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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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REAL LIMITATIONS ONLY

By B. M. PALMER

In this past week we have lived through a lifetime of emotion. At first it seemed we should lose the bulk of our professional army, together with its command. Civilians, especially women, thought of this first in terms of human suffering, but the political consequences crowded upon us so overwhelmingly that tears were dried as tragedy over-shadowed compassion. We are told that our joy over the salvation of that army, four-fifths of which returned, must not blind us to the fact that we have suffered a major military Nevertheless, it seems to me we may quite legitimately draw some satisfaction from the defeat.

We know, of course, that the last word lies with the last squadron of bombing aeroplanes, that right cannot win unless it has might on its side. Nevertheless the word "right" must be properly understood. Concerning other disasters Hardy said, in The Dynasts,

> Wel "Beheld the rarest wrecked amain, Whole nigh-perfected species slain, By those that scarce could boast a brain."

In what is known as the world of evolution it seems that such disasters have occurred because of some inherent defect in the species. Nature is full of such examples; but in human beings we have to allow for brain and character as well as physique. If the men of that army are typical of the nation in their power to extricate themselves from an almost impossible position by means of the only correct use of those physical resources which were available to themand I see no reason why they should not be typical—it seems reasonable to hope that the rest of the nation will not fall below their standard of achievement, either in staying power or action. If this should include the power of recognising and dealing with traitors, whether financial or political, we should be safe.

Traitors are not recognised until some trust has been betrayed, but "in time of war finance becomes secondary to military power, which at once assumes command of financial operations." It is becoming common knowledge that our men were short of tanks and guns, but while it is too much to hope that the real reason for this will be recognised, it is unlikely that those in charge of the army will continue to accept responsibility if they are not properly equipped for it. The amount of armaments produced will not therefore be limited by the peoples' capacity to save or pay taxes, although we are constantly told that it will be so limited. It will be limited on one side by what is required, and on the other by actual access to raw materials.

This will be accomplished under the insistent urge of the people that the war shall be won. Whether the knowledge and power so gained will be so widespread that we shall finance the peace by similar methods I do not know. It seems as if it were already decided that we shall be a poor, poor nation after the war is over. Mr. Duff Cooper spoke in the House of his intention to convey to the crushed minorities in enemy countries his hope that when the peace came "these people should also be given an opportunity of sharing to the full in what prosperity remained to us." It would be foolish to deny that material destruction may be carried to such lengths that it cannot be repaired in a generation. Nevertheless those who read the account of the reconstruction of Belgium after 1918* must have been struck by the rapidity with which the desolation was wiped out. When I was there in 1923 I was astonished by the progress which had been Very few signs of war remained. This could be done in five years of hard work, and yet in 1923 the Belgians were still being told that they were poor, and were even then suffering under financial duress of the most crippling description. They had worked hard to restore order

and then had to work hard to pay for the privilege of having done so. Limitation was imposed on them.

"Prosperity" is not a fixed quantity that can be "shared" out. You can, of course, try to divide it up into slices, give one to every good boy, and then say severely, "You can't have your cake and eat it too."

Prosperity is a natural growth depending upon man-power and resources available.

It is ever expanding. If we try to crush it by imposing limitations, we must

expect history to repeat itself.

To my mind, so far as I can judge at the moment of writing, the situation is not without its redeeming features. The question is, how far shall we be able to transcend our limitations, both immediate and ultimate? The people seem quite capable of rising to the present emergency, and if they learn from this experience we may take the next step without making the catastrophic mistakes of the past.

Social Crediters understand nature of limitation. It is something which in so far as it is inherent in the physical nature of the universe, must be recognised by men and women; but in so far as it consists in compulsion laid on one nation by another, or by one set of people on another set against their will, it is something that must be fought against, even at the price of life itself.

On Other Pages

THE FAKE-PEACE DRIVE

THE NEW ZEALAND SPEAKER RESIGNS

EMERGENCY POWERS (DEFENCE) BILL.

^{*} The Social Crediter, May 25, 1940.

Conditions in the Federated Unions

IN NEW YORK

"During any day in the year there are probably as many as one million men, women and children in the city of New York who are receiving some kind of help from the Government," states a report by the city's welfare commissioner (quoted by the British United Press).

"The commissioner estimates that more than one-third of the 7,000,000 people living in New York have been on relief as destitute during the past six years at some time or other. He reports that 2,759,254 individuals, or 36.3 of the population, received public assistance, at a cost of £451,000,000.

"There are 88,676 children in New York in need of shoes and clothing. More than 50,000 are absentees from school because of lack of clothes. It is estimated that 38,000 of the children who do attend school are inadequately clad or shod."

-"The Sunday Times," June 2, 1940.

IN RUSSIA

"It is impossible for those who have not lived in Russia continuously for years to realize how the Soviet peoples suffer from chronic shortages of things to eat and wear and use. The shortage was bad enough during the four years I lived there, but it has become much worse since I left Russia at the end of 1937. I spent days recently talking with two American friends who had lived in Russia for a decade, and who stayed there during all the recent sensational developments, including the Finnish War. They told me that living conditions are worse now than at any time since the

"The Fig Tree"

Back numbers of *The Fig Tree*, numbers 1—3 and 6—10, all containing articles by Major C. H. Douglas may be obtained at

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K.R.P. Publications Ltd., 12, Lord Street, Liverpool, 2. famine of 1932. Russia has had two poor harvests in succession, due largely to breakdowns in agricultural machinery. Scarcity of food has been accompanied by even more severe scarcity of clothing and household necessities. Whenever any shop gets new stock, eager lines of people stand for hours until the shop puts up a notice that it is sold out.

