

# THE SOCIAL CREDITER

## FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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### From Week to Week

We should not dissent from the opinion of a Washington commentator of the better kind that the filling of the new Administration in the . . . States with big businessmen, while dangerous, is not dangerous because of the danger of 'grinding the faces of the poor and exalting the rich,' but because this politically naive class is particularly susceptible to hoodwinking. The hoodwinker is a composite: hoodwinker-administrator (the 'middlebureaucracy') and hoodwinker-policy-maker ("they"). The old notion which associated trade with barbarism, though dead, was informed. It is characteristic of barbarians that they don't see it coming, and they don't know what's hit them when it comes. Notice, too, the association between barbarism and a planned uniformity (the great anti-organic):—"If the customs and institutions of barbarians have one characteristic more striking than another, it is their extreme uniformity" (Sir Henry Maine: *Ancient Law*).

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"FROM THE PHILOSOPHERS HE LEARNT TO DESPISE MONKS, TO HATE KINGS AND TO DISBELIEVE IN THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION." (*Said of Napoleon.*)

"ALWAYS KEEP IN TOUCH WITH A LUCKY MAN. NEVER ATTACH YOURSELF TO A FAILURE." (*Winston Churchill—of himself?*)

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Napoleon: 1953:—

"Since Churchill's arrival here, it has been frequently reported that the British leader aspires to the role of re-designing world political and military strategy against the Kremlin. History has shown that Churchill fancies himself as even better at military than political strategy.

"Therefore, there has emerged—in private discussion among observers here—the daring speculation that Churchill will propose to Ike a global military strategy very similar to that advanced by former President Hoover, by Taft and by MacArthur—known loosely as the 'sea-air' strategy."

(*Human Events*, Washington, D.C., January 7).

The little journal just quoted thinks it is correct that the Eisenhower-MacArthur plan to end the war in Korea, kept secret up to now, is a blockade of high-seas shipping.

"The truth is that about a million tons of shipping have been carrying munitions from Europe and other places to Chinese ports. One of the important portions of this munitions delivery has been petroleum and lubricants—loaded in Black Sea ports. The ships carry Greek, Panamanian and Soviet satellite flags. But the vessels are almost entirely owned by Greek interests whose headquarters and bank accounts are in London. The British have never attempted to put a stop to this trade although they could do so easily.

If the British people knew that not only American but also British soldiers die in Korea because of tanks and planes fuelled by the above-described channels, opinion in the United Kingdom might well force the British Government to abolish this unseemly traffic. In any case, real American pressure—so far never exerted—would accomplish the same result.

"Right here lies the efficacy of an Eisenhower decision—if it's made—to enforce a complete blockade of shipping to China. The mere decision alone would probably suffice to bring British Government action to end the traffic. Such action would, without any fuss or publicity, severely curtail the kind of munitions without which the enemy could scarcely put up much of a show in Korea."

Notice that "The British" (*i.e.*, Colonel Winston Bonaparte) who have "never attempted" to put a stop to this trade could "do so easily" without the elevation of anyone into a global military dictator.

They do look like "Greeks," don't they?—We don't mean that they have the strange features of Socrates or the still stranger features of the Apollo Belvedere—but the ones you see in London.

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The Balance of Nature: It seems that a rifle bullet is enough to bring down a jet bomber. The tiny hole in the skin enables a jet of pure clean air to enter with explosive violence, and the whole contraption disintegrates as though it had been filled with exploding T.N.T. If the purists say this is not "bringing the plane down," we don't mind. The Chinese ("Greek"?) artillery in Korea is said to be superb.

### "I Leant Against a Column . . ."

The following is from *Contarini Fleming* by D'Israeli:—

" . . . Until we know more of ourselves, of what use are our systems? For myself, I can conceive nothing more idle or more useless than what is styled moral philosophy. We speculate upon the character of man; we divide and we subdivide; we have our generals, our sages, our statesmen. There is not a modification of mind that is not mapped in one great atlas of intelligence. We cannot be wrong, because we have studied the past, and we are famous for discovering the future when it has taken place. Napoleon is First Consul, and would found a dynasty. There is no doubt of it. Read my character of Cromwell. But what use is the discovery, when the Consul is already tearing off his republican robe, and snatching the imperial diadem? And suppose, which has happened, and may happen and will again; suppose a being of a different organisation from

(continued on page 4.)

## PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: January 20, 1953.

### NATIONAL FINANCE

#### Rationed Foods (Cost)

*Miss Burton* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer the increase since 1st April, 1952, per person per week, in the cost of rationed foods to the latest convenient date.

