

THE SOCIAL CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

Vol. 22. No. 21.

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
Postage (home and abroad) 1d.

SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1949.

6d. Weekly.

From Week to Week

OUR NATIONAL INSPIRATION: "Tie-in with Hollywood"
—Advertisement, in a Dundee Newspaper, of neckties.

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"While we shouted away for nationalisation, we had not a very clear idea of what we wanted when we got it."—Mr. Tom Stephenson, National Union of Mineworkers.

Waal, waal, waal. We took the darned machine to pieces to find out what made it tick, and it won't tick.

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"Mr. Attlee later [after seeing Mr. Carl Snyder, U.S. Financial Secretary to the Treasury—Ed., *T.S.C.*] went to the Commons for another social function associated with the U.S.—a small party given by Mr. Michael Foot (Soc.) and Miss Jennie Lee (Soc.) [otherwise Mrs. Aneurin Bevan, who with her husband is a great friend of Israel Moses Sieff—Ed., *T.S.C.*] to some delegates from the group called Americans for Democratic Action."—*Dundee Courier*, July 9.

We like the term "Americans" almost as much as the kind of Democratic Action for which they and their hosts, stand. We can imagine without difficulty what would happen if President Truman attended a lunch given in the Capitol to Mr. D. N. Pritt and the Dean of Canterbury.

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A correspondent has sent us for our edification a picture, taken from an Australian periodical, of Dr. H. C. Coomb, Governor of the Commonwealth Bank, and Australia's Head Planner.

Dr. Coombs is the local, if unofficial, deputy of the London School of Economics, from which he came, and "his" policies are so familiar to us during the last few years, that they need not detain us.

The point which does interest us is the marked physical resemblance of Dr. Coombs to Sir Stafford Cripps, whose opposite number he appears to represent. There is the same toothy grin; the same impression of calculated ruthlessness verging on sadistic unbalance; and the same air of unalloyed self-satisfaction.

When the writer of this note was in the habit, for his sins, of making public speeches, he spent the few minutes between his entry on to the platform and the Chairman's introduction, in picking out the Communists in the audience. Nothing could be easier; once one knew the type; they were souls in hell. The point we wish to make is that the Cripps-Coombs type is just as clearly marked, but poles apart. It is the type which has been taken up by the Devil onto a high mountain, and has accepted Satan's advantageous offer.

The conspiracy of silence in the British Press in regard to President Truman's "bold new plan" for raising the standard of living of backward areas by the financial conquest of the British Empire for industrial and commercial purposes, while leaving the unremunerative administration, policing and defence to the fool British, seems only explicable as part of the Freemasonic plot against the only country which had the courage to expel both the Jews and the contemporary Freemasons, the Knights Templar, almost contemporaneously in the reign of Edward 1st. President Truman is a 33rd Degree Freemason.

Mr. Carl Snyder, U.S. Secretary to the treasury, whom we take to be an American/German Jew, has just put the matter in the form that "they" are contemplating large investments in the British Colonies, and we gather from a news sheet issued by the Indian Empire Society that Admiral Chester Nimitz, U.S.N. has been appointed Plebiscite Administrator for Jammu and Kashmir.

We have little doubt that it is part of the same conspiracy of silence that the trial of Alger Hiss, which has torn the Eastern States into factions, and has been significantly termed "the American Dreyfus Case" has received bare mention in the British Press, doubtless because it goes some way to indicate the interlocking of Forces common to Moscow and Washington. Hiss is Secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, which, whatever it was, now stands out prominently as an organisation with thoroughly unscrupulous associations.

The point we are endeavouring to emphasise is comprehensively embodied in the word "swindle." During the middle and latter portions of the nineteenth century, in London and still more widely in New York, enormous fortunes were made by company promoters, frequently Gentile, but almost invariably in association with Jews in the background, who disappeared if the Law intervened. In the earlier phase, crudely fraudulent prospectuses were sufficiently novel to gather in the savings of the widows and orphans, but it was soon realised that this threw the doors of Eldorado open to too much competition and a company prospectus became a highly skilled piece of artistry. Anyone who will apply a little experience of investment to a consideration of the political prospectuses of President Truman and his opposite numbers in London will have no difficulty in recognising the techniques (and, in many instances, the cruder techniques) of the swindling promoter. The atmosphere is the same; and as the promoters now make the laws, no special care to meet legal dangers need be exercised.

