jungle, show the abuses and horrors that the meat trade abounds in. Our markets, large and small, reveal themselves to ordinary observation as disseminators of dirt and disease.

(8) Vegetarianism fosters humanity and gentleness, while a meat diet produces ferocity.

(9) The formation of man's teeth (he has no teeth wherewith to tear flesh food), the fact that he has not a rough tongue, and the nature of his intestines, which are long and sacculated compared with those of flesh-eaters, prove him to be frugivorous by nature. The apes, which are nearest to man, are wholly vegetarian in diet. Neither man's strength nor his speed is as it would have to be if he were flesh-eating by nature. If man depended on his strength and speed for his flesh food, he would have to be a carrion eater.

(10) A vegetarian diet will give as much nourishment as a meat diet, for while the consumer of meat, which is mostly protein, takes in addition a large amount of starchy food, the vegetarian balances his diet by living on pulses and cereals which contain a large proportion of proteins mixed with starch. No scientific vegetarian lives on vegetables alone; nuts and cheese contain no starch.

(11) The craving for stimulants is in many cases the result of the stimulating qualities of meat, which induce a craving for stronger stimulants. The alcoholic nations are the meat-eating nations. The only hope of curing drunkenness lies in a non-meat diet.

(12) The poisons in meat, tea, and coffee produce certain forms of arterio-sclerosis, leading to premature old age. Sir Clifford Allbutt has said that comparatively few people over forty do not show some such signs, so that vegetarian diet cannot be held responsible for the premature old age of the majority.