*Mr. R. A. Butler*: For all rationed and subsidised foods, the latest estimate is slightly below the estimate of 1s. 6d. which I gave in my Budget statement. This includes the increase in the prices of bread and flour made on 16th March, 1952.

*Miss Burton*: Is the Chancellor aware that many of us are wondering if it is the intention of the Government to make these increases as high as possible so that people cannot take up their ration? [HON. MEMBERS: "Oh."] It is no use hon. Members opposite groaning. Does the Chancellor know that gammon bacon is being de-rationed because people cannot afford to buy their share? Is the Tory policy better bacon for the well-off and the poorer quality for the less well-off?

*Mr. Butler*: No, Sir. As the hon. Lady will see from an answer which is to be given later, there has been a much smaller gap between the types of food bought by different sections of the population, and I welcome that. With regard to detailed points about rations, I would refer the hon. Lady to my right hon. and gallant Friend the Minister of Food.

*Mr. Jay*: In view of the series of price and wage increases since the Chancellor followed his policy and the injurious effects of that on production and exports, cannot the right hon. Gentleman at least give us an assurance that the Government will not repeat this disastrous experiment this year?

*Mr. Butler*: I would not accept that this experiment has been disastrous. I would accept that a great deal of public money has been saved and that, considering the sacrifice involved, the public have accepted this in a remarkably good spirit.

*Mr. Osborne*: Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer confirm the fact that the sharpest rise in the cost of living occurred immediately after the £ was devalued by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1949?

#### Sugar and Tobacco (Dollar Purchases)

*Mr. Nabarro* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer (1) what would be the dollar cost at current prices of purchasing the 750,000 tons of sugar in the first year, and thereafter 500,000 tons of sugar per annum to remove sugar and sweets from rationing in the United Kingdom; by how much it would be necessary to decrease dollar tobacco purchases to pay for this extra sugar; and how many fewer cigarettes, *per capita, per diem*, such a switch of tobacco and sugar would entail;

(2) how much loss of revenue in respect of Duty, would be entailed in a full year by reducing purchases of tobacco from dollar sources, by an amount equal to the sum required

to purchase the 750,000 tons of sugar in the first year, and thereafter 500,000 tons of sugar per annum, to remove all sugar and sugar products from rationing in the United Kingdom.

*Mr. R. A. Butler*: The cost of purchasing 750,000 tons of sugar at present prices would be 60 million dollars; this is the cost at present prices of about 84 million pounds of dollar tobacco.

It is not possible to predict the effect on cigarette consumption of a reduction of this order on purchases of dollar tobacco.

The loss of revenue is conjectural but would probably be at least £300 million.

*Mr. Nabarro*: Would my right hon. Friend bear in mind that, in spite of the complex issues involved here, the most virulent problem which the housewife has today is the shortage of sugar? As much fruit is being wasted every year, and as housewives cannot bake or make cakes or make jam, would it not be preferable to appeal for a small sacrifice from the smoking population in order to cut down dollar imports of tobacco and to use the money for a better purpose—buying more sugar?

*Mr. Butler*: I have naturally studied the Questions which the hon. Gentleman has put on the Paper, but I am satisfied that in the general interest it is better to leave the equation between the two more or less as it is at present.

*Lieut.-Colonel Lipton*: Would it not be possible to save quite a lot of dollars on American films and to use that money for the purchase of sugar?

*Mr. Butler*: The whole film question is tied up with international agreements, but the whole question is also always under review.

#### Food Expenditure

*Miss Burton* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the 1950 Report of the National Food Survey Committee, recently published, states that the difference in the amount of money spent on food each week between the well-to-do and poorer families is only a quarter of what it was before the war; and if he will give an assurance that steps taken by him to achieve an export surplus, as decided by the conference of Commonwealth Ministers in London, will reduce rather than increase this difference.

*Mr. R. A. Butler*: I have seen the statement in question, and welcome the narrowing of the pre-war gap between the food expenditure of the upper and lower income groups. This is a process which was, of course, set in train by the food policy of the war-time Coalition. I see no reason why any decisions taken by the Conference of Commonwealth Ministers should particularly influence the distribution of expenditure on food as between the different groups.

*Miss Burton*: Is the Chancellor aware that we on this side of the House are worried about the attitude of the Conservative Government and that this narrowing of the gap took place in 1950? Does the right hon. Gentleman not know that many people are unable to take up their butter, their meat, their bacon or their egg ration? . . .

*Mr. Butler*: I would not accept such a sweeping generalisation as the hon. Member makes, and I would also draw

attention to the fact that there is merit in this narrowing of the gap, as I stated in my answer to the Question. This narrowing arrives from the realistic food policy adopted at the time by the war-time Coalition and carried on since. Turning to the observations of the hon. Lady, I would only say that we are far more worried about the attitude of the Socialist Opposition, and they are far more worried about divisions among themselves, than she is worried about the Conservative Government. . . .

