

# THE SOCIAL CREDITER

## FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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### THE BIG IDEA (X)

By C. H. DOUGLAS

Like all undertakings which have been pursued to the stage of realisation, the Big Idea has firstly an objective, secondly a method of technique, and thirdly a dynamics by means of which the human individual can be made to conform to the technique so that the objective may be realised or attained.

The objective is World Dominion.

The technique is centralisation by a graded executive, operating through Law and Finance.

The dynamic forces are Fear and Desire.

There are numbers of fairly intelligent people who accept the idea that the world is moving inevitably to Dictatorship of the type adumbrated by Stalin, in the same way that the drawing rooms of the mid-nineteenth century were filled with believers in the inevitability of "Progress." The two ideas are not unconnected—they are the direct consequence of the delirium of materialism—the acceptance of the dogma that the one end of man is gadgets, and he must at all costs be kept employed under discipline making more and more gadgets, and carrying the blessings of his gadget civilisation to the benighted heathen.

That this is not mere unconscious error is quite easy to demonstrate to anyone open to conviction. There is not a large newspaper in the world which has not misrepresented the technological increase of production per man-hour as "unemployment," and as a failure of statesmanship. Not because things which ought to have been made, were not made, which may be true, but because of the determination, conscious and vicious, to keep unemployment and poverty synonymous. And that this misrepresentation is part of the Big Idea, is, I think, demonstrated conclusively by the dangerous nonsense being circulated by all the machinery of propaganda at this critical time in regard to the Russian Social and Economic systems.

To anyone who wishes to obtain an unbiased and objective view of Soviet Russia I can recommend the Russian section of *Looking for Trouble*, by the American journalist, Virginia Cowles, who took considerable risks to get away from the spoon-feeding which is the usual treatment of investigators. The following paragraph gives, I think, a clue to the real situation:—

"I saw nothing new. The factories, club-houses, and schools I was shown were third-rate imitations of Western progress. All this I had expected; but what I hadn't expected was that I should be asked to marvel at the most commonplace conveniences, as though I had come from a

jungle.... the misinformation and ignorance of the conditions in the outside world were grotesque."

"For a nation that sent its disciples abroad to convert the pluto-democracies to the leadership of Moscow, it seemed to have little to offer from a practical point of view, other than squalor and poverty. But far more disconcerting than the wretched conditions was the tyranny that gripped the capital. It was estimated that the purge, which had swept the country during the past two years (1936-7) had sent over six million people to concentration camps."

This seems to me to be a good, non-technical, description of the salient characteristics of a bureaucratic socialist state. The determination to obliterate standards of comparison, the use of every means of publicity to represent a retrograde tyranny as a marvellous advance, the espionage and the mass cruelty are all there. If this is the New Order that we are fighting to establish, then Flanders Poppies should be superseded by a crown of thorns.

The writer goes on to indicate growths which are beginning to raise their ugly heads everywhere. "Minds were doped with distorted information until they became so sluggish that they had not even the power to protest against their miserable conditions.... the contempt for intellectual and moral values, and the ruthless disregard for the individual was not only depressing; it was evil. I felt the same way as I had in Spain and Germany; that if I didn't get a breath of fresh air, I would stifle. The physical appearance of Moscow helped to accentuate this feeling. The streets were as drab as the mentality of the people.... not a single gay head-dress, a bright shop front or even a happy smile."

Remember that this Paradise was inaugurated by the introduction in a special train from Germany of a gang of New York Jews, and then consider whether, along this path, is the way to a better world. The matter has been much better put than I can put it.

"Ye are of your father, the Devil, who was a liar from the beginning.... By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather figs of thistles, or grapes of thorns?"

There is current in Germany a prophecy, known as the Lehnin prophecy, which is said to be one of Hitler's nightmares, that the last King of Prussia will have no successors, but that after him,

"Israel will dare a deed unspeakable, which only death can redeem."

Possibly "Admiral" Canaris, whose real name is Moses Meyerbeer, and who is said to be the most powerful man in Germany, could throw some light on the story.

(To be continued)

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## FROM WEEK TO WEEK

The report that Mr. Israel Moses Sieff has taken the highly improbable and unnecessary course of buying *The Times* is causing hilarity in London, Liverpool, Turkey and other places. It is suggested that the rumour originated orally in the form that Mr. Sieff had bought the times not *The Times*.

It is understood that Commander Stephen King-Hall's suggestion to the House that "Sacrifice Weeks" should be substituted for "Warship Weeks" does not mean that the Warships are to be Sacrificed.

