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Bishops and Roundheads

By B. M. PALMER

At a meeting of the Church Assembly in June, the Bishop of Chelmsford said the decay of faith was a world-wide phenomenon. Nor had it suddenly appeared, it had been slowly and steadily taking shape over a long period.

On the one hand there was the disappearance of Sunday as a day of worship, the enormous increase in the number of divorces, the decline of moral values among young people; the increase of venereal diseases and of juvenile crime; but on the other hand there were exhibited the splendid qualities of our people, their gay courage, their generosity, their good temper, their large-hearted sympathy. Many of them were apparently untouched by Christian influence; but I am reminded as I write that these qualities are, in fact, the outcome of the Christian tradition, which is quite unaffected by the contempt for current ecclesiasticism (Liberal Judaism) which is probably less Christian than it has been for nineteen hundred years. It is the unconscious tradition which is so powerful.

Which leaves us faced with the question, "What is Christianity?"

To love God with all our strength, and our neighbours as ourselves were the first instructions given. It is not within the powers of the writer to define Christianity; but since the good Bishop has himself confessed to failure in regard to results (though taking it by and large the list of crimes given above seems pretty well counterbalanced by the "virtues"), it is suggested that, since the instruction to love our neighbours is alone capable of assessment by general results, the love of God being a purely personal matter, it is the second half of the above phrase which has been misinterpreted.

If we are to love our neighbours as ourselves, we must first love ourselves; we cannot take their opportunities from them, nor can we *give* them anything (even advice or a national dividend) unless they are willing to receive it. If we desire to convert others, we must allow them the opportunity of converting us. A little thought will make it clear that all *safe* demands must lead to the same purpose—*non-interference*. We must desire for our neighbours the power of refusing to take part in any project that may be placed before them if we wish to have the opportunity to pursue our own policy in peace. For our policy is our own affair alone. It must be protected most jealously by an aura of complete negation, the power of the veto—*noli me tangere*.

The love of God may be thought of as the policy of the individual; while the love of our neighbours is the technique by which we attain it. Positive and negative.

That at the present epoch we know little about the first, and are only in the first painful stages of learning something about the second, is perhaps one explanation of the curious error that all negative power is undesirable: while the facts of the situation demand a vigorous use of the veto alone as the first step to the salvation of the Social Credit.

If free will is to mean anything at all, not even God would interfere between man and God, or dictate man's policy to him, although expert help would be available to those who sought. These considerations are fundamental. If they are inseparable from the love of God and the love of our neighbours, some very important conclusions must be drawn from them. But first of all it would be well to examine in this light some further statements of the leading Churchmen in this country.

At a meeting of the Industrial Christian Fellowship on February 27 last, Archbishop Temple spoke of the necessity for planning and social control over land and water (although air and light were still free), and added:—

"But beyond all this we need supremely the control of human purpose. . . . In those countries which have sacrificed everything to national unity there has been full recognition of the psychological principle that no group becomes effective unless it is gathered about a leader. Hitler's *Führer-Prinzip* is perfectly sound psychologically: and if we are to build up a community characterised by goodwill, it must be a community which has found as its leader someone who is Himself the incarnation of Goodwill."

These things are of supreme importance. A leader dictates policy and also the technique necessary to implement it. The leadership principle is the negation of free will and democracy as far as it is understood in this country, and is the antithesis of Social Credit. Why are we supposed to be fighting Hitler, if his principles are sound? Or is it possible to conceive of Jesus the Christ as a sort of benevolent Hitler?

When delivering the Beckly lecture at Birmingham on July 13, Archbishop Temple said that "the boys and girls in their later teens provided an arena for activity which was almost untouched, the neglect of which till now had been deplorable, and the continual neglect of which would probably lead to disaster. . . . We had the experience of other countries to warn us. If the young folk were allowed to feel that the community had little concern for them, especially if by tolerating unemployment it suggested that it had no place or use for them, they became a fertile seed plot for revolutionary ideas which usually had little enough about them of faith in God or charity towards men. . . ."

Arena: Central part of amphitheatre in which combats take place; (fig.) scene of conflict, sphere of action (latin

arena—sand-strewn place of combat). —*Oxford Dictionary*.