The clue to contemporary politics resides in the characteristic "handwriting" in which the prospectuses appear. "The export drive," "the dollar shortage," "a bold new plan" for backward peoples, don't sound like the same thing; but observe the tendency to embellish the script with massoretic points.

Freemasonry and the Revolution

The following documentary notes to Dr. Dillon's Edinburgh Lectures of 1884 deal mainly with the relationship of Freemasonry to the French Revolution and the re-moulding of Europe which followed:—

A Recantation.

At the Council of Verona, held by the European sovereigns in 1822, to guard their thrones and peoples from the revolutionary excesses which threatened Spain, Naples, and Piedmont, the Count Haugwitz, Minister of the King of Prussia, who then accompanied his master, made the following speech:—

"Arrived at the end of my career, I believe it to be my duty to cast a glance upon the secret societies whose power menaces humanity to-day more than ever. Their history is so bound up with that of my life that I cannot refrain from publishing it once more and from giving some details regarding it.

"My natural disposition, and my education, having excited in me so great a desire for information, that I could not content myself with ordinary knowledge, I wished to penetrate into the very essence of things. But shadow follows light, thus an insatiable curiosity develops itself in proportion to the efforts which one makes to penetrate further into the sanctuary of science. These two sentiments impelled me to enter into the society of Freemasons.

"It is well known that the first step which one makes in the order is little calculated to satisfy the mind. That is precisely the danger to be dreaded for the inflammable imagination of youth. Scarcely had I attained my majority, when, not only did I find myself at the head of Masonry, but what is more, I occupied a distinguished place in the chapter of high grades. Before I had the power of knowing myself, before I could comprehend the situation in which I had rashly engaged myself, I found myself charged with the superior direction of the Masonic re-unions of a part of Prussia, of Poland, and of Russia. Masonry was, at that time, divided into two parts, in its secret labours. The first place in its emblems, the explanation of the philosopher's stone: Deism and non-Atheism was the religion of these sectaries. The central seat of their labours was at Berlin, under the direction of the Doctor Zundorf. It was not the same with the other part of which the Duke of Brunswick was the apparent Chief. In open conflict between themselves, the two parties gave each other the hand in order to obtain the dominion of the world, to conquer thrones, to serve themselves with Kings as an order, such was their aim. It would be superfluous to explain to you in what manner, in my ardent curiosity, I came to know the secrets of the one party and of the other. The truth is the secret of the two sects is no longer a mystery for me. That secret is revolting.

"It was in the year 1777, that I became charged with the direction of one part of the Prussian lodges, three or four years before the Convent of Wilhelmsbad and the invasion of the lodges by Illuminism. My action extended even over the brothers dispersed throughout Poland and Russia. If I did not myself see it, I could not give myself even a plausible explanation of the carelessness with which Governments have been able to shut their eyes to such a disorder, a veritable state within a State. Not only were

the chiefs in constant correspondence, and employed particular cyphers, but even they reciprocally sent emissaries one to another. To exercise a dominating influence over thrones, such was our aim, as it had been of the Knight Templars.

"I thus acquired the firm conviction that the drama commenced in 1788 and 1789, the French Revolution, the regicide with all its horrors, not only was then resolved upon, but was even the result of these associations and oaths, &c.

"Of all my contemporaries of that epoch there is not one left . . . My first care was to communicate to William III. all my discoveries. We came to the conclusion that all the Masonic associations from the most humble even to the very highest degrees, could not do otherwise than employ religious sentiments in order to execute plans the most criminal, and make use of the first in order to cover the second. This conviction, which His Highness Prince William held in common with me, caused me to take firm resolution of renouncing Masonry."

By Alexander Dumas.

"Illuminism and Freemasonry, these two great enemies of royalty, and the adopted device of both of which was L. P. D., *lilia pedibus destrue*, had a grand part in the French Revolution.

"Napoleon took Masonry under his protection. Joseph Napoleon[*] was Grand Master of the Order. Joachim Murat[†] second Master adjoint. The Empress Josephine being at Strasburg, in 1805, presided over the fete for the adoption of the lodge of True Chevaliers of Paris. At the same time Eugene de Beauharnais[§] was Venerable of the lodge of St. Eugene in Paris. Having come to Italy with the title of Viceroy, the Grand Orient of Milan, named him Master and Sovereign Commander of the Supreme Council of the thirty-second grade, that is to say, accorded him the greatest honour which could be given him according to the Statutes of the Order. Bernadotte was a Mason. His son Oscar was Grand Master of the Swedish lodge. In the different lodges of Paris were successively initiated, Alexander, Duke of Wurtemberg; the Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weiner; even the Persian Ambassador, Askeri Khan. The President of the Senate, Count de Lacipede, presided over the Grand Orient of France, which had for officers of honour the Generals Kellerman, Messina, and Soult. Princes, Ministers, Marshalls, Officers, Magistrates, all the men, in fine, remarkable for their glory or considerable by their position, ambitioned to be made Masons. The women even wished to have their lodges, into which entered Mesdames de Vaudemont, de Carignan, de Gerardin, de Narbonne, and many other ladies."