#### £ Sterling (Value)

*Mr. H. Hynd* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer the purchasing value of the £ sterling at the latest available date as compared with its purchasing power in October, 1951.

*Lieut.-Colonel Lipton* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer by how much the purchasing power of the £ sterling has varied since October, 1951.

*Mr. R. A. Butler*: Taking the figure for October, 1951, as 20s., the corresponding figure for December, 1952, was 18s. 7d. This answer is based on the Interim Index of Retail Prices of the Ministry of Labour.

*Mr. Hynd*: Is the Chancellor aware that his reply will give great dissatisfaction to the many unfortunate people who voted Conservative in the hope that the figure would go the other way?

*Mr. Butler*: If the hon. Gentleman will look a little backwards and take the previous year from October, 1950, to October, 1951, based on exactly the same basis and certainly on the same calculation, he will see that the figure was 17s. 10d. under his Government as compared with 18s. 7d. under the Conservative Government.

#### Anglo-Argentinian Trade

*Mr. Osborne* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer why he has agreed to lend another £20 million to the Argentine when that country is in default on its existing financial commitments; and if he will make a statement.

*Mr. R. A. Butler*: The renewal of the financial arrangements made in 1951, including the provision for credit facilities, if required by Argentina, up to £20 million, forms part of a general settlement for securing our supplies of meat and for establishing the basis of trade and payments between the U.K. and Argentina during 1953.

*Mr. Osborne*: Does the answer mean that the Argentine made it a condition that we should lend her another £20 million if we were to get meat supplies at all?

*Mr. Butler*: I would not like to state it in that spirit. All I can say is that if we were to get a general agreement it was clear that credits—which is the word I prefer to use—available up to this amount were an ingredient of the discussions and formed part of the final agreement.

*Mr. Gaitskell*: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this agreement has been almost universally condemned in the Press, that he appears to have received no substantial concessions from the Argentine in respect of either the remittance of dividends and interest owing or in respect of exports from this country to the Argentine? Will he please consider making further representations to the Argentine to stimulate exports?

*Mr. Butler*: The right hon. Gentleman is quite right in part of his Question, we should advance our exports to the Argentine. I would not accept that the situation is as bad as he makes out. In regard to the remittances, it is by no means to be taken that remittances may not be made but, owing to the continuing shortage of foreign currency in Argentine, it may be difficult to say that they can be made immediately. The right hon. Gentleman would be wrong to imagine that there is a negative attitude on the matter. I believe that this is as good an agreement as the Government could have made under the circumstances, and in due course it will come before the House for its consideration.

*Mr. Nabarro*: Could my right hon. Friend confirm that as part of this agreement coal, machinery, steel, and £3 million of textiles, mostly cotton piece goods, are to be supplied from Britain as a direct further aid to the difficulties that have occurred in Lancashire in the last 12 months?

*Mr. Butler*: In general the intervention of the hon. Gentleman is correct and I thank him for it.

*Mrs. Mann*: Are we to understand that in addition to the £168 a ton for this butcher's meat, which compares with £128 which the Labour Government were attacked for giving, we have to butter and sweeten the Argentine with this further loan of £20 million, and is it not a disgraceful admission on the part of the right hon. Gentleman that he could not get a better agreement than that?

*Mr. Butler*: As I said previously—and I think it would be wise to accept what I have said—this will be put before the House under a Supplementary Estimate and will no doubt be discussed. I think it would be better to discuss these matters on that occasion, but I would not accept the interpretation of the hon. Lady. When credits were made available before, they were not drawn upon, and therefore it would be wrong for the House to assume that this is a loan which may be totally taken up.

#### Sanitary Fittings (Detergents)

*Sir H. Williams* asked the Minister of Housing and Local Government if he has any further statement to make with regard to the effect of detergents producing foam corroding sanitary fittings and causing dermatitis.

*Mr. Marples*: Investigations into these questions are continuing.

*Sir H. Williams*: Would my hon. Friend say when he is likely to be able to make a statement?

*Mr. Marples*: Not at the moment because it is difficult to get evidence of, for example, sewage plants being corroded. Many accusations have been made but very little specific evidence is available, and if any hon. Member has information about corrosion I should be grateful if they would send us the information.

*Mr. Bevan*: Will the hon. Gentleman inquire of the Ministry of Health who would be able to obtain the information from hospitals, as to the extent to which these detergents are causing dermatitis because, when I was Minister of Health, I was informed that it involved a considerable increase?

