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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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Spheres of Influence

(With the permission of the Australian Broadcasting Commission we publish the script of "Notes on the News" by Sir Ralph Cilento, broadcast over 4QR Brisbane on June 20th, 1961).

People seldom reach the stage of saying 'we are approaching a crisis', without in fact, being up to the neck in one, looking for a way out. The present social and economic crisis in the Western world is one of global regrouping of the balance of power and the accepted spheres of influence among the nations.

Consider for example the relative standing between 1930 and 1960 of Great Britain and her Navy and the Soviets, or even, more spectacularly, the People's Republic of China; or the political importance of Darkest Africa. All the vast switch in power and policy is highlighted at present by the struggle to force England into the European Common Market on the one hand, and to keep her out on the other. Young Mr. Kennedy of the United States of America, who described himself with devastating accuracy as the "man Jacqueline Kennedy took to Europe with her"—met Mr. Krushchev at Vienna and was soundly slapped down on disarmament and Berlin; and kidded out on to a limb about Laos. On his return flight, Kennedy stayed long enough in England to tell Harold Macmillan rather bluntly to get into the European market and waste no more time about it.

Harold looked more amiable than ever, was left in a dilemma—the United States has a troublesome habit of attacking the pound sterling in various ways if she doesn't get her own way. Macmillan had to place before the British public the choice of entering a 'United Europe' with Britain one member among many, and with accusations of breach of faith from the other members of the British Commonwealth, its own farmers, and the eight countries of Europe already allied to Britain in a free trade association. This, on the one hand, or, on the other, to stay out with America isolating England; the European Common Market boycotting and undercutting its goods; and with no certainty that Canada, Australia and New Zealand would stick loyally enough to make up the leeway. In fact, the future of the growing nations that make up the British Commonwealth is the real issue of life and death for England economically.

As the *Daily Express* said last week, vigorously opposing what it called a European takeover, "Many Americans are convinced that the days of the British Commonwealth are ending and that the United States is the rightful inheritor of Britain's association with Australia, New Zealand and Canada."

The newspaper adds: "Certainly, if Britain were to

embark on the political project called the Common Market, she would sacrifice the independence and sovereignty which membership of the Commonwealth demands."

Meanwhile, the Canadian High Commissioner in Britain (Mr. George Drew) advised British business men to "compare the immense growth potential of the Commonwealth with that of Europe." He said they should look to the Commonwealth "with all its vast reserves of raw material, of industrial energy of every kind, and of a rapidly expanding population which already exceeds 650 million." Compare that, he added, with the "reasonable growth potential of the countries of Europe," which were sadly limited in raw materials and populated to an extent which imposed strict limitations on their ability to grow.

Mr. Drew said it was sometimes forgotten that Great Britain sold far more of its products in the British Commonwealth than to any other country or group of countries together.

Young Mr. Kennedy, meanwhile, had administered a sound slap to Canada on the question of selling wheat to Red China, at the same time telling Canada she should get into the organisation of American States, which the United States dominates, and presumably, should forget her ties to the United Kingdom.

At this unfortunate moment Mr. Charles Bohlen's memoirs reveal Roosevelt's secret agreement with Stalin at Yalta in 1945 to sell out both England in India and France in Indo China. Almost at the same time the United States special envoy of good will to Latin America, selected because of his knowledge of Spanish and part-Latin origin, was being received with anything but good-will by the first countries with which he made contact.

Canada is rather tired of being regarded as a satellite of the United States and entirely opposed to any idea that, with Australia and New Zealand, she should pass into American hands if the British Commonwealth should break up.

The centre of "Welt-Politik" is increasingly the Pacific Ocean and Canada promptly replied to the somewhat arrogant attitude of Washington by proposing a new trade grouping across the Pacific with Australia and New Zealand, to fill the trade gap if and when Britain joins the European Common Market and threatens the preference that now exists among nations within the British Commonwealth. The bloc would aim to consolidate the vast possibilities of the

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The Portuguese-Angolan Tragedy

An article in *Human Events*, June 25, 1961, "The U.S. Forsake an Ally—The Portuguese-Angolan Tragedy," says "... the signs point to another debacle for the United States, the delivery of the West African Portuguese province Angola, into chaos and eventual Communist domination. This will be done in the name of freedom and anti-colonialism. The result, however, could be not only the further deterioration of the African situation, but the downfall of conservative government in Portugal and Spain. This, of course, would mean removal of these two key countries from the Western bloc, and a disaster of stunning proportions to the United States. . . Yet we are marching arm in arm with our mortal enemy, Russia, led by the mellifluous voice of Adlai Stevenson, our representative at the United Nations. . .

"... We have had little but trouble in our anti-colonial policy. This policy, admirable in theory, becomes ridiculous when it results in the Congo mess. The aftermath is at once farcical and ridiculous. The futility and impotency of the United Nations is etched in the area from which we helped force the Belgians . . . the situation in Angola must be examined with a view to the consequences of forcing Portugal to turn it loose. On this point, the testimony of the liberal publication, *The Reporter*—no friend to Salazar must be given a lot of weight. It concludes that if Angola is turned loose, the Russians probably will take it over and turn it into the 'Soviet version of an ideal African pilot state under biracial rule.'