"When one of my American friends left Russia this spring, he decided to dispose of some odds and ends of used clothing and household utensils he had taken in with him. The word got around among his Russian acquaintances, some of whom hold high posts in the Soviet hierarchy. They descended upon him and begged him to sell them everything he possessed at his own price in paper rubles. One of the most popular and highly paid actresses in Russia pleaded with him to sell his worn shirts and suits, his soiled neckties and scuffed She wanted them for her husband, a successful executive who, she explained, had not been able to buy clothes for himself for a year. went into the kitchen and saw several She asked eagerly: "Will coffee cans. you sell me those?" My friend explained that they were only empty tins, which she was welcome to take. She answered: 'Oh, no, I will pay you for them. cans are worth a lot of money in Moscow.3

"My other friend from Russia had visited Eastern Poland shortly after the Russian occupation. He reported that he had never seen a region so thoroughly devastated in so short a time. The devastation, however, was no planned outrage or systematic spoilation. In fact, my friend reported that the Soviet troops were admirably disciplined. The devastation was the spontaneous behaviour of a human swarm hungry for things they had been deprived of for years.

"When the Russians came in, they found the Polish shops fairly well-stocked with cheap clothing and household goods. The most quick-witted Soviet soldiers telegraphed to their wives to rush to Poland as fast as they could get there, and to bring with them all the money they could lay their hands on. Within two weeks of the occupation, every shop in the whole region was completely cleaned out; Russian soldiers and their wives had swept through them like a

cloud of locusts, eagerly buying even odds and ends which the Poles themselves had rejected and which had littered shop shelves for years. And then, having done such a roaring business, the shop-keepers found themselves holding quantities of paper rubles, only to discover that their new fatherland could not provide them with fresh stock. Most of the shops closed down because they could get nothing more to sell."

—"The Saturday Evening Post," May 18, 1940.

M.P. ON NAZI-ISM

It is to be hoped that the constituents of Mr. S. O. Davies (Merthyr) will hold him to the words with which he concluded the debate on the motion welcoming the new government:

"We shall watch this Government critically and anxiously. Their task presumably is to mobilise the men and resources at our disposal; but will they be able to do it? I am confident that they will not be able to do it unless the dead hand of the past is removed, and until the crippling weight of organised profiteering is lifted and the patriotism of high finance, of the money changers and gamblers on our stock exchanges is completely eliminated. These are the powers-and we have no illusions about this-which brought Nazism into being and the powers which will bring Nazism into being in this or any other country if their dominion is to last much longer. We on these benches are as prepared to fight Nazism as is any representative in any part of this House, whether that Nazism is partially concealed in this country or blatantly open elsewhere. We shall do so, but not at the price of sacrificing the principles which have ever been dear to us, namely the interests of our own people who have placed us in this House."

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NEWS AND VIEWS

These times bring strange dreams. We dreamed that Churchill, Hitler, Musso, and Stalin were roped together and had their eyes bandaged. They were each given a good club with rusty nails in it, and Senator Key Pittman to see that nobody won too quickly. Soldiers all round them shouted that Freedom was at stake, fight to the last, gosh that was a good strip off his hide, we'll see And Senator none of them gets away. Key Pittman said the Great Heart of America is with you in spirit although it had to leave by the last boat in the flesh, here's some more rusty nails.

And towards the end there was an accident and Senator Key Pittman looked like something the cat brings in when the fishmonger cleans the herrings. But it was only a dream.

"Continued exemption of members of the B.B.C. Staff over the age of 25 from military service, is causing widespread comment. In the original list of reserved occupations, B.B.C. staff over 25 in administrative and executive grades were exempt.

"The B.B.C. has interpreted the regulation in the widest sense . . . The B.B.C. staff totals over 4,300, and has been augmented considerably since the war Young men who have openly avowed their intention of avoiding military service, are among the war-time recruits."

-"Daily Telegraph," June 6, 1940.

A very considerable portion of the staff consists of alien Jews, and a still greater proportion of "other" Jews.

The aeroplane in which "Cripps", our Special Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to Stalin, was travelling, has been struck by lightning. We have always felt that our Statesmen, Politicians, and Officials should be encouraged to travel by air.

To reorganise with any effect an industrial plant employing a couple of thousand men usually takes about eighteen months under the supervision of a team of first class experts. But in 28 days a team of amateurs has turned the industrial effort of Great Britain from inefficiency to maximum output. If you have any doubts, read the newspapers.

"Stalin's regime was a lot more shaky last year than he wanted anybody to know. The workers in the "workers' paradise" had become extremely restless. Stalin's propagandists might have been able to fool the rest of the world indefinitely, but the Russians were tired of being fooled. They were demanding more for their labour, and were getting less . . .

"It was the war in Finland which finally subordinated Stalin to Hitler, and turned Russia into a Dominion with the Nazi Empire . . . Soviet Russians may still believe that Stalin won the Finnish War. But almost everybody else now recognises that Germany won it, and without the loss of one German soldier.

... Not only Stalin, but also the British and French Governments played directly into their hands . . .

"The Germans wasted no time in sealing their new bargain with Stalin. Since last February, German technicians and experts of every kind have poured into Russia. Moscow's hotels are not big enough to accommodate them.

"Some of them have been given posts previously held by Soviet Commissars. No group of foreigners since the revolution has been entrusted with so much authority.

". . . It is impossible for those who have not lived in Russia continuously for years, to realise how the Soviet peoples suffer from chronic shortages of things to eat and wear and use . . . it has become much worse since I left Russia at the end of 1937 . . two American friends who have lived in Russia for a decade . . . told me that living conditions are worse now than at any time since the famine of 1932 . . . Stalin decided he must have foreign help . . . the strain imposed on industrial worm-eaten Soviet structure by the Finnish war sufficed to dissolve any remaining doubts Stalin may have retained . . . After months of manoeuvring . . . they had got Stalin where they wanted him. They had succeeded in erecting the skeleton of a vast land Empire stretching from Central Europe to the shores of the Pacific."

-"Nazi Germany's First Dominion," by Demaree Bess in "The Saturday Evening Post."

CONTROL OF THE BANK RATE

In the House of Commons on June 4:

Mr. Stokes asked the Chancellor of

the Exchequer whether he now controls the fixing of the Bank rate?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Kingsley Wood): Under Clause 2 of the recent Emergency Powers Regulations and within the ambit of those Regulations I have power to give directions in this matter.

Mr. Craven-Ellis: Could the right hon. Gentleman exercise the authority which he states that he now has?

Sir K. Wood: I could do so, but I am not satisfied that the situation requires it.