(13) Meat is a concentrated food, and is therefore suitable for those who require much energy, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(14) Meat is a stimulant, and is therefore suitable for those who require stimulation, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(15) Meat is a cheap food, and is therefore suitable for those who require cheap food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(16) Meat is a delicious food, and is therefore suitable for those who require delicious food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(17) Meat is a digestible food, and is therefore suitable for those who require digestible food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(18) Meat is a nutritious food, and is therefore suitable for those who require nutritious food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(19) Meat is a wholesome food, and is therefore suitable for those who require wholesome food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(20) Meat is a natural food, and is therefore suitable for those who require natural food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(21) Meat is a healthful food, and is therefore suitable for those who require healthful food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(22) Meat is a strengthening food, and is therefore suitable for those who require strengthening food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(23) Meat is a fattening food, and is therefore suitable for those who require fattening food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(24) Meat is a warming food, and is therefore suitable for those who require warming food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(25) Meat is a cooling food, and is therefore suitable for those who require cooling food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(26) Meat is a moistening food, and is therefore suitable for those who require moistening food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(27) Meat is a drying food, and is therefore suitable for those who require drying food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(28) Meat is a binding food, and is therefore suitable for those who require binding food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(29) Meat is a loosening food, and is therefore suitable for those who require loosening food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(30) Meat is a purifying food, and is therefore suitable for those who require purifying food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(31) Meat is a cleansing food, and is therefore suitable for those who require cleansing food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(32) Meat is a healing food, and is therefore suitable for those who require healing food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(33) Meat is a curative food, and is therefore suitable for those who require curative food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(34) Meat is a preventive food, and is therefore suitable for those who require preventive food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(35) Meat is a protective food, and is therefore suitable for those who require protective food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(36) Meat is a restorative food, and is therefore suitable for those who require restorative food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(37) Meat is a revitalizing food, and is therefore suitable for those who require revitalizing food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(38) Meat is a rejuvenating food, and is therefore suitable for those who require rejuvenating food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(39) Meat is a longevity food, and is therefore suitable for those who require longevity food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(40) Meat is a immortality food, and is therefore suitable for those who require immortality food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(41) Meat is a divine food, and is therefore suitable for those who require divine food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(42) Meat is a heavenly food, and is therefore suitable for those who require heavenly food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(43) Meat is a celestial food, and is therefore suitable for those who require celestial food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(44) Meat is a spiritual food, and is therefore suitable for those who require spiritual food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(45) Meat is a mystical food, and is therefore suitable for those who require mystical food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(46) Meat is a occult food, and is therefore suitable for those who require occult food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(47) Meat is a esoteric food, and is therefore suitable for those who require esoteric food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(48) Meat is a exoteric food, and is therefore suitable for those who require exoteric food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(49) Meat is a universal food, and is therefore suitable for those who require universal food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(50) Meat is a cosmic food, and is therefore suitable for those who require cosmic food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(51) Meat is a infinite food, and is therefore suitable for those who require infinite food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(52) Meat is a eternal food, and is therefore suitable for those who require eternal food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(53) Meat is a absolute food, and is therefore suitable for those who require absolute food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(54) Meat is a perfect food, and is therefore suitable for those who require perfect food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(55) Meat is a complete food, and is therefore suitable for those who require complete food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(56) Meat is a whole food, and is therefore suitable for those who require whole food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(57) Meat is a unity food, and is therefore suitable for those who require unity food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(58) Meat is a harmony food, and is therefore suitable for those who require harmony food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(59) Meat is a peace food, and is therefore suitable for those who require peace food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(60) Meat is a love food, and is therefore suitable for those who require love food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(61) Meat is a wisdom food, and is therefore suitable for those who require wisdom food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(62) Meat is a truth food, and is therefore suitable for those who require truth food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(63) Meat is a beauty food, and is therefore suitable for those who require beauty food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(64) Meat is a goodness food, and is therefore suitable for those who require goodness food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(65) Meat is a righteousness food, and is therefore suitable for those who require righteousness food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(66) Meat is a holiness food, and is therefore suitable for those who require holiness food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(67) Meat is a sanctity food, and is therefore suitable for those who require sanctity food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(68) Meat is a purity food, and is therefore suitable for those who require purity food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(69) Meat is a chastity food, and is therefore suitable for those who require chastity food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(70) Meat is a virginity food, and is therefore suitable for those who require virginity food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(71) Meat is a celibacy food, and is therefore suitable for those who require celibacy food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(72) Meat is a monasticism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require monasticism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(73) Meat is a asceticism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require asceticism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(74) Meat is a mysticism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require mysticism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(75) Meat is a occultism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require occultism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(76) Meat is a esoterism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require esoterism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(77) Meat is a exoterism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require exoterism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(78) Meat is a universalism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require universalism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(79) Meat is a cosmicism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require cosmicism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(80) Meat is a infinitism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require infinitism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(81) Meat is a eternalism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require eternalism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(82) Meat is a absolutism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require absolutism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(83) Meat is a perfectism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require perfectism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(84) Meat is a completism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require completism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(85) Meat is a wholism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require wholism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(86) Meat is a unityism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require unityism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(87) Meat is a harmonism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require harmonism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(88) Meat is a peaceism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require peaceism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(89) Meat is a loveism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require loveism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(90) Meat is a wisdomism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require wisdomism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(91) Meat is a truthism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require truthism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(92) Meat is a beautyism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require beautyism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(93) Meat is a goodnessism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require goodnessism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(94) Meat is a righteousnessism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require righteousnessism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(95) Meat is a holinessism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require holinessism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(96) Meat is a sanctityism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require sanctityism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(97) Meat is a purityism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require purityism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(98) Meat is a chastityism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require chastityism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(99) Meat is a virginityism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require virginityism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

(100) Meat is a celibacyism food, and is therefore suitable for those who require celibacyism food, such as soldiers, labourers, and athletes.

sible. The peoples in all parts of the world that avoid meat are less liable to cancer than meat-eaters. Statistical studies have shown that life-long vegetarians tend to live longer than meat-eaters.

(13) Vegetarian diet is capable of as much variety as any meat diet can afford. Vegetarians have introduced to the masses new vegetables, such as haricot beans, tomatoes and lentils, and while costly dishes are possible, the object of rational vegetarians is to bring people to a rational simplicity.

(14) Diet should be settled scientifically, on the basis of man's basic requirements. It is natural that there should be different schools of vegetarians, but the principles remain the same. Vegetarians who relapse do so through special causes or through their own errors.

(15) A vegetarian diet ensures that adequate amounts of mineral salts and vitamins are consumed. Meat-eaters take vegetables; but they are often cooked in such a fashion as to destroy these vital substances. Appetite is also destroyed by the indifferent cooking of vegetables when their lack of flavour can be concealed by the flavour of meat.

