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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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The British Commonwealth and Europe

We republish a selection of letters to Editors which have appeared in the Press on the subject of the European Common Market.

From The Times, London, July 11, 1961:

Sir,-The concern felt by Commonwealth countries about possible United Kingdom membership of the Common Market is not taken up entirely with economic considerations. A far more anxious issue is that represented by the political implications of Common Market membership.

The eventual goal of the Six is political unity. The three European Communities have been constantly working

towards that end,

It is difficult to see how Britain could join in the supranational concept of European unity without abandoning the Commonwealth as an institution and without making farreaching and profound changes to British institutions.

Mr. Macmillan has given assurances to Commonwealth leaders that Britain will not join the Common Market without seeking to make adequate provisions to safeguard their respective trading positions. These assurances have been welcomed. Nevertheless, Mr. Macmillan has given no assurance whatsoever regarding the ultimate political consequences of British membership of the Common Market.

What is to become of the monarchical institution within the framework of European unity? No British Minister has made the slightest attempt to answer this question. How, one may ask, can allegiance be given to a European Parliament and to the Monarchy? What if circumstances promoted a conflict between the allegiances? Which allegiance would

Merely to put these questions is to indicate some of the crucial aspects which would run with British membership of a unified European community. The economic consequences upon the Commonwealth of British participation in bringing to fulfilment the supra-national ambitions of the Six are tremendous. The political and institutional consequences are in-

calculable.

Many of us in the Commonwealth countries, and certainly in Australia, take the view that there has been a regrettable disposition by British political leaders to give more and more encouragement to associations and organisations in preference to encouraging the Commonwealth. There has been almost a nervous reluctance to consider and adopt such measures that would make joint Commonwealth action possible and effective. So many people have become apologists for the Commonwealth and for its achievements and traditions.

The Commonwealth has a political and economic strength that could be realised and summoned to the beneficent use of mankind if there was a will to that end.

None of the benefits which may flow to Britain from membership of the Common Market could not be gained from a Commonwealth Common Market. More importantly, a Commonwealth Common Market would preserve the political sovereignty of the United Kingdom and of Commonwealth countries.

To seek to give a new and revived character to the Commonwealth does not involve a shunning of British responsibility to Europe or to any other part of the world. Close collaboration and communion with Europe can be achieved without a surrender of national sovereignty.

It would seem at least shameful if the British people should give up willingly what tyrants in two world wars in this century failed to take from them by force.

Yours faithfully,

D. J. KILLEN, M.P. for Moreton, Commonwealth Parliament Offices, Brisbane, B.9, July 7.

From The Mercury, Hobart, July 12, 1961:

Sir,—Entrance to the Common Market is being held up as an economic bait to the British people to induce them into a political trap. When the trap snaps behind them they will have lost their friends, and will find themselves in a helpless minority in a hostile camp; and as they must abide by the majority rule, they will have no redress. The absorption of an individual person or nation into a large group over which they have no control is not integration, as many people call it—it is degradation. The United States of America and the United States of Russia are held up as examples of successful integration; if people knew of the explosive problems inside these vast conglomerations they might not use the word integration so frequently.

The British nations collectively have all the elements which make for strength and permanency, namely, economic diversity, political homogeneity and a common loyalty. These questions which urgently require answers are, "Why are powerful groups in America forcing the British government to join the Common Market?" and, "Why is there not a meeting of the British Nations to decide this momentous

question?"

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The attention of readers is directed to a change in the English Editorial address. This address should also be used for any correspondence relating to policy.

From Week to Week

"... In any event, 'single-issue' elections are likely to be absurd affairs. (If the parties were on opposite sides on the Common Market issue at the next election, one presumably could vote against a Conservative proposal to join the Common Market only by giving Labour a 'mandate' to, among other things, nationalise the steel industry.)"

-Robert McKenzie, in The Observer, June 18, 1961. It is sufficient to say that elections are absurd affairs.

In 1959 Mr. Macmillan wrote, "I do not remember any period in our life-time when the economy has been so sound and the prosperity of our people so widely spread." Now we have the conjunction of a war crisis and a savage austerity programme to demonstrate once more, and perhaps finally, the complementary aspects of international financial policy and international revolution to achieve world dominion for a set of international gangsters, with Mr. Macmillan going cheerfully along. A fool? No-just doing nicely, thank you; until something hits him.