PROFITS OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND

Mr. Stokes asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is proposed that the profits of the Bank of England should be subject to 100 per cent. Excess Profits Tax?

Sir K. Wood: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Stokes: Is the Chancellor of the Exchequer aware that under Section 68 of the Income Tax Act, 1918, the Bank of England is empowered to assess its own profits for taxation, and will he put an end to that ridiculous system so that they may be fairly assessed by an independent authority?

Sir K. Wood: That is another question, and perhaps the hon. Member will put it on the Paper. I thought I had given him a very good reply.

Mr. Glenvil Hall: Can we assume that the Bank of England will now publish a proper balance-sheet?

Sir K. Wood: That is another story.

-"Hansard," June 4, 1940.

INVINCIBLE BRITAIN By JOHN MITCHELL

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GOLD

The greatest international movement of gold that has ever occurred took place last week when the bulk of the gold reserves of Great Britain and France, and the gold held in those countries for Swiss official Dutch, Belgian and accounts was shipped to Canada and the United States. The gold is not being sold to the United States, but is being sent for earmark and safe custody. Sales will continue to be made, as in the past, when the Allies require replenishment of their dollar balances.

When the movement is complete the United States, to which most of the metal must be sent because it has the requisite safe-keeping facilities, will hold virtually the whole of the world's monetary stocks of gold either as owner or as custodian.

"Out of these results of force majeure," comments The Economist of June 8, "one may begin to discern the outlines of a new gold clearing machinery operated from the United States, which may well form part of the international monetary system of the post-war period."

One of the unacknowledged purposes for this war is the tightening of American financial control.

JURY SYSTEM

"I ask you as responsible men of the county and others," said Mr. Justice Hilbery to the chairmen of County Benches of Magistrates at the opening of the Norfolk and Norwich Assizes on June 3, "to consider whether in times like these we can still afford to have citizens called away from perhaps vital occupations to wait about in a court or courts, perhaps for a week, to serve as jurors, to try those who are charged at a time like this with criminal offences.

"As free men we have surrendered already into the hands of the Executive almost every liberty we have, and as free men we have done that willingly and without any fear that at the end of this war those liberties will not be restored if Almighty God grants us victory. It does not seem to me that it can still be necessary that so much vital energy should perhaps be lost to make that effort which the country is prepared to make."

JUST IN TIME

"After four years' disappearance, the Academy, the official magazine of the Inter-University Jewish Federation of

Great Britain and Ireland, has made its reappearance in a new series. I have had the pleasure of receiving a copy of No. 1, and I welcome it, if only for the sign it gives of the green and cheerful optimism of youth in time of war."

-"Jewish Chronicle," June 7, 1940.

"No person shall in the United Kingdom

- (a) print or publish any newspaper or magazine or other periodical that was not published at any time before the coming into force of this Order;
- (b) publish any newspaper or magazine or other periodical after the coming into force of this Order at more frequent intervals than those at which it was being published in the period immediately before the coming into force of this Order;"

-The Control of Paper (No. 16) Order, 1940, dated May 25, 1940, which came into force on May 27.

THE WEAK IN HEART

A young man named Jack Brack suffered from heart disease, and on calling up was classed as totally unfit for military service. To exploit the commercial possibilities of this Louis Cohen (known as Buster Collins) became his business manager, and in turn Brack appears to have impersonated at medical examinations Maurice Kravis, Joseph Barnett, Sydney Israel Barnett, Samuel

Rifkov and James Boulton. A gentleman named Bert Aaronberg also seems to have been concerned in the matter.

When they appeared on remand they all pleaded "Not Guilty."

Letter to the Editor Mr. L S. AMERY

Sir,—In reference to the paragraph in your issue of the 9th inst., to the effect that Mr. L. S. Amery has resigned from the Board of Messrs. Marks & Spencer Ltd., to join Mr. Churchill's Government, it may interest your readers to know that about ten years ago a member of one of the Houses of Parliament pressed Mr. Amery for an opinion on the financial aspect of Social Credit. Mr. Amery's reply, as reported to me, was:

"I do not feel called upon to express an opinion on the soundness of Major Douglas's views. But I can assure you without hesitation that no British Government, of whatever complexion, could remain in office for three weeks if it attempted to put them into operation."

What is the power which can, without reference to the Electorate, secure the dismissal of any British Government which dares to act on its own initiative?

I am, etc.,

C. H. Douglas.

June 8, 1940.

STUDY COURSE IN SOCIAL CREDIT

There are two courses in social credit which are open to those who wish to make a study of the subject. The courses are approved by Major C. H. Douglas.

(1) Course A—This is the less advanced course, and will be instructive though not compulsory for those who wish to qualify by examination for admission as Associate of the Social Credit Secretariat.

Course A may be taken in two ways.

Either by correspondence (twenty postal communications for which the fee is £1/0/0 plus postage 2/6 at home, or 3/6 abroad).

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The examination fee for Associate Membership of the Secretariat is 10/6.

(2) COURSE B—This is the advanced course and no fee is charged, but a fee of 10/6 will be charged on entry for the examination. Successful candidates will receive the Diploma of Fellowship of the Secretariat.

Calendar and prospectus are now available (3d.)

Further information may be had from-

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THE NEW ZEALAND SPEAKER RESIGNS

The New Zealand papers of April 8 report that the Hon. W. E. Barnard, Speaker of the House of Representatives and member for Napier, has resigned from the New Zealand Labour Party.

In a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Barnard said:—

"At the Easter conference of the Labour Party I urged that what was needed to restore the unity of the party was restoration of democratic control of the Parliamentary caucus. I pleaded that the question should be settled then by the conference. Others did the same. It was not allowed. We were told it was a red herring.

"At the recent caucus I repeated twice that the immediate adoption of democratic methods was essential to party solidarity and success and supported the conviction by my vote. Others supported this view, but, unhappily, I found myself voting alone. I was in a minority of one.

"Nor did I vote confidence in you as leader, for you do not possess my confidence. I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that under your leadership the Parliamentary Party will not be able to exercise its democratic rights, just as I feel that there will be no Labour Party taking over of the Bank of New Zealand while Mr. Nash is Minister of Finance.

