

# THE SOCIAL CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

Vol. 5. No. 2.

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper  
Postage (home and abroad) 1d.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1940.

6d. Weekly.

## Alberta and the Canadian Wheat Problem

The farmers of western Canada have produced a big crop of wheat this year, but they benefit so little from it that unless something is done to distribute purchasing power to them in respect of it they will be unable to finance the sowing of next year's crop. Each farmer is only allowed to market five bushels of wheat per acre, which is far from being sufficient even to obtain the necessary credits to provide for the harvesting expenses alone.

There are now at least 250 million bushels of wheat in storage in Canada, and the new crop may yield 400 million bushels. Allowing 150 million bushels for home consumption, 500 million bushels are left for sale. Britain herself buys only 200 million bushels a year from all overseas countries, and continental Europe is for the time a closed market.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance to the Empire of a steady supply and reservoir of wheat, particularly in times like these, and to put it at its least, it is a shocking comment on the efficiency of the war-machine that the farmers who produce it are in danger of ruin.

Urging immediate federal action toward solving the financial problems of western farmers and businessmen consequent upon development in the wheat situation, Hon. E. C. Manning, Minister of Trade and Industry in Alberta, made the following statement recently. The statement was accompanied by a telegram addressed to the responsible Ottawa official:—

*August 15, 1940.*

The Alberta Government is pressing the Dominion Government for an immediate announcement that an adequate advance will be made to farmers against grain stored on farms. We contend that the Dominion Government

could meet the situation by undertaking to issue negotiable grain tickets against the stored grain, the tickets to be redeemed upon delivery of the grain. This proposal would eliminate interest charges and enable the farmers to finance harvesting operations.

Hon. D. B. Mullen, Minister of Agriculture, who is attending the wheat conference in Winnipeg, will advance this proposal as a practical solution to the present crisis.

The Government of Alberta considers that the situation is so serious and the need for action so urgent that a definite announcement from Ottawa assuring farmers of an adequate advance on stored grain should be forthcoming immediately. Any proposals involving the calling of special sessions of the provincial legislatures would result in inevitable delay which would be disastrous at this time. Meanwhile, harvesting operations and, in fact, virtually all business would be at a standstill.

It would be impossible to overstate the urgency and peril of the situation which has developed in regard to the 1940 crop. If farmers are permitted to deliver only five bushels per seeded acre at 70 cents per bushel basis No. 1 Northern at Fort William, and if they are compelled to store the remainder on their farms without an adequate advance, the effects on agriculture and on the entire business life of Alberta will be calamitous. Even now, since the announcement of this grain policy farmers are finding it almost impossible to finance for binder twine, machine parts, fuel and other harvesting expenses.

Retail merchants and wholesalers are in an equally difficult position. Retailers are now, as in the past, willing to extend credit to farmers for short periods, but they cannot continue to do so unless they are assured of payment

and the policy of the Federal Government contains no such assurance. Wholesale merchants are in the same position as the retailers because they must liquidate their accounts with manufacturers and producers. In short, unless an adequate proportion of the 1940 crop can be turned into purchasing power at once, business in Western Canada will be headed for immediate stagnation.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, both retail and wholesale merchants' as well as farmers' organizations have made representations to the Alberta Government asking us to impress upon Federal authorities the seriousness of their position and they have been assured that they will have every possible measure of support from us. Meanwhile, they, themselves, are doing their utmost to urge upon the Federal authorities the need for immediate and adequate action in the present grain crisis.

Briefly, the proposal which Hon. Mr. Mullen will advance in Winnipeg is as follows:

1. The Federal Government could take title to all marketable grain stored on farms and issue to farmers negotiable grain tickets in convenient denominations on a reasonable proportion of the grain so stored.

2. These grain tickets would be redeemable for cash as the grain is delivered to the elevators under the direction of the Federal Wheat Board. The holders of the tickets at the time of redemption, whether farmers, merchants, manufacturers or institutions, would be entitled to cash.

3. Severe penalties could be provided to prevent any attempt to discount the face value of these negotiable grain tickets, and to prohibit the disposal of

grain to which the Federal Government has title.

In our opinion, this proposal would provide farmers with a flexible medium of exchange in the present emergency while their grain is awaiting market movements and would enable them to make arrangements to finance their harvesting operations.

Grain producers in war time, when external markets are dislocated, are in the same economic category as that in which the fighting forces find themselves in time of peace. Their economic security should be protected and assured against the time when their services will become of dominating importance. We know that the ravages of war will create famine and pestilence on a scale which will demand all the food reserves we can accumulate. The process of accumulation is essentially a money problem and not a physical problem. From the physical or realistic point of view there can be no difficulty in devising ways and means for the storage of surplus wheat and there should be no difficulty in devising means whereby farmers may be rewarded for the increased abundance of supplies which they have produced for the Empire at war.

The Alberta Government has already arranged to allow binder twine and machine repair bills to take precedence over all Government accounts, and we will continue to urge that adequate action be taken by the Federal authorities.

Hon. E. C. MANNING,  
*Acting Premier.*

(Telegram)

Edmonton, August 14, 1940.  
Hon. J. A. McKinnon,  
Minister of Trade and Commerce,  
Ottawa, Canada.

Seriousness of financial crisis facing the West unless farmers assured a substantial advance on stored grain increasing daily. Impossible for majority of farmers to secure necessary supplies for harvesting, threshing and erection of storage facilities unless trade can be assured substantial advance on stored grain can be made. Retailers and wholesalers anxious to co-operate, but financially impossible for them to provide essential supplies if farmers unable to pay for an indefinite period. Inevitable consequences of present situation if not relieved makes this matter a national emergency requiring immediate action. Any delay will result not only in huge

loss of grain but also in devastating paralysis of all phases of western business. Respectfully urge that it is imperative for Federal Government to make an immediate announcement assuring farmers of substantial advance on stored grain so as to relieve situation perilous to the nation during war time. We submit that the situation could be met by Federal Government taking title to stored grain and issuing negotiable grain tickets for same redeemable when grain sold by Wheat Board.

E. C. MANNING.

*Minister of Trade and Industry.*

Mr. Manning in an interview said that Ottawa apparently was trying to pass the responsibility on to the provinces.

"At the same time, Ottawa has, so far as this province is concerned, refused to give us a free hand in applying our policies, which we are confident would meet a situation of this kind," he added.

"They have refused to give us a charter for a provincial bank which, if granted, would have enabled us to provide a great deal of the required financial assistance, in which farmers are in urgent need."