The 'measures' to deal with the 'crisis' of course take the usual form-an increase generally in the cost of living. It is elementary that an increase in the cost of living is reflected in an increase in prices, so that the disease is self-perpetuating. It is also elementary that, if not the world as a whole, certainly the industrialised countries, are in real terms wealthier every year: the contemporary 'crisis' is only our old acquaintance, "poverty in the midst of plenty," in a new guise

of economic jargon.

If we go on playing this game, where the enemy makes the rules, and changes them to suit his design, our fate is 34

sealed. The British Commonwealth is sufficient unto itself. If it based its policy, economic and defensive, on a correct recognition of that fact there would be some hope. The assertion of sovereignty, and the punishment and elimination of traitors to that sovereignty, are urgently necessary. treatises on economics or politics are now of the slightest avail.

In Africa

"... The Belgians are blamed for failing to produce a responsible African governing class. Can we really claim to have done any better in, say, Kenya, or Northern Rhodesia?

'It is true that Belgian educational policy, unlike that of the former British and French colonies, did not favour the formation of a small body of intellectuals, graduating at European universities and imbued with Western ideas, including Marxism. "Pas d'élite, pas d'ennuis," as some realist put it.

"In compensation, it endowed the Congo with two of the first purely African universities and devoted far more re-

sources to primary education.

"This was done in the belief that without a solid basis of Africans, speaking, reading and writing a common language, it was useless to try to build a modern society; and that as long as the masses remained ignorant they would always be at the mercy of a tiny educated minority . . . "

-George Martelli in The Daily Telegraph, May 11, 1961

". . . There are, in fact, to-day only two realities in Africa: one is the "wind of change," in other words the irresistible (in the sense that there is no will to resist it) demand by the African for independence; and on the other his utter dependence on the European to maintain and raise his standard of living.

'Nor is it just any European who will do. It must be the one whose experience of it and financial investment gives him both the title and motive to be considered indispensable in any particular country. This, of course, is the European who was there before independence, and he is no more replaceable by some nameless "technician" than is a managing director and principal shareholder by some economics don . .

Ibid.

Five Centuries Ago

King John of Portugal, in 1486, sent out two expeditions to discover an eastern route to India, and to discover the whereabouts of the mysterious potentate Prester John. The latter eluded all search. One of the expeditions proceeded . . . The other, under Bartholomew Diaz . . . proceeded southward beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and Diaz doubled it, or went round it from the West to East without knowing it . . . He called it Cabo Tormentoso, the Cape of Torments . . .; but the King said: "No, it shall be the Cape of Good Hope for the discovery is one of great promise."-Chambers' "Book of Days."

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Angola

The following letter to the Editor appeared in The

Tablet, July 22, 1961:

Dear Sir,—You write in a recent number of The Tablet, with reference to events in Angola, that it is "primarily the responsibility of the Portuguese Government if the world is misled about what is happening." But is the victim of a slander campaign really "primarily" responsible for the result merely because he does not defend himself, especially if he knows, or thinks, that the harm is already done, and probably cannot be undone because practically all the important vehicles of expression are in the hands, or subject to the veto, of his enemies? The Portuguese Government has apparently made the same mistake (less excusably) as the Spanish (Nationalist) Government during the Civil War in underestimating the influence of the very few important organs of expression, like your own paper, which would give it a fair hearing; but even this seems understandable in view of what looks, to the Portuguese probably, and certainly to many thinking Spaniards, like the almost limitless gullibility of the British (and American) public. We must remember that less than fifteen years ago not only the uninformed, or misinformed, masses, but also the governments, of all the important countries of the West, believed, or affected to believe that the great threat to world peace in the post-war period was Spain, and that the Press in these countries, or a large portion of it, is nevertheless still disposed to rely for its news or at least for its "angle" on world affairs, on the authors of this canard.

