

# THE SOCIAL CREDITER

## FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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### MODERN SCIENCE (XVII)

Also appointed in 1941 was Dr. J. A. Venn as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. He is President of Queens' College, and is an economist of agriculture whose contribution to scholarship is a complete biographical register of all known Cambridge men from the earliest times to 1900. His book, *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, reached its 2nd edition in 1933. Venn became statistician to the Food Production Department in 1917, and after 1919 was at the Ministry of Agriculture. He was Advisory Officer to the Ministry from 1923 to 1932, and was elected a Fellow of his college in 1927. He is a member of the Scientific Council of the International Agricultural Institute in Rome, and of various Departmental Committees of the Ministry of Agriculture, Colonial Office and Empire Marketing Board, and Chairman of the Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Agricultural Wages Board.

As *The Government of Oxford* points out, "subject to the intervention of death or resignation, the possible succession to the Vice-Chancellorship is known years ahead." I am not, of course, suggesting that the war was arranged for 1938-1945 in order that England should have the benefit of the services of Dr. Lindsay, Sir W. D. Ross, and Dr. J. A. Venn—Planning, Armaments (and ready-made tailoring, shirt-making, dressmaking, etc.) and the Economics of Agriculture—as heads of its ancient universities for at least a part of the time. Of nineteen Oxford Colleges, seven have Heads prominently connected with politics and administration. Four years after Sir W. D. Ross became Provost of Oriel, Professor W. G. S. Adams became Warden of All Souls. The Warden of All Souls is *ex officio* an elector to the Drummond Professorship of Political Economy, the Chichele Professorship of Economic History (advertised in *The Times* last week as vacant) and the Chichele Professorship of Modern History. In the first of these offices, he and the Vice-Chancellor are assisted in their choice of a candidate by Sir Arthur Salter, Professor Carr-Saunders, head of the London School of Economics, Mr. R. V. Lennard, author of *Democracy: the Threatened Foundations* (1941), an historian of the economics of agriculture, Sir William Beveridge and Mr. Henry Clay, an economic advisor to the Bank of England since 1933. Presumably Professor Adams and Sir R. W. Livingstone, President of Corpus Christi, some of whose views have been published in *The Social Crediter*, will be available for the Vice-Chancellorship of Oxford before Sir William Beveridge's turn comes. Professor Adams was a member of the Committee to advise the Cabinet on Irish Finance in 1911, was with the Ministry of Munitions in 1915 and Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. David Lloyd George, from 1916-19. He edited the War Cabinet Reports, 1917-18, and has since been on five Committees and Commissions.

Is there any reason why high scholarship and intellectual

attainment should not be placed freely at the disposal of the Nation? I can only answer that, in my opinion, the question embodies a most interesting suggestion, of which some notice might be taken, late as it is.

Since the late Sir Ernest Cassel's (a naturalised alien) reply to the late Lord Haldane, that he richly endowed the London School of Economics in order to train bureaucrats for the new order of Socialism is on record, there is no need to analyse its construction here. In what have lately come to be called the "Red-Brick" universities, Liverpool and Birmingham have 'political' heads, though Dr. Priestley's (the Shackleton and Scott Antarctic Expeditions and the Signal Service) is less obtrusive than Sir A. D. McNair's record which comprises the Secretaryship of the Coal Conservation Committee, 1916-18, that of the Advisory Board of the Coal Controller, 1917-19, and that of the Sankey Commission itself. Sir A. D. McNair is a Cambridge International Lawyer. Sir Thomas H. Holland at Edinburgh, Sir Hector Hetherington (a student of Sir Henry Jones's) at Glasgow and Sir J. C. Irvine at St. Andrews have a long record of Public Service.

(To be continued.)

TUDOR JONES.

### FROM WEEK TO WEEK

Isn't it odd that the rise into prominence of the C.C.F. (Canadian Socialist Party) was contemporaneous with the planting on Canada of a batch of Officials from the London School of Economics and the Bank of "England"?

The C.C.F. does not control a single Provincial Government, and has a small representation in the Federal House of Commons. It is, however, featured in *The Times* (the London threepenny daily) on every occasion in which Canadian politics are discussed. The Social Credit Members are not mentioned except at the rarest intervals.

Vancouver has always been considered the stronghold of the C.C.F. Sir Victor Sassoon is taking a great interest in it.

In the recent municipal elections, the C.C.F. candidates were completely swamped. Ask *The Times* for details.