*Mr. Marples*: There have been a few cases recorded in a number of places, but nothing conclusive has yet been forthcoming from the Ministry of Health.

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Saturday, January 31, 1953.

### "A Cluster of Men"

A reader who is a Roman Catholic (or, as doubtless he would say, 'a Catholic') has sent us, with a covering letter, a note of a quotation from *The Inheritance of the Common Law* by the eminent Queen's Counsel, Mr. Richard O'Sullivan. Our correspondent points out that the work is in the Social Credit Library. The passage is headed "The Inns of Court," and is as follows:—

"We see at Westminster a cluster of men which deserves more attention than it receives from our unsympathetic because legally uneducated historians. No, the clergy were not the only learned men in England, the only cultivated men, the only men of ideas; vigorous intellectual effort was to be found outside the monasteries and universities. These lawyers are worldly men, not men of sterile caste; they marry and found families, some of which become as noble as any in the land; but they are in their way learned, cultivated men, linguists, logicians, tenacious, disputants, true lovers of the nice case and the moot point. They are gregarious, clubbable men, grouping themselves in *hospices* which became schools of law, multiplying manuscripts, arguing, learning and teaching, the great mediators between life and logic, a reasoning, reasonable element in the English nation.' Elsewhere, of the *hospices* which became schools of law, Maitland wrote; 'No English institutions are more distinctively English than the Inns of Court. . . . Unchartered, unprivileged, unendowed, without remembered founders, these groups of lawyers formed themselves and in the course of time evolved a scheme of legal education: an academic scheme of the mediaeval sort, oral and disputatious. For good and ill that was a big achievement in the history of some undiscovered continents.'

" . . . In the fine phrase of Dr. Levy-Ullmann, they were the 'university and church militant of the Common Law.'

The covering letter says:—

"Dear Sir. You are certainly trying to make us think, and I enclose a copy of some sentences by Mr. Richard O'Sullivan, which may be helpful.

"The 'cluster of men' had a common 'authority' and a common 'philosophy,' and the cluster disintegrated because, of a series of necessary factors, one was missing, a condition which has been expressed in *The Social Crediter* as 'a, b, c,—, e.'

"It is said that the Papacy has been preserved by

Divine Providence. Can we examine its structure to see whether it may be, without the fact being recognised, the result of continuous fidelity to correct principles of human association for a common objective? In its early history, as each occupant of the Papal throne was 'dissolved' by Power, a successor took his place. Authority incarnate was preserved in a Person. The Social Credit Board was dissolved. Aberhart 'died.' This is only to say that if the Social Credit Secretariat is vulnerable, Douglas has the answer."

If readers of sufficiently long standing will cast their minds back to the first election of a Chairman (and a policy) for the Secretariat (Douglas and Douglas's policy), they may remember that Douglas's own phrase to describe the machinery used to effect the result desired was "an electoral college." It was called a Selection Committee; but to define its nature Douglas called it while it was being prepared "an electoral college." There is no doubt that the historical practice of the Papacy was in his mind, and therefore the suggestion of our correspondent that we should examine it was anticipated in the late thirties. We believe our correspondent is right in suggesting that the historical continuity of the Church may be, imperceptibly, connected with "continuous fidelity to correct principles of association; but we are far from certain whether, anything but certain, that he has put his finger on the key point. No educated Roman Catholic is in the least put out to-day if it suggested that there have been some very bad Popes, and some not very good ones too. The continuity, in so far as it is significant and valuable, which is a matter upon which opinions differ, seems to be entirely independent of all degrees of success in electing the right Pope. There is something which transcends both the machinery and the efficacy of the machinery to elect. We agree with our correspondent that Douglas had the answer. The answer is Credit. The greatest 'mediator between life and logic' is Social Credit.

### "I LEANT AGAINST A COLUMN"—

(continued from page 1.)

Napoleon or Cromwell placed in the same situation and being gifted with a combination of intelligence hitherto unknown; Where, then, is our moral philosophy, our nice study of human nature? How are we to speculate upon results which are to be produced by unknown causes? What we want is to discover the character of a man at his birth, and found his education upon his nature. The whole system of moral philosophy is a delusion, fit only for the play of sophists in an age of physiological ignorance. . . ."

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"I leant against a column of the Temple of Castor. . . And where is Rome? All nations rose and flourished only to swell her splendour, and now I stand amidst her ruins. . .

"A man clambered down the steep of the Palatine. It was winter. . . I tell you what, my friend, the period has arrived in your life, when you must renounce meditation. Action is now your part. Meditation is culture. It is well to think until a man has discovered his genius, and developed his faculties, but then let him put his intelligence in motion. Act, act, act; act without ceasing, and you will no longer talk of 'the vanity of life.' But *how* am I to act?—Create. Man is made to create from the poet to the potter."