"Side by side with this refusal to caucus of its rights I view with alarm the growing political domination of some of the six industrial chiefs, who, I am satisfied, are not representative of the rank and file of the workers. It is a few, very few, years ago that all Labour members of Parliament were rallied to check the pretentions of these same gentlemen. To-day—witness the recent Easter conference—you and the Cabinet are in close alliance with them. Another nail in the coffin of democracy in the Labour Party.

"The confirmation in office of the present Cabinet until the end of the year means that the financial policy of the party (on the basis of which we were all returned to Parliament in 1935 and 1938) will still remain unfulfilled. I am convinced that unless and until that policy is fully implemented this country, already in chains, will pass deeper into bondage.

"The orthodox money system cannot sustain the burden of a long and costly war except at the price of loading the people of this country with a crushing and intolerable weight of debt. To this course I cannot agree.

"The immediate obstacle to taking over the Bank of New Zealand, which has more than once been affirmed by majority of caucus, and to monetary reform is the Minister of Finance, Mr. Nash, who continues in office. I have no confidence in Mr. Nash in that capacity.

"I also find myself at variance with you in your handling of the war situation. When Great Britain is at war we are at war, but we are entitled to fuller assurances from the British Government than the bare statement that Hitler must be defeated.

"As I stated publicly on February 7 last 'Victory is necessary—we won in 1918—but what happens then is at least three or four times as important to us and the next generation or two as the victory itself. Full and explicit reasons should be given in the press and over the air so that the "common people" upon whom everywhere the major burden falls, may not be fooled a second time."

"You apparently held some such view 20-odd years ago," Mr. Barnard's letter continued. "Moreover, the Cabinet has no right to commit this country to growing supplies of soldiers for overseas service without consulting Parliament or even the party caucus.

"The Defence Council, of which I am a member, was never fully consulted over New Zealand's commitments. It has not been consulted at all during the past four months, because it has not met since the first week in December.

"The Minister of Defence gave the show completely away when he said the progress of recruiting had been handicapped, because it was not until December that the Government had known that a division was to be sent overseas.

"Apparently Mr. Chamberlain calls the tune and we are to dance to it. As a native-born New Zealander and a representative of New Zealand Labour, I object to this servility. New Zealand is a self-governing Dominion and not a Crown colony.

"We have no returned soldier in the Cabinet. I am not satisfied with a Cabinet in which men who fought in the last war have no representation . . .

"The returned soldiers in the Parliamentary Labour Party have been ignored during recent months . . .

"I shall continue to work for the Labour movement—to realise its ideals and aims—but I decline to do so any longer as a cog in a machine which is rapidly destroying the soul of the movement," said Mr. Barnard in conclusion. "I am bound to prefer principles to persons. To act otherwise is to follow the Nazi method, which seems to be creeping into New Zealand political life. You will correctly understand this letter to mean that I hereby voluntarily resign for the present from the official New Zealand Labour Party.

"In view of the importance of this statement to my constituents and its interest to the public generally, I am handing a copy of it to the press."

ROUND THE WORLD

Sir Stafford Cripps, the new Ambassador to Russia, has since last November made a journey to India, Central Asia, Moscow, China, Canada and the United States. While the object of his journey was not announced, it is clear that it was officially sponsored.

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Saturday, June 15, 1940.

THE **SUNSETS**

Winter came. Spring, not far behind, draws towards midsummer. The English countryside has never been lovelier. St. Paul's Day (January 25) fell in the midst of the bitterest winter in living memory.

If St. Paul's day be fair and clear, It doth betide a happy year; But if it chance to snow or rain, Then will be dear all kind of grain; If clouds or mists do dark the skie, Great store of birds and beasts shall die;

And if the winds do fly aloft, Then war shall vexe the kingdome oft.

And while 'war vexe the kingdome', lilacs with their show and the hawthorns with their mantillas of white lace have never seemed so many or so Bad news is broadcast to blood-red sunsets. The heavens are aflame.

It would be hard to trace a connection between the weather and the war; but between the war and the evening sky lies the direct connection of cause and effect. As the mightily compressed mass of dusts and gases lurches upwards with each battle explosion, some atomised part of the earth's crust is carried high into the atmosphere. Friction electrifies the tiny particles, and borne on magnetic wings each flees under the force of repulsion with ever increasing speed in a medium emptier but for it at every leap. One might picture them as myriads of microscopic ghosts populating first the middle then the higher atmosphere and entering at last upon a silent and eternal pilgrimage through the resistanceless void, away, always away, without pause or fluctuation in their rate of progress, from the scene where once they constituted some visible or tangible bit of matter. Earth turns from night to night, and the rays of the setting Sun shine through the exiled hordes, and are given colour by them. For those who still see, the spectacle may outlast this summer and the next and after that the next again. So men's misspent might blushes to the stars.

It is a measure of the energy transformed by man's agency in a week.

All men see the sunsets. All do not understand the cause.

Another observation: Men are speaking a more native tongue. They speak more understandably. Even Sir Kingsley Wood says: "Ask me another!" (and doubtless Mr. Stokes will oblige!). To go out seems more and more like coming home. The accent grows more English. The idiom grows more old: thoughts more homely and familiar. Why? Because steadily for generations the land has been (precautionary cough) 'a sanctuary and harbour for oppressed of all the races of the Earth'. And the 'oppressed' seem now even less angelic than their keepers. Hitler then Signor Mussolini sped the parting but dishonourable guest. withstanding the Jews (who think we have them always with us) we seem almost to have the house to ourselves. This too is a kind of Great Detachment. indeed a kind of Much Greater Detach-Perhaps there are still English Englishmen. The world seems full of English Englishmen, now the foreign gentlemen's gettin' put away. They were 'a bit gradual like, acreepin' on us, generation by generation, as you might say; we didn't notice them, not much.' We do now they are made more conspicuous by their absence. They say a dog of any fancy breed turned wild is undistinguishable wolf or nothing in no time (owners of Pekinese need not read these lines). And it rather looks as though England's going to turn English or nothing in no time. Will it not be nice

to be understood? To have no smart aleck at one's unconscious elbow all the time hinting profundity where is only English common sense? It seems the Englishman was (is?) a very suggestible person. It only needed an alien to whisper to him that no one could be expected to understand anything but broken English in order that all English should be broken, and England with it. How nice it will be to hear a Chancellor of the Exchequer tell a quite honourable member "Yes, I think I see what you mean; indeed I do see what you mean, and I think with you that it's rather important. I fancy the jackass that wrote out for me the answer to your question must need waking up a bit, and I promise the honourable member that I will see what I can do about it."