"The time has come when other peoples—to judge from the state of the world around us—might well learn something from us.

"And why should one not say so? I simply do not understand why this country, which has made by far the most creative contribution to the modern world, should be expected to be apologetic about it."

—A. L. ROWSE in *The Observer*, January 23.

In 1913 Mr. David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the

Exchequer, and ex-Solicitor of the Zionist Movement, joined a branch of the Liberal Party devoted to reducing the size of the British Navy.

It will no doubt have been noticed that in all the flood of well-deserved but somewhat belated abuse and scorn directed against Mussolini and his Guild Socialist State, the names of Counts Pirelli and Volpi, who financed it, and selected Mussolini as the shop window for it, are never mentioned.

"If democracy is to survive, we must understand the principles of individualism and hold them as our standard in any public question. We must learn to reject as total evil the conception that the common good is served by the abolition of individual rights. . .

"Totalitarianism is collectivism. Collectivism means subjugation of the individual to the group. . . for the sake of what is called 'the common good' . . . No tyrant ever rose to power except on the claim of representing 'the common good.'"

— AYN RAND in *The Moral Basis of Individualism*.

Madame Rand is a Russian, born in St. Petersburg, and a graduate of St. Petersburg University.

TO OUR OVERSEAS READERS: The *London Times* is allegedly controlled by a Board on which sit the Governor of the Bank of "England" and the Archbishop of Canterbury, *inter alia*.

It has been systematically publicising the Canadian C.C.F., which it refers to sometimes as Labour, and sometimes as Socialist: On February 10, a Leader page special article entirely devoted to an "explanation," without any adverse criticism, of the C.C.F. was published.

On January 5, Mr. Coldwell, leader of the C.C.F. Party, gave an interview in Vancouver, in which he said, *inter alia*, "among C.C.F. aims are State control of the banking system, with subsequent control of investments and foreign trade."

We commend the situation disclosed by these circum-

stances to your careful consideration.

Probably no teaching institution since that kept by Mr Wackford Squeers has become so universally discredited as the London School of Economics, which ostensibly grew out of the Fabian Society. The unkindest cut of all is Mr. Bernard Shaw's letter, which torpedoed his Fabian principles of taxation beyond all hope of salvage.

### '18 B' IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

In the *Rhodesian Herald* (October 1943) the Minister of Justice, Captain H. Bertin, in answer to a Parliamentary question regarding the release of Mr. H. H. Beamish from detention is reported to have said:

"I assume the man referred to is Mr. H. H. Beamish. His Commandant at No. 1. (General) Internment Camp for the best part of a year had opportunities to form an opinion on his political outlook and he says that Mr. Beamish is not, as far as he knows, an avowed supporter of the Nazis—and that is my view. Particular enquiry as to whether persons are supporters of Communism, Naziism or other 'isms' with a view to imprisoning them has not been made."

A side light is thrown on this in the Southern Rhodesia *Parliamentary Report* for June 8, 1938, when a motion was brought up regarding the case of a Mr. Cowrie, who was said to be illegally detained in a lunatic asylum. The *Report* reads:

"Through H. H. Beamish he joined the anti-semitic movement. He stated that Mr. Huggins was a member and a strong supporter behind the scenes. He was three years in an asylum, where he was seen by Messrs. Macintyre and Keller [both M.P.s]. Many of his friends are of the opinion that he was put into an asylum because he was a danger to the Prime Minister (Mr. Huggins) from a political point of view."

In effect Mr. Cowrie was put in an asylum, and Mr. Beamish was interned.

## The Increase in Canadian Production

The *Toronto Industrial Bulletin* gives the following table in its issue for January, 1944:—

INDICATORS OF CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION 1939-1943  
(1935-1939 = 100)\*

	August 1939	August 1940	August 1941	August 1942	August 1943
National Income		138.8	168.1	186.5	218.9
Physical volume of business	109.3	130.2	172.4	205.7	241.0
Industrial production	109.0	139.3	183.0	232.5	276.8
Mineral production	142.3	157.6	258.4	216.6	337.7
Manufacturing production	103.3	135.7	179.0	248.8	290.8
Iron and Steel	84.0	183.9	284.2	489.5	589.9
Forestry	105.5	134.0	138.4	120.7	127.2
Construction	117.3	168.9	143.9	114.3	84.9
Electric Power	109.9	119.4	126.1	142.8	163.7
Distribution	107.9	113.6	150.3	150.4	166.9

\*The indexes for 1939 are weighted on a peacetime basis; the indexes 1940-1943 have been revised to give due representation to the underlying factors of war production.