The conference did not adopt the proposals put forward by Mr. Mullen, but the Minister believes that, since they were written into the records, they will stand as a working solution of the same problem in 1941 which threatens to be greater than that of the current year. In the course of a statement given by Mr. Mullen on his return from Winnipeg he said:

"The farmers of Western Canada, I am certain, will derive an immediate benefit from the proceedings at the Winnipeg wheat conference but I was very disappointed that Alberta's proposal for the issuance of negotiable grain tickets was not passed on by the conference to the committee appointed to confer with representatives of the Dominion Government.

"Members of this committee, are meeting with Hon. J. G. Gardiner, federal minister of agriculture and Hon. T. A. Crerar, minister of trade and commerce, in Winnipeg to-day and will urge that the Dominion Government guarantee loans on a liberal percentage of the wheat stored on farms on the basis of No. 1 Northern at Fort William.

"They will also urge that freight rates on coarse grains be reduced and that the Board of Grain commissioners

arrange for the early movement of coarse grains to markets in order that more storage space will be made available for the accommodation of the wheat crop. While we in Alberta are encouraging the extensive feeding of coarse grains to livestock, we expect to have a considerable surplus.

"While I was disappointed at the rejection of our proposal, I am certainly in favor of any plan which will relieve the financial crisis which faces the entire west because unless immediate relief is forthcoming, the whole economy of the west will be affected disastrously. The proposals which are being laid before Hon. Mr. Gardiner and Hon. Mr. Crerar will bring this about if they are put into effect.

"I hold the view, however, that our proposal for the issuance of negotiable grain tickets would have been better because it would have eliminated the borrowing of money at a time when all available money is required for Canada's war effort and it would have eliminated the payment of interest on the borrowings."

## FREE GIFTS

".....it is all the more satisfactory that in the details of the arrangement there is no hint of charity. Great Britain is giving full value for what she receives; the price of fifty destroyers for a century's lease of six bases might even be called cheap. Indeed, the only free gifts are from Britain to America. One of these free gifts is the northern group of bases. The other is the solemn assurance from the British Government that, come what may, the Royal Navy will be neither surrendered nor scuttled. It is important that the meaning of this should be fully appreciated. It means that in certain unlikely, but not impossible, circumstances the inhabitants of Great Britain would abandon themselves to occupation and starvation and would consent to be blockaded by their own fleet, rather than leave the way to the New World open to the Nazis. The fact that no patriotic Englishman would have it otherwise does not in the least diminish the value to America of this pledge. England 'expects every American to do his duty' was the bitter jibe of a few years ago; in dead earnest, it has been changed to 'America can count on every Englishman doing his duty.'"

—*"The Economist,"* September 7, 1940.

## NEWS &amp; VIEWS

Always did think one Amurrican wuz worth ten Britishers, Sadie, 'speshully if he had a reel Amurrican name like Warbug, or our Barney Baruch, or Solly Bloom. Came over with the influenzy Warbugs did. Just fancy, we got Newfoundland an' Trinidad, an' Bermuda, an' Bahamas, an' Antigua, an' the gol-durned British protect 'em for us. Just shows what you can do 'ef you work up a war an' fix the politicians an' hev sense an' keep out of it. Waal, waal, waal.

Recipe for a Better World. Line up Roosevelt and Cordell Hull, Stalin and Molotoff, Hitler and Ribbentrop, Mussolini and Ciano, Churchill and Anthony Eden. Spray with Lewis gun for thirty seconds. Deposit debris in quick-lime. Label: *Sic transit semper hoc genus omne.*

In other words, Clarence, how we do love these National Heroes.

Yes, Clarence, we quite realise that they take their orders from their Masters. But it's astonishing how you discourage nettles if you chop off the parts that show above ground.

No, the British Empire is not for sale. Nevah, nevah, will we barter our sacred trust. We will give it away, or, on the other hand, we might consider hire-purchase, all sums received, if any, to be credited against the money we didn't receive from America in 1917-1918.

Has anyone noticed the curious similarity between the attitude of the Hun, who screams murder when the R.A.F. bombs Berlin, and the well-known attribute of the Jew, who shouts "Persecution" if he gets a square deal?

## THE RIOM TRIALS

"Since the news agencies, generally so avid to sell stories of sensational trials, are keeping us in the dark regarding the proceedings of the Riom affair, it is interesting to read the version supplied by a correspondent to the New York Sun.

"It is emphasised that criminal charges as well as political accusations are being made. Specifically, says this

informant, Pierre Cot is accused in that being Air Minister during the Spanish civil war of 1936-39, he sent the best French planes to aid the Spanish Reds. This charge is upheld by documents captured by the Spanish government and made available to Marshal Petain when he was French Ambassador in Madrid. When Cot attempted to join a regiment upon the outbreak of the present war he was mobbed by the officers and sent to a hospital.

"Daladier is charged with having aided the Spanish Reds, having sent them 1,000 French officers in 1938, and with having taken pay from a secret foreign fund for a period of years. Reynaud is accused of the latter crime and also of having looted the French treasury of gold when he fled. The Spanish customs officials seized 1,500,000 francs in gold coin at Irun from three of Reynaud's secretaries, and returned the prisoners and loot to Marshall Petain. Mandel is accused of treason. Other former Ministers, particularly Campinchi, are accused of receiving money from Stalin."  
—*"Catholic Times,"* September 6, 1940.

## ALIENS' TRIBUNAL

The members of the committee examining aliens now in internment with a view to liberating some of them are Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Sir Andrew McFadyen, Professor Seton-Watson, Masaryk Professor of Central European History at the University of London who has been associated with members of Chatham House, and Mr. I. A. Kirkpatrick. The *Economist* comments, "An admirable body, composed of persons sympathetic to the cause of the refugees."

"UNION NOW"  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following letter, which was published in the *Eastern Province Herald*, on August 19, shows that Federal Union has not failed to be attacked in South Africa, where it has been given considerable prominence in the news.

It is significant that the word

"Jewish-owned," in the second paragraph of the original draft of the letter, was omitted when it was published:—

Sir,

A footnote to the subleader in your Tuesday's issue seems desirable, for there seems a regrettable lack of informed thought on the subject of what is known as the Federal Union movement.

Clarence Kirshman Streit, the protagonist of that movement, and also author of the book *Union Now* was until recently League of Nations correspondent of the [Jewish-owned] *New York Times*.

If the British Commonwealth has the pluck and virility to stand alone in this war, she will equally be fit to do so in the days and years of peace which she intends shall follow the war. She has not now and never will have need to lean on any such boosted Anglo-Saxon Union, emanating as it does from the finance-controlled press of the United States of America.

After all what percentage of the population of the U.S.A. can claim to be Anglo-Saxon? A true assessment of this point would be interesting.

