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Gollancz and *The Economist*: "Revolution" or "Reform"

By JOHN MITCHELL

In July Victor Gollancz published *Guilty Men*, which ran into fifteen impressions. He has now decided to produce a series of such books and to call the series "Victory Books." Eight titles have already been chosen and three books published. "Victory Book No. 2" is entitled 100,000,000 *Allies—If we Choose*,* and its object is to propagandise a new war strategy, the nature of which is what we might expect from such a source—"European Revolution." We may remember that some Germans in the last war aided by their international brethren in the U. S. A. and financed by Kuhn, Loeb & Company won over the German High Command to the strategy of importing revolutionaries into Russia so as to cripple that opponent by undermining Russia from within. It is now proposed that a similar strategy should be adopted by the British Government in respect to Germany and Europe. It is explained that Hitler's aim is "a war designed to disintegrate the other side entirely, not merely to inflict on it a military defeat." And we are told: "To achieve victory we must turn the revolutionary weapon against the Nazis and disintegrate the social structure of the Third Reich as methodically as Hitler destroyed the spirit of France before he launched his tanks and aeroplanes against the French Army."

"..... The alternative is not difficult to see, to continue the blockade and our air offensive on Germany as well as our preparation for a military offensive, but to *combine them on the largest possible scale with revolutionary activities inside Europe*. One hundred million people suffer under the tyranny of the Nazi war lords. We can make them, or at least the bravest of them, our allies if we pledge this country to the cause of European revolution and build here in Britain an organisation through which that revolution can be brought about."

It is evident that Gollancz regards the war as a convenient means of Bolshevising Europe. The Government is urged "to give form and content to Mr. Churchill's remark about the liberation of Europe. The decision taken that this must be a people's war at home and a revolutionary war abroad, the Minister of Information should set up a propaganda editorial executive to deal with propaganda just as we already have a General Staff to plan the activities of the fighting services. The executive should work, not as a Government Department with all the routine of the Civil Service, but with the swiftness and discipline of a newspaper office."

The "liberation" of Europe is interpreted as "national

liberation, but not a return to national sovereignty ... it involves centralised economic institutions combined with personal liberty." A "people's war" involves the abolition of the rights of property and private enterprise. We must be rid of such "failings," for "If we in this country are going to take part in organising revolution in Europe we must realise certain failings in ourselves."

Mr. Gollancz has a large public, and it would be idle to suppose that such pernicious propaganda as this does not have a wide effect in misleading the public even if there is little chance of his theories being put into effect by the British Government. But, is there?

The Economist in reviewing the book at great length is not averse to the ends which Mr. Gollancz's propaganda serves but disagrees entirely that his strategy of European Revolution is feasible, because for one thing "he asks the British people through their Government to commit themselves to a view of politics and economics which the British people as a whole simply does not accept." *The Economist* thinks Mr. Gollancz's ends can be achieved by other means: "If we are not given to revolutions, we are very definitely given to reforms, and the first step towards an effective foreign propaganda is to put more life into our democratic institutions at home, to meet the cry for greater equality of opportunity, better distribution of the nation's wealth, a better planned and more vigorous productive system."

It should not be taken that *The Economist's* idea of a "better" distribution of the nation's wealth means a greater distribution. Its conception of a "better" distribution of wealth implies levelling down, not up—the liberal use of the taxation weapon to reduce incomes and to make it as difficult as possible for capital to be held in private hands, so that private owners are dependent upon bank loans, enabling the banks to discriminate in favour of monopoly and large scale enterprise. Production is to be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands so that eventually the time will come when a single Authority—the State—can take over everything.

It is not on the question of ends that *The Economist* and the financial interests it represents differ from Gollancz and the Communists; it is on the question of what is the most realistic and sound strategy to employ to achieve those ends, and we have more than a suspicion that there is collusion between the two strategists.

The Economist considers there is no hope of rousing the farmers of Norway, the peasants of France or the Catholic opposition in Italy with a programme which undermines

*100 Million Allies—If we Choose by "Scipio"; Gollancz. 2/6

the validity of the rights of property and accepts the inevitability of a Communist Revolution in Europe. But they consider there is a "common term" between their own theory and that of Mr. Gollancz. "The Europe we are to stir up against Hitler is an infinitely complex organisation of social groups, classes and interests" and the appeal to them must be "simple and immediate."

".....Bread is one thing we can offer *without unduly stressing the economic reorganisation and the measure of centralisation which the task of helping Europe will help to bring in.*" (our italics). Freedom is another thing *The Economist* considers we can offer the people of Europe: "after a year of occupation it is national freedom that will be uppermost in the minds of Hitler's victims. Here, in this nationalism despised of the theorists, we have a weapon whose mighty potency is largely undiminished. Whatever reservations we make about the limits which must be placed upon national sovereignty in post-war Europe, if we begin our European propaganda with a campaign against it, we are weakening the one idea which can make whole communities, not merely isolated enthusiasts revolt." What an admission. First we must hold out to the people of Europe the only thing they will fight for and then we must take it away! The same people who under the stress of the realities of war time admit that the mass of people will fight to maintain or regain national sovereignty, are working ultimately on the alleged assumption that the only way to preserve enduring peace is to take away from these peoples their national sovereignties. If anyone should doubt the power of nationalism, we are told to "look at our own community. Its fundamental unity is based on the feeling of belonging together."

The common term between the Right and "reform" and the Left and revolution is of course centralisation. Both pin their faith in Mr. Churchill and neither is satisfied with the progress his government is making in socialising Britain. In Mr. Gollancz's opinion: "The most successful home propaganda yet done in this war was the announcement made by Mr. Churchill and by Mr. Attlee, when the new

Government was formed, that the state would now be as ruthless in conscripting property as it had already been in conscripting life. Since then not very much has been done to give reality to these fine words."

As if by mistake one phrase has slipped into the book which strikes a discordant note with the rest of the book. It is the only phrase in the book containing any promise. It refers to the European Order promised after the war: "Europe will not return to the economy of artificial scarcity which marked the epoch between the last war and this." Significantly it is with one exception the only phrase for which *The Economist* reserves a harsh comment. It is described as "a sweeping and nonsensical generality," and this tells us how worthless is the high sounding offer which *The Economist* would have us make to the people of Europe: "we give you the proof positive in our present manner of living and in our present policy that our aim is not the privileges of our island and of its Empire, but the cause of freedom for which we are now fighting and which we can achieve if you join us in the battle."

