

# THE SOCIAL CREDITER

## FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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### The Art of the Possible

by HEWLETT EDWARDS.

“POLITICS IS THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE.” *Something IS DEMONSTRABLY POSSIBLE UNDER THE NAME OF SOCIAL CREDIT. WHAT IS IT AND IS IT SOCIAL CREDIT? ALTERNATIVELY WHAT IS NOT POSSIBLE IS NOT INTERESTING.*”\*

‘*Politics is the art of the possible.*’ The source of the quotation is not stated but we are reminded that what is not possible is not interesting. As to what *is* possible there are alternatives:—

(a) On the plane of everyday politics: a ‘possible’ which is subject to artificial restrictions, ranging from those which are incidental to the control of credit and so can easily be changed or abandoned, to those which are essential to its control and therefore will not be willingly relinquished.

(b) There is a ‘possible’ which is limited only by conformity to the nature of things; metaphysical as well as material things; in the marriage of these anything is possible which works ‘along the grain of the universe.’

Consequences arising from the practice of the art of the *restricted* possible are likewise restricted, members of society making the best, or the worst, of politics worked out within limits; certain of which have been shown by Douglas to have no existence in reality (as for example, that what is physically possible is not made so or made not so—is not limited—by what is financially possible). Such an art is only an approach to Social Credit in so far as it can be used to transcend these limits; otherwise assent is conceded to a ring fence of episodic immediates within which social stability by the integration of means and ends—the objective of Social Credit—is impossible.

But if politics is the art of the ‘possible’ inherent in the nature of things, then politics must be elevated to that plane where policies will be implemented in the successive interlocking agreement of means and ends. If that is granted, Social Credit will become not merely possible but inevitable. It is surely the emotional response aroused by the vision of this newly uncovered ‘possible’ which is ‘the peculiar virtue which . . . can elect two even imperfect Governments . . . as from a grain of mustard seed.’ Against the overbearing weight of propaganda for unrealistic economics, irresponsible administration, producer control of credit, fragmented accountancy, perverted hierarchy and binding-in mechanisms in place of contracting-out mechanisms—against all these nothing more than a glimpse of a new assessment could be seen, but it was *enough* to elect two Governments.

\*From “*Social Credit in 1952.*”

“SOMETHING *is demonstrably possible under the name of Social Credit. What is it, and is it social credit?*”

‘Society is primarily metaphysical’; not solely, as witness the frequently unfruitful *hope* which really does ‘spring eternal in the human breast’ but so often remains an abstract sentiment lacking proper connection with, and so unable to make growth from, our physical surroundings. Social Credit offers a technique of interaction between the metaphysical and physical elements of the social reality; and under the name of Social Credit it has at all events been demonstrated that hope may spring from this realistic foundation as well as from castles in the air. Further it has been shown that recognition (not understanding but recognition) of an unfamiliar truth may still be brought about. *Everyman* is the channel for that which is eternal within us, a channel which is artificially restricted. The existence and nature of this restriction have also been demonstrated; and discovered in the act of disallowing faith and hope their natural outlet in works. But what has been demonstrated is not Social Credit; it is rather a clarification of issues and objectives which cannot be rightly understood or adequately obtained without using the *compass* which is implicit in Social Credit doctrine.

“*Alternatively, what is not possible is not interesting.*”

It is *not* possible to find the integration of means and ends in the exploitation of the restricted ‘possible’ provided by current politics—that is a sterile pursuit which has nauseated everybody, making us see life as “a tale told by an idiot . . .” *It is not interesting.* But Douglas marches direct upon the ‘possible’ which lies in a nearer apprehension of reality, transcending the impasse which defeats economists and politicians alike. *Social Credit* is of all things most abhorrent to the downward-looking, inward-peering ‘incompatibles’; these, for their very existence must continue and augment their foolish clamour—‘impossible . . . impossible.’ If the strength of a truth is proportionate to the density of the web of falsity which it must penetrate to be perceived at all, then Social Credit is strong indeed.

What is it we mean when we say that ‘the Truth shall prevail’?

### The Nationalisation of Robbery

Taking as its text the short yet significant debate in the House of Lords on December 3, *Truth* for December 12 dilates, though not widely, upon the robbery inherent in the withholding of credits (called *post-war* credits, but actually war credits) by “the State.” We shall print the Debate. *Truth* says: “Let Mr. Butler look to it, for on his ability to achieve both [tax reduction and rationalisation] may turn the fate of his party.” Our opinion is the fate of Mr. Butler’s party (though not necessarily of Mr. Butler). “turned” long ago.

## PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: November 24, 1952.

(The Debate Continued).

### Private Generation (Restrictive Conditions)

*Mr. Nabarro* asked the Minister of Fuel and Power what steps he is taking to implement Recommendation No. 35 of the Ridley Committee on National Policy for the Use of Fuel and Power Resources, to the effect that electricity boards should permanently and publicly abandon restrictive conditions upon private independent electricity generation; what form, or forms, such public abandonment is to take; and when.

*Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd*: The British Electricity Authority have informed me that they intend to implement this recommendation and will make a public announcement shortly.

## UNITED NATIONS.

### Secretariat (U.S. Investigation)

*Mr. Wyatt* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will take action under the urgency procedure to table a resolution at the United Nations deploring the investigation of members of the United Nations Secretariat by a United States Congressional Committee.

*Mr. Nutting*: A committee of eminent jurists has been appointed by the Secretary-General to advise him upon the status of the United Nations and its Secretariat in regard to the inquiries now being pursued by the United States Congressional Committee. I have no doubt that the Secretary-General will take any appropriate action in the light of their advice.

The attitude of Her Majesty's Government will depend upon the findings of the Committee.

*Mr. Wyatt*: Does the hon. Gentleman not realise that the type of procedure now being adopted by this Congressional Committee is doing tremendous damage to the morale of the United Nations Secretariat, has already led to the suicide of one of the high officials, and has been largely a contributory factor towards the resignation of the Secretary-General himself? Is he also aware that this Committee has described the United Nations as being a nest of spies and saboteurs, and that it requires a certain amount of guts and verve from this Government to try to get a counter-attitude to this type of activity?

*Mr. Nutting*: The difficulty is that this is to some extent *sub judice* while it is being investigated by a committee of jurists appointed by the Secretary-General himself. I should prefer not to make any comment about the attitude of Her Majesty's Government in this matter until that Committee has reported.

*Mr. Noel-Baker*: While I quite understand that the Minister does not want to make a statement now, will he consider whether the recent actions of the United States authorities are really consistent with Article 100 of the Charter under which every member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not seek to influence them in the discharge of their

responsibilities? Will he consider whether, even if in the present case no exception could be taken, this kind of procedure, if taken by all Governments, might not be very damaging to the international Secretariat?

*Mr. Nutting*: The initiative in this matter rests, in the first place, with the Secretary-General. He has taken the initiative in setting up a committee of jurists to investigate precisely the effect of Article 100. Whether that is being respected by the United States investigating committee I would prefer not to comment upon at this stage.

*Mr. Beswick* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to what extent this country, as a member State of the United Nations, is responsible for terms and conditions of employment of United Nations employees.

*Mr. Nutting*: To the extent that the staff of the United Nations are appointed under regulations which were established by resolutions of the General Assembly.

*Mr. Beswick*: As the Under-Secretary accepts some responsibility in these matters, can he say whether he made any protest at all against the action of a national State interrogating employees of this international organisation about their political opinions?

*Mr. Nutting*: I have already answered a question on the issue of the United States investigating committee. I should prefer to say nothing more at the moment.

*Mr. Swingler*: Is it not important that the convention on immunity for employees of the United Nations should be upheld, and is it not a regrettable fact that the American Congress have not yet ratified this convention although the United Nations staff are located in the United States? Will the Under-Secretary make representations directly to the American Government about ratification of that convention?

*Mr. Nutting*: The question of action by Her Majesty's Government must depend upon the findings of the committee of jurists. I cannot say more than that at this stage.

*Mr. Younger*: Does the hon. Gentleman not think that, quite independently of the incident of this committee, it is most unsatisfactory that the United States should not have ratified the convention on immunity which everyone assumed they would accept when the United Nations headquarters was established in America?

*Hon. Members*: Answer.

*Mr. S. Silverman*: Can the hon. Gentleman explain why—the United Nations having been established for seven years—the question of the legal status of their employees should come up for legal investigation only now? Have not the United Nations taken any previous steps to make certain that their officials have proper immunity; and, in connection with that, can the hon. Gentleman say why it is that the United States have not so far ratified the previous agreements on this matter?

*Mr. Nutting*: I am really not responsible—and I do not think the right hon. Gentleman was holding me responsible—for the action of the United States in ratifying or failing to ratify any particular treaty or convention. That is why I did not give him an answer.

As to the first supplementary question of the hon. Member for Nelson and Colne (*Mr. S. Silverman*), the first initiative in this matter must rest with the Secretary-General.

He has now taken that initiative in setting up a committee of jurists. No doubt they will present their findings in due course, and the attitude and action of Her Majesty's Government will depend upon those findings.