Federal Union has its origin in America, which is generally recognised as the central headquarters of the international bankers who seek to dominate the world.

Federal Union as proposed by C. K. Streit is the antithesis of the British conception of democracy.

Federal Union stands for surrender to the international finance dictatorship.

Federal Union seeks to cheat Britain and her Dominions of all for which they are now fighting.

Federal Union is being urged at this moment when all our energies are concentrated upon victory, it is being urged because the finance racketeers fear the British Commonwealth may yet escape the enslavement of their dictatorship.

Yours truly,

E. H. BAZELEY.

Grahamstown, South Africa;  
August 16, 1940.

## Employee's Choice

In a case that came up for decision at the beginning of last month in the House of Lords, a fundamental principle of our common law was reasserted and applied. The principle was stated by Viscount Simon as follows: "A free citizen, in the exercise of his freedom, is entitled to choose the employer whom he promises to serve, so that the right to his services cannot be transferred from one employer to another without his consent." Lord Atkin said, "I had fancied that ingrained in the personal status of a citizen under our laws was the right to choose for himself whom he will serve, and that this right of choice constituted the main difference between a servant and a serf."

It may be something more than ironic that this principle should come up for redefinition at a time when we have suspended the right to use it and voluntarily agreed that any one of us may be ordered to serve any person or employer or do any job that needs doing without our own consent; but it does not alter the importance of the principle which it will be our job to ensure is put once more into action when the war ends.

No man can have new employers thrust upon him. A contract made with one employer cannot be transferred to another without the consent of employee. This is the accepted principle of English Law.

In the recent case in the House of Lords, *Noakes v. Doncaster Amalgamated Collieries Limited*, the point for decision concerned the transfer of property of a company in liquidation to another company, and whether such property, which was defined to include "property rights and powers of every description", included contracts for personal services.

The local justices had accepted this contention and penalised the workman for breach of his "contract" with the new company. Their decision was upheld in the Divisional Court and the Court of Appeal; and in the House of Lords one of the Law Lords supported it. But the majority decided otherwise, holding that the section did not contemplate the transfer of rights which in their nature were incapable of being transferred.

Lord Atkin in his speech said:

"It is said that one company does not differ from another, and why should

## ON WAR FINANCE

*Reduce the Interest on War Loans* by Hugh Munro. Price 4d.

The scandalous procedure whereby the national debt was increased by approximately £7,000 millions during the last war, by the simple process of the banking and financial concerns lending the nation's credit to the Government as if they were lending their own property, is well known. It has all been explained at length, and frequent reference has been made to it in quarters that cannot be ignored with impunity for long. That the same procedure is rampant in this war is one of many indications as to who hopes to be the real beneficiaries of the European struggle. This pamphlet draws attention to the ramp and as such is very useful.

The war is well summed up on page 4: "Can there be anything more preposterous and humiliating than this spectacle of the British Government having to employ and pay banks with no free resources of their own, to guarantee that it—the premier sources of credit—shall meet its obligations?" The proposal to stop the bleeding of citizens in their capacity as taxpayers is the founding of a State Bank which could issue bank credit free of interest. There is no explanation why such a cumbersome method of meeting the situation is put forward. There is no necessity for a State Bank at all.

not a benevolent judge of the Chancery Division transfer the services of a workman to another admirable employer just as good and perhaps better. The answer is twofold.

"The first is that however excellent the new master may be, it has hitherto been the servant who has had the choosing of him, and not a judge. The second is that it is a complete mistake, in my opinion, to suppose that people, whether they are servants or landlords or authors, do not attach importance to the identity of the particular company with which they deal.

"It would possibly hurt the feelings of financial men with large organising powers and ambition to know how strongly some men feel about big combinations, and especially amalgamations of small trading concerns. However, it is said 'How unreasonable this is, for the big company can buy the majority of the shares in the old company, replace the directors and managers, change

The existing banks can issue such credit on a precept from the Treasury as representing the creators of the real credit which is the backing of the financial credit.

Considerable space is given to calculations of the interest the taxpayers would be spared, a matter which could have been disposed of in a few words. The author however seems to think that this question of interest is the vital one. On page 7 he writes that banks created the money "out of nothing". It is therefore rather surprising to read the proposal that the Government should repay the State Bank advances out of taxation. Like so many writers on the subject before him, the author is straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel.

While reading the pamphlet one feels that he is preoccupied with financial method without fully realising that the money system is merely a system of accounting and cannot function properly unless it reflects reality. Also, few students of modern history will agree with his statement that the ramp is due to "the misconception by our highest financial authorities, of the functions of money as purchasing power". They know quite well what they are doing and why they are doing it.

H. R. P.

the policy and produce the same result.' Be it so, nevertheless, the result is not the same. The identity of the company is preserved, and, in any case, the individual concerned, while he must be prepared to run the one risk, is entitled to say that he is not obliged to run the other."

### OLD TANKS

The U.S.A. are selling to Canada several hundred army tanks, to be used training purposes.

The tanks are old models travelling no faster than 3 miles an hour. They used up petrol at such a rate that seven years ago Congress forbade the American army to use them any more.

They will be sold to Canada in the same way as rifles and French 75's were sold to England. They will be declared as surplus and sold to a private company which can resell them to Canada.

# The Powers of the President

"The objections to a third term for President, we think, are not absolute. There is no law against it; only a tradition. If Washington had served a third term and refused a fourth, the tradition, we dare say, would lie against a fourth term and not against a third. But this new doctrine of indispensability, which might be only immoderately egoistic, becomes sinister in relation to a background of seven and one half years during which there has taken place a centralization of power in the Federal Government and a subordination of that power to the will of the executive such as hitherto had been thought impossible under the Constitution. The sovereignty of states had been systematically eroded by new legislation, by reinterpretation of old law and by a kind of Federal bribery. The Congress, which is the legislative principle, has surrendered or delegated such powers to the President as formerly it had jealously defended. As the power of the President had been exalted, all other powers have been diminished, to a point at which even the judicial principle has been annealed and made responsive to executive will. Finally, control of the purse was surrendered when the Congress began

to vote billions for the President to spend at his own discretion.

"Briefly, during these seven and one half years the Roosevelt Administration went further to intervene in the economic and social life of the country, to control it, to plan it, and to administer it, than any other government in the world not already totalitarian in character.

"As he was receiving into his hand from an obedient Congress the new instrumentalities of power, Mr. Roosevelt himself remarkably said: 'In the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper'; in bad hands, he added, it 'would provide shackles for the liberties of people.'

"And now what is he saying?"