## Monsieur Antoine Pinay's Fight Against Political Parties and Resistentialism

by DRYDEN GILLING SMITH.

French politics are perhaps the most classic illustration of the absurdity of the party system. Wherever one goes in France today one finds the parties recognised for what they are—cliques. The monarchist and 'traditionalist' public is much larger than the English press would have us believe. The fact that this public boycotts the party system, and is therefore not represented by a large political party is mistakenly taken by our commentators as evidence for this public's non-existence. As for the large number of political groups which use the word 'Republican' in their titles, one must allow for the fact that the word 'Republican' has been pumped so hard for the last 80 years through the arteries of the state (republican) education system that it has no more practical meaning to the user than the word 'Progressive' in England. As one, no doubt republican, Frenchman recently remarked "leaving all question of politics aside, one has to admit that it is much more *chic* of England to have a charming Queen Elizabeth than of France to allow an old gaffer like Vincent, who can't even speak his own language (a reference to his exaggerated use of patois to identify himself with the 'masses'), who makes an ass of himself at every public function, to stand as a national symbol."

The present writer has so far discovered four reviews which speak for this traditionalist public, referred to as the *pays réelle* to distinguish it from what is called the *pays legal*, i.e., the existing set-up. *Rivarol*, *Aspect de la France*, *France Réelle du Sud-Ouest* (weekly papers) and *Ecrits de Paris* (monthly) contain a degree of awareness only equalled in journals of almost private circulation in this country. That is, one could not find matter of similar quality after a cursory exploration of newspaper stands in a provincial town. In my own town (pop. 60,000) it is impossible to buy such 'popular' papers as the *Listener* and *The Spectator* without placing a regular order, so what hope for the foreign explorer who vainly scans our newsagents' counters for some evidence of mental activity!

No English newspaper has made a serious attempt to explain *how* the only French government, to be respected inside and outside France since the war, governed *in spite* of the main (according to English accounts) political parties—the Communists, the Socialists and the de Gaullists. It was in fact amusing to find feature articles appearing on the same day in *The Sunday Times* and *The Observer*, one explaining why Pinay failed and the other explaining why he succeeded (this was some time before his resignation). Obviously 'official' circles were not quite sure how to take him, or were not sure whether he could be 'persuaded' either to turn his 'save the franc' campaign into one of 'orthodox' deflation, or to forget his slogans altogether and 'devalue.'

However M. Pinay is an Independent and during his period of office he drew his main parliamentary support from the Independent and 'Peasant' Deputies, nine of whom were represented in his cabinet. He had no 'Party machine' or 'publicity machine' requiring financial backing and his popularity rests simply on the fact that he took

office at the end of a long period of party stale-mate, during which prices had risen 40%, and for the next nine months succeeded in preventing any further rise, attempted to put a stop to the futile vendetta waged since the war against the 'ex-Pétainists,' and on more than one occasion overrode his toadying internationalist Foreign Minister, Schuman, by speaking out bluntly to President Truman in support of French rights in North Africa and in France itself. (It must be remembered that there are at least five American air bases in North Africa, and that American citizens, according to treaty rights which we also possessed but have renounced, are not subject to French law in North Africa. Many American buccaneers have been amassing fortunes by supplying the native populations with arms and ammunition. Much of France is also occupied. In the south west there are large American aerodromes and supply bases at Merignac, Poitiers, Orleans, Le Bussac. More than half the port of Bordeaux is in American hands and 80% of the traffic going along the Paris road seemed to consist of American military vehicles—these place names and estimates are taken from personal observation; there may be many other places similarly occupied. The French government is therefore in almost as tricky a position as it was during the years 1940-4 when it had to negotiate with another power that was occupying their territory.) In this difficult situation Pinay's national popularity was not 'bought' by the usual mechanisms mentioned, so he could not be personally coerced by any money power threatening to withdraw financial support for his party or publicity.

His critics, in the Journals which speak for *le pays réelle*, while always ready to comment on his shortcomings, have never ceased to qualify their statements with a re-affirmation of their opinion that he is more honest than any other political leader who has appeared in France since the war. Whatever might be his other views on finance, he has repeatedly insisted that it is dishonest to bribe electors with welfare state benefits if these are to be provided by robbing the same electors with continual inflation. He has persistently refused to compromise on this point and it seems that considerable pressure was brought to bear by our international monetary friends during the autumn of 1952 to make him devalue the franc. Unlike the late Sir Stafford Cripps he was not afraid to say "No" to these gentlemen, nor of monotonously repeating "No, No, No!" every time they asked him.