Frere Clavel, in his picturesque history of Freemasonry, says that, "Of all these high personages the Prince Cambaceres was the one who most occupied himself with Masonry. He made it his duty to rally to Masonry all the men in France who were influential by their official position, by their talent, or by their fortune. The personal services which he rendered to many of the brethren; the *eclat* which

[*] Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples, elder brother of Napoleon.

[†] Husband of Napoleon's sister, Caroline, and a King of Naples.

[§] Son of Josephine by her marriage to the Marquis Victor Alexandre de Beauharnais.—*Editor, T.S.C.*

he caused to be given to the lodges in bringing to their sittings by his example and invitations all those illustrious amongst the military and judicial professions and others, contributed powerfully to the fusion of parties and to the consolidation of the imperial throne. In effect under his brilliant and active administration the lodges multiplied *ad infinitum*. They were composed of the elect of French society. They became a point of re-union for the partisans of the existing and of passed regimes. They celebrated in them the feasts of the Emperor. They read in them the bulletins of his victories before they were made public by the press, and able men organised the enthusiasm which gradually took hold of all minds."

The Encyclopædists.

"It is commonly believed that the encyclopædists and philosophers were the only men who overturned by their writings altar and throne at the time of the Revolution. But, apart from the facts that these writers were to a man Freemasons, and the most daring and plotting of Freemasons, we have abundant authority to prove that other Freemasons were everywhere even more practically engaged in the same work. Louis Blanc, who will be accepted as an authority on this point thus writes:—"It is of consequence to introduce the reader into the mine which at that time was being dug beneath thrones and altars by revolutionists, very much more profound and active than the encyclopædists: an association composed of men of all countries, of all religions, of all ranks, bound together by symbolic bonds, engaged under an inviolable oath to preserve the secret of their interior existence. They were forced to undergo terrific proofs while occupying themselves with fantastic ceremonies, but otherwise practised beneficence and looked upon themselves as equals though divided in three classes, apprentices, companions, and masters. Freemasonry consists in that. Now, on the eve of the French Revolution, Freemasonry was found to have received an immense development. Spread throughout the entire of Europe, it seconded the meditative genius of Germany, agitated France silently, and presented everywhere the image of a society founded on principles contrary to those of civil society." Monsignor Segur writes on this—"See to what a point the reign of Jesus Christ was menaced at the hour the Revolution broke out. It was not France alone that it agitated but the entire of Europe. What do I say? The world was in the power of Masonry. All the lodges of the world came in 1781 to Wilhelmsbad by delegates from Europe, Asia, Africa and America; from the most distant coasts discovered by navigators, they came, zealous apostles of Masonry . . . They all returned penetrated with the illuminism of Weishaupt, that is Atheism, and animated with the poison of incredulity with which the orators of the Convent had inspired them. Europe and the Masonic world were then in arms against Catholicity. Therefore, when the signal was given, the shock was terrible, terrible especially in France, in Italy, in Spain, in the Catholic nations which they wished to separate from the Pope and cast into schism, until the time came when they could completely de-Christianize them. This accounts well for the captivities of Pius VI. and Pius VII. The Cardinals were dispersed, the Bishops torn from their Sees, the pastors separated from their flocks, the religious orders destroyed, the goods of the Church confiscated, the churches overturned, the con-

vents turned into barracks, the sacred vessels stolen and melted down by sacrilegious avidity, the bells turned into money and cannons, scaffolds erected everywhere, and victims in thousands, in hecatombs, especially from amongst the clergy; in one word, all the horrors summed up in the 'Revolution,' and the end, which was the great unerring power of all its actions, namely, to see Christ cast down from His altars to make way for the goddess called Reason."

PARLIAMENT (continued from page 8.)

Those are very wise words from which hon. Members opposite will notice that Conservative Members are the most democratic, according to Mr. G. D. H. Cole, because they are returned for rural constituencies.