"He is saying that he alone is the people's government. He alone can be trusted to exercise that power. He is saying that he accepts the nomination for a third term because he is convicted of a duty to keep the government from passing to other hands. The power is too much to lay down. It may be abused. It may be used to provide shackles for the liberties of people.

"That is not all. If the power now changes hands the people may lose their liberties in a worse way. The President says that in what he has done to awaken the country to the menace of the aggressor he has been opposed by 'appeaser fifth columnists.' And: 'If our own government should pass to other hands next January—untried hands, inexperienced hands—we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere.'

"That is to say, if the Republican Party wins, the country may be betrayed.

"For shame! The pity is that Mr. Roosevelt does not believe it as he says it.

"A President of the United States who has arrived at this state of mind is no more a Democrat than he is a Republican or himself a fifth columnist. There is among us no one word that defines him, nor ever before was the want of it felt. He is the one whom the founders feared and partly foretold—I, Roosevelt."

—*"The Saturday Evening Post," August 24, 1940.*

## Siren Sound

"It can only have been by an unfortunate co-incidence that it was the official choice. ....

"For the siren at rest—a divergence into musical technicalities is quite unavoidable, but I will make it as brief as possible—is tuned to give the notes of a major triad.

"There is nothing nasty about a major triad, and we hear it at the siren's top point in the 'All Clear'. But the air pressure varies the pitch of the notes and is itself controlled by an electric trembler, with the result that these notes with *glissando* or sliding effect cease to be a triad and become a sequence of tritone fourths, with harmonics beating furious discords with one another.

"Now the tritone or augmented fourth, which bisects the octave on the piano, has been regarded as an evil thing for centuries. In the Middle Ages it was solemnly considered to have some association with the Devil himself.

"In Germany, it is recorded, stu-

dents were liable to the death penalty for allowing *tritonus diaboli* to creep into their musical exercises.

"In ecclesiastical use the tritone, owing to its diabolical connection, was strictly forbidden.

"*M: contra faest Dabolus in musica* (which may be roughly translated 'the tritone is musically the very Devil') was an oft-quoted Latin tag of the period. .... the tritone is foul, sinister, and macabre. It is the counterpart in the world of sound to a filthy smell.

"An eminent nerve specialist has assured me that when the sirens sound, combining with the tritone the effect of suffering pain and lament induced by any wailing *glissando*, an automatic chemical reaction is set up in the endocrine glands of even the stoutest hearted.

"So that is what happens when we hear an air-raid warning. We can take it."

—*Philip Page in "The Daily Mail," August 28.*

## THE BANKER BOYS

Nazi finance wizard Walther Funk made an attempt this week to get elected chairman of the Bank for International Settlements, at Basle, Switzerland.

Former chairman Sir Otto Niemeyer's period of office expired in May, 1940. The chair has remained vacant since then "owing to international difficulties."

Last week Funk got in touch with some of the neutral directors of the bank and tried to lobby his way into the chair. He failed to obtain the necessary majority.

His election had been trumpeted in advance by the Nazi Press as a "victory" for Germany over Britain, who, the Nazi scribes declared, had used the bank in former years to bleed the German people.

Funk has already been a director; so has Hjalmar Schacht. Another director was Montagu Collett Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, who used to think Schacht the big thing in finance. —*Extract from "Cavalcade,"*

September 14, 1940.

## THE SOCIAL CREDITER

This journal expresses and supports the policy of the Social Credit Secretariat, which is a non-party, non-class organisation neither connected with nor supporting any political party, Social Credit or otherwise.

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

Home and abroad, post free: One year 30/-; Six months 15/-;  
Three months 7s. 6d..

Editorial Office:  
4, ACREFIELD ROAD,  
WOOLTON, LIVERPOOL.  
Telephone: Gateacre 1561.

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Vol. 5. No. 2.

Saturday, September 21, 1940.

## INTERIM

At the moment of writing, home news is more fragmentary and public communications more precarious and tenuous than at any time since the war began. We are told that much is happening, particularly in London, and that much more is about to happen. Disturbed days and nights do not leave the citizen much time to assess the meaning of so bare a summary.

Side by side with the soldiers' battle is the battle behind the scenes. ("Battles are won by soldiers, but wars are won behind the scenes".) A few evidences are forthcoming that the battle behind the scenes grows livelier. It has hitherto in the present struggle been true that a lull in the 'war' has coincided with intensification of the 'battle' and *vice versa*. It is by no means a necessary or even a safe conclusion to draw that the battle is, or is about to be less intense than politicians' speeches and newspapers suggest, because a little liveliness may be discerned "off".

Nevertheless, the political straws are noteworthy. Something seems to be happening in France. Weygand's plane crashed into a hillside near Limoges half an hour after it had taken off to carry him to Morocco "to preserve the military and political security of French Africa". *The Sunday Express* (without attributing the news to any agency or otherwise disclosing the source of the information) says that the unfortunate pilot replaced the navigator originally chosen for the journey ten minutes before it began. "Experts say", says the newspaper, "that the crash was deliberately planned". The pilot is said to be under arrest. Also from France comes the news that the notorious Blum is under arrest. There may be such a thing as protective arrest. The *Observer* points out that capitulation did not stop the sufferings of the French

people, and hints that something may be brewing under the surface in Vichy. The plan to communalise England seems to have received a check; and it is not impossible that the further disintegration of the French may be impeded too.

Another straw is a letter from Pontius Pilate (not, one would think, the original glorifier of that name) to the Editor of a newspaper called *Cavalcade*. Pontius (who writes from London, E.C.2.) writes as follows under the heading, "What is Truth?":—

"The Press has recently published the intriguing news that Mr. William Charles Crocker, of the Swinton Committee, is also a director of the Truth Publishing Company, Ltd., (proprietors of *Truth*). May I point out that on June 18, 1936, the executors of the late Henry Labouchere transferred the controlling interest of the company viz., 1,902 shares of £10, to Lloyds Bank City Office Nominees, Ltd. (1,800 shares), Lord Luke of Pavenham, Chairman of Bovril, Ltd. (72 shares), the Hon. H. de B. Lawson-Johnston (ten shares), and Major Sir Charles Price (also in the Bovril Group) (ten shares).

"Following the transfer of the control, Mr. Henry Brooke, M.P., who was from 1935-1937, according to *Who's Who*, Deputy Director of the Conservative Research Department, of which, curiously enough, Sir George Joseph Ball (another member of the Swinton Committee) was director, joined the board, though he resigned in favour of Mr. Crocker in December, 1939.