#### Administrative Costs

*Mr. Renton* asked the Minister of Food what steps he has taken during 1952, and what steps he will be taking in 1953, in order to reduce substantially the administrative costs of his Department.

*Major Lloyd George*: So far as this year a saving of 2,500 in staff has been made largely as a result of the abolition of National Registration and reorganisation of work. The ending of tea rationing will make possible a further saving of about 375 staff by the end of the year. I keep the administrative costs of my Department under constant scrutiny, but further significant economies must depend largely upon policy decisions which I cannot anticipate.

#### Loan Charges

*Mr. Palmer* asked the Minister of Fuel and Power the total of the extra financial charges imposed, since October, 1951, on the British Electricity Authority and the area electricity boards by the higher rates of interest chargeable on electricity loans.

*Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd*: Total interest payments in the year ending 30th September, 1952, were £22 million compared with £18 million for the previous 12 months. The increase was due mainly to additional capital raised by the industry, but partly to changes in interest rates. Any allocation between these two factors could only be hypothetical.

*Mr. Palmer*: Does the right hon. Gentleman agree that these extra charges are yet another millstone, to coin a phrase, about the neck of an industry which is vital to our productive effort?

*Mr. Lloyd*: I do not think that either the phrase or the idea is highly original.

*Mr. Nabarro*: Is it not desirable that the British Electricity Authority should submit to the financial discipline of the money market in the same way as any other industrial undertaking does?

*House of Commons: November 27, 1952.*

#### Detergents

*Sir Herbert Williams* asked the Minister of Housing and Local Government whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that certain detergents are now having materials added to them which have the effect of producing permanent foam with a consequential prejudice to public health and will he state what steps he is proposing to take under the Public Health Act to deal with this matter.

*The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (Mr. Marples)*: My right hon. Friend presumes my hon. Friend has in mind the effect of the foaming on sewage processes and sewage effluents.

My right hon. Friend is aware of the troubles that are being experienced and as a first step he is having the technical problems investigated in consultation with the manufacturers.

*House of Commons: December 1, 1952.*

#### United Nations (Employees' Immunity)

*Mr. Swingler* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs which member States have not yet ratified the Convention on Immunities for Employees of the United Nations organisation.

*The Joint Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Anthony Nutting)*: Member States of the United Nations are parties to the General Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations by accession only, not by ratification.

As the list of the member States of the United Nations which have not yet acceded is rather long, I am circulating it in the OFFICIAL REPORT.

*Mr. Swingler*: Is it not a very unsatisfactory situation and will not the hon. Gentleman make some representation about it? When the legal status of United Nations employees is in doubt, is it not most unsatisfactory that the Parliament of the State in which the United Nations is located has not yet acceded to the Convention? Will Her Majesty's Government do something about the matter?

*Mr. Nutting*: The first step in this matter rests with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. If he is dissatisfied with the number of States that have acceded to this Convention it is for him to make representations on the matter.

*Mr. Noel-Baker*: Is it not a fact that the United States Government are bound by an interim Convention which they signed with the United Nations and which deals with the immunities of the Secretariat? Is it not, nevertheless, very unsatisfactory that a large number of members have not acceded to this Convention and will Her Majesty's Government try to do something about it?

*Mr. Nutting*: It is unsatisfactory that there is a large number of members who have not acceded. In reply to the first part of the right hon. Gentleman's supplementary question, I understand that there is a general agreement between the United States Government and the Secretary-General.

*Following is the list:*

Burma,  
South Africa,  
Argentina,  
Byelo-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
China,  
Colombia,  
Cuba,  
Czechoslovakia,  
Ecuador,  
Indonesia,  
Mexico,  
Paraguay,  
Peru,  
Saudi Arabia,  
Siam,  
Syria,  
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Soviet Union,  
United States of America,  
Uruguay,  
Venezuela,  
Yemen.

*(continued on page 6.)*

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### Christmas, 1952

We wish our readers the compliments of the Season.