The hope of achieving a peace worth having lies not in the *promises* of a "New Order" which are being so generally propagandised to-day, but where it has always lain—in the electorate demanding insistently the *results* they want, results which can be achieved only along the lines which Social Crediters have been advocating for so many years.

The people of this country are in need of a defence against propaganda as much as they are in need of defence against bombs. Beware of the propaganda of our Real Enemy speaking through many mouths, for, says Gollancz: "Lies and contradictions do not damage propaganda value! No, on one condition—that the general trend of propaganda has in it enough substantial truth to convince those to whom it is addressed. For propaganda is the art of persuasion, and we are all ready enough to be persuaded of things we want to believe." Now recall what *The Economist* has said: "If we are not given to revolutions"

DIARY OF EVENTS

SEPTEMBER 10-24

(Military events are recorded in italics, other events in ordinary type).

SEPT. 10—*Further night air-attacks on London. Buckingham Palace damaged by a time-bomb. Up to 10 p.m. 47 raiders shot down. R.A.F. lost 13 aeroplanes and 10 pilots. R.A.F. attacked concentrations of enemy shipping in ports along Channel.*

British sailors took over several American destroyers yesterday at a Canadian port.

SEPT. 11—*London again attacked by air; 73 aircraft destroyed, 17 fighters lost. Channel ports and other German naval bases attacked by R.A.F.* A new system for giving air-raid warnings agreed to by representatives of employers and

employees of industrial undertakings in consultation with Government; siren warning to be regarded as alert signal only.

Average loss of shipping in the year 55,000 tons a week; German expectations said to be 500,000 tons a week.

SEPT. 12—*Heavy air-raids on London; R.A.F. attacked German objectives.*

Mr. Churchill said that the Germans may try to invade any time; large concentrations of ships and troops ready in ports from Hamburg to Brest. Our defences formidable and invasion could be awaited with confidence.

Mr. Duff Cooper said that if the enemy came forward with some specious peace we must not forget that we were fighting for something much more precious than our lives—our liberty.

A New York newspaper has published details of an alleged abortive German attempt to invade England.

SEPT. 15—*Between 300 and 400 bombers tried to raid*

London. 185 shot down, R.A.F. lost 25. Another bomb on Buckingham Palace. High explosive time bomb close to St. Paul's removed, saving the cathedral.

SEPT. 16—R.A.F. bombed Antwerp docks.

Italian forces from Libya crossed the Egyptian frontier; Egyptian and other troops opposing them, but Egypt not declared war.

SEPT. 17—During first half of September about 2,000 civilians killed and 8,000 wounded by air bombardment. Four fifths of these casualties in London.

Mr. Churchill said the enemy's preparations for invasion continue, and that our own strength "develops steadily by land, by sea, and, above all, in the air We may await the decision of the prolonged air battle with sober but increasing confidence."

SEPT. 18—Enemy raiders over London for 10 hours in the night. Houses and stores bombed in random attack. Enemy lost 49 aircraft, R.A.F. 9.

SEPT. 19—Italian bases on the Libyan coast and in the Dodecanese Islands have been heavily bombed.

Mr. Attlee told Mr. Stokes in the House of Commons that Parliament would be consulted before any Union with U.S.A.

Sir John Anderson said that local authorities

are being urged to press on as rapidly as possible with provision for more air-raid shelters.

SEPT. 20—German air activity small. German transport of about 10,000 tons sunk off Denmark by submarine "Sturgeon."

New York newspaper reported as saying that Churchill and British Cabinet favourable to union with America.

SEPT. 23—King George announced creation of new honour, the George Cross, for civilians.

Reported that Japanese troops crossed into Indo-China, but after some fighting with French, said to have come to terms.

Ship bearing 100 evacuee children to America torpedoed in storm last Tuesday, 83 children and many adults lost.

General de Gaulle raised flag of Free France in French West Africa. Free French and British forces fighting; opposition from "Richelieu" and other French ships which had been allowed through Straits of Gibraltar some days earlier. Germans said to have been attempting to control Dakar.

SEPT. 24—Fighting still continues in Indo-China. During the period reviewed the R.A.F. have continually bombed channel ports, invasion bases and military objectives in Germany and German-occupied territory.

London has been under bombardment for a fortnight, but its morale is unbroken.

AUSTRALIA DISTRUSTS FEDERAL UNION

Earlier this year Mr. R. G. Mackay travelled by air to Australia specially to carry on propaganda for Federal Union. The following extracts from a correspondent's letter indicates what resulted:

"I am sending you copies of letters and Press matter re 'Federal Union' which will give you information as to how we have dealt with the emissary sent here by his London confederates no doubt. He has departed a wiser and a sadder man after only a fortnight's stay. The copies of letters are only representative of very many similar ones, but they are the only ones I have to hand. I know the Democratic Fed. members were active in this direction.

"I believe we are the only official opposition in Australia, but it has been most effective. We were instrumental in having four Broadcast talks over the

National Station cancelled, and the St. James meeting postponed for a week while official investigation was made and the speaker was evidently somewhat curbed in his remarks. Anyhow 'Fed. Union' has here been launched with some of the 'glare of the light' that Mr. H. G. Wells desired for it. I know the idea will appear again in a new guise, but it will be difficult to refer to International Federation in the old terms, as far as this country is concerned.

"Mr. Mackay is an Australian, who sought political favour first in the conservative circles in Australia and later wooed the labour cause. Some years ago he went to England to seek his political fortunes in the old country. He put up under labour for Frome at the general elections but was defeated by a woman. He has since been the right-hand man of Sir Stafford Cripps, but

deserted him somewhat when that gentleman's career was temporarily eclipsed; with the present rise to favour he will no doubt find his old supporter more helpful. I am informed on good authority that Mr. M. is a solicitor in London, and belongs to the firm of Guggenheim, Mackay and —, whose principal business is with clients anxious to change their names. Do you know anything of this firm?