I do not want to overstate my case. There are reasons on the other side, I confess. I am glad to confess that one of the chief of those reasons is that the Minister has on all occasions in his personal conduct been only at too great pains to show himself as conciliatory, friendly, and accommodating as he possibly could be. I entirely associate myself with hon. Members who have paid a personal tribute to him. . . . I shall be grateful if my right hon. Friend will address himself to the dangers of the situation as well as to the advantages of it.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education (Mr. Hardman): . . . The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. R. H. Butler) also referred to what has been described as the "slaughter of the innocents." He was supported in his view by the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Hollis). I have no time now to read the appropriate paragraphs in our report of 1947, but I suggest that in paragraphs 48 and 49 of that report we state quite clearly what the view of my right hon. Friend is in regard to village schools. It is of some interest, however, simply to remark that 110 rural schools were closed during 1947 and 131 in 1948. My own view, as one who has had considerable experience in rural areas, is that reorganisation is of certainly great benefit to the child after eight years of age, and that there is certainly in some cases a great deal to be said for maintaining the village school for children under eight years of age. . . .

Let us for a moment ask ourselves what the average parent expects to get from his child when the boy or girl leaves school at 15 years of age. Frankly, I am not interested in subjects on a certificate. I want my child leaving school at 15, or from the grammar school or independent school at 18 years of age to have, first of all, the development during his school years of a technical skill for which he has a particular aptitude or bias. . . .

I also expect that from the daily act of corporate worship which takes place in the schools of our land under the Act of 1944 there will be developed in my child a sense of the spiritual significance of life. Only in that way, in my view, can be obtained that spiritual sanity which is the dire necessity of our time. What, in fact, teachers, parents and administrators are trying to produce in our educational system is such a sense of curiosity and excitement about life that our children, as they grow older, will solve the problem of our time: the production of a culture for our industrial civilisation.

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This journal expresses and supports the policy of the Social Credit Secretariat, which is a non-party, non-class organisation neither connected with nor supporting any political party, Social Credit or otherwise.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: *Home and abroad, post free:*
 One year 30/-; Six months 15/-; Three months 7s. 6d.
 Offices: (Business) 7, VICTORIA STREET, LIVERPOOL, 2, Telephone: Central 8509; (Editorial) 49, PRINCE ALFRED ROAD, LIVERPOOL, 15, Telephone SEFton Park 435.

Vol. 22. No. 21.

Saturday, July 23, 1949.

The Weapon of Taxation

(From *The Fig Tree of Twelve Years Ago*)

By C. H. DOUGLAS

With the suggestion to pay the leader of the Opposition £2,000 per annum the last vestige of pretence that we have alternative policies available through the party system has been discarded. It should not require any further evidence to establish the fact that Great Britain, at any rate, and probably nearly every other country, is a localised administration of a world policy, in which "opposition" is merely constructive criticism. The outlines of this policy are also clear. A pyramidal organisation of society, based fundamentally upon the figures standing to the credit of the account in the various books of world finance, and accompanied *pro rata* by a servitude inversely proportional to the magnitude of these figures, seems to be the essence of the organisation. To maintain this servitude, the dispensation of money, for the most part in return for some form of industrial activity however disguised, is the primary mechanism.

It will have been noted by those who followed the debate upon the Budget that it took the form that might be expected, having these considerations in view. The effect upon the individual of increased taxation, already far in excess of that in any other country on earth, was treated with levity, Mr. Chamberlain remarking in regard to the increase in income tax that "the inconvenient figure of 4s. 9d. was replaced by the more manageable figure of 5s." The criticism of the so-called Liberal Opposition was, in effect, that the rigours of financial orthodoxy had not been sufficiently enforced, and the discussion in regard to the reimposition of excess profits duty became merely a wrangle as to why profits should be taxed rather than something else. To the Labour Party taxation rhymes with hallelujah and is equally praise of the same sadistic god.

Perhaps nothing very fundamental can be expected until the present world policy has been superseded by something a little less insane. But nevertheless, within the limits of the policy, the attack upon any profits of manufacturers, whose lot for the past fifteen years has been far from a happy one, is worthy of remark. It is probable that it is prompted by those financial interests to which Mr. Chamberlain so gratefully referred as having assisted him with his proposals, as an outcome of the only real terror which the bankers have experienced for some time. The tremendous financial reserves which were accumulated by the American manufacturers in the boom years succeeding the war were employed so successfully in competition with the bankers themselves that it became clear that only a few years would be necessary to secure financial emancipation and, still worse, the elimination of the banker as a large commercial lender. This had to be checked at any cost, and the fantastic call rates which were imposed in 1929, together with the drastic

reduction of outstanding bank loans were the result of a determination to bring the manufacturer to his knees, a policy which was only too successful. The tax has the additional advantage of setting every section of industry against its neighbours.

