

THE NEW AGE

INCORPORATING "CREDIT POWER."

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF POLITICS, LITERATURE AND ART

No. 2156] NEW SERIES Vol. LIV. No. 10. THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1934. [Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.] SEVENPENCE

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The Newfoundland Foreclosure.

Our earliest reference to the Newfoundland ramp was in our issue of March 2, 1933, when we analysed *The Times's* account of how Newfoundland got into financial difficulties. Further references are to be found in our issues of December 7 and 28. The latest item of news is in *The Times* of December 22, wherein appears an announcement of "The Newfoundland Loans Offer" under which holders are allowed to exchange their securities pound for pound for Three per Cent. Newfoundland Stock guaranteed by the British Government. Principal, interest "and sinking fund payments" are a charge on the "revenues and assets" of Newfoundland, but carry the "full guarantee of the British Government" under the Newfoundland Act, 1933. (Our italics.) This Offer (sanctioned by a sleeping House of Commons in Committee as described by us last week) amounts to an issue of stock in a Bankers' Dstraint Corporation to holders of claims against the Newfoundland Government. Under the Newfoundland Act the Bankers' Bailiffs have the right to call in the armed forces of the Crown if necessary to effectuate Dstraint Warrants against the people of Newfoundland, who are no longer a self-governing community. It will be remembered that serious rioting took place there before the fall of the Squires Government, and since there was general popular sympathy with the rioters, that Government could not put them down by the extreme drastic methods that it might have employed against Communists and (shall we say?) credit-reformers. But now this can be done. Governmental authority and responsibility for the internal economy of Newfoundland are external to that area, and can be upheld without risk to the person or persons who inspire and enforce economic policy there. If this situation is reflected upon against the background of our speculative analysis of last week where we visualised the Bankers' International directing the Basle Air Force in a disarmed world, it will be seen that even the British Government could ride out of the responsibility for, and escape the odium of, balancing the scales of debt with the blood of the Empire's citizens. What is about to happen in Newfoundland is the same in principle as

what happened in Austria (see our "Notes" of last week) when the bread-subsidy was stopped and measures were adopted to make up the Budget deficit by expansions of prices and taxes, and when, at the same time, steps were taken to throw a League-of-Nations police army into the country to put down any insurrection. The logical successor to this Geneva invasion by land is the Basle invasion by air. It is cheaper, and not less humane—as the apologists for the use of British aircraft to subdue native tribes in the Empire insisted recently.

Commercial Law and the Gold Standard.

The House of Lords on December 15 reversed a judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Farwell in the High Court, and upheld by the Appeal Court, on the question of the interpretation to be placed on the "gold clause." According to *The Times* of December 16 (leading article)

"The case concerned the obligation attaching to a bond issued by the Société Intercommunale Belge d'Electricité in which the obligation of the debtor was defined as being payable 'in sterling in gold coin of the United Kingdom of or equal to the standard of weight and fineness existing on September 1, 1928,' and the question at issue was the interpretation of this contract since the suspension of the gold standard."

The Société maintained that by paying the required sum in the legal tender—i.e., paper pounds—current on the day of the payment they had discharged their obligation. On the other hand the bondholders' submission was that the Société were bound to pay in sterling the sum necessary to purchase in the market on the day of payment so much gold of not less weight and fineness than that contained in the gold coin of the United Kingdom as would have sufficed to discharge such payment on September 1, 1928, when the country was still on the gold standard. This submission was upheld by Lord Russell of Killowen, mainly on the ground that the so-called gold clause could have no meaning unless it was intended to guard against the depreciation of the currency (sterling) in which the debt was payable.

The practical importance of the judgment will be plain when it is remembered that whereas the price of

gold in 1928 was in the region of £4 per ounce it is now over £6 per ounce. Therefore, assuming a £100 bond at 4 per cent., whereas the interest could have been paid by handing out four £1 notes in 1928, it now requires six £1 notes to discharge the liability as now finally established by Lord Russell's judgment. An increase of 50 per cent. in the Société's liability for interest involves a considerable sum of money; and it is not surprising that the case was fought out to the bitter-sweet end—according to how you look at it.

But more important than the money involved are the principles involved. The effect of the judgment disposes of an issue in one frame of reference, but seems likely to open new issues in others. Readers of THE NEW AGE will remember that Lord Russell of Killowen and Lord Warrington of Clyffe were the judges who, in the Waterlow case, took the view that the worth of the notes of the Bank of Portugal was their worth as "printed stationery," as Mr. Gavin Simonds appropriately described it on behalf of Messrs. Waterlow and Sons. For that reason they would agree that insofar as the present case allowed scope for realistic merits to be taken into consideration it was being tried before a judge who has proved himself both willing and competent to disregard the most authoritative expert (which really means *ex parte*) submissions and testimony when, in his own judgment, they conflict with verifiable objective facts. But the issue here was much narrower, and rested, as Lord Russell's main ground of judgment shows, on whether the so-called gold-clause was intended to have any meaning at all—whether it embodied an inducement to investors—if so, what inducement—or if not, what discouragement!—or if neither, whether the clause was to be regarded simply as the Société's "Amen" to the other clauses. From this angle of approach there cannot be two views about the wisdom and justice of his Lordship's decision. In applauding it ourselves we hope we shall not arouse suspicions among our readers when we let out that *The Times* also applauds it. To find ourselves clapping hands alongside Mr. Montagu Norman is a kind of thrill which might lead to nervous exhaustion if continued too long. But there is no danger of that; and we do not mind wagering that we shall be harking back to this judgment in future when the banking community will be wanting to forget it.