"Inasmuch as *Truth* has in the last year or so exhibited quite an acute curiosity as to the ownership of some of its contemporaries, may I venture to inquire who took over the 1,800 shares which carried the control of the com-

pany from the executors of Henry Labouchere. A shrewd guess would be the Conservative Central Office or their friends, since one would imagine that being deputy director of the Conservative Research Department was more or less a full-time job, and that consequently Henry Brooke, M.P., was a nominee for the Conservative Central Office, though this, of course, may not necessarily be the case.

"Incidentally, during the greater part of the last year *Truth* ran a virulent campaign against Germanophobes in general, and our present Prime Minister in particular, whose political integrity it assailed in its usual language.

"It has further published from time to time extremely offensive matter with regard to the U.S.A., calculated, so far as the paper is taken seriously in the U.S.A., to create bad blood between the two countries.

"Publication of the particulars of the beneficial ownership of the £1,800 of share capital registered in the name of Lloyds Bank Nominees might conceivably assist in clearing up these matters, though, of course, it is possible that the somewhat peculiar policy of *Truth* merely represents the idiosyncrasy of its editor."

We do not recall the instances of curiosity displayed by *Truth* in the ownership of organs of publicity. The wider-spread such curiosity becomes and the more fully and impartially it is satisfied, the cleaner and safer will the country become. A point which does stick out in memory is the disclosure of the newspaper made of the details (or some of them) of Mr. Hore Belisha's business career. We do not for a moment suggest that this is an answer to Pontius Pilate. Jestling Pilate may not, of course, wait for an answer. Indeed there may not be an answer. It may, however, be said that there is no need to *create* bad blood between this country and the United States: unfortunately there *is* bad blood between this country and the United States, as there is between all countries and all other countries. Whose is it? If the Conservative Central Office knows whose it is, it is time the knowledge was made public. Nevertheless, a game of *tu quoque* should be easy to convert into a serious process of exposure, though £1,800 against the millions distributed over propagandist agencies is not much.

T. J.

# AIR-RAIDS

By B. M. PALMER

A number of excellent people, no doubt very courageous and "self sacrificing" themselves, have for some time been exhorting the English to be brave and to make even more "sacrifices."

Extraordinary as it may seem these moral discourses continue, in face of the clearly demonstrated fact that they are not needed. Those who distribute this uplift no doubt have a mental picture of themselves as urging the nation on to its maximum war effort; but the facts point to a very different situation.

The English have ever been a simple minded people, with their hearts in the right place, more or less bored with party politics and only longing to be left alone to cultivate their gardens; they are aware of a great mysterious world outside their own absorbing life where things happen, some shocking, terrible things that have a way of penetrating through into their little gardens like great nosing tanks, leaving a trail of ruin behind: 1914; 1926 (general strike); 1931 (general depression); 1940 (general conflagration)—so it goes on. At these times those who have made clever speeches about scraps of paper, the gold standard, sanctions or the right to work have a way of rushing to John crying, "Only you can save the situation! Everything depends on you! But you will not fail! Think of the nobility of sacrifice!"

And John saves the situation. He does not need any urging. He comes calmly forward, and with the sweat of his brow, his straining muscles and life's blood puts right what his servants have allowed to go wrong, while they stand by exhorting him with moral maxims.

Sacrifice indeed! Don't insult us with that word. Do you think the fire-fighters went out last night with the thought that they were making a sacrifice? Didn't they *know*, as every real man knows that there was only one thing to be done, and that they were going to do it? They were playing the game, and it would no more have occurred to them to consider their own safety first than to cheat at cricket.

Just consider the situation. Although we are now fighting to overthrow a bestial military dictatorship that threatens to engulf the world, we have a right to enquire how it is that a great

Empire like ours, this nearest approach to a real democracy this world has ever seen, has failed to provide security for its citizens when there is not the least doubt that it lay within our power to provide everyone of us with reasonable safety. If this has not been done it was not because the citizens did not desire it, but because successive governments were guilty of criminal negligence, in failing to provide adequate military defence. No possible excuse of "pacific intentions" can be accepted for one moment. It is as culpable as would be the failure of a metropolis to provide adequate police or fire brigades.

Now hundreds of thousands of obscure people are saving the situation. Their names will never be known. They are able to do what they are doing because they have abundance of practical common sense, calm nerves, and an innate conception of a reality, which works. In fact, they believe in God, strange as it may seem to those hundreds of clergy who are constantly exhorting us to "believe", and think no faith is possible without dogma.

First hand experience of the last few days shows that rules and regulations sent out from centralised sources as to the proper conduct of an air raid have been simply set aside as useless. Local authorities are doing what they think best. Air raids do not behave according to precedent; there is, in fact, no such thing as an ideal air raid, and theories do not work out in practice.

You thought the centralisers might have realised that? Then you don't know of what absurdities professional centralisers are capable. There is no scheme too elaborate for them to fashion. From a plan for placing all traffic in equal spaces along the main roads (a job for the police)—never mind the bomb craters or what is happening around you, to regulations as to what you are to do the morning after. These schemes are now rapidly revised and scrapped as occasion demands. Necessity heeds no law.

Get through it? Of course we shall, but it will be in spite of, not because of centralisation. One wonders whether our "leaders" ever breathe a prayer that they may be worthy of the splendid people to whom for the past

year they have given "mottoes" and moral "maxims", but without whose devotion they could do nothing.

Social Crediters have a little habit of turning things upside down. May we suggest that the proper procedure now is for the people to tell the government "Go to it!"

September 11, 1940.

## HOUSEWIVES' PROTECTION GROUP

A housewives' Protection Group has been set up in Newcastle.

Its original object was to protect housewives against exorbitant prices, as they had found that retailers were putting prices up without justification, and without regard to price control.

The Group is now also pressing for deep air raid shelters.

## ROTHSCHILDS IN 'EXILE'

Five members of the Rothschild family are among the 315 French Jews who have been deprived of their nationality and their fortunes, it is announced in Vichy. They are Baron Edouard de Rothschild, who recently arrived in the United States, Baron Maurice de Rothschild, who recently travelled to England, and MM. Philip, Henri, and Robert Rothschild. All left France after the collapse of the French resistance.

Several members of the Rothschild families of France and Vienna have been in Montreal, including Alphonse de Rothschild and Baron Robert de Rothschild, of Paris and his family.

—"*Jewish Chronicle*," September 3, 1940.

"Money is a Social reality.....In time of war, money is a purely national instrument it ceases to be 'anvil' and becomes 'hammer'. By issuing paper money to cover their financial requirements, governments do away with the function of money to serve as a store of value and use it exclusively as purchasing power, making its acceptance compulsory."

—Charles Rist, Governor of the Bank of France.