(16) The latest evidence goes to show that the low rating put on cereal proteins is unsound. At least one cereal—soya bean—contains "first-class" protein. As the majority of people suffer from too great an intake of protein, this criticism of vegetarian diet is not important.

larger percentages escape digestion.

(11) Special complaints naturally need a special régime. Nations which are vegetarian are given to drug-taking, e.g., opium, betel, bhang, coca. The real hope for curing alcoholism lies in the development of mental therapeutics. Vegetarians are often of a slightly abnormal temperament and vegetarian literature hypochondriac.

(12) An exclusively vegetable diet is liable to produce debilitating intestinal disorders, especially if the food is uncooked. Most studies of vegetarians have been made in the United States; apart from other considerations, it is doubtful whether the British climate is suitable for the practice of vegetarianism. The differences in expectation of life are in any case so small as to make it hardly worth while to deprive oneself of the advantage and enjoyment of eating meat.

(13) While in theory vegetarianism offers a new and large variety of foods, in practice the reverse is the case; the food habitually consumed by vegetarians and served in vegetarian restaurants is often singularly deficient in variety, and cooked in unappetising ways. The "scientific vegetarians" who add eggs, milk, cheese, to their diets are not vegetarians, for they can only get those things if the rest of the world is meat-eating. A vegetarian diet adequate to the body and pleasing to the palate involves much expense of time and money.

(14) Vegetarians are not agreed among themselves; their varieties are numerous (e.g., V.E.M.—vegetables, eggs, and milk—fruitarians, purin-free, unfired), and they are as opposed to one another as they are to meat-eaters. Equally good cases could be made out for Fletcherism ("chew, chew, chew again"), the

fasting cure, and the exclusively meat diet. Quite a number of vegetarians take to meat again after some years.

(15) The remedy for such deficiences in meat-eaters' diets is to see that they eat salads and cook their non-flesh foods properly, not give up meat. Vegetarian cooking is frequently poor.

(16) The quality of the proteins in cereals and vegetables tends to be low, and since quality of food is as important as quantity, the consumer of animal foods, including cheese, scores heavily in this respect The amount of protein in a diet cannot in any case be prescribed for everybody on one scale; it is quite possible that sedentary workers can do with comparatively little, but very few heavy workers would tolerate the idea of vegetarianism, and in fact most vegetarians are drawn from the middle classes, in Britain, at any rate.

VIVISECTION AND EXPERIMENTS ON ANIMALS

Pro: (1) The healing art depends for its advancement on all the sciences, but especially on biology. The laws of biology can only be discovered by observation and experiment, just as the laws of other sciences have to be discovered. Observation may suggest a law, but only experiment can substantiate the theory. As men can only be observed comparatively casually and can only be the subject of experiments in exceptional circumstances, animals which are closely similar in physiological processes have to be used. The assertion that these laws might have been elucidated without experiments on animals is beside the point. Most of them certainly would not.

(2) Mental therapeutics demands exceptional personal gifts in the doctor, and is only suitable for a few. Vivisection has taught

Con: (1) Medicine and surgery are arts as well as sciences, and the animal economy is much more than a piece of machinery which can be taken to pieces and investigated in a vivisector's laboratory. Experiments done on subhuman creatures when, applied to man, are apt to be misleading and therefore dangerous. The late Sir Frederick Treves, himself a vivisector, admitted this as regards certain of his own experiments. The artificial diseases of the laboratory are not the same as diseases occurring naturally.

(2) Vivisection has distracted medical science away from psychopathology, with the result that mental science is very much behind the times. Knowledge of how to cure the diseases of the mind is much more urgent than knowledge of how to cure the diseases of the body, as it is now

us much about the purely physiological side of sensation and thought. It has saved an enormous amount of suffering both for men and for animals.

(3) Vivisection has given us many facts about the functions of the body, and confirmed or modified those otherwise discovered, e g., the laws relating to blood pressure and the functions of arteries and nerves.

(4) The surgeon has been enabled to localise the functions of the brain and bring to perfection such operations as ovariotomy and trepanning. By previous experiment on animals he gets a rough idea of the effect of any measures he takes. Having the broad lines of possible results before him, he can proceed at once more boldly and more skilfully.