If you do not teach children to mind their own business both positively and negatively—to choose their game, and then, accepting the necessary discipline, take a pride in a finished performance—you may expect trouble; and if you set out with a reverence for the *Führer-Prinzip* you may expect to be compelled to adopt a *Führer's* methods. Thus the only course open to a man who wishes to control human purpose is the establishment of an "arena" in which boys and girls may be "acted upon" in order to make them fit into a philosophy which is not based upon free will. A man's choice of metaphors should be carefully considered. They are born in his unconscious mind, where his own policy is striving to gain the ascendancy.

The Archbishop of York, while realising the necessity of bombing German cities in order to end the war as speedily as possible, justifies it with the words:—"and then build up some strong central international order which will by force maintain peace until it is willingly accepted by all the nations." (Letter to his Diocese published in the *York Diocesan Leaflet*.)

This frightful picture of the imposition of "peace by force," which so far as it can be understood is the ultimate objective of Hitler's *Führer-Prinzip*, cannot, I think, possibly be realised by the majority of those who accept so calmly the propositions of these two Bishops. As a first step towards the clarification of such a philosophy, it might be as well to ask ourselves on what ground we do not (as yet) arm our police force in this country with pistols; and why the majority of Englishmen regard the cat-o-nine-tails as a relic of barbarism.

You cannot arrive at a correct result with wrong methods. In the same letter the Archbishop writes, "Often in life there is no clear choice between absolute right and wrong; frequently the choice has to be made of the lesser of two evils, and it is a lesser evil to bomb a war-loving Germany than to sacrifice the lives of thousands of our own fellow-countrymen who long for peace...."

Jesus Christ does not seem to have been concerned with absolute right and wrong when he dealt with the money changers; and if the only way to end the war quickly is by bombing Germany, our airmen need not set off with the sin of committing a "lesser evil" on their consciences.

If there are any readers of this paper who think that it is possible to walk round these things and arrive at a state

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of Social Credit before fundamentals have been dealt with, or any who think that it is possible to "use" those who accept the philosophy of the *Führer-Prinzip*, it would be as well for them to consider what they are doing. In the first place, you cannot build a house upon sand; and in the second, anyone who attempts to use someone else to implement a divergent policy is himself adopting the *Führer-Prinzip*. We are not concerned at the present epoch of time with "absolute right and wrong"; that can be safely left to a future age if we in ours preserve immaculate the truth so far as we have seen it.

The old struggle is approaching another crisis; and if the Cavaliers are not to be defeated again they must look to it. It is Kingship versus Leadership, Commonwealth against Empire; the Roundheads have always had the gift of the gab—it is easier to preach a sermon than to write a poem. Our nation, thank God, has always produced more poets than preachers. There is need for them now. Those who think it possible to have a foot in both camps may easily discover where the Roundheads will take them; a quotation from Sir Edward Grigg's *British Commonwealth* (in the *Sunday Times* of August 8), completes the picture sketched by the Archbishop:

"Parliaments, I submit, must meet in order that they may gain and keep a broader horizon. Under adult suffrage they are microcosms of the nations which elect them—the human material, cross-lighted by the changing colours of the Press, the Radio and the Screen, on which leadership will weave the pattern of destiny. But however sound the material, leadership is the supreme necessity. For every national leader throughout the Commonwealth these coming days will be critical, and more particularly for the leaders of Britain, on whom will rest the first and foremost responsibility. They cannot conduct the orchestra alone; that, to strain the metaphor, is a co-operative undertaking. But it is they who must set and hold the tuning-note which is essential to harmony, and the vigour with which they set it will be decisive."

"We need supremely the control of human purpose"—"Leadership is the supreme necessity"—for these there is no urging that they know not what they do. Sir Edward states that there is only one power which can preserve and strengthen the unity of the British Empire, and that is the will of its sovereign peoples expressed through their Parliaments; but the *policy* (destiny) of the people is to be woven by its leaders, with the assistance of the Press, Radio and Screen. There is an intoxication of good intentions, a delirium of religious bigotry; and I submit that the above patch of purple, which with the slightest of alterations would have been entirely suitable for oratory in the Reich, or in the Long Parliament, is the essence of Calvinism, with its complete negation of free will. The fight is on; and I, for one, am for the King!

MINISTRY MANS THE PUMP

That the Ministry of Fuel and Power should have "given permission for doctors to use their cars to attend" British Medical Association branch meetings ought to show doctors short of petrol to visit patients which side the Association is on.

