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HUIZINGA'S "WORLD: MEN AND IDEAS"*

It would be a hasty judgment to say that Huizinga's *Men* are more impressive than his *Ideas*, but the pick of the book for me is his lecture, *John of Salisbury: a Pre-Gothic mind*. This Englishman who lived between 1115 and 1180 was present at the murder of à Beckett in Canterbury, after being exiled, heard Abelard and others in Paris, wrote a book on statesmanship and frequented the priory of St. Victor. Here, and Huizinga does not mention this, he would have met the prior, Richard of St. Victor, who wrote on *Love* with such precision and charm (d.1173).

This period, says Huizinga, was "a creative and a formative age without equal," while, "no other age was so little encumbered by frontiers" in Europe, and a lively contact was maintained with the Orient. John knew a freedom that disappeared under the more rigid systems of Aquinas and Bonaventura; he was a type of "chivalric clerk," determined to fight for the freedom of the church, a cheerful man who thought it right to destroy a tyrant, and who was one of the twelfth century humanists, and seemed particularly to dislike *teutonicus tyrannus*. He finished his course as Bishop of Chartres.

Abelard, some years younger than John, was a "knight errant" among schoolmen, who gave expression to "pre-courtly love" and who "attributed inspiration to classical philosophers and appears to have valued them more highly than the prophets." Huizinga indeed retains something of the freshness of these early characters, and calls Joan of Arc a "pre-feudal Maid." The characters of that sparkling dawn enjoyed using their intelligence, which in later times would hide behind a fixed idea or system and would not be receptive to anything new, whether economics or poetry—but this again is to go beyond Huizinga.

Erasmus and Grotius appear as further removed from life. We may, however, note that Erasmus, according to Huizinga's address given in Basle Cathedral in 1936, "looked upon the swelling stream of new books . . . with aversion." Quantity was overwhelming quality. And, "the world of today is . . . harshly opposed to the spirit of Erasmus." He took great pleasure in Nature, but disliked investigating it, and despised the scholastics. In 1517 he suggested conventions to regulate boundaries, to avoid "outrageous and patricidal feats of arms." And he stressed the need to separate the essence from the appearance. Grotius had intellectual kinship with Erasmus, and dedicated his *De jure belli et pacis* to Louis VIII. "His ordering mind gave to the world the vision of a just community of states."

The miracle of Joan of Arc was that she was able to "wipe the grimace from Shaw's joking countenance," although he says there is "something annoying in making Joan an ex-

ponent of certain ways of thinking." He does not take such a favourable view of the trial or of Bishop Cauchon as Shaw does, and we may recall that there was no jury system in France in 1431, while England had for centuries enjoyed a trial by peers (that is, equals).

The volume opens with an article on *The Tasks of Cultural History*, in which Huizinga clears the ground. The subject, he says, is "afflicted with out of focus images" and the issues are insufficiently formulated. Then, the concept of evolution does not help much, while H. G. Wells, for instance, unfolds the history of mankind "in one applauded pageant." More trouble arises when the writing of history falls into the hands of the emotional, and a "hybrid product" results. He says "sentimentalism and the passionate are both nurtured in the soil of the plebeian intellectual attitude . . . An aristocratic culture does not advertise its emotions. History must remain stoic."

Nor do psychology or social psychology bring true historical understanding, for the chief task is to understand and describe the actual course of civilisations. And, in his fifth thesis, the division of history into periods is always to some extent arbitrary.

Next he turns to historical ideals of life and shows how admiration for the generals of antiquity influenced Charles the Bold. Christian poverty, chivalry, the pastoral ideal, naturalism and the classical ideal held sway at different periods. Huizinga says that "giving of oneself is the end and the beginning of every philosophy of life."

He then deals with patriotism and nationalism, and mentions the authority claimed by the Church over the world. It claimed the right "to judge each juridical and administrative act of the rulers . . . The deeds of the kings continued to be subject to the power of the keys, according to the criterion of good and evil." In this essay we again meet John of Salisbury, now with his complaint against the Germans, asking "Who has given authority to brutal and headstrong men that they should set up a prince of their own choosing over the heads of the sons of men?" And as a reaction against the Hohenstaufens, political nationalism arose.

Some historical ironies appear. Herder, who was not a nationalist, contributed to the cause of nationalism by his studies. The French Revolution demanded "natural boundaries" but revived an expansionist policy, for, he remarks, "the more politics changes, the more it remains the same." Prussia was not a nation but "a state" and wanted to remain

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MAIN EDITORIAL OFFICES:—

*Business—*Box 2318V, G.P.O., Melbourne.

