A writer in the Church Times correspondence column recently objected to the American practice of paying farmers for not growing food: this correspondent displayed more Christian realism than usually appears in any book or sermon today.

Canon Collins is reported in the Daily Telegraph (March 19, 1962) as saying, "the Marxist economic theory, with its idea of fair shares for all and its emphasis on co-operative effort towards a common end, comes closer in line with Christian teaching than does the economic gangsterism of capitalism." We might consider this a fair statement of alternative hells, the common feature of which is centralised tyranny, for which either Marxism or finance are precision instruments. The complacency with which Church dignitaries enumerate such ancient fallacies and with which they are publicised suggests that Christian thought is completely barren of any modern contribution.

Not that the smug pharisaism of our present rulers is bringing any satisfaction. If an archer misses the bullseye, he should look inside himself for the fault, says the Chinese philosopher; but the Conservative politicians ascribe their defeat at Orpington to the ignorance, the impatience or the instability of the electorate, never to their own failures. Yet Sir Alfred Watson writes (Daily Telegraph, March 19, 1962) of the "despair that seeks any and every escape from the two political parties whose financial genius has managed after eighteen years of peace to carry national expenditure and the exaction of taxation to a level beyond that of the worst year of the second world war, with the likelihood of more to come." He enumerates many hardships of the people of Orpington and says that as a newcomer to the area he has been "astonished at the bitterness of feeling against the two main political parties."

And we may ask where D. L. Munby, the author of God and the Rich Society*, stands amid the vagaries of Christian and political thought. He accused Christians of shutting themselves up in their churches, mentally speaking—which might be as good as shutting oneself up in the Kremlin—but we may agree that "the situation has to be understood" as we may further agree that "bad tax policies can frustrate economic growth."

He looks for mid-twentieth century economic trends, and for any achievements in these trends, and wonders what God is doing in the economic order. He is not very clear as to what man is doing in the economic order, for he confuses a static with a stable society, notably when he descants on "proper labour mobility." Such glibly jargon thinly veils a fundamental insecurity of our time—that of the home, family and friends.

He is more enlightening when he recalls that "we have great wealth from the activities of our ancestors" and that "greater possibilities of leisure" give an enlargement of choice; also when he quotes Dr. Demant as saying that a Christian social order would involve "free moral will" as against determinism and coercion.

In fact, the book comes to life when Mr. Munby sticks to the facts of our time, but when he crams those into old-fashioned theory or popular phrases, it sinks to a level of unthinking repetition. We have, he says, acted like Dives, and and should hand our wealth through further taxation. A lady who had spent much of her life in Korea said recently that Americans were most unpopular in that part of the world because of their "hand-outs". One would agree that "finance is a bottleneck", but not restrict the saying to countries in the Colombo plan area, as does Mr. Munby.

He acknowledges the "overwhelming bountifulness of God in showering on us the wealth of an abundant world", but then with all that is generally said about an affluent society, how can we reconcile these sayings with the words of a further letter to the Daily Telegraph (March 20, 1962) about Orpington, whose defection it ascribes to "an emphatic declaration by the long-suffering lower middle class that they will no longer put up with the hardships thrust on them by the present autocratic, incompetent and callous Conservative clique now in power... the Government have sacrificed without compunction their traditional supporters... who realise that conditions for them could not be worse..."

"Freedom of choice is to me a rather fundamental matter, bound up with the Christian view...", Mr. Munby says and adds that unearned income "gives a man some security against his employers." He desires a society where "unearned income is more or less equally divided", but never suggests the practicability of a national dividend, which would indeed give substance to "the clear claims of equality." But I'm afraid he expects "equality" to be world-wide and imposed by taxation, rather than a reasonable start from the heritage of Britain.

He disagrees with Dr. Demant's thesis that the state should leave natural groups to grow and that too much state interference is a sign of bad health in society, but Christians, says Mr. Munby, have been too uncritical in censuring bankers and economists. (I don't know what he means when he mentions the "follies of a 'Housewives' League'"., without particulars of any kind.)