Debt Legislation in Alberta

A new Debtors' Assistance Act was passed by the Alberta legislature after the Privy Council ruling that the Debt Adjustment Act was *ultra vires*. Under this Debtors' Assistance Act a board consisting of three members, appointed by the provincial government, may advise and assist debtors in adjusting their debts and in making satisfactory arrangements with their creditors for the settlement of their debts.

Replying to statements made in Alberta by the president of the Canada Life Assurance Company, Mr. Manning, Premier of Alberta, said that this individual "did not tell his audiences that this [the Alberta] Government had repeatedly undertaken to give the lending corporations an unqualified guarantee that provincial debt legislation would not be extended to new debts; nor did he tell them that the spokesmen for the financial corporations have rejected with uncomprehending arrogance these approaches made to them by the Government." Mr. Manning said that in spite of abuse, misrepresentation and a virtual boycott of credit facilities Alberta had made spectacular progress and its real credit was greater to-day than at any previous time.

"Little Hitlers in our Midst"

The power of War Agricultural Executive Committees to evict farmers without the option of appeal was described by Colonel A. Dower, M.P., for the Cocker mouth and Penrith Division, as "un-English and unjust" when he spoke at Cocker mouth recently.

The Committee was doing the job very efficiently, although he wondered whether the County Councils could not have done just as well had they been given the powers.

The real cause for grievance, however, was the power of War Agricultural Executive Committees to order a farmer out of his possessions and into the street without having an opportunity of appeal. That was thoroughly un-English.

The right of appeal against any seemingly unfair decision had been the cherished right of Englishmen since the time of the Normans. Whether the farmer was right or wrong, he should have the Englishman's right of appeal.

Colonel Dower then warned his audience against the "Little Hitlers in our midst." We had to-day, he said, well over a million most excellent Civil Servants spending their time ordering other people around, and there were among them many thousands of "little Hitlers," some of whom are in this county.

If he knew anything of the splendid characteristics of the Cumbrians, for whom he had the greatest admiration, Colonel Dower was sure they were not going to stand being kicked around by these little tyrants.

Referring to the war situation, Colonel Dower said that it must be realised that we were fighting the whole of the German people and not just the Nazis. Germany, he declared, must never again be allowed to re-arm or to have the means of producing war materials. We must not allow our sons to face the same unfinished problems that we had had to face.

For the restoration of British industry and trade the

only efficient method would be private enterprise. The State might indicate where such enterprise could be applied with the best advantage, but on no account should the State interfere with the working of private enterprise.

Equality for All

The Women's Publicity Planning Association is initiating a campaign for an Equal Citizenship (Blanket) Bill, which is "designed to sweep away sex discriminations in the law in one comprehensive action whether these operate against men or women."

Mrs. Israel Moses Sieff, who is Chairman of the Women's Publicity Planning Association, is also connected with the Women's International Zionist Organisation, and is associated with Dr. Edith Summerskill both in the campaign for equal compensation for war injuries, in which the Women's Publicity Planning Association takes part, and in the Women for Westminster Movement. Mrs. Sieff is the daughter of Michael Marks, the founder of the Marks and Spencer chain-stores. Of her education she is reported to have said, "The *Manchester Guardian* was my second bible."

Back into the Sea

The *Glasgow Daily Record* of September 2 states that many tons of herring, from the recent heavy catches, have had to be thrown back into the sea because of transport and other wartime problems.

"To regulate the position the Ministry of Food is asking trawler owners, who go out for herring, not to bring in such large quantities of this fish. An official of the Ministry said yesterday that it had been impossible to deal with the glut of herring in the past few weeks.

"Transport arrangements were inadequate for distributing the big catches, and the necessary facilities were not available at the ports at which they were landed.

"The consequent wastage has aroused much angry comment, especially in Scottish fishing ports, where the fishermen could not sell the catches at a time when the national demand for fish is said to be greatly in excess of supply."

A propos of fights between Mexicans and United States sailors in Los Angeles, Mrs. Roosevelt said that race problems are growing in the United States and all over the world, and "we must just begin to face it."

The Dangers Inherent in the Proposed Schemes for International Money Units

By R. GAUDIN

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FROM WEEK TO WEEK

"It is strange, beyond comprehension, that so manifest a humbug as the ant has been able to fool so many nations so many ages without being found out." — MARK TWAIN.

There are others.