This is what *The Times* has to say.

"This decision, which is likely to have important consequences, will be widely welcomed in the City and elsewhere, not so much because it upholds the creditor's standpoint, as because it safeguards the fundamental principle of the sanctity of contracts which lies at the root of all commercial transactions. The gold clause, which in some form or other is of very ancient origin, was invented to safeguard the interest of the lender against the constantly occurring danger of currency debasement to which throughout the course of history Governments have so often arbitrarily resorted, and to declare it null and void would undoubtedly have administered one more shock to the already badly shaken credit structure of the world. It is, of course, perfectly true that in the almost unparalleled circumstances of the past few years the alteration of the value of gold as expressed in terms of commodities has in many cases imposed great hardships upon the debtor. But hard cases proverbially make bad law, and such a consideration is not altogether relevant to the point at issue, which is the definition of the precise meaning of the terms of a particular contract. At the present time, when default is stalking naked and unashamed through the world, it is of the utmost importance that debtors should at least acknowledge their rightful obligations; for it is only on this basis that the delicate though necessary task of adjusting debts to the capacity of payment of the debtor can be undertaken. Once a debt is duly acknowledged the equitable measures

necessary to redress the accidental hardships brought about by changes in the world's price level can safely be devised, but unless the sanctity of the contracts is first upheld all contractual obligations must inevitably lose their meaning; and that is a state of things which no sane person would be willing to contemplate."

If you count you will see that the writer of this homily spends twenty lines drawing the moral of the "sanctity of contract," and then serenely adds that the moral is irrelevant because the issue concerned only the meaning of a contract. That being so, the judgment does not "safeguard the fundamental principle of the sanctity of contracts," although we do not doubt the statement that it will be "widely welcomed in the City"—for the financiers can easily use it to point that irrelevant moral because of the accidental circumstance that in this case the debtor company was unwilling, and naturally so, to pay out the extra money involved. The writer then concludes with another irrelevancy. He talks as if the debtor company had refused to acknowledge its "rightful obligations" whereas the whole point at issue was whether the obligations were rightful, and, moreover, it took three hearings to decide it. There may be a secondary practical relevance in his remarks in that they can be construed as a hint that now the creditors have established their right to claim gold-interest they are ready to redress the hardship suffered by the company. However, that is a private matter between the parties, and need not concern us.

Let us now come outside the strictly legal frame of reference and consider something over which the Courts had no jurisdiction, namely how there came to be a gold-clause in the contract. There can be no doubt that it was imposed on the Company by those investors to whom it looked to put up the money—namely banks and financial houses. In the first place the insertion of the clause itself is evidence, because the ordinary investor at the time of issue would not think of requiring a guarantee that Britain would remain on the gold-standard, and in fact was daily bombarded with Press assurances that coming off gold would be a fundamental denial of the sanctity of contracts and was therefore an unthinkable contingency to financiers generally and Mr. Montagu Norman in particular. In all probability the directors of the company also relied on those assurances, and accepted the clause as signifying nothing other than a mannerism in fastidious legal draughtsmanship. In the second place, the securities sold were Bonds, a predominantly bankers' form of security—and foreign bonds at that, which connotes international financial institutions as subscribers, and the present creditors. In the third place, no unorganised body of non-professional bond-holders would have cared to contest the case further after Mr. Justice Farwell's adverse decision in the High Court.

Now, presiding over the whole transaction was the Bank of England, without whose approval floatations like this could not have been made. When, subsequently, Britain came off gold the decision to do so originated with the Bank of England. Whether Mr. Montagu Norman was an assenting party or not remains in doubt, for he was somewhere in the Atlantic when the act was done. At any rate the Company had become indebted to a financial group in England who had it in their exclusive power to bring about a certain circumstance against which they had deceived or compelled the Company to insure them. The gold-clause was not there to protect the bond-holders against the commission of acts by the company, but to indemnify the bond-holders at the expense of the company for the consequences of their own acts, over which the company had no control. The principle of the transaction was similar to that followed by Mr. Leopold Harris, who withheld from the insurance companies the fact

that he had the power of turning fire-risks into fire-claims and was exercising it. But the Société Intercommunale Belge d'Electricité will not be able to do what the insurance companies did and invoke the law against those who have done them down.

Social Credit and the Law.

We reproduce elsewhere our diary of legal events and issues brought up to the end of 1933, and hope that readers will keep it for reference, because practically every item in it contributes to a picture of the subjugation of the principles of justice by those of financial policy. In our opinion a lot more use ought to be made of this kind of material in popular propaganda than has been the case, for example in some such form as would sustain the proposition that Financial Might is Legal Right, or High-Financial Might is Constitutional Right, whether concerning the destinies of persons, groups or nations—also the lesson that the distribution of the Consumers' Dividend means as much to the liberty of the subject as to his physical health and comfort. Economic security and civil liberty are inseparable: each is a function of the other; and on their mutual inter-action depends the realisation of that experience to which we all vaguely aspire under the name of Freedom. Popular propaganda modelled on these lines would have, among others, this one merit, that it would reconcile the so-called "material" with the so-called "spiritual" implication of the Social Credit Analysis and Proposals. Even if nobody needed money for material ends he would yet need to have it if he would become master of his own soul.