## Black Diamonds

Being extracts from THE MEANS TO FULL EMPLOYMENT by the Celebrated Economist Mr. G. D. H. Cole.

Arranged by a DILIGENT STUDENT\*

The plain truth is that a community which means to be democratic and to do what its citizens want, cannot withhold greater social security in face of the general demand for it (p. 16). But it is not good for men and women to be without a regular job (p. 25). *Just like that. So, looking towards the Great Exemplar:* The Leaders of the Soviet Union... did, no doubt make use of forced labour as a definitely penal measure against the Kulak class which they were determined to liquidate. But... the men who were sent to the timber camps... were not unemployed... (p. 9). *Which is of course the point. But some can't see that, and so:* One potent weapon in this campaign is likely to be the assertion that 'full employment' involves industrial compulsion (p. 13). *Against which we have the consolation that:* The abolition or severe limitation of unearned incomes would force more people to work (p. 21).

As Lord Keynes has wisely said 'in the long run we are all dead' (p. 43).

Unemployment is cyclical and structural... (*A hippopotamus, they say, is capable of a four foot yawn*) but I do not, for example, hold that an increase of population carries with it the prospect of an increase in unemployment—even when the addition to the population consists mainly of immigrants of working age (p. 70).

Money is... essentially unstable (p. 36). Money was invented to facilitate real exchanges; but in achieving this it somehow gets out of hand and develops, most inconveniently, a 'behaviour' of its own (p. 35). *Naughty money, this is!* What is left is the notion that the level of investment can be influenced by banking policy (p. 6). *Naughty notion!*

The Bank of England... has latterly taken a number of industrialists and Lord Keynes, into its inner councils; but it is to be doubted whether it has really changed its spots. It could still make itself very awkward... (p. 125). *The Ugly Customer, whose comment (Nationalisation? I welcome it) has become a 'classic quote'!*

It is still deemed somewhat ungentlemanly to mention to an orthodox banker the obvious fact that he habitually creates and destroys money... This, however, is all mumbo jumbo (p. 115). *So what?* the State, if it wants to create money and use it... must take over the Central Bank. *Nationalisation? We give it. Or better:* A Government bent on carrying through a full employment policy would be wise... to take control of the main commercial banks as well as of the Central Bank (p. 126). *Alleluia! or, best of all:* Keynes proposes that an International Bank shall start by making money out of nothing (p. 143). *Internationalisation, planned by that Ugly Customer, 'who might still make himself very awkward'—unless he gets it.*

If the banks were taken over there would be nothing to prevent the State from following a policy of 'consumer credits'... up to the total needed to equip the community with money supply adequate to sustain conditions of 'full

employment' (p. 159). *On those terms and for that objective.* But is it a SENSIBLE policy? Its effect is to act directly on the level of demand for consumers' goods and services (p. 159). *Low, that, in fact probably not yet quite gentlemanly. However:* the balance of advantages is plainly in favour of 'public works' as against 'consumer credits' (p. 162).

The more wasteful (State Works) are the more labour they will employ and the more indirect employment they create... This is not a defence of wastefulness but... wastefulness will not matter until a state of 'full employment' is approached (p. 78). Great Britain, after the war, will be faced with the necessity of largely increasing exports (p. 138). Efficiency is the thing to aim at... not simply a matter of good management, good machinery and labour skill; it is also a matter of achieving the most economical selling organisation that can be devised (p. 146)... *Wastefulness at home, efficiency for export.* If business men are in a bad mood it may take a really tremendous programme of public works to break down their resistance (p. 85). *Widespread wastefulness for moody men.*

There are persons—I am myself among their numbers—who cannot abide the highly placed Civil Servants, and will be strongly tempted to oppose anything which is likely to increase their powers (p. 8). *Temptations may be resisted.* The appropriate remedy [against Monopoly]... is the establishment of a Control Board, the Chairman should rank as a public servant (*not civil*) as in Public Corporations such as the Central Electricity Board (p. 135). *It seems doubtful whether C.E.B. smells like a rose, so Shakespeare remains unquoted. The "B." B.C.? Comparisons are liable to be odorous.*

What, then, can have possessed the clever gentlemen at the Treasury to talk such rubbish [White paper, 1929]?... They lied, as people often lie in the assurance of being right in their conclusions and therefore justified in backing them up with any arguments they could find, however nonsensical, if they could be made to look plausible (p. 82). *Sound stuff. Application strictly confined to clever gentlemen.* H. E.