"The truth is, that the system which has been pursued in England from the time of the Revolution [Whig], the system of Government Debt, is a system which begins by totally debasing the labouring classes, and that ends by producing its own overthrow, and that of the state along with it. It draws property into great masses; it gives cunning the superiority over industry; it makes agriculture a subject of adventure; it puts down all small cultivators..." — WILLIAM COBBETT: *The Progress of a Ploughboy*, p. 10.

In 1938 the labour turnover in the Russian coal mines was 112.5 per cent. That is to say, the Russian mines had completely fresh workers more than once a year. The labour turnover in the entire industry of Russia was 87.5 per cent.

A labour turnover of thirty per cent. in any continuous undertaking in Great Britain before the war would have been accepted as final evidence of incompetent management.

The widespread distrust engendered by the formation of AMGOT, the international Gestapo of the World Planners, is gratifying evidence of public awareness.

There is always hope for the man who is awake, even if he listens to the "B".B.C.

Steinhardt, the U.S. Ambassador to Moscow during the period of collaboration between the Soviet Union and Germany, was a nephew of Samuel Untermeyer, the Corporation lawyer closely associated with the German-Jew banking interests in New York.

There is categorical evidence in Joseph E. Davies's *Mission to Moscow* that the restoration and maintenance of gold as the dominating factor in world power, is a major objective of the 'United States,' otherwise Mr. Morgenthau and his friends.

Palestine has adopted the Compensated Price. This seems almost as cruel as teaching Americans to say Great Britain.

"Every evening the American newspapermen... Henry Shapiro of the United Press, Jim Brown of the International News, Spencer Williams representing the *Manchester Guardian*." — *Mission to Moscow*, p. 181.

"... Spencer Williams, head of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce in Moscow..." — *Mission to Moscow*, p. 187.

For the last ten years, the principal countries of Europe have been ostensibly ruled by proletarians. Hitler was a paperhanger, Mussolini was a labour agitator, Leon Blum, the French Prime Minister, was a Jewish Socialist-journalist.

Germany is being bombed nightly, Italy is invaded, France is conquered.

Nice place nowadays, Europe. Improved out of all belief since they did away with those absurd hereditary politicians and diplomats.

Since once-Great Britain was given to Mr. Herbert Morrison to rule, the Archbishops are enchanted with our progress. There is an old-world atmosphere about. Quebec which explains a great deal, if not a New Deal.

Captain Maule Ramsay, M.P., was allowed to attend the Memorial Service, at the Guards' Chapel, for his son, killed in action, afterwards being returned to Brixton Prison, where he has been kept without trial for 3½ years under Regulation 18B.

Captain Maule Ramsay was severely wounded in France in 1916, having crossed the Channel with the Coldstream Guards within a week of the outbreak of war.

You have to hand it to the British, they always reward service. Now take Baldwin and Montagu Norman, for instance, and the Chatham House staff at Oxford. You take them, Clarence.

CASUALTIES IN SICILY

American casualties in Sicily were approximately 7,500 killed, wounded, and missing (which may include prisoners), according to Mr. John McCloy, U.S. Acting Secretary for War.

Mr. McCloy recalled that on August 18, Allied casualties in Sicily were estimated at 25,000, so that the British and Canadian casualties were about 17,500.

FEDERAL UNION SUMMER SCHOOL

Speakers at the Summer School held by Federal Union this year at Dartington Hall School included Mr. R. G. W. Mackay, who is National Chairman of Commonwealth; Mr. W. B. Curry, headmaster of Dartington Hall School; Dr. C. E. M. Joad, who was concerned about the future of Broadcasting; Mr. James Parkes, who stressed the potential value of such war time organisations as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration as foundations for Federal Union; and Mr. Clement Davies, M.P.

ALIENS IN GREAT BRITAIN

The following is the substance of the debate which took place in the House of Lords on July 26, 1918.

BRITISH NATIONALITY AND STATUS OF ALIENS BILL

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Viscount Sandhurst: My Lords, this is a Bill of much greater importance than is usually the case with the Departmental measures which it is my duty from time to time to submit for your Lordships' consideration. Your Lordships... will see that the object of the Bill is to give wider powers of revoking certificates of naturalisation and also to provide the machinery to that end. ... This Bill affects the interests of the whole of the Dominions of His Majesty, and it follows therefore, as it applies of its own force to Crown Colonies and to India and forms part of a general scheme of naturalisation law which it is hoped the self-governing Dominions will adopt, that their counsel and co-operation had to be obtained for this amending Bill.