Over ten days before Pinay's resignation Pierre Boutang observed the nature of the attack against him. Writing in *Aspects de la France* (the journal of the Royalist movement, in succession to *Action Française*) on December 12, he said "the offensive against M. Pinay is led by the marxist and gaullist opposition with the connivance of Bidault, Mayer, Edgar Faure and Reynaud . . . It only just failed on Tuesday. It will begin again immediately. The fact that this coincides with the article in the London *Financial Times*, calling for devaluation, reveals its true nature. It is an international conspiracy which attacks (among other things) the money, the security and the social equilibrium of France.

"Our often stated reservations about the timidity and inconsequence of Pinay's policy count for little in face of this dirty coalition."

The part played by de Gaulle or "Charles the Bad" is not well understood outside France. The legend he has propagated for home (French) consumption is that he came in 1944 at the head of a Free French army and liberated his country. (If it had not been for him the British and Americans would have had to do this! ! !—this argument, believe it or not, is advanced by his keen supporters.) The legend for export is that he is the patriot *par excellence* and the leader of the 'right wing' against the Communists and Socialists. In point of fact during his stay in Algiers and during the 'liberation' he showed himself as a man ready to pursue any policy provided he could be the figurehead. He even tried to play Kerensky to the communists by offering them key posts in his government in exchange for their allegiance to himself, and he is therefore personally responsible for those revolutionary purges and disorders of the 'liberation,' details of which make a sorry monthly chapter in *Ecrits de Paris*. This revolution was not just a concession by de Gaulle to the Communists. That he was moving in the same direction himself can be seen from the account of his years in London in the Memoirs of André Savignon. One of the chief henchmen of his party (the R.P.F.), M. Diethelm was responsible for the wholesale 'purification' in 1945 of the French army. Pierre Boutang (in *Aspects de la France*) says that Diethelm dismissed, by the thousand, irreproachable officers, blamed only for their loyalty to their country and to their legitimate head of state (Pétain). He holds Diethelm responsible for the lack of troops in Indo China today, and for the fact that the rebuilding of French military strength now presents an almost impossible task to anyone who tries it.

However the crimes of the 'liberation' were on far too large a scale to be hidden permanently from public scrutiny. Many of them are now tentatively admitted, but only after every attempt to fix them on to the Germans, the 'Vichyites' and the 'Communists' has failed. The increasing number of attempts to obtain justice for the victims of the wholesale massacres, mutilations and imprisonments has resulted in a recent move for an amnesty for all crimes committed *in the name of the liberation* between 1940 and 1947, with the onus of proof that such crimes were *not* committed in the name of the liberation resting upon the state. How one can assist the liberation of a country three years after it has been officially 'liberated' has yet to be explained.

After the initial success of the 1944 revolution had placed power securely in the hands of the 'Resistentialist' coalition, the Communists, following their normal strategic pattern, withdrew support from their self-elected Kerensky. De Gaulle had to look for another 'cause' which would offer him the rôle of Leader, so he decided to pose as the champion of the oppressed 'right wing,' and gain the support of the patriots who had been so badly treated by his own 'international brigade.' He took with him, as his Party propaganda chief, André Malraux, the author who had once been the leading figure of the Communist literary front in its attacks on Franco Spain. Some of the people he now intended to gull knew de Gaulle too well. Others imagined he had learned his lesson and had turned honest and many more really believed his Rally of the French people to be inspired by purely patriotic motives.

However the truth of the latter can be gauged by de

Gaulle's reaction when Pinay began to do what de Gaulle had promised to do. He sulked. Then, because Pinay had been one of those who had assisted ministerially in the extremely difficult task of governing France during the occupation, de Gaulle started bandying the terms 'reactionary' and 'vichyite' and trying once more to make an electoral alliance with the Communists and Socialists, who ought, he said, to be cemented together once more by their common philosophy of '*Resistentialism*.' Those thirty or so deputies who had joined de Gaulle in good faith left his party, forming a new association, *A(ction) R(adicale) et S(ociale)*, in support of the Pinay government, whose policy of 'stabilisation' they recognised as the mandate given by their own electorate.

In the debate which preceded Pinay's resignation M. Barrachin, leader of this A.R.S. group replied to a long attack by M. Soustelle of the de-Gaullist R.P.F. against the Pinay government by giving his personal reasons for leaving the R.P.F. "M. Pierre de Gaulle said to me one day 'A national disaster is the only means which will enable General de Gaulle to return to power; we ourselves do not want this disaster, but given the fact that it is inevitable, we will do nothing to delay it.'" This revelation caused an uproar in the Chamber of Deputies but none of de Gaulle's supporters can deny the fact that *Charles le mauvais* found a previous national disaster, that of 1940, an excellent moment in which to play his political hand (presumably he was already in contact with the right tipsters).