It is news to me that the Church of England has recently discarded the paper on Christian ethics in the General Ordination Examination; perhaps there could be no agreed syllabus. The danger is that, when all has been said, it will be found that individual freedom and responsibility have

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From Week to Week

Now, once you have surrendered to materialism, it is quite true that economics precedes politics, and dominates it. It is not in Bolshevism, Fascism, the New Deal, and P.E.P. or the London School of Economics Fabian Society that we shall find the origins of what we are looking for. These are ostensibly political systems, and derive from, rather than give birth to economics. While this is obvious and axiomatic, it is not so obvious, although equally axiomatic that the principle works both ways. That is as much as to say, if you can control economics, you can control the business of getting a living the dominant factor of life, and so control the political control of politics—just that long and no longer.

Now let us look at the developments in economic control...


"The central core of the commission's ideas is that economic integration means political action. Not only does the creation of the economic conditions necessary for a customs union require major political decisions. That is almost axiomatic. But political integration itself is the object of taking the economic decisions in the first place. Hence the truth of Professor Hallstein's much quoted remark, 'We're not in business, we're in politics', which is still the aptest expression of the thinking of the commission...

"The commission, now 2,000 strong, has three functions of motor, watchdog and broker. First its task is to drive the Six Governments along, producing plans and proposals for carrying out economic integration. Secondly, it is guardian of the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Rome. It interprets this duty strictly, and has gone so far as to bring member Governments before the European Communities Court of Justice. Finally, the commission acts as a broker between the member Governments, helping them to reach agreement, leading to action. In addition it takes direct decisions in limited instances, such as granting exceptions to customs rules...

"It is notable that the commission's powers have latterly been enormously strengthened, in particular by the common agricultural policy decisions, which give it power to rule on escape clauses, and by the implementation of anti-trust rules..."


No Regrets - Some Perceptions of Pound

A Mr. Ronald Duncan recently described a visit to Ezra Pound, in a Sunday Times article (Feb. 11, 1962). He says that Mr. Pound is in hospital "not sick with any physical disease, but with a deep sense of remorse."

So it seemed worthwhile to mention a few points about Pound's work that do not call for remorse but have had a most salutary influence. He is of course a major poet and was known as the "poet-economist" on both sides of the Atlantic before the war.

Ezra Pound might well claim to have restored the active verb to the English language, but at least he has widened the scope of poetry to include parts of life that have long been absent from literature. We should have to go back to T. L. Peacock's rarely seen poem on knighthood or to Byron to find a mention of the influence of the financial power which is one of the prominent threads of the Cantos, while in prose
Cobbett referred to it, and Disraeli in his novels. But it would be impossible to understand the Cantos without some knowledge of Major Douglas. We find usury frequently mentioned in Elizabethan writers, and before them in Chaucer and Dante, but Pound restored the idea to the currency.

Mr. Duncan calls usury "a manifestation of lack of values rather than the original cause" of the beveldevity of all values, and it raises the whole question of what religious and other leaders consider is sound thought and policy on social matters. Pound himself has called attention to the four "Tuan" or principles of Confucian thought: Love, Duty, Propriety and Wisdom. He said that "for a Christian to become a Confucian, all he would have to do would be to become a very good Christian, practice at least some of the virtues he preaches." Mencius said that men have these four principles as they have four limbs, and advised that they should have their full development. There can certainly be nothing to regret in having translated Confucius and spread knowledge of this noble system of thought. I understand that the Analects of Confucius are banned in Red China.

These principles further led Pound to forewarn his readers of the worst defects of socialism and welfarism, as inconsistent with responsibility. Bureaucracy and vicious taxation were other features of the modern scene which have not commended themselves to the poet.

In search of clear terminology, Pound wrote the ABC of Economics, which made many valuable distinctions at a time when wealth was another name for gold in the popular mind; and he is the author of Social Credit: an Impact, which describes various practices of banking, mediaeval and modern. In fact, he would not let people rest until they had included this range of perception in their thoughts, a range excluded rigidly from general thought and popularised authors. I am sure that he cannot be sorry for directing his public away from Marx (we might even have been wiser to take a second look at Roosevelt) and suggesting that they should understand something of Douglas, and one or two others.