The principle of the Bill was agreed to at the Imperial War Conference in the Spring of last year. Drafts of the Bill have been circulated to the Dominions and approved by them—and also by the Government of India—with the exception I understand of Australia. But while no agreement has as yet been received from Australia, there has been no dissent from that Dominion. There are, of course, certain large questions that have attracted much attention during the war which are difficult of solution, such as *jus soli*, dual nationality and the general question of the national status of women, which cannot be settled without further direct communication with the Dominions. It is therefore proposed to hold a further Conference on those subjects, and we shall have the advantage of the advice of persons of special and wide experience in these matters from the whole Empire. ...

... By that Act [British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914] the power to revoke certificates was limited to cases in which the certificate for naturalisation had been obtained either by fraud or misrepresentation, and even this power, only found its way into legislation in 1914 for in the Act of 1870 a certificate once granted could not be recalled at all; ... and it is advisable that they should be extended. The measure proposed is to add to the power to revoke for false representation and fraud, power to revoke any certificate whenever granted, no matter what the nationality of the person to whom the certificate had been granted might be; ...

In addition to these general powers it is proposed to treat specially all certificates granted to persons of enemy nationality since the commencement of war, August 4, 1914. All such certificates are to be referred to a Committee which I shall presently explain, for judicial inquiry as to whether their revocation is desirable. ... Dealing with the question of those certificates granted to alien enemies I may conveniently refer to Clause 3, which provides that for a period of five years at the end of the war no enemy subject shall be naturalised. ...

... As to machinery by the existing law—while, as I explained, there is a power in certain circumstances to revoke certificates—no special machinery has ever been

provided for that purpose. For instance, there is no power to call witnesses. It is desirable to have machinery for proper judicial inquiry, for, whatever our opinions may be on this subject, a man's nationality is to him a matter of the very highest importance, and it is surely in accordance with the first principles of British justice that a man should be properly heard. By this Bill we attempt to rectify this omission. The intention is to set up a Committee on which there shall be a Judge or ex-Judge. The duty of that Committee will be to consider the cases of certificates put before them by the Secretary of State and to report to the Secretary of State. The Committee will be armed with the powers of a High Court. They will have powers to compel witnesses, to call for the production of documents, and other matters. The Bill also gives power to refer cases to the High Court.

... These are the principal points in this Bill. I know that some noble Lords feel strongly in one direction or another, but may I venture very respectfully to remind your Lordships once more that the view of the Dominions have very much to be considered. What some here may consider advisable, those across the seas might view with equal approval, and, again, certain views which may find acceptance in one Dominion may not be equally acceptable in another. ...

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2a. —(*Viscount Sandhurst*).

Viscount St. Davids: My Lords, the Government in the House of Commons, when this Bill was introduced, said they hoped it might fulfil a useful purpose not only during the war but after the war. Having that in their minds it seems to me a great pity they did not make the Bill take a wider scope. What does the Bill do? It does this; it gives the Home Secretary power to denaturalise everybody who has been naturalised since the war. ...

... In view of the fact of the thousands of hostile aliens who have been naturalised of late years this Bill in no way fulfils the public demand. It is based on the ideas of certain legal members of both Houses (they are represented here) who think naturalisation is one of the most solemn contracts that can ever be made, and ought never to be revoked without some particular cause in every particular case. I venture to suggest that naturalisation is no solemn contract at all. It is a law, a loose and foolish law, of which these aliens have availed themselves. We do not go hunting about in Europe and saying to these people, "Come to our shores. We will value your services. You give us an oath and we will give you certain privileges." These people came here, they found this loose law, and they availed themselves of it.

I was very much struck with the explanation given by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons of the Delbrück Law. Most of us have thought, I did for one, that the Delbrück Law, passed in January, 1914, was a law which allowed a German to retain his own nationality although he took up another nationality. The Home Secretary said that was not so. He said that the Delbrück Law created a state of things, as I understand it, that for all time every German who has been naturalised in this country has retained his nationality in his own country. Is not that a farce? What is the good of talking about "solemn contracts" about not tearing up "bits of paper" as if they were nothing. Here is an oath that a man can

take with his "tongue in his cheek"; he could swear loyalty to King George, King Edward or Queen Victoria, knowing perfectly well all the time that he retained his own oath in his own country and that no change was made at all. I venture to say that the solemn contract theory does not hold water.