It is no doubt felt that prevention is better than cure, and that although the world will stand almost anything, it is better not to make it stand depressions at intervals which are unduly short. The limitation of profits will, no doubt, cause the manufacturer to increase his costs by the purchase of expensive and, possibly, unnecessary plant, but it will prevent him from accumulating financial reserves, and thus achieve its main objectives without the use of such easily identified action.

The "bond-washing" tax seems capable of explanation only as an excuse for obtaining information in regard to the stock-dealing operations of the individual. It has always been a matter of some remark that profits made out of stock operations by the individual are not taxable except through the agency of stamp duties. The information which will be obtained in connection with the collection of what, on balance, must be a trivial amount will enable the authorities to obtain all the information necessary to ensure that one more source of purchasing power to the individual is drastically reduced.

Devaluation of the £

The following letter appeared in *The Scotsman* for July 17:—

Fearnan, by Aberfeldy,

Perthshire, July 9, 1949.

"Sir,

"Notwithstanding an aversion from financial controversy engendered by thirty years' experience of it, the suggestion of your correspondent, Mr. Arthur Birnie, that the pound ought to be devalued, appears to require comment.

"The current crisis-for-the-day, as propounded by our Administrators, is that we are short of dollars, and Mr. Birnie feels that this situation would be met by making dollars dearer. This would enable 'Britain' to 'sell' more in the U.S. and obtain less dollars from the sale. It would also 'enable' us to buy less goods in the U.S. for more pounds.

"Leaving these objectives to the consideration of your readers, may I concentrate on the *petitio principii* implicit in the question as attacked by both your correspondents; a begging of the question which goes to the root of our economic discontents; that money is a commodity in itself?

"Much emphasis on the viciousness of this conception was placed during evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Banking and Commerce at Ottawa in 1923, and again before the Macmillan Committee in London in 1930. It was evident in both cases that the idea of money as a thing in itself, to be bought and sold like tea or rice, was widely held with the fervour of a religion.

"It is probably for this reason that many most respectable citizens who would recoil in horror from the suggestion of an elastic tape measure can see nothing objectionable in a rubber unit of account. There is an objection; it is destroying civilisation.

"I am, etc.,

"C. H. Douglas."

PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: July 5, 1949.

Supply: Committee—Education.

[Concerning the following, attention is directed to the referenices to the Lindsell case.—Editor, *T.S.C.*]

Mr. Cove (Aberavon): . . . Let me make one final remark about the 1944 Act, commonly known as the "Butler Act." It has become almost platitudinous to say that that Act has effected a revolution in educational practice, theory and so on. The more I reflect upon that Act—and I have done some reflecting on it recently—the more I am convinced that it is correctly described as a revolutionary Act. English education has all along been based on the tripartite class system. The grammar schools have been directly related to a privileged class. What is the central theme of the 1944 Act? It is to be found in the fact that it has stated—in legalistic terms, if that expression is preferred—that all education above the age of 11 shall be secondary education. For the first time, poor old Plato has been wiped off by an English Education Act. [*Interruption.*] Oh, yes; that is a tremendous achievement.

But while the Act has abolished class distinction and aimed, as it were, at parity of esteem, we still have a long way to go to achieve it. . . . The main task is to achieve real parity of esteem and equality of opportunity in the modern secondary school.

Mr. Corlett (York): . . . The requirements of the universities for their scholarship examinations and for the entrance examinations themselves would not have mattered at a time when the numbers going to the universities were few, coming from cultured homes. They imbibed a general education at home, their attendance at the university was not a matter of great urgency, they could take their studies in their stride, they were not desperately looking for a job and not much public money was involved. But today we must look at the position afresh, because there are now far more youngsters going to the universities, far fewer going there from what I may call cultured homes, and far more going at great public expense. They go to the universities because they desire the universities to provide them with a means of livelihood, not with a philosophy of life. The whole attitude of many of them is a utilitarian attitude. They want to get a good degree as soon as they can and get out again to earn a living.