"*The Reporter* adds that if Angola goes, Portugal will be left alone to face the massive assault of African nationalism and Soviet imperialism—or worse, be left with Spain as its only ally. Finally, the magazine concludes that, if the conservatives go down in Portugal, through the loss of Angola, Franco is doomed.

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"... Nobody knows just what we want, but it is evident that our vote in the U.N. means we are co-operating in the Soviet campaign aimed at Portugal. No wonder then that even good liberals like Dean Acheson are reported to be dismayed over our Angola stand. Robert Murphy, former Under-Secretary of State and President of the United States Council on N.A.T.O., is said to view our stand as calamitous. There are others.

"With the way things are going, even the doctrinaire liberals soon reach a fundamental conclusion: that the time has come for all good Americans to concentrate on one objective—how to save the United States of America. Anyone who can help us towards this goal, we should help. Anyone who stands in our way, we should oppose. It is a simple, but fundamental doctrine. If we do not adhere to it, we could commit national suicide."

Independence?

The following letter, to the Editor, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, June 19, 1961:

It is noted that Russia's representative in the U.N. Trusteeship Council has again criticised Australia's administration of the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

It is time that recognition was given to the fact that the criticism levelled at Australia is similar in pattern and purpose to that which promoted the premature withdrawal of European administration in other backward countries, to the detriment of good order and wellbeing of the populace.

This fanatical haste to bestow political independence on backward nations has but one purpose—the transfer of power to those less qualified to wield it, and who are more receptive to Communist influence.

When the Russian representative suggests a referendum for self-determination of people whose culture in many areas is still "stone age" then the propaganda motive of his questions are apparent.

The encouragement of the belief that white administration of coloured people is to their detriment is completely contrary to fact.

As in New Guinea and elsewhere the influence of the white race has greatly improved the living standards of primitive peoples, and without this influence and direction the native people have the most to lose.

The plea for independence and self-determination is not inspired by the people themselves, but is promoted by external sources interested in a coloured supremacy.

This revolution against traditional civilisation is instrumental in establishing new "nations" with influential voting power in the United Nations.

Under the rule of the majority, the situation will eventuate in this organisation where the uncivilised will overrule the civilised nations of the earth.

Mr. Krushchev was speaking with foreknowledge in his recent talk with President Kennedy when he predicted the triumph of World Communism through the revolution of the new and less developed countries.

K. W. MARLOW.
Sydney.

Kassem and Kuwait

"Well-informed circles hastened to assure us, even while Baghdad Radio was still blaring its boasts and its threats, that the Soviet Union was not behind Kassem's move. Speaking solely for myself, the moment I hear my own favourite well-informed circle utter, in his dreary, confident voice, that kind of bromide, I have two highly Pavlovian reactions: I wonder why on earth I obediently handed in my pistol on demobilisation, and I go and look for my steel helmet. So let us suppose that well-informed circles are wrong, as wrong as they were when they assured us that everything was especially tranquil in Iraq, and forty-eight hours later, the mutilated bodies of the King and of Nuri es-Said were being dragged through the Baghdad streets, and the British Embassy had gone up in flames. Suppose Kassem has backing, suppose he means what he says. Is my friend, General Nabarro, wrong to wonder whether the machinery for imposing petrol rationing is still in order? Might we not have to face consequences a great deal more unpleasant even than not being able to take the car to Scotland in September? Our whole economy—and not merely our taste for jolly holiday jaunts and traffic-jams on the road to Wimbledon—depends to a very frightening degree, on Kuwait oil. If Kassem's moves were, in fact linked with Krushchev's recent speeches, and a part of an anti-Western campaign which, in the belief of the Americans, is due to reach its crisis in October, we in Britain would be in a very tight spot. Balance of payments, full employment, all those delicate negotiations with the European Common Market . . . it gives me the shivers on a warm summer day.

"Kassem's arguments are, of course, preposterous but, then, so were Mossadeq's over Abadan, so were Nasser's over the Suez Canal: so were Castro's when he nationalised every American undertaking in Cuba. . . ."

John Connell in *The Sphere*, July 8, 1961.

Ideas for the Destitute (1)

" . . . it's simply that when you pull fruit off the tree on which it grew it's already dead."

—Miss Joan Littlewood, interviewed by *The Times*, July 12, 1961.

(Miss Littlewood—"I'm not a director at all—usually I just get the actors, writer, designer, and so on together and let the show gradually evolve. I'm not a teacher either: you can't teach people to write or act, it's something they can learn only from each other"—has 'temporarily' departed from the Theatre Royal at Stratford in the East End of London. "When you have to live by exporting bowdlerised versions of your shows as light entertainment for sophisticated Wes End audiences you're through." The Theatre Royal, Stratford, E. is known as "Theatre Workshop." "After the war she gathered together a troupe of actors and set off into the hinterland, to areas where she felt there was a living audience if drama could be made ready for them—North-East England, Wales, the remoter parts of Scotland—and set up first of all at Kendal. 'In those days we had no money' she recalls, 'and lived for most of the time off the dole . . .')