## 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 5.

### Oral Answers to Questions (25 columns).

#### OLD AGE PENSIONS.

*Mr. Kirkwood* asked the Minister of Health whether he will consult with the Ministry of Information with a view to making special inquiries in selected districts of Great Britain with regard to the examinations which aged people have to undergo before the Assistance Board Appeal Tribunals when applying for supplementary old age pensions, in order to test the public feeling which has been aroused throughout the country about the hardships suffered by these old people and the ordeals they have to undergo when applying for more money to keep body and soul together?

*Mr. M. MacDonald:* More than 1,000,000 persons have received supplementary pensions, and I cannot agree that applicants have to suffer hardships or ordeals in the examination of their claims. I do not think therefore that there is a need for the special inquiries which the hon. Member suggests.

*Mr. Quibell:* Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in some instances the officers making the inquiries ask the applicants to produce even their laundry bills, and also their rates bills and their rent books, that in many cases they ask the amount of wages earned by the son-in-law and that if they refuse the information the supplementary pension is refused? It is a scandal.

*Mr. MacDonald:* Parliament has decided that a certain investigation should be made. The only question that arises is whether these inquiries have been carried out properly and impartially. If hon. Members will bring to my attention any cases where harshness has been used or where improper inquiries have been made, I will look into them.

*Mr. Quibell:* There are thousands of them.

*Mr. Buchanan:* While admitting that Parliament decided upon the investigation, is not the Minister prepared, after months of its operation, to have an inquiry to see whether the intention of Parliament is being carried out in the proper spirit? Will he reconsider his

decision and have an inquiry made?

*Mr. MacDonald:* The authorised inquiry is being made. Many hon. Members have sent me cases from their constituents, and having looked into all those, I am not satisfied that the number involved is so great that a general inquiry is required. If hon. Members have particulars of other cases and will bring them to my notice, I will look into them.

*Mr. Buchanan:* Is the Minister aware that the method of doing this is not to overburden any Cabinet Minister but to take up these cases locally? Will he not reconsider the matter and set up a neutral body to re-examine the position, as there is intense feeling in the country?

*Viscountess Astor:* Is it not true that there are about four times as many people getting assistance as need it?

*Mr. Gallacher:* Is not the Minister aware that there are bitter complaints being made about the questions being asked and the very small amounts allowed to deserving old age pensioners? Will he not make an inquiry into how these Regulations are operating?

*Mr. MacDonald:* The opportunity which I have had of looking into this matter is of looking at the various individual cases, but if hon. Members felt that a whole category of cases are not being treated in accordance with the desires of Parliament, I would certainly like to consider those cases with a view to seeing whether some inquiry by a Board or some other authority was required. I have not so far had such categories brought to my notice.

#### INTEREST-FREE LOANS (BANKS).

*Mr. Stokes* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how many banks have subscribed to the interest-free loan; and the total amount of those subscriptions?

*Sir K. Wood:* I would refer my hon. Friend to the reply given by my right hon. and gallant Friend the Financial Secretary to my hon. Friend the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Mander) on 23rd July.

*Mr. Stokes:* As the banks create

all the currency and the Government now controls the banks, is it not possible for the Chancellor to give instructions to the banks that they should subscribe liberally to these loans?

*Sir K. Wood:* I must leave that to the corporations and individuals themselves.

#### ROYAL AIR FORCE (CASUALTIES, ANNOUNCEMENT).

*Mr. Lawson* asked the Secretary of State for Air what is the real meaning of the regular official announcement to the effect that when a British plane is lost the pilot was saved; and whether this statement includes the rest of the occupants of any machine concerned?

*Mr. Boulton (Lord of the Treasury):* I have been asked to reply. Reference in an official statement to the pilot of an aircraft being saved normally implies that the aircraft was a single-seater fighter. With other types of aircraft, reference is made, when appropriate, to members of the crew.

*Mr. Lawson:* Is the hon. Gentleman aware that in actual fact there is not any reference made to other members of the crew. At least I personally have not seen it. The only reference is to the pilot.

#### COAL INDUSTRY.

(34 columns).

*Mr. Lawson (Chester-le-Street):* ..... in the Special Areas, which have been hit for the last 10 years, there is rapidly developing a situation almost as bad as that which existed at the time when the Government took action in respect of those areas. It is all very well for great parts of the country, where people are working regularly, and in many cases receiving not only comparatively good wages but overtime as well; but the country and the Government have no right to forget those who are compelled by circumstances to be idle, sometimes for months at a time. In Durham and South Wales a situation is developing which is, to say the least, menacing so far as the good will of the



people in respect of the war effort is concerned. Will the House believe that, while the unemployment figures generally have gone down this month, they have in limited areas in South Wales and Durham increased by some thousands, and that in some areas the miners have not done a day's work for the past 10 weeks? The concern which this fact is causing is illustrated by a letter that I received from a miners' lodge in my district after I had met a deputation. They are a body of miners who are very moderate in their outlook and opinions. They say:

"We have worked only eight days since the beginning of June and feel that something should be done urgently to prevent the rot which is becoming more and more apparent as the weeks pass on. . . . While we admit that the new conditions undoubtedly contributed to the present impasse we feel strongly that some measure of reorganisation should have now been effected, so that our members who are anxious to play their part in the war effort should have been found something to do. The fact that we have been idle for 10 weeks makes us wonder whether we are receiving the consideration and prominence to-day as was given to us or asked of us a few months ago? Or are we to feel that we are being neglected, that we are becoming a spent force? Here is a body of men unused to idleness, full of energy, and with a very strong will to play their part in the defeat of the common enemy."

The sense of frustration that is abroad in these two mining areas is almost pitiful. In my own district within a radius of 10 miles, there are no fewer than 10,000 miners idle. The unemployed miners number nearly 40,000. There are 19,000 miners idle in Durham, and I think the rest will be found in South Wales. But the people who have been rendered idle during the last few months are employed at the collieries which have been working regularly and are affected by the new conditions which now prevail. These people are not afraid of bombs—I speak with knowledge, because I have seen them during bombing and immediately afterwards—but they are terribly afraid of unemployment. With due respect to my hon. and very good Friend, no Government have the right to leave these people for 10 weeks without calling upon their services, particularly at the present time. Frankly, something has to be done. Although the enemy cannot get Fifth Column representatives into this country, we would certainly be doing him a good turn by allowing this situation to continue and letting our people go sour. My experience is that bitterness is growing. Long before now the Government ought to have been taking definite

notice of this question. Nobody has been there from the Ministry of Labour or the Ministry of Mines, and nobody has said to these men that they have had any responsibility. I have occupied some responsible positions in my own area during the past 12 months, and I can tell the House that this situation is so bad that, if it is not met, I propose to give the whole of my time to trying to compel the Government to meet it.