If that is so, this question of the effect of universities requirements upon the curriculum of the grammar schools is very serious indeed, because it means, on the one hand, narrow-minded people knowing more and more about less and less, and, on the other hand, people who know very little about the civilisation in which they live. We have the universities rightly complaining that they are receiving art students who are narrow-minded and illogical, that they are receiving science students who are narrow-minded and illiterate. We have Sir Richard Livingstone telling us that art students concentrate on man and ignore nature while science students concentrate on nature and ignore man. That is the constant complaint in our universities, and I suggest that it is due to the fact that the universities have far too great a say in the curriculum of the grammar schools and in their methods of teaching. . . .

. . . I suggest to my right hon. Friend not that he should get athwart the universities, but that he should even try to persuade them to agree to the setting up of machinery which would really establish contact with the grammar schools.

I hope he will remember their tradition and be as nice to them as he can, and do nothing that suggests coercing them; and I suggest to the universities that if they wish to retain their freedom, it is their duty to make a thorough and consistent and determined attempt to understand what is going on in the grammar schools and to give them a chance to work out their salvation. . . .

Mr. R. A. Butler (Saffron Walden): . . . I have been concerned and anxious about what I have described as the "slaughter of the innocents"—the small schools—in the country. There is a small school in my area at Lindsell which has gained a certain amount of national reputation by standing out on its own—in providing its own meals, and providing its own teachers and its own education, to obviate 24 children from being carted by bus to a neighbouring village. I realise the inconvenience to the authority of such a stand, but it is a stand on principle which, I hope, in the end will be amicably settled. I trust that when the Minister looks into the question of small schools and their place in the development plans he will do his utmost to see that the small school, provided it gives a suitable education, is not automatically destroyed. . . .

Professor Gruffydd (University of Wales): . . . We have had a report from the Federation of British Industries about education in technology which, on the contrary, lays very great stress on the development of technology in the universities. . . .

I, for one, hold that the emphasis on technology in the universities has gone too far. The report of F.B.I. must be regarded with caution. It is definitely not inspired by educational ideas but by the natural desire to further British industry. For example, a tendency which all those must deprecate who have at heart the welfare of education in the schools is to make the universities and the schools work their passage, so to speak—the universities in particular—by doing something which they were not intended to do, and that is to teach the commercial exploitation of the sciences. There is hardly a department of commerce which at one time or another has not claimed a place in the university course and in consequence a place in the schools in the matriculation syllabus. In these days I have been expecting to hear that the hairdressers, after securing registration as a learned profession, would be demanding a degree in tonsorial art. All those are factors which are contributing to what I consider to be the very serious deterioration of academic learning, and by that I mean humanistic studies, both in the universities and in the schools.

I am not in such close connection with the schools as I was before I came to Parliament, but I am still in touch with teachers and I disagree with the Minister on one thing he said in his opening speech. I must be rather critical of him here because, as far as I can judge, the secondary teachers are of one mind in believing that the standard of the grammar school is gradually deteriorating. There are two causes for this disconcerting situation, but I propose to mention only one. It is certainly the extremely poor pay of teachers compared with that of any other profession. I

said "profession" but I could almost have said "compared with any other occupation." These are people who do not strike for more pay. They never have struck for more pay in the past and they never will in the future. The only course open to them is to avoid the profession; that situation is now developing. No university graduate will enter the profession, however well he may be fitted for it, except as a last resort and when every other avenue is closed. What man or woman would become a teacher, when almost any other walk of life has better prospects and especially when in every other profession competence brings its own reward? It is high time that the Minister of Education exercised whatever control he has over the Burnham Committee in an attempt to tackle the question of salaries.

Before I conclude I wish to draw attention to a matter which I believe is very close to the Minister's heart but which has, unless I am mistaken, not been mentioned in the Debate at all. It is the subject of State scholarships reserved for adults. The creation of that grant was one of the most important advances in education administration and ideas in recent years. I was disappointed to find that in 1947 and 1948 the selection board failed to fill the places at their disposal. I hope that in his reply the Minister will give the reason for that disappointing result. I cannot believe that those places could not have been filled many times over, because I know from my own experience that the material is here in the country. Those who, like myself, were keenly disappointed at the result would be reassured if we could know the constitution of the committee and the principles on which they make their selection.

I can only say that the very best students in the universities have been men and women who probably for financial reasons had to go to work, in some cases up to 30 years of age, and then came to the university. I venture to go further; many university teachers, including such a distinguished authority as Sir Richard Livingstone, would be by no means aghast if this became the normal means of entry to a university. I should like to live long enough to see the day when works of reference will give the career of distinguished men and women not as Eton and King's or Winchester and New College, but as the Forge and King's or as the Powell Duffryn Pit and New College or Starveacre Farm and Balliol. I appeal to the Minister to make a very close inquiry into the meagreness of the list in the last two years and to extend the facilities much further yet.