*Editorial—*Box 3266, Sydney, Australia.

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*Personnel—*Advisory Chairman: Dr. Tudor Jones. Chairman: Dr. B. W. Monahan, 36, Melbourne Avenue, Deakin, Canberra, Australia. Deputy Chairman: British Isles: Dr. Basil L. Steele, Penrhyn Lodge, Gloucester Gate, London, N.W.1. (Telephone: EUSTon 3893.) Canada: L. Denis Byrne, 7420, Ada Boulevard, Edmonton, Alberta. Secretary: H. A. Scoular, Box 3266, G.P.O., Sydney, N.S.W.

Angola

Pointing out that the recent incursion of foreign terrorists into Angola was planned to coincide with the debate in the Security Council, the Portuguese Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, Ambassador Vasco Vierira Garin, told the Steering Committee that another debate may provoke further incursions and more bloodshed and warned that the United Nations should not place themselves in the position of having contributed to criminal activities by violating the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the Organisation.

Nevertheless, the Steering Committee recommended that the matter be debated in the General Assembly.

Dr. Vasco Garin stated that all the incidents which took place in Angola were provoked from outside parties having political aims in the Portuguese Province. He added that the matter was rejected by the Security Council and that there was no justification for bringing it up again in the General Assembly. He stressed that the Assembly could not discuss matters of internal jurisdiction of member-States and, therefore, could not discuss Angola which is an integral part of Portugal.

—*Heraldo* (English Edition), Goa, March 27, 1961.

Africa

The Rhodesian Federal Premier, Sir Roy Welensky, lashed out at Britain yesterday over the constitutional problems facing the federation.

"The vicious influence of African nationalism," he said, "has apparently turned the bone-marrow of many metropolitan countries to jelly. Fortunately, we are quite prepared to bolster the morale of the gentlemen overseas. We ourselves are fully prepared to preserve the federation."

Sir Roy defended the federal link between the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

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He said African nationalism, supported by Communism and by "elements we know so well in the United States and Britain can produce the bloody chaos we see in the Congo, the uncertainty of Kenya, or the unruly mob that is from time to time let loose in Nyasaland."

Britain would have to declare once and for all whether the future of Africa was to be dominated by one race or by partnership between races.

—*The New Zealand Herald*, Feb. 22, 1961.

HUIZINGA'S "WORLD: MEN AND IDEAS"

(continued from page 1)

so. The fallacy that the larger a state the better (he is referring to the unification of Italy and Germany) might have been given a place, he says, by Francis Bacon "among his idols of the market place, that is to say, notions that stand in the way of clear judgment," while he notes that Heeren, "whose German sentiments cannot be doubted," considered the unification of Germany in one state would be "the grave of German culture and European freedom."

Huizinga gives his view that people tended to forget, "under the general delusion of quantity, that not a single one of the great lasting values of the world owed its existence to a great power as such, and that all the best products of wisdom, beauty and civilisation had emerged in very restricted political relationships." We may agree that in Mazzini "patriotism and journalism were fervently combined," but might well disagree that Jefferson showed too much "disdain of the task of the state." In this section the author also mentions that Free Trade was based on illusion, because the "prerequisites required were none of them met."

Between this long essay on history and his article on the renaissance, we find a short lecture on the Chivalric idea, which was the strongest idea of the time next to that of religion and which led John the Good to lose the battle of Poitiers. This prepared for the idea of the law of nations. I find it remarkable that characters who had something fresh to say appear, in this volume, more in the mediaeval section than in the others.

The third part of the book deals with the renaissance, asks what it is, and after due compliments, dissents from Burkhardt in that he restricted the time and locality of the movement. The intellectual content of the process was for Thode "the individual who 'conquers his rights vis-à-vis the collectivity'" and the pagan element was extremely over-emphasised: Joachim of Floris had said in the late twelfth century that the third stage in future development would be one of freedom and of transformation of the Christian world. His view influenced the Franciscans and Dante, then the Christian idea encountered Virgil's fourth eclogue on renewal.

Huizinga spends some time on the problem of the renaissance, but notes that while the middle ages knew the service of men, the renaissance no longer served with the heart. The investigator, he says, must be able to enjoy "the essence of things in their form beautiful." The renaissance he remarks, triumphed over naïve naturalism.

The volume reads well in translation, and contains many interesting enough ideas. But the editors might have done better not to open with the heaviest essay, as a lighter piece—on the forthright Englishman John of Salisbury, for instance—would have proved more encouraging to the reader.