Mr. Leon Franklin's Action.

The judgment we have been discussing recalls another that we commented upon on June 4, 1931. It is referred to in the above-mentioned diary in these terms: "Mr. Leon Franklin's claim against the Westminster Bank for £450,000,000 laughed out of court." We won't recapitulate all the details of the case: doubtless most readers will recall a good many of them. What caused the hilarity was the size of the claim: and what caused the estimate of the claim to come so high was the depreciation and the subsequent re-valuation of the German Mark. During the course of the depreciation the Bank sold Mr. Franklin a draft for 9,000 million Marks for £15, which was at the rate of 600 million to the pound sterling. Some time afterwards the Mark was revalued at twenty to the pound sterling, giving an expansion in exchange-value of 30 million times. This figure multiplied into Mr. Franklin's £15, gave £450 millions. He did not ask for this sum, but for the Court's ruling that he was entitled to receive it. His object was, in his own words: "to get justice and to establish the sanctity of a contract." There was no cheering by *The Times* the next day! And really there ought to have been, because Mr. Franklin offered to accept only one quarter per cent. of one per cent., or one four-thousandth part of the sum claimed—in other words he showed, as a creditor, the same spirit as *The Times* points out in the article quoted above for the consolation of debtors, saying in effect to the Bank: "If you confess your debt I will be faithful and just to forgive you your debt—or the best part of it." But the Bank weren't having any of that. Far from confessing, they instructed Sir Patrick Hastings to submit that it was against the public interest for people to hear that a claim of this size against a bank had even been seriously argued out. He told Mr. Justice Mackinnon that the utmost Mr. Franklin could claim was "an infinitesimal portion of a farthing," by which evidently he was dividing the £15 by thirty million as against Mr. Franklin's multiplying it by that figure. Addressing Sir Patrick Hastings Mr. Justice Mackinnon said:

"His case is that a Mark is always a Mark. No doubt you can show that it is not so." Sir Patrick had just stated that there were "innumerable defences that he could raise," but although the

hearing lasted all day there is no recital of any of them in the *Evening News* of May 13, 1931, whose report we are depending on. And it is a curious thing that a claim which was "ridiculous and absurd" (the judge's description) should have taken so long to dismiss. Probably it would have been summarily dismissed about six months earlier; but during these six months another (ostensibly) "ridiculous and absurd" contention had been raised in the Waterlow case and been upheld by one judge in the Appeal Court and two judges in the House of Lords. Therefore Mr. Justice Mackinnon would feel it wise to listen carefully to what Mr. Franklin had to say, as he must have done.

As we commented at the time, no English court of law could have dealt differently with the claim than this court did. The only way of elucidating the issue would have been to try it before some international legal tribunal, joining some body as respondent representing international finance instead of the English bank which sold the draft. Undoubtedly some such body was responsible for the fact that the Marks bought by Mr. Franklin depreciated to one-thirty-millionth of their sterling value, and it could have been proved to have foreseen when it sold them that they were not going to be re-valued as he expected, but scrapped, and superseded by a new and different Mark. Unfortunately the culprits are not identifiable, and they are not actionable entities. Their breaches of law are above the law.

Libel Case in Australia.

Following the award to Mr. Bevin against the *Daily Worker* we must record another case which raises comparable issues. In this case Associated Newspapers (Australia) sought damages against a newspaper on the ground that it had imputed unworthy motives to their (the plaintiffs') anti-Japanese publicity campaign, saying that they were running it as a stunt for circulation purposes against the public interest. The law of libel is like the British Constitution: it is largely an unwritten code, and the reason is that the British jury is largely an unknown quantity. Even on issues belonging to the plane of their everyday experience nobody can foresee how they will react to the testimony and oratory to which they listen; and as for issues involving a knowledge of financial policy and technique as it is in reality, the "realist" party does wisely to apologise and pay up before the writ is out. In this case, however, the court awarded only one farthing damages, and withheld costs from the plaintiffs, holding that the action ought not to have been brought. This result was briefly reported in the London Press last week-end. There was no comment, as the plaintiffs are appealing. We hope that readers in Australia will post us up with information about the case, as we have no material on which to form any judgment. What we can say is of general application, and it is that any anti-Japanese agitation, wherever it springs, is suspect to us as motivated by high-financial considerations, and that it is the duty of Social Credit advocates to do all they can to protect critics of such agitations from intimidation. The mentality of the public is so much under the influence of bank-inspired publicity, and the dice are loaded so heavily against independent criticism of bank-inspired policies, that the mere bringing of an action against critics of this quality on an issue of this order is in itself a virtual act of blackmail.

President Roosevelt and the Constitution.

"What is the Constitution between friends?" said a Tammany Congressman to President Cleveland on an occasion when the President vetoed some ramp on the ground of its unconstitutionality. You need only alter "friends" to "bankers" and you bring this jocose remark up to date and give it universal application. What are, indeed, national representative political constitutions when, dominating them all, is one autocratic cosmopolitan financial constitution? "Money talks"

says the old tag; but more significant than that is the modern version: "Money acts"—and without talking. Politicians do the talking; and the net result of their eloquence is the tuning in of national political philosophies to international financial events. *L'état, c'est moi*, in the modern version, becomes: "The constitution—it is what I do"—the "I" being the Money Monopoly.