What proportion of the electorate that once voted for the de Gaullist R.P.F. now feels the same way about this party as the dissident A.R.S. Deputies is difficult to estimate. However an interesting pointer can be found in the bye elections preceding M. Pinay's resignation. The most important of these held on the December 21 in the 1st electoral district of Paris, was a remarkable gain for an Independent, M. Paul Coirre, who had pledged his support for the Pinay government. In the first round of this election there were 24 candidates, including members of all the political parties. For the electorate it was hardly a question of Hobson's choice. In this M. Coirre got the largest vote—68,155. In order for the returned deputy to have the necessary absolute majority a second polling took place on the December 21 which was a final knock-out between the six surviving candidates. In this M. Coirre obtained 151,765 votes and his six opponents between them a total of 100,000 votes. Commenting on this, *France Réelle du Sud-Ouest* (December 26) states under a heading, "*Toujours les Independents*," that "It is an Independent, M. Cornat, President of the General Council, who was elected last Sunday as Senator for La Manche, in place of an R.P.F. It is an Independent, M. Mignot, who has been elected to the General Council, from Armançry, Doubs. And it is another Independent-Peasant, M. Castanié, who has been elected to the General Council, from Latronquière, Lot.

"Every Sunday for at least a year we have witnessed this sort of electoral victory: it seems that there ought to be a very good reason for them!"

An English Prime Minister faced with the same situation (*i.e.*, virtually unknown at the last general election, but during a short period of administration transformed into one

of the most respected national figures) could have called a general election on the strength of his bye election victories. The French constitution does not permit this.

*Aspects de la France* warns its readers against accepting the electoral game as valid simply because they may for once be pleased with the results which it has yielded. Elections must be accepted for what they are, "a swindling machine, a mechanism with neither spiritual nor moral significance."

M. Pinay was the first Prime Minister who was able to narrow the gulf, which since 1944 has split France from top to bottom, a gulf between those who were of the Revolution which established the 4th Republic and those who were branded 'Petainists.' M. Coirre in fact attributed his election to the fact that "Paris remains more than ever attached to the idea of national independence, to national unity and to a reconciliation between the different sections of the French people."

This was a novel departure in the 4th Republic and one which was bitterly attacked in a feature article of the English *Daily Mirror*, which described 'the surly anti-British collaborators who are now being let out of gaol and climbing back into positions of power.' We know whence cometh the *Daily Mirror's* pet hatreds. The Christmas number of *Rivarol* compares 'Resistantism' and 'anti-Petainism' as MUSTS in the 4th Republic with Freemasonry and anti-clericalism which were MUSTS of the 3rd Republic.

It should be noted that this vilification, which has been and is still poured upon Petainists, is not really inspired by any hatred of 'collaboration.' There were countless non-Petainists whose acts of said 'collaboration' were pardoned immediately by the 4th Republic. For example M. Francois Mauriac, the novelist who has recently been awarded the Nobel prize, in 1942 wrote in his paper, *Le Figaro*, that providence herself had provided France with a glorious hero (Marshall Petain) to take up the torch for his humiliated country. However in 1944 he was ready to transfer his allegiance to de Gaulle and follow the 'accepted' attitude towards 'Vichyites.' In 1941 *Le Figaro* devoted a panegyric leading article to Charles Maurras (the Royalist leader) and his book *La seule France* referring to him as a shining example of complete fidelity to his country, a gallant fighter of the spirit and of the pen who did not deserve to see his country so badly defeated. However after the death of Maurras in November, 1952, (he was released from prison in March, 1952) *Le Figaro* remained silent and the editor replied to correspondents who asked "Why no appreciation of Maurras?" by saying that he did not share their enthusiasm for this controversial figure. M. Mauriac has however given his reason for this policy of his paper (*Echo de la Presse*, November 30, 1952)—"I know that *Figaro* is often reproached for always being on the side of the government. I maintain that in a democracy a newspaper with a large circulation cannot be a newspaper of the opposition." M. Pierre Boutang comments that though the 'official opposition' in a democracy has usually existed only as a concession to appearances, this statement by Mauriac represents the abandoning even of these appearances. "The pedagogue of Demos abdicates before an idol of a government which is always right. . ."