### Late Again!

Eire is in danger of producing an intellectual proletariat.  
— The Dublin correspondent of *The Economist*, February 12.

## ABERHART MANNING

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\*The DILIGENT STUDENT'S comments are in italics. The rest is by Mr. COLE: *The Means to Full Employment* is published by V. Gollancz, 1943.

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### The Military Sanction

The ideal is to the real as one end of a stick is to the other end. And, in the same way, the relative is to the absolute as two ends of another stick. The heresy into which the world has fallen is the heresy of the one-ended stick. While the sand is running, an hour-glass is useless if you turn it: you may go on turning it for as long as you live, and your life-time is still shorter than an hour. But an hour-glass through which the sand has run is useless unless you do turn it. Motion and rest are relative to one another, but absolute in themselves. We are being pressed to live in a world of irreversible hour-glasses: a heretical world. To every question which is a real question there is a right answer; but only one right answer. If you find yourself in possession of two right answers, they are the answers to two questions, not one. There is therefore an orthodoxy, and to be orthodox is to be right. Most people are wrong. They are heretics. This is an age of heresy, in which orthodoxy has a small yet a certain and an absolute place. One of the functions of Social Credit is to show the reality of heresy. Unless a thing is real it cannot be overcome; and it is a further part of the function of Social Credit to overcome heresy, *i.e.*, error. Error is something worse than a mistake. The world has to be brought to realise that it is not venial to make mistakes: that heresy is unpardonable, even when the individual who falls into heresy is pardonable. This is merely to distinguish correctly between the individual and his crime. A crime and an individual are two different things. Encouraged as we are to fall into heresy, by heretics, we are correspondingly discouraged from orthodoxy. We cannot see eye to eye with this because we have previously seen eye to eye with that. "There is no religion higher than Truth." But there are plenty of religions higher than Truth In The Abstract—possibly all religions are. Quite possibly the arch-heresy with which we are contending is the notion that Truth is an abstraction. You can do what you like with an abstraction, because in the end all abstractions boil down to nothing at all, and to do what you like with nothing is to do nothing. So all heresies boil down to negation, and the parent heresy is just the negation of the whole damned universe. But Social Credit is both negation and assertion: the complementary ends of the stick taken whole and together. It is doubtless hard for a pampered people in full flight from the inherent double-endedness of everything, "who, in leisured ease, No King can govern, and no God can please," to pull up, for to pull up is not an affair of the mind but of the will: it is a moral, not an intellectual

function, and where the intellect is head-strong, the will is weak.

This is true in matters as urgent as any the Social Credit movement has ever had to face, or ever will have to face. Take, for example, the military sanction. If you are not going to impose a settlement on the Germans by force, then why fight? Call it off! The disruption of *all* centralised power organisations is essential to the survival of the world, and Germany is the place to begin. There is not much doubt that the power maniacs in every country—and haven't we some!—will fight tooth and nail to see that Germany is not dismembered, so that they can start another war. And their greatest ally will be fuzzy-wuzzy-Christianity, which, by the bye, is one-ended-stick-Christianity. The injunction to love your neighbour doesn't say, or mean, that you have got to like him. Taken in conjunction with the injunction to love *as*, not *better than*, it obviously means that you should do what is best for both of you. We can all agree that Germany mustn't be allowed to play with those nasty little guns—she's too young. And if we don't stop her, and anyone else after her (but her first, since she has thrust herself into the van), the war will have been fought in vain.

### 'The Needed New Regiment of Modern Administrators'

*The Economist* of February 12 has the following:—

"If an Economic Civil Service is not promptly set up, properly staffed and paid, with proper status in the permanent hierarchy of administration—that is, if the machinery of government, which, directly or indirectly, will extend after the war farther into the economic field than ever before, is entrusted to unskilled hands inadequately supervised—not even the best projects to make the most of the nation's resources by a suitable marriage of public and private enterprise are likely to succeed. Government will be, in fact, what it is so often said to be—a brake on the wheel; and the many tasks not suited for private management will either be undone or publicly botched.