The seven days preceding, and the seven days following the shortest day were called by the ancients the *Halcyon Days*, a familiar phrase expressive of tranquillity and happiness. According to fable, during this period, the breeding time of the halcyon bird, the kingfisher, the sea was always calm—so calm as to afford her a nesting-place. Greek poetic fiction actually represented her hatching her eggs in a floating nest, in the midst of the waters. Hence Dryden:

*Amidst our arms as quiet you shall be,  
 As halcyons brooding on a winter's sea.*

If we cannot with lusty voice give tongue to Christian rejoicings, as Scott in *Marmion*, let us brood gracefully, with the Greeks, we may yet learn to revive old times better ordered and made new, when,

*On Christmas Eve the bells were rung;  
 On Christmas Eve the mass was sung;  
 That only night in all the year,  
 Saw the stoled priest the chalice rear.  
 The damsel donned her kirtle sheen;  
 The hall was dressed with holly green;  
 Forth to the wood did merry-men go,  
 To gather in the mistletoe.  
 Then opened wide the baron's hall  
 To vassal, tenant, serf, and all;  
 Power laid his rod of rule aside,  
 And ceremony doffed his pride.  
 The heir, with roses in his shoes,  
 That night might village partner choose,  
 The lord, underogating, share  
 The vulgar game of 'post and pair.'  
 All hailed, with uncontrolled delight,  
 And general voice, the happy night,  
 That to the cottage, as the crown,  
 Brought tidings of salvation down.*

For the time being emancipated man prefers to brawl, bicker and protest. His good tidings are all his own, like his opinions, his money, his railways and his coal. Power's rod is thicker, heavier, and never laid aside; our new lords all of the derogated breed; the baron's hall an unkempt hotel lounge, rabbit-warren for cancellers of 'surplus' purchasing power, or exhibition-piece; tidings are all of alarms and excursions, none of them peaceful or promising.

Not quite three months after our separation from Douglas, our friend and guide, his movement is taking heart, a new sense of urgency and, more important still, of responsibility is awakening, even if the convocation we forecast seems

hard to arrange. There are even blessed signs, which would have greatly pleased him, of a tiring of the "Little Bethel" habit of mind which is, probably, the deadliest threat to the possibility of Social-Credit-at-last we have to counter. In the field of action (our field even when political frosts bind the earth and political winds enjoin that our barque be brought up to anchor on a biting sea-bed), "something stirs," though we may not, without imperilling success, say what it is. The Assyrian wolf sits licking his chops instead of raiding the fold, and looks, in the modern light, almost doglike. Can it be he aspires to canine likeability and a bark, tired, as we are tired, of the ghostly howls with which he has been wont to assail the economic air? Even Mr. Butler has been heard to say we have far too many economists in the House of Commons, and that it is from the school of experience alone (and—would he be fit for the Cabinet did he not say it?—hard work) that he can receive "the guidance necessary for the sort of dirty job I am doing." Well—he said it! Down in the forest something stirs. The possibility of "pushing over the whole rickety structure" is dawning, faintly perhaps, and bearing a shepherd's warning, but dawning in directors' board-rooms.

Courage brother!

### The "Other" America

"... all education is part of all religion, and entirely *ultra vires* of the State."

Anyone who studies closely and with an understanding of the language of ideas (which is not entirely the language of 'things') the sentences in which Douglas touched upon the first 'foot' of the Trinitarian Constitution as it grew in England, must be perfectly well aware of his very clear recognition of the Constitutional position of education. The sentence cited by Mr. Swabey recently, which appears above, is emphatic. Doubtless someone will ask how something which is *ultra vires* of the State can be a part of the Constitution (of the State). The question only reveals into what confusion the conception of the State has fallen during those times in which it has been the chief agency for the subversion of the Constitution. In this sense the State is Power only, while the Constitution is the medium for the expression of Authority side by side with Power, and, if necessary, in restraint of Power (a metaphysical restraint).

Liberal, mercantilist, England has for so long been bewitched by 'education' as a 'manure' for correcting intellectual infertility that it appears merely as a commodity, which may be in short or abundant supply, but which is, in any case, of standard composition.

In South Carolina an anti-school-segregation case has been taken to the Supreme Court, and upon the decision, expected soon, will turn action to wrest the control of education from the hands of the State entirely. There must be something to be said for living in South Carolina.

### The Bishop of Monmouth

The Bishop of Monmouth has issued a statement replying to critics of his recent sermon in Westminster Abbey, "The Catholic Nature of the Church of England," which is the subject of controversy.



## The Stilwell Papers

### (1) The China Situation

by

DRYDEN GILLING SMITH.

In 1944 there were only four Americans who shared the honour of being "four star" generals—MacArthur, Eisenhower, Arnold and Stilwell. Considerable publicity has been given to the political comments of the first two, while the latter survives into popular mythology as the man who built the "Stilwell Road" from the Indian province of Assam down into Burma. General Stilwell was in his sixties when he died soon after his relief from command in November, 1944. He had no opportunity to edit his war diaries and correspondence in the light of subsequent events. His papers contain the most 'factual' record so far published by anyone holding such a senior position (among other things deputy to Mountbatten as C. in C. SEAC) of the war in the far east, the Cairo conference (before and after Teheran), and the 'paper war' waged in the Washington, Chungking, Delhi, and Candy HQ's.