I come from a country where until recently this was a normal feature of the education of our distinguished sons. . . .

Mr. Ralph Morley (Southampton): . . . We are giving secondary education today to children whose intelligence ranges from just above mental deficiency to those with the highest possible I.Q., and it would be impossible to give grammar school education to all children with such a very wide range of intelligence. It is generally agreed that grammar school education is not suitable to any pupil whose I.Q. is below 100. To attempt to give grammar school education to all children over the age of 11 would be a waste of public money and would be frustrating to teachers and pupils alike.

Most authorities are dividing their secondary schools

into three types—the grammar school, the technical school and the modern school. The Hadow Report recommended two types of secondary school—the grammar school and the modern school. The Spens Report then introduced a third type—the technical school—and the Norwood Report confirmed the findings of the Spens Report and recommended, in fact almost decreed, that there should be these three types of secondary school—the grammar school, the technical school and the modern school. But the Norwood Report gave no substantial educational reasons for this trichotomy in the organisation of secondary education and, in fact, there does not appear to be any substantial educational reasons for these three types of school.

The reasons are mainly those of administrative convenience, and the fact must be faced that, so far as the parents and the children are concerned, there is parity of esteem between the three types of school. Both the parents and the children think the grammar school is far superior to either the technical school or the modern school. . . .

. . . I believe that even when we have parity of material conditions in all three types of school, we still shall not secure parity of esteem between the three types so far as the general public is concerned, and it appears to me, and to an increasing number of others, that the solution of this difficulty lies in the establishment of comprehensive secondary schools.

The comprehensive school would take all children from the age of 11 to 18 from the one catchment area into the same school, under the same roof, under the one headmaster. They are then divided into parallel classes with varying curricula according to their ages, aptitudes and abilities. There is no difficulty in transferability within a comprehensive school. In theory it is possible to transfer a child from the grammar school to the modern school, or from the modern secondary school to the grammar school, but in practice it is impossible to do anything of the kind. It is possible to transfer a child from the modern school to the grammar school, but once we dare to try to transfer a child from the grammar school to the modern school the parents in the neighbourhood are up in arms; whereas if that child were in a comprehensive school the transference from one stream to another would be practicable.

A comprehensive school would solve the question of prestige, because all the children would attend the same school. It would solve the question as far as employers are concerned, because the employers would not have to inquire whether a child came from a grammar school or a modern school, but would merely ask for a school report and the certificate obtained from the school. It would promote social solidarity. In the same school we should have the boy who likes to do Latin prose—and there are some boys who like to do Latin prose; I have no doubt that the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Hollis) revelled in Latin prose in his early days—in the same class as the boy who prefers to take a wireless set to pieces and put it together again. These two types could get to know one another.

The boy in the C stream in the comprehensive school might be the captain on the football field or on the cricket field. Intellectuals and non-intellectuals would get to know

one another. . . .

Mrs. Florence Paton (Rushcliffe): . . . I am sorry that we have this tripartite system which, in its very essence, means class in the eyes of the public. When the hon. Member referred to parents wanting their children to go to grammar schools, he knew that the main idea in their minds was that those children would have more social distinction afterwards in the eyes of their neighbours and would somehow be superior to children who had gone to the modern or technical school. . . .

Therefore, I deprecate the idea that on a child's school certificate there should be stated whether he or she came from a secondary modern, a secondary technical, or a secondary grammar school, and I am sure that most hon. Members who have been in our schools would deprecate it as well. If that child has the capabilities and qualifications, it does not matter to anybody the type of school from which he came. It is the ability, personality and education of the child which alone should count. . . .

Mr. Hollis (Devizes): . . . I quite agree with my right hon. Friend the Member for Saffron Walden (Mr. R. A. Butler) that this is not a party question, and on balance it is extremely fortunate that it is not, because we can debate it more profitably. But there is a certain disadvantage along with the advantages in something not being a party question, and that is this. If it is a party question we can be sure that in the cut-and-thrust of debate all that is to be said upon both sides will be brought out; but when a matter is not a party question there is a certain danger that we compete with one another in rather sonorous platitudes, and if we disagree we disagree only from the most high-minded of motives, and by doing so we do not give a full picture of the mind of the people.