"The present danger is all in this direction. The after-war demand for cutting down the wartime Civil Service is already being anticipated. The apparent ill treatment of temporary civil servants in the matter of pay-as-you-go income tax is only one instance of the casual esteem in which they are held. . .

"These are the men who, with others like them, can staff the Boards and Commissions which may be set up between industry and the state. . . These are the men who will be able to watch over the community's interests and to fashion for their chiefs a consistent code of economic policy. Yet the doors are already being opened to bow them out of the Civil Service.

"... Much of the press and, so, many of its readers will soon be up in arms against every 'expendable' bureaucrat; inside, there are some permanent civil servants prepared to give the parting push. It is precisely because of these obstacles, as well as the gap to be filled, that action should be taken now to create the needed new regiment of modern administrators."

## REACTIONS

By B. M. PALMER

It is possible to have a small amount of sympathy for Mr. H. G. Wells's outburst against Leopold Schwarzschild's *World in Trance*, in a review published in the *Sunday Express* of January 30. It must be disconcerting, to say the least, when one has spent a lifetime in the advocacy of "ideas," as opposed to "power," in urging "the scientific analysis of operating social causes and the possibility of remoulding human relationships nearer to man's heart's desire" to find that it is possible for a widely diverging point of view to attain the rank of a best-seller, especially when one was so certain the New Order was as good as established. And then to point out that power is not necessarily evil in itself—that it can be used correctly or incorrectly! And still further, to think that human relationships do not need remoulding so much as protecting—I ask you!

Among the passages selected by Mr. Wells for special vituperation is the following:—"There are good reasons why the millenium has never materialised. Mankind and human communities change their essential nature in the course of thousands of years as little as the wolf and the pack of wolves, or the sheep and the herd of sheep change theirs. The task has always been the same. Against the eternally lurking jungle, weapons and compulsion are always the only defence, and nothing liberates us from the duty of doing the utmost for ourselves."

This to most clear-sighted people, would seem to be a fairly accurate picture of the last four years. But Mr. Wells believes that the conditions of life have now been completely revolutionised. He thinks the situation has changed because the idea that a world may be either organised on a basis of abundance, security and peace, or else destroyed, has been disseminated throughout the world by the intellectuals whom Schwarzschild despises. At the risk of being boring, it might be pointed out that such possibilities were placed before Mr. Wells nearly 25 years ago, at a time when ideas might have emerged into power and fruition, but Mr. Wells seemed strangely deaf to them. Power being evil, or shall we say "negative," to the intellectuals, the eternally lurking jungle got yet another innings. Now it seems Mr. Wells is ready to accept the "ideas" of abundance, security and peace. *Ideas*, mind you. The *fact* that abundance has receded some years into the future seems to be of small importance to him. At least ten years of semi-scarcity may be before us. But we may enjoy the *ideas*!—more carrots for unwilling donkeys.

The problem has always been the same—the "good," typified by the sheep in the story, have got to learn to use their weapons as cleverly as the "wolves" use theirs. Ideas cannot triumph alone. It seems extraordinary that Mr. Wells should think so. But he really does seem to. There is a ring of outraged sincerity about his article.

It is not my purpose to write another review of this book, already dealt with on January 22 in this paper, but to draw attention to certain strange reactions following on its appearance.

I have pointed out that in my view the Jewish question was inadequately dealt with by Herr Schwarzschild

—so far as I remember, apart from deploring the atrocities, there are not more than three references to it, one a few lines in the preface, which was written by Professor D. W. Brogan. Mr. Wells seems to have been through the book with a sieve, looking for antisemitism, and having found Professor Brogan's remark, he feels justified in dubbing both him and Schwarzschild blood brothers of Goebbels. It seems that in discussing the German repudiation of War Guilt, Brogan wrote: "They had been well-trained in such sophistries by left-wing intellectuals, many of them Jews." So now we know what anti-semitism is.

It seems a well-established "idea" that the Jews are above all criticism, and that whoever else is wrong, they are always right. They must never be mentioned but as martyrs or saints. It is almost as though they were the Incarnate God. If this is not a "complex" it is difficult to know what is.

Nor does this attitude of the Left-wing intellectual differ very much, except in one important particular, from the attitude of the deeply religious Jew towards his own race. It is this aspect which we should do well to study, as it is, in all probability, the key to the whole philosophical tangle with which we are faced.