The pivot of constitutionalism is the judiciary, on whom lies the function of deciding what it means in particular cases. If it be granted that the acts of Finance ultimately decide the laws of the Constitution then it is also granted that the judicial interpretation of those laws must confirm financial reasons of policy and regard the objective of such policy as an integral factor in preserving the so-called "Safety of the Realm." This lends universal significance to the remark of a patriotic American on one occasion. "We have, sir, in our country, the very best judges that dollars can buy." It is not that judges consciously allow money to buy them, but that the Money Monopoly is able to create juridical dilemmas on high-political issues. The Court is placed between the devil of Logic and the deep sea of Expedience: the judges have to ask themselves not simply whether a given deduction is constitutionally sound, but whether the consequences of a judgment in accordance with it are desirable. When once they make expedience the criterion they are bound to uphold the contentions of the Money Monopolists, for the reason that these can make anything practically inexpedient that they deem constitutionally unsound.

Against this background readers will be able to appreciate the significance of an article which was contributed by Congressman James M. Beck to the November issue of *Fortune*—a sumptuous magazine made for millionaires. Mr. Beck, who was Solicitor-General under Harding, writes under the heading: "The N.R.A. is Unconstitutional," and forecasts that sooner or later the Supreme Court will be called upon to say whether the Constitution "ever vested in Congress the power to pass this legislation"—the said legislation of course being that which empowered the President to be the "economic" and financial (but Mr. Beck hardly says anything about "financial") dictator of the United States.

He recognises that if at that time the results of the President's policy "have proved the salvation of the American people," then "unquestionably the Court will find itself in a position of unparalleled embarrassment." We should say so! Nevertheless he insists that the inviolacy of the Constitution must be preserved at all costs. He cites Bismarck as having said on a critical occasion that "while the ponderables favoured one course, the imponderables dictated another, and that the latter were more important." Notice Mr. Beck's choice of verbs (italicised by us) to differentiate the ponderables from the imponderables. He proceeds:

"If the economic results of the N.R.A. shall prove as valuable as its optimistic proponents believe, yet these are but the ponderables of the problem that now confronts the American people, possibly the gravest since the beginning of the Republic.

"The great imponderable is whether it is necessary or even desirable to violate the fundamental law of the nation, even though such violation may end a serious depression." (Our italics.)

We all owe a vote of thanks to Mr. Beck for his candour. His formulation of what we have always said was the attitude of the Money Monopoly on economic policy is more frank, and more pregnant, than any words we have used in the past or may in the future. It ranks as a classic alongside Mr. Benjamin Anderson's complacent boast about "passing the buck."

And speaking of buck-passing as Mr. Anderson described it, we must direct special attention to the

news over the week-end that the leaders of the party in opposition to the President's have decided not only to refrain from opposing his policy, but even to vote for it if a section of his party revolts against it. What this may portend, and probably does, is that just as Congress (according to Mr. Anderson) had passed measures because it knew the Senate would reject them, so, in this case, both Congress and the Senate will let Roosevelt gallop loose and hand a lasso to the Supreme Court. It is a twin picture to the trick played on Mr. Lang by the New South Wales Legislative Council when they decreed their own death and got the High Court to resurrect them.

The article "American Monetary Policy" elsewhere in this issue should be considered in this context. It affords grounds for suggesting that Mr. Beck had his tongue in his cheek when he referred to the possibility of the "salvation of the American people" coinciding with the raising of the constitutional issue. Either Mr. Beck, or the banking interests to whose brief he speaks, must know that the President's plans in their present form will aggravate the economic situation, and tend rather to lessen the "embarrassment" of the Supreme Court than to increase it. It is significant that among the powers of the President which Mr. Beck enumerates is that which enables him to control "the price of the product." (This figures last in the enumeration—which to us means that, like the lady's postscript, is the whole thing.) Now, the "price of the product" happens also to be the basic theme of the article just referred to. We therefore hope that this coincidence of focus (for it is coincidence) will underline, for our American supporters, the importance of the arguments used in the article relative to the flaw in the price-system and the resultant shortage of incomes as against costs.

"Monarchy or Money Power."

[Extracts from Mr. McNair Wilson's book of this name.]
"Of Socialism, as such, Money was not afraid. Financiers prefer Governments and unlimited resources to private borrowers who may conceivably default, and have always therefore been partial to the idea of State enterprise and trading provided that they can exert control over it. The experience of Russia, where a whole nation has been enslaved in order to pay very high rates to the financiers who are supplying the material of the Five Year Plan, has amply proved that Money has little to fear from the destruction of the Capitalist System of individual production." (p. 191.)

"It is habitual with the Money power to lay the blame for the ruin which it causes upon the shoulders of other people." (p. 213.)

"Will the illusion of gold then be shattered for ever? One is irresistibly reminded of Rostand's hero, the barnyard cock which, every morning, amid profound silence, ascended a little hill and crowed. At the sound of the cock-crow the sun rose and the other inhabitants of the farm believed that they saw a miracle. Where would they be if Chanticleer did not bestow on them the blessing of light? But one morning Chanticleer slept in and the sun rose without awaiting his summons." (pp. 229-230.)