"Repercussions of our attack are to be found, I think in the Press articles enclosed relating to Sir T. Bavin, Sir Joseph Cook and others and the press controversy going on.

"Last Sunday evening—July 28, there was a complete revelation of the sponsors of Fed. Union; its materialistic agents, its evil associations and references to 'that infamous school' whose headmaster had recently written a book

advocating the faze for Fed. Union. It was the most virulent attack I have heard outside S. C. circles and most of the matter seemed to be drawn from similar sources. It was made by Dr. Ryan who conducts the Roman Catholic session on station 2 S.M. He broadcasts replies on religious and political questions to questions put to him by listeners. He was asked six leading questions which brought out all the points at issue."

Letter to the Attorney General

Typical of many letters inspired by Mr. Mackay's visit is a letter received by the Australian Attorney General, Mr. W. M. Hughes, which is reproduced below, with his reply:—
"Dear Mr. Hughes,

Under the caption 'Traitors in our Midst' the *S. M. Herald* reports you as saying:

"The situation in France to-day is grave but whatever the outcome Britain and the Empire will fight on.' In response to Mr. A. M. Pooley's recent address to Legacy Club members you have invited definite complaints about 'traitors in our midst.' Well here's one I want attending to and, if necessary, I am prepared to sign any papers which will enable a charge of treason to be made.

"During the week an announcement appeared in the *Sydney Sun* to the effect that a Mr. Mackay had come specially to Australia to carry on propaganda for 'Federal Union' and that he would talk on this subject in the near future at a public meeting to be held in St. James' Hall, Sydney.

"I claim that the meeting—any such meeting—should be stopped and the individual concerned interned.

"My understanding of Federal Union is that it is a Fascist plot (of which the present war is part) to change the form of Government in the British Empire—while it is at war with its back to the wall—and to incorporate the British Empire as a province of a Federal Union of Europe bereft of all sovereignty and submitting to control by foreigners backed up by an International army of foreigners. We are to be Britishers or Australians no more but Federal Unionists, we are to give up our Kind, our sovereignty, our Army, Navy and Air Force—our Liberty.

"The National Security Act provides severe penalties for any action

which may prejudicially affect public opinion or morale.

"Is not the advancing of a new form of Government, while the Nation is at war defending the present form, treason?"

"Is not the advocacy of the surrender of the armed forces of the Empire to an International Army under the control of foreigners treason?"

"Will you act Mr. Hughes?"

The Attorney General's Reply

"Dear,

"I received your several letters about various subversive activities. I have instituted inquiries, and greatly appreciate your action in bringing the matters to my notice.

"You may rest assured that any information you submit will be treated as confidential and investigated fully."

(Signed) W. M. HUGHES.

Date: July 8.

Sir Thomas Bavin's Statement

A report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted the Federal Attorney-General replying to a statement of Sir Thomas Bavin to the Australian Institute of International Affairs about a new world order as follows:

"I had always thought we were at war to restore to Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Denmark, Holland, Norway, and France, the independent government which Germany has destroyed," he said.

"It is very easy for people to talk about establishing a new order, but the realities of life give short shrift to Utopian dreams. Is it to some form of Socialism that Sir Thomas would lead us? And, if so, upon what model are we to pattern ourselves? There is the Socialism of Germany—that is a new order, strange and terrible in our eyes, but surely a new order not acceptable to Sir Thomas Bavin.

"I quite agree with him that the old order is largely responsible for the unsettled conditions that have existed in the world during the last 25 years, but I deny most emphatically the implication that the Versailles Treaty was in any way responsible for that.

"The League of Nations was to sweep away poverty, unemployment, and social inequalities, and man was to live

at peace. That was a new order. It has collapsed—if it ever existed—while the new order in Germany, the very negation of every principle for which the League stood, flourishes and threatens to bring civilisation and man's dreams of the future down in hideous ruin and desolation.

"And there is a new order in Russia. I can hardly believe Sir Thomas would have us pattern on this model. And if not, I again ask Sir Thomas to tell us what he proposes to do."

Subsequently Sir Thomas Bavin replied:—

"I am afraid I cannot accept Mr. Hughes's challenge to state precisely what I think the 'new order' should be, either domestic or international. That would involve entering a controversial field from which I am now excluded."

Sir Joseph Cook, a former Prime Minister, said that he regarded talk of the establishment of a "new order" in the world as nonsense.

"We are in a war," he said, "and the only thing to do is to roll your shirt sleeves up and see it through. The world needs England to-day more than ever before. She is like a rock in a ruined land."

"Old and Blue Mouldy"

Sir Joseph Cook was speaking at the "Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Service" at the Lyceum Hall.

"Beware of those people who want to establish a new world order," he said. "A 'new order' often means something very old that has grown blue mouldy, and has whiskers on it. People are told if they only believe in the 'new order' all will be well. Don't you believe such nonsense. The old things of the world to-day are the wisest and the best things I know.

"To-day there are Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, and I do not know how many other dictators. Do not introduce that sort of thing into our new Australia. The people who are being governed the best are those who have the system of election called 'First past the post.' That system has stood the test of time.

"It is not a very easy job to set the world right. Hitler is not going to do it, and Mussolini or Stalin cannot do it, because Almighty God has something to do with the disposition of the races of the world."

Letter to the Editor

The Bombing of Civilians

Sir,

In connection with the controversy regarding the bombing of civilians in Germany, if and when this becomes practicable on a large scale, perhaps the views of your readers, which I believe to possess an influence which is both considerable and increasing, may be clarified by a consideration of the technical aspects of the problem. "Moral" aspects are completely out of place in war.

The object of war is to impose your will upon the enemy.

The first axiom of war is to strike with every available ounce of weight on your enemy's weakest spot.

Foch's condition for victory: "*Pourvu que les civils tiennent.*" That is to say, the civil population is the weakest spot, always.

The quotation from John Buchan's *History of the Great War* which I append is I believe sound, and is a reply to the argument that the Germans will

stand more hammering than ourselves:-

"Foreign observers have been in the habit of describing the ordinary Teuton as stolid, unemotional, and unshakeable; and German admirals and generals fostered this notion by declaring that the people with the best nerves would win, and that the German nerves were the strongest in the world.