[Mr. Lawson then went on to describe the situation of the miners: they have been limited by the Government to work in the mines, and the younger men have been reserved from the Army. They have been working in the pits at about half the wages that some workers are receiving in munition works. Although the Secretary for Mines and the Minister of Labour wrote to him saying that these men could go to other work, recently when miners have got work—in munition factories, outside them, in the Air Force—the Ministry of Labour has refused to give them their green cards.]

..... There is work going and men are idle and have been so for 10 weeks. A new Special Area has now developed, and the country apparently cares just as little about that special area as it cared about the old ones. I ask my hon. Friend, and at least my Labour friends in the Government, to see to it that an end is put to this situation very quickly. If it is not then there can be no more likely centres of disaffection and despondency than will be found among the groups of men in these colliery areas. It is not that they have any ill-will towards this country, but unless this problem is settled the Government will be responsible for that situation.

*The Secretary for Mines (Mr. David Grenfell):*..... At the end of one year of war, we are producing at a rate per annum greater than a year ago. We are now producing, with a smaller number of men, more coal per individual working shift and more coal in the aggregate than we have produced for many years past. I do not think it necessary to give details of the figures of production. My hon. Friends know them as well as I do up to 1939. They have been withheld since the war began, because it is not an advantage to publish too widely details of our war effort either in the mines or anywhere else. We are at the present time producing substantially more than we were 12 months ago. In a certain

period in 1940 we have produced 3,000,000 tons more than we did in the same period of 1939. It should be a great comfort to us and a great reinforcement of our confidence to know that we are producing a larger quantity of coal, a larger measure of motive power, a larger volume of industrial power, than any other country in the world has ever done.

We are producing now at the rate of five tons per head of the population each year and consuming for industrial purposes of all kinds at the rate of four tons per head of the population. No country in the world has ever enjoyed command over such power as we enjoy in the production and possession of this regular output of coal. It is the secret of our war strength. A short while ago the Brussels wireless broadcast a German boast that Germany had invaded and overrun all the coal-producing countries of Europe except Soviet Russia, and that Germany had raised the production of coal under her control to 350,000,000 tons a year. That figure is slightly larger than ours, but the 350,000,000 tons so produced have to serve the needs of over 300,000,000 people on the continent of Europe. When one divides the number of tons by the number of people who have to depend upon that coal for power, warmth and light, one finds that the continent of Europe under German domination has no more than one ton per head of the population, while we use every day for our comfort and strength four times as much. ....

I want to assure the House then when the surplus coal made its appearance, when we called back from the high seas the coal that was being sent to France and we saw the door shut against our exports, we devised steps to distribute the coal at home. Every week in the last month and the previous month we have been adding to the stocks of this country at the rate of no less than 750,000 tons a week. One-third of that was added to the stocks of household consumers, either in their coal houses or in the yards of their merchants. At least 250,000 tons a week is being added to household stocks, while stocks for electricity and gas works have been totalling up week by week regularly. We have now saved up in this country for any emergency that may occur no less than 22,000,000 tons of coal, in addition to the coal that is nearly always liable to be standing

round the pitheads amounting to 3,500,000 tons. ....

I shall see the Minister of Labour next Monday, and I hope it will be found possible to let men go to other industries if they wish. I shall not dictate the terms on which men will be released. Suppose, say, in Durham or South Wales men have not been able to get three or four days' work for some months and there is no prospect that they will get work, they will be regarded as fit for transference elsewhere.

Mr. Gallacher:..... The hon. Member for Llanely drew attention to the fact that there has been a big jump, to the extent of almost three times the

amount, in the export of coal from America to the other countries in the American continent during the past year. It would be very nice if it was possible for the export industry in this country to obtain a better footing over there, but I have a feeling, now that America has secured an important strategical position in the North Atlantic and the West Indies, that we shall see this process of the great increase in American coal exports going up, not down. One step that we should take in the export business is to take measures to ensure that everybody in this country has an abundance of coal this winter. ....

But there is a sufficient market in

this country if everybody could get the amount of coal he required during the coming winter. There is a sufficient market in this country, not from the point of view of people being able to pay for the coal but from the point of view of people being able to use it to compensate for the loss of markets as a result of events which have taken place on the other side of the continent. There should be no question of taking from the coal industry these men whom the Minister has eulogised. Every effort should be made to ensure that every available ounce of coal is burned this winter by the people in this country, thereby ensuring that the men are kept in employment.

## “Jestem Polakiem”

The following quotation from the *Jewish Chronicle* of September 6 illustrates the fog of charge and counter-charge which invariably confuses and complicates the issue in matters to do with the 'Jewish question', and which seems to show that someone wants to procure the evasion of the fundamental problem:—

Extreme bitterness has been caused in Polish democratic circles in London by an untimely defence of the Fascist and anti-Semitic newspaper *Jestem Polakiem* which has appeared in the *Catholic Herald*. To the amazement of many leading Polish Catholic writers, the *Catholic Herald* publishes a counter-charge that *Wiadomosci Polskie*, which is published in London, represents the views of the Jewish minority. Anyone who has read the paper knows that it is completely untrue. Neither is the paper the “mouthpiece” of “Polish Jews or Jewish Poles,” as the Rev. Stanislaw Belch, of *Jestem Polakiem*, is quoted as stating.

It is sufficient to read the last issue of *Wiadomosci Polskie* to realise the falsity of these allegations. On one page is a list of contributors, among whom are leading Catholics such as Professor Stanislaw Strongski, ex-leader of the Polish Endeks and now the Minister for Information in the Polish Cabinet. He was also for some time Editor of the *Kurjer Warszawski*, the leading Catholic conservative paper in Poland. Most of the others are also leading Catholics. True, there are a few of Jewish origin, including the famous Polish poet Slonimski, and Julian Tuwim, whom even the most extreme anti-Semites recognise as being the greatest living Polish poet.

But the bulk of the writers are Poles, Catholics, Conservatives, and anti-Semites.

Equally false is the statement that its circulation has been prohibited in the Polish Army. It is true, as alleged, that the paper was burned by some Polish soldiers in camps in Great Britain. But this only goes to show how harmful already are the effects of *Jestem Polakiem*. The lie that the paper is Jewish has spread together with the anti-Jewish propaganda carried on by *Jestem Polakiem*.

The claim made by the Rev. Mr. Belch that there is nothing in *Jestem Polakiem* which could reasonably be interpreted as anti-Semitic is simply fantastic. Apart from the sermon by a Polish priest in London with its obnoxious references to “Jewish Communists,” etc., the very first issue boasted in its leading article that the people connected with it were those “who had been sent to prison for anti-Semitism in Poland.” The same issue said that they meant to continue the traditions of the “Prosto Z Mostu,” a group known for its pogrom activities. If this is not sufficient to make *Jestem Polakiem* a paper which can reasonably be interpreted as anti-Semitic, what is?