The press announcement that "A campaign to explain to the people of Britain the full magnitude of the task before them is being considered by Ministers, and leading members of the Government are likely to take part," is not likely to meet with much enthusiasm.

It is felt that, with the whole world at war, the 'magnitude of the task' can scarcely be missed; more would be gained by a practical move to decentralise industry and free it from the stranglehold of red tape which prevents it producing the quantity of arms needed for victory.

The carrying and launching of naval torpedoes from the air was a British invention of the last war. A bevy of admirals tackled Mr. Alexander in Parliament on the reasons for the neglect in developing and providing aircraft suitable for use in such operations under modern conditions. Mr. Alexander said that new designs were being produced, but he added that the old types were also going back into production. The speed of the older types is entirely inadequate to evade attack by modern land-based fighters in coastal operations.

### Broadcast to Germany

In the *Daily Telegraph* of March 16 "Peterborough" wrote:—

"'Comrades' was the way Mr. Noel-Baker addressed the Fabians yesterday at their conference on post-war German problems. There was quite a number of aliens in his audience. They are largely responsible, I understand, for the increase in membership of this body since the war.

"Mr. Noel-Baker can speak of Germany and the Germans with authority. He recalled the time when there was a strong democratic movement there. One evidence of this was interest in international sport. He said he had played football and run on the track in Germany.

"His speech to the Fabians was broadcast in Germany last night."

Lord Vansittart, speaking to the Cambridge University Conservative Association, said recently:—"After this War Britain has got to show that she prefers her friends to her enemies and that she is at least going to distrust her ex-

enemies until they give further cause for confidence than they have yet given.

"Despite all that has been said, Dr. Schacht is the most unscrupulous and oleaginous scoundrel I have ever come across."

Pastor Niemoller, although deserving credit for the way he stood up to the Nazis on religious grounds, was a complete reactionary and expansionist. There was absolutely nothing in Nazi foreign policy with which he did not agree.

In a letter to the *Sunday Times* of March 8, Mr. Gerald Reitlinger wrote on the subject of Colonel Blimp:—

"Now that the country expects professional officers to rescue it from the results of twenty years' neglect of its defences, is not this joke exceeding the modest proportions to which it is entitled? Colonel Blimp was not much consulted on Service matters. Those remote kinsmen, Tom Blimp, M.P. (Labour; any old constituency), and Professor Blimp of the School of Mythological Economics had far more to say on Service estimates than the colonel.

"Thanks to his Boswell, we have a full record of the old gentleman's views during the age of enlightenment which preceded the war. Though his utterances were sometimes paradoxical, he never believed in scrapping battleships pour encourager les autres, or in cutting Service pay to stimulate recruiting, nor was he partial to Abyssinian sanctions, which were the laughing-stock of the world, or the handing over of naval bases to Ireland. It has been alleged that at the time of Munich, when peace-pledgers were becoming so bellicose, Colonel Blimp was unnaturally pacific. We may put it down to his conservatism. He was so old-fashioned as to believe that armies require weapons to fight with."

"In the new organisation of mankind, the children of Israel will spread over the whole surface of the earth and will become everywhere, without any opposition, the leading element, especially if they can impose upon working classes the firm control of some of them. The government of the nations forming the Universal Republic will pass without effort into the hands of the Jews under the cover of the victory of the proletariat. Private property will then be suppressed by the rulers of the Jewish race, who will everywhere control public funds.

"Thus will be realised the Talmudic promise that, when come the times of the Messiah, Jews will possess the wealth of all the peoples of the world." —From a letter written by BARUCH LEVY to KARL MARX, and quoted in the French journal *La Revue de Paris*.

### Democratic Victory or The Slave State?

By L. D. BYRNE.

PRICE: FOURPENCE.

From K.R.P. Publications Limited,  
49, Prince Alfred Rd., Liverpool, 15.

## Organisation for Democracy in Canada

*The Democratic Monetary Reform Organisation is proceeding with the organisation of the movement throughout Canada on a basis described in a recent leaflet:—*

1. Democracy is the government and the management of a people's affairs to give them the results they want. This means that under democracy the people are the supreme authority. The State and all its institutions exist to obey their will.

2. Canada is a constitutional democracy. Yet during the past twenty-five years and more, the results which the people have obtained from the management of their affairs have been poverty, destitution, insecurity, unjust prices, inadequate incomes, increasing taxation, crushing debt and unemployment. These have been imposed upon the people by means of a privately-controlled monetary system.