H. S. SWABEY.

Colour Consciousness

[With the permission of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, we publish the script for "Notes on the News" by Sir Raphael Cilento, broadcast over 4QR Brisbane on February 14, 1961.]

For some time the newspapers of the world network have highlighted European and non-European migration movements and there has been more and more propaganda pressure against what is called "colour consciousness." This propaganda aims to discredit and expel the white nations that for the last three centuries have been the leaders of world thought and world progress—namely, the nations of Western Europe. These attacks have been led by the two great powers that arrived at maturity too late to take part in the great developments of the last three centuries—Russia, with its tongue in its cheek; and America, with its head in the clouds, and, of course, with the worst racial problem in the world in its Deep South. It is also common knowledge that the mass of the people will believe anything they see in print often enough. Over the years since the last war, therefore, we whites have been cajoled into a sense of guilt about non-white races; while non-white have been persuaded that they should adopt an attitude of indignant self-righteousness against us. Both these emotional currents of phoney opinion, it seems, ignore the fact that "colour consciousness" works both ways—the innate sense of superiority, for instance, of the Chinese and Japanese towards all foreigners is much more active and deep-seated than any anti-Asian attitude on our part. For every inch of appeasement we foolishly offer under pressure, the primitive masses of the world, who interpret these as confessions of weakness, make bolder and brasher demands. They simply accept it that the white man is on the run. He is to be expelled from every country where he is in a minority, but non-whites are demanding free entry into every country which is white—where, indeed, they could in two generations also be in a majority—not a very pleasant prospect. Meanwhile, the enterprise of the white pioneers in underdeveloped lands is stalemated completely, as in Africa and New Guinea, by the evidence that they may be betrayed and abandoned by their home governments at any moment, through hysterical propaganda against "colonialism," "imperialism," and other once inspiring words that have come to have an almost obscene connotation.

From Rhodesia on Monday a cable reported:

"Thousands of Rhodesians scared of racial violence are trying to get berths on ships to Australia.

The Federal Travel Agents' Association chairman (Mr. H. Micklinghoff) said agents in Rhodesia had about 1,000 families on their books.

The waiting list was increasing steadily. The only two shipping companies able to handle the demand—Shaw Savill and the Royal Inter-Ocean Line — are fully booked until 1962."

At the same time, Pat Tennison reported the same reaction from Holland. He said:

"Because of the fatalism that today surrounds the long established colonial dreams, Dutch business men just aren't interested: they know that today those dreams turn into nightmares."

The same view entirely was expressed last week about our own people in our own Territory of New Guinea by Captain Brett Hilder, an able and experienced observer.

On the other hand, the attitude of non-white lands, say, of Indonesia and Dr. Subandrio, is frankly imperialistic and aggressive. Asked what he thought of a proposal to link up all the racially related Melanesian people of Dutch New Guinea, our own New Guinea and the Solomons into one Federation, thus giving self-determination to a group totally unlike the Indonesians in race, language and outlook, he is reported to have replied cynically:

"You know as well as I do that this matter of self-determination is just phoney,"

and also:

"I hope Australia will not consider this step . . . she would be the most affected by such a policy as Holland is far away and Australia is here in the area.

Is this a threat? He added:

"Why should Australia assist in perpetuating colonialism? . . . It is in Australia's interest to assist in solving colonial problems."

If that means what it appears to mean, it argues that Australia should get out of New Guinea herself; and that the solving of the colonial problem of New Guinea is to hand it over to the imperialism of Indonesia. In fact, he said:

"Indonesia could do more for the people . . . than any white administration." If we said that, it would attract headlines as an evidence of "colour consciousness." Pat Tennison says that the natives of Dutch New Guinea who have any knowledge of what is going on—the rest are raw savages living Stone Age lives in the jungle—have:

"asked the Dutch Government for assurance that they will stay in control, preferring this to alternatives such as Congo-like disorder or an Indonesian 'take-over' bid, or both."

The news about the Congo today gives this grim force, doesn't it?

Meanwhile there has been a rash of jejune opinions from returning tourists, parliamentary rhetoricians and others against the wise policy of our government, and the usual parrot cry for a quota—the sacred cow of the sentimentalist. It is suggested that it will take many years to "undo" the damage caused in the last 60 years by the White Australia policy. Actually, it saved Australia two generations ago by prohibiting further non-white immigration here.

It might be well to compare our case with that of South Africa, which allowed free immigration of other Africans and Indians, until it reached its present crisis that threatens the continued existence of the white man there. One might also consider Fiji, where Indians now outnumber Fijians in their own land; or Singapore, where in two generations the Malays have been outnumbered 10 to 1, by incoming Chinese.