It is important here to define the word 'factual.' Wyndham Lewis rightly points out that the 'factual' is not just what lies there, to be picked up by anyone. "Indeed, it does not appear to be factual at all to the person devoid of insight; or, if you like, there is *another* factual for him . . . . The ability to *perceive* the true—which is under everybody's nose but not seen by everybody—is confined to people of considerable intelligence."

Stilwell had insight. He was a stickler for correct information—not for mountains of statistics but the facts on which a commander ought to base his decisions, facts which mean something to him and which he can carry in his head. His criticism of every staff conference he records is the lack of this sort of information—"mumbly and indefinite officialdumb" (*sic*). "My impression of Washington (January, 1942 when it was thought that Stilwell would command the landings in North Africa) is a rush of clerks in and out of doors, swing doors always swinging, people with papers rushing after other people with papers . . . everybody passing you on to someone else, *etc.* . . . Someone with a loud voice and a mean look and a big stick ought to appear and yell 'Halt . . . You imitation ants. Now half of you get to hell out of town before dark and the other half sit down and don't move for one hour.' Then they could burn up all the papers and start fresh." If all the information was gathered and potted by ants lower down the scale there was nothing for the 'high-ups' to do but talk platitudes at conference after conference "from early dawn to dewy eve and on to murky midnight." The tone of the proceedings was set by "The Big Boy" Roosevelt—"Besides being a rank amateur in all military matters, F.D.R. is apt to act on sudden impulses." By February Stilwell had been made responsible for the mainland front against the Japanese. He was called to the White House to discuss final points with F.D.R. before leaving to take up his command.

"February 9th (1942) . . . Call at White House 12.00 to 12.20 F.D.R. very pleasant and very unimpressive. As if I were a constituent in to see him. Rambled on about his idea of the war . . . 'a 28,000 mile front is *my* conception,' *etc.*, *etc.* Just a lot of wind. After I had had

enough, I broke in and asked him if he had a message for Chiang K'ai-shek. He very obviously had not and talked for five minutes hunting around for something world-shaking to say. Finally he had it. 'Tell him we are in this thing for keeps, and we intend to keep at it until China gets back *all* her lost territory.'"

With the President comment was unnecessary. Likewise a meeting with Harry Hopkins the same day. "Back to White House to see Harry Hopkins, a strange gnomelike creature. (Stomach ulcers.) Thought it wonderful that at my age I could shove off on the 'great adventure.' (*Sic*) 'You are going to command troops, I believe.'"

Stilwell arrived in Burma in March. From May 6 to 20 he led the famous march out through the northern jungle to Imphal of a few survivors (26 Americans, 13 British, 16 Chinese and a bevy of Burmese nurses). Most of the book is taken up with a record of attempts to plan a big offensive against the Japanese, training and equipping a Chinese army at a base in India, and trying to get responsible decisions from such characters as Louis ("Glamour boy") Mountbatten and "The Peanut" (Chiang K'ai-shek). In comparison with the latter task of fighting the Japanese was an incidental sideline. "The Glamour Boy . . . doesn't wear well and I begin to wonder if he knows his stuff. Enormous staff, endless walla-walla, but damned little fighting. . .

JANUARY 31st. DEHLI. (1944) 10-00 a.m. to the big walla-walla (conference). . . . Blew off my head about 'the plan' that 'we global strategy experts' have evolved. Fancy charts, false figures, and dirty intentions. Got nowhere, of course. Told them 'To hell with logistics' and mentioned Clive and his 123 soldiers. Dead silence.

In August he had to step into the 'driver's seat' in Ceylon while Mountbatten went to London. "There is undisguised apprehension on the part of Louis's staff here on account of his impending return. I have let them do their work and cancelled most of their belly-ache meetings. Now they realise they must again face the daily blast of wind and paper, and they don't relish the idea. We almost had it on a common-sense basis . . . I went down to Colombo to welcome Mountbatten on his return. I went to the zoo first to look at the monkeys just to get in the mood!"

One feels the 'British' press would use this delightful summing up as an excuse for the epithet 'anti-British,' thereby hoping to frighten away the sort of British reader who could use the book. One might compare the similar epithet 'anti-American' applied to English books which criticise certain Wall Street figures. One should note the contrast with Clive, Stilwell's great admiration of General Slim, and his awareness of the differences in personality and background, of culture, likely to create tension—"our Limey friends are sometimes a bit difficult, but there are some good eggs among them. It is no fun bucking two nationalities to get at the Japs. . . The British don't quite know how to take me—I catch them looking me over occasionally with a speculative glint in their eyes. Some of them I had thought most hidebound and icy prove to have a good deal of my point of view . . ." The "British" press is treated with almost English understatement. He quotes without comment the typical presentation of news (perhaps the B.B.C. could be included).