3. The results desired by the people of Canada were the opposite of those which they obtained. They wanted security in business and in the home, equitable prices and adequate incomes, freedom from crushing debt and from oppressive taxation. Yet their democratic rights were rendered inoperative by a privately-controlled monetary system. Democracy was eclipsed by financial domination.

4. To-day Canada is fighting side by side with Great Britain and the Empire for the preservation of our democratic liberties and a new order of social justice. Only democracy in its full meaning can give us that new order, and that can be created only by the people themselves.

5. "If that *new order* is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain." Now is the time for action.

6. The first task is to replace the financial domination of our national life. Finance must become the servant of the people instead of being their master. "Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to the government and recognised as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and democracy is idle and futile." And the time for action is now.

7. The dominating national consideration is to put forth a maximum war effort, unhampered by finance, special privilege, or anything else. Thus we shall ensure victory over the enemy, and in the process we shall lay strong foundations for post-war reconstruction. That too is the responsibility of the people. And the time for action is now.

8. To fulfil that responsibility the people must decide clearly the results they want, and then insist on their wishes being carried out in accordance with their constitutional democratic rights. For this, united action, free from partisan wrangling, is necessary, and that is the purpose for which D.M.R.O. exists.

*The general mode of organisation is outlined in a recent memorandum:—*

### Building a National Organisation

(a) In all matters of organisation it is essential to keep in mind the objective for which the organisation is being

created and the nature of the organisation that will attain that objective.

(b) The broad objective for which the D.M.R.O. was brought into existence at Winnipeg is to establish in Canada a political and economic structure which will be responsive to "the will of the people" and, mainly by proper reforms in the monetary system, yield the people the results they want from the management of their affairs. In short we are striving to bring into existence a properly functioning democracy in both the political and economic spheres.

(c) It follows that the kind of organisation we must build is one which will enable the people of Canada to exert such united and irresistible pressure that they will either obtain obedience from their representatives, irrespective of party, or alternatively they will be able to elect their own representatives pledged to introduce the necessary reforms in the system which will give them the results they want. In short our organisation must be built from the bottom up, with control over policy and personnel being exerted by the membership as a whole.

### Objective and Nature of Organisation

(a) It was decided at the Winnipeg Convention that each Province should constitute an autonomous administrative unit and that the National Executive, together with Provincial Directors, should co-ordinate and direct the Provincial organisations in the national field.

(b) The first task, therefore, is to create an autonomous Provincial organisation in each province and to ensure that this is *built up from the bottom* so that, when functioning, it represents, in every respect, the will of its members and is co-ordinated with other Provincial organisations. This will involve starting with the group of individuals, then proceeding with the organisation of groups into constituencies—provincial and federal. Not until a number of constituencies are sufficiently organised will it be possible to create a Provincial organisation which will represent "the will of the people" as to its name, constitution, officers, etc.

(c) It will be evident that the initial steps must be directed towards organising individuals into groups in every district. Then these groups must be organised into constituencies along the lines of the draft constitution enclosed. Until this work has been successfully carried out in each Province to the point where a Provincial Organisation has been created by the representatives of the constituencies within the province, the National Organisation must, of necessity, assume this responsibility.

(d) In many instances there are established groups and associations—e.g. Social Credit and other monetary reform groups—whose aims and objectives conform to D.M.R.O. These should not be asked to submerge their identity and, moreover, it is unlikely that they would be able to agree on such matters as a common name and a uniform provincial constitution until such time as it is possible to establish a Provincial organisation at which "the will of the people" can be mobilised. Therefore, until a Provincial organisation can be established it is proposed that the National Organisation shall assume responsibility for membership, information services and similar matters, and that individual members of the national organisation and organised groups shall be considered units of the Provincial Section of D.M.R.O.

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### Mr. Stephen Spender's Ideas

Sometimes they have tramped the streets practically penniless, after buying in the cheapest markets such scanty fare as would keep body and soul together. Yes, they had cheap cigarettes and weekly visits to the pictures. The shops were overflowing with entrancing plenty, but they learned to pass it by. At other times they have had money in their pockets and opportunities to work till they dropped. But in these times the shops were half empty, and they were told it was a crime to buy things which they had always longed to have. That has been their life, and their parents' lives. To them comes Mr. Stephen Spender saying:

"These people must desire to be educated, because they can clearly envisage a post-war world in which they are able to seize opportunities which did not exist for them before the war. This means that adult education now should not be merely an occupation for people who desire to cultivate and improve themselves. It should assume the proportions of a mass movement such as took place in Russia. . . ." (A letter in *The Times*.)