The acceptance of a quota, would make no difference whatever to Asian or African opinion, unless, perhaps, to confirm their opinion that the white man is on the run. The vast mass of Asians have never heard of Australia, and have no opinion about it or us. The glib criticisms quoted by tourists are mainly from Madras money-changers who would like to infest our wharves, or half-educated babus from Calcutta and Bombay—"B.A.'s failed," as they are jocularly called. Sir Macfarlane Burnet recently summed up the situation excellently when he said that the acid test was the capacity for true assimilation: or our degree of willingness and

theirs, for integration, intermarriage, and so on, without any local collections of incomers—without, I suggest the Chinatowns etc., so common in all countries, or the Indian political groups in Zanzibar, Natal, Fiji and other lands.

It is suggested that a quota could easily be controlled, but this is quite contrary to experience; it is infinitely easier to police a flat prohibition of immigration than to have a dozen loopholes left to argument. Not only is this the thin edge of the wedge, but there would be no second chance. Australians are not colour conscious at all at present, and the reason is that there is no economic threat from non-white people. They would readily become so as soon as non-whites increased to any notable degree. If they did not increase notably, what use would be a quota for influencing public opinion in Asia? In my opinion these academic palliatives are of no practical value whatever, but have the most dangerous and mischievous possibilities. Nothing is more destructive than the bad advice of well-intentioned but ill-informed people, and I believe that many of these who have recently commented on this subject come into that category.

A Conspectus

The following letter, dated March 21, 1961, from Australia, was received by the Christian Campaign for Freedom, London, from a Campaign Correspondent:

I am sorry that your letter dated 31st May, 1960 was not answered promptly by me. Shortly after receiving it I was obliged to take a spell in hospital for six weeks with another four weeks in Queensland to recuperate.

On arriving back at Sydney I found *The Last Chance: A Conspectus* had been printed. This, of course, necessitated the despatch of that important article to as widespread and influential a circle as is possible to find in this country.

Commencing this work early in October together with my wife's and Mrs. Matheson's assistance, (Mrs. Beattie Matheson died on the first day of December, 1960), we covered two hundred top ranking officers in the three sections of the armed forces, about the same number of doctors whose names were culled from the files of the late Muriel Fremlin (an active Social Crediter whom you will no doubt remember) approximately one hundred and fifty letter writers to *The Sydney Morning Herald* whose names and addresses are in my own files. Finally my wife and myself worked through my Christmas leave of three weeks and mailed *The Conspectus* to every Archbishop, Bishop, Dean and to most Anglican clergymen in Australia. All in all we sent out over one thousand and two hundred copies of Dr. Monahan's work.

Please do not think that the above has been detailed so that we may receive a pat on the head; it is mentioned advisedly so that you may know that others are steadily working with you. I think your letter to the Editor of *The Daily Mail* very sound, and have tried to follow your advice in this matter. I find so much material printed with which I do not agree, in newspaper articles, that the best method, for my own purpose, of course, is to send a short note together with an appropriately marked copy of *The Social Crediter*, or one of our many booklets which sometimes admirably suit the purpose.

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I have noted that the Communists and Socialists are very active in local matters, and in the past years I have endeavoured to meet them on my own ground, which is the local weekly press. In this way I am assured of having my submissions published and read, and at times answered. All in all there are many fields open now for Social Crediters to be active in, and it seems to me that the sap is again flowing in society, or so it appears to me here in Sydney. The local Communists have had their run and are becoming hysterical as we find their range. The publication and wide circulation in the right quarters of *A Conspectus* has done much, I feel sure, to bring the nature of our nation's troubles into clearer focus and perspective. Many doors, that were closed before are now open for more information on the "World Plot."

Whilst I remember it, thank you for sending me your Advent letter to the clergy. It is good to learn that there is sense being read into your effort of fellowship.

To refer again to your letter to the Editor of *The Daily Mail*, the late Hewlett Edwards wrote an article "The Cultivation of History" which appeared in a 1954 issue of *The Fig Tree*. Dr. Tudor Jones in the same issue, No. 2, I think it was, wrote on a similar subject, under the caption "Law." I have brought these two articles together with your letter to the attention of two Social Credit friends who may bring the matter home to the law men here.

All these things, I have found, take time and to be effective the timing is important, if we are looking to the planting of seed.

On the subject of the retention or abolition of the N.S.W. Legislative Council, a referendum of "popular opinion" is to be held in this State on April 29, 1961. I have written to a few papers on the issues at stake and have exchanged some correspondence with Sir Henry Manning also in this vein, and with some success . . .

A Reminder

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