It may be far off; but it's nearer than the stars.

PROFESSOR POLANYI ON PLANNING

In a recent talk on "Planning" Professor Polanyi pointed out that the inspiration of Social Planning was the use of planning in engineering, and that it was the character of wars of manoeuvre which inspired the conception of Collectivism." Both Social Planning and Collectivism involved the authoritarian direction that is implicit in planning, although, incidentally, trench warfare destroyed this direction. idea of the planning of Science was meaningless, as the "state of science" could not be assessed in order to control its progress or limit its sphere of operations.

In Russia, waves of hatred and suspicion against the intelligentsia were caused by the mistaken idea that these things could be done. But the necessary result of division of labour "markets" in which preferences could be expressed, so that Russia became more prosperous when collectivism (which was unable to summarise preferences) was relaxed, and less so when it was tightened The slogan of "decentralised planning" was self-contradictory.

Professor Polanyi defined proper policy of Liberalism in economics as "social action by individuals guided by the law, custom, and public opinion,"

THE FAKE-PEACE DRIVE

By T. J.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

(The ten original amendments to the Constitution of the United States)

Article I

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT PROHIBITED. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OF THE PRESS, AND RIGHT TO PETITION

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Article II

RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III

No Soldier to be Quartered in any House, Unless, etc.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV

RIGHT OF SEARCH AND SEIZURE REGULATED

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V

PROVISIONS CONCERNING PROSECUTION, TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT. PRIVATE PROPERTY NOT TO BE TAKEN FOR PUBLIC USE WITHOUT COMPENSATION

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI

RIGHT TO SPEEDY TRIAL, WITNESSES, ETC.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of cousel for his defense.

Article VII

RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy

shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII

Excessive Bail or Fines and Cruel Punishment Prohibited

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX

Rule of Construction of Constitution

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X

RIGHTS OF STATES UNDER CONSTITUTION

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Frank Murphy, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States since January 18, 1940, has contributed an article "In Defence of Democracy" to the May number of the journal, *International Conciliation*, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Some of the activities of this 'fake-Peace gang', in propagandising in English schools, military colleges and universities were described in a recent issue of *The Social Crediter*.

Not long ago Lord Baldwin was also 'defending democracy' on the other side of the Atlantic. The difficulty of defending it on this side of the Atlantic and Lord Baldwin's contribution to increase that difficulty have not altogether escaped notice.

Mr. 'Justice' Murphy winds up his 'defence' of democracy with a reprint of the Bill of Rights set out above. The curious point about this Bill is that not one of its provisions is now effective. A Judge ought to know that, and without much doubt, this one does. Mr. Murphy resembles Lord Baldwin, who also knows a thing or two, in more ways than one. Lord Baldwin is our star exponent of the technique of proclaiming devotion to aims and interests, as though they were awaiting early realisation, which have just been thwarted or are actually in process of being frustrated-and no one knows that better than he whose oratory is meanwhile colouring the scene, for the very simple reason that he is playing all the time a leading part in effecting this result. On the grand political scale this trick looks too marvellous for words. In practice it certainly acts too marvellously for the public. Actually it is no cleverer than the school-boy's trick: "My! What a fine cap you've And it is done as consciously as that. got . . Thanks!" In both cases there is the glow of surprise, and, like lightning, ownership is transferred. In one case it is merely a cap; in the other it is the body and soul of human rights.

The people hear words. They are not so quick to see things done. Quite simple people would soon cease to trust men who spoke words of derision of freedom and security. But men who filch freedom and security while rhapsodising on the theme of civil liberty are trusted to the end (which, by the bye, is less far off year by year).

Before dealing with Mr. 'Justice' Murphy's argument, there is a matter (which may appear to be a small matter) which excites curiosity. The journal in which the article appears is said to be published monthly, and to have been 'entered as second-class matter February 13, 1935.' present issue is dated May, 1940, and has, by the end of the first week in June, been widely distributed, by the plutocratic Carnegie Endowment, in England. The war-time post is not very expeditious. Say it left New York in the last week of May, took a day to dispatch, four days to set, correct and print, a day to consider for publication, three to write and correct, a day to propose and consider, a total of ten That would bring us to a week or so later than the invasion of Holland and Belgium, or six weeks after the German invasion of Norway on April Nicholas Murray Butler had on April 15 read the article in another journal, arranged for its reprinting and had written Curious that the article speaks of "those a preface to it. democracies abroad that failed to deal vigorously with illegal activities against the democratic process and that now are only memories in the minds of men"! Also: "I know there are sincere individuals who earnestly believe . . . it is not possible to maintain both civil liberty and a strong defence against internal attack at one and the same time . . . internal defence . . . defence against internal aggression . . . the tragic things that have happened elsewhere in the world . . . the delicate business of combating espionage." "Who hopes . . . the American people will profit by our own war-time mistakes and . . . by the mistakes of other democracies that no longer live to tell the story.

It is not for a moment to be supposed that Mr. Murphy planned the shocking sequence of events which surprised his countrymen so greatly during the Western Offensive, any more than that he has the gift of prophesy. Perhaps Mr. Murphy is an unconscious disciple of Mr. Dunne?