This Bill is based on these two theories—the solemn contract theory, and the theory that you must only denaturalise in specified cases for proved acts of disloyalty or hostility. I think it ought to be the other way. The view we ought to take—we must think of our own country sometimes—is this: clear out as far as you can the doubtful class. Here you have a class of people many of them of proved disloyalty since the war. There are gross cases. As to most of them I think the evidence is very strong that what loyalty they have is very lukewarm, and probably kept even at that moderate temperature by the handy presence of a policeman. They want a lot of watching at the best. Why should the Government make the door by which they are denaturalised so narrow on the theory that you must not let the many suffer for the fault of some? You do that in British law. There is almost an analogous case in election law. There is nothing an Englishman claims more than the franchise, and after many elections you have boroughs disfranchised. The election Judges report that there have been one or two cases of bribery and corruption, and you disfranchise everyone of thousands of people who never sinned, who never were corrupt, and who never took bribes. In English law the many suffer constantly for the fault of the few; and if you do that for Englishmen, why should you not do it for Germans?

I venture to suggest what a naturalisation ought to do. It ought to start at the other end. It ought not to say that under certain very narrowly guarded ways we will denaturalise these men. It ought to say, Here is a class of not much value to the country at best, who are highly suspect, let us denaturalise them for ten years at least, and then make exceptions. These exceptions can be gone into by the most impartial Committee you like; they should give their reasons in every case, put the names down on the table of both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and if there is no hostile resolution carried then these people should be taken as naturalised again. That is what a proper Naturalisation Bill ought to do. I think it ought to do more than that; a great deal more. We ought to lay it down—circumstances have changed since the war; the whole condition of things and our knowledge has changed—that no hostile-born alien should ever sit in either House of Parliament. I do not think a hostile born alien should ever be in the Civil Service, and his right now to pension or pay ought to be ended by Act of Parliament. The Government, I believe, are going to sweep them out of the Civil Service, but in my belief these people, if they are turned out of the Civil Service, will have the right to pay or pension whatever happens. I say that a Naturalisation Bill ought to end this. I also say that no natural born alien ought to be in His Majesty's Government, and that no hostile alien should be in the Magistracy. Do you not think you are going to have a nice feeling at the end of this war if when your soldiers return and perhaps are a little too cheerful on the first night, they are fined "40s., or a week" by a German on the Bench. The thing would be a scandal, and the possibility of it ought to be ended.

And last, but not least, an alien Bill ought to enact that no Privy Councillor should remain on the Privy Council, or be a Privy Councillor, if he is an hostile-born alien. The people of this country probably think that the Privy Council has a great deal more to do with the government of this country than it has, but what is quite true is that there is no greater honour in this country that a man can hold than to be on the Privy Council. Everybody will consider the general naturalisation evaded by the Government as long as they allow men of hostile origin to sit upon the Privy Council. A proper Aliens Bill ought to prevent them doing so. . . . There are people here, even in this House, who think that these men are our friends. Civil Servants, Members of Parliament, magistrates, Privy Councillors—they are all above suspicion! They have taken the oath. You must not get rid of them. You must not denaturalise them unless you have a strong proof in each individual case. They are our friends. What will the Germans think? The Germans think as the noble Lord said, that the agitation is hostile to them. They do not like it. Why do they not? Because they know these persons are their friends. Cannot we take the hint? I think that what the noble Lord said, is a very strong reason why we should—although I do not think he was specially meaning it—continue this anti-alien movement and keep pressing it upon the Government, as some of us have been doing since the first day of the war. From the outbreak of the war we have been urging it upon the Government, and step by step they have been adopting our views. This is a very milk and water Bill. They will have to introduce another Bill, or other Bills, and the sooner they do so the better.

We are often told that if we get rid of a number of these people we may be injuring the country, because this country in past times has gained greatly by immigration. So it has. But what class of people did we get in the old days? When we were fighting the tyranny of Spain, and later when we were fighting the tyrant in France, we got Dutchmen and Huguenots, men who are with us in our religion, in our feelings and in our very sympathy, men who had to leave their own countries because they were anxious to fight for us and work with us. They brought great industries here: they brought great energy and courage. They came from some of the finest old fighting blood in the world, and any of us who have their blood in our veins may be proud of it.