(5) Vivisection not only has shown us the true causes of infectious diseases, but to a considerable extent has enabled us to prevent and cure them. The Pasteur treatment has reduced the mortality among those bitten by animals *proved to be rabid* from at least 15 per cent to less than 1 per cent. The antitoxin treatment of diphtheria has reduced mortality by 50 per cent.

(6) In war the methods of prevention and cure by antitoxins and serum injections have eradicated the danger of typhoid and reduced the dangers of tetanus and gas gangrene to minor proportions. All the methods employed are based on knowledge gained through vivisection. That sanitation did much cannot be denied, but the very methods employed for disinfection are based on experimental results.

(7) That a cure can be found at once for every disease either by experimenters in physiology or by anybody else is too much to expect. Sanitation has undoubtedly reduced many diseases recognised that the mind has an enormous influence over the body.

(3) Such important discoveries as the circulation of the blood were made not by vivisection but by clinical and post-mortem observation and inference. As for the nerves, no experiments at all are needed to demonstrate the process of reflex action, which is claimed as a triumph of vivisection. " Living pathology " suffices for the purpose.

(4) Ovariotomy has been successfully practised by savages from immemorial ages, and prehistoric man well understood brain surgery. As the human brain and body differ from the animal brain and body, little is to be learnt from vivisecting the latter.

(5) Although Pasteurism has taught us much about the causes of disease due to microbes, it has been exceedingly barren in practical results. Koch's " consumption cure " failed, while antitoxin treatment has been disappointing.

(Some) The germ theory of disease is a ludicrous fallacy; because germs accompany disease it by no means follows that they cause it.

(6) The improved health of the armies during war is due to superior sanitation and ordinary medical attention. The injection of serums is often fatal, and where not fatal it weakens the health and stamina of the subjects. Their uselessness was shown at the Dardanelles, where, though typhoid inoculation was universal and frequent, typhoid was rampant.

(7) The diseases, such as cancer, over which vivisectionists have spent most time, show no signs of yielding to their researches. The crude death-rate from diabetes has risen about fifty per cent since the introduction of insulin, and so far no explanation which satisfies statistical experts has been offered for this startling fact. " In-

greatly, as also has a lessening of poverty. But the general advance in the treatment of all manner of complaints is bound up with the study of morbid conditions under laboratory control and with the advance in biochemistry, both of which are dependent on experiments with animals. The supply of insulin, which offers the victim of diabetes a successful life, was the work of vivisectors. The death-rate from diabetes is not affected because insulin does not *cure*. It does, however, give many years of practically normal life to the diabetic. The effect is the shift of the apparent mortality from diabetes, from the earlier to the later years of life.

(8) The action and effect of drugs are the same on all animals; when there is a difference in the action of a drug on two animals, it is a difference of *degree*, not of *kind*. Though anaesthetics were not actually discovered by vivisection, their development is largely due to it, e.g., Simpson's discovery that parturition could take place under an anaesthetic All new anaesthetic compounds are tried on animals first.

(9) Naturally, biology is full of controversies like other sciences. There would be small hope for it if it were not. Anti-vivisectionists select from such discussions whatever statements or opinions suit their case.

(10) The greatly increased knowledge of foodstuffs, of the rôle played by vitamins, of the value of proteins, etc., is dependent on systematic experimentation with animals, mostly, of course, by giving them special diets and noting results. The value of experiments on animals is firmly justified and established in this field. To those experiments we owe the great diminution in the number of children deformed by rickets, the reduction of the death-rates from puerperal sepsis (to 4 or fluenza" and *encephalitis lethargica* ("sleepy sickness") continue to slay, and in the latter case to increase, despite the efforts of the vivisectionists to invent a serum or antitoxin to combat them. It is true that the death-rate from diptheria has been reduced since vivisection was brought to bear on it. But the death-rate had already begun to decrease before the introduction of the antitoxin treatment. In other diseases such as measles and scarlet fever, although there has been no treatment due to vivisection (at any rate till very recently), the fall in the death-rate has been even more marked than in the case of diptheria.