Opportunist 'collaboration,' though it may have aroused resentment among a man's intimate circle of friends, was

not what placed him under a political cloud, or, if he were a civil servant, what had thrown him out of his job, so long as he was ready to join the 1944 revolution and take part in the attack on 'Petainists.' The real 'crime' in the eyes of the 4th Republic was the attempt, by the small group of men prepared to accept the unpopular task of governing France in 1940, to look for the cause of the defeat in the decadence of their own political system, and, under the leadership of Marshall Petain and Charles Maurras, to see what they could do to remedy matters. The degree of success which they achieved, in spite of the limitations which the occupation imposed upon their freedom of action, can be estimated by the determination of the revolution leaders to eradicate all traces of this attempt from French political life.

(To be continued).

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## PARLIAMENT—

(continued from page 3.)

House of Commons: January 21, 1953.

### Germany (Herr Krupp)

*Mr. E. Fletcher* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will now make a statement on the negotiations with the Bonn Government with regard to the disposal of Herr Alfred Krupp's iron, steel and coal assets.

*The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Anthony Eden)*: These negotiations have now reached an advanced stage, and arrangements for dealing with Herr Alfred Krupp's iron, coal and steel assets should be completed before very long. The deconcentration arrangements will then be promulgated under an Allied order, and I will make a full statement to the House.

*Mr. E. Fletcher*: Can the Foreign Secretary give us an assurance that, when these negotiations are completed, there will be no possibility of Herr Krupp being able to build up again a combine in the armaments industry in Germany?

*Mr. Eden*: I think the hon. Gentleman will understand that I cannot give an assurance going beyond those I have given before, and I am trying to fulfil what I told the House was the arrangement I would endeavour to make. I really must ask that this should be completed before I make any detailed statement about it.

*Miss Lee*: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether he has any authority to make sure that this property does not go into the hands of any other leading Nazis, or even to find out whether any coal or steel property has already gone into the hands of those Nazis who have now been arrested?

*Mr. Eden*: The hon. Lady has raised a question which I should not like to answer without notice. She is perfectly right. The legal perplexities of this matter are very considerable, and I have to act within the present legal system, which, I am sure, she will understand. If she will put down the Question, I will endeavour to give an answer.

*Mr. Jack Jones*: Will the right hon. Gentleman give an assurance that, when these assets are liquidated and the cash is received by Herr Krupp, none of it will be made available for buying out the British steel industry?

*Mr. Eden:* I can well understand the sentiments behind the hon. Gentleman's supplementary, but I really think it is the late Government to whom he should address them.

*Mr. Manuel:* Does the right hon. Gentleman's statement mean that the present Government would allow Herr Krupp to build up in Germany the armament industry formerly under his control?

*Mr. Eden:* I am much obliged to the hon. Gentleman. My supplementary answer does not mean anything of the kind. It means that I have to operate under laws agreed to by the late administration.

### Secretariat (Political Activities)

*Sir R. Acland* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has completed his study of the report of the international panel of jurists on the political activities or affiliations of members of the United Nations Secretariat; whether he will support proposals by Canada, India, Sweden and other countries for the matter to be the subject of early debate by the United Nations Assembly; and whether he will place in the Library copies of the jurists' report and of any comprehensive comments thereon circulated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

*The Minister of State (Mr. Selwyn Lloyd):* Yes, Sir. The report has now been studied in the Foreign Office. It will be considered by the General Assembly when it reconvenes next month in connection with a report from the Secretary-General on policy regarding personnel. This item has been placed on the agenda at the request of the Secretary-General. A copy of the jurists' report has already been placed in the Library and a copy of the Secretary-General's report will be placed there when published.

*Mr. Noel-Baker:* Is the Minister satisfied that the jurists' report really starts from the right point, namely, the loyalty of United Nations officials to the International Organisation as such?

*Mr. Selwyn Lloyd:* I think it would be much wiser to abstain from comment on the jurists' report until we have given the Secretary-General the opportunity of first making his comment upon it.

*Mr. Noel-Baker:* But will the Minister consider that point?

### Butter Consumption

*Mr. Osborne* asked the Minister of Food the total consumption of butter in the United Kingdom for the three years prior to the war and for 1950, 1951 and 1952, respectively.

*Major Lloyd George:* The total consumption of butter during the years 1936-1938 averaged 500,000 tons annually. Consumption during the three years 1950, 1951 and 1952 was: 373,000 tons, 324,000 tons and 241,000 tons respectively.

(To be continued.)

### Velasquez

It is said of Velasquez ("the most objective of painters") that he was one of the most contented men of his age, and that, descended on his father's and on his mother's side from noble families he sat resignedly with the clowns, jesters, dwarfs at the foot of the table of Philip IV for thirty years but when he was sixty years of age he was ennobled. In this strange world "kings can give titles to genius but cannot give genius to titles."

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