Now the first thing to be noticed is the colossal arrogance of Mr. Stephen Spender. He is not as other men are. He knows what people "ought" to want and "ought" to do. He has told us all about this in his book *Forward from Liberalism* (Gollancz, 1937), wherein he says on page 189: "Supposing it were possible to establish a National Dividend without the revolutionary change to a propertyless, classless society: what picture does this offer? A world with all the principles of *laissez faire* run mad, a huge inflation of Tudor villas on arterial roads, wireless sets, tin cars, golf clubs, the paradise of the bourgeoisie."

You see what a high ideal Mr. Spender has of his fellow men, so high that rather than let them have any degree of freedom of choice before they are "educated" he is willing to go through war or revolution. People must be as he wants them to be. If the socialist revolution cannot be achieved during 'peace'—this book was published in 1937—"All I can suggest is that if there is another world war, the conditions which accompanied the rise of Russian communism may exist throughout the whole of Europe. In that case, humanity will have to choose between protracted chaotic conditions and some kind of government by machine gun and terror. Of these the best would be the ruthless force from which a new and juster order might emerge."

Mr. Stephen Spender has already decided the form of the new and juster order. In it there will be no Tudor villas along the arterial roads, or golf clubs, because he does not approve of them. "Instead of living in semi-detached

bungalows, it will be the pride of the whole people to live in towns that are planned as towns." (Page 190.)

"Passing over the fairly obvious influence of the revenge complex on the part of the under privileged (who have for the most part been kept in that position by the millionaire 'Socialists' in order to be used as a disintegrating force) and the attraction offered by petty bureaucracy to lovers of power without responsibility, I believe that one definite delusion accounts for more Socialists than any other single cause. It is the delusion of the supremacy of the intellect with the derivative that an order is the same thing as its execution." (—MAJOR DOUGLAS: *Wheresoever the Carcase Is, II.*)

The almost complete failure of intellectual Socialists to conduct the war effort with anything like its maximum efficiency is an augury of our life under the "new and juster order."

"Socialism, which I define as economic planning of the resources of the State, is a fact in Britain now." (—MISS ELLEN WILKINSON, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Security.) We see its results all round us. If we are to win this war, it will be because some of the British people still retain a quality which is entirely lacking in Socialist intellectual circles.

"We recognise that what is lacking is something we call judgment, or (very misdescriptively) 'common' sense, and that this faculty, so rare that when it is combined with intellect it can almost command its own price, is an ability to check constantly and almost automatically, theory and ideas, against experience." (—MAJOR DOUGLAS: *Wheresoever the Carcase Is, II.*)

Mr. Spender has no use for experience. Theory and ideas make up his world. "The allies of a classless and propertyless society are those who already enjoy no feelings of class superiority and have only such property as they will still have within the communist society." (Page 191.)

Mr. Spender has, apparently, visited the future in some disembodied form, and has returned to describe to us the conditions that will prevail when his theories are put into practice. But an order is not the same thing as its execution. And these intellectuals who wish to feed British men and women on theories are coming right up against British common sense.

Anything, no matter how small, that we as individuals can do to bind back the vote to reality, to show that a man can instruct his member of Parliament concerning the concrete realities that he desires in his present life, while being supremely ignorant of all political theories, anything done now to that end is worth a million words spoken or written about the New World Order, which does not exist in the future, and cannot exist in the present except in humble efforts to solve each problem as it arises in the only correct way.

In a country where these correct engineering principles were in process of application, it would be impossible for any politician to say, as Lord Wedgwood said to the Anglo-Soviet Youth Friendship Alliance, meeting in London on March 1, 1942:—

"You have had the opportunity of hearing Sir Stafford Cripps—our future Prime Minister."

He would be howled down as a dictator.

B. M. P.

## WAR GUILT

When Douglas advised the Social Credit Movement to attempt to identify the persons responsible for the policy of the various systems and institutions under which we live and labour, a large number of its members trooped off down various side-streets of 'monetary reform,' and round the corners you can still hear them telling each other, and anybody who cares to listen, that "the primary need is to equate consumption with production," for if you don't, you will "intensify the struggle for export markets, and this struggle will inevitably lead to war, etc."