(8) As very few, if any, actual medicines have the same effect on animals as on human beings, it cannot be said that we owe any exact knowledge of the action of drugs to experiments on animals. Anaesthetics were discovered not by experiments on animals but by Simpson's experiments on himself, and the experiments of Morton, the dentist, on his patients.

(9) There is a minority of able doctors who themselves deny or drastically criticise the claims of vivisectors. Recently, for instance, Dr. G. F. Walker, who is an authoritative writer on medical subjects, and holds several important hospital appointments, declared that "vivisection, overwhelmingly on the whole, has been wasteful and futile."

(10) The results of the biochemists' researches into food, etc., merely confirm what medical men without faith in vivisection, unorthodox practitioners, "food-reformers," and others, have said for many years, viz., we must not sophisticate our foodstuffs more than is necessary, we must buy food of good quality, we must take exercise and get plenty of fresh air. The same is true of the present vogue of sunlight. Those who

5 per cent instead of over 20), from cerebro-spinal meningitis (to 6 or 7 per cent instead of 80), and from pneumonia (to under 2 per cent of cases under 50). Can anyone maintain that the sacrifice of a few thousand mice is too high a price to pay for the saving of so many human lives?

(11) The anti-vivisectionist has no case on scientific grounds. His moral principles are dubious. Most "experiments" are of a trifling character that involve only slight discomfort to the animals concerned, and often not even that. Serious operations are conducted under anaesthetics, and, moreover, are only 5 per cent of the total number of experiments. The other 95 per cent are trifling experiments, such as inoculations and feeding tests. The harrowing descriptions and illustrations circulated by the anti-vivisectionists are misleading to the public. Two Royal Commissions have decided in favour of experiments on animals. The last one, after inquiring into the charges of cruelty brought by the antis, refuted them with the finding that "after careful consideration of the above cases, we have come to the conclusion that the witnesses have either misapprehended or inaccurately described the facts of the experiments."

WAR : Is it Desirable?

Pro : (1) War is a wholesome moral influence. It develops virtues such as patriotism, self-sacrifice, efficiency, inventiveness, courage and discipline. The "Dunkirk spirit" embodied all that was finest in our national character, but no stimulus sufficiently powerful to arouse it exists in peace-time, although the need for it is as great.

(2) Military training in time of peace brings the same benefits. It could afford it have always known it to be desirable to get sea air, avoid the chemical-laden atmosphere of the industrial town, etc., and those who could not afford it have always wanted to follow their example. But the conservatism of the medical profession as a whole, with its faith in laboratories, is shown by such things as the fact that, though a doctor in the eighteenth century proved that scurvy could be prevented by fresh vegetables and citrus fruit, and Captain Cook kept his crews perfectly healthy by following his advice, our highly scientific experts still kept to a diet for the Army which produced scurvy in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.

(11) Although it is not admitted that vivisection has produced good results, the foundation of the opposition to vivisection is moral. Not even the surest advance in knowledge justifies the infliction of incredible suffering on dumb animals. Even the serum experiments involve acute pain, while sensation experiments must necessarily be done without anaesthetics. In tacitly inviting the public to tolerate vivisection, the scientists are encouraging callousness and cruelty, and deliberately stifling compassion in the human heart.

Con : (1) War promotes cruelty, vice, and stupidity, and entails physical and mental suffering. Most people are content to exercise their limited capacity for adventure in their working and home lives. Those who wish for wider opportunities can go in for exploration, pioneering, reclaiming of waste places and the improvement of peace-time organisation.

(2) Military service is generally disastrous to the individual. It

educates and disciplines, preserves from idleness and greatly increases physical fitness.
(*See* MILITARY TRAINING, COMPULSORY.)

(3) War is necessary for the growth of powerful States. Only in these can individual capacities develop most fully.

(4) Art and literature, and religion, are stimulated by war.

(5) It selects the fittest, and thus secures the progress of evolution.

(6) War is a cure for overpopulation.

(7) Trade follows the flag. The prestige of a nation in war and its armed strength are the foundations of its commercial credit. Victory secures possession of resources of raw materials, colonies, and foreign markets.

uproots him from normal life and often substitutes demoralising idleness for useful occupation. The long-term soldier is neither the best nor the most considerate towards civil populations in time of war.