With regard to what actually happened in Angola, may I offer a few facts, as stated in an address to the tenth congress of the European Centre of Documentation and Information, held in Madrid, July 7th to 9th, by the Irish delegate (Colonel Waring), who has recently made an extensive tour of Angola, and who gave me permission to use his material and showed me his photographs (as well as a film) of the unspeakable atrocities committed there by the terrorists. May I say that I was deeply impressed by the sobriety with which he not only stated facts, but also referred to the appalling human tragedies which had moved him to speak? Very succinctly, he states:

(1) That he was given every facility to go wherever he desired for information, and his questions were answered

fully and frankly by the Portuguese authorities.

(2) That the many terrorist prisoners, agitators, etc., whom he questioned had, in the main, three reasons for fighting or working against the Portuguese, viz.:

(a) They had been told to by their witch-doctors.(b) They were afraid of what the terrorists would do to them and their families if they did not join them.

- (c) They wanted "independence." Questioned as to what this meant, they said it meant unlimited cash at the bank, derived from the plunder and expropriation of the whites.
- That although most of the Angolan insurgent leaders are now natives, there is abundant evidence (from radio messages, weapons, etc.) that the movement was organised months before the outbreak, and received its directives, arms, financial backing, etc., from outside (mostly Congolese) sources. Congolese prisoners, when questioned, gave answers similar to the natives or had hoped to become "generals" after experience with French or Belgian forces. Native prison-

ers said that the leader of the U.P.A. (Union des Peuples d'Angola) was Kasavubu, and the liberator of Africa was Lumumba (not one knew that the latter was dead). Roberto Holden has only a very small following in his immediate

(4) It is true that Portugal has not done what it might have done in the past for Angola, partly owing to the counterlure of Brazil, partly to Portugal's meagre resources as compared with those of its British and American critics, and partly also, no doubt, to ordinary human failings; but it is now anxious to avoid the mistake made by the Belgians, and is doing all it can to prepare the natives for responsible selfgovernment, especially in the field of education (Col. Waring himself saw Portuguese soldiers teaching native children).

- (5) It is also true that excesses have been committed by white men against the natives, but in nothing like the measure of those which provoked them (and not by the Portuguese army) and they have been exploited by the Press of the world without reference to the fact that it is human, however deplorable, to satisfy a desire for revenge when you have seen your wife or children burned alive, raped, crucified or tortured to death by those whom you imagined to be trusted friends. These excesses, however, have been stopped, and the white civilians, in many places, disarmed. It is not so easy to disarm the terrorist.
- (6) A large number of terrorist leaders have been at one period under the influence of missionaries, notably American Baptists, with the result that there is an evident "Christian" element, mixed up with tribal beliefs and superstitions, in their ideas, especially in the religions of Simao Kibangu and Simao Toco. In some cases terrorists receive a sort of baptism, with a cross on the forehead, and another on the breast drawn in water, which is supposed to make them invisible or invulnerable to the white man's bullets, and some have guns with a cross on one side of the butt and nails on the other representing the number of whites killed.

Out of respect for your space I have omitted much of what Colonel Waring had to say, including the evidence, which would not, in any case convert the sceptics at second or third hand; but I hope I have said enough to supply, to some extent, the deficiencies of the Portuguese Government

as a propaganda agent.

Yours faithfully,

A. W. SIRE.

Calella de Palafrugell, Gerona, Spain.

Psychopathology

"Psychopath," as defined by the Mental Health Act, is a term that might embrace Joan of Arc, Napoleon and Lawrence of Arabia, according to Mr. Charles Fletcher-Cooke, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Home Office.

Other facts known about this increasingly important class of society are that people may belong to it without its being at all apparent from their behaviour, that some of its members can be cured of criminal tendencies only by kindness, that others respond only to severity, and that yet others respond to nothing at all.

Is it possible that "psychopath," like "virus," is a shorthand expression for various phenomena connected by nothing

but the inability of science to explain them?

The Secret of Jewish Power

The Rev. E. E. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt., in A Prelude to Religion (Unicorn Press Ltd., London 1935) says:

"It may be asked how it came about that these Jews, situated in a remote corner of the world, stuffed, as it were, into a cranny of mighty empires, should have come to such an exaggerated sense of their own importance.