We have to face the fact that when some people, rightly or wrongly, talk about education, they do not talk about it in the high-handed way in which have been debating it this afternoon. Some of the lines of the objections, misguided though they may be, to educational policy are very different from the sort of lines that have been urged in this Committee. We find young boys who object to being kept at school for another year because they think it means that they are less manly. We find parents who object to their children being kept at school because they want them to be earning money. We find some people with whom schoolmasters or school inspectors are not very popular. Those are not very high sentiments, but they are sentiments which we should face, and not very much has been said about them in our Debate today.

Last week the hon. Member for East Coventry (Mr. Crossman), speaking "on behalf of the British people"—I know not exactly on what authority—said that while we would be willing to have less food, we would not be willing to spend less money upon education. Whether or not that should be so, I am not certain that it is so. But whether or not it is so, unless and until the people of this country are very much clearer in their minds than they are at present what education is all about, they will not subscribe to those sentiments. Not altogether through the fault of anyone, the subject has fallen into very considerable confusion. In the old days it was in many ways much simpler; maybe it was a false simplicity, but it was much simpler.

The other day I was reading a book by Canon Spencer Leeson, the former headmaster of Winchester, in the first half of which he explains what a wicked thing it is that children should have advantages in life simply because their parents happen to be rich. We are all familiar with that argument. Mr. Gladstone used to say that the remedy for that was for these things to be settled by competitive examination. But Canon Spencer Leeson, the modernist, explains in the second half of his book what a wicked thing it is that children should have advantages in life just because they have the obscene nack of answering examination questions. At the end of the day we are by no means certain how it is to be settled. Should we determine who is to be Master of All Souls by spinning a coin? Maybe that will turn out to be a better method.

An hon. Member, in a slightly more serious vein than I, pointed out that it is by no means clear to the people of England what the tests are. Doubtless the tests in the past were crude, but they were at least clear. In the days when I was an undergraduate people used to take these examinations and if they got a third-class degree, that was just too bad. Today a man who gets a third-class degree says, "The examiner had a down on me. I was born in Islington so naturally he gave me a third-class pass." The confidence in these objective tests has greatly fallen. The right hon. Gentlemen, the last time we debated education, in reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Tiverton (Mr. Amory), was kind enough to say that if I had passed certain examinations rather sooner I might have been further down towards the Front Bench. Indeed if I had not passed them at all I might have been Minister of Education. I recollect that once a newspaper published a story stating that the present Minister of Education sat for an examination, and wrote that Hull was on the coast of Cumberland. He failed the examination and became Minister of Education. Is that not true?

Mr. Tomlinson indicated dissent.

Mr. Hollis: I thought that everything published in the Press was true now that the Royal Commission has reported.

The point I want to make is that there is considerable confusion in the public mind about the purposes of education, and not nearly that full blooded confidence to which hon. Members have given expression in this Committee. Therefore, it is very important indeed that education authorities should be careful to keep in step and retain the confidence both of those who are engaged in teaching, and of the parents at large, because education is not something that can be imposed on the people. The authorities can only win through if they get their confidence. . . .

The third point which gives me a certain concern is the one referred to by my right hon. Friend the Member for Saffron Walden, who today mentioned a school in his own constituency. He made it quite clear that, whether there were faults on both sides and whatever obstinacy there was on the part of the parents, an attempt is being made to impose a form of education on the children which is in direct opposition to the wishes of the parents. The general question of the closing of rural schools is one which gives me a certain amount of concern. It is no part of the business of an education system to attempt to impose a policy, one way or another, upon the minds of its pupils. We are all agreed about that. We are also all agreed that

one of the great evils of the past has been that the population of the countryside has been drifting to the towns and that the education system has not been without blame for its contribution towards making people town-minded. It is very important that the bias, if anything, should be reversed, and should be in favour of the rural school as against the town school.

Last time I spoke on education I quoted some words from Profesor Laski. Tonight I go on to another Socialist pundit, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, who has written these words:

"What remains of democracy dissolves before the governmental machine. Democracy shows itself less in choosing a deputy than in knowing him. Villages are for that reason more democratic places than cities, even when the squire and the parson direct the voting, for democracy is not the same as professing advanced opinions or believing in democracy. Democracy begins in a man knowing his neighbours as real people, and unless it begins there it does not begin at all."

(continued on page 3.)

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Published by the proprietors K.R.P. Publications Ltd., 7, Victoria Street, Liverpool, 2. Printed by J. Hayes & Co., Woolton, Liverpool.