Tax-Collection in France.

KINDLY SPARE A COPPER FOR THE REVENUE!
"It appears from an official document quoted in the Chamber on the 8th December that in a first grade levy on eight districts comprising a total of 6,000 inhabitants, of whom 500 are merchants, and where there are more than 200 touring cars, only 38 persons paid income tax.
"The income tax paid by these 38 taxpayers amounted to 8,000 francs.
"Among these 38 persons were four manufacturers, possessing eight cars and employing eight servants; six merchants possessing four cars and employing three servants; while a lawyer possessed a car and employing two servants is put down for a tax of 40 francs. In the levy on this region, which is essentially agricultural, not one farmer is put down for income tax."—(Gringoire, Paris, December 22, 1933.)

American Monetary Policy.

By Arthur Brenton.

[The following article reproduces the substance of a letter sent by the author to a correspondent in the United States. It follows on the letter (to the same correspondent) which was reproduced under the title "American Monetary Policy" in THE NEW AGE of December 14 last. Further comments on President Roosevelt's policy appear in the "Notes" in the present issue.—Ed.]

I want to emphasise the latter part of my first letter wherein I refer to the danger that the banking interests will be able to saddle the President with the responsibility for the disappointing results of his policy, whereas the real cause does not lie in his policy but in the methods of pricing goods for consumption which the bankers' policy compels industry to practise. The practical outcome of these wrong costing methods, which have been discovered and described by Major C. H. Douglas, is that the minimum remunerative price at which industry can sell articles to consumers exceeds the total amount of money which consumers have to spend. Taking token figures to illustrate the argument, it may be said that against every \$100 worth of production ready for sale to consumers, only (let us say) \$80 have found their way into the consumers' purses. If we take this token amount of \$100 to represent the total amount of money spent on production before the President took office, we can assume some higher figure, let us say \$120, as representing the larger amount of money put into circulation for production purposes under the President's plan for National Recovery. Now the shortage of dollars in consumers' hands has been shown by Major Douglas to occur automatically under the present costing system, and for reasons which show that shortage to be proportionate to production costs. In the above illustration the proportion is arbitrarily shown as a shortage of \$20 against \$100 of production costs. Assuming that the processes of production remain unaltered, and the costing of production is also unaltered, the effect of the President's raising the amount of production money in circulation from \$100 to \$120 is that the shortage of consumers' money will be increased from \$20 to \$24. If you now multiply that extra shortage of \$4 by several millions in order to get a sum comparable to that which would be short in practical experience of working the President's plan, you will see the vital importance of your taking serious notice of Major Douglas's analysis of the costing system and his proposals for rectifying it.

The shortage of dollars in consumers' hands will, of course, become manifest in trade paralysis on one hand or a huge budget deficit on the other (or both together), and immediately that happens the bankers will broadcast statements to the effect that the President's policy of putting more money in circulation is the cause of the trouble; and they will immediately draw the moral that in order to cure this shortage of purchasing power the President's policy must be reversed and the money now in circulation reduced to the amount which was circulating before the President took office—and most likely to a lower amount still.

This moral will be most difficult to rebut because it happens to be one of those half-truths which constitute the most effective lies. From the above reasoning you will see that the President having put more money in circulation will have increased the collective shortage of consumers' money as against prices. But that is quite a different thing from saying that his having done this is the reason why there is a shortage at all. A shortage of some dimensions or other is bound to manifest itself, no matter how drastically and quickly the amount of production money in circulation is reduced. There is no level in the amount of money in circulation, however low it be, where you can get rid of the problem of the shortage; for, as I say, it is automatic and proportionate to production costs.

The only thing that the bankers are entitled to say is that it is at least better to go back to the \$100 with

\$20 shortage than have \$120 with a \$24 shortage, but the trouble does not reside in the measure of the shortage; it lies in the fact that there is any shortage at all. The reason is largely psychological, and is that when industry finds itself unable to recover its costs in full from consumers, it naturally tries to meet the problem by reducing its production-programmes, and dismissing work-people. By so doing it certainly lessens its total costs, but also lessens the number of dollars in the consumption market from whence it expects to recover its costs.

You will see on reflection that the permanent and final success of the President's plans depends upon his adopting means of compensating the shortage of dollars in the consumption market so that consumers will be able to pay the full prices necessary to encourage industry to continue its manufacturing.

Credit Power.

A REFLECTION.

The Douglas analysis has revealed some abstract principles of economic cause and effect. The present monopoly of credit is an embodiment of those principles. The principles themselves are not monopolised, but there is practically a monopoly of their utilisation.

From this springs the privilege of creating costless financial credit, and the power that this privilege gives. To retain this power, however, the financial system must be animated: otherwise it would be merely a dead structure of figures.

This animation implies that the costless financial credit must be released into a free market; and, while it is there it has power embodied in it. Anyone acquiring the credit acquires the power with it. In the hands of those not directly indebted to the monopoly there is the chance of its coagulation into large units of power.

Now the accounting method of the monopoly does not record any value against the power accruing to them with the creation of new financial credit. Yet when released to the others the power is embodied in the credit itself. Consequently we get a huge disparity between the assessments of apparent power within and without the monopoly. And an accumulation outside could show at the moment evidence of greater power than could the monopoly which created it.