"Important: ('Our fighter planes made a sweep over the Channel, driving off a German reconnaissance plane. Near misses were scored on a barge near Boulogne.')

"A devastating raid was carried out on Schwebo. Disregarding heavy (*i.e.* two guns) anti-aircraft fire, our bombers dropped their loads squarely on the target area. Bombs were seen to strike the runway. All of our planes returned.'

"Bombs were seen to strike the east bank of the Irrawady'(!)

"The masterly conduct of the withdrawal from Burma was one of the bright spots of the war."

In China Stilwell was on home ground. From 1921 on he had done successive tours of duty there first as a language student, then as a construction engineer on a road being built in Shansi by the Red Cross during its programme of famine relief, as an observer with the Chinese armies engaged in civil war and as Military Attaché to the American embassy in Peking. He knew large numbers of Chinese officials personally, he could hold conferences in Chinese, he knew that in the war against Japan "what saved China was the size of the country and the lack of communications," and that the myth of Chiang K'ai-shek, 'the great military leader,' 'the fourth of the big four' was invented by American propaganda. "There must be tremendous cohesion in the Chinese people for them to survive the terrible neglect and maladministration of their so-called 'leaders.'"

After the loss of Burma Stilwell had his base in Chungking, with frequent flights over the 'hump' to Delhi. Disturbing Chinese 'spies' going through his papers on various occasions and noticing the fact that no-one ever gave any correct information to the Peanut (Chiang), merely telling him what he wanted to believe, Stilwell soon came to the conclusion that this 'leader' was a little oriental despot living in a fool's paradise. "What a laugh it is to see the continual adulation and glorifying of small potatoes whose reputation grows in *spite* of what they do rather than because of it."

He later revised his opinion. Chiang was just a stooge whose opinion was always that of the last person who had spoken to him. That was why none of his bargains were ever carried out. "Peanut is no real dictator. He issues an order. Everybody bows and says 'sure.' But nobody does anything . . . The Chinese Red Cross is a racket. Stealing and sale of medicines is rampant. The Army gets nothing." Meanwhile Peanut shuts himself up pretending to receive wisdom by communing with the heavens. He believes in his destiny and intuition. "He wants to be a moral potentate, a religious leader, a philosopher. But he has no education . . . He will not listen to anything unpleasant, so nobody tells him anything but pleasant things . . . He flies into a rage if anyone argues against him. Everyone avoids, rocks and gets round knotty problems by devious means. He does not know what is going on. He writes orders by the thousand . . . like snowflakes . . . and everybody says 'Yes, Yes' and he never knows what has been done. He is afraid of the crowd and what people will say, so he tries to stop them talking. This is very foolish. It is like trying to stop the sound of a rattlesnake's rattle while leaving the poison in his fangs . . . Even now there is no better one in sight. His successor would undoubtedly be a military man, and there is no one who could do any better. There are some who seem capable

in their present positions but if they had to formulate national policy they couldn't do it. . . . After the war, there will be a great deal of trouble in China. Peanut only knows what goes on immediately around him, and the country is so big he will be unable to control it."

Justice cannot be done by selecting extracts from that part of the book which deals with 'China. Suffice it to say that no government in possession of detailed reports from Stilwell had the slightest excuse for not knowing what would happen in China after the war. Although he had no personal contact with the Communist forces and only mentions them as a military factor in Peanut's strategy, he tells us that there was a continual flow of deserters from the Chinese armies in the north to the Communists. "(September, 1942) The Communists are raising hell. One third of the 49 armies in the north have to oppose them. They get in behind the Central Government troops and attack them. The Chinese can't cross the Yellow River because if they do, both the Japs (in front) and the Reds (in rear) will fight them."

A popular piece of journalism, *Red Star over China*, published before the war by Victor Gollancz and the "Left Book Club," although it represents the Chiang government as powerful and effective (no doubt in order to stress the 'heroism' of the Communist 'resisters'), does provide credible biographies of Mao Tse-Tung and his companions. A comparison between Mao and The Peanut in these separate accounts reveals why the Japanese regarded the former as the most dangerous opponent, and incidentally why the British and Americans woke up one morning to find the Peanut government exiled to the one-time Chinese colony of Formosa.