In a recent sermon entitled *The People of Destiny* and published in the *Jewish Chronicle* on November 5, 1943, appeared these words:—"The greatest threat to the existence of the Jew, to the pursuance of his glorious destiny as the guardian of God's law and the remembrancer of His principle for the advancement of man, lies not in the cruellest persecution, but in genuine tolerance and security."

It is all there, the arrogance of the intellectual and planner who knows, and alone knows, the will of God; the martyr and saint complex which joys under persecution, because of the limelight it brings; and, moreover, the perfect apprehension of the strategical advantage of being deified by one part of the world and execrated by the other. You get all the publicity, while race consciousness is strengthened to any point desired, by regulating the amount of persecution accordingly. Asylums are always found for those who escape persecution—another great advantage.

To speak in psychological jargon for a moment, you have in Germany and Jewry the perfect partnership of the Sadist and the Masochist.

The only way out of this impasse is a laying bare of the facts of the case, dispassionately, without fear or favour. And this has got to be done before peace can come to the world.

And this is exactly what they have determined shall never be done. Dispassionate consideration is always sidetracked by keeping the emotions in a constant turmoil of irrationality.

For, at the slightest sign that anyone is putting forward suggestions that may lead to a saner state of affairs, when the human race may reasonably expect to be a little happier and problems settled, there is always a cry of "anti-semitism," the strongest red herring of all.

But if the Jews think persecution is good for them, we think fair treatment is good for them, and shall not be deterred from giving it to them by attempts to call it by the wrong name.

## The Sugar-coated Pill

"It is not surprising," said Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, last week, "if the people of this country are beginning to inquire: 'What is inside this sugar-coated pill? Does this mean that everyone in the country is going to have an identity card planted on him, that he is going to give up his rights under common law?'"

He was speaking on Medical aspects of the Beveridge Report. *The Times* which omits the above words, reports Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson as saying that they awaited the report of the inter-departmental committee on medical schools. They were not consulted about the composition of the committee, and they must not be blamed for the rumour that the report was already being referred to, before its publication, "as the Gospel according to Gower Street."

The Minister of Health was present.

## Dr. Evatt threatens the Four States

Dr. Evatt, moving in the House of Representatives on February 11 the second reading of the Bill for a referendum to amend the Constitution by granting the Commonwealth 14 additional powers approved by the Canberra Constitutional Convention\* for five years after the war, said that the failure of Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania to pass the Bill approved by the convention had created an anomalous, absurd situation, full of peril not only to the Commonwealth but also to the people of those States.

The issue for the four States might well be whether the Commonwealth should extend to them beneficial Commonwealth legislation which it could now lawfully pass in reference to New South Wales and Queensland, which had passed the convention's Bill. The powers sought had been transferred to the Commonwealth by New South Wales and Queensland, and Commonwealth action might be essential to secure employment for the people of those two States, in which event there would be complaints of discrimination for which, not the Commonwealth, but the non-acceding States would be responsible.

The referendum proposal would give the Commonwealth additional powers only on probation. One advantage of this would be that the people would obtain the benefit of an important constitutional experiment.

\*The grant of these powers would lead to the complete centralisation of power in the Federal government.

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## Points from Parliament

*House of Commons, February 9, 1944.*

### PERSIAN OIL (PIPE LINE PROJECT)

*Captain Gamman* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he has any statement to make on the terms under which the U.S.A. Government will construct a pipe-line from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean; and if, in particular, it means that the U.S.A. will acquire sovereignty over the territory occupied by the pipe-line and the employer will enjoy extra territorial privileges.

*Mr. Eden:* I have no statement to make on this subject at present. So far as my information goes, this project is at present in a very preliminary stage, and before it is developed it will no doubt be for the United States Government to approach the other Governments concerned.

*Mr. Shinwell:* Although this project is only in its preliminary stages, ought not the British Government to be consulted in a matter which so profoundly concerns the interests of this country and the Commonwealth?

*Mr. Eden:* Yes, Sir. I am expecting a report from His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington on the subject.

*Mr. Colegate:* Would not my right hon. Friend consider making a statement as soon as possible on the work of the Foreign Oil Concessions Committee of the United States? There are a great many rumours.

*Mr. Eden:* It is not for me to make a statement of that kind.

*Mr. Molson:* Can my right hon. Friend say whether it will be necessary to get the concurrence of the British Government before the pipe-line is laid?