If we had all rested content with the portion of truth which the 'monetary' explanation undoubtedly contains, our movement would in all probability have preserved the 'unity' so applauded in certain quarters. And just as political 'unity' between neighbouring states is wont to be followed by attempts at expanding still further the 'united' area, so our 'united' movement might have found it difficult to resist the temptation of absorbing various groups of people who had come to 'share our ideas,' or at least to talk our lingo. There are indications that if we had 'stayed put' in the monetary reform trench, several divisions of the Pink Battalion of our Enemy's army would by now have been ready to join forces with us. Victor Gollancz's new book, *Shall our Children Live or Die?* is one of them.

Mr. Gollancz devotes 170 pages of close print to refuting Lord Vansittart's widely published views that the German people are to blame for the war, since their character is such that they were ever 'a godsend to war-makers.' We are indebted to Lord Vansittart for having pointed out, in forceful language, to a large part of the British people at a very critical moment, that history is a continuous process, and that the German hunger for 'Greatness,' and readiness to submit to 'Great' men, has been in evidence at least since the days of *der alte Fritz*, known to history as Frederick the Great.

It is perhaps this 'long' view of history, more than any other factor, which has so upset the Left Wing Intelligentsia, whose memories rarely carry them farther back than the days of Marx, so that one of their leading lights, the Jewish publisher Gollancz, has felt impelled to take up the defence of the German people and the German character.

It is interesting to note that Lord Vansittart (whose views are as simple and straightforward as those of Mr. Gollancz are complicated, not to say confused), avoids putting forward a cut-and-dried plan for curing the German malady, while Mr. Gollancz pulls his blue-print for a New and Better Germany out of his sleeve long before he is through his elaborate analysis of the causes of war. It is in analysing these causes that Mr. Gollancz at times employs a language which will no doubt gladden the hearts of those 'reformers' whose only interest in the Jewish problem is to keep it distinct from the money-question: the root of the evil is, of course, Capitalism, which is now and again referred to as Finance-Capitalism, or even Monopoly-Finance-Capitalism. This monster breeds slumps and booms, and about the slump of 1929, which in one sense was the beginning of Hitler, Mr. Gollancz says: "It was nobody's fault and everybody's. It was basically due to nothing but the inability of finance-capitalism to equate consumption with production and to give the mass of the people enough

purchasing-power to buy the goods produced."

Mr. Gollancz proceeds to blame us all, and refers to us as 'Man.' Capitalism is the gospel of greed, and it is only because we are all inherently greedy and lustng for power that this evil system, which has led us via larger and larger associations, trusts, booms, slumps and Imperialist wars to the present sorry pass, has been tolerated.

Not, mind you, that large associations in themselves are bad: the 20th century has made them 'inevitable,' and if they were not in 'private' but 'public' hands they would serve a useful purpose in 'restraining' Man's irrepressible self-assertiveness: "The problem of civilisation is the problem of increasing the area of co-operation and diminishing the area of self-assertion." You will have gathered by now that Mr. Gollancz's blue-print is the old one which members of his race have produced during all the 'democratic' revolutions of the last two centuries, and that his working model is Soviet Russia. Mr. Gollancz has for years been an ardent advocate of International Socialism (National Socialism, as he himself says, is a contradiction in terms), and his remedy, his modernised terminology notwithstanding, remains the time-honoured one: for International Capitalism substitute International Socialism. "There is only one solution. Retain—you cannot help yourself anyhow—large-scale production and rapidity of communication, which are the midwives of unity: cut out both political sovereignty and competition for profits, by which unity is aborted."

The Germans are a 'great, industrial' people and Mr. Gollancz admires in them the same qualities that Mr. Jacob Henry Schiff, of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, found so attractive in the Japanese that he financed them in their fight against the Russians in 1905. Mr. Gollancz states: "The Germans are among the most industrious, methodical, and technically clever people in the world. . . unless you treat them as *equal partners* any genuine International Planning is impossible." (Our italics).

And how is all this International Planning to be effected? The planners have strong allies in unexpected quarters, and the good work is even now in full swing: "Hitler, that evil midwife, is bringing it [Socialism] to birth from the womb of 20th century anarchy and strife." Mr. Gollancz thus agrees with Mr. Israel Moses Sieff\* that Hitler's unifying efforts have furthered the realisation of their common dream.