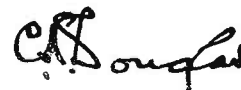
"The truth is almost the opposite. Scarcely any nation suffers so acutely from nervous ailments. The German lives on his nerves; he is quick in emotion and sentiment, easily fired, a prey alike to hopes and suspicions. In his own way he is as excitable as the Latin, and he has not the Latin's saving store of common sense. He is the stuff out of which idealists are made, but also neurotics.

"We see this trait in the overweening national arrogance which filled him of late years; that is not the characteristic of steady nerves, but of diseased ones.

"We see it in his almost mystical fidelity to a plan. The neurotic loves a mechanical order; he flies to it for comfort, as a hysterical lady obeys the dictates of an autocratic physician. We see it in the passion of hatred which about the beginning of September rose against Britain, drowning all the lesser antagonisms against Gaul and Slav."

Doubtless your readers will find the last paragraph of this quotation interesting over a wider application than that of German mentality. It has long been my opinion that the passion for a "plan" which characterises Jewish-inspired Socialism, and many other 'isms,' is a symptom of nervous instability amounting to disease, to which the Jews are nearly six times as prone as the Anglo-Saxon.

Yours, etc.,



September 24, 1940.

NEWS & VIEWS

"M. Leon Blum, who has been arrested by the Vichy Government, will be remembered for his introduction of the 40 hour week, payment for holidays, and his sympathy for the Republican cause in Spain."—*B.B.C. communique*, September 16, 8-0 a.m.

Not, you will notice, for having sabotaged the French munitions programme, crippled the French Air Force, contributed nobly to the German breakthrough and so to the loss of ninety thousand first-line British troops and the equipment of three hundred and fifty thousand more, in Belgium. M. Leon Blum is a Jew, and a Freemason, like Mr. Sol Bloom, Mr. Roosevelt's helper.

"The British seem at last to have learnt that attack is the best method of defence" says the *New York Times*. But not half so good as the American system of letting other people defend civilisation for you.

Place good photographs of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill,

(with hat and cigar) in a good light. Take a fleeting look at an anthropoid ape, turn your gaze on the picture gallery of the Leaders of Humanity, and marvel at the Ascent of Man.

Everyone over forty is very much what he looks like.

So Beaverbrook, R. B. Bennet ("Seventeen million Bennet") 3d.-and-6d. Stevenson and a few Canadian and American friends are to take over the "Conservative" Party. Waal, waal, waal, I guess the British Isles will pay better dividends than the Phillipines. The gol-durned British always say they want work, and the Filipinos had too much sense.

BEAVERBROOK

"..... P.M.'s it seems must be their favourites It is said that Lord Beaverbrook's intimacy with the P.M. is so great that they spend many of their evenings together. That Mr. Churchill finds Lord Beaverbrook "more intelli-

gent" than the other Ministers. — "*The National Review*," Sept., 1940.

THE AMERICAN TOUCH

The *Daily Express* (Lord Beaverbrook) is the paper that allows a remarkable tone in its comment from the United States:—

"Because you little people of England are putting your thumbs to your noses in defiance of Hitler before you put your thumbs up in your confidence, Americans have taken you to their hearts."

And later in the same article the Staff Reporter from New York says:

"But don't imagine that this new friendship you little people of England have earned by your bravery and your courage is going to be expressed entirely in wool or cotton or gold. It is going to be expressed too in steel."

But only, the patronising tone implies, if you are good. Is England a pug-dog belonging to the United States, that anyone, least of all one of our own national papers, should use that tone to us?

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WHAT'S AMERICA ?

If there had ever been anything so nauseating as the spectacle presented by the confederate-ridden "United States" as it licks its chops ready for the mastication of the British Empire, it would surely have taken its place in tradition and be a by-word among the peoples of the earth.

Churchill, through the voice of Attlee, has promised the House of Commons that "if ever such a far-reaching scheme as Union between Britain and the U.S.A., of the kind proposed to France was put forward, the House would have every opportunity of discussing it." While there is no basis here for the *New York World Telegram's* 'banner' headline saying: "British consider Union with U.S.; Cabinet willing says Churchill," the difference in content as well as emphasis is perilously near to being immaterial.

If Messrs. Eden and Churchill are in this war for the satisfaction of interests in the United States of America, we are not.

After the Bahamas, Singapore, Port Darwin, Sydney and bases in New Zealand are mentioned as the subject of "commitments" discussed by Mr. Cordell Hull, Lord Lothian and Mr. Casey, the Australian Minister at Washington.

It has been suggested that the next war will be one between the two 'yellow' races. It may be. It would be a pity to put it off merely because one of them is too 'yellow' to fight, but a still greater pity if it should be indecisive merely because one of them secured a white ally by foul means. That would hardly be fair to the race whose colour is only skin deep.

The crux of this issue, which is fast assuming prominence as the issue of the present war, lies in the fact that the 'yellowness' of the United States is itself an importation. The indigenous population was red, not yellow, and has a

good deal to do with the legend of the 'noble' savage. All that the American continent possesses in excess of this heritage is the creation of whites at least as noble. One striking feature of a melting pot (which America is said to be) is that it affords opportunity for the scum to come to the top. In America it certainly has come to the top, and if at the present moment it rests there in foul malodourous masses so thick as to obscure all else from view, it is to be hoped that a little cooling may coagulate it and prepare for its transportation to a suitable refuse heap. One thing is certain: the best blood of England which is now showing its quality doesn't want to be mixed with it.

Mr. Churchill doesn't mind! Very well. We are not surprised. For the moment Mr. Churchill is content to be 'visibly moved' by a public respect which springs much more from good nature than from any quality whatsoever which the character and personality of the plain Englishman share with Mr. Churchill's character and personality. He presents a facade of coarseness which the cockney, divorced for a generation from the realities of the soil, mistakes for raciness. The higher he soars in public favour, the farther he will fall. The condition of the world is such that no man can achieve greatness, or have greatness thrust upon him, without being great. Bernard Baruch and his 'American' friends have for nearly a generation sought to thrust greatness upon Mr. Churchill, a desire which, palpably, Mr. Churchill has by no means discouraged. They will not succeed. According to the American Emerson, (a white, though splashed with Puritanism), to be great is to be misunderstood. Mr. Churchill's misfortune is that he is not misunderstood enough. He is misunderstood only for strategical reasons and in sundry places, among which the B.B.C. and the 'free' press of tied England are note-

worthy. He has been forced to give an undertaking, the fulfilment of which circumstances have perhaps comfortably postponed, that the House of Commons shall be a partner in his schemes. That is not enough. What has to be done is to see that he shall be a partner in the House of Commons's schemes—and, more still, if we are a democracy (as is said), that he and the House of Commons shall be partners in England's schemes.