*Mr. Eden:* This project, as I have said, is in its early stages. It is quite obvious that before it comes to fruition, consultations will be necessary with all the Governments concerned.

### POSTAL AND TELEGRAPHIC CENSORSHIP

*Sir Leonard Lyle* asked the Minister of Information whether he can give an assurance that it is a standing instruction of the Postal and Telegraph Censorship that no private letter is copied and circulated for the information of permanent and temporary civil servants unless it is essential for those civil servants to see the material in the interests of the Defence of the Realm.

*The Minister of Information (Mr. Brendan Bracken):* If, as I assume, my hon. Friend includes the efficient prosecution of the war in the term "Defence of the Realm" I can give him the assurance for which he asks. The instructions as to what information shall be reported to any Government Department are kept under constant review, and the principal object of that review is to ensure that the contents of a letter are not reported unless it is essential for the carrying out of the duties of that Department directly relating to the prosecution of the war.

House of Commons: February 10, 1944.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS DISQUALIFICATION BILL

[This Bill continues for a further year an Act enabling Members of Parliament to the number of 25 to hold offices of profit under the Crown, provided they hold a certificate from the Prime Minister. It provoked unexpectedly warm debate and a bitter attack on the Government from Mr. A. Bevan.]

*Mr. Shinwell* (Seaham): ... I am mindful of the case of the right hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Oxford University (Sir A. Salter) who was and may still be—because the point has not been clarified—Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport. He has recently been seconded—that was the term used—to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration...

*The Attorney-General*: It does not come under the Bill. There is no certificate and that appointment is not an office under the Crown. The right hon. Gentleman is in the service of U.N.R.R.A., so that he would not be affected by this Bill.

*Mr. Shinwell*: ... My right hon. and learned Friend says that the appointment of the right hon. Member for Oxford University to U.N.R.R.A. is not an appointment to an office of profit under the Crown. On the other hand, we subscribed £80,000,000 to U.N.R.R.A. this year. I find it difficult to see the distinction between an office of profit under the Crown and an office which is supported by the Crown out of funds provided by the Imperial Exchequer. While that is not necessarily a dodge, it shows a lack of understanding, and I should welcome a clearer explanation of the point from my right hon. and learned Friend... If my right hon. and learned Friend says that this appointment is excluded from this Bill, surely we are entitled to ask whether it is desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should retain his seat in this House and at the same time accept an appointment, with the consent of the Government, which excludes him for a long time from the deliberations of this Assembly. He has become, in fact, a civil servant in a permanent capacity. Surely in these circumstances we cannot agree to accord him the privileges that are ordinarily open to hon. Members. These points have to be cleared up.

There is the additional point raised by my hon. Friend below the gangway. Take the case of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Rossendale (Sir R. Cross). He was a Member of the Government as Minister of Economic Warfare and Minister of Shipping before we created the Ministry of War Transport. He was sent to Australia as our representative there. The position was changed, but no notification was given to this House, and there is no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman is in precisely the same position as the High Commissioners for Australia, Canada and New Zealand who are resident in this country. The Governments of Australia, Canada and New Zealand did not accord to their High Commissioners the privilege we are according to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Rossendale. [An HON. MEMBER: "The South African Government does."] The South African Government is peculiar in many ways. The point is that, in the circumstances, it is not right that my right hon. and learned Friend should push this Measure through the House without according to hon. Members an

opportunity of reviewing the whole situation...

*Mr. Bellenger* (Bassetlaw): ... The situation which has arisen in relation to the Junior Burgess for Oxford University is even more grave, I think, after the Attorney-General's explanation. If we accept the position, as I think we must, that the hon. Member is not one of the certificate holders, this fact remains, that here we have a right hon. Gentleman elected to this House to represent his constituents who can calmly go off to America and seek an office which is not an office of profit under the Crown, in which we could perhaps assert that he was doing something in the interests of this country, he can go to an organisation not controlled by this country and the Crown and get a job there which may keep him out of this House and the representation of his constituency for a considerable time. I ask hon. Members opposite in all seriousness whether they think that that person is a fit and proper person as a Member of Parliament to represent his constituency in this House? I do not know what their views are but I do not think that is the case...