Cantos 52-61 in Ezra Pound's unfinished 'poem of some length' give a history of China from over 2,000 B.C. to the Manchus in terms of Confucian practice. Kung Fu Tseu or Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was himself an elder statesman and his political counsels were based on the study of the constitutions that had actually worked in the great dynasties of the past. Pound shows how all the great dynasties that subsequently attained and consolidated power embodied Kung's teaching in their practice. When they abandoned the latter they decayed and were overthrown. ". . . we hear that whenever and wherever order has been set up in China; whenever there has been a notable reform or constructive national action, you find a group of Confucians 'behind it' or at the centre."

Against Kung at all times have been the exotic religions which promise the moon, or its equivalent cataclysmic nirvana, Bhuddism, Taoism or 'brave new world.' Christianity (if you can call it by that name) in its most debased form, nineteenth century liberalism, has probably been the most disastrous of these exotic imports. Nearly all the leading Communists encountered by Edgar Snow (author of *Red Star over China*) had been educated in mission schools. Liberalism creates the necessary spiritual vacuum for the reception of communism. Communism has been described as a justifiable reaction 'against the hoppers of harvest,' but as a way of life 'not even practised among the higher orders of mammals.'

Kung's teaching and genuine Christianity are not mutually exclusive. Kung spoke nothing of the life after death, but ordered the deferential observance of the traditional rites and ceremonial, thereby recognising that no ordered society can survive without a spiritual discipline and a conception

of God. Kung, however has had a halo of divinity thrust upon him by latter-day disciples, no doubt because they found his teaching worked out in practice very much better than any of the religions then available. Western missionaries, or most of them, looking at 'Confucianism' from a distance branded it as a rival and pagan religion, instead of showing the Confucian scholars that Christianity provided the best spiritual discipline and conception of God (The Trinity) to nourish the natural morality and social order of Kung's teaching, pointing as an example to the order that was created in the west when the Christian Church was at its zenith. Whether successful or not such an approach would have been better than the one which made enmity between Kung's followers and Christianity, and the supplanting of both by the new (or very old) religion of Communism. Kung and Major Douglas fulfill similar roles in the Cantos, and the comparison which this juxtaposition invites should give the reader of this journal a clear idea of the difference between 'Confucianism' and religion in the currently accepted usage of that word. Kung and the Confucians were consciously aiming at the embodiment of the correct principles of human association which would enable men to enjoy, each to his own, nature's abundance.

It is a far cry from Kung Fu Tseu to either of the contending parties (both sons of the 'revolution') in contemporary China. But there is one point in which Kung's teaching may have had an indirect effect on the struggle between Mao and Chiang. Mao was a Confucian scholar. Edgar Snow dismisses Kung as popular folk-myth giving rise to platitudes and conservatism. He describes the Confucian scholars as a "little bureaucracy which from a distant height ruled the masses—by closely guarding its hieroglyphics and its knowledge, trifling as it was, and using these as weapons with which to control the darkness of the countryside but never to enlighten it." This comment measures Mr. Snow, not Kung. Such an opinion may have coloured his reporting of Mao's antipathy to Kung. According to this report Mao developed an early dislike of the "Stone Classics" when they were administered to him as dead matter by a hack schoolmaster in a provincial school of Hunan. The case has countless parallels. He persisted, for to know the classics was the way to worldly success at that time. His father had lost a lawsuit as a result of an opponent's apt quotation from the Classics of Kung, so "He wanted me to read something practical like the Classics, which could help him in winning lawsuits . . . I was the family scholar. I knew the Classics, but disliked them. What I enjoyed were the romances of old China, and especially stories of rebellions." His mother was a devout Bhuddist.

In order to know whether Mao climbed on to the Communist movement as a bandwagon which would enable him to found a new dynasty (the most favourable supposition one could make about him, but I fear the chances of its being true are extremely remote) one would have to hear a first-hand account from someone who understood Kung's importance in Chinese history and who looked at all Mao's actions and statements in relation to Kung teaching. Snow did not have this sort of awareness.

The alternative supposition is that Mao is comparable to Adam Weishaupt, the founder of the Illuminati, whose Jesuit upbringing made him a far more formidable opponent of the Church than he could have been without such training

and spiritual discipline, an exemplum of the proverb that the corruption of the best is the worst.

One way in which Kung's influence could be undermined in China was by an attack on language. Notice the way Snow scoffs at Kung's instructions to look after terminology "to call things by their right names." He laughs at the 'close guarding of hieroglyphics.' The Chinese ideogram, picturing the thing it represents, cannot be debased and emptied of meaning as easily as the words in western languages. Snow tells us of the use of "*Latinized Chinese* which the Reds were promoting to hasten *mass education*," which also suggests that mass education is not compatible with the use of ideograms or care for terminology.