This is to shift the centre of gravity from the place where world tyranny wishes it to repose to the place where constitutional theory deems it to rest. The secret policy which is being pursued is to secure the final overthrow of individual initiative by the construction and consolidation of ever vaster and vaster machinery for control. Unity of intention, not unity of control, is the requisite of a workable order of society. In grave times, we press closer and closer to one another in intention. England determines to win not only the war but the peace. Mr. Churchill's policy (an American policy) is to win the war for America, and to lose the peace to America. What is America? Until America speaks, it is enough to answer with a shrug.

T. J.

AMERICA FEELS THE BOMBS!

"America Feels the Bombs," announces *The Times*. A correspondent who claims to be well-informed tells us that the gloves worn by Miss America on this occasion were not, as may have been supposed, either the thin india rubber vestments used by surgeons to prevent infection of the patient or the thicker protection distributed to decontamination squads. Actually they were articles of great delicacy and charm, specially woven from bank parchment, interlaced with the steel lines hitherto only obtainable at the Bank of England, together with strands of chewing gum from which all the stickiness had been removed by a secret process known as "sucking." It is Miss America's intention to keep the gloves as a souvenir.

"In case," says Mr. Montagu Norman, "we are to be further interrupted, we have in mind adopting further precautions which are expected to ensure that the Bank's business will be carried on through all emergency." Or, "The dogs may bark, but the caravan passes on." It would be nice to think of the Bank's ensuring that the country's business should be carried on through all emergency.

NONE SO BLIND...

By B. M. PALMER

"The real line of demarcation in the world is cultural, not economic, and economic inequality is consciously produced and employed to provide troops for an attack on Anglo-Saxon culture," wrote Major Douglas in this paper on August 3, last.

In 2040, if *The Times* daily newspaper is still published, which I take leave to doubt, it is unlikely that its leading articles of September 13 will be proudly reproduced as evidence of what *The Times* said in 1940.

A PROBLEM OF PLENTY THE HOMES OF THE POOR

Essays on these subjects occupy parallel columns in the issue of that date. One cannot help wondering for whose consumption they are intended. None but the ignorant or wilfully blind could take them at their face value. For here are all the old shibboleths already tried and found useless, dished up again to a disillusioned world.

We are told that the Canadian harvest is 561 million bushels, only a little short of the record of 1928. We are reminded that "the ill-regulated marketing of great temporary surpluses can be catastrophic, even in times of peace." Yet it is not a question of wheat alone. A surplus of various products is piling up in South American countries also.

That *The Times* leader-writer understands the real nature of the problem is plain. Under the present conditions of blockade markets are much contracted. It is therefore a question of finding some means "to finance the farmer until it [the surplus] can be taken up." Very simply put. That is all there is to be done. Do that, and your surplus could be carefully stored away until the end of the war made possible the feeding and clothing of starving Europe. Yet "the conferences of Ottawa have failed to discover any satisfactory solution." (No, that name was not mentioned, did you think it would be?)

We are told that the influential British Mission now proceeding to Argentina will certainly have to deal with this problem, "which can be solved

only by international co-operation on a great scale." *The Times* does not remind us of the fact that international co-operation of this sort has already been tried on a world-wide scale. Innumerable financial committees sat at Geneva, and finally the World Economic Conference in London sat, if my memory serves me rightly, in the Geological Museum.

On this occasion the most valuable words were spoken by His Majesty King George V in his opening speech:

"It cannot be beyond the power of man so to use the vast resources of the world as to ensure the material progress of civilization. No diminution in those resources has taken place. On the contrary, discovery, invention and organization have multiplied their possibility to such an extent that abundance of production has itself created new problems."

We have had at least fifteen years of attempted international co-operation, and the problem is greater than ever. It is upon us after only one year of war, and when larger numbers of men and women than ever before, both here and in the Americas, have been withdrawn from the productive industries to give their time to the making of weapons of destruction.

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

"Some means must be found to finance the farmer," says *The Times*; any way but the only way, mark you, decentralisation of financial control in the interests of the people.

Now at least one fact emerges from this article; it is that the author, and those for whom he wrote it, will never, never face the truth because it does not suit them to do so.

However, there is another party to be considered; it is "the farmer." He, of course, is relegated to a back seat by *The Times*. But that leader-writer would do well to remember that he is not just "a farmer," he is hundreds of thousands of farmers, all of whom know a good deal, particularly if they live in Alberta; moreover they well remember

the economic collapse of 1931, and are not likely to put up with a second edition. And it is here that they link hands with those who live in the "Homes of the Poor" in this country. For the cause of war abroad is poverty at home. Even *The Times* may begin to suspect that. But once again, with tightly closed eyes and ears, the leader-writer has the temerity to trot out another old shibboleth, "Homes for Heroes to live in." In a new dress of course. He closes his essay with these words:

"When the enemy has been beaten, the chance must not be missed to make new homes worthy of the families who are now giving an honourable sense to the supercilious old phrase, the deserving poor. There can be little that such stalwarts do not deserve."

Once again, we would point out, there is another party to be considered, "the poor." What have they to say about it? Do they want to be given what they deserve, or do they want their rights as citizens?

Perhaps the great difference between "rights" and "deserts" has not yet been brought home to them, but one thing is quite plain, the people for whom *The Times* leader is written will never see it. None so blind as those who do not wish to get rid of economic inequality, but merely to avoid wounding their own artistic sensibilities. While the eye

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shall not be offended by "hovels" (*vide The Times*) yet the system of rewards and punishments, whereby Anglo-Saxon culture is to be kept in check, must continue. For mark—he does not say there are to be no more poor, but only that they are to be given what they deserve. Economic inequality is too useful a weapon to be relinquished.