As a humane man, in the Confucianist sense, Pound devoted much time to the arts and encouraged good music, sculpture, painting and showed what could be done with leisure if we had any—before the TV or the BBC got hold of it. "Hold it fast and it remains with you. Let it go and you lose it," said Confucius of the mind. And as this is intended as a word of cheer for a man in sickness, one can but emphasise that for all this there can be no remorse.

—H. Swarbrick.

Without Comment

From The Times, April 25, 1962

"... The Prime Minister accepts an invitation to address the Newspaper Publishers Association; the President invites him to the White House. Almost accidentally, it seems, the two men meet again. There is no advance agenda and

Mr. MUNBY'S THESIS (continued from page 1) been irrevocably sacrificed and a centralised anonymous power unassailably enthroned. Such is the direction of all socialist, Conservative and Communist legislation: Mr. Munby has enough lights not to join this unpromising phalanx, yet at the end of the book I am not quite sure.

—H.S.

New Guinea

(With the permission of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, we publish the script of "Notes on the News" by Sir Raphael Cilento, broadcast over 4QR Brisbane on March 8, 1962).

Mr. Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State, who is soon to arrive in Australia, has been sounding off about what he calls "the firm intention of the United States to aid Thailand, its ally and historic friend, in resisting Communist aggression and subversion." Meanwhile, young Mr. Robert Kennedy, who became legal chief in the United States when his brother became President, has matched Dean Rusk's five day visit to Thailand with a fleeting visit to Indonesia, and with the usual switch of expediency, transformed paper threats into showers of congratulatory confetti for Soekarno. He said in a television interview on 4th, that he predicted that the Indonesians "would take over the western part of the huge island, of which Australia administers the eastern half", and the newspapers commented that his statement "was believed to be the first high level U.S. announcement that Dr. Soekarno was expected to win his battle to take over the Dutch controlled western half". Young Mr. Kennedy also said that the Indonesians had a strong argument in their claim for West New Guinea. What that strong argument is, is abundantly clear to those who listen in on radio broadcasts from Indonesia. Dr. Soekarno has just thanked Red China effusively for her "sympathetic gesture". And what is Red China's sympathetic gesture? The British United Press quotes Dr. Goedhart who reported to the Dutch Government as follows: "Large stocks of arms and ammunition and equipment are being held in readiness in a port near Canton for shipment to Indonesia", and, he added that Chinese "volunteers" (so called) "are being recruited in Communist China for a military attack on Dutch West New Guinea". That is the end of the quote. Does it remind you of the situation in Korea, in which so many Australian soldiers died? Last evening, sunset ended the great annual Moslem fast—Ramadan—and at Canberra it has been announced that Dr. Soekarno will make a great speech to end this period—always one of great emotional excitement. The Cabinet has been re-shuffled (Dr. Soekarno does not have any Parliament), General Nasution has been appointed Deputy First Minister for Defence, and is going to the borders of West New Guinea to "act as he sees fit". The vast mass of Indonesians who have been brainwashed into the ridiculous belief that the absolute expulsion of white men from West New Guinea will mean prosperity, are being driven frantic by constantly increasing economic stringency. An Australian observer on the spot says: "Runaway inflation and rice hoarding have pushed prices to crazy levels...a few years ago rice cost only one twentieth what it does today...prices are three times what they were before President Soekarno issued his 'Command for the Liberation of West Irian' on 10th December last". That is a rise of 300% in 3 months. Explosive, isn't it? and Soekarno knows that no one in the white world, including ourselves, has any intention of helping the Dutch—any more than they had of helping the Belgians in the Congo; or the Hungarians in Europe, if and when it comes to a showdown.
Meanwhile in Africa, in Algeria, and in Rhodesia, the last ditch battles of the white man, deserted by their brothers in blood and colour, grow in bitterness, and the situation becomes more and more unpredictable.

In Rhodesia, Sir Roy Welensky has said that the white farmers, and workers there, driven to desperation, will use force to defend their homes and the future of their children.