(3) Citizens of small peaceful States generally achieve a higher standard of living and more satisfaction for the individual within society. The members of the most militant States are losing all individual liberty.

(4) Art and literature are not confined to warlike nations or times of war. Religion sometimes opposes war, e.g., Buddhism, and the soldier's religion tends to be superstition.

(5) War selects the physically fittest only to eliminate them. In modern warfare a soldier's chance of survival does not depend on his personal qualities. In the social ruin that follows war it is the most cunning that survive.

(6) It is the falling birth-rate that now arouses the anxiety of governments.

(7) Nations lose more in a war than they gain in the trade that is supposed to follow it; war, under modern conditions, will ruin both victor and vanquished, and the latest example has resulted in almost universal destruction and paralysis of peaceful industry. The days when trade could be imposed on conquered countries are past, indeed, nations are now forced to spend time and money on rebuilding the countries they have destroyed.

WAR: Is it Inevitable?

Pro: (1) War has always been one of man's activities, and to judge from the past, always will be. There have been thirteen years of war to one of peace in recorded history. Throughout the early civilisation of Egypt, Assyria,

Con: (1) The progress of anthropological research shows that war is a recent phenomenon in human history, arising a few thousand years ago, through a definite set of conditions. Also the earliest civilisation of all, of

Greece, Rome, etc., war was a prominent feature of life. It was characteristic of their highest development and greatest vigour.

(2) Human nature is unchangeable, and the fighting instinct is one of its characteristics. Virile men enjoy a fight. Desire for adventure and the struggle for existence make men fighters.

(3) Nations have the same characteristics as individuals. They have their national honour which prevents them from submitting to outrage and indignity.

(4) All nations are not at the same level of civilisation or strength. Weaker or more primitive nations will always be ill-treated by more powerful nations, and rising nations will always go to war to establish their domination and overthrow the older powers.

(5) The commercial and economic rivalry between the various nations cannot be displaced or removed by arbitration, international organisations, or merely good feeling and aspirations. They subsist and cause wars even when most of the world is striving for peace.

(6) A nation which does not defend its honour and prestige or is known to be unprepared for war will invite aggression from other more virile or aggressive countries.

(7) War may become much more horrible, but men will not cease to engage in it. Mankind has an enormous capacity for suffering, and there is always the hope that one's enemies will be the sufferers.

(8) Man is doomed to unhappiness by his nature. War will always be welcomed every now and again, as a relief from the boredom of everyday existence, especially in times of economic stagnation or depression.

(9) For these reasons arbitration, UNO and disarmament schemes are doomed to failure,

which the records are chiefly traditional and archaeological rather than historical, was most certainly a peaceful one. But in any case it is false to assume that the future must resemble the past. Slavery, once a flourishing and unchallenged institution, is now negligible.

(2) Man has gradually risen in the scale of evolution and should by now be able to control or sublimate his fighting instincts.

(3) The analogy between nations and individuals may be rejected. But if it is accepted, it goes in favour of the disappearance of war, since individually men now co-operate more than they used to, and fight less. Even to fight successfully, allies have to be sought.

(4) Wars to replace one empire by another may have been natural in the past, but today it is more difficult to succeed in a war of aggression since it inevitably becomes world-wide in its scope. Germany's two attempts are an example.

(5) Economic rivalry has caused war, but that is only an argument for changing the social system that causes economic rivalry. Even without changing the whole social structure a stable arrangement of economic interests could be made. The widespread economic devastation which follows from war today is more than any nation can afford, even those who are only indirectly affected.

(6) The honour of the individual once maintained the duel. In the most peaceful and prosperous countries the duel has disappeared. National honour can be dealt with in the same way, by substituting recourse to international law for summary action.

(7) The growing horrors of war will render it impossible, unless the human race as a whole is prepared to commit suicide.

(8) A rational system of society

and should be discouraged as waste of effort. Since they induce a false sense of security they might even be a danger to a country's welfare

and a natural mode of life will abolish poverty, unhappiness and boredom. People will then value life far too much to throw it away.