In the stories of the rise of some American financiers one finds that something like this has happened. The accumulating snowball of financial credit outside has overwhelmed and absorbed the very sources of the power.

If the monopolists declared their accretions of power with the release of credit, the illusion would probably be broken and the monopoly questioned. So they must conceal the fact and do their best to defend the position. They have benefited from their experiences, and rigorous precautions are taken to prevent the accumulation, or to sterilise the control of it. So much so, that to-day it is almost impossible to make headway against their defence.

But, while this apparent disparity exists, they must always be on the defensive.

A. F. W.

The Green Shirt Movement For Social Credit

Kin Feast, 1934.

"Kin Feast" will be held on January 6 next ("Twelfth Night") at the Olde Dr. Butler's Head Restaurant, Masons-avenue, Coleman-street, at 7.15 p.m. for 7.30 p.m. The accommodation is very limited, and early application for tickets, price 3s. 6d., exclusive of drinks, should therefore be made to the Acting Quartermaster, Green Shirt Movement, 35, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Italian Economics.

By Frederick J. Gould.

The Italian Fascism, or Bundle-life, and Totalitario, or Social Wholeness reveal some elements harmonious with Social Credit doctrine. Professor Francesco Orestano, whom I have met in Rome in educational circles, held a distinguished place in Italian and European philosophy before 1922, and, in the ensuing Fascist period, has given the support of his broad historical views and intellectual constructiveness to the schemes of Mussolini. Orestano has a profound sense of evolution and forwardness, and eagerly quotes (in a lecture on "The Right to Work," *Il Diritto al Lavoro*) Mussolini's remark on the Fascist revolution: "The revolution is, and must go on being, a continuous creation of our spirit and of our combative urge." In that case, we need not class the Totalitario idea, even though it stops obviously short of our ideal of Economic Democracy, as permanently divergent.

In his address to the National Congress of Philosophy at Rome recently, Orestano discusses the following points: The immense growth of technical production-power; the "immoral" distinction of agricultural products by "industrial capitalism"; free trade favoured by international capitalism, and "economic nationalism" scorned; capitalist ideal of one-world-one-market, etc. Orestano does not object to a planned balance of exports against indispensable imports; but the balance must be purely in goods, and gold must not enter in. And civilisation requires a universal money standard.

Orestano compliments the old capitalism on its capacity for turning out products, but since the aim was profit-making, and since it resulted in unhappy unemployment, and in a low grade of living for the masses, and since (Orestano here puts on a strong emphasis) universal employment would be a benefit, we ought to reconstruct economics for an ideal social life, an ethical mastery of our conditions, a corporate organisation—in short, Fascism. Three basic things would be: (1) Capital removed from mere individual control, and founded on a general and extending wealth-production; (2) Administration of this power by efficient technicians who, with labourers, would form a united body, though graded; (3) carefully planned relation of national consumption and production; this plan to take precedence of the plan of balanced imports and exports. Such a scheme must harmonise with respect for "private property," but private property must be mindful of responsibilities, and effectively aid the social Totalitario. This scheme recognises the right of all citizens to a social life which implies the right to serve, to improve, to initiate, to co-operate, and all this means the universal "right to work," and this again will lead on to a universal rise in the standard of living. Let human forces be developed to their utmost, but always in obedience to social solidarity, always for social control of wealth and economic activities—but not (adds Orestano decisively) for a Communistic State-ism.

Here ends the summary of my philosophic friend's address, and I do not need to moralise on its obvious stopping-short of the conception of National Control of Credit as preliminary to the Just Price for Consumers and to Dividends for All. But I am sorry for the grim censors—"Liberal" or "Socialist," or others—who cannot detect healthy elements in the Totalitario of the Italy of Mussolini and the Vatican. If a brutal Fate condemned me to be a Rockefeller I should use some of the cash for establishing a small College of Synthetists, and the duty of these Synthetic Friars would be to study Stalin's Russia, Hitler's Germany, Roosevelt's U.S.A., etc., and constructively reveal and lay out in clear mappings the factors which, amid errors and tumults, quietly converge towards the Douglasite method of Social Credit. Some hear nothing but the crack of "World Crisis," and I hear the still small voice of synthesis. Some see only a welter of rotten finance and dying economic creeds, and I see the origin of species, ethical and social and creative.

A Rate of Flow.

[The author of this thesis offers it for examination by advanced students of the A + B Theorem, and would be glad to hear from anyone who cares to offer a judgment on its soundness or otherwise. Letters addressed to this office will be forwarded to him. Envelopes should bear the mark "E.63."—Ed.]

The A + B theorem, by presenting incomes on the one hand and prices on the other as rates of flow, has rightly placed emphasis on the essentially dynamic nature of the economic problem. At the same time it has placed the student under the obligation of dissecting the mental picture called up by the word "flow."

Now any definite flow must take place from some specified point to some other specified point along some specified route. In the A + B theorem the starting point is the factory, using that term in its widest sense. The factory is regarded as generating, on the one hand, a flow of incomes (A payments) and, on the other hand, a flow of prices (A + B payments).

As regards the flow of incomes, the picture is simple. It is a passage of A payments from the industrial organisation to the consuming public. It represents a continual stream of new income, and the route which it may take in the course of its flow from any industrial counting-house to any consumer's pocket is immaterial to this analysis.