*Mr. A. Bevan* (Ebbw Vale): ... I would like to say a word to my own Front Benchers in this matter. It is perfectly true that the Attorney-General had every right to suppose that he could clear up everything in this Bill by a few perfunctory sentences. Only a few perfunctory sentences came from the person in charge of the Labour Party. We can no longer rely—and this has been true for a few years—upon the representatives on this Bench to defend either Parliament or the principles of the party to which they belong, and the sooner this is stated the better. It is a disgraceful exhibition of incompetence on the part of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Government Departments are now being corrupted by big business, and the House of Commons is being corrupted by the Government. That is the situation. Question Time after Question Time reveals that the British Government and British politics are sinking as low as American and French politics.

... Why is a certificate needed? A certificate is needed because of the constitutional position that Members of the House of Commons could not be appointed to positions of profit under the Crown. The whole point is to protect the House of Commons from corruption... There are 21 Members of this House of Commons at the present time concerned under this particular Bill who are drawing lavish salaries—(HON. MEMBERS: "No")—and expense accounts, and expense accounts are often better than salaries in these days. Do not let us have any nonsense. I can talk frankly about this. There are too many hon. Members who are having expenses accounts with the Government at the present time. So serious has it become that I cannot get from the Financial Secretary to the Treasury an account of the number of Members in this House on expense accounts. I wrote a letter to the Treasury asking how many persons were having these accounts and I received the reply of 21. I had difficulty in getting the number of persons who are Members of this House in the Armed Forces. I was first of all told that the Secretary of State for War did not know the figures. I had to persist. I cannot get from the Government the extent to which Members of this House are now receiving financial benefits from the Crown.

*Mr. Bartle Bull* (Enfield): Does the hon. Member include those who are in the Services?

*Mr. Bevan:* No, Sir, I was specifically differentiating them. I said that I could not get from the Government an account of the number and the identity of Members of this House who are on expense accounts. The Government will not give the information. . . The Government are now using secrecy and subterfuge to pour out public funds in uncheckable fashion to Members of Parliament. If they want to understand why the House of Commons has sunk so low and they cannot get healthy and effective debates, it is because they are buying Members of Parliament day by day.

. . . If you go through the list of the Members of this House now, you will see that practically one-third of the House of Commons is associated directly or indirectly with the Executive—200 Members. Before the Government begins, it can reckon upon 200 Members supporting it in the Lobby because of financial interest or the expectation of financial interest. Ninety-six Members of the House of Commons—I went through the list yesterday—are directly in the Government. If you include Parliamentary Private Secretaries, it is two-thirds of the House. [*Interruption.*] I could prove conclusively that there are Parliamentary Private Secretaries who obtain considerable benefit.

*Mr. McEntee* (Walthamstow): The hon. Gentleman makes rather serious charges about Parliamentary Private Secretaries that they receive financial benefits. If he says that, will he name them?

*Mr. Bevan:* I say that Parliamentary Private Secretaries receive services that are of financial value. [*Interruption.*] . . .

*Hon. Members:* What are they.

*Mr. Bevan:* The use of secretaries. . . I say we have reached a very low point when the Attorney-General, without giving any justification for the Bill, can move it in a perfunctory manner, when a public Bill can be passed without proper examination and when Members of this House can be sent all over the world without the slightest justification. You cannot possibly have a sound, wholesome House of Commons unless the powers of the Executive are subject to very much greater check in this matter than they are at present. We ourselves ought to take every opportunity of making the Government justify the use of public funds in this manner.

*Mr. Maxton* (Glasgow, Bridgeton): . . . I do not want to follow the hon. Member for Ebbw Vale (Mr. A. Bevan) in the somewhat drastic job he has done this afternoon. I think, on the whole, the House of Commons is a pretty clean place, but I can see all the tendencies which, if they are not checked, could make it something different. It would be vicious if we continued this sort of thing. . .

I want the House to ask itself if we have not now reached a stage when not only have external things become less pressing than they were, but when internal things, the definite work of this House, is becoming more and more important. In the period of time that will be granted in this Bill, there will fall to be made fateful, far-reaching and important decisions. That justifies this House in doing what it has the right to do, to say to its constituent Members, "Your service in this House is your primary duty. We thank you for what you have done in the far flung parts of the Empire, we thank you for the various difficulties you have helped to tide over in these far-away places, but here, right in Westminster at the centre of things, is now the place where your services are wanted. Thank you very much, boys, but come home now." That ought to be the attitude of the House, and the

Second Reading of this Bill should not be granted without some clear and definite understanding that the Government, who must be our executives in this matter, have a similar understanding as to the way in which the House itself regards it.

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