World Police Force

In an inconspicuous position, the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland, on June 16, 1961, published the following brief report from London:

"A group of members from all the parties in Parliament yesterday urged Commonwealth Governments to press for the creation of a police force to safeguard world security."

A Question of Power

In the account of Rudolph Hess's flight which the *Sunday Express* is now publishing, we find that Hess foresaw the rise of Russia and America and the end of the British Empire and that he did not relish the prospect. Either he had access to the real purposes of the war, and if so he would surely have been a good deal more reluctant to enter it, or else he was possessed of a foresight different in kind from the vision of many British politicians.

But Hess was not alone, for General Franco also called these matters to the attention of Sir Samuel Hoare, who shared the views of his colleagues on the results of the conflict. Both Hess and Franco were correct in their prophecies while the British politicians remained blind and scornful. I hold no brief for the systems with which Franco and Hess are associated, but the abuse of the one and the punishment of the other are too indiscriminating when they come from those who have failed to discern the signs of the times and have chosen to lead us astray.

Indeed our leaders should have been warned. The American Ambassador, Page, assured his government on the outbreak of war in 1914, "The British Empire is delivered into our hands," while Ambassador Kennedy declared in 1939 something similar to "they have had it." These prognostications were not immediately fulfilled, but indicated the attitude and the policy of the ruling American clique, although not necessarily of the average American.

One's cup would appear to be full when the Bishop of Southwark is reported, in the same issue of the *Sunday Express*, as launching a violent attack on the Portuguese government and complaining bitterly of the atrocities in Angola. I don't know how intimately the Bishop is acquainted with Portugal or its government and I wonder what harm it has caused him or the legitimate interests of his country. There is some evidence that terrorists have entered Angola from beyond its borders; this evidence needs the most careful examination before accusations of barbarism are levelled from the pulpit.

The ability to make the wrong choice between two sets of information or opinions is evidently a qualification for office—but if the choice is one which is "wrong" for Britain, it will be one which is favourable to the rivals of Britain. The late Aneurin Bevan kept saying, in one of his last speeches, "It's all a question of power." I'm not sure what he was referring to, but the text was an excellent guide for a politician dealing with international matters. The American Ambassadors clearly had the question of power in mind, and perhaps Franco and Hess were not so blind to the question as are our British leaders—the nearest we come to hearing any mention of power is when they refer to the weakness of the pound, whereupon they increase taxes and further depreciate the currency.

When Mr. Macmillan rebuked Mr. Shinwell for "jingoism," politics looked a good deal more absurd than real. The position of the Opposition, as representatives both of British labour and of international socialism, is inevitably equivocal. As for the Government, while it seems that they have little time for the British people or for the Commonwealth, one cannot discern whether they represent "Europe," "America" or World Government—or is it just any of these as a centralizing instrument for world finance?

(Signed) H.S.

European Economic Community

From the *Otago Daily Times*, Dunedin, June 20, 1961, we learn that "The honorary secretary of the loyalist organisation known as the British Common Law Council, Mr. Hugh Thornton, alleged in a letter to the Sergeant-at-arms that members who supported the Common Market were conspiring in a treasonable plot to set up authority over the Queen.

"Mr. Thornton wrote to the Sergeant-at-arms: 'We call upon you to do your bounden duty and arrest all such persons that have so conspired, and also those officials who have aided and abetted them.'

"The letter said members who supported the Common Market had 'conspired against the sovereignty of the Monarch and the people to transfer the Government of the Realm to a place outside the Realm of England referred to as Europe.'"

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

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growing trade with Red China and satellite areas, including Indonesia, whose immense resources, make it potentially the world's richest prize.

Australia's recent sales of wheat in China have been worth £27 million; Canada has just concluded arrangements to sell grain to China for \$423 million and China is willing to go through another \$300 million if Canada will give credit.

A newsagency states "as a preliminary for the new trade bloc Canada in a series of secret letters last year has already given Australia a written guarantee that no tariff or quotas will be imposed on Australian exports coming into Canada."

A dog-eat-dog economic struggle between the Western powers is all to the advantage of the Soviet urgers on the sidelines. China and Russia are therefore watching these manoeuvres with delight but with no intention of losing the initiative in any respect. The well-named *red-herring* at the moment out there is, naturally, the provocative stalemated issue of Dutch New Guinea (Irian Barat). In London on Sunday, the *Telegraph* reported that President Soekarno had received "active encouragement" in Moscow and Peking to seize Dutch New Guinea "by fair means or foul and to do it *this year* if possible." President Soekarno had been offered "tools for the job . . . above all one or two Russian cruisers to ensure Indonesian naval supremacy."

Of course this was promptly denied in detail. No one, naturally, pays any attention to the denial. What does matter is that, in the vast ocean bordered on one side by South America in tumult and on the other by Africa in chaos, Australia stands centrally. The news indicates more clearly every day that Australia is becoming a vital bridge-head of world politics.

An exhilarating and exciting prospect for every adventurous soul, I believe, but other news items suggest that our new status requires something better than our hand-to-mouth economic expedients that continue to bewilder our well-wishers overseas.

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