But, as regards the flow of prices, the picture is by no means so simple. Prices may be regarded as generated in industrial ledgers, and their flow must be traced from these to shop counters or booking offices or other points of contact with consumers' incomes.

When we split up prices—or, let us call them, costs plus profits—into their A and B categories, it will become evident that all A payments represent a stream of new costs on to various markets. But this is not necessarily the case with B costs. When a firm makes a new payment for (say) materials, it does not launch a new cost on to the industrial market; the cost was already there. It merely transfers a B cost from one part of the industrial market to another part—one stage nearer the final, consumers' market. The flow in this case is not the flow of a new cost on to a market, but the flow of an old cost along a market; and if we mix new and old costs indiscriminately in considering our rates of flow we may possibly draw misleading conclusions.

If B costs are regarded exclusively as payments to other organisations for goods or services, then all B costs are of this nature, viz., existing costs in transit along the industrial market. But B costs are usually considered to include at least two other factors which are not of this nature, viz., depreciation and profits. At the moment of their generation in industrial ledgers they resemble A payments in that they are new costs about to flow on to markets—not old costs flowing along.

Now, bearing in mind that the end and aim of industry is to provide goods and services on consumers' markets, and that the provision of intermediate products and capital equipment is only a means to this end, let us split up our A and B payments so that A¹ and B¹ refer to payments and costs on consumers' markets while A² and B² refer to the corresponding factors on the industrial market. We can then picture A² and B² costs in respect of both intermediate products and capital equipment, flowing both on to and along the industrial market, the A² costs undergoing a change into B² costs at every subsequent stage of the flow, until the total of these costs is finally discharged upon consumers' markets, undergoing conversion into B¹ costs in the process.

Now as, at this moment, these B¹ costs are flowing off the industrial market on to consumers' markets, and A costs are, in any case, always flowing on to markets (as soon as they begin to flow along they become B costs), it may be said that the rate of flow of costs plus

profits on to consumers' markets is represented by A¹ + B¹.

(Vis-a-vis this flow, we have a rate of flow of incomes into consumers' hands represented by A¹ + A².)

But we cannot similarly say that the rate of flow of costs plus profits on to the industrial market is represented by A² + B². The rate of generation of costs in the ledgers appertaining to this market is undoubtedly represented by A² + B², but the rate of flow of new costs on to the industrial market is represented by A² + (the rate at which depreciation items and profits are charged into B² costs).

This, however, should be regarded as a gross rate. In so far as these depreciation charges are paid out, week by week, for maintenance of existing plant, within the same (index 2) group, they are incorporated in the A² payments, the corresponding B² payments of the firms engaged in capital production representing a flow along. The same consideration applies to profits in so far as they are distributed, so that the net rate of flow will be represented by A² + (rate of flow of depreciation charges in respect of new plant) + (rate of flow of profits placed to Reserve).

If we assume that the production of intermediate and capital products is put in hand at just such a rate that A² = B¹, and that consumers spend the whole of their incomes on their own markets, then (theoretically) the general level of prices will remain steady, and consumers' incomes will be sufficient to purchase the products on consumers' markets. But the rate of flow of new costs on to the industrial market will be as stated above.

Now apply these considerations to the stabilised state of "continuous process" or "uniform velocity" described in a recent article. (Vide, also, p. 24 of *The New and the Old Economics*.) Here there is no production of new capital equipment; there is only the continuous maintenance of existing plant. So that A² and B² refer to the payments made by firms producing intermediate goods and firms engaged in the maintenance of existing plant. These producers will not be allocating any depreciation charges in respect of new plant; the sums which they set aside, week by week, for upkeep, will be offset by the A² payments made, week by week, by other firms within their own (index 2) group, the B² payments made by these other firms representing a flow of costs along the industrial market. Further, they will be distributing profits, as A² payments, as fast as they are charged into B² costs, though there will, of course, be a short time-lag in the case of both these and the upkeep payments.

So, under these "uniform velocity" conditions, we get:—

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Rate of flow of prices on to consumers' markets} & \dots\dots\dots = A^1 + B^1 \\ \text{Rate of flow of incomes into consumers' hands} & \dots\dots\dots = A^1 + A^2 \end{aligned}$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Rate of flow of inter-} \\ \text{mediate and capital costs} \\ \text{on to the industrial market.} \end{array} \right\} = \left(\begin{array}{l} A^2 + (\text{Rate of flow of new} \\ \text{depreciation charges}) + \\ (\text{Rate of flow of profits} \\ \text{placed to Reserve}). \end{array} \right)$$

$$= A^2 + \text{Nil} + \text{Nil}.$$

$$= A^2 = B^1.$$

In other words, the rate of flow of total cost on to the industrial market equals the rate of flow of the B costs on to consumers' markets, and we have the conditions necessary for uniform velocity.

But, under normal conditions of acceleration, the rate at which producers will allocate charges in respect of new plant will be considerable, relatively to their labour costs. Also, the rate at which they will place profits to reserve, and plough them back into the business, leaving another trail of costs, may also at times be considerable, so that a large discrepancy between incomes and costs is inherent in modern industrial development.