"... at certain comparatively late periods in their history they were exiled first in Egypt and afterwards in Babylon; numbers of them remained in the lands to which they had been exiled, establishing Jewish colonies there: these Jews became known as those of the Dispersion ..."

The author goes on to point out that it was from these dispersed Jews and their success in strange lands that the Jews of tiny Palestine derived ideas of their importance in the world, and that such ideas did much to mould the culture and religion of Palestine itself. He continues. ". . . numberless Jews had spread themselves long before the captivities, throughout the civilised world and had succeeded in gathering into their hands the finances upon which the trade of the world depended at that time. Just as throughout the Middle Ages and in our own day the World depends upon the Jew for its money, so in the same way the ancient world looked to him to finance its commerce. When we read of the rise and fall of ancient empires, we think of their coming to power as being due to the courage of their peoples and to their success in war; we believe their fall to be due to luxurious living, love of ease, to a falling-off in courage and so forth. No doubt these causes were at work and played their part. But they were very secondary causes. It is only now we are beginning to realise that the stability of peoples, their success and progress, and what is more important still, their whole moral power, are dependent upon the financial structure of their economic life. The supreme difficulty which modern statesmen are encountering in framing sound financial policies; the great dearth of knowledge as to the causes and effects of financial movements; the haphazard way in which financial transactions are being guided; all these things are bringing it home very clearly to us that the one great force destructive of civilisation and culture and nationhood is the undirected power of money. If anyone dreams that ancient empires and ancient civilisations were built or destroyed by any other forces than that of finance, then he must be blind to the lessons that our own difficulties are teaching us. Unfortunately, history gives us very little information concerning the money affairs of ancient peoples. Historians have been too much concerned with wars and with changes in dynasties to realise that the organisation and the disorganisation of the life of communities are determined by financial policies and financial failures.

"It was undoubtedly this supreme position of the scattered Jews in the Ancient World that gave to these people a profound sense of their own importance. They realised quite clearly that the destinies of nations lay in their hands. However remote the Jews of Palestine may have been from the movements of their fellows in the outside world, they could not but be aware of these movements, of what they portended and of the hatred they called down upon the name of the Jew in whatever part of the world he might have been.

It was this knowledge that made them fill their literature with the accounts of their greatness before God and of their call to a supreme destiny in the affairs of men."

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH & EUROPE

(continued from page 1)

When Britain is absorbed in Europe, Canada will be isolated and absorbed by U.S.A. Australia will be left stranded. This appears to me to be the Big Idea. The Communists, with help from America, have achieved one of their chief objectives, and with the destruction of Europe's vital supplies in Africa and the Middle East we are witnessing the grand finale of America's long anti-colonial campaign.

I. GUTHRIE.

Fern Tree,

From The Mercury, Hobart, July 17, 1961:

Sir,—Between the two World Wars the British Empire was known to be the greatest obstacle to World Communism, and for that reason all sorts of activities were put in motion to undermine and remove that obstacle.

These subversive activities were sponsored and pressed by Government circles in the United States, and the extent to which these efforts have been successful may be seen from what has happened to the Empire during the past 20 years, for example, withdrawal from India, Suez crisis, theft of British oil interests in the Middle East, retreat from Africa, and so on.

The current pressure to force the United Kingdom into the European Common Market is coming from the same quarter, and carries the threat of dollar action to undermine the sterling area if the order is not obeyed.

Mr. Macmillan, as usual, shows a readiness to obey, but the results will be so disastrous to the nations constituting the British Commonwealth that they must bring counter pressure on him to resist.

Economics are not always the only or the most important considerations. The British Commonwealth has more than it needs of practically everything, and its own financial system can be made to meet all its money requirements.

There is, therefore, no reason for it to be involved contentiously in the economic worries of other nations.

Clearly, then, this Common Market business is more political than economic, and is part of the intention explained by Trotsky when he said that a Republican United States of Europe would be set up as the foundation for the Communist United States of the World.

Our only hope of protection from such a base sell-out is for the members of the British Commonwealth to stand solidly together and let it be known that they intend to continue as a political community with common ideals and common principles of mutual assistance.

B. H. BROWN. Blackmans Bay.