The clap-trap of veneration of 'd'markrazi' is too familiar to readers of the Carnegie Endowment's output to "We can and must still recognise that require illustration. the heart and soul of our heritage is the civil liberty of the individual." No one, however clever, can keep this sort of thing up and at the same time subserve the purposes of a pamphlet intended for world-wide circulation disclosing somewhere the nature of those purposes. Murphy's problem, frequently repeated, is the problem of how to abandon the Bill of Rights without abandoning the Bill of Rights. The answer appears to be this: In order to abandon the Bill of Rights (which in any case was abandoned long ago, and Mr. Murphy and 'America' are under no necessity of doing it all over again), in order to abandon the Bill of Rights without abandoning the Bill of Rights, it is necessary to abandon it "calmly", "judiciously", "firmly", "resolutely", "without encroachment" "vigorously"—or, to cut a long and tedious story short, "adverbially".

To anyone whom mere words do not hypnotise, this sort of thing is rather transparent. Less transparent is Mr. Murphy's statement of "what exactly is this idea of individual liberty?"

"We mean", says Murphy, "that unknown fellow, mounted on his soap box in the city street, speaking his piece about the way he thinks the country and the government ought to be run. We mean that editor or author, writing

as he pleases, condemning or commending the Administration as his opinions dictate. We mean that little group of Mennonites or Mormons or Quakers worshipping in their own churches in the way that their consciences tell them is right. We mean the ordinary citizen expressing his frank opinions to his Mayor or Congressman or President, and getting consideration from them. We mean the business man setting up his shop for the kind of business and in the kind of community that he prefers, with nothing but the public welfare to say him nay. We mean the workingman at liberty to choose his own occupation and to move when he pleases into another. We mean the scientist free to search for truth, and the educator free to teach it, unhampered by the fear of some 'superman' who makes his own truth and allows no competition."

Mr. Murphy's mistake is then to tell us that the opposite of all this is some intensely disagreeable mess somewhere else than America. It isn't. The opposite of all that is America. Even so, all that is not democracy, and, what is more important in the present connection, America is not a democracy either. The United States are not a democracy, and do not pretend to be a democracy. They are a Federal Republic, which is something entirely different.

It is not important to define a democracy; and neither a democracy nor any other order of society is capable of precise and exclusive definition. If we are seeking, as Mr. Murphy pretends to be seeking, to escape from a democratic order which does not function, we can at least make a beginning by defining the conditions in which it cannot possibly function and avoiding them. Here are three:—

- (1) No democracy can possibly function when it is systematically misinformed. It is not a matter of much importance that the Press should be free. It is a matter of primary importance that the Press should be accurate, well-informed and free from corrupt pressure.
- (2) No democracy can possibly function when its agendum is made for it, and
- (3) A democracy cannot function until every penny of its credit is first allotted to its members as a matter of right and as a matter of pure mechanism, dependent on facts not on morals, and revoted by subscription.

The United States are misinformed when its people are told that eight hundred organizations in the United States are carrying on definite anti-Jewish propaganda; that they claim to have six million followers and that, whatever the number "we face the fact of a large number of our people who subscribe to the philosophy that has reduced the Jews of Central Europe to a condition of misery seldom equalled in the world's history." A philosophy of antagonism did not produce the Jews; the Jews produced antagonism.

One of the busiest and most mischievous manufacturers of agenda for the United States and the rest of the world is the Carnegie Trust, and the fake-Peace agendum it is now making will all too soon be a real-War agendum for the American people.

The real assets of that people will soon be far from sufficient if monetised to pay their debts to their financial masters, to whom they are in pawn, and a 'democracy' in pawn is a people in bondage. "Every dweller in our land, no matter how humble, can look to the State for defence of his liberties"—and go on looking!

THE EMERGENCY POWERS (DEFENCE) BILL

The first part of this debate was published in "The Social Crediter" of June 1.

Mr. Graham White (Birkenhead, East): I hope I never trespass unduly on the time and patience of the House, and what I feel moved to say now I can say in a sentence or I believe that the introduction of this Bill and the statement made by the Lord Privy Seal will be received with a feeling of great relief by vast multitudes of the people of this country, whose abiding anxiety in recent weeks has been as to how, through their property or their services, they could make their full contribution towards the conduct In a recent speech, the French Prime Minister said that if we wished to conquer the enemy, we must first learn to conquer ourselves, and I believe that this instrument will be one of the things that will enable us to do that. will say nothing in regard to the details of the Bill, because on the Orders themselves we shall have an opportunity of doing that, but I am sure there is nobody in this House to-day who does not realise that if we are to preserve our liberties eventually and for the future, we must make a substantial surrender of them at the present time. believe, is the temper in which this Bill will be received and the temper in which I believe it will be worked.

Mr. Lewis (Colchester): Can the Lord Privy Seal assure the House that if we pass this Bill and circumstances should arise in which it is impossible for Parliament to meet, the Government are satisfied that they will then have all the powers which they require to deal with any emergency that might then arise without being hampered by the absence of legislation? I think we ought to have that assurance before we pass this Bill.

Sir Herbert Williams (Croydon, South): I think there is complete unanimity that when the Government ask for further powers the House will cheerfully grant them, but we want to have some assurance that those powers will always be wisely exercised. The Deputy-Leader of the House stated that the competent authority would be a Minister. That does not mean that it will be the personal act of a Minister, but that a Minister will act through his Therefore, the power to direct a workman to go from this factory to that factory will not be a personal order by a Minister, but it will be an order given by a servant of a Minister, and many of those orders may be unwise orders. The requisitioning power in regard to property, virtually speaking, already exists.

Four days ago a competent authority took 160 public service vehicles, which were used by the military with such indiscretion and so unnecessarily that at this moment 100 of them are under repair in the garage of the public service undertaking, and it has been necessary to call upon mechanics belonging to the military to carry through the essential I mention that as a minor example of the necessity of making sure that those who in fact are the competent authority do not wildly do things which are unwise, merely on the justification that there is a war on. The fact that there is a war on is no reason for doing anything foolish, and there are many people at this moment who, without full thought, will sometimes take advantage of the great powers which are rightly conferred upon them to do things which, in fact, are contrary to the interests of the State. it is of the greatest importance that when the regulations

are drawn the instructions to those who will exercise the practical duties of the competent authority are of such a character that mistakes of the kind with which I am familiar, and many other Members also to a great extent are familiar, shall be repeated to the smallest possible degree.