What are we getting now? In the years before the war aliens have been pressing out Englishmen in our big towns, especially in the East End of London. Is the blood that they bring such as you can be proud of? The one thing that this war has shown is that the courage of our own people is immense. The courage of every class of our people is more than anybody would have dared to hope. When there have been raids in London the trouble has been to keep our people out of the streets, because they treated danger as a joke, and wanted to see what was going on, even if they ran a risk. That has been the trouble with the native-born Englishman. What has it been with the foreigners? These aliens who are so carefully safeguarded by the Bill of the Government, blocked your trains to Brighton, blocked your seaport towns, and blocked your riverside towns. Anywhere they went to get out of danger. The alien we have been having into this country of late years is of poor blood. As a mass they have shown no courage, and the Government would do well to take any steps that

can be properly taken to lessen their numbers and discourage others of their kind from coming here.

People say, "Oh we shall have good times after the war." It may be so for a year or two, but with the damage that has been done, with the immense loss of property and wealth in the world, that loss is not soon going to be restored, and I believe that two or three years after the war we shall be having very hard times in this country. Is it not therefore better to do anything we can to make openings in this country for Britishers and to discourage this foreign element? To create more openings in Great Britain for men of our own blood ought to be the policy of His Majesty's Government. I do not know whether your Lordships will amend this Bill, and try to make of it a good Bill, and send it back to the House of Commons. I think it might be made a good anti-alien Bill, and if your Lordships will amend it to make it one you will be doing good work, and I will believe earn the respect and gratitude of the country.

Lord Beresford: My Lords, I entirely agree with the noble Lord who has just sat down. This Bill does not meet the wishes of the public. It is not drastic enough. The noble Lord, Lord Sandhurst, said that the Bill had been sent to the Colonies. I should like him to tell me how it is that Australia has enacted a Bill which is really good in every particular, and totally different from this Bill. He seemed to suggest that it would be unwise to produce a Bill that the Dominions would not agree with. But the Australians have already gone a step beyond this Bill.

Viscount Sandhurst: All I said was that the various Dominions had replied and had agreed, except Australia, who, I understood had not agreed but did not dissent from the Bill. That is the only statement I made.

Lord Beresford: They would not dissent from the Bill because their own Bill is so much stronger and better. It has taken up most of the points which the noble Lord, Lord St. Davids, has brought forward, and many other points in addition. And those are the points which we wish to see put into this Bill, or at all events the public want to see them put in. It is satisfactory that the Government have at last realised the gravity of the situation. There is a great danger from the aliens in this country, and it is only the force of public opinion which has made the Government bring forward this Bill. It is a Bill in the right direction, but it does not go far enough, and I earnestly hope that your Lordships will carry certain amendments which will strengthen it.

As to the contention that certain people will be indispensable, I think that the public should know all about the antecedents and qualifications of those people. What the public really wants, is that all naturalised subjects of enemy origin should have their naturalisation papers revoked. If they wish to prevent that being done they should be examined before a proper tribunal, and reasons should be given, and their papers should then be placed on the Table of the House of Commons before they are approved. There are a great number of cases to try. There will be 8,000 Germans, I understand and altogether 18,000 enemy aliens. But the real point is, what are we going to do with the aliens in this country who are giving the real trouble which my noble friend Lord St. Davids referred to? The Committee is a good idea, but I do earnestly hope that all the findings of that Committee will be published. If we do not have

the findings of that Committee published we shall be in just exactly the same position as we were before. There should also be a periodical list of those denaturalised by the Bureau so that the public should know who they are. The Government do not appear to be really in earnest about this Bill, but I can assure them that the people are determined and they are determined that these enemy aliens, both men and women should be interned and their naturalisation papers revoked. If they do go back it must be after full inquiry.

There is an influence in this country to-day behind these aliens. What it is I do not know. We hear of "hidden hands" and of other suggestions of that character, but there is an influence, there has been an influence all through the war, and the sooner we get to the bottom of it and find out what that influence is the better. We can only hope to do it by taking the naturalisation papers from all of them and letting them prove in open Court why they should have them returned to them. We see it every day. It is amazing to me why the Government do not act more quickly. Every day we see aliens sentenced. Let me read what is in to-day's issue of *The Times*. There is one called Emil Theuergarten who got six months for shooting with a revolver at a man. Julia Klasbosky, a Russian, had a paper which was prejudicial to discipline. She got 14 days and was recommended for expulsion. I want to know what happens with these people when their fourteen days or six months are up. Are they let loose again on the public or are they interned, or are they only watched? Because they ought to be confined until the date on which they are sent back to their own country.