In France, on the borders of Switzerland, surely the strangest conference in history is meeting, at Evian. Ringed round by all the protective firepower of the French Army, French politicians are begging the leaders of the Algerian rebels to agree to a cease fire. The Algerians demand in return that de Gaulle shall sell out the two million white French in Algeria who are the economic strength of the country—that Frenchmen in fact, shall shoot down Frenchmen to force those who survive to submit to non-white rule or to abandon all they have and seek refuge in France or in exile. With Algeria, of course, go all the vast oil wells of the N.W. Sahara which the Algerians demand France should also surrender. Only some overwhelming argument would persuade de Gaulle even to consider such a course, and, fantastic as it seems, many see it as the threat of intervention in Africa and in Europe of China's millions through Albania. Mao Tse Tung openly states that the East-West problem can only be finalised by war—Albania and the Stalinists agree. The so-called Chinese volunteers stand armed awaiting the call. In such a situation, the rights of minorities, white or non-white, are determined by expediency and firepower.

De Gaulle, Robert Kennedy and the others may be softening up the white world to accept these humiliating compromises as the lesser of two evils. Let's hope so. It is a typically British characteristic not to cry over spilt milk but to save what can be saved. R. A. Butler's statement therefore, in the news today on the European Common Market has extra significance. He says: "We are not only a little island lying off Europe, but we are the centre of the greatest Commonwealth the world's history has ever seen. It is absolutely vital in these negotiations that whatever we do in Europe, we maintain our Commonwealth intact and strong . . . I believe that if we are strong and firm, we can get the terms we want."

And we, in Australia, occupy the fringes of a vast island continent lying naked, off the coast of Asia. We could do with a little strength and firmness, too, in my opinion, or we might find it our fate to figure in a sell-out also at no distant date.

Mr. Macmillan: A Curious Report

The accuracy of the report under the above heading in our issue for April 14th, is confirmed. The Western Producer's article ran to nearly a page of text—about 3,600 words. Among several points of less importance omitted from our account of Mr. Macmillan's address was the following:

"If our monetary arrangements are bad, or outmoded, we shall not succeed. We shall stagnate instead of expand. And capitalism must expand or perish. Even Marx knew that."

In that brief passage, all the intersecting lines of economic 'double-think' seems to us to meet.

We have also ascertained that at least in one edition of The Times and The Daily Telegraph for April 8, 1961, Mr. Macmillan's Massachusetts Address was reported, without, however, allowing the Prime Minister's remarks about money to appear obtrusively. The Daily Telegraph's report was considerably longer than that in The Times.

Conversion by Advertisement

According to a main news-page article in The Times for April 24, 1962, the Society of Friends have, for months past, been trying to attract new members by a campaign conducted by newspaper display advertisement. The responsible agents, are a Friends Home Service Committee, 120 strong, and interesting facts are given concerning their activities in an article running to over a column in length counting a display headline across two columns of The Times.

The committee's secretary told a reporter that high-powered professional methods are not favoured, and there is clearly not universal approval for the experiment ever conducted, as it is, on 'somewhat amateurish' lines. The following facts emerge:

Quakers in Great Britain number 21,500.
Advertise on a small scale has been part of Quaker policy since the early 1920s.

More extended advertising began last autumn with a budget of £500, subsequently raised to £700 for display advertising plus £100 for classified advertisements. "One advertisement in The Daily Mirror would swallow the total outlay for a year", and so the journals resorted to are:-

The New Statesman
The Times Educational Supplement
The Geographical Magazine
The Railway Review
The New Scientist
The Journal of the Association of Supervisory Staffs and Technicians
Red Tape

Advertising in The Guardian and the 'Personal' column of The Times is in prospect.

Of the media already tried, The New Statesman was at first the most profitable, but later The Geographical Magazine surpassed it.

There were for the whole of 1961 1,284 inquiries. Of this number, 790 came in after display advertising started last September. The rate of inquiries rose to 285 a month for the first two months of this year; but 100 of these followed a broadcast Friends' Meeting by the BBC on February 25. However, last year only 128 inquirers followed up their initial enquiry, and fewer than 2 per cent asked to be put in touch with a Quaker Meeting. The New Scientist is said to have brought a 'gratifying response', Red Tape six replies, The Railway Review none and the Journal speaking for the supervisors and technicians none.

The Last Thing

"It is a well-founded historical generalization, that the last thing to be discovered in any science is what the science is really about."

—A. N. Whitehead