Amid the noise of the barrage I

recommend the re-reading of that speech which can be said to inaugurate the era in which we are now living—*The Nature of Democracy* (1934). It is my belief that under the clouds of war which may isolate us from one another as individual Social Crediters, reality is having its way, and when the darkness has passed we shall be astonished by the progress that has been made.

Lest We Forget

In 1934 there were destroyed:—
 1 million carloads of grain.
 260 thousand carloads of coffee.
 500 thousand cwts. of sugar.
 50 thousand cwts. of rice.
 50 thousand cwts. of meat.
 2½ million people starved to death.
 1 million people committed suicide.
 September 18, 1940.

EYE ON PARLIAMENT

The following passages are taken from the House of Commons Official Report (Editor, P. Cornelius), known as 'Hansard'. The date and occasion of the words are given above each section, and the speakers' names by the side. The number of columns occupied by the printed report of each section cited is also given. Lack of space imposes a severe limitation on the selection of matter for reproduction.

September 17.

Oral Answers to Questions

(39 columns)

Mr. Stokes (by Private Notice) asked the Home Secretary whether he is aware that civilian political prisoners have been transferred from Brixton Prison to a military detention camp at Latchmere House, Ham Common, where they are being subjected to inquiry by the military in some cases following their appearance before the Advisory Committee and whether he has any report to make to this House on the matter?

Mr. Peake: This institution is not a military detention camp except in the sense that the commandant and guards are provided by the War Office, as they are at all other internment camps under the management of the Home Office. Latchmere House is used for the temporary detention of internees in cases where special inquiries have to be made. Persons are not detained there for any length of time, but are brought there for a few days for the purpose of such inquiries as cannot conveniently be made in camps or prison establishments up and down the country.

Mr. Stokes: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that these people have been before the Advisory Committee: and will he explain to the House why they are now handed over to military detention and put in solitary confinement in many cases?

Mr. Peake: I must inform the hon. Member that Latchmere House is used, as I have said, for the temporary accommodation, during short periods, of interned or detained persons who claim to be or are thought to be in possession of

information of interest or value to His Majesty's Government. I cannot see anything wrong, in that case in persons visiting Latchmere House even if the cases have been before the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee after all is only an advisory committee. Its purpose is to advise my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, who takes full responsibility for this institution.

AGRICULTURAL MORTGAGE CORPORATION.

Mr. De la Bère asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will now consider the reorganisation of the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation, in view of the daily increasing need of working capital in the agricultural industry and the fact that the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation has not, since the outbreak of hostilities, utilised its resources to the full?

Mr. Hudson: I have been asked to reply. I have nothing to add to the reply given to my hon. Friend on 16th July.

Mr. De la Bère: Does not my right hon. Friend realise that the reorganisation of this corporation is vitally necessary, and that it is necessary to reorganise the £50,000,000 outstanding from agricultural borrowers to the banks so that the rate of interest can be reduced? Has not this question been delayed too long, and will not my right hon. Friend give it his close attention?

Mr. Hudson: The credit position is having my close attention, and steps are being taken which will, I hope, clear it up.

NAVAL STATIONS (LEASES, UNITED STATES).

Mr. Hannah asked the Prime Minister whether he will give an undertaking that, in leasing naval stations to the United States of America, His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom will treat with the utmost consideration the wishes of the Colonies concerned?

The Lord Privy Seal (Mr. Attlee): Yes, Sir.

Mr. Hannah asked the Prime Minister whether he will make it clear that, in arranging leases of naval stations, it is our wish to establish the closest and most permanent co-operation between the United States of America and the nations of the British Empire?

Mr. Attlee: I feel sure that the terms of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister's recent statement sufficiently indicated the importance of the agreement in these respects.

BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS

Mr. Parker asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that in the Report of the Bank for International Settlements, dated 27th May, 1940, the names of Mr. Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, and Dr. Funk, German Economic Minister, are included together amongst the list of directors; and as it is not desirable that at the present time Mr. Norman should be listed in a public document as a colleague of a German cabinet minister, that he will take the necessary steps to terminate this country's connection with the Bank for Inter-

national Settlements?

Mr. Craven-Ellis asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is satisfied that the enemy gain no advantage from the association of the Bank of England with the Bank for International Settlements; and whether, in view of the public concern about the Bank of England's association with this bank, which is now controlled by representatives of enemy countries, he will take steps to ensure that all connection with the Bank for International Settlements is revised?

Sir K. Wood: I am satisfied that the enemy gain no advantage from the association of the Bank of England with the Bank for International Settlements, the administration of which is now controlled by its President, Mr. Thomas H. McKittrick, a United States citizen. The report referred to by my hon. Friend the Member for Romford (Mr. Parker) is in the first person and is signed by the President of the Bank. I need hardly say that it contains nothing objectionable to this country. No meetings of the Board of Directors have been held since the outbreak of war. If any such meetings were proposed, I should be made aware of the date and circumstances and no British directors would attend without agreement with me. I do not on balance see any sufficient advantage to this country in formally terminating connection with the bank; I think this step would be more likely to help the enemy than ourselves.

Mr. Shinwell: Is it desirable to retain this informal association between Mr. Montagu Norman and Dr. Funk, and, if the arrangement which was previously operative is now inoperative, could not this association be brought to an end?

Sir K. Wood: No, Sir, I do not think so, because as I have said, I think there are advantages to this country in retaining the connection. We have a little money there.

Mr. Stokes: Are we to understand from the right hon. Gentleman that Mr. McKittrick has no connection at all with the German bank directors?

Sir K. Wood: No, I did not say anything of the sort. I said that the report which was referred to was a report made by the President.

Mr. Gallacher: Does the right hon. Gentleman remember the words of the

Prime Minister, that the gold sent through this bank by Montagu Norman to Germany, would come back to this country in the form of bombs: and in view of the correctness of that prophecy is it not about time to put an end to this bank?

Sir K. Wood: I have already said we have some interest there.

September 18.

Oral Answers to Questions

(19 columns)

SUGAR

Mr. J. Morgan asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food the basis for the recent increase in the shopping price of sugar, seeing that the world price for sugar is continually falling, and that Cuban new contract price is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound prime cost?