There is still a little something to be done, however, and England's part is clear: she must help—by the sending of an expeditionary force, if necessary—the German working classes to revolt against the industrialists (nationalise their works) the Junkers (expropriate their lands) and militarists (give their arms to the workers). The success of the New German Socialist Republic, which, it is admitted, for a start may have to be a sort of 'revolutionary dictatorship' supported, if necessary, from without, will be assured by the proverbial German docility: "There is no need to fear that the German working class movement, which, reformed, and largely in arms, must be the leader of the revolution. . . will run amok, for it will only be too anxious to build its new society, and, in the early stages it may well be assisted in this task by German 'obedience.'"

And when 'Socialism' once again has been established

\*See *Planning*, December, 1941.

in Germany thanks to the 'obedience' of the German masses and transatlantic finance, and when it once again proceeds to throw up (we have not forgotten that Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini all came to power as 'labour' politicians and finished by dictating what conditions all their countrymen should labour under) another 'evil midwife' intent on still more mischief, and incidentally productive of still more 'Socialism,' than the last, what then, Mr. Gollancz?

B. J.

## MEN OF MUNICH! (I)

By N. F. W.

As one develops a sense of realism, there comes a correspondingly increased suspicion of all catch-phrases and slogans and all-too-handy generalities, containing the maximum suggestion and "atmosphere" and the minimum of definition. They pertain to the art of conjury—even of witch-craft, and if the present was the scientific age we are so persistently told it is, they would not be entertained as current coin for an instant. At the one end of the scale society derives vague encouragement from "that Kruschen feeling" and allied sensations, and at the other we are stirred equally irrationally by phrases such as that at the head of this article.

There are two points at least in regard to the term "Men of Munich" about which I have often speculated. One is in reference to its origin, and the second, and more important, as to its real significance. On the first point, it does not suggest itself, to me at any rate, as a spontaneous outcrop of British emotion. Not so do Englishmen express themselves. "That blinking crowd" is probably the nearest Anglo-Saxon equivalent. The phrase is classical, and self-conscious, and entirely declamatory.

With this aspect of the matter is involved speculation as to who, or what, was so suddenly and violently outraged by—as it appears at this date—the rather pathetic umbrella-victory of Munich. The nature and violence of the reaction would suggest that the action then taken by Mr. Chamberlain nearly achieved something rather decisive, and certainly unacceptable to quite a lot of people—or at any rate to people capable of making quite a lot of noise. On the face of it the outcry that arose seems out of all proportion to the event; if you've *nearly* trodden on the cat's tail you'll know what I mean. The squall, which almost anticipates the physical event, is outraged to a degree not at all in keeping either with the size of the cat or the actual, as distinct from the potential, injury.

Were we and Mr. Chamberlain, one wonders, as we jubilantly waved our umbrellas in the Autumn air of 1938, just sentimental fools? Were we further from reality than we are to-day? It is hard to judge. Our national rivals and opponents say that the British are a sentimental nation. But then sentimentality is a word that is badly in need of defining. That some people thought us so then is certain; for long before the tide of national relief that rose up to greet Mr. Chamberlain on his return had subsided, some bodies or things were already protesting loudly and violently on *both* sides of the Atlantic. And they have never since

ceased to protest, although neither facts nor events would seem to justify their attitude.

To appear to digress for a moment, the present time is one of the lowest in British achievement since war broke out. Yet I think there continue to be two distinct standpoints from which events may be regarded; one leading to depression and the other to hope. There is the point of view of the "planner," the egotist, really the ruler and imperialist that lie more or less hidden in all of us, and from which Britain's part in the war has been a sorry and very disappointing one, and a knock-out blow at least for British methods, or lack of methods.

But there is the other aspect, that of the exhibition of character and dogged, instinctive holding on to what shreds and tatters of principle the "clever boys" have left still intact: the assertion of common sense and common humanity against pure logic; almost—though we are on dangerous ground here—the defence of qualities rather than territories. From this angle Britain's part in this nastiest of all wars has been relatively not inglorious, and might be said to constitute the main gleam of hope for the future of civilisation.

In what, then—returning to our theme of Munich and the rumpus it caused—did the episode of Norway differ intrinsically from France or Crete or Libya or Singapore, that political blood had to be spilled to expiate it? It is part of this Mystery of Munich; which presents itself, not as analysable fact, surely; not even as assertion, except by implication. The phrase "Men of Munich" is just a symbol—abstract, spell-binding, anathema. Whatever it is, it is just because "somebody" says it is so—an example of Humpty-Dumptyism, in the sense in which Mr. Justice Atkin used the phrase in his dissenting speech to the judgment in connection with Order 18B. "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make a word mean different things?" But then Alice was a simple little girl and had never heard of the Atlantic Charter, or Mr. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms; the first of which, as any up-to-date school child knows to-day, is "freedom of speech"—the very point on which Alice wasn't clear!