(9) Men have striven for international agreement since nations existed, and are not likely to give up the effort at this stage. Already the principle is accepted, though not much has yet been achieved in practice. The hope for peace is fundamental, and the solution will one day be found

WOMEN, MARRIED, IN INDUSTRY AND THE PROFESSIONS

Pro : (1) Married women have as much right to take part in the general activities of the community as other people. They are just as likely to do good work, and many of them are not satisfied by household and family duties.

(2) In many cases the family income would be insufficient if the husband alone were working. For some, marriage is impossible if the woman cannot continue her employment or profession; and any discouragement of marriage is undesirable.

(3) The economic helplessness of women produces intolerable evils, ranging from prostitution to continuance of unhappy home life. Married women must have the possibility of freedom by becoming self-supporting.

(4) Married women, especially perhaps in the middle classes, where much of the work in the home is performed by servants, lose contact with the outside world, have little to do but gossip, and become poor companions for their husbands and growing children. Working-class housewives are notoriously inferior to working men, who naturally prefer the society of other men for companionship. The Frenchwoman who takes part in her husband's

Con : (1) A married woman should find scope enough in looking after the home and her husband. Her first duty is to care for her family.

(2) The entry of married women into the labour market depresses wages and harms many other people who have not the resource of the husband's income. Family allowances have already done something towards easing the expense of family life. As a rule it is nearly as easy to support a man and a wife upon the man's income as it is for a bachelor to keep himself in lodgings, where he must provide himself with amusements and save money with a view to marriage or the support of dependents.

(3) Prostitution and mercenary marriages are due even more to the inability of the *unmarried* woman to enter industry and commerce freely enough or to earn adequate wages. The competition of married women in the labour market only aggravates this state of affairs.

(4) Married women in industry quickly show signs of strain, as they have to carry out their domestic duties very often as well as their industrial work. They become worn, unattractive, and

business is superior to the American woman, who teaches her family to look upon the husband as a mere provider of income, while she represents what passes for culture and refinement. Women who run their own businesses, many of them married, are usually far more interesting and intelligent than those who vegetate at home.

(5) The only test in employing people on any work should be their efficiency. The chief interest of the community is the carrying on of its life in the best way, not the maintenance of obsolete traditions. Women themselves and their husbands are the only proper judges whether women should offer themselves for employment outside the home.

(6) Welfare work and the higher standards now prevailing give mothers who are in industrial occupations very often a much better chance than those who are not. An active life promotes easy childbirth. Where factory conditions are bad, they are usually bad for men, too, and should be improved for both sexes.

(7) The domestic career of bringing up a large family on an exiguous income is as great a strain as factory work. This is shown by the superior health and appearance of women approaching middle-age today compared with the same class thirty or forty years ago.

(8) The limitation of families is already an accepted practice in all classes of society. Now that women are no longer occupied during their whole life active in bringing up children, any reason which may have existed for depriving the community of their mental and physical capacities has ceased to be valid.

(9) In the teaching and medical professions the natural advantages possessed by married women otherwise qualified are obvious. Authority has recognised this by

nervous, with the result that domestic unhappiness follows. In the middle class the duty of women should include the bringing of the artistic and cultural side of modern life into relation with the family life.

(5) Family life is an older and more important basis of communal prosperity than even our manufacturing system.

(6) Married women should regulate their lives with a view to motherhood. Child-bearing for factory workers is for several reasons disastrous. Monotonous work and sedentary occupations produce unhealthy fatigue and give no opportunity for healthy activity.

(7) The improvement is due to generally higher standards of living. It is most marked in those classes whose womenfolk do not enter industry or commerce, because they have a large enough income to remain outside. The industrial employment of married women brings in its train the limitation of families.

(8) There are many kinds of voluntary work which middle-aged women can do, which are of immense value in making life easier and happier for others. A middle-aged woman at work in industry is destroying what remains of home life.

(9) Professional women usually belong to the class which employs others to care for its children; and there are comparatively few of them, so that they do not affect the general question. Even where the employment of married women may be of temporary benefit to an industry in times of labour shortage, in the long run any advantages derived therefrom are offset by the evils arising from it.

removing the ban on the employment of married women in the teaching profession. To conduct industry and the professions as though they existed for giving worthy people salaries and wages instead of providing goods and services efficiently is a national folly.

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