Mr. Boothby: Sugar supplies for this country are drawn mainly from Empire sources, and purchases of Cuban sugar have been relatively small. The recent increase in the retail price is due to increases in costs of the raw sugar and of freights, insurance, refining, storage, transport and distribution.

Mr. Morgan: Although we are not buying from Cuba, is it not a fact that Cuba is an index of world prices of sugar?

Is it not a fact that sugar has fallen by one-half in the last 12 months on the world markets?

Mr. Boothby: The price of sugar has gone down slightly on the world market, but we have always confined ourselves mainly to Empire purchases, in view of the dollar situation.

Mr. Morgan: Does not a halfpenny per pound increase represent the prime cost of the sugar?

Mr. Boothby: I have explained in my answer that there are various factors which have increased the cost to us beyond the price of the raw sugar.

Mr. Morgan: But you are making a profit on it?

Mr. Boothby: I would not go so far as to say that.

Written Answers (7 columns)

FOOD PRICE INVESTIGATION COMMITTEES

Mr. Lyons asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food whether he will state more fully the functions and powers of the recently appointed Food Investigation Committee?

Mr. Boothby: Food Price Investigation Committees will investigate complaints in regard to the prices of foods which are not subject to price control by the Ministry of Food. Such complaints will be dealt with in the same manner as complaints under the Prices of Goods Act, 1939, in respect of non-price regulated goods other than foodstuffs. In those cases in which, after investigation, the committees consider that price control is desirable, they will submit a recommendation to that effect through the Central Price Regulation Committee. Any action which is considered to be necessary as a result of the recommendations of the local Food Price Investigation Committees will be taken by the Ministry of Food.

Mr. Lyons asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food the names and addresses of the members of the recently-appointed Food Investigation Committee for the North Midland region?

September 19.

Oral Answers to Questions

(32 columns)

HOUSE OF COMMONS (BROADCASTS).

Mr. Ellis Smith asked the Prime Minister whether he will consider, or appoint a committee to consider, the advisability of broadcasting the proceedings of the House of Commons; and, while the question is receiving consideration, will he make arrangements for important statements made in the House of Commons to be broadcast.

The Lord Privy Seal (Mr. Attlee): The question of broadcasting proceedings of the House of Commons has never commended itself to the House, and I do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by appointing a committee such as is suggested by my hon. Friend. The question, however, of electrically recording the Prime Minister's war statements on particular occasions with a view to subsequent broadcasting has been considered. Such an innovation, however, would require the general assent of the House, which

so far has not been obtained.

Mr. Smith: This is a big step in the right direction. Will my right hon. Friend consider consulting the House as soon as possible on this question?

Captain Plugge: Is my right hon. Friend aware that the present British broadcasting system is totally inadequate to perform this purpose? Is he further aware that it shows the lowest index figure of individual programmes per thousand inhabitants for medium and long wave stations compared with any other country in Europe, even including Portugal, Greece and Yugoslavia? Will he adopt the recommendation of the Ullswater Committee for the appointment of a Minister of Broadcasting in this House?

Mr. Wedgewood: Will the right hon. Gentleman take an early opportunity of consulting the House in regard to broadcasts of the Prime Minister's occasional statements in this House? Is he aware that it would have an immense effect in America and all over the world if such statements could be broadcast straight from here instead of repetitions of his speeches being made under different circumstances?

Captain Plugge: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the recommendations of the Ullswater Committee, on which he himself sat, for the appointment of a Minister of Broadcasting in this House?

Mr. Attlee: That is another question. In answer to my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme (Mr. Wedgewood), he will realise that there are difficulties with regard to the length of the speech and the available broadcasting time, and there are very different opinions in this House as to the effect on the proceedings in this House. It would not be the kind of discussion we have to-day among Members if it was to be a public statement to the whole world. These are matters which require very careful consideration.

Mr. Wedgewood: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the broadcast could take place without the rest of the House or even the Prime Minister being aware of it, if the microphone was placed at the Box on the Table?

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Mr. Stokes asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the approval of the policy of leasing bases for a term of 99 years to the United

States of America and that of closer co-operation between the United States of America and the British Empire, he will give an assurance that, before any union of the kind proposed to France is put forward, he will give an opportunity for the fullest possible discussion in this House?

Mr. Attlee: My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister is prepared to give an assurance that, if ever such a far-reaching scheme were put forward, the House would be given every opportunity of discussing it.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Mr. David Adams asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that, in view of the intense social dislocation that may be expected at the close of this war, he would, even now, do well to set up a qualified body to draw up a scheme of government, local government and industrial action and to make it as complete as possible; and whether such action towards a Ministry of Reconstruction has yet received his favourable consideration?

Mr. Attlee: As regards the possibility of setting up a Ministry of Reconstruction, I cannot add anything to the reply which I gave on 6th August to my hon. Friend the Member for Southampton (Mr. Craven-Ellis). So far as the larger questions involved are concerned, the importance of these is fully realised, and active steps are being taken by the Government to give them the fullest consideration.

Mr. Adams: Is there a possibility of some report or public statement being made upon the subject by the Prime Minister or the Government?

Mr. Attlee: Not immediately. These matters will require a great deal of consideration, and the Government are very heavily pressed at the present time by the immediate exigencies.

Sir Francis Fremantle: Does the right hon. Gentleman realise that many of the steps which are being taken, or should be taken regarding shelters, demolition and so on have great bearing on the future planning and really require present consideration to see whether they cannot be usefully worked in?

Mr. Attlee: That is one of the matters which will be kept closely in mind—that is to say, repercussions on the future of steps which have to be taken now.

Mr. Thorne: Are any arrangements

being made for the reconstruction of houses that are demolished, and do the Government intend to pay any kind of insurance?

Mr. Attlee: I must have notice of that Question and perhaps the hon. Member will put it on the Order Paper.

Written Answers (18 columns) SIR GEORGE PAISH (VISIT TO AMERICA).

Major Braithwaite asked the Home Secretary under what circumstances an exit permit was granted to Sir George Paish to visit America; and whether his visit to the United States of America was sponsored by the Government?

Colonel Burton asked the Home Secretary the reasons that were advanced by Sir George Paish to enable him to secure an exit permit?