Events at any one moment of time are so bound up with their causes in the past and their effects as seen in retrospect, that judgment is a difficult matter. But the actions of individuals at the time do produce historical facts. Of such assuredly was the year's grace which Mr. Chamberlain obtained for this country. Out of the whole tense, confused, emotional episode, it is the one outstanding, clarifying fact. About it there need surely be no mystery, no controversy? Facts are not controversial.

Yet when one mentions the matter, and particularly among those who appeared to take the promptest advantage of it at the time, one finds that it is controversial—highly so. Certain events, it seems, apparently for different and quite arbitrary reasons, must be assumed not to have happened. Of such, for instance, is Stalin's Third International policy, openly avowed, of permitting the "Capitalist" countries to fight one another to exhaustion. The reason for this is fairly obvious.

Of such, again is Mr. Chamberlain's act of personal initiative in the Autumn of 1938. The reason here is not obvious. Why should it be taboo—except in as far as it threatened "to give the show away." And then, one asks, What show?

## Points from Parliament

**MARCH 10.**

**Oral Answers to Questions** (33 columns)

**BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES (WAR SUBSCRIPTIONS).**

*Mr. Stokes* asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will instruct bank and insurance companies to make a return to him henceforth of the amount of all subscription to War Loans and war weapons weeks made by them when not directly on behalf of their depositors?

*Sir K. Wood*: No, Sir. For the reason which I gave in my reply to my hon. Friend on 17th February, I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by such returns.

*Mr. Stokes*: Is the Chancellor aware that that was a reply to a different question? Is there no real desire to learn the truth and ascertain what is subscribed from genuine savings and what in fact comes from the banks?

### Supply Committee—Vote of Credit

*Mr. Stokes* (Ipswich):... We are to-day discussing a Vote of Credit. What is credit? What I wish to point out to the Chancellor is that what we are proposing to do, at his request, is to vote this vast sum of £1,000,000,000 merely on the credit of the nation, that is, the assets of the nation, the goodwill of the nation, the integrity and the character of all the people constituting the nation. We are not merely borrowing from the banks. Will the Chancellor please appreciate that it is possible to conceive that perhaps he is wrong, or has been wrong, and other Chancellors before him, in thinking that it is always necessary to pay interest on your own credit? He will save a large amount of money for the nation if he adopts a different course. I want to put one definite question to him. It was put to the Brains Trust recently, I believe. The Brains Trust refused to answer, though I cannot believe that Prof. Joad would admit that he does not know everything. The question put was this: "How is it that we can lend millions to Ethiopia and China in war-time when in peace-time we have such difficulty in balancing the Budget? How is it we can lend these millions, and where can I find out more about this?" Can the Chancellor explain to the Committee where all this money does come from? It seems to me that it would clarify the minds of a great number of ignorant people like myself....

The Chancellor spoke about War Weapons Weeks and the importance of making them a success... I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware of what some banks and people like the Prudential Assurance Company are doing in connection with these weeks. They are offering to buy for individuals £1,000 of War Loan on payment of an annual premium of only £82 odd. I have in my hand a collection of interesting literature, among which is a letter from the Prudential Assurance Company offering support for a Warship Week in my constituency by investing to the credit of the Warship Week an amount equal to the aggregate of the sums assured by means of all ordinary branch proposals written for 3 per cent. Savings Bond policies during the three weeks before the week and the week itself. The Prudential says:

"By this method towns similar in size to Ipswich have had an additional subscription of £100,000 from this company. This

is an extraordinary method whereby you can help yourself." I agree it is an extraordinary method. I hope the Chancellor will close down on it, and assure us that that form of subscription is not to be allowed. He refused to do so at Question time. It is important that he should know how much is genuine savings and how much is bank-created credit. I do ask that he should give his serious attention to this, or we shall find that there is going on what went on in the last war: bogus loans for the purpose from banks and insurance companies....

*Mr. Woodburn* (Stirling and Clackmannan, Eastern): .... The Governor-General of Burma has just issued advice to people throughout Burma that they must take decisions and he will back them up. Must we wait in this country until the Germans are on our own soil before the Government tell their subordinates that they must make decisions and get on with the job?...

I would... suggest that it is necessary for the Government, through its production department, to insist on cutting out a great number of the intermediaries between the Government and getting on with the job. The fewer people there are between the man who has ordered the job and the man who produces it, the better....