Mr. Gallacher (Fife, West): I want to take exception to this Bill. I do not see how it is possible to suggest that by taking away the liberties of the people of this country you are helping to forward any cause of liberty. The working class of this country has had no say whatever in the policy that has led to the critical and desperate situation in which we find ourselves. The ruling class of this country is responsible for what this country is facing and now seeks to save itself at the expense of the mass of the people. Bill does not represent, as an hon. Member opposite said, "an effort to conquer ourselves"; it represents a deliberate effort on the part of the ruling class of this country to conquer the working class. I can remember when I and the hon. Member for Dumbarton Burghs (Mr. Kirkwood) and others met the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George) in the last war. We put proposals before him that would give the workers in the factories and the shop stewards and the trade unions a measure of control over conditions that operated in the The right hon. Gentleman told us that anything of that character would represent a revolution and that you could not carry through a revolution in the midst of a war. What did he mean by that? He meant that if there was any attempt to cut into the power of the ruling class of this country, the ruling class would forget the war and would proceed to protect its own interests.

So we face a situation in which the ruling class is determined to hold on to its power and to bring the power of the independent organised working class to an end. the one thing that is important in this country at the present time is a strong, virile, independent working class movement. That is the one thing that is more essential than anything else for saving the people. When we talk about this country, it is the people of whom we are talking, and the masses of the people are those who are going to be fettered and imprisoned under this Bill. The country is not a geographical expression; it is the masses of the people. The working class will get absolutely nothing from this Bill. It is true that there may be interference here and there with the rights of property, and there may be certain control of organisations for the time being, but the Bill does not allow, and there will be no intention of allowing, for doing away with the rights of private property.

If there was anything serious of that kind in the minds of hon. Members opposite, there would be a complete requisitioning of all wealth and property, and everything would be taken over, but what do we find? What did you have yesterday in this House? The ex-Prime Minister, whose policy more than anything else has brought us to this terrible pass, came in, and all the profiteering Members opposite cheered him, deliberately demonstrating for the ex-Prime Minister, and when the new Prime Minister, who is supposed to be winning the war, came in, they were

completely silent.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's argument has nothing to do with the Bill.

Mr. Gallacher: With all this talk going on about national unity and everything being wanted for the common good, it is clear that those on the other side who are interested in private property and finance have their eye on the ex-Prime Minister and those associated with him. It is finance that they are concerned with, more than anything else, as was demonstrated yesterday.

Mr. Logan: What view are you taking? Are you speaking for this country, or for whom are you speaking?

Mr. Gallacher: I am concerned about this country, deeply concerned about it, and always have been, but I am concerned for the masses of the people of this country, and I am against the small gang of the ruling class who have brought us face to face with this disaster. When I speak about the country I am concerned with the masses of the people, because there is no such thing as a country if you do not take the people into consideration. The masses of the people have had no say whatever in the policy that has led to this disaster, and it is the masses of the people who are now getting their liberties taken away by this Bill, while the property of the ruling class remains intact. The main principle of the rights of property on the part of a small group, whose profits are going up all the time as a con-You can see sequence of the war, is adequately protected. in the financial papers how their profits are going up, and at the same time the liberties of the many are to be sacrificed. Therefore, I am opposed to this Bill.

Mr. Logan (Liverpool, Scotland): If ever there was an occasion when the nation should listen to the House of Commons, it is to-day. The liberties of the people can be enjoyed by the people only if there is unity in the country, but it is foreign to me to hear an alien voice raised in this House that has a country in every part of the world except the country in which he lives. I think that at this time we not only have to protect ourselves by the laws that we make, but that this Bill should enunciate views which are subservient to the voice of the people of the land. In the case of leprosy and other diseases, we are very careful to see that we have proper protection against them, but unlicensed Therefore, I speech in this House is doing great injury. think that for the common good it is about time that a voice like that of the hon. Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher) was silenced as regards the question of the emergency powers I have listened for a long time that we ought to exercise. to a quartette in this House that professes to speak on behalf of the people of the land in regard to laws that are being passed, and I have lived all my life among the poor and have seen my sons and those of my home having to go out and fight to protect the very people who claim the licence to say and do whatever they like in the British House of Commons.

If unity is to be brought about, and this nation is to be saved, that unity must come in common action, and it is because of that that I do not intend to be a cipher in the House of Commons. We are about to pass laws which, in my humble opinion are absolutely essential—not only that Stalin might have views expressed but that we at a later date may be able to give expression to our views and bring about a better state of affairs of our land. This is an honourable institution, and it can only be made more

honourable by Members of the House recognising that this land fought for and won its liberties and defending them at all costs. We will give to any Government, provided it is a legitimate Government working in the interest of one and all, every power it can exercise for the common welfare of the people.

Mr. Garro Jones (Aberdeen, North): I always think that the extreme tolerance which this House invariably shows to the amazing statements and strictures made by the hon. Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher) provides the best answer to the speeches he makes. I rise only to put a qustion to the Lord Privy Seal, which I do not ask him necessarily to answer now, in relation to the penalties that will be imposed on owners of property and on persons who may show some recalcitrance in carrying out directions. share the view of every Member that this Bill will be welcomed in every quarter of the country. however, be very small minorities who for various reasons may prove recalcitrant in carrying out directions, and I would like an assurance that the penalties will be proportionate to their profits and the magnitude of their offence. stand that in certain other Defence Regulations there are standard penalties for a whole range of offences. The scale of requisition of persons and property which will take place under this Bill may not be adequately covered by the penalties which are already in force, and I hope that some attention will be given to them.

Mr. Kirkwood (Dumbarton Burghs): When the Lord Privy Seal was making his statement, I asked how much the Bill would affect private property. I waited patiently to see whether private property and the banking interests were to be affected to the same extent as the working class, and as far as I was able to gauge the situation there is a distinct difference. The working class, as I understand the Lord Privy Seal, are to be tied hand and foot, and private property is not. I will defeat that distinction to the best of my ability. I do not happen to represent either Russia, or Rome, or Jerusalem—

Mr. Logan: Or reason.