The *Catholic Herald's* defence of Dr. Seyda is also clumsy. It is true that his paper in Poznan was nationalistic. But it is not true that “it was little, if at all, concerned with Jews.” It was, in fact, strongly anti-Jewish and largely contributed to Poznan's becoming a hotbed of anti-Semitism. Sometimes nearly half the paper was devoted to anti-Jewish propaganda.

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Australia)

25 May, 1940.

From a Debate in the Senate:

Senator Darcey (Tasmania)

I interviewed Dr. Steinberg at a meeting of the Refugee Committee of the League of Nations branch at Hobart, and I also met him in Canberra in January last. The Russian Government has provided, on the Pacific coast of Siberia, a very large territory, much greater in extent than the area in Palestine, for the settlement of refugees. I think that if the Jews want to go anywhere they could go there and get a fair deal. The group settlement plan, mentioned by the Minister, was tried in America, with disastrous results. We should be very careful before adopting it here.

### READY SHORTLY

#### “This 'American' Business”

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**(VIII) Historical Bias and the Reformation\***

By NORMAN F. WEBB

It was suggested earlier in these notes, with reference to the Greek spirit of enquiry, that there was a definite affinity between it and the Christ-Idea of Unity; that in a dialectical sense they were both contradictory and complementary to one another. Here then, in the 15th and 16th Centuries, in theory at any rate, the two streams—the Hellenic and the Christian—had met and mingled. Was what is known as the Italian Renaissance, then, the outcome for which the world had been waiting? This strange, brief, and almost hectically brilliant epoch; as an historical phenomenon preposterously over-estimated and over-emphasised, and which at the time of the Reformation was already in its decline, without any sign of the Millennium—could it be that?

Where was the freedom of Greek enquiry and of Greek speculation? Where was the freedom promised by Jesus of Nazareth that was to come from knowledge? Instead we get an "authoritarianism" settling down on Europe from every quarter; the Church of Rome, as she must now be called with the aid of the Inquisition asserting her Apostolic Succession and her super-national authority; and the Reformed Protestant Church citing the authority of the Inspired Word of the Scriptures, with a strongly marked bias towards the Old (Hebrew) Testament, and the Classicists insisting on the Inspired wisdom of the Ancients, which after all was only speculative and foundational. Where was the freedom in all this? Contention, yes,—in plenty; and between the two sections of the fractured Church fratricidal wars and bloody persecution in the name of Jesus. Had the Greek and the Christian streams both got poisoned at their sources? Where, if anywhere, was Truth? What had become of the Christ-Idea?

Jesus of Nazareth's Realm of God was no abstract theory. To him, and to his followers, and the Early Fathers of the Church, it was a demonstrated, and demonstrable fact. The Christ-Idea is a force, attested to in endless ways, but primarily by the wonderful regeneration of mind and body, and the liberty of conscience and action which it bestows on the individual. The truth is essentially not a matter of dogma, but of demonstration. As with individuals so with nations. That national culture which produces the greatest degree of individual freedom, mental and material, is the Christian community—as it were the centre of Christendom.

Christianity had come to Britain in the 7th Century, and there its establishment and growth was the establishment and growth of the nation. The difference here from the conditions in Europe is significant. There it was with the dying Roman system that Christianity had to cope. Men's minds were eager enough, and faith strong, but their organisations were sterile and stale. It was almost as much Rome that modelled the Christian Church as that Christianity re-modelled Rome. The exception was the newly founded Byzantium Empire. In Constantinople, besides the different nationality, early Christian values had had a chance to mould the State and there was all the difference.

When, therefore, Britain emerged from the condition of contending Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, it was a peculiarly

homogeneous Christian nation. There is no suggestion in this that English history is stainless or that Englishmen were more virtuous than their Continental contemporaries. It was that their political structure was more directly influenced by the Christian ideal of individual freedom and responsibility. It was due to this fact, seconded by the accident of racial mixture, and climate, and geographical position, that the Anglo-Saxon Englishmen developed a feeling for independent and voluntary co-operation; for resourcefulness without guile, and competition without malice—in other words, the sporting instinct—that showed conspicuously in later Medieval Europe and by contrast, with added brightness against the blackness of the bigotry of the Counter-Reformation. This it was that constituted the working Christian model—quite outside and beyond all disputes of Churches, or Sects, or Dogma—of the post Renaissance world.

Britain has always enjoyed great and peculiar advantages. To be of Europe and yet not of it; to partake in its movements and reforms, and yet always with a lag that has allowed her to avoid their worst excesses. Moderate in all she has done—with two notable exceptions, possibly not unallied; that is, Puritanism and Industrialism—the England of that time, and of subsequent centuries has afforded her nationals more real liberty of conscience and action, with considerably less fuss and talk and constitution-writing, than any other nation to date, with the possible exception of Athens—and here relative scale and duration are so different as to preclude useful comparison. By the usual favour of circumstances, the Reformation fell, comparatively speaking, lightly on England. No doubt but the monasteries felt it. Henry VIII's handling of the matter was both summary and somewhat crude; but in the main the change was effected in the traditional British way, with a maximum of constitutionalism and a minimum of bloodshed and mental persecution.

Renaissance, Reformation, and even Counter-Reformation all came to England more or less together. After the short night of Mary's ill-judged efforts to break her country's Christian spirit was over, England under Elizabeth Tudor asserted herself, was herself, as never before. There was a complete swing-over of the country's foreign policy, from alliance with Spain and against France to alliance with France against Spain, now the accredited champion of the Roman Church. As a result of this and really not from any strong religious partisanship, England now found herself in the front rank of the forces of the Reformation. Philip and his Armada were directed against what was looked on, not without reason, as the heart of Protestant rebellion; if England fell, the resistance in the Netherlands and Germany would crumple, and militant Orthodoxy regain complete control of Christendom. But England was in reality the champion of nothing so abstract as a religious dogma, or even a Church. Her shores were attacked and she defended herself; and happily her star was in the ascendant; the Armada failed, and with it Ecclesiastical World-Hegemony.

Constantinople had fallen; Holy Church was long since a thing of the past; the focus and dynamic of Christendom had already shifted across the English Channel to where political Christianity had gradually been emerging through the centuries.

\*The first instalment of this part of *European Background* appeared in *The Social Crediter* of September 14.

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Published by the proprietors, K.R.P. Publications, Ltd., at 12, Lord Street, Liverpool, 2. Printed by J. Hayes & Co., Woolton, Liverpool.