*Mr. Loftus* (Lowestoft): .... My final point is that surely, in this war, when we see a vast amount of debt piling up, we should see to it that the burden on the future will be made as low as possible, both for us and our children and our grandchildren. Is it just or expedient that the State should pay the same rate of interest on genuine savings invested by the people as it does on the created credit of institutions? Surely, on the created credit, it should pay the cost of creation and there have been hundreds of millions of such credit created. The Chancellor of the Exchequer should adopt the advice tendered by *The Economist* three years ago and repeated constantly, that that created credit should be at 1 per cent. maximum. It is true that my right hon. Friend pays 1½ per cent. to-day on these deposit receipts. That is admirable, but these are in due course changed into 2½ per cent. or 3 per cent. long-term loans. It means that, despite new technique and the strict control by the Treasury of interest rates, we are financing this war exactly by the same methods as the last war, except that the rate of interest is 2½ per cent. instead of 5 per cent. ....

*Mr. A. Edwards* (Middlesbrough, East): The hon. Member for Lowestoft (Mr. Loftus) returned to... the question of Warships' Week, which has raised a good deal of the money needed by the Chairman of the Exchequer. It has been stated that a good deal of this money is not genuine savings. The Chairman of the Exchequer steadfastly refuses to let us know what proportion he considers to be a genuine saving, but I would go as far as to say that not less than 90 per cent. is not genuine savings. I do not know whether he could make out a case to prove that 10 per cent. of the money raised represents savings in any sense of the word. It comes from the banks and is returned to the banks.

When one raises a subject like this, he is told that he is attacking the bankers, but such criticism is nothing of the kind. We have the finest banking system in the world, and I would not like it interfered with until the party with which I am associated has an opportunity of presenting a better one. It is the best and soundest thing we have....

MARCH 11.

## Oral Answers to Questions

MINISTRY OF WORKS AND BUILDINGS  
(STAFF)

*Mr. A. Edwards* asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works and Buildings whether, in view of the diminishing amount of building for which his Department is responsible, there is a proportionate reduction in his staff; and whether he can give figures showing the number engaged to-day and a year ago?

*Mr. Hicks*: During the expansion of the building programme the Ministry avoided large increases in staff by utilising to a considerable extent the services, on a commission basis, of firms in private practice. Up to the present time there has been no such diminution of work falling upon the staff of the Ministry as would warrant a reduction in that staff, but the question of staff in relation to work is under continuous review. The total staff of the Ministry on 1st January, 1942, was 12,720, as compared with 8,670 a year ago. I regret that it is not possible readily to give separate figures for the staff employed solely in connection with the building programme. The increase indicated above is due almost entirely to the large expansion of existing services in connection with the construction, provision and maintenance of buildings and supplies required by civil Departments generally, as well as the large extension of the activities of the Ministry in connection with such matters as control of civil building, registration of builders, recovery of salvage, etc. I should add that, while it is the case that the amount of new work undertaken by the Ministry is beginning rapidly to diminish, it will be some time before this diminution is reflected in the amount of work actually in process.

*Mr. Edwards*: Is my hon. Friend aware that many Government Departments which have to depend on his Ministry for building now consider that the delays incurred suggest that his Ministry is becoming quite top heavy and cannot do the work for which it has been so ill designed, and is he considering the question of allowing the Building Departments to revert to the Ministries concerned?

*Mr. Hicks*: I am not aware of the point which my hon. Friend raises.

*Mr. Edwards*: Will my hon. Friend consider a case which I will put before him where 5 per cent. of the work has been done and the completion date is overdue, entirely owing to the fact that his Ministry has held the matter up?

*Mr. Hicks*: I cannot accept the statement that the completion date is overdue. Frequently the completion date is purely imaginary in relation to the physical factors involved.

*Mr. Edwards*: Is the hon. Member aware that I am quoting a statement by his Department, which I shall be glad to give him?

## Another Retraction

The *Jewish Chronicle* of March 6 published the following statement:—

"Anti-Semitism, as well as prejudice against any person because of his colour or race, was assailed in New York by Mr. William J. Cameron, former editor of the defunct anti-Semitic publication, the *Dearborn Independent*.... in the course of a recent weekly broadcast by Mr. Cameron on the Sunday evening hour sponsored by Mr. Henry Ford, *Independent's* former publisher."

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The Bankers of London by Percy Arnold .....	4/6
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