Mr. Kirkwood: I represent the working class of my country, and my countrymen will have something to say about this Bill if it works as I understood from the Lord Privy The landed interests and the big Seal that it will work. financial interests are not to be affected to the same extent as the working class. My class are to be conscripted; the Government are going to conscript the life of the worker. They will not do that as far as I can hinder it unless they conscript wealth also. That is supposed to be the programme of the Socialist movement as I have always I heard in the last war all that the Lord understood it. Privy Seal stated to-day. We had then the same promises about what would happen after the war. In the War Cabinet then were two of the most powerful men ever produced by our party in George N. Barnes and Arthur They gave every promise, to engineers in particular, that all trade rights would be guaranteed, but in 1920 the wages of highly skilled engineers were less than those of scavengers in the streets of London. happened to us, and that is what will happen again unless the Labour party prevent it. At that time there were not so many Socialists in the House of Commons as there are There were not so many man sent here by the to-day. There were not so many representatives of the workers.

miners, whose conditions to-day are hellish. Every time an accident has occurred in the mines, I have asked in the House whether everything is being done that science and engineering can devise to prevent these tragedies, and I am not satisfied that all is being done that might be done.

Unless the workers are to be treated under this Bill on an equal footing with the great, the rich and the allpowerful, I shall do all I can to get my class to resist. Hon. Members should not run away with the idea that because certain Labour and trade union leaders have gone over to the Government side of the House the working-class movement is dead. You may do what you like, but that movement cannot be killed; however it is put down, it will rise again. Even the slaves who were taken from the wilds of Africa as savages and put into the cotton fields of Carolina revolted against their slavery. So will our people revolt. It is no use the Lord Privy Seal and his partners thinking that the working-class movement are just going to fall under the provisions of this Bill without protest, unless all interests are treated alike. The working class of this country have a country to defend, and they are capable of defending it. All that they have is in the country. They have not wealth invested across the seas. The whole of their lives, everything that they have, their wives and families, are all here. Everything for which they have a regard is here, and they will defend it. Down the ages we have had to defend every right that we have against the ruling class. Everything that we have has had to be fought for against the ruling class with which my colleagues and my leaders have now allied themselves. Now is their opportunity to state to the ruling class, "We will defend the country with everything that we have, we will put everything at the disposal of the country, provided the country is ours and all that is in it, instead of belonging to the ruling class as it has done in the past."

Miss Rathbone (Combined English Universities): I will be brief because I do not think the House is in any mood for The hon. Member for Dumbarton Burghs speech-making. (Mr. Kirkwood) had better concentrate his attention on how to fight Hitler rather than on how to fight the ruling class. The Lord Privy Seal stated the intention of the Government in respect to wage agreements and so forth. he mean that the existing wage rates, trade agreements and industrial agreements will be frozen as they are now, or that the existing machinery for regulating wage rates and so forth will continue? It seems to me that some Members took the Lord Privy Seal's remarks in the former sense and that we were being given a gentleman's agreement on the part of the Government to keep up existing wage rates or if there was any change to give something higher. If this Bill with its exceptional and dangerous powers, which we recognise as necessary, has to go on for some time, there may be such changes in the financial position of the country that a modification of industrial arrangements and scales both up Women are coming in as and down may be necessary. substitutes for men in the engineering trade. numbers of women have to be employed and the Government pledge themselves to pay the rates recognised for men as the rate for the job, that may be right or wrong, but it is a big undertaking to which to commit ourselves without any May we therefore have a little more explanation of the industrial side of this Measure?

Mr. Tinker (Leigh): The Lord Privy Seal mentioned that each Minister would issue Orders as he felt them to

be necessary. I take it, however, that they will be issued only on a decision by the Cabinet and that it will not be left to each Minister to take it upon himself to issue them. If it is necessary to nationalise the mines or take over the land for the welfare of the State and the prosecution of the war, I take it that there will be no hesitation in putting full powers into operation. We must be assured that the changes that are necessary to win the war will apply not only to the working class. Equal sacrifice should be called for from all sections in the country, and if necessary wealthy people should be called upon to play their share like everybody else.

Mr. Mainwaring (Rhondda, East): Did I understand the Lord Privy Seal to say that the Minister of Labour, with his additional powers for increasing the mobilisation of labour generally, will seek powers to restore a factory which was in operation before the war but at which work has been suspended since the outbreak of the war? We still have large numbers of unemployed, and some of them may be residing in places where there is no present or future hope of employment. It may be necessary to transfer them to places some distance from their present homes. Minister of Labour going to restore the power to assist the workers and their families to move to the new place of employment, because that is a power which has been suspended since the outbreak of the war?

Sir Richard Acland (Barnstaple): I have one or two suggestions to put to the Lord Privy Seal, entirely on my I cannot speak as a representative of the working classes in the same way as the hon. Member for Dumbarton Burghs (Mr. Kirkwood). Most of those who vote for him are workers, and I do not think one can claim to represent the workers in that sense unless one has been through the life of a working man, which I have not. should like to make a suggestion on behalf of a small number of people who are in positions roughly corresponding to my I am rather looking forward to the day when something of this kind will happen: that the Lord Privy Seal or his representative will come to my house, or to houses of similar size, and say, "You have here some very attractive pictures by Joshua Reynolds"-or whoever it may be-"We are taking those pictures and are selling them in America to buy aeroplanes." When I ask what compensation is to be given for those pictures, I am looking forward to receiving the two answers "The means test and Keynes' Plan. Let us see how much you have to live upon after we have taken these pictures, and as to the rest let there be deferred compensation." I merely offer that suggestion to the Lord Privy Seal, because, I submit, when that kind of thing begins to happen in this country in relation to property, it will be very much easier to solve some of the difficulties which were forecast by my hon. Friends above the Gangway. is the kind of thing, only on a very small scale, which I mean by conscription of wealth, and unless the Government are prepared to act in that way we shall run into trouble.

Mr. Logan: Of what value would porcelain or beautiful pictures be in a time like this?

Sir R. Acland: They could be very valuable indeed, because if we sold them in America, we should have purchasing power with which to buy aeroplanes. We shall run out of American dollars if this is to be a prolonged struggle.

(To be continued)

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