But, whether we consider a "uniform velocity" community or a modern developing community, the fact re-

mains that if the rate of flow of incomes to consumers is represented by A¹ + A², the rate of flow of prices into industrial ledgers will be represented by at least A¹ + A² + B¹ + B².

In other words, if, at the end of any given week, a community should attempt to buy the output of that week at the prices at which it stands in industry's ledgers, it will find itself short of the necessary purchasing power by an amount equivalent, at least, to B¹ + B².

The Sting in the Tail

OR SOMEONE STANDING AT A CRITIC'S SHOULDER AGAIN.

Under the heading "The Douglas Plan" an American edition of Major Douglas's book, *Social Credit* (W. W. Norton Company, \$2), is reviewed in *The New York Times Book Review* (a Sunday supplement of the paper) for November 26. The name of the reviewer is Louis Rich, and I propose to quote his effort in full, for the first three quarters of the review is a succinct statement of Major Douglas's general argument worthy of a place beside the best of Social Credit literature, while the remaining part looks very much as if it belongs to another person altogether. The review is a really interesting example of the current technique for disposing of Social Credit publications. Mr. Rich apparently is a speciality critic. His name probably carries weight. That he has brains is obvious. How he could possibly conclude his review as he has done unless he fell into a stupor and wrote to dictation, or openly allowed another mind to guide his hand, is beyond reason. But there it is, and those who know will either smile with grim toleration or itch to give Mr. Rich a buff on the boko, according to how they are made. However, here's the good part:

An admirer, who subsequently underwent a change of heart, once called the author of the "Social Credit" theory the Einstein of economics, because it was said that only few could understand him. On reconsidering the matter, other followers of Major Douglas have proclaimed him the Darwin of modern economic thought. A diligent attempt to assimilate the "Social Credit" scheme makes it clear, however, that its propounder need not be burdened with the responsibility for being regarded as either of the two named savants. To the extent that these two have endeavoured to establish the validity of truths arising out of a relationship of things, in which what has gone on before is reflected in the present and operates as a factor in the future, they are at the antipodes to Major Douglas. The latter is anything but a relativist, or even evolutionist, in his chosen field. He is an absolutist, who believes only in conscious change, an engineer pre-occupied with natural, i.e., physical and mechanical, laws that have nothing to do with growth or development, since they are automatic, final, and inflexible.

Hence there is little of the historical perspective in the author's analysis. Society is invoked only for the purpose of finding a basis for freeing the individual from his enforced subordination to the group. For, above all else, Major Douglas is an individualist. He looks upon industry as a machine that needs repairing in order that it may properly perform its function, which is the production and delivery of goods and services. There is continuous improvement in the efficiency of the machine from a technical standpoint in that it increasingly dispenses with human labour and becomes more and more automatic. Unemployment, therefore, is not at all a symbol of industrial break-down, but a sign of economic progress.

Owing to the fact, however, that for its moral guidance society still clings to the traditional ideas of rewards and punishments, it makes employment the sole condition for existence to a large and constantly growing section of the population and perverts industry into a means of furnishing this employment. But the rewards are withheld even from those eager to earn them. For present-day society commands that goods and services be sold at prices which are higher than those originally paid for them. The result is that a limited number of persons have gained possession of most of the purchasing power of the

that however multifarious its forms as manifested in individuals, it will mark a universal ascent towards ultimate rightness in thought and action.

A reviewer in these pages recently alluded with emphasis to an indictment of Social Creditors, which was that after fifteen years of propaganda they had "totally failed to make the smallest dent in the armour of the financial monopoly." But such failure is nothing to that which is logically implied by any profession of distrust as to what humanity, after two thousand years of Christian propaganda, will become when Social Credit enables it to give free expression to its personality.—Ed.]

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

Leeds.

Douglas Social Credit: Lectures at the Griffin Hotel, Boar Lane, Leeds:—

1. January 18, at 7.30. Lecturer, Mr. J. G. Dodgson, of Bradford.
2. February 1, at 7.30. Lecturer, Mr. R. G. S. Dalkin, of Rotherham.

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The Social Credit Movement.

Supporters of the Social Credit Movement contend that under present conditions the purchasing power in the hands of the community is chronically insufficient to buy the whole product of industry. This is because the money required to finance capital production, and created by the banks for that purpose, is regarded as borrowed from them, and, therefore, in order that it may be repaid, is charged into the price of consumers' goods. It is a vital fallacy to treat new money thus created by the banks as a repayable loan, without crediting the community, on the strength of whose resources the money was created, with the value of the resulting new capital resources. This has given rise to a defective system of national loan accountancy, resulting in the reduction of the community to a condition of perpetual scarcity, and bringing them face to face with the alternatives of widespread unemployment of men and machines, as at present, or of international complications arising from the struggle for foreign markets.

The Douglas Social Credit Proposals would remedy this defect by increasing the purchasing power in the hands of the community to an amount sufficient to provide effective demand for the whole product of industry. This, of course, cannot be done by the orthodox method of creating new money, prevalent during the war, which necessarily gives rise to the "vicious spiral" of increased currency, higher prices, higher wages, higher costs, still higher prices, and so on. The essentials of the scheme are the simultaneous creation of new money and the regulation of the price of consumers' goods at their real cost of production (as distinct from their apparent financial cost under the present system). The technique for effecting this is fully described in Major Douglas's books.

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