Sir J. Anderson: An exit permit was granted to Sir George Paish to enable him to travel to America for the purpose of making a series of lecture tours in the United States and in Canada. His visit was not sponsored by His Majesty's Government, and in view of his recent reported indiscretions he has been advised by His Majesty's Ambassador to return to the country.

BANK OVERDRAFTS (SECURITIES)

Mr. De la Bère asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the attitude of certain branches of the joint stock banks throughout the country, whereby they have forcibly sold securities lodged against an overdraft without permission from the courts, he will give the necessary publicity to ensure that overdraft holders are made aware that they are protected by the Courts (Emergency Powers) Act, as many clients of the banks are ignorant of this?

Sir K. Wood: I have no information which suggests that the banks have forcibly sold securities in contravention of the Courts (Emergency Powers) Acts and I do not think it necessary to take any special steps to add to the publicity which has already been given to the provisions of those Acts. As I have already informed the House, careful inquiries which I have made have satisfied me that the banks are adopting a sympathetic attitude towards borrowers whose circumstances have been adversely affected by the war.

THE OFFER OF UNION WITH FRANCE

The exact mechanics of the fall of France, militarily and politically, is now history—that is to say it is an accomplished fact—and no comment on it can directly modify the results that developed from it. At the same time, a correct report of the exact parts played by the politicians and persons concerned and a careful assessment of the responsibility for the offer of complete union with France, and the source of pressure behind it would be valuable should a similar contingency arise in this country.

Where did the suggestion for union come from? Not from the people of Britain, who were not even consulted, although the privileges and benefits of citizenship of this country were and are surely theirs to bestow, and not any Prime Minister's. Who was trying to foist this plan on to us?

Some light is thrown on the matter in an article in the *News Chronicle* of September 12, in which their 'Special Correspondent' said:

"It will be remembered that, after the French military debacle, when the German armies were advancing through the country without resistance, and when M. Paul Reynaud, after a desperate and dramatic appeal to President Roosevelt, thought of transferring his Government either to London or to Northern Africa, Britain, in an endeavour to maintain French resistance, suggested to the French Premier a 'Franco-British union,' which would have made every Frenchman a Briton and every Briton a Frenchman.

"This offer was at the centre of the drama which caused the fall of Reynaud and the end of the alliance with France.

"It was Mr. Amery who first had the idea of this projected union. He told Mr. Chamberlain, who spoke about it to Mr. Winston Churchill."

Mr. Amery, who 'first had the idea,' is half Jewish, and until his appointment to Cabinet post (Secretary of State for India and Burma) was member of the board of directors of Marks and Spencers. The vice-Chairman of that firm is Mr. Israel Moses Sieff, who is associated with the Political and Economic Planning group.

The *News Chronicle* Special Correspondent continues:

"The Prime Minister favoured the idea and spoke about it to M. Reynaud

when he visited him at Tours during the few days the French Cabinet was there before retreating to Bordeaux.

"M. Reynaud was enthusiastic; so were M. Mandel and several other ministers and leading statesmen like M. Herriot, president of the Chamber.

"At that time M. Reynaud had practically decided to take his Government to Algiers to lead the resistance of the French Colonial Empire.

"Mr. Churchill promised M. Reynaud to send him a draft copy of the suggested 'Anglo-French Union' on consultation with the Cabinet immediately after his return to London.

"General de Gaulle, who had been sent on a special mission to London a few days later, saw Mr. Churchill in the morning and early in the afternoon of Sunday, June 16, before flying back to Bordeaux. The Prime Minister handed the draft of the suggested 'Union' to the General, who was at that time Under-Secretary for War in the Reynaud Cabinet. De Gaulle arrived with it at Bordeaux in the evening."

Marshall Petain was already strongly in favour of seeking an armistice, however, and he was supported by General Weygand, the Commander-in-Chief and Paul Baudouin, the banker and Foreign Under-Secretary who "stood for complete surrender, but was very careful not to express his views openly in the presence of the French Premier's supporters."

Before the proposition of Anglo-French Union had been brought up officially in the Cabinet these people were using it as an argument against Reynaud to sap his influence and prestige.

"The Baudouin-Petain clique decided that their time had come when they heard that General de Gaulle was expected to return from London with the draft of Mr. Churchill's offer to France. They were pressing M. Reynaud hard to ask Berlin for an armistice.

"There had been two Cabinet meetings before de Gaulle returned from London on that fatal Sunday. One lasted from 11.30 to 12.15. Another, called at five, ended at 7.45.

"Tired, Reynaud, Mandel and several others pleaded for resistance, but they could feel they were defending a lost cause.

"After a stormy scene the Cabinet

decided to adjourn until General de Gaulle's return.

"When in possession of the document from the British Government, M. Reynaud called a third meeting of the Ministers at 10.0 in the evening, and the terms of the proposed 'Anglo-French Union' were read out. An outburst of indignation came from the defeatist Ministers.

"Baudouin was their spokesman. Availing herself of France's military defeat, he said, Britain was trying to colonise her. It was intolerable.

"The word 'impudence' was repeated by several members of the Cabinet when referring to both Mr. Churchill's offer and M. Reynaud's defence of it. Realising that he was done for, the French Premier made the Cabinet's acceptance of the 'Union' plan a question of confidence in him. A vote was taken; by a small majority the plan was rejected.

"The discussion had lasted less than one half hour.

"Deadly pale, M. Reynaud rose from his seat saying, 'Now, gentlemen, you have what you wanted. I am going to hand my resignation and that of the Cabinet to the President of the Republic. One day soon you will regret what you have done.'"

The 'Special Correspondent's' own view is evident from the last paragraph:

"I understand the Petain Government—which succeeded that of M. Reynaud—made no reply to Mr. Churchill about his offer, which would have saved France from shameful capitulation."

BELGIAN REFUGEES

Refugee welfare workers in Cardiff have been surprised if not shocked at the impenetrable individualism of Belgian refugees. Efforts were made to federalise these sturdy personalities by providing a club (a well-tried specific in these parts for alleviating the miseries of poverty. The welfare officer reported that they were entirely unclubbable and when brought together would cut each others throats. They were trickling away from Cardiff and it was hoped that this trickle would soon become a stream! Some of them had taken furniture which had been loaned by the Cardiff Corporation.

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