The point of the Chiang myth was to cover and belittle the importance of events in China which should have been occupying the attention of Europeans and Americans at a more timely hour than the present, when they find themselves facing the consequences of these ignored happenings.

Confronted with this situation there were only two things which General Stilwell could do and he tried to do both of them. One was to give the Chiang armies something of the fighting power which it was claimed they possessed. In spite of opposition from British officials he organised a training centre for Chinese at Ramgarh in India, arranging for a large army to be flown in relays across the 'hump' while supplies were flown to Chungking on the return journey. He abolished (despite great opposition) the Falstaff method of paying troops (giving the pay to the commanding officers who traditionally kept back a large share as their 'perquisite') and introduced the western system of roll-call payments, hoping thereby to get rid of one of the main incentives to desertion. His immediate objective was the reopening of the Burma road so that large Chinese armies could be supplied and re-equipped, with the hope that at the same time some semblance of order could be brought into their command. Chiang had little faith in the fighting power of the Chinese armies and refused to commit them to any operation in which they did not outnumber the Japs by at least ten to one. Stilwell believed that properly equipped and trained they were superior, man for man, to the Japs. To convince the Chinese themselves of their superiority Stilwell wanted to give the army he had trained at Ramgarh the actual experience of victory, and for this reason commanded in person the campaign which cleared the Japs from northern Burma in preparation for the threefold advance with the British armies from the West and the Chinese Yunnan armies from the east.

The chief opposition to the plan for building a strong Chinese army came from Chiang himself and his dim-witted chief of staff Ho Ying-ch'in. He had allowed the functions of the civil and military powers (one could hardly call them 'authorities') to become so fused that there was not a military commander he could trust with any fighting power worth talking about, lest such a commander might dethrone the jittering Chiang. What hope then of a nationalist recovery of China even in the wake of Japs who moved out of their own accord? No general could be trusted with the operation. Even in the retreat in Burma in 1942 he had countermanded orders to his generals by sending contradictory orders to junior officers in the front line, and

had attempted to direct the local operations round Kweilin by means of remote control from his Chunking headquarters. Here, as with his belief in his own intuition, he was perhaps trying to imitate Hitler and hoping the latter's military successes would somehow be thrust upon him. That success might require an effective army seemed to be beyond his ken. Stilwell spent the best part of two years trying to get Chiang's co-operation for this Burma campaign to reopen his supply route. He was driven to distraction by Chiang's ever alternating agreement and refusal to each item of the plan, by his inability to see where lay his own advantage. Much of the central part of the book is taken up with a daily record of this continual muddled bickering in which even Madame Chiang, her brother T. V. Soong (ambassador to Washington) and Chaing were all playing different games, often at each other's expense. Stilwell's local success in Burma in 1944 alarmed Chiang and caused him to make strong representations to Washington for Stilwell's removal on the grounds of his being a "difficult personality."

Seeing that his effort to bolster up Chiang's regime to a fraction of its advertised fighting power was only meeting with very limited success, Stilwell also pursued the second course of action open to him, which was to burst the bubble of Chiang's reputation (as "the fourth great power") then current in America. He assumed that the powers that be in Washington did not *know* what was really going on in China, so he set about trying to inform them through the normal official channels. Apart from the question of downright dishonesty in the Roosevelt administration, Stilwell was at a disadvantage in dealing with home politicians whose minds oozed entirely along the grooves of electoral slogans and never stopped to question the relationship between these platitudes and reality.

(To be continued).

## PARLIAMENT—

(continued from page 3.)

### Chemical Additives

*Dr. Stross* asked the Minister of Food what further action he contemplates to prevent the addition to foodstuffs of chemicals which are known or suspected to be a possible cause of ill-health.

*Major Lloyd George*: Under the Food and Drugs Act, 1938, it is an offence to sell a food which, by the addition of any substance, has been rendered injurious to health. The risks involved in the addition of suspected substances are constantly watched by the Government's medical and technical advisers.

*Dr. Stross*: Would the Minister do his best to bring forward the new food and drugs Bill, which he has in mind, as soon as possible after the Christmas Recess? While he has the Leader of the House sitting by his side will he urge

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his right hon. Friend that this is very necessary because the Leader of the House was away at breakfast when we discussed this matter on Friday morning?

*Major Lloyd George*: As the hon. Member knows from answers to Questions which I have given, I am most anxious that the food Bill should be brought forward, and it will be brought forward as soon as Parliamentary time permits.

(To be continued).

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