I want to ask my noble friend whether it is true that there are two men called Schultz and Bethmann, Germans who own and manage the Triumph munition works at Coventry at this minute. These aliens are still attending to their own business in competition with Englishmen. If it is true that these men are at Coventry I think it is a very serious matter considering what is going on at Coventry. We know by the Press that they have put up every sort of notice in Coventry to stop the war. They say, "Bring Lloyd George to his knees." That is posted up all over this place. "Make peace and stop the war" is another notice. "If you go on making munitions it will make the war last longer" is another. These Germans are not indispensable. No man in the world is indispensable. What happens when he dies? Of course they are not indispensable and the least indispensable are these German-bred aliens that are in our midst.

There is a man called Lindemann who is a brother of the Burgo-master of Kiel and who has been naturalised for fifteen years. At the outbreak of war he was a coal exporter at Glasgow. On August 15 he had a house close to the railway station at Biggar in Lanarkshire. He had a powerful motor car and took long journeys during the night in the neighbourhood of the Firth of Forth, the Firth of Clyde and the Solway Firth. What I am giving you is *bona fide*—I had it from the man who signed the paper. This Lindemann travelled about and had large quantities of petrol in his car which he bought in Glasgow and Biggar. What was he doing? The facts of this case were represented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At that time Sir John Simon was Home Secretary. Nothing was done, and I believe this man is still at large. That is the sort of thing

that irritates the public. Why had he this motor car? Where was he taking the petrol? These are the things that are happening and occasionally we see notices in the Press of men being interned. The only safety is to take up the whole lot of them, look at their naturalisation papers and if they can prove publicly that they are alright let those papers be returned to them.

There are several things in this Bill that I should like to see improved. In Clause 7 (1) there should be an amendment throwing the onus of proof on the alien not on the Court, and I hope to bring that forward. There is nothing about repatriation in the Bill, though that is perhaps the most important thing of all. On July 8 I described to your Lordships what was a very serious moment in my life, when I saw two ships at the wharf, one taking away from our country the finest specimens of British humanity, artisans, mechanics and agricultural labourers, to the number of 2,000, and the other carting in the scum of Europe. That was thirty-seven years ago, and that has been going on ever since. That is the class of people we want to get rid of, and let our own Englishmen have a chance. What is annoying our men in the trenches, to judge from the letters which I get, is this. They own a small business in which they had the good will. Their father, their uncle, their brother or an elderly relative took over that business and kept it going for them. Now under the law of the land to which I do not object, these men are called up, and what happens? The Russian, the Holstein, the Swiss and the Spaniard, who in many cases are all Germans take over the good will of that business. When these businesses are taken over by aliens there should be no lease and the men who have fought for us should come back to their businesses when they return from the Front. We ought to be able to manage it. But the Germans are a very cunning clever nation. They are not only naturalising themselves into British, they are naturalising themselves into neutral all over the country. What can we do? It is these neutrals who ought to be expatriated. Whenever they are brought before the Court or commit any crime they ought to be put in a ship and sent back to their own country. That is the real point, and it is because that is not done, that excitement is caused in the country and annoyance to the men in the trenches. They have done this in India. There was a case before the House of Commons the other day of a very large and well-known German firm manufacturing in India to our disadvantage, which turned itself into Swiss. I believe that that case is going to be taken up by the Government but it is only one of many others.

Lord St. Davids brought forward the case of German-born magistrates. I say that that is a scandal. There ought to be no such thing. I believe that the German-born can be called on juries. Fancy their being called to assist and adjudicate on the rights and wrongs of Englishmen! I have referred to Australia. There they have smashed the German interest wherever it is to be found. There is a firm there which Mr. Hughes mentioned the other day in a speech, a firm with the name of "Merton"—I forget the original name but it was German. Both Australia and the United States have taken over this firm and wound it up, and neither the United States or Australia have done anything dishonourable. They have not confiscated anything. They have paid the Germans the proper rate at which the shares were quoted in the market at the time, but they have

removed all their interest and power in connection with these industries which were their property. Another point which Lord St. Davids brought out was this, Why are these foreigners in the Government? They are not indispensable and it is wrong that they should be there. I am satisfied from what I know of the working men in this country, that they are determined to see that these foreigners go out of the Government offices, and, in addition, as far as possible, out of the industrial and commercial and banking pursuits in which they hold such a strong power at this moment.

(To be continued.)

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